

OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

DEBATES

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF THE

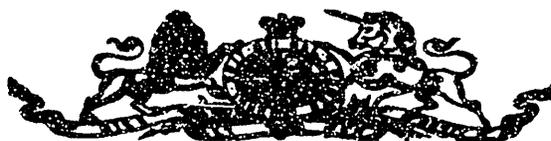
DOMINION OF CANADA

FIFTH SESSION—EIGHTH PARLIAMENT

63-64 VICTORIA, 1900

VOL. LI

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE FIRST DAY OF FEBRUARY TO THE
FIFTH DAY OF APRIL, INCLUSIVE



OTTAWA

PRINTED BY S. E. DAWSON, PRINTER TO THE QUEEN'S MOST
EXCELLENT MAJESTY

1900

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILFRID LAURIER,

P.C., G.C.M.G., Q.C., D.C.L. (*Oxon.*)

AT THE OPENING OF THE
FIFTH SESSION OF THE EIGHTH PARLIAMENT
1900

(CABINET FORMED JULY 13, 1896)

President of the Privy Council (Premier)	Right Hon. Sir WILFRID LAURIER, P.C., G.C.M.G. Q.C., D.C.L. (<i>Oxon.</i>)
Minister of Trade and Commerce	Hon. Sir RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT, G.C.M.G.
Secretary of State.....	Hon. R. W. SCOTT, Q.C., LL.D.
Minister of Justice	Hon. DAVID MILLS, Q.C.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries	Hon. Sir L. H. DAVIES, K.C.M.G., Q.C.
Minister Militia and Defence.....	Hon. F. W. BORDEN, B.A., M.D.
†Postmaster General.....	Hon. W. MULLOCK, Q.C., M.A., LL.D.
Minister of Agriculture	Hon. S. A. FISHER, B.A.
Minister of Public Works	Hon. J. I. TARTE.
Without Portfolio.....	Hon. R. R. DOBELL.
Minister of Finance	Hon. W. S. FIELDING.
Minister of Railways and Canals.....	Hon. A. G. BLAIR.
Minister of the Interior	Hon. CLIFFORD SIFTON.
Minister of Customs	Hon. WILLIAM PATERSON.
*Minister of Inland Revenue.....	Hon. Sir H. G. JOLY DE LOTBINIÈRE, K.C.M.G.
‡Without Portfolio.....	Hon. JAMES SUTHERLAND.

[*The above form the Cabinet.*]

Solicitor General

	Hon. CHARLES FITZPATRICK, Q.C.
--	--------------------------------

* Hon. Sir H. G. Joly de Lotbinière, sworn in as Lieut. Governor of British Columbia on June 22 1900, and on same date the Hon. Michel Esdras Bernier sworn in as Minister of Inland Revenue.
 † Acting Minister of Public Works.
 ‡ Acting Minister of the Interior.

Clerk of the Privy Council..... JOHN J. MCGEE, ESQ.

OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS :

Hon. THOMAS BAIN	Speaker.
LOUIS PHILIPPE BRODEUR, M.P.....	Deputy Speaker.
Sir JOHN G. BOURINOT, K.C.M.G.....	Clerk of the House.
LAPLANTE, Mr. J. B. R	Clerk Assistant.
Lieut.-Col. HENRY ROBERT SMITH.....	Sergeant-at-Arms.

OFFICIAL REPORTERS :

ALBERT HORTON.....	Chief Reporter.
STEPHEN A. ABBOTT.....	} Reporters.
E. JOSEPH DUGGAN.....	
J. O. MARCEAU.....	
THOS. P. OWENS.....	
ALPHONSE DESJARDINS.....	
A. C. CAMPBELL.....	
GEORGE SIMPSON.....	} Assistant to Chief Reporter.
CHAS. W. BOYCE	

VOL. I.

ERRATUM.

Column 2208, line 19 from bottom.—After 'young' insert 'people will be pleased, and in order to have a successful patrie we must have a policy to suit it.'

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

CONSTITUENCIES AND MEMBERS

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

FIFTH SESSION OF THE EIGHTH PARLIAMENT OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

1900

ADDINGTON —John W. Bell.	DORCHESTER —Jean-Baptiste Morin.
ALBERT —William J. Lewis.	DRUMMOND AND ARTHABASKA —Louis Lavergne.
ALBERTA —Frank Oliver.	DUNDAS —Andrew Broder.
ALGOMA —Albert Edward Dymont.	DURHAM, E. Riding —Thomas Dixon Craig.
ANNAPOLIS —John B. Mills.	DURHAM, W. Riding —Robert Beith.
ANTIGONISH —Colin F. McIsaac.	ELGIN, E. Riding —Andrew B. Ingram.
ARGENTEUIL —Thomas Christie.	ELGIN, W. Riding —George Elliott Casey.
ASSINIBOIA, East —James Moffat Douglas.	ESSEX, N. Riding —William McGregor.
ASSINIBOIA, West —Nicholas Flood Davin.	ESSEX, S. Riding —Mahlon K. Cowan.
BAGOT —Joseph Edmond Marcell.	FRONTENAC —David Dickson Rogers.
BEAUCE —Joseph Godbout.	GASPÉ —Rodolphe Lemieux.
BEAUHARNOIS —Joseph Gédéon Horace Bergeron.	GLENGARRY —Roderick R. McLennan.
BELLECHASSE —Onésiphore Ernest Talbot.	GLOUCESTER —Théotime Blanchard.
BERTHIER —Cléophas Beausoleil.	GRENVILLE, S. Riding —John Dowsley Reid.
BONAVENTURE —Jean François Guité.	GREY, E. Riding —Thomas S. Sproule.
BOTHWELL —James Clancy.	GREY, N. Riding —Hon. Wm. Paterson.
BRANDON —Hon. Clifford Sifton.	GREY, S. Riding —George Landerkin.
BRANT, S. Riding —Charles Bernhard Heyd.	GUYSBOROUGH —Duncan C. Fraser.
BROCKVILLE —William Henry Comstock.	HALDIMAND AND MONCK —Hon. Walter H. Montague
BROME —Hon. Sidney Arthur Fisher.	HALIFAX — { Robert L. Borden.
BRUCE, E. Riding —Henry Cargill.	{ Benjamin Russell.
BRUCE, N. Riding —Alexander McNeill.	HALTON —David Henderson.
BRUCE, W. Riding —John Tolmie.	HAMILTON — { Thomas Henry MacPherson.
BURRARD —George Ritchie Maxwell.	{ Andrew Trew Wood.
CAPE BRETON — { Hector F. McDougall.	*HANTS —Allen Haley.
{ Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.	HASTINGS, E. Riding —Jeremiah M. Hurley.
CARDWELL —William Stubbs.	HASTINGS, N. Riding —Alexander W. Carscallen.
CARLETON (N.B.) —Frederic Harding Hale.	HASTINGS, W. Riding —Henry Corby.
CARLETON (O.) —William T. Hodgins.	HOCHELAGA —J. Alexandre Camille Madore.
CHAMBLY AND VERCHÈRES —V. Geoffrion.	HUNTINGDON —Julius Scriver.
CHAMPLAIN —François Arthur Marcotte.	HURON, E. Riding —Peter Macdonald.
CHARLEVOIX —Louis Charles A. Angers.	HURON, S. Riding —John McMillan.
CHARLOTTE —Gilbert W. Ganong.	HURON, W. Riding —Robert Holmes.
CHATEAUGUAY —James Pollock Brown.	INVERNESS —Angus McLennan.
CHICOUTIMI AND SAGUENAY —Paul V. Savard.	JACQUES CARTIER —Frederick D. Monk.
COLCHESTER —Firman McClure.	
COMPTON —Rufus Henry Pope.	
CORNWALL AND STORMONT —John Goodall Snetsinger.	
CUMBERLAND —Hance J. Logan.	
DIGBY —Albert J. S. Copp.	

* Died April 23, 1900.

- JOLIETTE**—Charles Bazinet.
- KAMOURASKA**—Henry George Carroll.
- KENT (N.B.)**—George V. McInerney.
- KENT (O.)**—Archibald Campbell.
- KING'S (N.B.)**—James Domville.
- KING'S (N.S.)**—Hon. Frederick W. Borden.
- KING'S (P.E.I.)**—Augustine Colin Macdonald.
- KINGSTON**—Byron Moffat Britton.
- LABELLE**—J. Henri N. Bourassa.
- LAMBTON, E. Riding**—John Fraser.
- LAMBTON, W. Riding**—T. G. Johnston.
- LANARK, N. Riding**—Bennett Rosamond.
- LANARK, S. Riding**—Hon. John Haggart.
- LAPRAIRIE AND NAPIERVILLE**—Dominique Monet.
- L'ASSOMPTION**—Joseph Gauthier.
- LAVAL**—Thomas Fortin.
- LEEDS AND GRENVILLE, N. Riding**—Francis Theodore Frost.
- LEEDS, S. Riding**—George Taylor.
- LENNOX**—Uriah Wilson.
- LÉVIS**—Louis Julien Demers.
- LINCOLN AND NIAGARA**—William Gibson.
- LISGAR**—Robert Lorne Richardson.
- L'ISLET**—Arthur Miville Dechêne.
- LONDON**—Thomas Beattie.
- LOTBINIÈRE**—Edmond Fortier.
- LUNENBURG**—Charles Edwin Kaulbach.
- MACDONALD**—John Gunion Rutherford.
- MAISONNEUVE**—Raymond Préfontaine.
- MARQUETTE**—William James Roche.
- MASKINONGÉ**—Joseph Hormisdas Legris.
- MÉGANTIC**—George Turcot.
- MIDDLESEX, E. Riding**—James Gilmour.
- MIDDLESEX, N. Riding**—Valentine Ratz.
- MIDDLESEX, S. Riding**—Malcolm McGugan.
- MIDDLESEX, W. Riding**—William Samuel Calvert.
- MISSISQUOI**—Daniel Bishop Meigs.
- MONTCALM**—Louis E. Dugas.
- MONTMAGNY**—Pierre Raymond Martineau.
- MONTMORENCY**—Thomas Chase Casgrain.
- MONTREAL, St. Ann's**—Michael Joseph Francis Quinn.
- MONTREAL, St. Antoine**—Thomas G. Roddick.
- MONTREAL, St. James**—Odilon Desmarais.
- MONTREAL, St. Lawrence**—Edward Goff Penny.
- MONTREAL, St. Mary**—Hercule Dupré.
- MUSKOKA**—George McCormick.
- NEW WESTMINSTER**—Aulay Morrison.
- NICOLET**—Joseph Hector Leduc.
- NIPISSING**—James B. Klock.
- NORFOLK, N. Riding**—John Charlton.
- NORFOLK, S. Riding**—Hon. David Tisdale.
- NORTHUMBERLAND (N.B.)**—James Robinson.
- NORTHUMBERLAND (O.) E. R.**—Edward Cochrane.
- NORTHUMBERLAND (O.) W. R.**—George Guillet.
- ONTARIO, N. Riding**—Duncan Graham.
- ONTARIO, S. Riding**—Leonard Burnett.
- ONTARIO, W. Riding**—Isaac James Gould.
- OTTAWA (City)**—{ Napoléon A. Belcourt.
William Hutchison.
- OXFORD, N. Riding**—Hon. James Sutherland.
- OXFORD, S. Riding**—Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright, G.C.M.G.
- PEEL**—John Featherston.
- PERTH, N. Riding**—Alexander Ferguson MacLaren.
- PERTH, S. Riding**—Dilman Kinsey Erb.
- PETERBOROUGH, E. Riding**—John Lang.
- PETERBOROUGH, W. Riding**—James Kendry.
- PICTOU**—{ Hon. Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, K.C.
M.G.
Adam Carr Bell.
- PONTIAC**—William Joseph Poupore.
- PORTNEUF**—Hon. Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière, K.C.M.G.
- PRESCOTT**—Isidore Proulx.
- PRINCE, East (P.E.I.)**—John Howatt Bell.
- PRINCE, West (P.E.I.)**—Bernard Donald McLellan.
- PRINCE EDWARD**—William Varney Pettet.
- PROVENCHER**—Alphonse A. C. LaRivière.
- QUEBEC, Centre**—Albert Malouin.
- QUEBEC, East**—Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, P.C., G.C.M.G.
- QUEBEC, West**—Hon. Richard Reid Dobell.
- QUEBEC (County)**—Hon. Charles Fitzpatrick.
- QUEEN'S, East (P.E.I.)**—Alexander Martin.
- QUEEN'S, West (P.E.I.)**—Hon. Sir Louis Henry Davies, K.C.M.G.
- RENFREW, N. Riding**—Thomas Mackie.
- RENFREW, S. Riding**—John Ferguson.
- RESTIGOUCHE**—John McAlister.
- RICHELIEU**—Arthur Aimé Bruneau.
- RICHMOND (N.S.)**—Joseph A. Gillies.
- RICHMOND AND WOLFE (Q.)**—Michael Thomas Stenson.
- RIMOUSKI**—Jean Auguste Ross.
- ROUVILLE**—Louis Philippe Brodeur.
- RUSSELL**—William Cameron Edwards.
- ST. HYACINTHE**—Hon. Michel E. Bernier.
- ST. JOHN (N.B.) City**—John Valentine Ellis.
- ST. JOHN (N.B.) City and Co.**—Joseph John Tucker.
- ST. JOHN AND IBERVILLE**—Hon. Joseph Israël Tarte.
- SASKATCHEWAN**—Thomas Osborne Davis.
- SELKIEK**—John Alexander Macdonell.
- SHEFFORD**—Charles Henry Parmalee.
- SHELBURNE AND QUEEN'S**—Hon. William Stevens Fielding.
- SHERBROOKE**—John McIntosh.
- SIMCOE, E. Riding**—William H. Bennett.
- SIMCOE, N. Riding**—Leighton Goldie McCarthy.
- *SIMCOE, S. Riding**—Richard Tyrwhitt.
- SOULANGES**—Augustin Bourbonnais.
- STANSTEAD**—Alvin Head Moore.
- SUNBURY AND QUEEN'S (N.B.)**—Hon. A. G. Blair.
- TEMISCOUATA**—Charles Auguste Gauvreau.
- TERREBONNE**—Léon Adolphe Chauvin.
- THREE RIVERS AND ST. MAURICE**—Hon. Sir Adolphe Caron, K.C.M.G.

* Died June 25, 1900.

*TORONTO, C. Riding—George Hope Bertram.
 TORONTO, E. Riding—John Ross Robertson.
 TORONTO, W. Riding—{ Edward Frederick Clarke.
 { Edmund Boyd Osler.
 TWO MOUNTAINS—Joseph Arthur C. Ethier.

VANCOUVER—William Wallace Burns McInnes.

VAUDREUIL—Henry Stanislaus Harwood.

VICTORIA (B.C.)—{ Thomas Earle.
 { Hon. Edward Gawler Prior.

VICTORIA (N.B.)—Hon. John Costigan.

VICTORIA (N.S.)—John L. Bethune.

VICTORIA (O.) N. Riding—Samuel Hughes.

VICTORIA (O.) S. Riding—George McHugh.

WATERLOO, N. Riding—Joseph E. Seagram.

WATERLOO, S. Riding—James Livingston.

WELLAND—William McCleary.

WELLINGTON, C. Riding—Andrew Semple.

WELLINGTON, N. Riding—James McMullen.

WELLINGTON, S. Riding—Christian Kloepper.

WENTWORTH AND BRANT, N. Riding—James Somerville.

WENTWORTH, S. Riding—Hon. Thomas Bain.

WESTMORELAND—Henry A. Powell.

WINNIPEG—A. W. Puttee.

WRIGHT—Louis N. Champagne.

YALE AND CARIBOU—Hewitt Bostock.

YAMASKA—Roch Moïse Samuel Mignault.

YARMOUTH—Thomas Barnard Flint.

YORK (N.B.)—Hon. George Eulas Foster.

YORK (O.) E. Riding—William Findlay Maclean.

YORK (O.) N. Riding—Hon. William Mulock.

YORK (O.) W. Riding—Hon. N. Clarke Wallace.

* Died March 21, 1900.

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Fifth Session, Eighth Parliament.

ANGERS, CHARLES—Charlevoix.
ARCHAMBAULT, JOSEPH ELOIE—Berthier.
BAIN, HON. THOS.—Wentworth, S. Riding.
BAZINET, CHARLES—Joliette.
BEATTIE, THOMAS—London.
BEITH, ROBERT—Durham, W. Riding.
BELCOURT, NAPOLEON A.—Ottawa.
BELL, ADAM CARR—Pictou.
BELL, JOHN HOWATT—Prince, East (P.E.I.)
BELL, JOHN W.—Addington.
BENNETT, WM. H.—Simcoe, E. Riding.
BERGERON, JOSEPH G. H.—Beauharnois.
BERNIER, HON. MICHEL E.—St. Hyacinthe.
*BERTRAM, GEORGE HOPE—Toronto Centre.
BETHUNE, JOHN L.—Victoria, N. S.
BLAIR, HON. ANDREW GEORGE—Sunbury and Queen's (N. B.)
BLANCHARD, THÉOTIME—Gloucester.
BORDEN, HON. FREDERICK W.—King's (N. S.)
BORDEN, ROBERT L.—Halifax.
BOSTOCK, HEWITT—Yale and Cariboo.
BOURASSA, HENRI—Labelle.
BOURBONNAIS, AUGUSTIN—Soulanges.
BRITTON, BYRON MOFFATT—Kingston.
BRODER, ANDREW—Dundas.
BRODEUR, LOUIS PHILIPPE—Rouville.
BROWN, JAMES POLLOCK—Chateauguay.
BRUNEAU, ARTHUR AIMÉ—Richelieu.
BURNETT, LEONARD—Ontario, S. Riding.
CALVERT, WILLIAM SAMUEL—Middlesex, W. Riding.
CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD—Kent (O.)
CARGILL, HENRY—Bruce, E. Riding.
CARON, HON. SIR ADOLPHE, K.C.M.G.—Three Rivers and St. Maurice.
CARROLL, HENRY GEORGE—Kamouraska.
CARSCALLEN, ALEXANDER W.—Hastings, N. Riding.
CARTWRIGHT, HON. SIR RICHARD, G.C.M.G.—Oxford, S. Riding.
CASEY, GEORGE ELLIOTT—Elgin, W. Riding.
CASGRAIN, THOMAS CHASE—Montmorency.
CHAMPAGNE, LOUIS N.—Wright.

CHARLTON, JOHN—Norfolk, N. Riding.
CHAUVIN, LÉON ADOLPHE—Terrebonne.
CHRISTIE, THOMAS—Argenteuil.
CLANCY, JAMES—Bothwell.
CLARKE, EDWARD FREDERICK—Toronto, West.
COCHRANE, EDWARD—Northumberland (O.) E. R.
COMSTOCK, WM. HENRY—Brockville.
COPP, ALBERT J. S.—Digby.
CORBY, HENRY—Hastings, W. Riding.
COSTIGAN, HON. JOHN—Victoria (N. B.)
COWAN, MAHLON K.—Essex, S. Riding.
CRAIG, THOMAS DIXON—Durham, E. Riding.
DAVIES, HON. SIR LOUIS HENRY, K.C.M.G.—Queen's, West (P.E.I.)
DAVIN, NICHOLAS FLOOD—Assiniboia, West.
DAVIS, THOMAS OSBORNE—Saskatchewan.
DECHENE, ARTHUR MIVILLE—L'Islet.
DEMERS, LOUIS JULIEN—Lévis.
DESMARAIS, ODILON—Montreal, St. James.
DOBELL, HON. RICHARD REID—Quebec, West.
DOMVILLE, JAMES—King's (N. B.)
DOUGLAS, JAMES MOFFATT—Assiniboia, East.
DUGAS, LOUIS E.—Montcalm.
DUPRÉ, HÉRCULE—Montreal, St. Mary's.
DYMENT, ALBERT EDWARD—Algoma.
EARLE, THOMAS—Victoria (B. C.)
EDWARDS, WILLIAM CAMERON—Russell.
ELLIS, JOHN VALENTINE—St. John City (N. B.)
ERB, DILMAN KINSEY—Perth, S. Riding.
ETHIER, JOSEPH ARTHUR C.—Two Mountains.
FEATHERSTON, JOSEPH—Peel.
FERGUSON, JOHN—Renfrew, S. Riding.
FIELDING, HON. WILLIAM STEVENS—Shelburne and Queen's (N. S.)
FISHER, HON. SIDNEY ARTHUR—Brome.
FITZPATRICK, HON. CHARLES—Quebec (County).
FLINT, THOMAS BARNARD—Yarmouth.
FORTIER, EDMOND—Lotbinière.
FORTIN, THOMAS—Laval.
FOSTER, HON. GEORGE EULAS—York (N. B.)

* Died April 23, 1900.

- FRASER, DUNCAN C.—Guysborough.
 FRASER, JOHN—Lambton, E. Riding.
 FROST, FRANCIS THEODORE—Leeds and Grenville.
- GANONG, GILBERT W.—Charlotte.
 GAUTHIER, JOSEPH—L'Assomption.
 GAUVREAU, CHARLES AUGUSTE—Témiscoumata.
 GEOFFRION, VICTOR—Chambly and Verchères.
 GIBSON, WILLIAM—Lincoln and Niagara.
 GILLIES, JOSEPH A.—Richmond (N.S.)
 GILMOUR, JAMES—Middlesex, E. Riding.
 GODBOUT, JOSEPH—Beauce.
 GOULD, ISAAC JAMES—Ontario, W. Riding.
 GRAHAM, DUNCAN—Ontario, N. Riding.
 GUILLET, GEORGE—Northumberland (O.) W. Riding.
 GUITÉ, JEAN FRANÇOIS—Bonaventure.
- HAGGART, HON. JOHN—Lanark, S. Riding.
 HALE, FREDERICK HARDING—Carleton (N.B.)
 *HALEY, ALLEN—Hants.
 HARWOOD, HENRY S.—Vaudreuil.
 HENDERSON, DAVID—Halton.
 HEYD, CHARLES BERNHARD—Brant, S. Riding.
 HODGINS, WILLIAM T.—Carleton (O.)
 HOLMES, ROBERT—Huron, W. Riding.
 HUGHES, SAMUEL—Victoria (O.) N. Riding.
 HURLEY, JEREMIAH M.—Hastings, E. Riding.
 HUTCHISON, WILLIAM—Ottawa.
- INGRAM, ANDREW B.—Elgin, E. Riding.
- JOHNSTON, THOMAS GEORGE—Lambton West.
 JOLY DE LOTBINIÈRE, HON. SIR HENRI, K.C.M.G.—
 Portneuf.
- KAULBACH, CHARLES EDWIN—Lunenburg.
 KENDRY, JAMES—Peterborough, E. Riding.
 KLOCK, JAMES B.—Nipissing.
 KLOEPFER, CHRISTIAN—Wellington, S. Riding.
- LANDERKIN, GEORGE—Grey, S. Riding.
 LANG, JOHN—Peterborough, E. Riding.
 LARIVIÈRE, ALPHONSE A. C.—Provencher.
 LAURIER, RT. HON. SIR WILFRID, G. C. M. G.—Quebec
 East.
 LAVERGNE, LOUIS—Drummond and Arthabaska.
 LEDUC, JOSEPH HECTOR—Nicolet.
 LEGRIS, JOSEPH HORMISDAS—Maskinongé.
 LEMIEUX, RODOLPHE—Gaspé.
 LEWIS, WILLIAM J.—Albert.
 LIVINGSTON, JAMES—Waterloo, S. Riding.
 LOGAN, HANCE J.—Cumberland.
- MACDONALD, AUGUSTINE COLIN—King's (P.E.I.)
 MACDONALD, PETER—Huron, E. Riding.
 MACDONELL, JOHN ALEXANDER—Selkirk.
 MACKIE, THOMAS—Renfrew, N. Riding.
 MACLAREN, ALEXANDER FERGUSON—Perth, N. Riding
 MACLEAN, WILLIAM FINDLAY—York (O.) E. Riding.
 MACPHERSON, THOMAS HENRY—Hamilton.
 MCALISTER, JOHN—Restigouche.
 MCCARTHY, LEIGHTON GOLDIE—Simcoe, N. Riding.
- MCCLEARY, WILLIAM—Welland.
 MCCLURE, FIRMAN—Colchester.
 MCCORMICK, GEORGE—Muskoka and Parry Sound.
 McDougall, HECTOR F.—Cape Breton.
 MCGREGOR, WILLIAM—Essex, N. Riding.
 MCGUGAN, MALCOLM—Middlesex, S. Riding.
 MCHUGH, GEORGE—Victoria (O.) S. Riding.
 MCINERNEY, GEORGE V.—Kent (N.B.)
 MCINNES, WILLIAM WALLACE BURNS—Vancouver.
 MCINTOSH, JOHN—Sherbrooke.
 MCISAAC, COLIN F.—Antigonish.
 McLELLAN, BERNARD DONALD—Prince, West (P.E.I.)
 McLENNAN, RODERICK R.—Glengarry.
 McLENNAN, ANGUS—Inverness.
 McMILLAN, JOHN—Huron, S. Riding.
 McMULLEN, JAMES—Wellington, N. Riding.
 McNEILL, ALEXANDER—Bruce, N. Riding.
 MADORE, J. ALEXANDER CAMILLE—Hochelaga.
 MALOUIN, ALBERT—Quebec Centre.
 MARCIL, JOSEPH EDMOND—Bagot.
 MARCOTTE, FRANÇOIS ARTHUR—Champlain.
 MARTIN, ALEXANDER—Queen's, East (P.E.I.)
 MARTINEAU, PIERRE RAYMOND L.—Montmagny.
 MAXWELL, GEORGE RITCHIE—Burrard.
 MEIGS, DANIEL BISHOP—Mississquoi.
 MIGNAULT, ROCHE MOÏSE SAMUEL—Yamaska.
 MILLS, JOHN B.—Annapolis.
 MONET, DOMINIQUE—Laprairie and Napierville.
 MONK, FREDERICK D.—Jacques Cartier.
 MONTAGUE, HON. WALTER H.—Haldimand.
 MOORE, ALVIN HEAD—Stanstead.
 MORIN, JEAN BAPTISTE—Dorchester.
 MORRISON, AULAY—New Westminster.
 MULOCK, HON. WILLIAM—York (O.) N. Riding.
- OLIVER, FRANK—Alberta.
 OSLER, EDMUND BOYD—Toronto, West.
- PARMALEE, CHARLES HENRY—Shefford.
 PATERSON, HON. WILLIAM—Grey, N. Riding.
 PENNY, EDWARD GOFF—Montreal, St. Lawrence.
 PETTET, WILLIAM VARNEY—Prince Edward.
 POPE, RUFUS HENRY—Compton.
 POUPORE, WILLIAM JOSEPH—Pontiac.
 POWELL, HENRY A.—Westmoreland.
 PRÉFONTAINE, RAYMOND—Maisonneuve.
 PRIOR, HON. EDWARD G.—Victoria (B.C.)
 PROULX, ISIDORE—Prescott.
 PUTTEE, A. W.—Winnipeg.
- QUINN, MICHAEL JOSEPH FRANCIS—Montreal, St.
 Ann's.
- RATZ, VALENTINE—Middlesex, N. Riding.
 REID, JOHN DOWSLEY—Grenville, S. Riding.
 RICHARDSON, ROBERT LORNE—Lisgar.
 ROBERTSON, JOHN ROSS—Toronto, East.
 ROBINSON, JAMES—Northumberland (N.B.)
 ROCHE, WILLIAM JAMES—Marquette.
 RODDICK, THOMAS G.—Montreal, St. Antoine.
 ROGERS, DAVID DICKSON—Frontenac.

ROSAMOND, BENNETT—Lanark, N. Riding.
 ROSS, JEAN AUGUSTE—Rimouski.
 RUSSELL, BENJAMIN—Halifax.
 RUTHERFORD, JOHN GUNION—Macdonald.

 SAVARD, PAUL VILMOND—Chicoutimi and Saguenay.
 SCRIVER, JULIUS—Huntingdon.
 SEAGRAM, JOSEPH E.—Waterloo, N. Riding.
 SEMPLE, ANDREW—Wellington, C. Riding.
 SIFTON, HON. CLIFFORD—Brandon.
 SNETSINGER, JOHN GOODALL—Cornwall & Stormont.
 SOMERVILLE, JAMES—Wentworth & Brant, North Riding.
 SPROULE, THOMAS S.—Grey, E. Riding.
 STENSON, MICHAEL THOMAS—Richmond and Wolfe.
 STUBBS, WILLIAM—Cardwell.

SUTHERLAND, HON. JAMES—Oxford, N. Riding.
 TALBOT, ONÉSIPHORE ERNEST—Bellechasse.
 TARTE, HON. JOSEPH ISRAEL—St. John and Iberville.
 TAYLOR, GEORGE—Leeds, S. Riding.
 TISDALE, HON. DAVID—Norfolk, S. Riding.
 TOLMIE, JOHN—Bruce, W. Riding.
 TUCKER, JOSEPH JOHN—St. John (N.B.) City & Co.
 TUPPER, HON. SIR CHARLES, BART—Cape Breton.
 TUPPER, HON. SIR CHARLES HIBBERT, K.C.M.G.—Pictou.
 TURCOT, GEORGE—Megantic.
 *TYRWHITT, RICHARD—Simcoe, S. Riding.
 WALLACE, HON. N. CLARKE—York (O.) W. Riding.
 WILSON, URIAH—Lennox.
 WOOD, ANDREW TREW—Hamilton.

* Died June 25, 1900.

SELECT COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO SUPERVISE THE PUBLICATION OF THE
OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE DEBATES OF THE HOUSE.

BERGERON, Mr. Joseph G. H. (*Beauharnois*).
 CHAMPAGNE, Mr. L. N. (*Wright*).
 CHARLTON, Mr. John (*N. Norfolk*).
 CRAIG, Mr. T. D. (*E. Durham*).
 DAVIS, Mr. N. F. (*W. Assiniboia*).
 EARLE, Mr. Thos. (*Victoria, B.C.*)
 ELLIS, Mr. John V. (*St. John City, N.B.*)
 FORTIN, Mr. T. (*Laval*).

LARIVIÈRE, Mr. A. A. C. (*Provencher*).
 McCLURE, Mr. F. (*Colchester*).
 MONET, Mr. D. (*Laprairie and Napierville*).
 RICHARDSON, Mr. R. L. (*Lisgar*).
 SCRIVER, Mr. Julius (*Huntingdon*).
 SOMERVILLE, Mr. James (*N. Wentworth*).
 TAYLOR, Mr. Geo. (*S. Leeds*).

Chairman:—Mr. L. N. CHAMPAGNE (*Wright*).

House of Commons Debates.

FIFTH SESSION—EIGHTH PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, February 1, 1900.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued from time to time, was now commanded to assemble on the 1st day of February, 1900, for the despatch of business.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

A Message was delivered by René Edouard Kimber, Esquire, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod :

Mr. SPEAKER,—

His Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of your honourable House in the Chamber of the honourable the Senate.

Accordingly the House went into the Senate Chamber.

And the House being returned,

VACANCIES.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have the honour to inform the House that during recess I received communications from several members notifying me that the following vacancies had occurred in the representation, viz. :

Of the Honourable William Bullock Ives, Member for the Electoral District of Sherbrooke, by decease ;

Of the Honourable C. A. Geoffrion, Member for the Electoral District of Chambly and Verchères, by decease ;

Of the Honourable Sir James D. Edgar, Member for the Electoral District of West Ontario, by decease ;

Of Isaac Rinfret, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Lotbinière, by the acceptance of an office of emolument under the Crown ;

Of Henri Bourassa, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Labelle, by resignation ;

Of Cléophas Beauvolet, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Berthier, by the acceptance of an office of emolument under the Crown.

I accordingly issued my several warrants to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery to make

out new writs of election for the said electoral districts respectively.

NEW MEMBERS.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have also the honour to inform the House that during the recess the Clerk of the House has received from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, certificates of the election and return of the following members, viz. :

Of Henri Bourassa, Esquire, for the Electoral District of Labelle ;

Of Victor Geoffrion, Esquire, for the Electoral District of Chambly and Verchères ;

Of Isaac James Gould, Esquire, for the Electoral District of the West Riding of the County of Ontario ;

Of Joseph Edouard Archambault, Esquire, for the Electoral District of Berthier.

MEMBERS INTRODUCED.

Joseph Edouard Archambault, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Berthier, by the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), and the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte).

Isaac James Gould, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of the West Riding of Ontario, by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), and the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock).

Henri Bourassa, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Labelle, by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), and Mr. Monet.

Victor Geoffrion, Esquire, Member for the Electoral District of Chambly and Verchères, introduced by the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) and the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte).

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 1) respecting the administration of Oaths of Office.—(Sir Wilfrid Laurier.)

SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have the honour to inform this House that when the House did attend His Excellency the Governor General this day, in the Senate Chamber, His Excellency was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament, and, to prevent mistakes, I have obtained a copy of the speech, which is as follows :—

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate :

Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

It is again my pleasing duty to congratulate you on the continued prosperity of the Dominion and on the remarkable increase in the general volume of the revenue and of the exports and imports of the country.

Hostilities having unfortunately broken out during recess between Great Britain and the South African Republic, it appeared to my Ministers expedient to anticipate the action of Parliament by equipping and forwarding two contingents of volunteers to the seat of war as a practical evidence of the profound devotion and loyalty of the entire people of Canada to the Sovereign and institutions of the British Empire.

In this connection it is a matter of pride and gratification to the people of this Dominion that, in addition to the contingents sent by the government, another Canadian force is being organized and despatched at the personal expense of the High Commissioner of Canada. This generous and patriotic action upon the part of Lord Strathcona reflects high honour on him and on the Dominion he represents.

I have been instructed to convey to you Her Majesty's high appreciation of the loyalty and patriotism thus displayed, which, following the preference granted under the present tariff to articles of British manufacture, has had the happiest effect in cementing and intensifying the cordial relations subsisting between Canada and the mother country.

A Bill will be submitted for your approval making provision for the cost of equipping and paying the Canadian contingents.

The measures which have been taken from time to time to facilitate the safe transportation of food stuffs to European markets have resulted in a large increase in the exportation of several important articles of produce, and it may become necessary in the interest of this very important branch of industry to require a more careful inspection than has been customary for the purpose of maintaining that high standard of excellence heretofore secured and which is absolutely indispensable if the people of Canada are to increase their large and profitable trade with other countries in these commodities.

I am glad to observe that the returns from the Post Office Department afford good ground for believing that the temporary loss of revenue caused by the great reduction recently made in letter postage, will speedily be made good by the increased correspondence consequent thereon.

Negotiations are now in progress with several of our sister colonies in the West Indies which it is hoped may result in increasing and developing our trade with those islands, and possibly

Mr. SPEAKER.

with certain portions of the adjacent continent of South America.

It gives me great pleasure to observe that, in pursuance of the policy which was defined at the last session of parliament, a carefully devised body of regulations has been adopted, applicable to all railways and public works within the federal jurisdiction, making adequate provision for the sanitary protection and medical care of workmen.

The attention of the government has been called to the conflicts which occasionally arise between workmen and their employers. While it may not be possible to wholly prevent such difficulties by legislation, my government think that many of the disputes might be averted if better provisions could be made for the friendly intervention of boards of conciliation, the conclusions of which, while not legally binding, would have much weight with both sides and be useful in bringing an intelligent public opinion to bear on these complicated subjects. You will be invited to consider whether the provincial legislation in this matter may not be usefully supplemented by an enactment providing for the establishment of a Dominion tribunal for assisting in the settlement of such questions.

I am happy to observe that the number of settlers who have taken up lands in Manitoba and in the North-west Territories is larger than in any previous year, and affords conclusive evidence of the success which has attended the efforts of my government to promote immigration, and I have no doubt that the greatly increased production of the West will henceforth add materially to the growth of the trade of the whole Dominion. While the efforts made to secure increased population for the West have thus been successful, much attention has also been devoted to the repatriation of Canadians who in less prosperous times have left Canada. You will be pleased to learn that this work has been attended with satisfactory results.

My government, during the recess, has been giving its attention to the subject of a railway commission. Valuable information has been and is still being collected, which when completed will be submitted to you, and will, no doubt, receive at your hands the earnest consideration which the importance of the subject requires.

I am pleased to say that our canal system, connecting the great lakes with the Atlantic seaboard, has been completed so as to allow vessels having a draft of 14 feet to pass from the head of Lake Superior to the sea. The vigorous and successful prosecution of these works by my government has already attracted the attention of those interested in western transportation, and there are good grounds for the hope that, when the necessary facilities for the quick and inexpensive handling of ocean traffic are provided

and which are now in progress, Canadian ports will control a much larger share of the traffic of the West.

Measures will be introduced to renew and amend the existing banking laws, to regulate the rate of interest payable upon judgments recovered in courts of law, to provide for the taking of the next decennial census, for the better arrangement of the electoral districts, to amend the Criminal Code and the laws relating to other important subjects.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

The public accounts will be laid before you, and also the estimates for the coming year, which have been prepared with due regard to economy and the rapid growth of the Dominion.

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate :

Gentlemen of the House of Commons :

I commend to your consideration the subjects I have mentioned, confiding in your patriotism and judgment.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That the speech of His Excellency the Governor General, to both Houses of Parliament, be taken into consideration on to-morrow.

Mr. BOURASSA. Mr. Speaker, as the discussion on the speech from the Throne is to begin to-morrow, and, of course, as that discussion is going to involve many considerations, I would like to ask, although, perhaps, this course is rather unusual, if it is the intention of the Government to lay on the Table of the House the whole of the correspondence that has been exchanged, since last session, between the British government and the government of Canada, or His Excellency the Governor General, in relation to the participation of Canada in the Transvaal war.

The PRIME MINISTER. Mr. Speaker, my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) is aware that it is not in accordance with the practice of the House to lay on the Table any documents before the address has been voted upon. But, on this occasion, it seems to me, that the request of my hon. friend is a reasonable one, and that it would be conducive to the better discussion of the speech of His Excellency the Governor General if the correspondence were laid on the Table of the House. But, if we do this I must ask the House to allow a change to be made in the motion and to substitute Monday for to-morrow, because it would not be possible to have the correspondence in shape for to-morrow afternoon. If agreeable to my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper), I will undertake to have the papers laid on the Table of the House on Monday, and, probably, on Satur-

day morning, or to-morrow evening, I will be happy to transmit a private copy of the same to my hon. friend for his own information.

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That Select Standing Committees of this House for the present session be appointed for the following purposes:—1. On Privileges and Elections.—2. On Expiring Laws.—3. On Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines.—4. On Miscellaneous Private Bills.—5. On Standing Orders.—6. On Printing.—7. On Public Accounts.—8. On Banking and Commerce.—9. On Agriculture and Colonization,—which said committees shall severally be empowered to examine and inquire into all such matters and things as may be referred to them by the House; and to report from time to time their observations and opinions thereon; with power to send for persons, papers and records.

Motion agreed to.

REPORT.

Report of the Joint Librarians of Parliament.—(Mr. Speaker.)

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 3.55 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, February 5, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

OFFICIAL DEBATES OF THE HOUSE.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That a select committee be appointed to supervise the official report of the debates of this House during the present session, with power to report from time to time, to be composed of Messrs. Fortin, Bergeron, Champagne, Charlton, Craig, Davin, Earle, Ellis, Haley, LaRivière, Monet, Richardson, Sriver, Somerville and Taylor.

He said: This is the same committee as last year, with the exception of Mr. Fortin, who takes the place of Mr. Beausoleil.

Motion agreed to.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That the Order for the consideration of the motion for an address to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his speech at the opening of the session, have precedence over all other business except the introduction of Bills, until this motion is disposed of.

Motion agreed to.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). By command of His Excellency, I beg to lay on the Table certain papers in connection with the sending of the contingents. These are the papers which were mentioned the other day on the opening of the session. I had the honour on Saturday last of sending my hon. friend the leader of the opposition all the papers I had at the time. I have given orders to have them printed and expected to have the printed copies distributed to-day to the members of the House. The papers I lay on the Table of the House are only part of the papers. I did not take the precaution of having them completed, because I expected to be able to lay on the Table the printed copies, which I expect to be distributed in a few minutes. Apart from that I have other correspondence on the same subject which I shall lay on the Table later in the day.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have the honour to inform the House that the Clerk of the House has received from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery the certificate of the election and return of Edmond Fortier, Esquire, for the electoral district of Lotbinière.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 2) to further amend the Fertilizers Act (Mr. Domville).

THE DOMINION ELECTION ACT.

Mr. INGRAM moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 3) to further amend the Dominion Election Act.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Explain.

Mr. INGRAM. I explained very fully a similar Bill which I introduced last session, amending, as I thought, several of the grievances that honest electors have to complain of. I may say that in this present Bill

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

there are something over thirty sections or subsections dealing with the election law, and in it I am trying to do away with some of the imperfections that have been developed in the operation of this law, with the view of conducting honestly elections in this country. I presume that we are all anxious to amend the present Dominion election law. Hon. gentlemen on the government side are, of course, aware that whatever tactics their friends may resort to in their favour, can also be adopted by friends of the hon. gentlemen on this side of the House; but I assume that we are all anxious to perfect the Dominion Election Act, so as to secure honest elections.

Now, in this Bill I provide, in the first place, that only resident returning officers and poll clerks shall be employed in each locality, and no others. Instead of allowing the returning officer to say to any candidate or his agent that he declines to furnish them with the names of the deputy returning officers or their poll clerks, I propose to make a provision by which the returning officer shall, within a certain time previous to the election, expose in his office for public inspection the names of all the returning officers with the poll clerks, and the polling booths at which they are to act, so that the public may have an opportunity of knowing those things if they see fit. Instead of leaving it discretionary with the deputy returning officers to furnish a statement of the state of the polls in which they act, I propose an amendment to make it compulsory on their part to furnish that statement to the candidates or their agents at that poll.

Now, with respect to the \$200 deposit, I may remark that it is a liberal principle which was advocated in this House by the Hon. Edward Blake when in opposition, that a \$200 deposit ought not to be required. In the Provincial Act of Ontario no such deposit is required, and I cannot see any reason why it should be required in the case of Dominion elections. I also find from the manner in which elections have been conducted in Ontario—I will not here speak of the other provinces, because I am not so well acquainted with their mode of conducting elections—that under the new system of conducting elections in our province, something more stringent is required to prevent the crookedness that has been practised. So I propose in one or two sections, which are explanatory or directory to the deputy returning officer, to adopt a new method of opening the polls, by which the candidates or their agents are entitled to inspect the ballot papers, the ballot boxes, and all documents that are to be used at the election. I will tell you one of the reasons why I propose that amendment. In the election in East Middlesex the other day, they ran short of ballot papers at one of the polling booths, and I propose to prevent the possibility of that thing occurring

again. If the number of voters at that polling booth is known, and a sufficient number of ballot papers are provided for it, then there is no possibility of the ballot papers running short at that booth. At the close of the day's polling, at five o'clock, under section 53 of the present Dominion Election Act, certain things are required of the deputy returning officer and those who attend at that booth. As I have already remarked, according to the way we conduct elections, that section has proved inadequate, and under the new mode I propose to make it practically impossible that any crookedness can be carried on, except at very great risk.

Now, with respect to the recount, we had some difficulty in 1896 in one or two constituencies where Dominion elections were held, owing to the deputy returning officers not doing their duty under the law. I propose an amendment in that respect so that it will not be necessary to deposit \$100 before you can have a recount. I propose to strike that provision out. I cannot see why a candidate who believes that he has been defeated dishonestly and that votes have been counted against him, which ought not to be counted, should be forced to deposit \$100 in order to get justice—and from whom? From a judge who is already paid a very good salary for performing his duty; and the candidate has to pay a returning officer or poll clerk to attend, who may, perhaps, have been doing something which prevented him from winning in the election. So I say there is no necessity why he should be called upon to deposit \$100.

There are several other amendments to the Act. I propose to retain some of the sections and subsections in the present Act, while others I propose to replace by entirely new ones. As to the crimes of personation, plugging, switching, stealing ballots and ballot boxes, stuffing, bribing, intimidating and other such tactics, which are now pretty well known to those who take part in elections, my object is to prevent them occurring in the future so far as possible. I would like to draw the attention of the First Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to this fact, that in preparing amendments to any Act now on the statute-book it is a very difficult matter even for lawyers, I fancy, and much more so for laymen, to avoid coming into conflict with the various other Acts that are now on our statutes, and for this reason, that since 1886 there has been no consolidation of the Dominion statutes, and I think it is in the interests of the public that such a consolidation should take place, and such consolidation should take place in the near future. I wish to say to the right hon. gentleman that the present law is in a very bad state, that it does not meet the requirements of the people of this country; and I would ask him and all other hon. gentlemen to assist in perfecting that law, so that we may have

on the statute-book an Act that will give satisfaction to the public generally.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

REPORT.

Public Accounts for the year ending June 30, 1899.—(Mr. Fielding.)

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH.

The House proceeded to the consideration of His Excellency's speech at the opening of the session.

Mr. GOULD. Mr. Speaker, I rise for the purpose of moving that a humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his speech from the Throne. I am deeply sensible of the great honour that is conferred upon me and upon my constituents in having been selected to perform this important duty. I feel that, perhaps, it would have been better had this important task been placed in other and better hands—in the hands of one who had more experience in federal politics. However, I feel assured that I shall receive from the members of this House that same kind consideration and indulgence that they have ever shown to new members who have found themselves placed in the position I find myself placed in to-day. Permit me to refer briefly, before I proceed further, to the sad event that caused the vacancy in the riding of West Ontario, the riding that I have now the honour to represent. For fifteen years the late Sir James Edgar was the esteemed representative of that riding. His services to his country and to his party can scarcely be overestimated. He was a true, noble Canadian in the very best sense of the term, and was ever ready, both by voice and pen, to uphold and advance the interests of his country. He was an able statesman and a strong loyalist. The people of West Ontario rejoiced over his elevation to the position he occupied in this House as the First Commoner of the land, a position that he filled with so much credit to himself and to the Parliament of Canada, and I believe, in such a way as to meet with the entire approval of both sides of this House. His passing away was a distinct loss to the nation. The people of West Ontario felt keenly his death, and they sympathize sincerely with Lady Edgar and her family in their great bereavement.

I propose, for a few moments, to refer to the position of our country as we find it now from the commercial point of view. Comparing the present position with that of a few years ago, a complete transformation has taken place. A new Canada has arisen; we seem to be living in a new age; business conditions, political condi-

tions, national conditions have all changed and materially for the better. Never in the history of Canada were the people so prosperous and contented. Never have they had such unbounded confidence in the future. Never did Canada stand so high in the estimation of the nations as she does to-day; industrial life and prosperity are evident on every hand and progress and development are to be seen on all sides. The farmers are thriving, farm mortgages are being rapidly paid off, the manufacturers are over-run with orders, the mechanics are being fully employed, and are receiving greatly increased wages, our lumbering industries are advancing by leaps and bounds and our mining interests are attracting the attention of the whole world. Our banking institutions, too, find safe and profitable investments for all their funds and our great railway corporations are receiving largely increased returns. The present Premier (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) when in opposition, once said, in reply to a long quotation of figures from the then Finance Minister (Mr. Foster), that when his party came into power it would not be necessary to quote figures to prove to the people that they were prosperous. The people would feel the jingle of prosperity in their pockets. I think that prediction has been abundantly verified; I think that the people are feeling the jingle of prosperity to-day as they never felt it before. Our foreign trade has wonderfully increased. Permit me to give a few figures in connection therewith. Our foreign trade has increased in the three years since 1896 by no less than \$82,000,000, but to enable one fully to grasp the greatness of this increase, a comparison is necessary. I find from the trade and navigation returns that the increase is greater by some \$16,000,000 than the increase for the eighteen years from 1878 to 1896. But, great as has been the increase in the last three fiscal years the trade of the present fiscal year bids fair to surpass it by many millions. Our total foreign trade for the six months ending December was \$208,000,000, which is within \$1,000,000 of the total foreign trade for the full fiscal year of 1899, and within \$25,000,000 of the total foreign trade for the full fiscal year of 1896. Our exports too, have largely increased; our exports are greater by \$20,000,000 for the six months of the present fiscal year than for the full year of 1899, and within \$12,000,000 of those for the full fiscal year of 1896. If the present rate of progress in our trade continues to the end of this fiscal year we shall touch the \$375,000,000 mark. Our highest foreign trade under the late Administration was \$247,000,000, and if expectations be realized our foreign trade for 1900 will exceed that of the best year under the late government by over \$125,000,000. These figures are eloquent in themselves and must make every true Cana-

Mr. GOULD.

dian proud of his country. This abundant prosperity is, I am sure, very gratifying to all of us, and more especially to the government who have done so much to bring it about. I am aware, Sir, that the opposition do not admit that the government are entitled to the credit for this prosperous state of affairs, but I venture to say that the great thinking public do not take that view. I believe that the great majority of the people of Canada are fully satisfied that the government are entitled to a very large measure of credit for this prosperous state of affairs. At all events, Sir, we cannot close our eyes to this fact, that immediately upon the advent of the present administration to power prosperity at once returned. Confidence was restored and business has progressed amazingly ever since. At the Reform Convention in this city, in 1893, the Liberal party declared in favour of a sound fiscal policy—a policy of tariff reform, a policy that would lighten the burdens of the people without doing any injustice to any class, and would at the same time bring back prosperity to the country, and I am bound to say that that declaration has been carried out by the present administration. The tariff has been reformed; the taxation of the people has been reduced, prosperity has returned, and the farmers especially are receiving great benefit by the changes. But, it is not through the changes in the tariff alone that the government has advanced the interests of the country. Its vigorous policy in respect to transportation is highly commendable and will receive the approbation of the country. The transportation problem is one of the greatest that can engage the attention of the government. It is of prime importance that our products be conveyed to the best markets in the cheapest possible manner and with the utmost despatch. Every dollar saved in the cost of transporting grain and other farm products is so much saved to the agriculturists, and through them, to the people. In this connection the government and the country are to be congratulated upon the completion of the St. Lawrence Canal system. We have now a system of water transport from the head of Lake Superior to the city of Montreal which will accommodate vessels drawing 14 feet of water. The greatness of this accomplishment cannot be realized now, but our own and succeeding generations of Canadians will be vastly benefited by it. And, Sir, though much has been done to develop the interests of transportation, much remains to be done. I think we are safe in saying that the present government is fully alive to the situation and that they will deal with the matter in a sound businesslike way. I am pleased to notice that the Department of Agriculture has pursued a progressive policy in reference to our cold storage and shipping

facilities. Canada has now obtained a strong foothold in the markets of Great Britain, and it behooves the government and all exporters to see that they strengthen their hold on that market. It must be a source of pride to all Canadians to know that Canadian butter, bacon and cheese take such a high place in the estimation of the British consumer. The export of these products in Canada is largely increasing, so that we may well expect to maintain our hold on the British market. Permit me for a moment to give a few figures as to the volume of our trade in these articles. In 1896 we shipped to Great Britain nearly 5,000,000 pounds of butter; in 1899 we shipped to Great Britain 19,000,000 pounds of butter. In 1896 we shipped to Great Britain 164,000,000 pounds of cheese; in 1899 we shipped to Great Britain 189,000,000 pounds of cheese. Our exports of bacon to the old land have increased enormously. In 1896 we exported 47,000,000 pounds of bacon; in 1899 we exported 111,000,000 pounds of bacon. I am pleased also to notice that the government contemplate a more efficient system of inspection in reference to our food products which are shipped to Great Britain. If we are to maintain the position we now hold in the British market it is of the very greatest importance that we not only send over commodities of the best quality, but that we shall also only send these commodities in the best possible condition. A proper system of inspection will tend towards that end, and the British consumer in buying a Canadian product will realize that he is buying of the very best.

I now propose, Mr. Speaker, to refer for a moment to a matter that is at present occupying the minds, not only of Canadians, but of the people of all the civilized world. I allude to the war in South Africa, and I specially wish to speak of the part that our Canadian volunteers are taking in it. The British Empire is now undergoing a severe strain. The events of the last few weeks are such as to try all our souls. However, Sir, disaster has not daunted the courage of the British people; it has only stimulated them to greater efforts. Reverses to our arms have served only to make the nation stronger, strong in the sense of the justice of her cause, strong in the belief that right will ultimately prevail. Although judging from present appearances, it may be long before the end of the war is reached, yet there can be but one ending, and that end is the ultimate triumph of the British arms; the establishment of law and order, of liberty and good government, with equal justice and equal rights to all in South Africa under the British flag. Sir, we all regret this war; we regret the causes which brought it about. We regret exceedingly the loss of life which it has entailed, but there is another side to the shield. The war has welded the empire to-

gether. It has given to the world the spectacle of the colonies standing behind the mother country to support her. It has presented the firm and united front of the British Empire to the enemy, and when the war is over, the world will behold a united South Africa and a united British Empire.

The part Canada has taken in this war is, I submit, to their infinite credit. When hostilities commenced, our government found themselves confronted with a very grave and serious question and one entirely new in our constitutional history. The question arose: Whether or not the people of Canada should take a part in the wars of Great Britain. Reference has been made to the action of the government sending these contingents without first having called parliament together. Sir, the principle that parliament should control the expenditures of all public moneys is a sound one, and one which the Liberal party has always adhered to. It is a principle which is the very corner stone of responsible government. But there are times in the history of countries, as there are times in the lives of individuals, when it becomes necessary to move quickly; times when the letter of the law may be violated yet the spirit of it be maintained. I believe the government did right in taking the course they did, and I am confident that their action will be sustained by the country.

Great praise is due to the government, and especially to the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden, King's, N.S.) for the efficiency and despatch shown in fitting out and transporting our brave volunteers. The contingents that have been sent to the front are a credit to Canada, and it is with pride we all observe that they have already distinguished themselves by bravery in action. That they will continue to render a good account of themselves, I have not the slightest doubt. Canada's action has been gratefully welcomed by the Imperial government. The daughter has stood up nobly for the mother and proved her loyalty, by more than the word of mouth. Some persons appear to be alarmed lest Canada should not pay enough of the expenses of this movement, but I have no doubt that when all the facts of the case become known the public will be satisfied—as the Imperial government are satisfied—that Canada is acting very liberally in the matter. What is it that Canada is doing? The government have undertaken to raise, arm, equip and provision these contingents and supply them with transportation, paying all expenses of every character until the landing of the troops in South Africa. Up to this point the troops will also receive their pay from the Canadian treasury at established Canadian rates. During the period of actual service in Africa the troops will be paid by the British government at the Imperial rate. This is the desire of the British government and the adoption of any different policy, as

respects payment in the field, would be opposed to their wishes. But Canada is doing something more. The Imperial rates of pay are less than those of the Canadian service. Our government is providing the difference between the Imperial pay and the Canadian pay. The amount so provided is not to be paid to the men in the field, for the reason already given, but it will be used for the benefit of their families at home, or placed to their credit, to be paid to them on their return.

Just a word more, Mr. Speaker. I wish to express my satisfaction and the satisfaction of the great majority of my constituents, as shown by my election by acclamation, with the general course pursued by this government. I believe it to have been in the best interests of the people. Mistakes there may have been, but on the whole the policy has been dictated by prudence, wisdom, and good business judgment. The reforms inaugurated have been striking and beneficial. The reform of the tariff; the reduction in the postal rates brought about by economical and efficient administration of the department; the extension of the Intercolonial Railway to Montreal; the development of the Kootenay country by the construction of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway; the abolition of the Franchise Act; the sturdy patriotism maintained by our leaders in negotiations with foreign governments, and their steadfast loyalty to our motherland, have all tended for good. The expressed aim of our leader is inspiring. Surely no greater ambition could be held by any Canadian statesman than to make the Canadian family a united family under the same flag, and I am satisfied that for many years to come the destinies of the country will be in his hands.

I thank the members of the House for their kind indulgence, and I conclude, Mr. Speaker, by moving that an humble address be presented to His Excellency in reply to the speech from the Throne.

Mr. VICTOR GEOFFRION. (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I have the honour to second the proposition of the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Gould) that an address be voted by this House in reply to the speech from the Throne.

It would seem, Mr. Speaker, that I ought to have contented myself strictly with declaring that I support the proposition of the hon. gentleman, thus leaving the House under the agreeable impression created by the judicious and eloquent remarks just fallen from the lips of the hon. gentleman. However, let the House allow me to add a few personal remarks on certain portions of the speech from the Throne, to which I desire in a particular manner to draw the attention of this House.

First, as to the prosperity of the country, referred to in the speech from the Throne,

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a point which has been so eloquently dwelt upon by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. I may say that such prosperity is patent and undeniable, and I am not aware of the fact being called in question by any hon. gentleman on the other side of the House. Prosperity, as a matter of fact, prevails from one end of the country to the other, an unprecedented fact in the annals of Canada.

Never were the farming community so prosperous; never were their products disposed of under more favourable conditions and at more satisfactory prices. The farmers have money to loan; and the price of farming lands has increased in proportion to the profits yielded by those lands.

Ask the farming community what they think of the present regime and they will answer your query by pointing at their improved farms, no longer burdened with debts, while cheese and butter factories are springing up in almost every parish and running the year through. They will give you the same answer as that just given by those numerous rural constituencies who, having been appealed to within the few last months, did give their support to and endorsed the government policy. Every branch of industry is also in a flourishing state. The manufacturers who, at the time of the general elections of 1896, had felt some anxiety when listening to the alarming prophecies of the Conservative speakers and newspapers, now acknowledge that they were fully justified in trusting in the declarations of the leaders of the party who now ruin the country. Every branch of trade from the bottom to the top of the ladder is doing a rushing business as shown by the reports of the various commercial agencies. Failures have decreased by one-fourth within the last three years and forced sales are now the exception, things having reached such a pass that in some districts sheriffs are forced to give up their offices and to carve out for themselves new positions.

The improvement of our canals and of our navigable streams has given a new impetus to our merchant shipping. I have the honour of representing here a rural constituency in the district of Montreal, and one in the immediate neighbourhood of the great commercial metropolis where I live. I had the opportunity, as well as several other hon. gentlemen sitting in this House, to watch the enormous development, from a commercial standpoint, of that great district and more particularly, that of the city of Montreal.

To ascribe to chance alone the enormous impetus given to our trade and industries, since the coming into power of the Liberal party, would offer no reasonable explanation of that phenomenon. Four or five years ago, business in the city of Montreal was in a state of depression; the failures

were increasing in an alarming proportion; the coasting trade and navigation proper were dwindling away; the stoppage of our manufactures was the order of the day; but no sooner had the Liberal government inaugurated their policy, than our trade increased in a wonderful way; prosperity went forward by leaps and bounds; failures decreased by one-fourth, business improved in all directions, and the government had to set to work to improve the channel of the St. Lawrence and extend our harbour in order to accommodate the ever-increasing number of ships coming into it from all parts of the world.

We are bound to build grain elevators and warehouses which will cost millions of dollars, if we wish to keep pace with the increase of trade. Now, Mr. Speaker, in corroboration of the facts I have just pointed out, let me call the attention of the House to the report of the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal, just published by the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Star*. That report is signed by Mr. Smith, in his quality as president of that body, a gentleman who, so far as I know was never a supporter of the Liberal party. Therefore, it is obvious that the government policy has brought back peace and prosperity throughout the country. But, say certain opponents of the government, that prosperity, which is self-evident, is not the outcome of the policy of the Liberal party. but, on the contrary, it is the result of the Conservative policy! I am quite ready to admit, Mr. Speaker, that the bountiful harvest with which the country was blessed last year, was not the result of the policy of the Liberal party. But, it is not enough to have a bountiful harvest; outlets have, moreover, to be provided, to dispose of the products of the soil, and to enable us to obtain paying returns for them.

The Conservative party, I presume, do not pretend to claim as a result of their policy, the tariff reform; the extension of the Intercolonial Railway; the important improvements made in the harbour of Montreal and in our canals and our navigable streams; the arrangements entered into with Great Britain for the transportation of our products, and, from the standpoint of our trade relations with the mother country, the abrogation of the Belgian and German treaties; the postal reforms, the adoption of the penny-postage; the cold storage system, established by the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) for the transportation of the dairy products and of perishable products; the abrogation of the Franchise Bill, with its costly machinery, to the general satisfaction of the public; the peace restored to the country since the settlement of the Manitoba school question. All those measures which have brought about the result referred to, have been bitterly opposed by the hon. gentlemen opposite. Therefore, I think the general policy of the govern-

ment has restored peace and brought back prosperity into the country, and the people will give them credit for it.

Now, Sir, I am delighted to see that the government have given evidence of the great interest they bear the working classes, by adopting a body of regulations to the effect of compelling the railway companies and the undertakers of important public works, necessitating the agglomeration of working men, to put into effect more practical hygienic rules and to afford workmen a larger measure of protection, which will result in decreased diseases and accidents. If there is a class of our population which is entitled to the protection of the state, it is, beyond question, the workmen and the labourers, inasmuch as they are less in position than other classes, owing no doubt to their lack of education, to protect themselves from the ill-will or the greediness of their employers.

It is contemplated to create a tribunal of conciliation for the settlement of conflicts arising between workmen and their employers, which would result in putting a stop to strikes, or, at least, in averting in a large measure those difficulties which always prove disastrous to both interested parties, and which bear almost invariably more heavily upon the workmen than upon their employers.

The influx of immigrants into Canada has considerably increased, and our vacant lands are being taken up in all the different parts of Canada, and what is still more satisfactory, many of our fellow-countrymen are being repatriated. Those who have closely watched the evils caused by the exodus of our farmers towards the United States, observe with pleasure that this exodus is being stopped, and the deserted farms are once more being occupied by their former owners.

I see with pleasure that the government contemplate renewing and amending the banking laws. The recent disasters which have occurred in connection with some banks shows the necessity of promptly remedying the defects of the law; otherwise, the confidence reposed in our monetary institutions will grow weaker from day to day.

It is of the utmost importance that the deepening of our canals should be proceeded with without any delay; a large portion of those works has already been carried out, but there still remains something to be done, and when they are completed, we will be able to transport by the St. Lawrence route hundreds of millions of tons of grain, which, up to the present, have taken the other route to reach the ocean.

The most important event of the year, and the one, among those referred to in the speech from the Throne, which has chiefly engaged the attention and inflamed the public mind throughout the empire, is

without question, the war which Great Britain has to carry out in South Africa against the Transvaal Republic. All Canadians, irrespective of party ties, have stood up nobly for the mother country in this crisis in her history, and have, in no uncertain tones, expressed their intention that Canada should send a certain number of volunteers to fight side by side with the soldiers of the Queen. Before that great outburst of popular feeling and sympathy, the government thought it their duty to fit out and despatch a contingent, without first consulting parliament. I believe the government did right in taking that course, and that their action is endorsed by the almost entire population of our country.

We have, in Canada, government by the people and for the people, and there could not possibly exist any doubt as to the endorsement of the government policy by the representatives of the people on that question. We are a British colony, and we owe Great Britain a debt of gratitude on account of the large sum of liberty we are enjoying under her flag.

The government, in fitting out and sending the contingents to South Africa, have complied with the conditions laid down by Great Britain herself. There was no interference with our constitution, and under the circumstances, as I said, the government did right and as they were bound to do.

Some newspapers seem to think that the people in the province of Quebec are somewhat in lack of loyalty. No more ungrounded, no more unjustifiable charge could be levelled at our people. The French Canadians never lacked loyalty to the British Crown, and if ever, in the past, acts of disloyalty, in the true acceptance of the word, were perpetrated, the perpetrators of those acts are to be found elsewhere than in the ranks of the French Canadians. We, French Canadians, never wished to change our allegiance, realizing as we do, that under the protection of Great Britain, we enjoy as large a sum of liberty as is to be found in any country of the world.

We, French Canadians, also wish to see the British flag majestically waving over all the seas; we also wish to see the British troops victorious, and at each reverse of the British arms during this hard-fought war, our warmest sympathies went forth to that venerable and glorious Queen who, for over sixty years, has presided over the destinies of the British Empire.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker—for this House, it seems to me, is anxious that I should draw these remarks to a conclusion—but I may assure the hon. gentlemen that I am not less anxious than they are to resume my seat; let me tell them that it is always a new pleasure for hon. members, on both sides of the House, to see the hon. leader of the opposition, resume his seat at the opening of each succeeding session,

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more hale, more hearty and more vigorous than ever. One would be inclined to think that for the hon. gentleman, the role of leader of the opposition is a pledge of longevity and good health. And I think I am but voicing the feeling of the hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House in expressing the wish that long may he continue to occupy the post he now fills so well.

As to the right hon. leader of the House and his colleagues, may they long continue to administer public affairs with the same wisdom as in the past, and the people will give them credit for it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, it now becomes my very agreeable duty to congratulate the hon. gentlemen who have moved and seconded the address in answer to the speech. I may say that these gentlemen both succeeded very eminent members of this House. The position they are called upon to fill requires, in order that they may compare at all favourably with their predecessors, very great ability and very great knowledge. All of us agree in lamenting the loss, to which the hon. mover referred, of the late Speaker of this House, and all of us concur in the eulogium that was passed by that hon. gentleman upon his distinguished predecessor. I am happy to be able, from the brief acquaintance we have all had the pleasure of making with the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Gould), to congratulate the House, and to congratulate my hon. friend the leader of the government, upon having secured in the successor to the late Speaker a gentleman whose ability has already been made manifest to the House by the very able manner in which he has moved the motion placed in his hands. I may say, also, that the hon. member for Verchères (Mr. Geoffrion) succeeds, as we all know, one of the most distinguished members who has ever occupied a seat on the floor of this House on either side. The late Hon. Mr. Geoffrion brought to this House not only signal professional ability, which placed him in the front rank of professional men and constitutional lawyers, but that high personal character and that wide acquaintance with public affairs and that independent spirit in dealing with them, which made him an ornament to the House, and caused us deeply to regret his loss. Although I have not been able to follow his successor, the present member, bearing the same name, and of the same family, as well as I would have liked to do, yet, so far as I have been able to form a judgment, I think we may all congratulate ourselves that able and distinguished as the late member for Verchères was, he has been succeeded by a gentleman who bids fair to become a very valuable acquisition to the House of Commons.

Now, Sir, I may say that anxious as I understand the Government are to proceed with the public business of the country with all possible promptitude, and overshadowed as every other question that has been placed before us in the speech from the Throne is by the reference to the position the empire now occupies, I do not propose to make any reference to any of the subjects which have just been discussed in the very able speeches of the hon. mover and seconder of the address other than that of the troubles in the Transvaal. The debate on the Budget, which we shall probably reach at an early day, will enable us to deal fully and completely with a large number of the matters that have been referred to by these hon. gentlemen; and the other measures foreshadowed in the speech will be more conveniently dealt with when we have the measures themselves before us. Therefore, I think I shall be consulting the wishes of both sides of the House if I adopt the course at the present time of dealing at not too great length, I hope, with that great transcendent question that occupies the thoughts of all of us to-day, rather than to go into those other questions, which may be dealt with more fully and completely hereafter, and when they are dealt with, I am afraid I shall be obliged to differ in some degree with many of the statements that have been made by the hon. mover and the hon. seconder of the address. I may say that since the first day the parliament of Canada assembled in this Chamber, we have never met in such a position as that in which we now meet. Never have we met on any occasion when the Imperial government stood in any position at all to be compared with that in which it now stands. Some parties, labouring under a very great misconception of the struggle in which the empire is now engaged, altogether underrate it. The position in which the government of the empire finds itself in, carrying out the policy to which it has been compelled to commit itself, is without parallel since this confederation has been established. I may say that from one end of this country to the other, there is no question on which men of all classes, of every section of the community, feel so strongly as on this great transcendent question that occupies our minds to-day, and the minds of all British subjects in every portion of Her Majesty's Empire. As I have said already, I propose to confine myself therefore, on the present occasion, to some reference to the existing condition of things in that regard. I may say that it is with the deepest possible regret that I feel myself compelled to dissent from the statement made in the second paragraph of this address regarding the position that we occupy. I must take exception to that statement that:

We have received practical evidence of the profound devotion and loyalty of the entire peo-

ple of Canada to the sovereign and institutions of the British Empire.

I need not express to members of this House, or to any one in this country who has any knowledge of the opinions I have always entertained upon this momentous question, the extreme regret with which I feel compelled to declare that the term 'entire' would be better replaced by the term 'the overwhelming mass of the people of Canada.' No one can regret more deeply than I the fact that I am obliged to make that qualification; but it is worse than idle to conceal from ourselves the actual position and facts as are known to hon. members on both sides and all the intelligent people of this country; and no terms that we can use in the speech from the Throne, unless they are sustained by the actual, existing facts, can be used with any advantage, either to the House or this country or to the empire.

Now, I may say that I have always treated this question of the Transvaal war and the part that I felt Canada was bound by every possible tie and obligation to take in it, as one above and beyond any party consideration. From the outset I have treated it from that standpoint.

An hon. MEMBER. Oh, oh!

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I hear an expression of dissent from that statement, and therefore the House will perhaps be indulgent if I draw, for a few brief moments, its attention to the grounds upon which I claim that that is the position I took from the first. When this question was first drawn to the attention of this House, what was the attitude that I assumed? The hon. member for North Victoria (Col. Hughes), whom I may venture to name, under the circumstances, brought to the attention of the right hon. First Minister, on the 12th of July last, the fact that Queensland, one of the Australian provinces, had already offered to send a contingent of volunteers to aid Her Majesty's government in South Africa, and indicated to the government that, in his judgment, it was desirable that Canada should take similar action. But the right hon. gentleman, who leads the House with so much ability, met that suggestion by the expression of the hope, in which we all concurred, that, menacing as events were, there would be no war, but that a peaceful solution would be arrived at. What then did I do? I ventured on that occasion to suggest—and it was a suggestion made, I have no hesitation frankly in saying for the purpose of obtaining the united, hearty, spontaneous expression of both parties in this House, and all parties in this country, in relation to the question to which I attach so much importance—on that occasion I ventured to suggest to my right hon. friend that if a peaceable solution were to be ob-

tained, it would be in consequence of the feeling exhibited by both the great parties in the House of Commons of Great Britain on this question, and that nothing would more contribute to secure a peaceful solution than to have the various outlying portions of Her Majesty's possessions show promptly their readiness, as Queensland has done, to sustain by arms the Imperial government, in the position that government had assumed. I do not think that any one will find in that suggestion any intimation of any desire to do anything more than place the First Minister and the government of the day, at the earliest possible moment, in possession of the fact that the opposition in this House were ready to co-operate with them, in every possible way, with regard to such a measure as might be usefully adopted.

Well, Sir, we all know that some time after that a delegate from South Africa visited Ottawa. I will not undertake to say what passed between that gentleman and my right hon. friend, but I may say to the House that he came to me and expressed his great satisfaction at the sympathy I had shown and the intimation I had thrown out as to the desirability of Canada assuming such a position as would strengthen the arms of the British Empire with regard to that great question; and he was good enough to suggest that I should in this House take some action on the line which I had suggested in my remarks. I told him at once, and frankly, that I could not do anything of the kind, that, in my judgment, it was of the most vital importance that no party character should be given for a single moment to this momentous question with which we were confronted, but I told him that he was at liberty to say to the First Minister that any action he would take in that direction would obtain from me the most hearty and enthusiastic support.

I do not think that that indicated any desire on my part to drag down so momentous a question into the miserable arena of party politics. Well, Sir, matters remained in statu quo for some time after that, and on July 28 I received a copy of the *Star*, published in Montreal, containing a cable from London of that date, which I will read:

Regarding the proposed resolution in the Dominion parliament in support of Sir Alfred Milner's proposals for the removal of the grievances of the British subjects in the Transvaal, I learn to-day, on the highest possible authority, that the British ministry would cordially welcome such an expression of Canadian opinion. New South Wales, Queensland, India, Lagos and Natal have each sent expressions of sympathy, and have offered troops in the most improbable event of hostilities. The British feel that their efforts to secure justice to British subjects and bring the Transvaal crisis to a speedy and pacific end would be greatly aided by evidence that the Queen's subjects all the world over, including Britain's premier colony,

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Canada, are of one mind when British rights are jeopardized.

Now, Sir, what did I do when I received this? Did I take the opportunity of drawing the attention of the House to this subject, or of pressing my hon. friend across the floor of the House, as I could have done, in regard to this important cable? I did nothing of the sort. I went to my right hon. friend and showed him the *Star* of that date, and ventured to express my opinion to him that the time had come when it was obviously desirable, and I thought eminently necessary, that Canada should take action. My right hon. friend at once said, after reading over the cable carefully: 'I will move a resolution on Monday'—that was on Friday—and I will ask you to second it.' I said to my right hon. friend that I would not be able to do so, as I had an engagement in Toronto on that date, and he said he would send me a copy of the resolutions, and would ask me to write him a letter which he could read in the House on the subject. Well, Sir, I received a copy of the resolutions, with which the House is already familiar, as they are on our journals, expressing sympathy with Her Majesty's government and approval of the action that was being taken by Her Majesty's government. Now, I draw the attention of the House to the letter which I sent to my right hon. friend as a further evidence of my great anxiety to indicate what, in my opinion, was required of Canada, in order rightly to discharge our duty as the parliament of this country in relation to this great matter. I may say that I did not confine myself to the limits of the resolutions which had been prepared by the leader of the House, and I will read what I wrote:

Ottawa, July 29, 1899.

Dear Sir Wilfrid Laurier,—I regret to say, in reply to your note just received, that it will not be in my power to attend the House to-morrow, or it would have given me much pleasure to second the resolution of which you have sent me a copy in relation to the Transvaal, as I think—

And I draw attention to this:

—we are bound to give all the aid in our power to Her Majesty's government in the present crisis.

I went beyond the question of sympathy, it being a matter upon which I felt very strongly, and I wished to make the leader of the government acquainted with the strong view that I entertained upon the question. Now, Sir, I do not think that any person will say, under these circumstances, that I did anything that was calculated to show that I was desirous of making any party capital in relation to this matter.

I may say that I was obliged, as the House is aware, to leave for England just before the House rose, and I returned to Canada on the 18th of September, going immediately

to Halifax to fulfil an engagement which I had made with the president of the provincial exhibition to deliver an address there. On that occasion, finding that nothing had been done, finding that all these other colonies were in advance of the position we had taken, finding that the state of things which then existed left no reasonable doubt that war must take place, I felt it necessary to make this further declaration. Let me remind the House that on the 8th of September the British Cabinet asked for a war credit of five millions; that on the 16th of September General Buller sailed for South Africa; that on the 18th of September the London newspapers declared that war was inevitable. That was the position of things which I found when I was called upon to address the exhibition at Halifax, and where I had an opportunity of meeting a very large number of people, and on that occasion the present Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) did me the honour of being one of my auditors. Sir, there in the presence of a member of the government, and carrying out the policy I had indicated, I felt it was due from me, as leader of Her Majesty's loyal and constitutional opposition in this House and in Canada, to express my opinion of what I felt the interest and the honour of our country required. I said on that occasion:

I believe that the government of Canada only correctly interpreted the sentiment of the people of Canada when they unanimously passed a resolution expressing their sympathy and hope that their grievance would be overcome. I believe they will be correctly interpreting the sentiments of the people of Canada if they avail themselves of every means for enlisting a regiment of stalwart Canadians to bear arms for Her Majesty's government should it need them.

I felt that I was doing a service to the government in this indirect though proper way, to express not only to the leader of the government my conviction as to the authority that we already possessed under the resolutions unanimously passed by this House, but to say that in my belief, the sentiment of the people of this country would entirely sustain the government in adopting such a measure as would strengthen the hands of the Imperial government in that connection. Now, Sir, as the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) has taken great exception to the spirit by which I was animated and the course which I took, I may quote what, I think, the House will regard as an authority quite as great as that of the Minister of Railways and Canals, I will quote a statement made by the hon. the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), sitting alongside of him at this moment. That gentleman in a very able and eloquent speech, which he delivered at the Board of Trade, on the 16th day of January, said:

He personally had taken the stand, in private conversation, nearly a year ago at Ottawa, when

the idea of parliament adopting a resolution upholding the claims of the Uitlanders for redress of their grievances, that any expression of opinion of this kind by Canada should be backed up by a subsidy or a contingent.

It was not thought then that Kruger would actually go to war, but the unexpected happened, and the crisis was upon us. He was glad Canada was unanimous in backing up her loyalty in a substantial manner.

I ask the attention of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), who has formed an opinion so entirely at variance with these statements which I am now about to read:

It was the opportunity and the privilege of the leader of the opposition to initiate the proposal to offer Canadian troops for service in South Africa. It was a proud, enviable and distinguished opportunity.

I regret to say, that what I intended in the best possible good faith as a suggestion to the Prime Minister, that the time had come when it was absolutely due to the honour and to the interest of this country that the government should take action, was not accepted in the spirit in which it was intended. I went on from Halifax to Yarmouth to deliver an address at the agricultural exhibition in the county of Yarmouth. I learned on the morning of my address, by a communication that had been made by the right hon. Prime Minister to the *Globe* correspondent on the 3rd of October, I learned, to my deep regret—I do not hesitate to say it, in the most unqualified manner, that I learned with the deepest possible regret that the Prime Minister, instead of acting upon what I hoped would be a suggestion that would meet with his hearty concurrence and approval, a suggestion that he knew I would not take the responsibility of making unless I believed it would meet with the concurrence and approval of the great party that I have the honour to lead, that instead of taking the suggestion I had hoped he would, he stated, in an elaborate communication to the *Globe* reporter, which appeared in the *Globe* newspaper the next day, on the 4th of October, that he had carefully examined the law and found that it was impossible for him to do anything, that, in fact, he would do nothing because he could do nothing, that under the law and the constitution of the country he was actually precluded without the direct authority of parliament, from spending a single dollar in regard to this very great and very important measure. Well, Sir, the right hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals may accept my statement or not as they please, when I say that I read that statement with the greatest regret. I felt not only that the right hon. Prime Minister himself—and it was not on that ground I regretted it, I may say—had lost a great opportunity, but I regretted it because the country had

lost a great opportunity and because Canada was placed in the position in which no patriotic Canadian could wish to see her placed. It was with feelings of the greatest regret that I read that statement which came from the right hon. Prime Minister, and I took the only means in my power to endeavour to remedy and improve that condition of things. I may say that in this communication to the *Globe*, in which my right hon. friend stated that he would do nothing, because the constitution of the country precluded his doing anything, he went on to say :

As to Canada furnishing a contingent, the government has not discussed the question, for the reasons which I have stated.

So that, down to that period, it appears, that, although this matter had been agitating the mind of nearly every person in Australasia and in the outlying and most remote portions of the empire, a question which had been stirring the mind of every patriotic British subject throughout the world, according to the statement of the right hon. Prime Minister, the government of which he was the head had not taken any action in that relation. Under these circumstances I ventured, after some little hesitation, I confess, to do what I felt to be an important and imperative duty as a Canadian, and I sent the following telegram to the right hon. gentleman :—

Yarmouth, N.S., Oct. 5.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Ottawa :

I hope you will send a contingent of Canadian volunteers to aid England in the Transvaal. I know it will be warmly welcomed by the British government, be of great service to Canada, and promote the unity of the empire. A friend of mine will insure the lives and limbs, at his expense, to a million dollars, and I will heartily support in parliament your action in this matter.

(Sgd.) CHARLES TUPPER.

The reason that I gave that information to my right hon. friend as to what this gentleman was prepared to do was because I knew that these matters are, to some extent, questions of cost and of expenditure, and I believed that by mentioning that provision would be made to the extent of one million dollars to meet the casualties that a contingent of a thousand volunteers might bring about would show my right hon. friend that there was no reason to suppose that any extraordinary expenditure would result. Therefore I mentioned that in my telegram. That telegram, unfortunately, after travelling some hundreds of miles—I do not remember the exact distance from Yarmouth to Halifax—was interrupted at Halifax. But my hon. friend afterwards said, not very graciously—he was aware of the telegram, although he had not received it until October 13 when he found, by referring to the office that a message had been sent and delayed at Halifax

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on the way—that I had taken the precaution of notifying the whole public of Canada of the telegram I had sent him. Why did I do that? I felt that the right hon. gentleman might say :— ‘It is all very well for Sir Charles Tupper to say that he will give me this support in regard to this great question, but his followers in the House, the party which usually act with him, may see this from a very different standpoint.’ I thought that there was no means by which I could bring the solid Conservative party in Canada so entirely at the back and support of the right hon. gentleman as by stating, as I did, at the meeting which took place, in the address which I delivered at Yarmouth, that I had sent this message. And I believed that if the government would take action upon it they would find parliament at their back. It was with the view of strengthening the effect of the message that I made this statement to the public. I said on that occasion :—

My own opinion is that I believe the time has come when it is the duty of Canada to send to the assistance of Great Britain a corps of Canadian sharpshooters. I know that the Canadian volunteers in this respect cannot be surpassed by any in the world.

I believe the time has come when it is important that Canada should show her readiness to aid the mother country to whom she owes so much, and from whom she expects so much.

I am going to tell you a secret, that is except that it is known to the telegraph operator. I to-day took the responsibility, with full knowledge of what that responsibility means, of telegraphing to the Premier of Canada the hope that he would offer to send to South Africa a body of Canadian volunteers, and assuring him that such a project would not only have all my support, but I believed that of the people of all parts of Canada.

Hon. gentlemen opposite may think that they find something in this to indicate a desire to turn this grave and great question to party purposes. I believe that no person who dispassionately looks at this action of mine will come to the conclusion that I did anything else but my duty in making this appeal to the First Minister under the circumstances which existed. The telegram which I sent and which my right hon. friend was advised of, unfortunately did not produce the desired effect. The right hon. gentleman having delivered his ultimatum to the people of Canada through the *Globe* newspaper, that after a careful examination of the law, he found it would be unconstitutional for him to take any action without the authority of parliament, and that such being the case he did not propose to do anything; the right hon. gentleman having delivered this ultimatum, apparently felt that his duties were at an end, and he departed for the purpose of gracing a civic exhibition in the city of Chicago. The Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair) then told us that the Ministers were not asleep, but it would certainly appear

that they were not awake to the importance of this question, because they dispersed incontinently over the country, and the Major-General commanding the militia went, I think, to British Columbia. That is the sort of attention which the government gave at that time to this very important matter.

Now, Sir, there is a part of this subject which I wish to deal with in all fairness and frankness, and I regret that I shall have to deal with it somewhat in detail as the only effective means at my command to prevent a great injury being done. I shall be obliged to give to the House, evidence that my right hon. friend is not rightly stating the case in the speech from the Throne, when he says: that the entire people of Canada are of one mind upon this subject. I am compelled, with regret, to give to the Prime Minister evidence which leads me to the conviction that that statement is not founded in fact, and that there was a grave difference of opinion on this matter which is so vitally important to the British Empire, among the very members of the cabinet themselves. A minister who has again and again shown his great authority and influence with this government, adopted a position of entire and unqualified hostility to anything being done by Canada towards helping Great Britain in this crisis. We find that this minister was apparently not only able to use sufficient influence with the Premier to induce him to make the declaration, that he would take no action in the matter; but that this same minister was able to draw to this aid a considerable number of the supporters of the right hon. gentleman in this House, who followed him in his position of antagonism to Great Britain. Sir, there is no advantage to Canada in avoiding that frank dealing with this question which I believe to be absolutely necessary in order to remedy it. I need not say to the House that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is the person to whom I allude. I draw attention to the fact that he had just come from France, a country that unhappily at this moment is in the most bitter antagonism against England. He had just come from that country which daily through its press, and through its public men, is declaring the most enthusiastic sympathy with the Boers. He had just come from a country that is denouncing England, that is gloating over every misfortune to our arms and rejoicing at every triumph of the enemy. It appears to me that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) became imbued with the atmosphere by which he was surrounded, and so let us hear his first declaration after his arrival in Canada. At a banquet given to Mr. Herbet, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) said:

I return from France, where I received the care that French science can give, and I return

to Canada more French than ever. I am a minister in a British government, and I have the right to say that I am French. But I tell you this: if to declare myself a British subject would prevent me from being French, then I would refuse to call myself a British subject. We make no threats, as the ballot-box is our best defence. We are happy and free under British institutions, but France is always my dear country.

I am not going to express my own opinion of what I think of such a statement made by a Canadian cabinet minister. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) said he was a French Canadian, and would always remain a French Canadian to the core, we would all sympathize with him; but when he had just come from a country which was exhibiting the most bitter hostility to everything that was British; to announce that he would not be a British subject if he could not be French first, was to make a declaration which I will not myself characterize, but which I will leave it to *Le Soleil* of Quebec, the organ of the Prime Minister, to tell the hon. gentleman what was thought of it. *Le Soleil* of December 11, says:

What good comes of certain of our public men claiming to be French in the first place and British subjects afterwards. To think so may be permitted, but to write and proclaim such sentiments is criminal and foolish provocation.

When the organ of the right hon. gentleman in the province of Quebec expresses such sentiments in regard to this language of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), is it any wonder that the people who are not under the immediate influence which surrounds and pervades the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) have taken a less favourable view of his position. Sir, it would be impossible for any minister of the Crown, it would be impossible for any man in Canada to have taken an attitude of more determined, more inveterate or more undying hostility to any aid or assistance being given by the Canadian government to the British arms, than this hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) steadily pursued. *La Patrie* of Montreal, the organ and property of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) or of his family; *La Patrie*, which he declares to be the organ of this government, in the Montreal district, at all events, on October 10 used this language:

Not one of the speakers who addressed the meeting at St. Liboire had the energy to denounce the dangerous policy adopted by the chief of the Conservative party during the last few weeks, namely, the participation of Canada in the war of the Transvaal, and, consequently, in all others that might break out in Europe or elsewhere. M. Taillon, M. Beaubien and M. Bergeron constitute themselves the lay figures of Toryism and of the Orangism of Ontario, that is to say, of the most fanatical and baneful influences that exist in this country.

We denounce them in the name of sound public opinion. We ask of our fellow-citizens to brand them as criminal cowards.

And what had been done by these gentlemen whom *La Patrie* denounces, what had they done? These gentlemen had had the courage of their convictions to say that they believed that considering the position which England occupied, it was the duty of the government of Canada to come to the aid of the mother country, and to give effect to the declaration which the House of Commons of Canada and the Senate of Canada had by unanimous vote placed upon their journals.

Mr. BERGERON. And the government did it afterwards.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, and the government did it afterwards. And, Sir, the moment the members of this government adopted the very suggestion made by Mr. Bergeron and his friends in the province of Quebec, that moment they became entitled to be branded by *La Patrie* as criminal cowards. What keeps the Minister of Public Works in the same cabinet with the Prime Minister, and the other ministers whom, by inference, his newspaper has branded as criminal cowards. Sir, it would be unparliamentary to suggest the only reason which can keep these gentlemen holding such diverse opinions on a great national question in the same cabinet. But I have not done justice to *La Patrie*. On the same date it says:

What have we to do with the affairs of Africa? What interests have we in the Transvaal? Why should we take the money and the blood of the ratepayers of this country to squander them in these far-away regions?

Was that calculated, Sir, to strengthen the hands of this government in carrying out what was obviously intended by the resolutions that were passed by this House and placed upon its journals? The next day *La Patrie* follows this up by saying:

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the other day, very clearly defined the government's position in stating that there was no justification whatever for the government offering or sending a contingent without previously consulting parliament. It, therefore, follows that the Canadian government did not offer any military contingent to the Imperial government.

For our own part, we have no hesitation whatever in stating that if the Laurier cabinet had taken upon itself the responsibility of exposing the future of Canada in sending a military contingent to the Transvaal at the expense of this country, we should have blamed its policy.

Therefore, the hon. gentleman, through his organ, threatened his colleagues in the government that they would be struck down by that powerful organ of public opinion, *La Patrie*, if they ventured to differ with him in opinion on this question.

The Canadian contingent leaving for the Transvaal is composed of men who have voluntarily offered their services. The Canadian government had neither the right nor the power to officially engage our country without consulting parliament.

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Now, Sir, I come to the hon. gentleman's own language, over his own signature, and what does he say?—though it did not require that, because every person knows that not a line can find its way into *La Patrie* on matters of public policy without the sanction and approval of the hon. gentleman. It would be extraordinary if it could be otherwise with that paper, which is declared to be the official organ of the government in the district of Montreal. In *La Patrie* of the 10th of October, the hon. gentleman says:

I am in a position to give you the most positive assurance that the government has not come to any decision relative to the sending of a military corps to the Transvaal. The merits of the dispute between England and the Transvaal are one thing, the interference by Canada in the foreign wars of the empire is another. It is sought to create precedent which would have for result the compulsory participation in the future by Canada in any and all the conflicts which may sweep over Europe and over the various parts of the world in which the large European governments are interested.

Everything to terrorize the public, everything to make it impossible for his colleagues to force his hand or differ from him on this important question. But the hon. gentleman was good enough to add:

The government will be happy to favour the departure of all those whose warlike instincts and patriotism make them want to go to the Transvaal to fight, but I do not believe that public opinion in this country asks more, and I will add will never consent to more in such an eventuality as now exists.

What is it that holds the hon. gentleman in association with these 'criminal cowards,' branded as such by him if they adopted such a policy? Whatever the inducement may be that keeps the hon. gentleman as a minister of the Crown, I say that if he had proper respect for himself or for his colleagues, such an association would be absolutely impossible. Either he held these opinions or he did not. If he did not, then he was endeavouring to deceive and delude and mislead the people of this country; if he did hold them, he should have had the courage of his opinions, and when it came to the question of resigning a position which no man in this country should occupy a single hour, when separated by such a gulf from the action his colleagues were determined to take, then the hon. gentleman if he respected either himself or his opinions or his associates, would have instantly severed that connection. Now, I am going to call a gentleman from the other side of the House and put his opinion in contradiction with that which I have just quoted. The hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Préfontaine), speaking in Montreal on his return from Chicago, where he had been with the Premier on the 12th of October, used the following language, which I am proud to place alongside of that which I

think has discredited, and will for ever discredit, the Minister of Public Works. The hon. member for Maisonneuve said :

Very serious events have happened since I left Canada last Friday. These events have a great bearing in the British Empire. I am not one of those who would dictate the government's policy. I am a full private in the Liberal army. I remember that at the last session the Canadian parliament pledged itself to help the British Empire; and now I think the time has come when this pledge should be redeemed. I say so as a French Canadian and a member of the Liberal party.

Contrast this candid, outspoken declaration, which will commend itself to the dispassionate judgment of every hon. gentleman with that of the Minister of Public Works. Instead of there being any violation of the constitution, as the hon. Minister of Public Works was evidently able to convince the right hon. First Minister there would be if anything was done, the hon. member for Maisonneuve tells the people of this country—and he spoke with the authority of a gentleman well versed in public affairs, not only in this House but out of it—that he regarded the resolution which had been passed unanimously by both branches of the parliament of Canada as a perfect and complete justification for giving that aid and assistance to the empire; and I am quite certain that the sentiment of the members of this House, however their inclinations may be in one direction or another, will say that the position of the hon. member for Maisonneuve on this question was correct and sound. *La Patrie* continued day after day to attack the government and to threaten everything that was possible to prevent them giving any aid or assistance. On October 14 it published the following:—

The most sacred prerogative of a British subject is not to pay taxes either in money or in blood without having the right of representation. Canada has no voice in Imperial affairs. We are not represented in the parliament of Great Britain.

Therefore an utterly false and delusive principle was propounded that will not bear investigation for a single moment, because it had no relation to the question under consideration. But what occurred? The hon. gentleman was not satisfied with threatening his colleagues through *La Patrie*, and with blocking and shutting them off when they wished to make a move in the right direction, but he brought to his aid another organ of the party which he subordinated to his views. I refer to *Le Temps* of Ottawa. *Le Temps* thus expressed its views:

We already know that it is Mr. Tarte who opposes the ridiculous idea of taking our money to carry on Imperial wars. The Minister of Public Works considers the question of the Transvaal from the Canadian point of view. What should we go to Africa for? To help

England to conquer an undisciplined army of 50,000 farmers? The empire can do without us in this easy affair. Besides she does not ask us to come, and did she do so, such an audacious and unusual proceeding would be a new reason for distrust of her.

Is it not plain that Great Britain, seeing the storm about to burst over her head, seeks to engage us in a conflict created or provoked by her, the responsibility for which in no wise can be shared by Canada, and that in order to establish a dangerous precedent which would permit her in future to call on our country for money and for men whenever she might need them. Truly we should be great fools to sacrifice our present security, as well as that of the future, and our painfully-acquired autonomy, for the doubtful advantage of sharing the fortunes of England.

Can the hon. gentleman who leads the government, now tell this House, in the face of the declarations of these French organs supporting his government, but evidently under the malign influence of the Minister of Public Works, that there is entire accord in Canada to-day in regard to this great question. Why, the right hon. gentleman knows that everything that has been done, has been accomplished by applying the point of the bayonet to the Minister of Public Works. Every one knows that it was only when that hon. Minister had to choose between going out or abandoning his opinions and showing how little they were worth, that he decided to yield and remain. Fortunately for Canada, the overwhelming public sentiment of this country, excited on this as it never has been before in our history upon any question, soon taught my right hon. friend that he would have to choose between abandoning his contention that nothing could be done, because to do anything would be a violation of the constitution, and that either he would have to violate the constitution or somebody else would be in charge of it at a very early day. Under the circumstances, he consented to do that which he declared he never would do because he could not do it without violating the constitution of the country. After he had placed himself, as I have shown, at the mercy of the Minister of Public Works and other gentlemen in this House, he was obliged to yield to the overwhelming pressure of public opinion, and do that which he declared could not be done because it was impossible.

The right hon. gentleman, when he does do anything, however, does it well. When I read his speech at the embarkation of the volunteers, and when I remembered the circumstances under which the sending the volunteers had been brought about, I could not but admire the marvellous eloquence of my right hon. friend. It would be impossible, I do not hesitate to say, for any one to have placed the question in a better and stronger light than he did by his eloquent speech on that occasion. But what then

happened? While the right hon. gentleman was declaring that this was a war of justice, a holy war, in which Canada was bound to take part by coming to the aid and support of Her Majesty's government, his hon. friend the Minister of Public Works was addressing the people at St. Vincent de Paul. The Minister of Public Works there violated the first principles of parliamentary and constitutional government by holding up in his hand what he declared was the Order in Council permitting this contingent to go, and declared that he had forced his colleagues to put into that Order in Council the declaration that it should never be done again. Let me quote the words of the hon. Minister of Public Works:

And it is because these words, 'it is not to be a precedent,' are in the Order in Council, it is because I, for my part, requested them, and I say it aloud and I say it to the country, that I am denounced as disloyal.

Why should he not be denounced as disloyal for taking this line of conduct, when the representative of the Crown in New South Wales, the Governor of New South Wales, was sending this message to the Queen regarding the contingent which New South Wales had sent:

The people of this colony will be ready always to share the duties and responsibilities of Her Majesty's Empire.

When New South Wales was covering itself, in the eyes of every patriotic man within the bounds of the British Empire, with honour, by declaring that what it had done on this occasion it would always be ready to do, whenever the interests of the great Empire required it, the Minister of Public Works was shaking this Order in Council before the people and boasting that he had forced his colleagues to put into it the reservation that what had been done would not be done again, and that no precedent would be established.

At St. Vincent de Paul the hon. Minister of Public Works further said:

I call the attention of the Canadian electorate to the fact that in the debate which then took place, not one member of parliament suggested the idea of sending troops to the Transvaal to aid England. Sir Charles Tupper was in his seat when that resolution was passed.

The hon. gentleman was mistaken in that assertion, because at the time I happened to be in Toronto. The hon. gentleman went on to say:

Sir Charles Tupper was surrounded by his colleagues, and I repeat, not a member suggested the idea of sending the Canadian troops to the Transvaal.

Did the hon. gentleman read my letter sent to the First Minister on the occasion, in which I committed myself fully and un-

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equivocally to the position that it was the duty of this government to send aid to Her Majesty's forces. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) gave the hon. gentleman an emphatic contradiction in that very illogical and contradictory speech of which he was so proud as to have it published in pamphlet form and distributed for the purpose of carrying the elections in the province of New Brunswick and Sherbrooke. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) said at Campbellton on the 21st November, 1899:

In adopting that resolution, there were none, I think, who did not consider—

I call the attention of the Minister of Public Works to these words:

—that it involved an expression, at least, of willingness on the part of Canada to aid the empire should the need for our assistance arise.

So that the hon. Minister of Public Works was contradicted, not only by the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Préfontaine), but by his colleague, the Minister of Railways and Canals, who sympathized with him to a considerable extent in this matter.

Again, look at the hon. gentleman's baneful influence on the right hon. gentleman's colleagues. Last year the right hon. gentleman boasted in this House that he had at his back his French colleagues as a unit. But how does he stand to-day? Under the potent, malign influence of the Minister of Public Works he stands in this position, that a number of his strong supporters of yesterday are to-day denouncing his conduct as unconstitutional and pledging themselves all over the country that they will oppose any conduct of the kind. The hon. member for the St. James Division of Montreal (Mr. Desmarais), speaking to the East End Liberal Club of that city, on October 11, said:

I do not fear to say that the Laurier government would be seriously blamed by the electorate if it approved of such a measure (sending a Canadian contingent to the Transvaal), and I, for one, would rise on the floor of the House, as member for St. James Division, if such a proposal were brought before parliament, and signify my disapproval.

I do not know whether the hon. gentleman will change his mind; but, in view of such statements made by members of parliament representing important sections of this country, in view of the position taken by them of determined, unqualified antagonism, following the wake of the Minister of Public Works, to the policy propounded, is it possible for the hon. gentleman to say truthfully—and if it cannot be said truthfully, it only invites unfavourable comment—that there is entire accord, that his action has proved the loyalty and devotion of the entire people to the British Crown and British institutions?

Then, the hon. gentleman, in the speech at St. Vincent de Paul, tried to strengthen his own position by libelling the greatest statesman that Canada has ever known, the late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald. He endeavoured to cloak himself by showing that that right hon. gentleman had taken a position of antagonism to this general feeling on the part of the Canadian people. I say nothing of myself, for that is a matter of comparatively little moment. But this statement of the hon. gentleman with regard to Sir John Macdonald is as libellous a statement as could be uttered. When he made that statement, he made it in the face of the fact that no man ever lived in Canada with stronger Imperial instincts than the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald. In the very first hour of his public life, he made the declaration that he regarded the continued connection of Canada with the British Empire of the most sovereign moment and that he would insist upon it and contend for it throughout his public career. And, Sir, true to his declaration, he ultimately sacrificed his life in a struggle against hon. gentlemen opposite and the policy they had adopted, which would have resulted in the severance of Canada's connection with the empire. He marshalled his hosts to resist what hon. gentlemen opposite sought, and he roused the people of Canada to enthusiasm for the cause he loved by his impassioned declaration 'a British subject I was born, a British subject I will die.' He fell in that struggle. His life was sacrificed to the anxiety and care which, in his weakened state and at his advanced age, this memorable campaign imposed upon him. But he was victorious in this struggle; he did not fall until he had planted securely upon the ramparts of his country the standard which meant 'British connection for ever.' Sir, how dare the Minister of Public Works libel that eminent Canadian statesman now that he is in his grave? On the record stood this memorable declaration from him made in 1884. Addressing a public meeting in Toronto in that year, Sir John Macdonald said:

Great is the future of the British Empire, that empire of which we are a component part, and to which we hope to be attached for ever and for ever. We are passionately loyal to the sovereignty of Great Britain. We love our Queen and we love British institutions. We draw our inspiration from the great men who have governed England and who are now governing England, and we believe and know that our future prosperity depends greatly upon the continuance of union with the mother country. The Australian colonies will soon be united in a bond similar to, though not identical with, the Canadian confederation. Then what shall we see? We shall see England, with her thirty-five millions, united to Canada with her five millions, soon to become twice that number, and to Australia with a similar population, and the world will know that if the old mother country is attacked she has two auxiliary nations stand-

ing at her back and bound to make common cause with her. It has been said we are running great risks in venturing to make common cause with England. Gentlemen, if I know the people of Canada aright, they are willing to run those risks. But there really is no risk. When any foreign nation knows that the thirty-five million people in England and the twenty millions in the different colonies, forming one great nation, will exert all their military and naval power in one common cause, that fact will prevent possible war with England, and England will be in a complete moral domination of the world as was the Roman Empire in the days of old. But we are not, as I said before, going to count the cost. Who can look back to the time when the Crimean war broke out and not remember with pride how Canada rose as one man to stand by the mother country and by France when the French tri-colour and the Union Jack were joined together fighting the battles of liberty against absolutism on the shores of the Crimea? There was a rush of Canadians to get to the battle-field, and I had the great pleasure, as a member of the government of Sir Allan MacNab, to be instrumental in carrying a vote of £20,000 given unanimously out of the public treasury in order to show that Canada made common cause with England and with France in the Crimean war.

This is the most complete and thorough refutation of this libel upon that great man's memory—or attempted libel rather.

I do not intend to detain the House any more than I am obliged to, for I know how painful it is to my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) when any reference to myself is made. But I may say that, in the speech to the Tyneside Geographical Society on November 21, 1895, I said:

The past history of Canada warrants the belief that one of the first things for which they (the fast Atlantic steamers) would be utilized would be to carry brave Canadian volunteers to any part of the world where the honour and interests of this empire were threatened. . . . Is the past action of Canada not sufficient to prove that she is not insensible to the responsibility that devolves upon her as a component part of this great empire, and that in future, as in the past, she will be always found ready to discharge her duty to the utmost extent of her ability. . . . A short time ago, when there were threatenings in the East, I was directed to place a regiment of Royal Canadian infantry at the service of the Imperial government to be maintained by Canada.

I may say that these are the terms in which I pressed the acceptance of Col. Williams's proposition:

London, February 9, 1885.

The Under Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit, for the information of the Earl of Derby—

—Then Colonial Minister—

—a copy of a telegram received from Colonel Arthur Williams, M.P., of Port Hope, Canada, commanding the 46th East Durham (Ontario) battalion of infantry, placing his services and

those of his regiment, at the disposal of Her Majesty's government for immediate foreign service. In requesting that Lord Derby will be so good as to bring the matter before the Secretary of State for War, I venture to hope that His Lordship will be able to strongly recommend the acceptance of this offer.

I am, &c.,
(Sgd.) CHARLES TUPPER,
High Commissioner.

And here is the despatch of Lord Lansdowne, then Governor General, to Lord Derby, on that subject. The right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) may say that the statement I have made from recollection, that the force maintained by Canada is not contained there.

February 12, 1885.

Government ready to sanction recruiting by Canada for service in Egypt or elsewhere. Force should be specially enrolled from the different parts of local battalions under Imperial Army Discipline Act. Laurie—

That is General Laurie, who was then a member of this House—

—Laurie preferable to Williams. I would suggest brigade of three battalions, 500 each from maritime provinces, old Canada and North-west. Laurie might command brigade and Williams one battalion. Melgund would like to serve as brigade major; entire cost would fall on Imperial exchequer.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says 'Hear, hear.' I ask him to contrast the position of Canada at that date with Canada's position to-day. I ask the hon. gentleman if he does not know that the resources of Canada had just been taxed to the extent of an enormous sum of public money to secure the construction of a great transcontinental line of railway, regarded by Great Britain as of vital importance to the strength of the empire. I ask him also not to forget that at that time we were on the eve of an insurrection in the North-west that cost Canada \$6,000,000, and this was a reason which perfectly justified the government of Canada at that time for not doing that which our honour and our duty alike would make proper at the present moment. Why, Sir, we were in the throes of a war in which the Dominion of Canada without the aid of a British soldier, bore the whole brunt and the whole expense.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Will my hon. friend kindly give me the date of that despatch?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. February 12, 1885. As my hon. friend tells me who was then Minister of Militia and Defence (Sir Adolphe Caron).

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. It commenced in February.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. So I give that at once to the hon. gentleman as a proof.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). A bad certificate to the late government that saw the rebellion coming and did nothing to prevent it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Now, I am afraid my hon. friend is trying to draw a red herring across the track.

Mr. FOSTER. Remember that old musket.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Now, Sir, what was the result of this action, this sentiment that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) brought with him from France and with which he permeated this country, when he used all his power in the government to prevent anything being done, and used all the power of his press to stir up and excite the people in Lower Canada, the people in Quebec in regard to this question? Sir, I am only expressing the general public opinion, an opinion founded upon undoubted evidence of a very strong character, in what I am about to say regarding the resignation of the hon. member for L'Annapolis (Mr. Bourassa). What brought about that resignation? The Minister of Public Works is credited, at all events, by the people of this country with having induced one of his supporters to resign and to denounce in the most emphatic terms the conduct of the Prime Minister of this country as unconstitutional and indefensible. That is the position. Has any gentleman in this House, on either side of it, ever seen such a spectacle before in the past history of Canada as that of a member of the government absolutely inducing a supporter of the government to resign and to denounce over his own signature the action of the Prime Minister, and to quote his own language, to prove out of his own mouth, that he had violated the constitution of the country; that consequently he could no longer support the government, and must place himself at the disposal of his constituents? Well, Sir, he did resign his seat, and what happened? Why, this government was challenged as no government in any other country was ever challenged before, challenged by one of their supporters with having betrayed and trampled upon the constitution of the country; and when this former supporter went back to his constituents the government dare not put up a candidate against him. I say a more pitiable exhibition was never seen before.

Sir, this is the letter addressed to his chief, the leader of this government:—

To the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, P.C., G.C.M.G., Prime Minister of Canada:

Sir,—In a statement published in the Toronto 'Globe' on the 4th inst., you said with reference to the sending of Canadian troops to the Transvaal: 'As I understand the Militia Act, and I

may say that I have given it some study of late, our volunteers are enrolled to be used in the defence of the Dominion. They are Canadian troops, to be used to fight for Canada's defence. . . . There is no menace to Canada, and although we may be willing to contribute troops, I do not see how we can do so. Then, again, how could we do so without parliament granting us the money? We simply could not do anything. In other words, we should have to summon parliament.'

He quotes the language of the right hon. gentleman and proves out of his own mouth that he had violated the constitution, and refuses to serve any longer under a Prime Minister that so trampled upon the constitution of the country. Then he goes back to his constituents, because he cannot come here as a supporter of the right hon. gentleman, and secures a re-election. Then what do we see? The right hon. gentleman puts in the mouth of the Governor General of Canada the statement that there is entire unanimity of opinion among the whole people of Canada—no words in the English language could be stronger, and this in face of the fact that the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) secured a unanimous verdict of approval from the people of his county after he had thus denounced the action of this government in sending military aid to the British government in the Transvaal. And yet, Sir, it is sought to delude the people of this country into the belief that there is no difference of opinion. Then what took place? Then we find in the press the malign influence of the Minister of Public Works, disseminating hostility to the government of which he was a member. How he can remain a member of the government under these circumstances I leave it to the members of the government to settle among themselves. The hon. gentleman goes on to say:

The question is to decide whether the Canadian people shall be called upon to take part in all the wars of the empire without the doors of the Imperial parliament and cabinet board opened to them, without even being consulted through their representatives and the government on the advisability of those bloody contests. I shall never consent to uphold such a retrogressive policy.

Is the member for the county of Labelle nobody? Are his constituents nobodies? It would seem so, in face of that declaration that he has gone to them and asked them to denounce the government for its action in sending aid to Her Majesty's government, and has procured from them an unanimous verdict of approval. Yet in the face of this fact, this House is asked to say that there has been absolute unanimity upon this important question on the part of the whole Canadian people, without any exception whatever.

Now, Sir, commenting upon the resignation of the hon. member for Labelle, *La Patrie*, on the 22nd of October, says:

We state in the most emphatic manner that the departure of the volunteers, under the present conditions, is not and will not be a precedent.

How long was it not to be a precedent, I would like to know, Mr. Speaker. I would like the hon. gentleman to tell me what he meant when his paper said that it was not to be a precedent, whether it was not to be a precedent for a fortnight, or for three weeks, or for a month.

The violent discussions which take place, the sensational resignation of Mr. Bourassa—

Mark this, Mr. Speaker, I draw the attention of the First Minister to this statement, that instead of there being a unanimity on this question, there are violent discussions going on in his own province, among the people of the province of Quebec.

The violent discussions which take place, the sensational resignation of Mr. Bourassa, place on the order of the day the question of our future relations with the Empire. No taxes without representation, which is the political gospel of British citizens the world over, cannot be ignored here any more than elsewhere.

These are valiant words inspired by the hon. Minister of Public Works, but he was far from giving them effect when it came to the question of whether he should stay in or go out. What more? It is not only the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), but take the case of the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet). These are the gentlemen who stand shoulder to shoulder, who stand in a united phalanx, sustaining this government! They are all broken up amongst themselves, giving out, over their own signatures as the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville did, statements denouncing the action of this government and declaring, in the face of the world, that they never would come out in support of doing such violence to the constitution of the country. On December 30 that hon. gentleman said:

The federal cabinet, without consulting parliament, has just decided to send a second Canadian contingent to South Africa. It is not a question, like the first case, of a simple act of courtesy towards Great Britain. We espouse her quarrels and we make our own a war which Hon. Edward Blake has qualified as unjust and as oppressive. It is no longer a feeble pecuniary contribution that is asked. It is our contribution of blood which is demanded, and that in a war which threatens to be the most bloody of the century. Why should we contribute? Canada has nothing to do with the causes that provoked this war, and not being represented in the parliament which brought it about, I ask for what reason I should be called upon to contribute anything whatever. It has been said that the first contingent was sent to Africa as an act of politeness to England, which was not supposed to be in want of men, the Order in Council declaring that it was not to be a precedent. The second contingent is being sent

because of the reverses which England has met with. I do not trouble myself as to whether the second Order in Council contains this restriction, 'this does not serve as a precedent.' This restriction is quite delusive.

As it proved.

I am a Canadian and my idea is to see Canada take rank amongst the independent nations as soon as she is sufficiently developed by the vitality, population and immensity of our national resources. In order, therefore, to reach this end we want all our revenues here to develop our resources and attract emigration, instead of sending our people as targets to South Africa.

Yet, we are all united,, we are of one voice and one sentiment on the whole of this question. I do not intend to tell hon. gentlemen what I think of the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville, but I will tell you what one of the most influential French papers says on this subject. I refer to *La Presse*, in the city of Montreal. That paper, referring to the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville, says :

There is neither equivocation nor restriction. Mr. Monet knows that the matter is one of urgency, and yet he is opposed to sending Canadian aid at a time when England needs it. This is disloyalty pure and simple.

This is not my charge against the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville, but it is the declaration of the most influential French paper in the whole province of Quebec, the most widely circulated paper and an independent paper, as my hon. friend (Mr. Bergeron) says :

Here is a flag which defends our commerce upon every sea, yet Mr. Monet pretends that we should accept the protection without being obliged to render any assistance therefor. It matters little to him whether we are to belong to a power of the first rank or to one of the second. He sees no difference between a nation of the first, second or third order. He desires the prosperity of Canada, but he expects to effect it in this way.

It is by such outbursts as this that we, a minority in the Canadian Dominion, make ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the other provinces.

There is another of the right hon. gentleman's supporters driven away from his side, taken away from giving the support he would have loyally given by the fact of the government of Canada being undermined by a man within their own ranks and in their own counsels, who is using his press, his influence and his power among the people of Canada to break down and destroy the confidence of the vast body of the people of this country in this action. It is madness to shut our eyes to the facts as they are and to believe the statement, which is not founded in fact, that the entire population of this country is sustaining this action of the government of Canada in regard to the Transvaal. In order to deal with a question of this kind you must adopt

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the course of a surgeon dealing with a disease. If a cancer makes its appearance in the most remote extremity you will have to cut it off or you will have death resulting through the whole body becoming permeated. So, I say with this moral cancer existing in the heart of the government, you have no alternative but to cut off that cancer, to separate and dissever it from the body politic of Canada or it will result in the political death of the body that does not adopt such heroic means of treatment as those which are adopted by surgical operation. I am happy to say that nothing is so distasteful to me as to be compelled, by a sense of duty, to animadvert upon the conduct of any gentleman in this House or out of it. I want to turn to a subject of a much more agreeable character and to draw the attention of my right hon. friend to the fact that he, himself, personally, stood pledged and committed on this great question. When the right hon. gentleman was sitting alongside of the Prince of Wales, at the Imperial Institute, on the 18th of June, he made a very memorable, and, as usual, a most eloquent and most admirable speech, and I am very happy to say that, so far as I am able to judge, I take very little exception to a single word that the right hon. gentleman said. I want to draw his attention just now to what he did say on that memorable occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Empire, when British subjects from all over the empire were surrounding Her Majesty and vieing with each other in their devotion to the Crown and British institutions. He said :

My answer is this simply : Canada is a nation; Canada is free, and freedom is its nationality. Although Canada acknowledges the suzerainty of a sovereign power, I am here to say that independence can give us no more rights than we have at the present day.

I agree with the right hon. gentleman most fully and heartily in that statement, and a most important statement it is.

Lord Lansdowne has spoken of a day when, perhaps, our empire might be in danger—

A very curious coincidence that that suggestion should come at such a time from a gentleman who is now burdened with Imperial duties as Secretary of State for War.

England has proved at all times that she can fight her own battles, but if a day were ever to come when England was in danger, let the bugle sound, let the fire be lit on the hills, and in all parts of the colonies, though we might not be able to do much, whatever we can do shall be done by the colonies to help her.

That requires no comment; it speaks for itself; it is a volume in a word. It covers the entire case and I congratulate the right hon. gentleman upon having had his usually felicitous mood of dealing with important questions. Let me call attention to a speech

made by Mr. Chamberlain in presence of the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), the sentiments in which speech will I am sure be endorsed by every member of this House. Mr. Chamberlain said :

The mighty fleet, of which we exhibited a portion to our visitors the other day, and those military preparations to which reference has been made, they are not a threat to other nations; they constitute no danger to our neighbours. They are the pledge we give to our colonies and to our dependencies that so long as they value their connection with us we will use all our resources in its defence. . . . The evidences that they have seen here will convince them that we are willing to make all the sacrifices that are necessary to maintain their honour and their interests as well as our own. I hope they will also take back with them the conviction that we sincerely entertain that the continued unity of the British Empire is the best guarantee for the peace and the civilization of the world.

I shall not comment on that, nor shall I quote the reply made by the Prime Minister, for that raises another issue which I do not intend to deal with now. While I am drawing attention to the eloquent speeches made by the Prime Minister—and all his speeches are eloquent—permit me to quote the following from a speech which he made at Sherbrooke so late as January, 1900:

We believed it our duty as a British colony to take part in the war, and to permit 2,000 Canadian volunteers to enlist in the English army and to fight for the mother country. We did it because we believed it our duty to do it, in response to the unanimous sentiments of the people of this country. We are a free country; ours is a constitutional government, and our duty is to put into execution the popular will, and the moment the popular will was known to us we had but one duty to discharge, and we discharged it of our free will. There was no power to constrain us to act as we did; but in the plenitude of our legislative independence, we had the right to reply to the popular will.

I quote this to show that the Prime Minister committed himself absolutely to the principle that under our constitution, the government should respond to the popular will. Let me say, that I do not dissent from a single word in that quotation. Sir, when I read the speech from the Throne, I was greatly delighted. I was pleased to believe that the government had bowed to the overwhelming—I shall not say unanimous expression of public opinion, because some of the Prime Minister's friends are dissentients—I say I was glad to find that the government bowed to the overwhelming public sentiment of all parties, of all classes, of all races and of all creeds in this country, in favour of the principle that Canada should bear all the expenses connected with the Canadian contingents. I found in the Governor General's speech that in deference to the unequivocal opinion of this country the government announced that

provision would be made 'For the cost of equipping and paying the Canadian contingents.' I profess to have some little knowledge of the English language and that sentence seemed to say without qualification, that Canada was going to pay all the expenses of the contingents. When the news reached me that the government had wisely decided to offer a second contingent to Her Majesty's government, I was about to address a mass meeting of political friends as well as political opponents in the city of Vancouver. I told them there, that I had heard with great delight that the government had decided to send a second contingent, and I at the same time expressed the hope that when parliament met, the speech from the Throne would announce that all the expenses connected with our Canadian volunteers in South Africa, would be borne by the government. I stated then that I would only be too glad to give all the support in my power to such a policy. Sir, since then I spoke to one of the ministers—it is a public matter, and not confidential—and I said to him: There is no doubt about the statement in the speech from the Throne; Canada is to pay all the expenses; but to my great regret I found that this was a Delphian Oracle statement in the speech, and that it might mean one thing or the other. I believe, Sir, that the government never made a greater mistake than that. My right hon. friend has been good enough to favour me with some of the correspondence—there is, I believe, some which I have not yet seen—that was to be laid on the Table with reference to this matter; and amongst other papers, is the following telegram sent by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Lord Stratheona:—

In view of discussions upon subject here, I desire to know definitely what is arrangement between British government and different Australasian colonies respecting pay of men serving on colonial contingents after landing in South Africa. Are colonies paying, in any case? Give details.

The following is Lord Stratheona's reply:—

Have communicated with colonial officer regarding your cable, 26th instant. Arrangement with Australasian colonies precisely same as with Canada. In no case are colonies paying their contingents after landing South Africa. New Zealand government offered to provide pay for their contingent, but Her Majesty's government were of opinion that arrangement by which pay at Imperial rates should be provided from Imperial exchequer from date of disembarkation South Africa should be applied all colonial forces. See Nos. 13 and 16, parliamentary paper, 16th November, 1899. Copies sent Secretary of State 15th ultimo.

I think there must be some little mistake there. I am quite aware that parliamentary papers Nos. 13 and 16 do propose on the part of New Zealand that they should pay, and that the British government suggests that it would be better to adopt the

usual course of having the payment made by the Imperial government for service in the field. But, I want to draw the attention of my hon. friend to the fact that there was further correspondence on the matter. If the hon. gentleman will look at Nos. 82 and 92, he will find a very great change in that position. The Earl of Ranfurly, writing to Mr. Chamberlain, says:

THE PRIME MINISTER. At what page?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Page 2, despatch 82. Lord Strathcona refers to papers Nos. 13 and 16, which is a correspondence that took place a long time before. The Earl of Ranfurly says on September 29, 1899 :

I have the honour to inclose you a resolution passed by the House of Representatives on September 28.

On the declaration of the division, fifty-four in favour and five against, there was a scene of the greatest enthusiasm, the whole House rising and singing the National Anthem, followed by rounds of applause.

The same evening my Premier had an interview with me, asking me to cable the resolution and offer of services of two companies mounted rifles.

Each company is to consist of 100 rank and file and at least four officers.

The New Zealand government will provide outfit, transport to African port, rations and horse-feed en route, but on landing transport, rations and ammunition to be provided by the Imperial authorities.

This colony has no transport corps, or at the present moment, any of the ammunition proposed to be used there.

Tents can be sent, if desired.

The number of horses it is proposed to send for the two companies is 250.

The payment of the corps throughout will be made by the government.

The legislative council have passed a resolution approving of the resolution of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was passed by thirty-six votes to one against.

Now, if you turn to the answer to that despatch, you will find that there is not a word of objection raised on behalf of Her Majesty's government to the statement that New Zealand is going to bear the entire expenditure. It says:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 29th September last, transmitting a resolution passed by the House of Representatives respecting the offer of a contingent of New Zealand Mounted Rifles for service in South Africa, and reporting the arrangements made for the composition and equipment of the force.

The patriotic enthusiasm with which the government and people of New Zealand have taken a share in the defence of Imperial interests in South Africa has been received with warm and sincere gratification by the government and people of this country; and the promptitude of the arrangements for the despatch of the contingent has been cordially recognized by the military authorities.

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Now, Sir, I have read the speech made by my right hon. friend at Sherbrooke with the object of drawing his attention to the very sound statement which he made, declaring it to be the duty of a government to give effect to the undoubted wishes of the people; and I now want to draw his attention to the fact that I have had an opportunity within the last three months of addressing tens of thousands of people throughout this country—in the province of Nova Scotia, in the province of Quebec, in the province of Ontario, in the province of Manitoba, in the North-west Territories and in British Columbia—and on this question of Canada furnishing all the aid that is required by the mother country in the present great emergency and paying the entire cost of the same, there was not on a single occasion a dissentient voice. I had the pleasure of addressing thousands of the right hon. gentleman's friends, who will continue to be his friends, no doubt, because they are strong Liberals; and in the province of Quebec, where a large body of my hearers were French, and where I had the advantage of having my views fully explained to them by my French colleagues, there was the same unanimity of opinion that existed all over Canada. There was one undivided public sentiment that the honour and the interest of Canada alike required, that the entire expenditure connected with the aid given by the government of Canada to the British government in South Africa should be borne by Canada. I hope it is not too late yet. Threatened as my hon. friend no doubt is by the Minister of Public Works and by his contingent of revolters that he has got into a cave, I do hope it is not too late for my right hon. friend to reconsider that question. Down to the present hour I find no statement made by the government of any wish or desire that Canada should be permitted to bear the entire expenditure. But I say more. The right hon. gentleman knows that the press of the Conservative party is unanimous on that question. He knows that the Conservative press throughout Canada heartily and warmly endorses the policy of Canada doing all that is required and doing it thoroughly and completely, as eminently for our honour and in our interest. But, Sir, I take the press supporting the government, and what do I find? The *Montreal Witness*, a very strong supporter of this government, except in cases which are so monstrous that it is absolutely compelled to turn its back upon some particular act, on October 16, says:

There is one part of the arrangements as published which we do not like, and that is the statement that the Imperial government is to bear the whole cost of the contingent. Certainly, Canada, when she sends a contingent, should insist upon bearing, not a part, but the whole, of the expense. These are prosperous years for Canada—

Not like 1884 or 1885; but, as the hon. mover

of the address pointed out, Canada never in her history was in a condition of such unbounded prosperity, and her people never were so rich as at the present moment; and no person rejoices in that more than I do—

—and it is a good time to begin to contribute to the cost of the maintenance of the empire. Canada should support her own contingent, no matter what it costs. We suppose the arrangement of the British government supporting the Canadian contingent is based upon the precedent in the case of the East Indies, which furnishes troops, but does not pay for them after they leave India. But Canada is one of the nations of the empire, and in an altogether different position from India.

But, Sir, what does the *Globe* say? The *Globe* of January 9 of this year had a statement of what it expected the speech from the Throne to contain; and it was supposed by some people to be an inspired statement, but this turned out not to be the fact. In that statement the *Globe* said:

Provision for full payment by Canada of the contingents of Canadian troops sent to South Africa and some more definite determination of the measure of our responsibility for the defence of the empire.

Returning to the subject on January 13, and referring to a criticism by the *Star*, the *Globe* said:

In the programme in question only one new subject is touched upon—the contingents of Canadian troops sent to South Africa, and there we declare our opinion that parliament should bear the full cost of these contingents. That has been our position ever since it was decided to send out a contingent and will continue to be our position.

That is from the organ of the government in the province of Ontario. *Le Soleil*, the right hon. gentleman's own organ in the city of Quebec, on January 3, said:

It seems to us that Mr. Laurier should yield to the current and announce in the speech from the Throne that Canada will pay all the expenses of her soldiers.

The *Montreal Herald*, which is known to be one of the strongest supporters of the government in the province of Quebec, on January 12, said:

There is little question but that parliament will authorize the payment of the entire expenses of the contingents Canada has given to the empire.

And the *Free Press* of this city says:—

The likelihood is that the Canadian government will propose, in the speech from the Throne, to bear all the expense of the contingent, including their full pay while in South Africa. This can only be done by the sanction of parliament, but, as it is already being urged by Sir Charles Tupper, the scheme is certain of practically unanimous approval. This would bear but lightly on Canada from the fact that even after paying for the men already sent to

the Cape, the Finance Minister will have a surplus of several million dollars in his Budget speech. The plan is endorsed by the government's leading supporters.

I draw the attention of the hon. minister to that.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I was just, Mr. Speaker, before recess, concluding an appeal to my right hon. friend and endeavouring to show him that, in accordance with the principle propounded by him in his speech at Sherbrooke, it was the duty of the government to comply, in questions of this kind, with the unqualified sentiment of the great body of the people, and that I had no doubt he would find that preponderance of sentiment his justification for adopting a policy which, in my judgment, the honour and interest of Canada alike demand, namely, that the expenses of the Canadian contingents should be borne by the people of Canada. I drew the attention of my right hon. friend to the fact that not only had he the press of the Liberal-Conservative party, but the press of the most leading and influential sections of the Liberal party urged the carrying out of that policy; and I have had myself the opportunity of ascertaining, by addressing great meetings of the electorate in almost all the provinces of the Dominion, that on that question all parties, Liberal and Conservative, all races and creeds, were entirely in unison. Therefore, I think it very worthy the consideration of my right hon. friend, that he should take such a course as will meet the approval of the great body of the people.

There is another evidence, and it is one of the most striking that possibly has perhaps ever been exhibited in Canada. I now refer to the various charitable associations, the various associations of the public throughout Canada, in connection with the patriotic fund, and I think that the House will agree with me that there has never been in the history of Canada anything approaching the unanimous sentiment of all parties and all classes in exhibiting a desire to spend their money in doing everything possible to promote the comfort of our volunteers who have gone to represent Canada in South Africa. There can be no stronger evidence perhaps than when the people of large means and people of moderate means and people of small means are all ready, as has been shown throughout Canada in every section of the country, to come to the front and give their money and support to the utmost extent of their ability in doing everything possible to show how thoroughly Canada appreciates the conduct of her brave volunteers in going to promote the honour of Canada and main-

tain the integrity of the empire on the field of battle. I do not intend to press this point further, but will leave it to the consideration of my right hon. friend; but I do feel that if he wishes to be the exponent of the unqualified sentiment of Canada in every section of the country, he will take every means in his power to show that whether Her Majesty's government will accept the offer or not, Canada stands ready to provide all the expenditure connected with the maintaining of the Canadian force in South Africa. Anything short of that will entirely fail to meet the views of the country.

It is now apparent from the correspondence already down, that no proposal has ever emanated from Canada with regard to that matter. Her Majesty's government have never been pressed to permit Canada to discharge what I believe the overwhelming mass of the people regard as an imperative duty, alike demanded by the honour and interests of our country.

I shall say no more upon that subject, but I wish to draw the attention of the House for a few moments to one of the most extraordinary exhibitions that has perhaps ever been witnessed on the floor of the House of Commons of Canada or of any country where parliamentary government exists. I regard as one of the gravest constitutional scandals that this House, or any House where the British parliamentary system exists, has ever presented, the exhibition which we witnessed on the opening day of the session. What did we see? We saw a gentleman who had resigned his seat in this House on the ground that the government had so trampled the constitution under their feet, had so ignored every principle of constitutional government, that they were no longer deserving of support; and he felt bound, having been elected as one of their supporters, to go before his constituents and denounce their conduct, and defended every point of his case by quoting the absolute dicta of the Prime Minister himself and asked them to sustain him in thus abandoning the party he had been elected to support, and place him in a position to denounce their action on the floor of this House. Sir, can you show me, can any gentleman on the government benches or any gentleman in this House, show me a single instance, in any country where parliamentary government exists or where British institutions are established, in which a man took the extraordinary step of abandoning his party and appealing to his constituents against that party with any other object than that of coming back and driving them out of power if he could? Is it not making a perfect farce of everything like constitutional principles for a man to pretend to abandon the government he has been elected to support and ask his constituents to support his attitude of hostility to them, and then coming back as one of their sup-

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porters in the representative Chamber? Such a farce tends to bring everything like constitutional principles into perfect contempt with the House of Commons and with the whole people. What have we witnessed? We have witnessed the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) taking the very course I speak of. He took, apparently, a very independent, high-handed and dignified course. No doubt he did so under the direction of the members of this government, under the direction, as I believe, I do not hesitate to say, of the Minister of Public Works, and in order to strengthen the French position—not the Canadian French position but the French position—he had taken, and to prevent anything being done to show sympathy with Great Britain in the struggle with the Boers in which she is now entangled. This government was challenged in a most vital point, it was held up to public contempt all over this country by the hon. member for Labelle in a letter of resignation over his own signature, in which he declared that he had no course as an honest representative of the people but to turn his back upon them and turn them out of power. And what followed? This House witnessed a parliamentary and constitutional scandal that, I say, has no parallel in the history of Canada or the British Empire. A man has secured a verdict of his constituents in denouncing the action of the government as a violation of the constitution of the country—the highest crime of which any government can be guilty—The government not having even dared to take up the glove he threw down and put a supporter of their own in the field to defend the position they had taken—and when this man who has denounced them comes back with the unanimous endorsement of his people, the House witnesses the scandal of a Minister of the Crown introducing that man. The hon. member for Labelle, having triumphed over the government, having secured the condemnation of his government by the unanimous vote of his people, we find him introduced to this House by the Minister of Public Works, and sandwiched in between that hon. gentleman and the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), who is denounced by the most influential portion of the French Canadian press as a thoroughly disloyal man, unentitled to the support of this country. It would not be exactly right to speak of them as *arcades ambo*, for there are three of them; but they are three well associated—

Mr. WALLACE. Three of a kind.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Three of a kind—yes; men who have taken a position in the face of this parliament calculated to bring upon themselves the utter contempt of every man who has any regard for constitutional government or parliamentary principle. And yet, Sir, we find this Minister of Public Works sitting behind the leader of

the government after having introduced on the floor of this House and presented to you as a worthy member of this House a man who was sent here by the unanimous voice of his constituents to vote down this government for having trampled the constitution of Canada under their feet. This is a scandal, I say, such as we have never witnessed before, and I trust that, in the long future history of this country, such a scandal shall never be known again. If my right hon. friend has so completely lost his grasp upon the control of public affairs, if he has become so completely subordinate to any member of his government as to still retain that minister, he cannot hope from the intelligent people of this country or from the intelligent members of this House on one side or on the other anything but the contempt which must always fall upon a man occupying his high position who makes himself the vassal and tool of one who sits behind him.

I shall not say more upon that subject, but I have one more point to refer to in which the Minister of Public Works is interested, a subject to which I shall draw the attention of the House directly.

I am happy, however, to say that there is one paragraph in the speech from the Throne to which I give my most hearty approval, and it is this:

In this connection, it is a matter of pride and gratification to the people of this Dominion that, in addition to the contingents sent by the government, another Canadian force is being organized and despatched at the personal expense of the High Commissioner of Canada. This generous and patriotic action upon the part of Lord Strathcona reflects high honour on him and on the Dominion he represents.

To every word of that, I subscribe most heartily. Never in the history of Canada has any Canadian done an act that reflects greater honour upon himself or one that establishes greater claim upon the confidence of his country than this noble and generous act of Lord Strathcona. Why, Sir, it puts to blush the action of the government. The government shrink, they hold back, they are only pressed from point to point by the power which alone appears to influence them—the upheaval of public sentiment all over this country, to which they are compelled to bow because their fate depends upon it. But in contrast with this we find this noble action of a great Scotch Canadian, a man of Scottish birth, who spent his boyhood and the prime of his life in Canada and became identified with Canada's greatest interests, a man whose princely generosity in the cause of suffering humanity is instanced in the enormous amount contributed by him to one of the finest and most magnificent hospitals in the world, the Royal Victoria Hospital in Montreal, a man whose princely benefactions to the great cause of education have raised an undying monument to his name and char-

acter in the city of Montreal, in connection with McGill College and the Strathcona Institute—I say that no act of his life, great and princely as his services have been to the people of Canada, will shine with greater lustre, and nothing he has done will be handed down from generation to generation as a more munificent and glorious act than this contribution of his own private means to pay the expenses of the equipment and transport of a regiment of cavalry to uphold the stability of the British Empire and the honour of Canada. I say that under these circumstances I rejoice to see that the government have made a fitting recognition of his claims to consideration by the tribute they have paid him in this speech from the Throne, every word of which I most heartily endorse. But there is another man whose name is not known but who is equally entitled to recognition at the hands of this government, there is a man who, comparing his means with those of Lord Strathcona, has done still greater service to Canada, and has shown even higher patriotism than Lord Strathcona: I need not say that I refer to the gentleman whose modesty will not permit me to disclose his name, but who enabled me, as representing him, to secure an insurance on the lives of the first contingent to the extent of a million dollars. Of this gentleman, whose act, however, I communicated to the government, as I felt it was in the interests of the country that it should be communicated, the government have not a word to say; but on the contrary the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) assails, and vilifies and traduces this gentleman, whose name stands in the shade. What does the Minister of Public Works say:

It is easy to play a farce as Sir Charles Tupper does at this moment in giving guarantees to insurance companies; but it is not thus that the future of this country is decided; it is not thus that a government that understands its duties decides and acts.

I say that if Canada and the colonies are called upon to take part in the wars of the empire they should have the right of representation and of voting in the Imperial councils.

Why should the hon. gentleman denounce as a farce, the munificent act of this gentleman on behalf of those brave soldiers who have gone out to do battle for the honour and interests of Canada and the empire, giving each one of them the assurance that if he falls in battle, as there is too much risk that he will, those depending upon him will not be left homeless and houseless? Where is there a man with a spark of patriotism in his breast, with a spark of manly sentiment in his bosom, that would undertake to vilify, and deride, and treat with contempt one of the most magnificent acts of private generosity that has ever been exhibited in the whole history of Canada? I say again, that in view of the

private resources of the gentleman I refer to, no greater evidence has ever been given of genuine patriotism, when he felt that the honour and interest of Canada demanded that this contingent should be raised, and that the life of every one of its members should be insured against the casualties of war, and when, out of his own pocket, he paid for an insurance to the extent of a million dollars on the 1,000 men of the contingent. And yet, Sir, that gentleman is to be assailed and traduced by the Minister of Public Works, with the full knowledge of the Prime Minister of what had occurred, and with the official proof in his hands from the company that every one of those thousand men carried that insurance to the aggregate of one million dollars, Sir, the Prime Minister has not a word to say in reference to that gentleman, and why? Because, unfortunately, he is a friend of Sir Charles Tupper, there can be no other reason. What other reason could exist except that? I took care to place in the hands of the right hon. gentleman the following official statement from the company:—

Montreal, October 23, 1899.

To the Officers and Men of the Canadian contingent for the Transvaal:

As a result of negotiations for some time pending with this company, we have this day concluded an arrangement with Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., whereby he effects insurance to a limit of one million dollars upon the men of all ranks in the Canadian contingent going to Africa. To each officer and to each man, or to their heirs, the sum of \$1,000 is to be paid by this company upon receiving satisfactory proof of death while engaged with the enemy in Africa, or death within thirty days of engagement, or for loss of both feet, or both hands, or both eyes. In case of loss of one hand, or one foot, or one eye, \$500 will be paid.

It is desired, as far as practicable, before embarkation, that the names and home addresses of the officers and men be forwarded to the office of this company, 185 St. James Street, Montreal, by letter or wire, that they may be recorded in the company's books.

(Signed),

The Ocean, Accident and Guarantee Company, Limited,

ROLLAND, LYMAN & BURNETT,
General Managers.

An Hon. MEMBER. Oh, oh!

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is a subject of amusement, is it, to the hon. gentlemen opposite? There is the evidence for this House of whether the entire population of this country is heartily engaged in sustaining the action of this government; that burst of laughter is the evidence, backed up, as it is, by the insolent assault of the Minister of Public Works upon this transaction, there is the voice of his claqueurs trained to turn their scorn and contempt upon every man that will

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come to the aid of Canada and her troops. What is the position of the government upon this question? They entered into negotiations with an insurance company to insure the lives of that contingent to the extent of a million dollars, and I will read what the *Globe* newspaper, of October 28, said upon the subject:

ANOTHER MILLION OF INSURANCE.

Mr. G. H. Allen, of Kingston, inspector of agencies for the Standard Life Assurance Company, of Edinburgh, has been in the city for the past few days, and has completed an arrangement with the Dominion government for placing one million dollars' life insurance on members of the Canadian contingent who are going to the Transvaal. This will give one thousand dollars' insurance to the relatives or heirs of any officer or man who may die during their absence. The insurance will take effect from the time the contingent starts from Quebec, and will be paid on all parties who die from any cause. The government will pay the premiums. The secretary of the Standard Life, Mr. J. Hutton Balfour, arrived to-night to look over the arrangements which Mr. Allen has made and give his sanction to it. The insurance which Sir Charles Tupper negotiated, was merely for accidents, and it is understood will only take effect from casualties after reaching South Africa.

Now, Sir, what occurred? Every man of that thousand of brave and patriotic Canadians went off with the glowing language of the First Minister of the Crown in his ears, went off with his heart lightened and his feelings buoyant. He knew from the official announcement made by the organ of the government that an additional \$1,000 had been placed on his life and that in case he lost it, those who depended upon him would not be left homeless and houseless. Where are these gentlemen who, with a burst of laughter, greeted the provision of \$1,000 to meet the casualties of war, where are they when I point out to them the humiliating position in which this government, that they support, stand in relation to this question. With this announcement made, with every man carrying away with him the happy, delightful thought, that if his life were lost, his family would be provided for, to some extent, what would be their feelings upon reaching South Africa to find that this was a delusion, that this government, when they took up the question of insurance had not the ability to deal with it or to provide for the insurance of each man to the extent of \$1,000, and who, when they found what it would cost them to do it, backed out of it, and when the organ of the government, after it had given this gratifying announcement, at which every man in Canada rejoiced, stated three days afterwards, on November 1, that 'there was no ground for the report recently published that the government are insuring the lives of the members of the contingent.' It is a tragedy, a tragedy of the deepest, blackest dye; it

was a successful attempt to buoy up the contingent, who were going away with their lives in their hands to fight a British battle, with the joyous reflection that the government had come to their aid and that in case of death they would be provided with this additional insurance. But, they are told, in the most unfeeling manner that the government have backed out, that all the hopes that had been excited were false hopes ending in the same delusion that the promises of this government usually end in, in regard to anything they undertake to do. I will only say that I hope, when the hon. Minister of Public Works next has occasion to refer to this handsome, generous act of a private individual who was prepared, out of his own means and resources and at his own personal cost and who stands to-day pledged to an insurance of \$1,000 for every man who loses his life or two limbs in that encounter, I hope that when he next deals with that subject he will remember the black, disreputable tragedy enacted by the government in allowing these people to go away feeling that they were provided for when they are afterwards told that it is a delusion and that there is not a single farthing provided by this government for those they left behind in case of death.

I want to return for a few moments, and for a few moments only, because I was sorry I had not the opportunity of concluding before the House rose, and I must ask the indulgence of the House for again being obliged to repeat it after coming back here, but I want for a few moments to draw the attention of the House to the position of Canada on this question. I have no better evidence to offer to the House than the evidence offered by the right hon. Prime Minister, when sitting alongside of the Prince of Wales, and when he declared that Canada was a great nation, that she was as independent a nation now as it was possible for a country to be, that she had every right and enjoyed every privilege that any independent nation, in any country in the world enjoyed, and he was quite right. Canada has reached, aye, and had reached that position before the right hon. gentleman occupied a position at the head of this government—Canada had reached a position in which she had the most absolute control of her own affairs and of the government of her country. Canada has committed to her care the northern half of this great continent of North America, and in my judgment, not the least valuable or important half. Canada has been endowed by nature with all these boundless resources. Canada bids fair—it is now every day being developed—to become one of the most important and wealthiest countries in the world. Canada has the northern half of this great continent under her control, she has boundless, inexhaustible treasures to add to her wealth

and to develop it rapidly into a great country, and now that all the lines of communication of this country are established, and there is inter-communication from end to end she has reached the position in which she is going ahead, as the hon. member for West Ontario (Mr. Gould) said, by leaps and bounds. Whether you take her position in regard to the fisheries, in regard to her coast, in regard to her timber, in regard to her mineral resources, in regard to her soil, in regard to her climate—take the position of Canada from any standpoint and you cannot find, on the face of the globe, 5,000,000 of people, or 5,500,000, and I hope, approaching 6,000,000 of people, occupying a prouder, a more advantageous, or a more splendid position. She has the glory of British institutions; she offers a security for life and property which is alone to be found under British institutions. I will not say alone to be found under British institutions, but which will not be exceeded by any other institutions that human skill or sagacity has ever devised. That is the position she occupies. You cannot show me to-day, on the face of the globe, a population equal to the population of Canada, enjoying greater advantages or enjoying the blessings of greater wealth, greater prosperity or greater progress. That is the position we occupy. As to foreign aggression, every person knows that not a foreign foot can touch the soil of Canada, no finger from any foreign power can be placed upon a Canadian without we have, as I have already shown you, in the magnificent reference to it by the hon. Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain, in which he said, surrounded by the right hon. Prime Minister and the other premiers, that the great army and the unrivalled navies of England were not for aggression, but that they were evidence to the outlying portions of this great empire of their complete security and complete immunity from foreign aggression. Will you show me any people in any country in the world that enjoy these advantages on the terms that Canada enjoys them, with the most absolute, the most perfect, as the right hon. gentleman has stated, the most complete independence, enjoying everything that complete independence can give us and standing to-day as part of the British Empire. We have the fact that we are part of that great empire, under whose aegis all our rights and liberties are secured from foreign aggression. What is the position of any other country in the world compared with that of Canada? Countries, with the comparative resources and population of Canada, are borne down with heavy, onerous, oppressive taxation to sustain an army and a navy to protect them against foreign aggression. Under these circumstances where is the man to be found who will say that Canada, in this hour of her great prosperity,

will shrink for one single moment from the duty imposed by the grandeur of our position, the strength of our position, will shrink for a single moment from standing by in the hour of her necessity that great empire, that great country, that gives us all this and absolutely for nothing. That great navy which is equal to the combined navies of the two other greatest maritime powers of the world; that great navy, as Mr. Chamberlain has shown, is always ready to come with speed across the Atlantic to the rescue of Canada, yet we are not called upon to contribute one dollar either to the army or the navy of England? This is the hour of England's need as every one must know who has witnessed the fearful cost of blood and treasure which England has been put to in the struggle in South Africa. Where is there a man to be found in Canada, who under these circumstances, would ask, that an additional penny be charged against the people of the British Isles for the maintenance of the forces sent by the Canadian government to aid the mother country in her necessity. When certain gentlemen speak of taxation without representation, do they know what they are talking about?

Mr. WALLACE. No they do not.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. My hon. friend says they do not, and the people of Canada will agree that they do not. Do they know what they are talking about when they speak of taxation without representation? If the Parliament of Great Britain were to impose a single dollar of taxation upon the people of Canada for the support of the great navy which gives security to our commerce, that would be taxation without representation; but to tell me that the free parliament of Canada cannot vote the money of this country to help in her hour of need the great empire of which we are proud to form a part, is to tell me that which every person knows to be at variance with the facts.

And what about the constitutional question? We may be told that parliament did not vote the money. True. But under the constitution of England as in the constitution of Canada, what utter folly and absurdity it is to talk about violation of the constitution because parliament was not assembled to vote the money expended. We have the same system as the British parliament, namely: That while you must have the vote of parliament for the expenditure of all public moneys, there is the great exception, that whenever an unforeseen emergency arises, whenever the government feel they would be justified in taking the public money, leaving it to parliament to endorse their actions afterwards, they have the same power as in England to

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take that money in order to meet that emergency. To speak of this as a violation of the constitution is an absurdity. Even if my right hon. friend had not the resolution of the House of Commons and of the Senate of Canada,—and under circumstances where delay might be irreparable—he must have known what the public sentiment was, and he knew he had a perfect right according to the British parliamentary practice in force in Canada, to take from the public treasury what money was necessary to meet the unexpected conditions that had arisen, and to ask parliament to sustain his action afterwards. Has the Prime Minister any doubt as to what the fate of the Bill will be, which he proposes to introduce to indemnify the government for this expenditure? He had before him the overwhelming public sentiment of this country; he had before him the determination of free Canadians to rise superior to technical objections, he knew their determination to pay whatever expense might be entailed in order to help the mother country. The only doubt there can be is as to whether he will go far enough in his proposition to meet the views of the people of Canada. In the speech from the Throne, the Prime Minister has referred to Lord Strathcona in fitting terms, but there is a grave omission in that speech, for I can say here, that there are 2,500 Canadians who have done even more for the empire than Lord Strathcona has done. No person in this country has ever asked the government to impress a man for service in South Africa; no person has ever asked the government to take a member of the permanent force or a mounted policeman and send him to the Transvaal against his will. All that the people have asked is, that the government should avail of the services volunteered of their own free will by the gallant yeomanry of Canada and send them for the honour and integrity of the British Crown, and to do credit to this great colony. I say, Sir, that every man of those 2,500 Canadians who has offered his life for the defence of the British Empire, and for the honour and glory of Canada, is making a greater sacrifice than even Lord Strathcona, great as that gentleman's sacrifice has been. I thank the members of this House for the indulgence they have extended to me. I believe, Sir, that this is one of the gravest questions that has arisen in the history of Canada, I believe, Sir, that it is the gravest emergency that has perhaps ever presented itself to the British Empire, and for that reason I have confined my remarks exclusively to it, postponing the consideration of other questions until the government is pleased to submit their measures to the House. In view of the fact that this great Dominion is now enjoying unexampled progress and prosperity, and remembering the remarks

made by the First Minister at Sherbrooke, I trust that the government will to the fullest extent meet this great patriotic upheaval of public sentiment throughout the Dominion of Canada, and leave nothing undone which will tend to reflect the highest honour on Canada, as a part of the great British Empire to which we are so proud to belong.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I am happy at the outset of this discussion to be able to join with the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) in congratulating the mover and seconder of this address. My hon. friend who has placed in your hands the motion now before the House has been selected by the West Riding of Ontario to take the place on the floor of this House of the hon. gentleman who, before you, Sir, discharged, and discharged with much acceptance, the high position of Speaker of the House of Commons of Canada. My hon. friend has shown that he is no unworthy successor of that hon. gentleman. The speech which he delivered was practical, lucid, to the point, and without any undue waste of words, a quality which, I am sure, ought to be duly appreciated in this House. My hon. friend who seconded the motion had been preceded in this House by the reputation of two hon. members, his close relatives, who, before him, represented the riding of Chambly and Verchères. Such is the fleeting motion of time in this feverish age that perhaps there are but few members of this House who remember the late Mr. Felix Geoffrion in his early days, before he had been stricken down with the dread disease from which he never fully recovered; but those who remember him will gladly testify that in his brighter days he was one of the brightest ornaments of this House. As to his successor in the representation of the riding, the late Mr. Alphonse Geoffrion, I am sure his memory is and will ever be held green in the hearts of those who came in contact with him. His great ability, his genial qualities, his kindness of heart, were such as will never be forgotten by any who had the privilege of his acquaintance and still less of his friendship. My hon. friend has shown himself a true scion of that gifted family, and will continue in this House the traditions left by the two gentlemen whose name he has the honour to bear.

May I be permitted also to offer my congratulations to the hon. leader of the opposition. I have been anticipated in this very pleasant duty by my hon. friend from Chambly and Verchères. My hon. friend, with the acceptance of this side of the House, and I am sure with the still greater acceptance of the other side, congratulated the House in general, and my hon. friend in particular, upon the fact that we see him at the opening of this session, still hale, hearty

and vigorous; and we all appreciate the great efforts he is making for his party, and in his own opinion, for his country at his time of life. Long may he enjoy a green old age; and, if I am to speak still more intimately, for myself and for those for whom perhaps, I may claim the privilege to speak, long may he continue to adorn the seat he now occupies and from which he may still thunder forth his denunciations of the government. May I likewise be permitted to offer him another compliment, if he will accept it from me? May I be permitted to offer him the congratulations of this side of the House at least, upon the happy and novel feature which he has introduced in his speech to-day. If it were not out of place and if I might be critical without offence, perhaps I might be pardoned for saying that my hon. friend has never particularly cultivated the art of condensation. He has always relied more for effect upon reiteration and emphasis than upon concentration. Last year, upon a similar occasion, though the subjects we had to deal with, were not of the same character of importance as the subject we have to deal with at this time, my hon. friend occupied very nearly five hours of the time of the House to tell his thoughts to his fellow-members. Upon this occasion my hon. friend would have got through within two hours had it not been for the insistence of his friends beside and behind him; but on their insistence he took three hours, in spite of this. I congratulate him upon the good example he has given to his followers; and, if his followers profit by that example, we may perhaps hope to conclude the session in some reasonable space of time.

My hon. friend has consecrated the whole of his speech to the question of our policy and our conduct in regard to the war in Africa. I quite approve of the conduct of my hon. friend in this particular. Certainly there never was before the Canadian parliament a more important question. It is important in itself, important in its incidents, important in its causes, important in its possible consequences. I would have preferred if my hon. friend had approached the question in a more judicial and calmer spirit than he has done. My hon. friend has been in turn severe and somewhat patronizing. He has approved and he has blamed our course. I am not indifferent, I may be pardoned for saying, to the kind things he has said of us—of me in particular; but I can afford to lay them aside to come rather to the severe things which he has said of myself and the government in general. If I may now analyse the criticisms which have been offered by my hon. friend on this occasion upon the policy followed by the government, they can be summed up under two heads. He approved of what we did, but he found fault with the manner in which we did it. He approved of our policy

and our action, but he found fault with us for two particular circumstances. He found fault with us because, as he said, we were not prompt enough in acting—we were too slow; and he found fault with us because we had not done enough—we should have done more. Let me now examine the criticisms of my hon. friend. As to the first, my hon. friend says that we have been very slow in acting—that we did right in the end, but that it took us a long time to do our duty. Sir, we were slow to move—this is the charge which my hon. friend brings against us. I do not see that any man can properly find fault with us for having reflected and weighed before we came to a conclusion. It was due to the country at large, whose interests were entrusted to our hands, that we should not move hastily, but only after due consideration. Simply by showing the facts as they are, it will be easy for me. I am boastful enough to say, to show that there is absolutely nothing in the charge of the hon. gentleman. I take the essence of the charge as he laid it before the House, and what was it? The charge which the hon. gentleman brought against us was that we had not moved until public opinion had spoken its will in no uncertain tones. Did the hon. gentleman expect that we should do anything else? Will the hon. gentleman tell us, when we had no parliamentary appropriation, that it would have been in order or permissible for us constitutionally to take money from the public treasury and lead the country into military expenditure unless we had behind us the strong verdict of public opinion. But Sir, that is the contention of my hon. friend, and he only shows how incongruous are his ideas of responsible government; this is a responsible government. This is a constitutionally governed country; this is a government of the people for the people. We have no power here but the power which is vested in us by the people. We have no authority but the authority which is vested in us by the people. We have no mission but the mission confided to us by the people. And the hon. gentleman knows very well that there is only one way, under constitutional government, by which the people can speak, and that is by the voice of their representatives in parliament assembled. There is this difference between the Australian colonies and the Canadian parliament, that in the month of September and October, when the war broke out, the Australian colonies had their legislatures in session and could act immediately. But the parliament of Canada was not in session. It had been in session a few months before, and had made no appropriation for the event of war, although at the time a war was contemplated and known to be possible. There is this to be remembered, that the unfortunate condition of things which existed in South Africa was

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not unknown in this country. It had been known for a great many years. It had reached the acute stage, and we knew it, and it engaged the attention of this House. During last session parliament took the matter under consideration and voted a resolution of sympathy for the Outlanders and expressed the hope that their grievances would be remedied, but parliament never made an appropriation for the carrying on the war, supposing a war were to take place. The thing was pending, it was mentioned across the floor, but no appropriation was ever made; and I repeat that unless we had a strong mandate behind us of public opinion, it would have been criminal in us to plunge our hands into the public treasury, however worthy the motive might have been.

When the conduct of the people of the Transvaal made it clear that they were seeking war, and when the ultimatum of President Kruger aroused a storm of indignation all over British-speaking countries, from that moment not one hour was lost, and in three weeks from that day our volunteers were on the ocean. Sir, the hon. gentleman has held it a crime in us that before taking such an important departure in our colonial history, or, as I should say, in our national history, we should have thought and reflected and pondered as to what was to be done. But the reptile press of this country which supports hon. gentlemen opposite, that reptile press which has done so much reptile work in this connection, endeavoured to sow the seeds of discord, endeavoured to impugn our motives and attributed our delay to motives which are too low to be mentioned here. I tell the hon. gentleman that one of the things which made us ponder and reflect as to what should be our course in this matter is the very opinions held by himself, and more than once, as to the advisability of the colonies taking part in a war of the motherland. He repeated this afternoon the words I spoke in England two years ago, when I said that Canada was a nation perfectly independent, that the lien of the empire over us did not weigh the weight of one feather, but that we were just as independent to-day, under the suzerainty of England, as we could be if absolutely independent. And I said likewise that if England at any time were engaged in struggle for life and death, the moment the bugle was sounded or the fire was lit on the hills, the colonies would rush to the aid of the mother country. When I said this, I did not speak only my own mind or the mind of my hon. friend, but the mind of every Canadian. There are no two opinions upon that point. But while every Canadian admits that he would be ready to contribute our treasure and our blood, and the resources of Canada at the disposal of this country, for the rescue of England,

were she engaged in a life and death struggle, there are many Canadians who are not ready to take part in the secondary wars of England or to contribute to the defence of the empire in any part of it. Amongst the men who have taken that view, amongst those who have stated, time and time again, that it would not be fit for Canada to take part in the secondary wars of England or to contribute to the defence of the empire at large, one of the most, if not the most eminent, is my hon. friend who leads the opposition. My hon. friend has spoken more than once upon this subject. He has written upon this subject. He has not been content to wait to discuss this question until it arose, but went to the trouble of writing to the press and the higher magazines in order to educate public opinion and to show what should be the true position of Canada in this respect.

In an article published in the *Nineteenth Century*, October, 1892, under the title 'Federating the Empire,' my hon. friend, under his own name, discussed this very question we are now discussing, and thus spoke of it:

And now comes the next question, that of defence. No one can fail to see how advantageous it would be for England to appear before the world with the knowledge, on the part of every foreign country, that she was not standing alone, but acting with the united influence and support of these great British dominions which, at no distant day, will have a population larger than that of Great Britain. The moral weight and the prestige thus given would be considerable, but the means of concerting united action for the defence between those outlying portions of the empire and the government of the day here would be the most effective and practical method by which they could aid and support each other.

Many persons, I am aware, both in the colonies and here, have looked upon the question of the defence of the empire as best promoted and secured by a direct contribution to the support of the army and navy of this country. That I regard as a very mistaken opinion, and I believe that there is a much more effective means of promoting the object in view. In my opinion, no contribution to the army and navy of England on the part of Canada would have contributed to the defence of the empire in a greater degree than the mode in which the public money in Canada has been expended for that purpose. We have expended, in addition to an enormous grant of land, over a million pounds sterling per annum, from the first hour that we became a united country down to the present day, in constructing a great Imperial highway across Canada from ocean to ocean, not only furnishing the means for the expansion of trade and the development of Canada, but providing the means of inter-communication at all seasons between the different parts of the country. Louis Riel and a mere handful of half-breeds were able to terrorize the whole of the North-west of Canada in 1870 for half a year, until the arrival of Lord Wolseley, who occupied three months in reaching that place after the spring opened. Lord Wolseley could now perform the same journey within two days. On the last occasion in which a rising occurred, in

1885, but ninety miles of the Canadian Pacific Railway remained incomplete. In twenty-four hours 4,000 men had volunteered from every part of Canada to go at once to the North-west, and the disturbance was quelled without calling upon this country for the slightest assistance. We have, therefore, not only provided the means of inter-communication, the means of carrying on our trade and business, but have also established a great Imperial highway which England might to-morrow find almost essential for the maintenance of her power in the east. Not only has Canada furnished a highway across the continent, but it has brought Yokohama three weeks nearer to London than it is by the Suez Canal. I give that as an illustration that there are other means which, in my judgment, may contribute much more to the increased strength and the greatness of the empire than any contribution that could be levied upon any of the colonies.

That was not all. In 1893, my hon. friend published a letter in the *Toronto Mail*, addressed to Mr. Casimir Dixon, Secretary in Canada of the Imperial Federation League. That letter was as follows:—

Victoria Chambers, 17 Victoria St.,
London, S.W., January, 1893.

To Casimir Dickson, Esq.:

My dear Sir,—The pressure of important questions which I could not defer has prevented me dealing earlier with your letter of November last. When you remember that the Council of the Imperial Federation League embraces many strong free traders, you will see how impossible it must be at once to obtain unanimity in a proposal for preferential duties within the empire, and how important it was to obtain from all the committee what is contained in sections 36-37 of the report. The policy of the United Empire Trade League, which has received the support of the House of Commons, and of your branch, is making very steady and great progress in this country, and will, I believe, be adopted at no distant day. It is impossible to effect such a revolution in public opinion in this conservative country without much time and patience. Knowing, as I do, that the most active members of the Imperial Federation League were mainly intent on levying a large contribution on the revenues of the colonies for the support of the army and navy of Great Britain, I am delighted to have been able, almost single-handed, to obtain such a report from such a committee. Unfortunately, they captured Mr. Parkin, and, having used him here, are now using him in Canada to create the false impression that we do nothing to maintain the defence of the empire, instead of showing, as he truthfully could, that we have entitled ourselves to the gratitude of every man who has the interest of the empire at heart.

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES TUPPER.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Read some more.

The PRIME MINISTER. I shall be very glad to gratify hon. gentlemen who want more of that kind of literature. There was a meeting here, about two years ago, of the British Empire League. Sir Charles Tupper is reported to have spoken as

follows at that meeting. I read from the *Mail* of March 11, 1898 :—

'Before sitting down,' said Sir Charles, 'I must take exception to some statements which the chairman has put before the meeting. No person will go further than I will in joining with every man and every class in this country in adopting such a policy as will unite the component parts of the British Empire, but I do not think it is wise, or in the interest of the object we all have in view, to present as you have presented to-day, the attitude of Canada as the utterly humiliating attitude of not doing her duty in showing that she is prepared to shoulder her responsibilities and her obligations in reference to this matter. I am very sorry that on this occasion you have referred to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's speech.

'I say that the menace contained in that speech on a recent occasion of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is not only grossly unjust to Canada, but is not calculated to promote the object we have in view. The question has been fought out and discussed very fully before the British public. A very insignificant section of the Imperial Federation League, as you know, headed by Sir John Colomb, and a young man who was acting as secretary, broke up the Imperial Federation League on this very question. They did so on a demand that the British colonies should either consent to contribute substantial support to the Imperial navy, or should leave. That position was met by other gentlemen and myself, who did not believe they had any warrant for adopting such a policy. At present we only want 30 cents a head on defence, which is a very small amount, less than a man pays for an evening newspaper.

'What are the facts? In 1865 a delegation of Canadian statesmen went to England, consisting of Mr. George Brown, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George E. Cartier and Sir Alexander Gait. These gentlemen went from Canada to arrange with the Imperial government the measure of our mutual contribution for Imperial service, and the Imperial government on that occasion reduced the matter to writing. Although the despatch was held to be confidential, it has been long known to the world. It was that if Canada would agree to spend a million dollars per annum on her militia, England was prepared, with all the power of her empire, to maintain the interest and the security of Canada on every occasion. That which was reduced to writing has been done. Canada not only has lived up to the obligations assigned to her, but has done vastly more. (Loud applause.) In addition to providing a militia force, she has built the Canadian Pacific Railway without a dollar of contribution from Imperial funds. (Applause.) And what does Mr. Chamberlain tell you? He tells you that the construction of that great inter-oceanic highway, by which England is able to man her fleets in the Pacific, has enormously increased the importance of the mother country, and has conferred an inestimable boon upon her. (Applause.)

Now, Sir, these are commentaries of the hon. gentleman himself upon the proposition he had laid down in the magazine article I have just read that Canada had fully discharged her duty to the empire by what she had done in building the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Intercolonial Railway, and by providing for defence. My hon. friend has changed his mind—

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Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

The PRIME MINISTER. It is of little use to argue with gentlemen who say 'no' after hearing the opinions I have just read. He said that Canada had discharged fully the duties she owed to the empire. If my hon. friend has changed his mind, I have no fault to find with him. If he thinks that, in 1889 Canada was in position to do what she could not do before, I have no fault to find. We hear much of the growing wealth of Canada and her increasing strength, and that consequently she could act more effectively than she has done in the past, not only in the way of railway expenditure but in the matter of military equipment. Again I say, I have no fault to find with my hon. friend. But he should not be so severe on others, he should remember that not every man can turn a corner as sharply as he can. My hon. friend changed his mind and his course of action, and on the 4th of October sent me the following telegram :

If war is declared I hope you will send a Canadian contingent of volunteers to aid England in the Transvaal. I know it will be warmly welcomed by the British government, and be of great service to Canada in promoting the unity of the empire. A friend of mine will insure their lives and limbs at his own expense to a million dollars. I will heartily support in parliament your action in this matter.

Sir, this was a new departure in the policy of my hon. friend; but great as is his position in this country, he is only one out of five or six million people; great as is his place in this country, valuable as is his opinion, I would not be willing to base my own opinion upon his alone. I attached considerable importance to the views formerly held by him on this subject. But I am free to say that whilst I cannot admit that Canada should take part in all the wars of Great Britain, neither am I prepared to say that she should not take part in any war at all. I am prepared to look upon each case upon its merits as it arises; and when I considered the object for which Great Britain was fighting, when I remembered that the primary cause of the war was the refusal by the government of the Transvaal to the Uitlanders of those privileges of equal rights which we enjoy in this country, when I saw the enthusiasm manifested by the people in all parts of Canada, then and there I made up my mind, we decided to send a contingent, and it was sent immediately.

My hon. friend has recalled the opinion which I expressed in the *Globe*, and after reading that opinion he triumphantly and exultantly exclaimed that the government had been strongly condemned for that opinion. Now, I will try the logical powers of my hon. friend on this question. During all the summer the problem of war and peace

was trembling in the balance of fate. Many were the hopes that peace would prevail, and many were the fears that war would ensue. During all this time offers were reaching the War Office of aid from all the colonies, asking for the privilege to serve the Queen in the war which was impending. Just about the date that my opinion appeared in the *Globe*, the Colonial Office issued a circular, not to Canada alone, but to all the colonies, stating the conditions under which aid would be accepted from the colonials. The despatch which I referred to is dated on October 3, and is addressed to Canada, to New South Wales, to South Australia, in fact to all the Australian colonies. That despatch reads as follows—

Secretary of State for War and Commander-in-Chief desire to express high appreciation of signal exhibition of patriotic spirit of people of Canada shown by offers to serve in South Africa, and to furnish following information to assist organization of force offered into units suitable for military requirements. Firstly, units should consist of about 125 men; secondly, may be infantry, mounted infantry or cavalry; in view of numbers already available, infantry most, cavalry least serviceable; thirdly, all should be armed with 303 rifles or carbines, which can be supplied by the Imperial government if necessary; fourthly, all must provide own equipment, and mounted troops own horses; fifthly, not more than one captain and three subalterns each unit. Whole force may be commanded by officer not higher than major. In considering numbers which can be employed, Secretary of State for War guided by nature of offers, by desire that each colony should be fairly represented, and limits necessary if force is to be fully utilized by available staff as integral portion of Imperial forces; would gladly accept four units. Conditions as follows: Troops to be disembarked at port of landing, South Africa, fully equipped at cost of colonial government or volunteers. From date of disembarkation Imperial government will provide pay at Imperial rates, supplies and ammunition, and will defray expenses of transport back to Canada, and pay wound pensions and compassionate allowances at Imperial rates. Troops to embark not later than October 31, proceeding direct to Cape Town for orders. Inform accordingly all who have offered to raise volunteers.

Now, Sir, when this despatch reached Canada, His Excellency the Governor General was absent in New York. I had an engagement that took me to Chicago, I came back from Chicago on the 12th, we took up the question that very day, and two days afterwards we issued an order offering our first contingent. Now, why did we do that? True, the action which we took was contrary to the opinion which I had given in the *Globe* that we had no appropriation and ought not to move without the sanction of parliament. We did not call parliament first of all for this reason: The cost of the contingent proposed at that time was so limited that to call parliament in special session would have been more expensive than the cost of the contingent.

Moreover, public opinion was then speaking in such energetic tones that there was no misunderstanding it, and we felt warranted in undertaking the expenditure, relying upon parliament to indemnify the government and to sanction our illegal action in that respect. This was on October 14, and on October 30 our contingent sailed from Quebec. Certainly, to those who were present it was a most impressive scene, it was a most impressive moment—that moment when, from the walls of old Quebec, the scene of the last great conflict between the two races in the last century, the two races now happily reconciled, Canada bade farewell to those men who were going to fight for those principles which applied here, made them the happy citizens of a free and united country.

The hon. gentleman has referred to what I said of the Militia Act. I am still of the opinion that we could not have acted under the Militia Act. We did not apply the Militia Act, we were not bound to apply it, because, under the terms of the despatch which I have just read, we could not apply it to our volunteers. The moment they landed in South Africa they became British soldiers, they did not go as part of the Canadian militia, but they went as full British soldiers, with the full quality of Tommy Atkins.

Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman having taken up this position, has blamed me somewhat in his speech this afternoon for having been, as he said, rather lukewarm—I do not exactly remember the word he used at this moment, but it conveyed the impression that I had been lukewarm in regard to the war, that I had not been enthusiastic. Sir, I have no hesitation in admitting that I was not enthusiastic for that war, or for any war. I have no sympathy for that mad, noisy, dull-witted and short-sighted throng who clamour for war, who shouted 'On to Pretoria,' who complacently prophesied that General Buller would eat his Christmas dinner in the capital of the Transvaal. War is the greatest calamity that can befall any nation, and if ever there was a calamitous war it is this one. The uncertainties of war must always make men shudder who take the responsibilities of entering into it. Sir, I have no hesitation in admitting that I entertained a strong hope that the old historic associations which, in the 16th and 17th centuries, bound together in Europe the Dutch race and the English race, would prove sufficiently powerful to keep the peace; I strongly hoped that the Dutch and English races which have done so much for civilization and for freedom, would be able to patch up their differences in Africa, and so continue the work of civilization and freedom in that continent. I deprecated the war because I have long been of the opinion, as a result of the thought I have been able to give to the problems which now

face the British government in Africa, that the only solution of those problems is a confederation of the Dutch States and the English States, after the pattern of our Canadian confederation. I was of the opinion that if, unfortunately, war were to break out, as it has broken out, that grand scheme would inevitably be postponed, and, perhaps, it might be for ever killed. That was the reason why I was not enthusiastic for the war; that was the reason I did not move as hastily as my hon. friend would have me do. But the moment it appeared to me that the people of the Transvaal would not grant the equal rights which British people in that country had a right to expect, then, Sir, I felt no longer any hesitation, my mind was made up, because I saw there was nothing else to do but to prosecute the war to the bitter end.

Sir, the hon. gentleman has attempted to be very severe upon us to-day, but, he has forgotten, or passed over lightly, the only weak point as to which our position is weak. From the constitutional point of view our position is weak, from the constitutional point of view our position might be absolutely indefensible. In fact, there is no defence for it. We are without the law; our only justification is what I said a moment ago that we knew, that, in acting as we did against the provision of constitutional government, we were simply carrying out what was the desire and the will of the Canadian people. Had it not been for that, had it not been that we had with us the whole of the Canadian people, without the distinction of race or creed, had it not been that we had with us the great majority of our fellow-countrymen, our action would have been simply indefensible, but we relied on the fact that we well knew, from all the evidence we had, from the evidence of the action of my hon. friend himself, from the evidence of the press, of public meetings, from all the modes by which public opinion can express itself, we well knew that in acting as we did we were simply carrying out the will of the Canadian people. In passing the Order in Council which we did we put a restriction upon it. The hon. gentleman has found fault with it, and it is just as well that the matter should be threshed out here and now. When we decided to send the first contingent to South Africa we passed the following Order in Council:—

The Committee of the Privy Council have had under consideration a despatch, dated October 3, 1899, from the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain.

The Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, to whom the said despatch was referred, observes that the Colonial Secretary, in answer to the offers which have been sent to him from different parts of Canada expressing the willingness and anxiety of Canadians to serve Her Majesty's government in the war which for a long time has been threatening with the Transvaal Republic, and which, unfortunately, has actually commenced, enunciates the conditions under

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which such offers may be accepted by the Imperial authorities. Those conditions may be practically summed up in the statement that a certain number of volunteers, by units of 125 men, with a few officers, will be accepted to serve in the British army now operating in South Africa, the moment they reach the coast, provided the expenses of their equipment and transportation to South Africa are defrayed, either by themselves or by the colonial government.

The Prime Minister, in view of the well known desire of a great many Canadians who are ready to take service under such conditions, is of opinion that the moderate expenditure which would thus be involved for the equipment and transportation of such volunteers may readily be undertaken by the government of Canada without summoning parliament, especially as such an expenditure, under such circumstances, cannot be regarded as a departure from the well-known principles of constitutional government and colonial practice, nor construed as a precedent for future action.

I believe that these were wise words and saving words, to say that this action should not be a precedent for future action. It could not be a precedent for future action, certainly from the colonial point of view.

Mr. FOSTER. What is the number of that?

The PRIME MINISTER. No. 93. But, I will go further, and I will say that not only from the British constitutional point of view it is not to be construed as a precedent, but that even from the colonial point of view it is not to be construed as a precedent. If the result of our action were to be, that in any war of Great Britain, we were to be constrained to take a part, as upon this precedent, I would strongly object. What we have done we have done, as I said at Sherbrooke, in the plenitude, in the majesty of our colonial, legislative independence. I claim for Canada this, that, in future, Canada shall be at liberty to act or not act, to interfere or not interfere, to do just as she pleases, and that she shall reserve to herself the right to judge whether or not there is cause for her to act. In the words of Rudyard Kipling I repeat:—

Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own;
The gates are mine to open,
The gates are mine to close.

That is the position we have taken upon this question. We are independent, as I said in London, absolutely independent, and though we are ready, and though we hope that condition shall never rise, if that condition shall arise we shall act in regard to it just as we have done upon this occasion, consider, reflect, think, weigh, and if we think that there is cause for interference we shall interfere. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman found fault with the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bonrassa), because the hon. member for Labelle did not see eye to eye with us upon this question, and the hon. gentleman found great fault with me be-

cause I had not offered any opposition to the hon. member for Labelle. The hon. member for Labelle and I agree upon many questions; we differ upon this one question, but my hon. friend, the hon. leader of the Opposition, differs with the hon. member for Labelle on every question, this one included. If it was criminal, if it was impolitic—I do not know how to qualify it—but if it was criminal on my part not to offer any opposition to the hon. member for Labelle, what language shall I find strong enough to qualify the action of the hon. leader of the opposition. I need not come to the rescue of the hon. member for Labelle; he is quite able to take care of himself even against so formidable an opponent as the hon. leader of the opposition.

The main point of my hon. friend's attack upon us is that we have not done enough, that in this matter, in his opinion, we have been remiss in our duty because we should have provided for the whole payment of our volunteers whilst they are in Africa and not allow the British government to pay one single cent. I must say that I have been surprised at the mildness of the criticism of my hon. friend upon this subject. I had expected an amendment upon this question. I have read the speeches of my hon. friend—I cannot say that I have read every one of the fifty-six speeches that he delivered when he was in the West, but I have read a good many of them.

An hon. MEMBER. They are all alike.

The PRIME MINISTER. Well, then, I read them all, in that respect. But, I know that there was the same tone to every one of them, and that the pledge was given to the people that if, at the opening of the session the government did not provide for the payment of the volunteers while in South Africa, the hon. gentleman would bring down a resolution condemning the government and stating the opinion of himself and his friends that parliament should provide for the payment of the troops while they are in Africa. My hon. friend has not been up to his word in this matter; he has not carried out his pledge. He is a man of broken pledges, not a government of broken pledges, but a man of broken pledges in this matter. Whatever may be his motive I do not know. Yes, I know; the position he has taken is absolutely untenable and I will give to my hon. friend the reason why we do not propose to ask parliament, as we will not ask parliament, to pay the volunteers while they are in Africa. It is not a question of money; having taken the position which ye have taken, having decided to come, if I may say so, to the rescue of England, having decided to do our best to help England fight her battles, a few dollars more or less, would not count.

The reason why we have not provided and do not ask parliament to provide for

the payment of the troops is, that the question has to be approached from a higher than a purely Canadian ground. The reason why we took this course, I can tell my hon. friend, is because of this very Imperial ground of which he talks so much but of which he apparently understands so little. The following are the colonies which have tendered their services to Great Britain: Queensland, Victoria, The Malay States, Lagos, New South Wales, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Western Australia, Tasmania, South Australia and Canada. All these offers have not been accepted. The offer of Lagos has not been accepted and the offer of the Malay States has not been accepted; in fact the offers of the Crown colonies have not been accepted and the only offers accepted are those of the self-governing colonies. It is notorious that all these colonies do not occupy the same financial position, the financial position of some being stronger than others, and the British government probably took that into consideration. At all events the British government laid down a rule which would apply equally to all British colonies whether their financial position was strong or whether it was weak. They laid down the rule that no one colony should have more glory than another, that all should be upon an equal footing, and in the despatch which came to us and which was issued to all the colonies, they determined that the colonies should be allowed to provide for the pay and equipment of the troops up to the time they landed in Africa; but that from that day they would become incorporated with the British Army and be paid by the Imperial authorities. The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) knows very well that this is the rule laid down by the Imperial authorities after due consideration. New Zealand passed a resolution on the 28th of September which is summarized in the Blue Book which has been brought down as follows:—

Resolution passed by a large majority of House of Representatives with great enthusiasm, that offer to Imperial government for service in Transvaal contingent Mounted Rifles; that in the event of offer being accepted, my government is empowered, after selection by commander forces, to provide, equip, despatch forces. Two full companies mounted, fully equipped, delivered direct wherever desired at short notice. Transport and pay defrayed by New Zealand, Imperial government to provide supplies on arrival.

Remark the words "transport and pay defrayed by New Zealand." On the 3rd October the following despatch was sent from the Colonial Office:—

(Telegram.)

Referring to your telegram 22nd September, Secretary of State for War and Commander-in-Chief highly appreciate signal exhibition of patriotic spirit of people of Queensland, desire that mounted infantry offered by colony be organized

in two companies, 125 men each, armed with 303 rifles or carbines, with their own horses, but rifles or carbines can be supplied if necessary by Imperial government. Not more than one captain and three subalterns each company. Officer not higher than major may command whole force. Troops to be disembarked at port of landing South Africa, fully equipped at cost of colonial government. From date of disembarkation force is to be treated as integral portion of Imperial forces. After that date Imperial government will provide pay at Imperial rates, supplies and ammunition, and defray expenses of transport back to colony, and pay wound pensions and compassionate allowances at Imperial rates.

Now, Sir, that is not all. As soon as the rules of the House permit I will lay on the Table another paper bearing directly upon this subject. On the 2nd of October the War Office issued to the Colonial Office the following despatch :—

War Office, London, S.W.,
October 2, 1899.

Sir,—In view of the many offers of troops for co-operation with Her Majesty's forces in South Africa which have been made, either officially by colonial governments on behalf of their colonies, or unofficially by officers and gentlemen on behalf of bodies of men whom they know to be willing to serve, the Secretary of State for War will be obliged if the Secretary of State for the Colonies will express to both the government and the individuals concerned his gratification at the fact that such offers have been made. The Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief highly appreciate this signal exhibition of the patriotic spirit by which Her Majesty's colonial subjects are animated.

Lord Lansdowne would also submit for transmission to the proper quarters such information as may assist in the organization of the troops thus offered into units suitable to the military requirements of the situation. Such requirements and the conditions necessary to fulfil them can best be indicated in outline, leaving details for further consideration and arrangement.

After giving details of organization and arms, the despatch goes on to state :—

Conditions of pay, pension, transport, &c.:

Whilst noting the generous offer by the government of New Zealand to furnish pay in addition to transport Lord Lansdowne is of opinion that the same conditions should be applied in the case of each colony, viz.:

Every colonial force should be landed at the port of debarkation in South Africa fully equipped at the cost of the colonial government or other body furnishing the force.

The Imperial government to provide from that date pay at Imperial rates, supplies and ammunition and to defray the cost of transport back to the colony when the services of the force are no longer required. Wound pensions and compassionate allowances to be paid by the Imperial government at Imperial rates.

You see, Mr. Speaker, that these rules were laid down by the War Office after mature consideration, and they were not at all the result of accident. My hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) called my attention, this afternoon to the despatch of

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the Colonial Office to Earl Ranfurley in which the offer is apparently accepted without any qualification. It reads as follows :—

Downing Street, November 10, 1899.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of September 29 last, transmitting a resolution passed by the House of Representatives respecting the offer of a contingent of New Zealand Mounted Rifles for service in South Africa, and reporting the arrangements made for the composition and equipment of the force.

The patriotic enthusiasm with which the government and people of New Zealand have taken a share in the defence of Imperial interests in South Africa has been received with warm and sincere gratification by the government and people of this country; and the promptitude of the arrangements made for the despatch of the contingent has been cordially recognized by the military authorities.

I have, &c.,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

When I read this despatch I thought that after all perhaps there had been a subsequent arrangement, and with a view of ascertaining that I wired to our High Commissioner to ascertain the facts. My hon. friend has read the telegram and the answer to it, but it may bear repetition. This is what I cabled to Lord Strathcona :

Ottawa, January 26, 1900.

In view of discussions upon subject here, I desire to know definitely what is arrangement between British government and different Australasian colonies respecting pay of men serving on colonial contingents after landing in South Africa. Are colonies paying in any cases? Give details.

Here is the answer of Lord Strathcona :

London, January 30, 1900.

Have communicated with Colonial Office regarding your cable 26th instant. Arrangement with Australian colonies precisely same as with Canada. In no case are colonies paying their contingents after landing South Africa. New Zealand government offered provide pay for their contingents, but Her Majesty's government were of opinion that arrangement by which pay at Imperial rates should be provided from Imperial exchequer from date of disembarkation South Africa should be applied all colonial forces. See Nos. 13 and 16, Parliamentary Papers, November 16, 1899. Copies sent Secretary of State, 15th ultimo.

Therefore you have the principle laid down and determined by the Imperial authorities, and absolutely put outside the pale of discussion. Why therefore should we discuss the question any more? Why should my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) attempt to create political capital—I can attribute to him no other motive than that—why should he attempt to make political capital out of this? Why does he insist so much that we should pay, if not for the advantage of being able to say to the country, 'Oh, the government have no heart in this business; they do not

want to pay.' Why, Sir, the matter has been settled by the Imperial government themselves. Why do you want to force your money on the Imperial government when they do not want it. Instead of having the majestic movement which you have to-day, of uniform action between Great Britain and all her colonies, the hon. gentleman wants to have a balky team with no two members pulling in unison. Is there not more patriotism in observing the conditions which the government of Great Britain has laid down, and which place the smallest of the self-governing colonies upon a footing of equality with the largest and the highest? But now, Sir, what shall we do with our own men? They are in the field as members of the Imperial Army. They are soldiers of the Queen to all intents and purposes. They are there just like the Lancashire Fusiliers, like the Highlanders, like all the other troops now fighting in South Africa—they are on a footing of equality with all others. They are receiving Imperial pay, which we know is not as high as Canadian pay. Take the case of the members of the mounted police, who have left their work on the prairies to serve in South Africa at half the pay they received as mounted police. It strikes me as a thing that is not fair that these men should not receive the same compensation that they had in the service of Canada. But, Sir, we cannot pay these men as we would like to pay them in the field. My hon. friend realizes that nothing would be so destructive of the discipline of the army if on pay-day the ordinary Tommy Atkins were to receive one shilling a day and the Canadian Tommy Atkins two shillings a day. Every one realizes, the Imperial government realizes, that such a condition of things would be intolerable. We do not propose to suggest that to the Imperial authorities; but what we propose to do is to ask parliament to provide a fund sufficient to pay the men their full Canadian pay, but to keep it in reserve, and in the meantime to allow their families to draw from it sufficient to keep them in comfort. In this way we will help our own soldiers who want the money. But I do not think the Imperial government is in need of money. I think England can fight her own battles. It is not the money nor the soldiers that England wants at this moment. But she wants the strong moral support of all the colonies, especially such colonies as Canada, which has the advantage of those equal rights for which she is fighting in South Africa. The government are aware that the policy which they have proposed has received and will receive the commendation of the great mass of the people. There are exceptions, I know. There are men who will oppose our policy, and who will oppose it from very different motives. There are those who believe that

we have not done enough. We have just heard the chief exponent of that school. There may be those who feel that we have done too much, or who feel that we should have done nothing at all. On that question we appeal to the broad national conscience of Canada. We appeal to those who take pride in their imperialism; and ask them to be not more imperial than the Imperial government of the Queen. To those who believe in exclusive and restrictive autonomy we ask to rise superior to mere colonial level. We ask all Canadians to sink those minor differences in view of the grandeur of the idea from which we have received our inspiration.

The spectacle given to-day by England and her colonies is unique in the history of the world. It is unprecedented. The causes of the war are likewise unprecedented. This war is not waged for conquest; it is not waged for territory; it is not waged for the subjugation of a proud people. The causes of the war may be summed up in a few broad, comprehensive lines. During the present century, especially during the last sixty years, there have sprung out of the wilderness of South Africa into existence and into very great importance some five or six states—I use the word 'state' in its broader, generic significance—the Cape, Natal, Rhodesia, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Two races, the English and Dutch, have founded those states, and brought them to the condition in which they are to-day. Three of them, the Cape, Natal and Rhodesia, are British colonies. In two of them the legislative power belongs to the native Dutch population. In all of them the two races are more or less mixed and intermingled. In some of them the British population has the ascendancy in point of numbers. In others the ascendancy belongs to the Dutch population. The question is, how is the dominant power in every one of these states to treat and deal with the population of the other origin? How is England to treat and deal with the Dutch population under her domination? How are the Dutch population to treat their English fellow-citizens? This is the problem which, in one form or another, has been exercising British statesmen and Dutch statesmen for a great many years. So far as England is concerned, she has solved the problem already. She has solved it in her usual liberal, high-minded, highly civilized method. Wherever England has the sway, in the Cape, in Natal, in Rhodesia, she has given to the Dutch population every right and every privilege which is the birth-right of her own children. Everything which she gives to the English-speaking people she gives to the Dutch-speaking people. Everything she retains from the Dutch-speaking people she retains from the English-speaking people as well. On the other hand, in the

Transvaal the Dutch government has refused to give to the English population those same rights and privileges which are willingly extended by Great Britain to the Dutch population in her own colonies. The government of the Transvaal has done this with the full and open assent of the Dutch population there and in the Orange Free State. Indeed, rather than give to the English population those equal rights which England gives to the Dutch population where she has the domination, the government of the Transvaal has declared war; and rather than give up those rights and privileges of which she has been the champion all over the world, England has accepted war. Now, the issues are in the hands of that supreme power which builds up and destroys empires and nations, whose ways are inscrutable, whose judgments are ever righteous even though they bring disappointment and bitterness. Fondly do we hope and fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away; that it may end in a victory which, when achieved, shall take away from the Dutch population none of the rights which they have to-day, but which will compel them to give to others the same treatment upon which they have always insisted for themselves; which, when achieved, will probably bring about a grand confederation of those warring states, in which the rights, the privileges, the sentiments, the traditions, nay, the prejudices, of all sections of the population will be respected, in which there will be justice and freedom for all, and absolute equality before the law. With these grand ideals, these aspirations, these purposes before them, the colonies of Great Britain to-day stand behind her—not to give her any assistance—she does not need that—but to affirm to the world that the unity of the British Empire is a real and living fact; to affirm to the world that the unity of the British Empire is based upon and derives its strength from the most ample local autonomy and the most unbounded respect for the rights and privileges of all its subjects. It is this which has inspired our policy, and that policy we submit with confidence for the approval of parliament.

Mr. FOSTER. Although, Mr. Speaker, not altogether in a complaining mood, I think I have the right to call your attention and the attention of this House to the most unbusinesslike position in which we are placed in the discussion of this answer to the address. The right hon. gentleman, who leads this government and this House, has had access from the first to all papers in the negotiations which have gone on and which have culminated in the action which is being traversed to-night in this discussion. The right hon. gentleman knew very well that this would be the main topic of discussion upon the answer to the address. He knew that he took his opponents and the members

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of this House at a complete disadvantage, when, having access to all that information himself, he steadily kept it from every member of this House, as well on his own side as on this. And when, on Friday last, the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) arose— If we cannot, Mr. Speaker, have order, I will move the adjournment of the House until hon. members opposite are in a mood to listen. I do not care to speak while gentlemen on the other side are continually getting up and down, and I think it would be better for me to move the adjournment of the debate.

The PRIME MINISTER. I have no objection.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

MESSAGES FROM HIS EXCELLENCY— COLONIAL CONTINGENTS.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) presented a Message from His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. SPEAKER read the Message as follows:—

The Governor General transmits to the House of Commons a copy of an approved Minute of Council appointing the Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright, G.C.M.G., Minister of Trade and Commerce; the Hon. Sir Louis Henry Davies, K.C.M.G., Minister of Marine and Fisheries; the Hon. William Stevens Fielding, Minister of Finance, and the Hon. Joseph Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, to act with the Speaker of the House of Commons, as commissioners for the purposes and under the provisions of the 13th chapter of the Revised Statutes of Canada, intitled: "An Act respecting the House of Commons.

COLONIAL CONTINGENTS.

The PRIME MINISTER presented the following Message from His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. SPEAKER read the message as follows:

The Governor General transmits to the House of Commons the correspondence relating to the despatch of the colonial military contingents to South Africa.

MINTO.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

ADJOURNMENT—THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am advised that a London despatch just arrived says that before the Imperial government consented to the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the proposal was submitted to the Dominion government, and the latter consented to giving the United States con-

trol of both shores of the American continent. Is this statement well founded?

The PRIME MINISTER. My hon. friend is aware that I could not, without the consent of the Crown, give any information upon any such subject.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would like to ask my right hon. friend to obtain that information.

The PRIME MINISTER. I intend to apply for it immediately.

Mr. FOSTER. I would ask if the papers my hon. friend read are included in these that have been laid on the Table?

The PRIME MINISTER. Yes, that is the Message I brought down a moment ago.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, February 6, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have the honour to inform the House that the Clerk of the House has received from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, certificate of the election and return of John McIntosh, Esq., for the electoral district of Sherbrooke.

MEMBER INTRODUCED.

John McIntosh, Esq., member for the electoral district of Sherbrooke, by Sir Charles Tupper and Mr. Pope.

REPORT.

The report of the Auditor General for the year ending June 30, 1889—The Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding.)

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 4) to establish a Bankruptcy Court.—(Mr. Maclean.)

FRANCHISE ACT.

Mc McINNES moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 5) to amend the Franchise Act, 1898. He said: The object of this amendment is to prevent China-

men and Japanese from voting at Dominion elections. Under the Franchise Act as it now stands, all naturalized Chinamen and Japanese are entitled to so vote. The amendment proposes an explicit prohibition against these people exercising the federal franchise.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would like to ask my right hon. friend if he is in a position to answer the question I put to him last night with regard to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am not.

THE LEINSTER REGIMENT.

Mr. McNEILL. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I should like to ask for some information with reference to a matter of, as I think, great public urgency. I see by the papers that the Leinster Regiment, which is stationed at present at Halifax, has been ordered for service in South Africa. I should like to know from the government whether arrangements have been made to supply its place with a Canadian militia regiment, so as to obviate the necessity of any further drafts or drain being made upon the military resources of the mother country at the present moment. I may say, while referring to that, that I believe there is also an Imperial force of about a thousand men in Bermuda which could be utilized at the present time, if a Canadian regiment or a certain number of volunteers were sent there to take their place. I do not suppose that anything more effective could be done at the present moment to assist the mother country than to take steps of that kind. I shall be very much obliged if my right hon. friend could inform the House and country whether anything of that kind is in contemplation or has been done.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I have to say to my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) that, so far as I am personally concerned I have had no intimation of the regiment at Halifax having been ordered to the front. I shall have to inquire from my hon. friend the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) whether he has more information than I have. I am not in a position at present to give my hon. friend the information he desires.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not wish to trespass upon the rules of the House or to move a resolution, but I may just say to my right hon. friend that this is a matter which is mentioned in the public press, and

it is one to which I hope the government will direct their attention at the earliest possible moment, because I see that the Leinster Regiment is under orders to embark this month.

The PRIME MINISTER. What paper is it in?

Mr. McNEILL. I saw it in the *Journal* of last night.

The PRIME MINISTER. I will inquire.

Mr. McNEILL. I see the Minister of Militia is now in his place—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. McNEILL. You need not call order about a thing of this kind. Surely we are all agreed upon this matter, and it does not matter if I take up a moment or two in reference to a question of this magnitude. The Minister of Militia is in his place, and perhaps I may be allowed to ask him whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Leinster Regiment is about to be removed from Halifax to South Africa for active service; and whether if that be the fact, he will take steps to place Canadians as a garrison in Halifax in place of the Imperial troops which are about to be moved, so as to obviate the necessity of a militia regiment being sent across the Atlantic from the mother country; also, whether he will take into consideration the advisability of offering a Canadian regiment to take the place of the regular troops which are at present in Bermuda, and who would then be set free to assist in South Africa. My hon. friend, I see, is smiling at that, but I do not think that this is a matter for levity at all; I think this is a very serious matter with which we are face to face at the present time.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). My hon. friend is opening up a very wide subject, I think, one that can scarcely be discussed in the manner in which the hon. gentleman has brought it forward. It would require some notice and some consideration. With reference to the first question which he has put, I may say that I have only the information he has, that which is derived from the press. I know nothing further with reference to the withdrawal of the Leinster Regiment. As to the other matters to which he has referred, I should be very happy to give them, as I have already done to some extent, careful consideration.

Mr. McNEILL.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Gould for an address to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his speech at the opening of the session.

MR. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, under happier auspices I may venture to ask the attention of the House for a very short time, I hope, whilst I make a few comments on the address in reply to the speech from the Throne. But before proceeding to the question which took up so large a part of the attention of the House yesterday, I have some observations to offer on some of the other clauses of the address. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Gould) who made his maiden speech in this House in moving the resolutions, said that he did not think that any person had ever risen in the House of Commons at a more auspicious period than he himself did to move the reply to the address. I have a fairly distinct recollection that I made myself almost the same remark when, in 1883, I had the honour of performing that duty. I imagine it is a feeling in which most movers of the Address for the first time, indulge. I must say, however, that outside the general observations of that hon. gentleman, I have one or two criticisms to make provoked by another statement of his, which was to the effect that this great and abounding prosperity was due to the policy and to the administration of the present government. In the first place he declared that it did not require figures to prove prosperity at this time; but I notice that he did still have some faith in the efficacy of figures, as he gave to the House rather an abundant quota of them.

Now, so far as the prosperity of this country is concerned, all my colleagues on this side of the House join me in the pleasing duty of congratulating the country on its continued prosperity. When I use the word 'continued,' I use it because I think it expresses a truth. I suppose that no sensible man on the other side of the House, in his cool moments, however partisan he may be, will attempt to argue that prosperity had its beginning with the advent to power of the present administration. I know that this is a euphemistic way of putting the matter in praise of the administration; but I always imagine that I see a smile lurking somewhere on the countenance of the hon. gentleman who uses it, and at the very time that he is using it. Everybody with good common sense and the average intelligence, and, I suppose, all of us in his House may lay claim to that, knows that there are cycles in prosperity, that there are periods of lesser and greater prosperity. I think every one residing in Canada, who has paid

any attention to the history of this country, knows that, commencing about 1890, there was a period of rather hard times, of commercial depression, the world over, and that these were due to causes not inherent in any government policy, or any government administration. Every person knows also, if he is fair to history, that the Dominion of Canada from 1890 to 1895 passed through that period of world-wide depression with, I think, the least number of scars and the least degree of trouble and difficulty of any large country in the civilized world. Everybody of common sense and intelligence knows that in 1895 the cycle of depression began to roll into a cycle of improved business, as shown by every test which can be applied to it, by the statistics of the country, by the general business of the country, by the statistics gathered by this government, and the officials of this government, and placed in our blue-books. Whether this present administration had come into power in 1896 or not, no sensible man has any other idea than that we would at this time in Canada, as all the rest of the world, have been enjoying great and abounding prosperity. We might as well be honest and fair with ourselves. For my own part I congratulate the government, I congratulate the opposition, I congratulate every citizen in Canada upon the great and abounding prosperity which has marked these last two or three years in the history of Canada. I hope they will long continue. I am quite willing to give to the present administration any credit that may be due to them for administrative methods, either in maintaining a wise policy already inaugurated, or in introducing a newer and better lines, if they have done so. But I am not at present in a position, nor do I think we ought to be asked to place ourselves in a position, to deny the facts of history and to go against common sense and common intelligence.

Now, Sir, we are in the midst of an increasing prosperity, as is shown by certain figures and certain statistics. I am glad of it, as I said before. Prosperity is good for this country, prosperity is not confined to this country, prosperity is general in all the foremost countries of the world, whether they are ruled by a Liberal or a Conservative administration, whether they have a policy of free trade prevailing, as in Great Britain, or a policy of a revenue tariff, or a policy of extraordinarily high protection.

In every one of these countries, as we may gather from their statistics to-day, they are enjoying a period of more than ordinary prosperity and progress. But, these waves of prosperity are due to greater causes and other causes than even the high and mighty ability and the wise administrative policy of the thirteen—no, of the eighteen gentlemen, who, to-day, are supposed to be guiding the affairs of the country. I do not imagine, that

at this particular period of our history, these eighteen gentlemen have very much to do with the affairs of the United States of America. Not many years ago they thought they would have when they came into power. A good many years ago, in their pretensions, they believed that all that was necessary for certain things was that they should occupy the seats of power, and, behold, the United States, in its various fiscal and trade affairs, would open its arms, take Canada to its bosom, and, in loving commercial and trade embrace they would go on as a completely happy and united family. Is there not a period of great prosperity in the United States of America? Will the right hon. Prime Minister listen for a moment to what is the average tariff of the United States of America? There is no pretense about that being a free trade tariff, such as it is in England, or a revenue tariff; that is an out and out ultra protectionist tariff, averaging about 51 per cent of the value of dutiable articles introduced into that country, and yet, in the whole period of the history of the United States, you cannot point to two more prosperous years than 1898 and 1899. Is not that sufficient, of itself, to prove the fallacy and the foolishness of the attempts of the hon. gentlemen opposite, to claim for their policy and for their administration the wave of prosperity that is passing over this country as over the world. Well, Sir, they also ask us to congratulate them on the general volume of the revenue. It is not many years ago that we remember to have heard this House ring with the proposition that all revenue was simply a contribution from, or an imposition upon the hard earnings of the people of this country, and in so far as its height and volume were contributed through the two sources of internal revenue and customs, it was taxation and a burden, and as the right hon. Prime Minister was fond of saying: taxation is not a virtue and not a boon: taxation is the opposite of that. They have their volume of revenue which is seven and a third millions more, taken out of the people of this country in taxation proper, in inland revenue and customs, than what was taken from this country in 1896. They ask us to congratulate them on the increase, and we have to congratulate them on adding seven and a third millions to the taxation of the people of this country. My hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright), that distinguished and gallant patriot, who in 1892, took occasion to write over to the *Economist* and to have distributed everywhere through Great Britain a brochure in which he declared, amongst other things, that the taxation which was being raised from this country, \$6,500,000 less than it is to-day, was bleeding the farmers and the people of this country white. We congratulate my hon. friend, though, now, I am sorry to say, he is but an onlooker, so acknowledged by him-

self, upon going so far back upon every conviction that he had formerly declared he held, and as to this year of grace 1899, taking seven and a third more millions out of the poor white blood that was left in the farmers and the people of this country, and terrible to tell, in this story of decadence and deterioration, the hon. gentleman cannot find time to sit down and indict an article to the people of Great Britain, whom he was so anxious to enlighten then. as to the extra bleeding process which is taking place to-day in one of Her Majesty's dominions. It has been said that the exports and imports have increased, and it is referred to here as being the volume of exports. We have here no figures as to the volume of exports; everything that is stated by hon. gentlemen opposite is as to the value of exports, not the volume. When we come to take up the financial aspect of the question, as we will later, I think we shall be prepared to show that volumes and values are very different as applied in different periods, to the imports and exports of this country. Three years ago we imported into this country more than \$10,000,000 worth of iron goods representing a certain volume; should that same volume, in the same way, be introduced into this country in the year 1899, the values of that import would be, at least, double of what the values were in 1895, while the volume would be exactly the same. Apply that to the heightened scale of prices which runs along the whole line nearly, with the sole exception of one or two staples that the farmers of this country have to sell, the farmers' wheat for instance, apply the same argument in that way, and I think hon. gentlemen will crawl down a little from their high and mighty position, as comparing the volumes of trade, when they are really simply comparing the values of trade in two different periods. Let me go to another point. I noticed a strange conjunction—I thought it strange, but I do not now—I noticed a strange, as I thought, and a somewhat forced conjunction in this paragraph:

I have been instructed to convey to you Her Majesty's high appreciation of the loyalty and patriotism thus displayed, which—

And there something else follows. The two paragraphs preceding that and the paragraph succeeding it all have reference, solely and wholly, to the Transvaal war and to the contingents and in the essence of consistency and uniformity of composition and idea, no extraneous matter ought to have been dragged, by force, into this paragraph lying between them. But hon. gentlemen opposite could not forego the small opportunity of hitching on one of their pet policies to the question of the Transvaal war, and there is the conjunction:

—which, following the preference granted under the present tariff to articles of British manufacture, has had the happiest effect in cementing

Mr. FOSTER.

and intensifying the cordial relations subsisting between Canada and the mother country.

But these hon. gentlemen are not looking for political effect. They do not want to tie any of their little paper theories on to this great and tremendous and all absorbing question of a united empire—the aid of all the colonies and the fighting out of the destinies of Great Britain on the plains of the Transvaal. They are away above a thing of that kind. I said, that I thought it was a strange conjunction, but I can see exactly how it happened to come in. Whoever drafted it had in his mind the blunders of the administration. Why have we this partial preferential policy to-day? Because these hon. gentlemen never having intended it were forced into it and had to take it as the less of two evils. Does anybody on the other side of the House pretend to deny that? I will quote from my friend, the 'Onlooker' of the administration, who having leisure on his hands in that position, will have his memory unobscured and be able to keep in touch with all these varying phases of the policy of a varying administration. When he introduced—no, not he. He ought have done it by right; but, when the gentlemen by his side introduced the financial policy of the government in 1897, did they introduce a preference policy for Great Britain? No, Sir. They denied it. The motto then was: All the world for Canada. Oh, they were broad-minded men. The whole world was their theatre, and they were not going to be bound down to trade with a country of one million inhabitants, and another country of twenty million inhabitants, and another country of five millions. Oh, no; the whole world was to be open to this business administration, and they meant to take it for Canadian trade. And when it was suggested that this was a preference meant for Great Britain—at least that must be enjoyed only by Great Britain in view of the existing Belgian and German treaties, what did the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) say? He said:

I say with respect to the offer we are now making, that it is not a preferential offer at all in the true, legal sense of the word. That offer is open to all the world. The Americans may avail themselves of it, and so may the Germans and Belgians. The whole world are welcome to avail themselves of it on the same terms and the same conditions on which England may take advantage of it.

And, when I interjected:

And the United States.

The hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) answered:

If the Americans are willing to give us full and fair reciprocal advantages.

And did not these gentlemen opposite believe that the Americans were so willing?

Did they not tell the people of Canada that the Americans were willing, and did they not asseverate, upon their honour, that as soon as the wicked and distasteful Tories were out of office, our cousins in the United States would meet them more than half way and give them reciprocity. And so the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) further said :

If the Americans are willing to give us full and fair reciprocal advantages, I would recommend trading with them for the benefit of Canada and the Empire^otoo; and I think Mr. Foster will find out before he is many years older, that very probably—although I admit it is a little roundabout way—it is not a bad way to get it. We have to-day offered better terms to these countries who will trade with us fairly, but that offer has been made to the United States just as it has to any other country, even to Great Britain herself.

So much for that. Why then was this conjoined to the Transvaal contingent policy? It was for the reason that the government did at last what they did not intend to do at first, and they were enforced into doing this thing as they were in the other. When the right hon. gentleman, the leader of the government—after I have no doubt consulting his cabinet and speaking for every member of that cabinet—when he came out with his ultimatum to the people of Canada: that the constitution was against it, that power was lacking, that there was no vote, that they could do nothing, and that consequently nothing would be done; he remained quiet thereafter. And, Sir, he and his government would have remained quiet to this day, and to this day not a Canadian soldier would have found himself on the plains of the Transvaal fighting under British colours, to this day not a single gun or man would have been sent out of this Dominion of Canada, if the country had acquiesced in that ultimatum. If the country had sat down quietly under that ultimatum of the Prime Minister of Canada we would to-day have no Transvaal contingent in South Africa, and we would have no paragraph in the speech from the Throne on this subject. That is the reason, Mr. Speaker, why I think the minister who penned this had in mind, what a beautifully apposite thing it would be to tie the two things together, which the same government, equally in the case of both, never intended, and equally in the case of both had ultimately to perform.

The Governor General's speech further says:

The measures which have been taken from time to time to facilitate the safe transportation of food stuffs to European markets have resulted in a large increase in the exportation of several important articles of produce, and it may become necessary in the interest of this very important branch of industry to require a more careful inspection than has been customary for the purpose of maintaining that high

standard of excellence heretofore secured and which is absolutely indispensable if the people of Canada are to increase their large and profitable trade with other countries in these commodities.

I wonder at the excessive modesty of that paragraph. I am quite certain that the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) could not have been consulted when it was penned. Why? Because I have met the Minister of Agriculture within the last few weeks in a fine little town down in Quebec by the name of Sherbrooke. I hold in my hand a pamphlet entitled, 'The Laurier Government and the Conservatives,' with the maple leaf fortunately and appositely under the word 'Conservatives.' The 'Laurier Government and the Conservatives'! There are many astounding assertions made in that pamphlet, and I was very anxious for my part to trace its paternity. I traced it. How? I got an envelope—not addressed to myself but addressed to an elector in that constituency—said envelope purporting to start from the city of Ottawa, said envelope being undeniably a government envelope, said envelope bearing the undeniable frank of 'Sydney A. Fisher,' and said envelope being one of a multitude of a like kind, which if I or any other poor member of the House, had posted, would have cost us 4 cents in the Queen's postage, but which under this very convenient method of operating came free to the enlightened electors. I found the 'Laurier Government and the Conservatives' neatly reposing between the flaps of that envelope, which bore the signature of 'Sydney A. Fisher,' worth 2 cents—in this case 4 cents. I must ask the hon. the Postmaster General whom I believe to be an honest man—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Other hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, whom I believe to be the very watch-dog of the Treasury, whom I believe would shoot at sight any man, even one of his own colleagues, that would attempt to steal a 2-cent postage stamp out of the public till—I call the attention of my honourable and honest friend (Mr. Mulock) to the fact that in the contest that took place in Sherbrooke, Mr. Sydney Fisher, the Minister of Agriculture, a member of an honest business government, has actually defrauded this country out of hundreds and thousands of 2-cent stamps for the purpose of sending his election pamphlet down into the county of Sherbrooke on a partisan mission. I challenge the Postmaster General, with that information before him, I challenge him to find out one line of authority by statute, or by Order in Council or by any other way which authorized Mr. Fisher, or the government or the party to send these pamphlets through the country in sealed envelopes at the cost of the tax-payers of Canada.

And whilst my hon. friend is about that investigation, I ask him to take up another—no other than the case of my redoubtable and long-known friend, the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), whose special mission for eighteen years was to thunder up and down this wide country of ours declaiming against pilfering, pillaging, stealing and corruption; and yet, Sir, I am not beyond the mark in declaring, I think, that hundreds of thousands of a pamphlet which purports to be a speech uttered by this hon. gentleman, outside of the session of parliament entirely—at Massey Hall—a purely extraordinary campaign speech by a member of a party and for the purposes of a party—in sealed envelopes, and government envelopes at that, were sent out to the people of this country, and that every one of those pamphlets has taken four cents out of the treasury of my hon. friend the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock). Well, Sir, I would convey to my hon. friend my most earnest suggestion that a little more careful oversight on his part with reference to his co-members of the cabinet would lessen that deficit which he deplures, and would be a great step forward towards an equilibrium of expenses and income in the department over which he presides. But, Sir, I merely state this by the way. The important point was to establish the pater- nity of this brochure. It is established. It comes under the sign-manual of the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher). I do not intend to read it; I will read only a little of what it says. It gives the exports of certain agricultural products in 1895-6—\$35,000,000 in round numbers. It goes on to give the value of the same in 1897-8—\$65,000,000. Thus there is an increase between these two periods of \$30,000,000. What is the statement in the appeal?

Is it because the policy of the Laurier government has thus put \$30,000,000 more into the farmers' pockets that the electors should turn that government out at the elections?

I commend that as an example to the framers of the next address to be brought down to this House, if hon. gentlemen opposite should have the extreme felicity of preparing that address. I should say to them, 'Gentlemen, do not live so far beneath your privileges; when you put an item into the speech from the Throne, in which you talk of the great increase of exports, apply this brilliant idea of the Minister of Agriculture, who is paramount in that respect at least, for that is his own department, and say that all of this \$30,000,000, \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 is actually money that has been put into the pockets of the farmers through and by the policy of the present administration.'

I am also bound to say that the framer of this address in that passage did not fairly cover the measure of what might

have been done, taking the same Minister of Agriculture as authority. For this precious pamphlet, in three-fourths of its pages, is nothing more nor less than a fulsome and exaggerated compliment to the Minister of Agriculture for the immense benefits that he has conferred upon the country. All the credit for the increase in the exports of agricultural products, for cold storage, for all the extended plans and the like of that, is modestly claimed in this brochure for the Minister of Agriculture. Where was this hon. gentleman when this passage in the address was being indited? He should have been close by, for he has defrauded himself in this most flagrant way of what he certainly claims to be an appanage of himself and himself alone as Minister of Agriculture in this government.

The next reference is to the Post Office:

I am glad to observe that the returns from the Post Office Department afford good ground for believing that the temporary loss of revenue caused by the great reduction recently made in letter postage will speedily be made good by the increased correspondence consequent thereon.

I notice that everywhere great credit is taken to the government for the reduction of postage. Is history silent with reference to the previous work of the Post Office Department in the reduction of postage? Was there not a time when it cost five cents to carry every letter to its destination? Was there not a reduction of the postage from five cents to three cents, and was not that reduction made by a Liberal-Conservative government? Was there not a time when five cents or three cents carried only a single half-ounce, and did there not come another time when the same amount of money covered double the weight? In reality, for all that kind of correspondence the postage was cut in two. Was that something to the credit of a previous administration, or was it not? There was a time when every newspaper in this country bore postage. There was another time, and for a long period, during which no newspaper in this country carried any postage, and when the people's magazines went free from one end of this country to the other. That also was due to a Liberal-Conservative administration. And if these hon. gentlemen have undertaken to reduce the postage, somewhat further, that is in line of the progress which has been made already. I am not going to repeat my criticism in regard to that. But I have one criticism to make upon my hon. friend, who has, I believe, in 1899, a deficit of a little less than \$400,000. He congratulates the country upon the deficit being no more than that; but in the Public Accounts, if I am not mistaken, there is debited to the Post Office service \$21,000—for what? For the Yukon mail service of the year 1898-9; and what is more, only \$5,000 of that is

debited on account of the service into and out of the Yukon. Now, Mr. Speaker, will any man, however partisan he may be, stand up in this House and maintain that in the year ending July 1, 1899, it did not cost more than \$5,000 to perform the mail service into the Yukon and out of it. Will the Postmaster General affirm that now? And if the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) cannot affirm it, as he cannot, what is he guilty of? He is guilty of the crime charged against myself, without any warrant, by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright). He is guilty of cooking the public accounts, for if he had charged against the revenue of the post office the cost of the actual service in the year 1899, the cost of taking the mails in and out of the Yukon, which probably cost at least \$100,000, the hon. gentleman would have had quite a different result. But what did he do? He used the mounted police, he used the other officers of the government out there and charged their time and expense, not against his department, but against the other departments, thus relieving his own department of that expenditure which was properly chargeable to it. Then, with that absurd cooking of accounts, he comes before the country and plumes himself upon the magnificent achievement of bringing down the deficits in this first year of reduced postage to something like \$400,000.

What is this that I see next:

Negotiations are now in progress with several of our sister colonies in the West Indies, which it is hoped may result in increasing and developing our trade with these islands, and possibly with certain portions of the adjacent continent of South America.

Do our ears deceive us? Or did our ears deceive us three years ago, four and five years ago—any time within the last ten years previous to 1896? Where is the Boanerges voice of the Minister of Customs? I have a distinct recollection of his stentorian tones—they are sounding in my ears yet—as he declaimed on the utter futility and flippancy of these hon. gentlemen, who then occupied the Treasury benches, searching in Australia, China and Japan—searching, he said, in Alaska and Timbuctoo for markets, when there was a market close by our side, a \$65,000,000 market.

A notable trio, three of a kind, occupied the boards in a dramatic star exhibition throughout Nova Scotia shortly previous to the elections of 1896. Let me quote first what star number one said:

Mr. Foster has gone to Jamaica to try and get a market for the manufacturers. . . . They have cut themselves off from our best market in the United States, and to-day are obliged to seek for others.

I said Mr. Foster had gone to Jamaica to find a new market. The flippant way they speak of these new markets is simply trifling with the matter. These new markets, Jamaica, South America, China and Japan, come in at the tail

of the list, with a fraction of 1 per cent of our commerce; the United States at the head of the list takes one-half our whole commerce.

If my leader—

And the hon. gentleman's leader stood by his side.

—comes into power, it would not be a rash prediction to say that within six months from that date, by a scratch of a pen—

How easy it was then.

—a treaty of reciprocity would be put into force between Canada and the United States.

That may stand as the utterance of the star performer, Mr. Sydney Fisher at last time, now Minister of Agriculture.

Let me read another quotation:

You hear certain politicians who never engaged in trade—

That was a very bitter side hit.

—in their lives, talking flippantly about opening up new markets in other countries. When a great political party declares that this policy consists in obstructing trade with our natural markets, and then tell us they want to open up markets with China, Japan, Timbuctoo, I almost lose my patience. New markets, indeed! You have a market to the south of you where everything you can draw out of the sea or delve from the mines, or grow from the soil, will find a ready and profitable sale. If the people of Canada approached the United States in a fair and reasonable spirit they would obtain a reciprocity treaty in a short time.

That performer was Mr. Louis Davies, at the present time Sir Louis Davies.

But besides them stood a star, greater in magnitude than all—and from every one of the five points of this constellation, even at that remote period, fire and brilliancy sprang out into space. What did this third performer declare? He looked into the confiding gray eyes of the Haligolians and said: You want bread to eat and have coal to sell, and yet when you want to buy bread you are met with a tax—and if there is anything that ought not to be taxed in this country it is bread; and when you want to sell your coal you are met with a tax. You have to send it by a long and burdensome route through Quebec to Ontario, and you cannot get into your natural market. Yet this Tory government taxes coal—yes. And they tax flour, peaches and peach baskets. Let us have reciprocity; we must change all this.

Who was this star performer who thus spoke? He was then plain Wilfrid Laurier, a democrat to the hilt, who at that time did not believe in taxing the poor people's bread. Oh, no; he was then after votes, and he drew tears from the eyes of the honest yeomen of Nova Scotia as he bewailed the fatuity of the government that would tax bread which went into the people's mouths to sustain their brawny forms. And he told them, if ever language told anything, that when he came into power, their coal would find its best mar-

kets free from tariffs, and their bread they would get for their sustenance without any tax upon it. That gentleman is now Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and no longer the democrat to the hilt, and no longer shedding tears over the taxed bread of the poor Halifaxians.

Then what happened? These star performers—yes, and my hon. friend the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding) was the presiding angel, and spreading his sheltering wings over this magnificent trio, told his own people of Nova Scotia: These are the men who will deliver you out of this worse than Egyptian bondage.

Well, Mr. Speaker, here are all these gentlemen before us almost in one row. Where is their reciprocity? Where is their \$65,000,000 market? Where is their free coal? Where is their untaxed bread? What has become of all these promises which they made to get office? After they got office, they simply come here and stick their thumbs in their waistcoats, and say, as the right hon. Prime Minister has said: Well, what are you going to do about it? We are here and you are there.

And yet these hon. gentlemen went to the United States on bended knee for six months, lavished all their arts on our American friends, and came back without even a reciprocity coat on their shoulders, for the Prime Minister declared last year in this House his abnegation and denial of the necessity for or of any feeling in favour of reciprocity. They are now on quite a different tack. To-day these hon. gentlemen have put into the speech from the Throne a paragraph announcing that they are off to Timbuctoo, China and Japan, and every small colony in the world, looking for trade. For the manufacturers? That is the allegation they made against us when we were trying to open markets. For the manufacturers? Oh, no. Is it to get this \$65,000,000 market, this natural market, near at home? Oh, no. All their promises have evaporated, all their pledges trodden to fine powder beneath their heels. But they have the offices and the emoluments, and those they intend to hang on to, however bread and coal may be taxed.

The next paragraph in the speech reads:

It gives me pleasure to observe that, in pursuance of the policy which was defined at the last session of parliament, a carefully devised body of regulations has been adopted, applicable to all railways and public works within the federal jurisdiction, making adequate provision for the sanitary protection and medical care of workmen.

Who says this? The Governor General? I may ask my right hon. friend as to these regulations 'carefully devised,' this fine body of regulations—has he deigned yet to give them to the House?

The PRIME MINISTER. I do not think so.

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Mr. FOSTER. 'I do not think so,' the hon. gentleman says. He treats the House with a fine scorn, with fine contempt. The hon. gentleman knew, if he knew anything, that the moment the debate on the address opened this session, every man here, his equal as being sent to represent independent electors of this country, had a right to the information referred to in the speech. Yet, what do we find? We had to adjourn from one day to the third day because no papers relating to the Canadian volunteers were down, and yesterday, the day to which the House adjourned, the papers came into my hands, for instance, as one of the representatives of the people, five minutes before he closed his address. And here is something else that they vaunt themselves upon, yet neither the public nor any member of parliament has been given even a squint at this 'carefully devised' body of laws and regulations. But, of course, this is a business government. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) has said so, and, of course, we must believe it.

The attention of the government has been called to the conflicts which occasionally arise between workmen and their employers. While it may not be possible to wholly prevent such difficulties by legislation, my government thinks that many of the disputes might be averted if better provisions could be made for the friendly intervention of boards of conciliation.

And so on, and so on, 'you will be invited to consider' something about this matter. When a stone was given where bread had been asked, there was an outcry in the olden times. My hon. friend has not said anything with regard to the Alien Labour Law. There is a law now on the statute-books of this country, placed there by the hon. gentleman himself, placed there with the promise that he would enforce it, placed there with the belief reposed in him by every labouring man this whole country through that his rights would be protected in relation to the labourers of the United States of America. And from that time to this, the law which is actually on the statute-books has remained to all intents and purposes a dead letter. Hon. gentlemen opposite have been importuned to bring it into effect. They would not, and the reasons they gave for not bringing it into effect have passed months and months ago, and yet the Alien Labour Law is not yet in force. And now they come down with another sprat to catch a whale, they come down with the idea of giving something else in the way of future hope and prospect to the men whose votes they would like to get to support them in power. Sir, I think the labouring men of this country may well ask the government to carry out the laws at present on the statute-book before they encumber it with more; or, if they choose to put more laws on the statute-book, that they will at least carry out the

fundamental laws which they themselves have declared necessary and which have been enacted at their suggestion.

The government is then happy to assure us that the lands in Manitoba and the North-west are being taken up by settlers, and they say that this

affords conclusive evidence of the success which has attended the efforts of my government to promote immigration, and I have no doubt that the greatly increased production of the west will henceforth add materially to the growth of the whole Dominion.

I think that is a claim which cannot be successfully upheld. Evidence before a judge or court of justice would have to be far more pertinent before it would be conclusive. I think that Manitoba and the North-west has a history with regard to this question of settlement. I think that Manitoba and the North-west would never have had a settler had it not been opened to the markets of the people of the world. And I think that, struggling against all odds and taking their political lives in their hands, time and again the Liberal-Conservative party, in a hand-to-hand contest with hon. gentlemen opposite, opened up the North-west and Manitoba and made it a place for the settler. And when hon. gentlemen opposite in the thick of the fight, one of their strongest men, who was in parliament when the Canadian Pacific Railway Bill was before this House and a subsidy was being asked for, said :

I venture to say that from one end of the Dominion to the other, no more joyful news could be spread than the tidings that the telegraph would flash from the Atlantic to the Pacific saying that this contract was abandoned and saying that Canada was emancipated from the terrible consequences likely to flow from it.

Who said that? Mr. G. W. Ross, one of their foremost advocates in this House, and now Premier of the province of Ontario. But a new light has come, and the other day Mr. Ross made this public declaration :

I remember when the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed, we thought Sir John Macdonald was undertaking a herculean enterprise, one which would crush the country. I think, perhaps, he was right, and we were wrong. I think, perhaps, he builded more wisely than he knew. No one will say to-day that the building of the railway was a mistake. Canada to-day would be a very small country, would be weaker in the councils of the empire, would scarcely be a confederated Dominion, as it is, were it not for the Pacific Railway.

I think, Sir, that the historic policy of the past, which, in the first place, acquired these great Territories, which submitted to the bond of their union, to wit, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the determination which carried out that policy in dark and troublous times when Canada's future hung in the balance, as hon. members of this House well know, and which

did that in spite of hon. gentlemen opposite—that historic policy and that determination had something to do with the opening up of that country and attracting to it a body of settlers. Remember that the first days in this work of settlement are always the most difficult. Checks to a country's growth are most severely felt in the early years. In that country frosts and dry winds were more rife in the first years of settlement. Through all difficulties the people struggled on, until the time came when, with improved methods of cultivation and the extension of settlement, even the climate to a certain extent changed. Good crops repaid the farmers' toil and good prices for those crops were realized. And so went out throughout Europe and throughout the world the fame of the Canadian North-west as a grain-growing and cattle-raising country. That had something to do with this influx of settlers. And if we take this policy of immigration, the very plan of despatching throughout the world information with regard to Canada, is a policy borrowed from the old Liberal-Conservative government. The very plan of going into the United States and getting the best class of farmers we could—repatriated Canadians and frontier farmers—into the North-west, was a policy introduced by my friend Mr. Daly and successfully carried out by him. That policy is being carried out by the government of to-day. But the hon. gentleman who has charge of that department may well revise his opinion with regard to some elements of immigration that he has brought into that country. I had the pleasure of being in Manitoba not many weeks ago, and, so far as I could gather, the opinions and feelings of the settlers and the people of that country is they have, certainly to say the least of it, enough Doukhobors and Galicians. They have enough of them. They want no more of them; they do not wish that class of immigrants to be located in blocks over that country. They will treat well those that are there now. Not one of them will be allowed to suffer if the open-handed, generous inhabitant of the North-west can get relief to him. There is no spirit of animosity against them. But the people there simply say: We do not want any more of that class; we want a different class; better producers, people more in unison with the life and spirit of our civilization, and of our political and constitutional history.

But, Sir, if this speech is eloquent in these points in which ministers have made statements, it is equally eloquent in what it does not touch. These gentlemen are coming up to the end of their existence. The pangs of death have already caught hold of them. They have seen the thunderbolt flashing in the sky. They are coming up to the end of their political five years existence. Looking behind, they watch

the trooping ghosts and spectres dogging every man of them close at his heels. These spectres are crying out in ghostly voices: 'Fulfilment, fulfilment, as honest men.' Gentlemen, let me tell you, through you, Mr. Speaker, that you have very few weeks left in which to fulfil those promises and to lay those ghosts. The member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) knows that. There is one following him; he shakes it off on to the First Minister. There is the ghost of unfulfilled pledges in regard to economy and expenditure. In all the four pages of this address there is no hint of economical expenditure. Down at the very end, however, there is an intimation that 'the estimates will be prepared with a due regard to economy and the rapid growth of the Dominion,' rapid growth in the matter of indiscriminate and huge railway subsidies for instance. There is another ghost following the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), who, in 1895, took the patron beauty upon his aged knee, who wooed her in soft and mellow terms, and who told her, with all the ardour of an 18-year-old swain, that if she would but prove true to him for life he and she would waddle down the pathway of life in beautiful consonance—upon this point at least, that no railway subsidies should be scattered as a blight among the constituencies. There is the Prime Minister of this Dominion, who, Sir, actually had the hardihood to go out into the intelligent province of Ontario, stand up before an intelligent and well-read people, look them in the face, or over their heads, and declare: We have kept every promise we ever made, with the exception of the promise to abolish the Senate, and that we propose to perform. I do not need to follow that, it would be superfluous to do so. Why, the man himself must know what he is saying when he makes a statement of that kind. The Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) tries to parry the blow by saying: We have performed every promise. Read our promises. Where are they? They are in the 1893 convention. That is what we are pledged to, and not to any irresponsible utterances of individuals. The Minister of Customs said that, he knows he said it, said it in Winnipeg. Who are those irresponsible persons? One sits a little behind him, who stood up in the plenitude of economical principles and declared in Ontario, before the election: If we do not reduce the expenditure of this country by three millions as soon as we get into power, turn us out. Then there is a still more irresponsible person, the Prime Minister, who stood up before the face of a Toronto audience, in face of the electors of this whole country, and declared to them that though they might not bring the expenditure back to the days of Alexander Mackenzie, they would reduce it one, two,

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three, and, as the Minister of Justice (Mr. Mills) said, they would reduce it by four million dollars. And yet that same gentleman stood up and declared in the face of an intelligent people that he had performed every pledge that he had ever made. Do I need to go any further, Mr. Speaker? I know, Sir, that this is a painful subject for you, and I will spare you, because, being now in that position, where you look with fair and open eyes on both sides of the House, or, perhaps, more properly, look on neither side, but straight down on the pathway before you, you must feel your heart-strings wrung by the exhibition of your former friends and associates in this matter of unfulfilled promises and unredeemed performances. But the unfulfilled pledges are the least reprehensible part of their conduct. The awful thing about it is that, not only did they fail to fulfil their pledges, but they actually turn around and declare that they have fulfilled them. My right hon. friend said last night that there was no greater calamity than war. Yes, there is. A greater calamity than war is to sit down in cowardly submission to wrong and insult. There is a greater calamity than unfulfilled promises. What is it? It is to brazen it out before honest men, and in the face of day, to say that you have fulfilled them, when you know that you have not. The first is perfidy, the second, Sir, is turpitude added to perfidy.

Something is said about transportation, and one passage of this address congratulates the country—on what? And here I am amazed again at its modesty. It congratulates the country on the vigorous policy of the government with reference to finishing the canal system of this country. Where was the Premier when that modest paragraph was indicted? For I find that this Premier of Canada stood on a platform at Bowmanville, on October 16th last, before a magnificent, but, as I am informed, very cool and critical audience, and made his apology for the sins of his cabinet. In that capacity and on that platform he said:

To Alexander Mackenzie is due the policy we are now forwarding.

That is the canal policy.

He commenced the deepening of the Welland Canal, he deepened it to the depth of fourteen feet.

Mr. GIBSON. That is right.

Mr. FOSTER (reading).

And for eighteen years afterwards the work went on at a snail's pace. The Conservatives did practically nothing with this work,—but when we came into office we undertook, and successfully too, to complete it in three years.

That was the Prime Minister of Canada, let loose upon an audience in the province of Ontario. Well, Sir, what happened; what are the facts of the case? The

policy of canal transportation was adopted and entered upon before confederation, and up to that period \$20,692,244 had been spent upon the canal system of the country. The decision to enlarge the Welland and St. Lawrence canals to 12 feet was adopted in 1871, under Sir John Macdonald's leadership, and the work was well in hand, certainly as far as contracts were concerned, when Mr. Mackenzie came into power in 1873. Mr. Mackenzie is not here; a distinct denial has been given to the statement I made as to the 14-foot depth. Let Mr. Mackenzie speak for himself. On February 8, 1875, Mr. Mackenzie said, *Hansard*, page 20 :

It is not the intention of the government to go to a greater depth than twelve feet of water. I may tell my hon. friend that the harbour capacity of the lakes does not seem to fairly contemplate a greater depth of water than that, as they could not possibly be used without an enormous outlay, and the outlay on the canal even would be so serious as to deter the government from entering into such a great expense. We have given the question careful consideration, and think that the plan adopted is the one we must adhere to.

On the same day, in answer to Mr. Wood, at present, I believe, a member of this House, Mr. Mackenzie said:

It is the intention of the government to proceed with the enlargement of the St. Lawrence canals at an early date. There is not any pressing hurry for them, however, as we believe transshipment to smaller vessels in Kingston harbour can be accomplished without any very great expense. The plan for the ultimate works is to make the locks the same size. The survey has been made upon an intention to deepen the St. Lawrence River to no greater depth than twelve feet. The expense to get fourteen feet would be still more enormous than to get the same depth on the Welland, as it would involve the deepening of a large portion of the channel of the river.

And in 1879, *Hansard*, page 1656, he declared that:

Any attempt to get fourteen feet below Kingston should be given up as impracticable.

The Liberal-Conservative government came in and they adopted and carried out the 14-foot basis. What has been done? From 1863 to 1873 inclusive, \$693,834 was spent on the canals. That was just the commencement of the work after confederation. From 1874 to 1878 inclusive, under hon. gentlemen opposite, \$13,267,868 was spent. From 1879 to 1896 inclusive, when the right hon. gentleman, the Prime Minister of this country declares, that they proceeded at a snail's pace and did practically nothing, \$32,418,690 was spent. During that time Liberal-Conservatives had introduced the scheme of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal and practically finished it, they had built the Murray Canal and subsidized the great Canadian Pacific Railway, besides which they had not failed in deepening and widening the harbours and river stretches all

over this country. These canals were how far finished? I intend to complete this subject while I am at it. I have in my hand a return which I asked the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), to bring down; he brought it down at the end of last session, and here is the analysis of it. I asked him for all the canals completed, cost thereof previous to or up to July 1, 1896. Here they are :

Name.	Depth. ft. in.	Cost.
Welland	13 9	\$23,769,353
Murray	14 0	1,247,470
Beauharnois	9 0	1,611,690
Total		\$26,628,513

I also asked him for a return of the canals under construction on July 1, 1896, with the contracts then running, and this is the return :

Name.	Cost to July 1, 1896.
Sault Ste. Marie.....	\$ 3,448,011
Galops	1,401,365
Rapide Plat	1,496,078
Cornwall	4,008,037
Soulanges	2,275,908
Lachine	7,536,439
Lake St. Louis.....	54,383
St. Lawrence River.....	1,201,795
Total	\$21,422,016

In addition to these contracts running and to be completed there were also brought down these figures to be added to the expenditure :

Name.	Cost to complete under existing contract.
Galops	\$ 257,360
Rapide Plat	286,911
Cornwall	515,096
Soulanges	2,093,539
Lachine	421,695
Lake St. Louis	183,617
Total	\$3,758,218

Now, Sir, I asked besides, what was the amount of money which is estimated to be necessary to complete the system in addition to the contracts existing on July 1, 1896, as they have been worked out or the money paid. How much does it amount to? It amounts to \$6,151,000, and they have given contracts for a little over \$4,600,000 from July 1, 1896, up to the present time. There is no necessity at all to comment upon that statement. I only bring it to the attention of the House and the country to show what hazardous proceeding it is for his own party to allow the present Prime Minister to get entirely loose upon a public platform in this country. I do not propose to spend any more time upon that branch of the subject, although it is a fruitful one. When we come to the budget I think this House will have something more to say in reference to it.

I now desire, for a few moments, to say something in reply to what the right hon. gentleman, who, last night, occupied the attention of this House, said in answer to my hon. friend the leader of the opposition upon the subject of the Transvaal contingent. There are three accusations which are made by hon. gentlemen opposite, from the Prime Minister down, against the Liberal-Conservative party on this matter, and I propose, briefly, to touch upon them. The first is that the hon. leader of the opposition and the Liberal-Conservative party are agitating this matter for party purposes and for party purposes alone. That statement was made on the floor of the House last night, and echoed by hon. gentlemen sitting behind the ministry. Now, all I need to do is to appeal to the record, and the first record I will appeal to is the statement made by my hon. friend the leader of the opposition, in this House and before the country, last night, on that subject—and I defy any honest-minded man to show, that in the whole relation of the history of his action, and that of the Liberal-Conservative party in that matter, there is anything which can be fairly called an excess of party spirit. I for my own part listened with pleasure, and I believe the country will read with pleasure the unimpassioned, straightforward and frank way in which that statement was made before the House, and every accession of fact that was gathered to the one that preceded it showed my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) as far from moving in the interest of party, and as being actuated by broad patriotic motives in the interests of Canada and the empire. There is only one party advantage that ought to be, or that will be allowed to be taken by any party in this country on a matter of this kind. It is the party advantage which fairly accrues to the opposition because of hesitancy, because of incompetency, and because of incapacity on the part of the government in dealing with even the most important questions. All that fairly goes to the discredit of the party that is guilty of it, and accrues to the advantage of the party which points out the better and the surer method. That party advantage, if there be any, is fairly due to the Liberal-Conservative party. The advantage to hon. gentlemen opposite, if any, will be derived from a fair and cool and collected review of their action by their friends. But, Sir, from the first time that Sir Charles Tupper rose in this House, when our hon. friend from North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) brought up the idea of in some way showing active help for Great Britain in the then probably coming struggle; from the first time that Sir Charles Tupper rose in this House to make a suggestion (and he gave it merely as a suggestion), from that time to the present, every suggestion that Sir Charles Tupper

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has made has been an offer of frank and fair support to the Prime Minister and the government of the country, in forwarding what he believed, what we believed, what we all believe, I hope, is the sentiment of this country, namely, that there should be a hearty and united effort made to help the empire in this crisis. I am not going to debate that question any further.

There is another cry that is raised, and I propose to say something about it. I am sorry that any one in this House is obliged to say anything about it. It is a matter which I would rather see both parties relegate into the limbo of absolute forgetfulness and oblivion. But it is here, and it is my duty to speak of it. It has been urged against the Liberal-Conservative party and it becomes the duty of the Liberal-Conservative party to sift it out; anyway, to make a statement on it and let it go to the country. What is that allegation? It is in the words of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte): That there would have been nothing heard of this agitation if it had not been that there was a Frenchman at the head of this government. What does that mean in plain language? My right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) last night, in a passion, with quivering lips and with pale face, hissed out his condemnation of what he called the reptile press which dared to criticise his high mightiness. The reptile press! No paper supporting the Liberal-Conservative party is to-day fawning on the hand of my right hon. friend or on any one of his cabinet colleagues for favours, present, past, or prospective. No Liberal-Conservative newspaper to-day is feeding at the trough so liberally supplied by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte)—

An hon MEMBER. They cannot get anything.

Mr. FOSTER. I thought I heard a sound. There will be enough left for my hon. friend and the others—the trough is not yet empty.

Mr. LANDERKIN. It was nearly empty when you left it.

Mr. FOSTER. The good tax-payers of Canada have been called upon to fill it up since. Every Liberal-Conservative paper in Canada to-day is maintaining itself through its own honest, assiduous endeavours, and is doing its work independent of subsidies or fees of any kind, and it ill-becomes my right hon. friend to try to stop the mouths of independent critics in the great Liberal-Conservative press of this country by hissing out the word 'reptile' in connection with them. If there is a reptile press anywhere—and I do not like to think there is within the broad bounds of Canada a paper on either side of politics, which would sink its manhood and its principles, and trim its advocacy of those princi-

ples for any government pap or government subsidies whatever. But, if there is any reptile press in this country, it belongs to the side where the Prime Minister is, and where his Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) and his Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) and his Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair) care for the faithful around the camp fires.

Mr. McMULLEN. Nonsense.

Mr. FOSTER. From the doleful sound I hear, I imagine that my hon. friend (Mr. McMullen) is hungry.

Mr. McMULLEN. Not half as much as you are.

Mr. FOSTER. The groan of my hon. friend (Mr. McMullen) sounds very much like the pangs of a very hungry man. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am not going to the reptile press or to any press to substantiate my charge, that the accusation is forced against the Liberal-Conservative party; that the whole agitation that is being carried on in reference to this matter is chiefly due to the race cry which the Liberal-Conservatives are striving to raise. I will take perhaps higher authority. I will take the words of a man who stands on the press; a man who owns one of the greatest organs in this country; a man who commenced his cabinet ministership with the idea that he could be an editor over his own name and a cabinet minister as well. I will take the words of a man who thought that as a cabinet minister he could be responsible for what he said as a cabinet minister, and that then he could indite articles on public policy in his own paper signed by his own name and not be held responsible for them. However, he was very quickly called down by his colleagues in that respect—it was inconvenient to say the least of it. But the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has just as surely his personal organ now as he had then, and on matters of public policy it reflects the sentiments of my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) and its writings on these public questions are without doubt indicted and censored before they get publication in the columns of that paper. Now, what does this hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) say? In his celebrated speech at St. Vincent de Paul, he said:

They (the Liberal-Conservatives) decided long ago to raise the question of race.

Where is the proof? My hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) is going to speak in the course of this debate.

Mr. TARTE. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. He is not now before an admiring coterie of friends under the shadow of St. Vincent de Paul. He is here as a minister of the Crown, and as a minister of the Crown I tax him for having made that allegation—most dastardly, if it be not true, and, coming from a cabinet

minister, most mischievous, even if it were true—most mischievous, making it with his own words on his own responsibility as a minister of the Crown and making the whole government responsible for the charge. I want him (Mr. Tarte) to give the proof by which and upon which he declares, that the Liberal-Conservatives decided long ago to raise the question of race. What further did he say? Listen to this from the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte):

There are writers in the pay of Sir Charles Tupper who call us an inferior race, who threaten to crush us by the force of arms if they do not get rid by the force of the ballot, of the first French Canadian Prime Minister.

That is high politics—for a member of the Liberal cabinet to make an assertion of that kind, to make it when he did, to make it for the purpose and the only purpose for which he did—as though to say that Sir Charles Tupper employed and paid men to raise a crusade against the French Canadian people as an inferior race in order to get rid of a French Canadian as Prime Minister. I ask my hon. friend to make good that word, and to make it good by proof, or to stand disgraced before his colleagues. My hon. friend is not in the Parliament House at Quebec, nor even on the outside of it. My hon. friend is not before a chosen band of his own stripe. My hon. friend is where he is a sworn privy-councillor; he is bound to state the truth before his Queen and country; and when he makes a statement like that, which is a venturesome, a bold, a most grave and important statement, he shall not go out of this House this session until he proves that statement or abandons it disowned and disgraced. I quite understand that our hon. friends opposite know that they are playing at government. They laugh over these things. Why, Sir, last night, when my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, was praising a gift of unparalleled benevolence, by which some gentleman through him, unfortunately, for appreciation on that side of the House, did the most munificent thing of securing for the soldiers of the first contingent insurance to the amount of \$1,000,000, so that, as he explained, if a man died within thirty days of battle or was killed in battle, his heir would get \$1,000, if he were maimed in certain members he would get \$1,000, and if maimed in others he would get \$500, there was a wild laugh from some gentlemen on the other side of the House.

An hon. MEMBER. A number of them.

Mr. FOSTER. If it had been an outside audience, the thought that flashed through my mind was: was that the laugh of a fool or a fiend? My right hon. friend may smile over it; but that mother of the Canadian boy who has gone out to the Transvaal with his mother's prayers about him to

fight for his country, and who falls with his face to the foe in defence of the flag, when, Sir, the cable flashes back to that mother's heart the news that her son has died, that poor mother would not laugh and revile, and ridicule. She would thank for many a day the kind and beneficent donor whose act enabled \$1,000 to be placed to the credit of her lost breadwinner. A fine sneer curled the lip of the Minister of Agriculture when my hon. friend began to speak about that insurance. My hon. friend does not need it; but there are many poor families in this country, who, before this cruel war is over, will have reason again and again to thank the kind and benevolent spirit that made that munificent provision for times of darkness and distress.

Now, Sir, the Minister of Public Works gives a wonderfully naive and imposing turn to his sentences. After having read that miserable and unfounded accusation, he, a Minister of the Crown, turned around to his French confreres, and said:

I hope that in the presence of provocations like these, you will understand your duties, whatever your political opinions may have been in the past.

That is high politics from a gentleman who accuses others. What kind of politics ought that to be called? The hon. gentleman makes a statement that he has never proved, that he cannot prove, an audacious statement, and then he turns to his confiding French friends and says: 'There you have it: they are trying to kill a Frenchman. Now, you vote against them, for their purposes are deadly and fell to-high politics for a Liberal government. He says:

I am come to ask you if Sir Charles Tupper and those about him taunt us with being an inferior race—

Will my hon. friend make a note of that, and give us the page, the time and the place where Sir Charles Tupper made any statement like that, taunting the French people with being an inferior race?

—when they declare they wish to give the minority power by force of arms, if it is not time to say to Sir Charles Tupper, 'Stop there, you are going too far.'

Now, will my hon. friend, a cabinet minister, sworn as a privy-councillor, make the least approach to the proof that Sir Charles Tupper or any person accredited by Sir Charles Tupper ever made a statement of that kind?

Sir Charles Tupper goes about crying and making his followers cry everywhere that the French Canadians are disloyal men.

That is said by a minister of the Crown; that is said by the government; they take the responsibility of it. My hon. friend is to speak: let him name the time and the place where Sir Charles Tupper or any

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other Conservative leader ever stated that the French people were a disloyal race. *La Presse* declared that my hon. friend's supporter was a disloyal man, both of them French Canadians, because of the statement of something that the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) said:

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Over his own name.

Mr. FOSTER. Over his own name. The assertion that a leader of a great party and his colleagues go about in a country which has two millions of French Canadian citizens, with whom we live and do business, declaring that they are a disloyal race, is contrary to reason and is absolutely untrue.

It has been sought to make this a race question—why? Because Sir Wilfrid Laurier is the Prime Minister of this country, and because my name is Tarte.

Mr. BENNETT. His name will be Dennis.

Mr. FOSTER. Who has sought to make it a race question because Sir Wilfrid is the Prime Minister and a Frenchman, or because the Minister of Public Works has the euphonious name of Tarte. He says:

If Sir Wilfrid, instead of being French, had been English, we would have heard nothing of all that.

There is a statement which any man can test by his own common sense. Let me put it to you. If the unthinkable thought could be thought that the Hon. William Mulock was Prime Minister of this country—and perhaps it will not, in the long future be an unthinkable thought—and he acted in the same delaying, hesitating, inconsistent way as the Prime Minister did—does any one doubt that Liberal-Conservatives would have been on his track just exactly as they were on that of the Prime Minister. There is an absolutely fair way of thinking out this matter, each man for himself, and every man knows that the criticism is not against the race of the one who happens to be in power, but against his action or lack of action in this case. Then in this wise the hon. gentleman winds up by saying:

I regret that he (Sir Charles Tupper) is devoting the last years of his life, of a career which is nearly terminated, to arousing in this country racial and religious animosity.

But in Sherbrooke the right hon. gentleman made the statement that Sir Charles Tupper is saying that I did not move because I am French, and in Quebec his followers are saying that I go too far because I have English sympathies.

I challenge my right hon. friend to prove by one quotation, by one single bit of evidence, the statement he then made in order to gain votes, that Sir Charles Tupper was

saying in the province of Ontario that the Prime Minister would not act because he was a Frenchman. What is the difference between the Prime Minister and the Minister of Public Works on the plane of political action in this respect? It is only that the Prime Minister, as head of the government, ought to be most specially careful how he makes statements such as that, and on all subjects on which he makes a statement, he should be most specially careful when the question is one of either religion or race. What did the Minister of Public Works say in Sherbrooke? He said:

The question to-day is to know whether a French Canadian is as good as an Englishman. I say yes, without fear. The English have had their turn. For the first time we have a French Premier. I think he has no reason to be ashamed of his race. Our English friends are as proud of it as we.

I hope that there are Conservatives among you who hear me, and I beg of you to speak to all the French Canadian Conservatives of Sherbrooke, and ask them why they should wish to drive Sir Wilfrid Laurier out of power. All Canada has its eyes on you. It wants to know if because the government has at its head one of ourselves it does not merit confidence.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Shame.

Mr. FOSTER. Here is the race cry—a pure, unadulterated appeal to the meanest feeling that could be invoked in political life.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Shame.

Mr. FOSTER. And the hon. gentleman repeated that idea, not once nor twice, but over and over again. Now, Sir, the issue in Sherbrooke was as to whether the policy of this government ought to be upheld by the people. It was as to whether the party which had left its pledges unfulfilled, to the detriment of the people of the country, ought to be rejected or not at the polls? There was no question as to whether we should put one man out and another in simply because he was of French or English or Irish extraction. Mr. Speaker, in this country of ours, composite as it is and necessarily must be, the great lesson that we cannot learn too soon is that, despite all the lines of difference which must necessarily mark people of different races and creeds and religions, arising from inherent, constitutional reasons, from associations and environments, acting for hundreds of years, from modes and habits of thought which have grown up essentially different on the principles on which they are founded amongst different civilizations and different nationalities—aside from those rifts and differences which must exist in this country to a large extent, and which it is impossible to eradicate—I say that outside of those, it is a lesson that we cannot learn too soon and inculcate too widely, that we must be charitable to each other's point of view, and endeavour to discover the excellencies

in each rather than the deficiencies. Your Englishman, Irishman and Scotchman—each has his faults. And so has your Frenchman. But every nationality has its excellencies, and we would have a hard time getting along in this world if we were simply to look at the faults and exaggerate them, and not give due credit to the excellencies. It is impossible absolutely to prevent in political life some little coming to the surface of this friction of race and creed in this country. But if ministers of the Crown drag in these causes of friction by the heels at every opportunity and accentuate them, if from their high and leading position they inflame those prejudices, what is to become of the unity of this country, and the harmony between its two dominant races? I am not here as sponsor for the French people, but I believe that this is absolutely true, that if you were to take the vote of the French people in this country to-day, if you were to give them the absolute and speedy choice of transferring themselves to a colonial position under the colonial administration of France as it is to-day, or remain as they are now, there is not an intelligent Frenchman in the Dominion who would make the transfer.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. I think that is a statement which cannot be controverted. I believe that is a truth upon which we can build up a people in a fair and good working union. I believe it is something which stands like the ages and will always stand. Before I came to this parliament, I had very little commerce with French Canadians of any class. But since I have come to this parliament I have become acquainted with the French people, I have mingled with them as colleagues and honourable opponents, and I know them better and appreciate them more than when I knew comparatively nothing of them. All the attrition of commerce, social intercourse and political intercourse, superadded to that principle I spoke of before, will make of us, not a people who will all have the same language and religion, but a people of two languages and origins, each, however, good citizens and vieing with each other in furthering the progress of this country. I commend to the Minister of Public Works that he should change his course in this particular, and that it is not seemly that a member of the cabinet should enkindle the inflammable prejudices and feelings of people, whether they be English or French, for all people have their feelings and prejudices; that it is better for us, from this day forward, to act on the assumption that every man is a good citizen of this country, and to cultivate that feeling until every man feels that he must aspire to be a good citizen, for we live here, English and French and Irish and Scotch, all together under the flag of the country which has been a

mother to us all in securing the blessings of freedom. So much with reference to that cry.

But the criticism of the Liberal-Conservative party is on other lines—not because we are over-anxious for party advantages, absolutely not because we wish to bring up any question of race or religion, but because we feel that in certain respects the administration of this country failed to grasp the importance of a great idea, failed to carry out that idea with promptitude and consistency. I believe, Sir, that hon. gentlemen opposite failed to grasp the ground-truth which underlay this whole matter. What was that great ground-truth? It was not simply that Canada wished to shine as one of the dependencies of Britain. It was not that Canada simply wished some of her people to gain glory on a foreign field. It was not that Canada wished to obtain commercial advantage through the sale of her products. No, the great ground-truth which underlay this whole sentiment was this—that within these last years there has been growing up in every dependency of Great Britain, and in the old country as well, the belief that the future of these countries was intimately bound up with the unity of the empire. And, Sir, if there is one thing that thrills in the blood of the Canadian volunteer to-day it is the subtle symbolism of the flag of the empire. It is not the Maple Leaf, it is not the Australian flag, it is not the flag of Cape Colony, but it is the flag of that grand old empire which he feels symbolizes the progress of his race as a whole, which symbolizes the permanency and extension of liberty civil and religious. It was a pitiable contention to my mind, that the hon. gentleman made—that he was waiting for public opinion. No contention was ever made so self-condemnatory as that single sentence. Why should the hon. gentleman wait for public opinion to hurtle its hailstones around him? Had not he the depth of heart and grasp of mind to know that there was a spirit abroad in this great empire of ours which would not countenance a man without condemnation who, having the power, did not reach out his arm at once to assist the mother country? Are hon. gentlemen such poor readers of the sentiment of this country, have they such a poor understanding of the spirit which thrills every dependency of the British Empire to-day? Why, the hon. gentleman does not do justice to himself. He felt a thrill of that spirit when, two years ago, he sat by the side of the Prince of Wales in the metropolis of this great empire, and breathing the atmosphere of imperialism, filled with the glory of the occasion, declared that whenever Britain should light her signal fires and call for Canadian help, he, as Canadian Prime Minister, could assure them Canadian help would come. Two years passed with all its tide

of great events rolling on in the same direction, but when it comes to sending a thousand Canadian volunteers—to allow them to go—my hon. friend says he wants to see the hurricane of public opinion go by before he leaps upon its wings and is swept to the goal toward which it moves. Sir, a leader is a man who keeps even with public sentiment, who precedes public sentiment and leads it. My hon. friend declared, with seriousness and earnestness it seemed, that he was waiting and considering and weighing. He declared that it was the most important question that ever was before Canada, he did not want to move hastily, it would be criminal to do so. He was waiting, considering, weighing. In the name of all that is great, if he was waiting and considering, weighing, why did he open his mouth on the 3rd of October? The hon. gentleman condemned himself in these very words that he spoke during the time he said he was watching and waiting and weighing to find what the sentiment of this country was. As Prime Minister, representing every member of the cabinet, no doubt having talked to every one of them before making a statement on the most important question that had ever engrossed the attention of Canada, he said: We have no constitutional authority, we have no money, we cannot do anything; we do not intend to do anything. That is a fine method of waiting and weighing and considering. So far as he could he tried to chloroform the feeling which was setting toward the goal which it ultimately obtained in spite of him. The weight of his statement as a lawyer, as a Prime Minister, as a man who knew public opinion, as one versed in the affairs of nations—his opinion went out to the people of this country before they had a chance to make themselves heard saying to the people with all the weight and power of his influence: Stay just where you are, do nothing, by-and-by parliament will meet and we will see what will be done. That was waiting and weighing and considering. But, he says: I had no warrant that public opinion was setting in that direction. No man ever had more. Why, Sir, from 1897 should date the conversion of this hon. gentleman, and, by his profession of faith made in London, we thought that conversion was definite and complete. Then, the beacon fires had only to be lighted and the troops would go. From that time the great wave of Imperial feeling sweeping through the British Empire was constantly increasing, and should have been heard by the ears and felt by the heart of my hon. friend. He says he had no warrant. What greater warrant could he have of the will of the people than this independent House of Commons? Where else should he seek for it over the heads of this independent House of Commons. This House of Commons last July, passed a unanimous resolution

which, if it meant anything meant a declaration of hearty accord in the purposes of the British Empire and of the support of those purposes by every means that we could compass. Is the justice of the cause any warrant that right-minded people should support it? My hon. friend admitted and argued the justice of the cause in July, 1899. He has never questioned it, he says. Then he had certainly a good cause to believe that this parliament expressed as nearly as it could be expressed the sentiment felt throughout this country, a sentiment expressed without a discordant voice. All those whose ears were attuned to the expression of the people's will could hear from every part of the country the earnest, strong whispers going up: Let us do our part as Canadians in this the hour of Britain's trial. What more could he have had? And yet he declared that he did not act and could not act until Kruger's ultimatum. Now, Mr. Speaker, will you just allow me to mention the statement made by the right hon. gentleman, after Kruger's ultimatum, that is the 9th of October. What did my right hon. friend say? He said: From that date we had no hesitation, there was no delay. Who? The government of this country? Yes. After the 9th of October there was no doubt, no hesitation, no delay. Where was your Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) after the 9th of October? Every one of these statements which he has made, he made after the 9th of October, when the cabinet having decided, having no difference, being convinced, brooking no delay, should have marched with the step of one man. And yet after the 9th of October, a colleague, and a dominant colleague of my right hon. friend, in public, in the press, everywhere, was using his strongest influence to get this country to declare that nothing should be done in this matter. Now, what position does the Ministry stand in on that subject? Everything was without doubt and hesitancy after the 9th; yet the Minister of Public Works was going through this country denouncing his own colleagues, denouncing them because of the opinions which they held with reference to this. He was not satisfied with having a bout with General Hutton, that was only a skirmish. He attacked Chief Justice Meredith, which, I suppose, was just a preliminary canter. Then he went into it with right good will and fell foul of the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick), in his own government, and criticised in the public press one of his own colleagues for acting unconstitutionally and not knowing what the constitution of a free country meant. Yet there was no hesitancy, no doubt, after October 9!

But my right hon. friend found another lion in the path. He was deterred for a long while from action—by what? By the weighty statements of Sir Charles Tupper.

Well, we all know that the leader of the opposition has had a great influence over this government. It has been an open question as to who was doing the leading, the man who pushed, or the man who reluctantly walked ahead. But from this time forward there is no doubt upon that point. My hon. friend's impulses were to do right, but he looked over at the sturdy form and the determined countenance of Sir Charles Tupper, and he shrank back appalled. And actually, last night, he took up the time of this House reading consecutively from Sir Charles Tupper's speeches to prove—what? Well, I do not know what he thought to prove, but what he succeeded in proving was exactly what Sir Charles Tupper himself would like him to have done. Did he prove that Sir Charles Tupper was against colonial aid in Imperial affairs? Nothing of the kind. The hon. gentleman read it with such gusto, and his followers clapped their hands with such animation, that he believed he was making a fine point. He was, but it was a point against himself. If my hon. friend would just get a grasp of the circumstances, and not simply pick up a paragraph in a speech, or in a paper, and try to put it forward as a fair illustration of the circumstances and the expression on the whole subject, he would do better. What was the proposition that Sir Charles Tupper was combatting? It was a proposition that was advanced somewhat on these broad lines by a society, that England should levy a contribution upon every one of the independent colonies to support her army and navy. That was the proposition, and in arguing for that proposition they declared that Canada had done nothing; some of them went even so far as to say: You must either do that or get out of the empire, one or the other. And what was Sir Charles Tupper's argument? It was to show that, in the first place, that was not the right principle to go upon; it would have been really taxation without representation. Suppose Great Britain or the British Empire at any time, within the last ten years, in these bitter times of public and Imperial sentiment, were to pass a proposition to levy an absolute tax for naval and war purposes on every one of the dependencies of the empire, every one of the dependencies would have something to say about it. It would be going the wrong way to work. It is for the dependency to offer the contribution, and not for the demand to be made from an outside power, politically speaking, to the colony for a forced contribution. The leader of the opposition did not believe that that was the proper way; he did believe, however, that it was not fair that Canada should be held up as not having done anything towards Imperial defence. And so he instanced the expenditure of from one to two million dollars every year on our militia system, the build-

ing of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which made an Imperial war road for the British Empire, and the proposition to have fast lines running on the Pacific and on the Atlantic; and in one of his addresses he says that one of the first uses to which the fast line would probably be put would be to carry Canadian volunteers to help England in some foreign war. Yet my hon. friend took up the time of this House in trying to prove that the leader of the opposition was inconsistent. He was frightened and deterred by these ghosts that he had conjured up.

Well, now, one of the oddest explanations was the explanation given by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), on the 13th of October, and repeated here last night by my hon. friend. The Minister of Finance said—I will quote him as nearly as my memory allows—in a statement he made to the papers on the 13th of October, that a great many statements had been going the rounds, but there had been very little truth in them. Here, he said, is the statement of the case. As to the desirability of sending troops there never was any question; but the first thing that occurred was the constitutional difficulty, and it is only within the last few days that that difficulty has been removed. How removed? Who removed the constitutional difficulties? The Prime Minister last night said much the same, and how did he undertake to prove it? Constitutionally he had no power; in the parliamentary sense he had no money, therefore, he could not do anything. But this communication of the British government lightened it all up. Why? Because, under it he could send men in units of 125. That was his explanation; nothing more. As to the constitutional difficulty and the money difficulty they are not as binding and imperative in the case of half a million dollars of expenditure as in the case of one million expenditure. And so, he says, that lets us out. The British government did nothing, and could do nothing, to take the constitutional difficulty out of the way if there were a constitutional difficulty, and the right hon. gentleman, himself, acknowledged that, because he afterwards sent a thousand men with all the costs and charges, which were, to that extent, put upon the country. Well, the right hon. gentleman condemns himself out of his own mouth. Will he allow me to read one section of the Order in Council, which he, himself, signed and passed:

The Prime Minister, in view of the well known desire of a great many Canadians who are ready to take service under such conditions, is of the opinion that the moderate expenditure which would thus be involved for the equipment and transportation of such volunteers, may readily be undertaken by the government of Canada without summoning parliament.

On October 3, he declared that the constitution was in the way, that he had no

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money and could do nothing, while, here, he declares, in his own Order in Council, that for a moderate expenditure of about \$1,000,000 and for the purposes named, he thought it might be done without summoning parliament. Then he goes on to say:

Especially as such an expenditure, under such circumstances, cannot be regarded as a departure from the well-known principles of constitutional government and colonial practice.

Had he not the same authority on October 3? There was the same constitutional government and colonial practice then. All that he was asked to do was to send a thousand men. He refused to send them and he gave us the excuse that constitutional practice was against him. His own Order in Council declares that he is amply justified by constitutional usage and colonial practice in sending out these men. What made the change? What? Public opinion came to the right hon. gentleman's ear; he felt something push him and he found out a different interpretation of the constitutional practice from that which he held when he did not want to act. Now, much has been said about this question of precedent. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Public Works what led his audience to understand when he said, flourishing the Order in Council in his hand, which we did not get at all until last night; troops have been sent once, but here is the document which says that this shall be no precedent, and I got it put there. It has been done this time, but it will not be done again until we get Imperial representation in the councils of Britain. The whole point that is in view by the right hon. Prime Minister in his report to council is the question of expenditure. Listen while I read it:

The Prime Minister, in view of the well known desire of a great many Canadians who are ready to take service under such conditions, is of opinion that the moderate expenditure which would thus be involved for the equipment and transportation of such volunteers, may readily be undertaken by the government of Canada without summoning parliament, especially as such an expenditure, under such circumstances cannot be regarded as a departure from the well known principles of constitutional government and colonial practice, nor construed as a precedent for future action.

What construed? The expenditure of money without the authority of parliament and nothing else. Now, the hon. Minister of Public Works, either through faulty reading or through some carelessness, has misrepresented what that means. It does not mean that it is the sending of the volunteers to take part in the quarrels of Britain, as it has been said, which is not to be a precedent, but it states that the expenditure, without constitutional and parliamentary appropriation, shall not be construed as a precedent, and that is all that it says. But, this says something else. The right hon. Prime Minister himself, the hon. Minister

of Public Works, the seconder of the address (Mr. Geoffrion), yesterday, *Le Soleil* newspaper, the hon. Minister of Public Works in Toronto, over and over again have made this statement, and I ask his attention in it: We have only done what the British government asked us to do. The Prime Minister stated that, the newspapers stated it, the hon. Minister of Public Works stated it in a letter to Mr. J. Castell Hopkins. He said:

It is very well to say that the people of Canada, or of other colonies, have this time made a voluntary offer. In point of fact, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has sent a circular to all the colonies the meaning of which is an invitation to send troops. In my opinion, such an invitation means practically a request. Well, if we have to take our share in the wars of England, let us have a word to say about it.

In Toronto, on the 30th January, he said:

When I read in the cables from the other side that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had issued a circular inviting the colonies to send troops to South Africa, I will frankly admit that I did not feel any very strong inclination to comply with his wishes.

You can multiply these instances; that is the interpretation that has been put upon that circular by my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works, by the right hon. gentleman who leads the government, by the seconder of the address yesterday, and so on all the way through, giving that as the excuse for doing the thing that has been done. I deny that the British government ever asked Canada to send a single volunteer to aid them in the Transvaal. The British government have not asked any of the dependencies of Great Britain, in this crisis, to send troops to help them. What the British government have done is that when offers were sent to the British government by the colonies asking to be permitted to contribute their quota to the struggle they sent a circular directing how these offers should be made operative, and it is an untrue way and a positively wrong way to represent it as much as to say: Oh, well, Great Britain asked us to do it, and what else could we do? Great Britain simply, gratefully, took the offers that were made and sent out a plan saying in what way these offers should be made practicable and operative.

Now, Sir, I have not very much time left, but I do want to say a word as to the most extraordinary position occupied to-day by the government and by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet). The right hon. gentleman did not meet that question last night, and that is where he showed again that they are simply playing at government. I echo the words, which were stated so strongly by the hon. leader of the opposition that it is little else than a scandalous thing for a cabinet to play fast and loose with principles as regards its supporters.

The only course that is dignified, the only course that is constitutional, the only course that is British, is, for the government to stand on what it thinks is right and to hew to the line, no matter whether it be a supporter or an opponent, who thinks differently from them. You have no warrant for anything like constitutional and dignified government if you play fast and loose, as the right hon. Prime Minister is doing in this case. How did he meet it? 'Oh,' he said, with that peculiar shrug of his, 'the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) did not see eye to eye with me. Does the hon. member (Mr. Bourassa) see eye to eye with the Prime Minister yet? The First Minister told us last night that the member for Labelle did not at that time see eye to eye with the government. Does the member for Labelle see eye to eye with the government now?

Mr. BERGERON. He sees eye to eye with the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte).

Mr. FOSTER. Let me see what Mr. Bourassa says.

Mr. BOURASSA. I will show the hon. gentleman before long what my position is.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, but 'before long' is not just now. Mr. Bourassa's own letter has been read, but Mr. Bourassa's speech at Papineauville has not been read to this House. I am not going to read it—

Mr. BOURASSA. I have no objection.

Mr. FOSTER. I am not going to read it, but I am going to say that from the beginning to the end it proves his unalterable antagonism to a cent from out of the treasury of Canada being paid to our volunteers in part or in whole, unless we have representation, unless the constitutional method is applied, by obtaining the consent of parliament first. Here is the resolution which was passed by the hon. gentleman's own constituents, and which binds him and which he carries in his pocket this day in the House. Will the Prime Minister listen to this:

Be it resolved, that we, British subjects, free electors of united Canada, assembled in a public meeting at Papineauville and Montebello, on the 22nd of October, 1899, protest of our loyalty to the British Crown and to our most respected sovereign, Queen Victoria, and our attachment to the constitution that rules us. That without any distinction of political parties, we approve of the fair and independent attitude taken by Mr. Henri Bourassa, our deputy, on the question of the Transvaal. That we oppose all attempts of greater federation on behalf of the empire, and also the participation of Canada in the Imperial wars without any right of representation in the Imperial councils.

Mr. BOURASSA. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. member (Mr. Bourassa) bows his assent to that. That is

his guiding principle. That was his principle then, is now, and will continue to be if I read the hon. member for Labelle aright. He is not a boy who is going to play with principles. When he took the most responsible and grave action a man can take to show his disapprobation of a cardinal policy of the government and appealed to his constituents against the government, he did so because he believed it. There is the answer of his people, and 'any participation in Imperial wars without representation in the Imperial councils,' Mr. Bourassa is here to oppose, and will oppose if he has any regard to consistency and principle. Now, the Prime Minister himself said: 'This is the most important question that ever has arisen in Canada.' On that most important question, he and Mr. Bourassa are poles apart, absolutely sundered, and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) is bound to oppose the Prime Minister by all honourable political warfare until he drags him from power for violating that principle.

Mr. BOURASSA. And let the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) get the Prime Minister's place.

Mr. FOSTER. What has happened? The constituency of Labelle was opened and it passed that resolution of condemnation on the government, and it authorized its member to come here and stand up for that principle, and yet that member has not put his face within the doors of the House of Commons before that same government which was condemned by his constituency, goes out and takes him by the right hand, and introduces him as a supporter into this House. And, Sir, they emphasize the position, in what way? By asking the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) to help introduce him (Mr. Bourassa) to this House.

Now, what is the position taken by the member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) who, I believe, intends to stand by what he has stated to his constituents. The hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) is back here with just as strong a verdict from his constituents as the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa). He gave broadcast to his electors this:

If there are twenty-five of you who will signify by your own signatures that you disagree with me, I will resign.

He did not get twenty-five, I suppose, for he has not resigned.

Mr. MONET. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. Therefore, you may say that his county is absolutely behind his back in opposition to the policy of the Prime Minister. And what did the hon. member (Mr. Monet) tell the people? He told them that he is willing to spend a little money for courtesy's sake, and there he shows his true French descent. He told them that he is willing to do a little more for the sake of the party—there he shows

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another admirable trait. But, when it comes to real hard knocks in expenditure of money, Mr. Monet told his people that he set his face like flint against that; that he did not want to strengthen any ties between Canada and the empire unless it was the commercial tie. Here is what he said:

We have almost nothing in common with the old country. I do not wish to spend a cent to tighten the ties other than commercial ties that bind us to Great Britain. I am a Canadian. My idea is to see Canada take rank among the independent nations as soon as she is sufficiently developed by the vitality of our population and the immensity of our national resources. In order, therefore, to reach this end, we want all our revenue here to develop our resources and attract immigration, instead of sending our people as targets to South Africa.

Sir, that is the language of the son of a well-known political father. The very sentiment that Mr. Monet placed on record there was taught him by the right hon. the Prime Minister, who spoke it in the heart of Boston, in the centre of the United States. Did not the Prime Minister say there and from platforms in this country, that he knew that the two ways would verge apart, that the two countries would separate, and that as the ripe apple fell on maturity from the trees, so Canada would ultimately fall away into an independent power, and drop from the great parent bough.

Mr. MONET. Does not the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) believe the same thing.

Mr. FOSTER. No, sir. I would be very sorry indeed to make a statement such as my hon. friend (Mr. Monet) made. I would be very sorry indeed to claim the protection of the British flag, to claim the privileges of one of the citizens of this country, and then to insult the very best feeling in this country to-day—the feeling of the Prime Minister if he is honest, the feeling of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) if he is honest, the feeling of the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), and I know it is that gentleman's feeling; the feeling of the people of this country; that everything that we can do to bind firmer and stronger the ties that are uniting us with Great Britain, is the one absolute thing for us Canadians. Where is the man on that side of the House who will get up and deny it? There you are, hard-headed, sensible men. There sits the gentleman who says that he would not give a cent to strengthen the tie to Britain; and yet he asks me if those are not my sentiments. They are not my sentiments, nor yours, nor any other man's in this House to-night.

Mr. MONET. I did not say that. I thought the hon. gentleman was dealing with the question of spending money to tie more closely the ties that bind us to England. My interruption meant only this: did the hon. gentleman believe that later on

Canada will have to take rank among independent nations?

Mr. FOSTER. That is a fair question; and, first, so far as I am concerned, I think we have enough to do, to do the work that is presently before us. At this present time I am absolutely opposed to independence, and I do not believe the time will ever come, unless the genius of things changes greatly from what the history of the past teaches me that it will, when independence away from Great Britain would be better than independence within the lap of the British Empire. On what ground? Less expense? Greater security? Greater honour? The heritage of a nobler history? Is there any single feeling of an independent man that is outraged by the position we hold to-day as a member of the British Empire? Is it not a fact that the dearest interests of every man would be rendered less secure if we were to drop out of the British Empire in these days of national predatory instincts? Look at Germany, look at Russia, look at France to-day, and what do you find? Every one of these powers stands like a tiger ready to spring—looking for what? Unoccupied territory? Yes, or territory that they are powerful enough to occupy; and what a glorious opportunity would be offered if this broad Dominion of Canada became the hunting ground for national rivalry and national absorption. The hon. gentleman does not want to spend money. How much money, and how much blood would it then take to keep your country and your security? On none of these grounds can I see where the advocate of independence has any chance at this moment. That, Sir, is the statement of the case. The right hon. Prime Minister brings these men into this House as supporters. May I say one word to the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa)?

Mr. BOURASSA. Oh, yes, as many as you like.

Mr. FOSTER. He is a young man full of promise, with a fine career before him. No one hopes more than I that it will be a distinguished and successful one. But he will make his career just now according to the way in which he sets and conducts himself on this most trying and important occasion; and he must think for himself whether he can play fast and loose with his principles, and support men who have, not once, but twice and three times, struck, and who perhaps in the future will continue to strike, at the very principle which he considered sound and strong enough to induce him to condemn them and to get his constituency to condemn them.

Mr. BOURASSA. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question? Suppose he had been in power, would he have been prepared to uphold the principle I upheld?

Mr. FOSTER. Now, let me ask my hon. friend another thing. What is the political morality of this appeal? That when a man believes that a principle is wrong and he cannot support it, he is seduced to support it simply because one whispers in his ear that the other fellows may gain a political advantage if he stands by his principles? Is that a sound political morality? That is the excuse of the Minister of Public Works. That is the excuse of *Le Soleil*. 'Yield,' says *Le Soleil*, don't you see that Sir Charles Tupper is after you? If he gets into power, you will have to send a hundred thousand. Therefore, yield, Mr. Laurier.' What did the Minister of Public Works himself say? 'I held a strong view; I dissented from my colleagues; but do you want me to throw myself into the hands of Sir Charles Tupper?' God forbid!—(that is my own interjection). But is that political morality? A principle is great with you; but you will stand upon its shattered remnants rather than do a thing which you believe is right for fear perchance it may help those opposed to your party. That surely is not the highest plane of political action.

And, now, Sir, to come to the end. The right hon. gentleman finished his speech with a very pretty passage, in which he threw a tremendous responsibility upon Providence. I know that Providence is all-powerful; but I would be very sorry to hold Providence responsible for the atrocities suffered at the hand of the Turk. I would be very sorry to hold Providence responsible for the want of strong arms and good rifle shooting and pluck and vigour on the battlefield. Providence has its over-ruling sphere, and it is neither for the right hon. gentleman nor myself to trace it. What we have to do is to work by means, and those means are the hearts, and the strong, steady arms and cool heads of men who love liberty and right, and who are willing to lay down their lives in order to secure it. The right hon. gentleman was good enough to say that when this war ended, as end it would, the Boers would have every right that they before possessed, and that the English would have every right that they had given to the Dutch settlers. I deny it. My hon. friend has not grasped the idea that this war on the Transvaal is not a war inspired by surface motives. It is one ideal, one civilization, battling with a totally different ideal and a totally different civilization, and it is impossible for the two to stand together. The Boer has now the right to do what? The Boer has the right to tax and give no representation; he has the right to pillage and rob and deny justice; he has the right to erect a court of justice, and then pass a law nullifying the decrees of the judges he has appointed. He has the power to murder and rob, and give no redress. Those rights and powers will not remain to the

Boer when the Boer is conquered. I would rather take this strong sentence from Mr. Chamberlain, who, speaking only yesterday in the House of Commons at home, said :

Speaking for the government, I say that there shall be no second Majuba. Never again shall the Boers erect in the heart of South Africa a citadel whence proceed disaffection and race animosity. Never again shall they be able to endanger the paramountcy of Great Britain. Never again shall they be able to treat an Englishman as though he belonged to an inferior race.

And once this whole war is over, that is the end that must be attained and that absolutely and wholly.

I agree with my right hon. friend, that the British are generous when they are victorious, and when they conquer that country, as conquer they will, they will make it for ever after an integral part of the British Empire, and grant to every law-abiding peaceful Boer in the Transvaal the very same privileges that they allow to the Englishman, the Scotchman and the Irishman.

These are wonderful days in which we live. The chains are being forged to-day on the anvil beneath the swift moving hammers of history, which shall unite for ever within their bonds every dependency of Great Britain indissolubly and so long as British civilization exists. Unity is the great resistless undercurrent. Canadians feel the thrill and beat of this aspiration within their beings to-day from Vancouver to Cape Breton and Halifax. That is the undercurrent note in Australia, in South Africa, in every dependency of Great Britain, even though it be a dependency where millions once hostile and then conquered are to-day the most loving and loyal British subjects that exist in the wide world. That is the sentiment which prevails among the multitudinous people who live in every quarter of the British possessions, secure in their rights and privileges, and glad am I that Canadian blood is sealing, in this great war now going on, that sentiment and compact which unites all British subjects.

War is the greatest calamity that ever can befall a nation, said my right hon. friend. I deny it. There is one calamity which is tenfold greater. It is to lie down beneath insult and not avenge it, to suffer wrong and not vindicate the rights which belong to national manhood. War is not always a calamity. How it beats down the pettiness of modern social and commercial life and enthrones patriotism and principle, and upon the altar of patriotism and principle consecrates its best and dearest. And who shall say that England now, as compared with England months ago, Canada to-day, as compared with Canada months ago, is not on a higher, an immeasurably higher plane, with broader ideals, and a renovated life, a life instinct with the feeling of sacrifice and devotion for great

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principles and the achievement of a wider and higher civilization.

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

AFTER RECESS.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Mr. Speaker, I somewhat regret to perceive that neither my ancient friend, the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), nor his first lieutenant (Mr. Foster), are in their places to-night. But we will do the best we can to deal with this important subject without the help of these distinguished personages. The debate seems to have taken a very curious turn. For some weeks, I am not sure but I might say some months, before this House assembled we were notified with much pomp and ceremony that the moment this House assembled, unless the wishes of the leader of the opposition were given due effect to, we should be straightway confronted with a motion in amendment. The leader of the opposition has been present, he has heard our statements, he has seen the speech, he has heard our views expounded—and the amendment which he threatened is not forthcoming yet. Neither he nor his lieutenant has seen fit to implement the pledge or the promise, whichever you choose to call it, which they placed before the public some weeks or months ago.

Now, Sir, on the present occasion I am not disposed to follow the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), through the very rambling discussion which he addressed to us for the greater part of this afternoon. I will, however, take this opportunity of saying a few words in reply to certain strictures with regard to the policy of the present government and with which he associated my name. The hon. gentleman was good enough to charge us with having been false to the principles and professions of economy which we had professed for some 18 years. The hon. gentleman ventured to insinuate that in that and a variety of other things, we had entirely failed to redeem the pledges which we had given to the people. Sir, I take issue with the hon. gentleman in toto. I say that the hon. gentleman's conclusions are entirely unwarranted; I say that his promises are incorrect; I say that his facts are false and his logic is falser. Now, neither the hon. gentleman nor his friends pretend to say that the taxes levied on the people of Canada are too high. If they do, the remedy is in their own hands. If they allege that the taxes or any part of them are too high, I challenge them now and here as I have challenged them before to move in reduction of those taxes, or else to hold their peace. If the expenditure which the government of this country have incurred

is in any respect excessive, I challenge them, I challenge them on the floor of this House, to move and to vote in reduction of those items that they object to. I am no believer in that kind of criticism which makes general charges but refuses to abide by particular issues. It is not the way in which I conducted debate when I had the honour of a seat as a member of Her Majesty's loyal opposition; and I think the hon. gentlemen will find that it redounds very little to their own credit, either here or in the country, if they occupy the time of this House in general charges of extravagance and corruption, in general charges of excessive taxation, yet, when challenged and put to the proof, utterly fail to implement by their votes the assertions they have made in our disparagement. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman made a point that the expenditure under the present government was much in excess of the expenditure under his own. But he forgot to tell this House, as he and his friends and his press always forget to tell the people of this country, that the bulk of the additional expenditure costs the people of Canada nothing. Sir, I say to the hon. gentleman that the burdens which the people of Canada are now called upon to bear gauged by any fair test which he chooses to apply, are very considerably less than the burthens which were inflicted under his administration. In the first place, thanks largely to the operations of our preferential tariff, the taxation, as a whole, is very considerably less than it was under their regime. In the second place, our revenue is much greater than it was in their time. In the third place, the wealth of the people of Canada is much greater than it was then. I say further, what even they cannot venture to deny, that the volume of our trade is vastly greater than it was when they held the reins of power. The hon. gentleman and his friends quote statements made by myself and some of my hon. friends around me, a matter of five years ago. Mr. Speaker, those statements were perfectly right, were perfectly true, were perfectly just under the conditions that then existed. But, when we find ourselves in the condition in which we find ourselves to-day, when we find that in that interval of something like five years the public income has risen, speaking roughly, from a gross amount of about thirty-three millions to a gross amount of well-nigh fifty millions—if the income continues to increase as it has done in the past seven months—when we find that the volume of our trade and commerce has increased by nearly one hundred and fifty millions within the space of the last three years—if the same ratio continues to prevail in the present year—when we find, what in my eyes is more important than any or all of these other tests,

that, to a very great extent, the exodus of our people has stopped and that the growth of population is one hundred or two hundred per cent greater per annum than it was in the eighteen years when these gentlemen held power—then, I say, there are good grounds, not for extravagance, this government would not ask its friends to support them in any extravagant measure, but there are good grounds for a reasonable and liberal outlay, particularly in those directions in which we may look for an ample return for the money expended by us.

Now, Sir, again and for the last time, I repeat my challenge to those hon. gentlemen. If they dispute our policy, I invite them to vote it down on the floor of this House. If they do not like the preference we grant to England, I invite them, when the Budget is brought down, to bring in a measure to repeal the preference to England. If they object to the railway subsidies which, under the circumstances, we have thought fit and proper to grant to certain portions of the country that needed railways, I invite them to do what, if my memory serves, they did not attempt to do, last session or any session before, I invite them to move to strike out those particular subsidies to which they object. I invite them again, if they object to any item of our expenditure, be it for public works, be it for railways, be it for agriculture, be it for immigration, be it for what you will, I invite them to move to strike them out. I repeat, if they do not choose to give emphasis to the views they hold by their votes, I invite them, at any rate, to be quiet and leave us to govern the country as best we can.

But, Sir, it was not my intention to occupy much time of the House in the consideration of these questions, for, however important they are, however desirable it is that they should be discussed in the proper place and in a proper way, I agree with the hon. leader of the opposition in believing that they are not the questions which the people of Canada most desire to hear discussed on the floor of parliament at this time. Sir, it is my purpose to speak at some little length on the question of the contingent, or contingents, if you will, which we have lately seen fit to send to the aid of the mother country. And here let me say that I believe that this is the very last thing which any true patriot would have thought of turning to party ends, and using to stir up party strife. It is not merely that the issues raised are of the first moment, issues which will affect the whole future of Canada, issues which will affect the whole future of this empire, issues which call for the best statesmanship, not merely of Canada but of the empire, to bring to a successful result, and which call for the very gravest considera-

tion at the hands of every man in this House; but also because the sending of this contingent does imply, as many hon. gentlemen on both sides see, a new and very important departure from the policy which has hitherto governed our relations with the empire.

Now, Sir, there are several points to which it is worth while for the House to devote a little attention. There is first the question, not by any means to be lightly passed over, of sending a contingent at all. There is the question of the action of the government in connection therewith, there is the question of the criticisms which the opponents of the government have seen fit to level at our action in this regard. Now, as to the question of sending the contingent at all, or of sending it without consulting parliament in the first instance, I say here, speaking as a member of the Canadian parliament, speaking as a Canadian statesman, speaking as one responsible to the people of Canada, and I say it most explicitly, that in ordinary cases and under ordinary circumstances we would not have been justified in sending a contingent, at any rate, without the full concurrence of parliament and after fully debating the question here. Sir, I say that we are not by any manner of means called upon to take part in every war in which England may engage. I say more, that it cannot be demanded of Canada, as a right, that she should contribute to every war in which the empire is engaged, under present circumstances. What Canada has done has been an entirely voluntary act on her part; what Canada has done has been a free gift, and therein lay its value and its importance to the empire. Sir, I know better, perhaps, than a good many of his quondam colleagues, what was the position assumed by the late Sir John A. Macdonald on this very point; and I say without hesitation that I entirely acquiesce in the position which Sir John A. Macdonald, on more than one occasion, laid down, that if ever Canada was required, as a matter of right, to interfere in the wars of the empire, Canada must have a direct voice in deciding with what countries the empire should go to war. More than that, I say that any man in Canada who advocates a different doctrine is a political flunky who is not fit to hold a seat as a representative of the Canadian people.

But while this is true as a constitutional doctrine, I desire to lay it down with one qualification; while that is the attitude that all free men should maintain on a question like this, yet if serious danger menaces the empire then it becomes our duty to act and to act promptly. Sir, I contend that just such a case has arisen on the present occasion. I will admit that until Mr. Kruger issued his proclamation offering war to the British

Empire unless his terms were complied with in the very briefest possible time, there was room for doubt; I will admit that if we had been called upon to contribute a contingent towards the invasion of the South African Republic, to an attack upon the South African Republic, there might have been room for doubt. But an attack on the South African Republic is one thing, the invasion of British territory by any power under heaven, is another and a very different thing.

Sir, in the proclamation to which I refer, Mr. Kruger put a question, and the question rightly understood was neither more or less than this: Shall the British flag continue to float in South Africa at all? Shall South Africa, and with South Africa, the huge domains that have fallen under the control of the British sovereign in that great continent, shall they be British or shall they be Boer for evermore? I say to such questions so put, there could be but one answer. From the Yukon to New Zealand, from Vancouver to Halifax, from Hudson's Bay to Sydney Head, wherever the British flag floats, wherever the British tongue is spoken, wherever British subjects dwell and British institutions prevail, to such a question there can be but one answer, and that answer is: Never, or over our dead bodies first. Sir, that means the preservation of the British Empire, that directly and powerfully affects the common interest, and I wish my hon. friends on both sides to consider that well. In that fact lies our justification and our defence for the action which we took, and which we are now calling upon parliament to ratify. I grant that had time allowed it would have been very desirable that we should have summoned parliament together. But as even hon. gentlemen on the other side admit, Mr. Kruger's proclamation having been issued on the 9th or 10th of October, we were called upon to put our contingent on shipboard before the 31st of October, and on the 30th of October, thanks largely to the excellence of the management of the department presided over by my hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden), a thousand Canadians were on shipboard heading for the Cape, twice the number the British government had asked us to send.

Sir, Mr. Kruger gave us no time to summon parliament. Eight-and-forty hours was all that the President of the South African Republic allowed Great Britain to withdraw her armaments, to haul down her flag and to give up her pretensions in South Africa. I repeat, that, under the circumstances, it was not a question of attacking his Republic, but it was a question of repelling an invasion of British territories. And, Sir, a very dangerous invasion it was, too. The British generals, it seems

to me, have been somewhat harshly judged, perhaps, even by the British people and by ourselves. It has not been sufficiently understood that they had to deal, not merely with foes without, but with traitors within. It has not been, I think, sufficiently understood, that they were called upon, for the first time in modern history, to wage war under new and strange conditions. Now, I do not pretend to be an expert in military matters, but I do know that those who are qualified to judge and to form an opinion have expressed the view that the changes which have taken place in military affairs within the last five-and-twenty years have been so great and so far-reaching that they almost equal if, indeed, they do not fully equal, the change that took place in modern warfare when powder was first introduced into action. We can remember—it is not so many years ago—when the first lesson in the marvellous power of modern arms was taught by the British themselves on the banks of the Nile at the battle of Omdurman. We have seen, to our cost and sorrow, that same lesson repeated on the banks of the Modder and the Tugela, and the lesson it teaches is that the most desperate valour and determined energy are useless against modern armaments unless that valour and energy are well led and well directed. There is not the slightest doubt that the strength of the Boers was enormously underrated from the first. I well remember, something like a year and a half ago, or two years ago, after the Jameson raid, reading a speech that the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain delivered in the British House of Commons, in which Mr. Chamberlain, who may be supposed to be the best informed man, apart from a small military circle, in the British Empire, on that question, deprecated war and said that, under the circumstances and conditions which prevailed in South Africa if we engaged in a war with the Boers it would cost us ten millions and twenty or thirty thousand troops to subdue them. If, under these circumstances, Mr. Chamberlain could be so far mistaken there is not much wonder that our generals should have found this a more difficult matter to handle than they at first supposed. It is a fact, and a fact well worth noting, that this is the first time in history, so far as my reading goes, that a half civilized race were ever supplied with the best arms and munitions of war and were ever guided by the best scientific skill that Europe can bestow, and provided with almost unlimited quantities of English gold or gold derived from the revenues produced by the energy and enterprise of British capitalists. But, none of us can tell the surprises that may be in store for us. It is a fact that it is very evident that the defence is far stronger than the attack, but it may be that to-morrow, some new and strange discovery may be made, and it may be that some new chemical com-

ination may be found which will make fortifications that seem to-day impregnable, almost useless, if indeed war itself be not made equivalent to mutual suicide. The suggestion was made, I think, from the other side of the House—it may have been made by some of our own friends—that it was necessary for us, if we chose to send a contingent to have defined our position first and ascertained what relation to the empire we were to occupy in future, under circumstances of this kind. To my poor mind this is not the time for bargain-making; that question will be taken up in good time. The problem is a difficult and complicated one, but I have great faith indeed that what has happened before in so many cases in English history will happen again; I have very great faith that the practical instinct of the English people will find a way to solve this problem, difficult as it may be. As the schoolmen say, the question is *solvitur ambulando*. One thing is certain, one thing my hon. friends on both sides of the House may rely upon, and it is that the action of Canada in this matter and the action of our sister colonies has already had a great and marked effect, not merely upon the public opinion of England, but on the public opinion of all Europe as well. The statesmen of Europe are in the habit of looking a little ahead, and they know, and it may interest this House to know, that to-day, the combined population of Canada and Australasia is very little short of the total population of the British Isles in the early part of the last century when they were called upon to resist all Europe under the guidance of the First Napoleon, when they had a thousand ships of war in commission, and when the army and navy, together, employed nearly 500,000 men. The statesmen of the continent have not forgotten what England did then when England was numerically very little stronger than we are to-day. The statesmen of the continent and of the world recognizes the fact that if England is able to rely upon her colonies in her times of need, then, in all human probability, within the space of the next half century, probably the next five-and-twenty years, England will possess an ally equal in strength, equal in resources and in potential fighting power, to any first-class European power. These men appreciate the consequences of our act; they appreciate the possibilities that are involved.

Now, Sir, I come to another question which has been put, and the question is: Did our government go far enough in this matter, did our government act promptly and of the world recognize the fact that those who are best qualified to judge are unanimous in approving of the action of Canada and of Canada's government. With not one single dissenting voice, with a unanimity which is perfectly unparalleled the English people, the English press,

the English parliament and the Sovereign of England herself have all agreed in tendering their thanks through His Excellency the Governor General to the people of Canada, for what Her Majesty was pleased to call the magnificent display of loyalty and patriotism which we have witnessed. And, Sir, when these applaud who, pray, is it that condemn the action of the government? I will tell you who it is. It is that section of the Conservative journals rightly described by my hon. friend, who sits beside me, as its reptile press: it is a certain section of Canadian politicians, of whom, I am sorry to say, the two leaders of the opposition are among the chief. These are the responsible critics, forsooth, who sit in judgment on the action of the government! These are the responsible critics who never spent a cent, who never shed a drop of blood, who never risked one acre of land for the welfare of the empire. These are the men who will force their comparisons upon us. What makes it the more absurd, what makes it more ludicrous even, is that these men or their predecessors, were for eighteen years in power, England had many wars in these eighteen years, and they never dreamt of lifting their little finger to assist her. As I have said, I do not want to make comparisons, but these men have forced comparisons upon us. They talk of their superior loyalty—let them look at our cabinet and they will find that nearly every other man around our council board has sent his own son to the field.

Now, I am not the man to disparage the loyalty or the courage of my Conservative friends. I well believe that had the chance been afforded them, that the gentlemen in the front benches of the opposition might, perhaps, have done the same, and we would have been glad to welcome them shoulder to shoulder. More than that, I know that in the field to-day there are probably as many Conservatives fighting for Canada and the empire as there are Liberals; and I know what is more—and to their credit be it said—that the Conservative press have universally admitted that in the selection of that contingent, in the choice of officers, my hon. friend the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden, King's, N.S.), has known nothing but the one thing: Which of these men who offer their services is fittest to be trusted with the lives of Canadians under their command.

I as a Canadian have a few words to say to these men who, for party ends or for selfish purposes, would endeavour to stir up strife among the two races on whose union the welfare of Canada depends. It is idle for these gentlemen to tell us here that attacks have not been made on the loyalty of French Canada. I do not suppose that the two leaders of the opposition would dare to rise in their places and attack French Canada—and for very excellent reasons. In the

first place, I know enough of the comparatively small number of French Canadians who support them, to know that they would make it exceedingly hot for them if they dared to impugn the loyalty of French Canada. But, Sir, I say that through their press, through their minions in the country, they have done all they could do and dare do to stir up evil feeling between the races. The language, the taunts, and the sneers and the jeers and the flouts which have disgraced some Conservative journals in speaking of the attitude of French Canada, have been as ignorant as they are malicious. Our history teaches us, or ought to teach us, the lesson of the loyalty of French Canada. These men are doubly traitors, traitors to Canada and traitors to the empire, who cast a suspicion on the loyalty of the people of the province of Quebec. Sir, the lesson that South Africa is teaching us to-day is the extreme impolicy, the extreme misfortune it may bring upon the empire, if we allow racial hatreds to prevail or develop. Four-fifths of the difficulties which the English generals have to deal with arise from the fact that a large portion, I am sorry to say, of the inhabitants of Cape Colony are rather in sympathy with the Boers than with the British authorities. Surely, our own history ought to teach better the men who cast reflections on French Canadians. Twice since the British flag was raised in Canada, twice has Canada been in great peril of being a conquered country—once, in the early years of the American revolutionary war in 1776, once in the war of 1812, and I tell this House that had the province of Quebec at either of these periods been hostile to Great Britain, or had the people of that province been even passively neutral, we would never have been called upon to sit in this parliament of Canada to-day.

There are certain things that none of us particularly care to speak of, and yet the time often comes when it is necessary to speak out and to speak plainly. Every man who has paid any attention to the subject—and I may claim for forty years to have given it considerable attention—every man who has paid any attention to the subject knows that Canada at the best would be a hard country to defend—at any rate, to defend against an invasion from the south. And if under such circumstances we found the province of Quebec hostile or disaffected, or even neutral, I ask you all calmly to consider what chance we could have of making a successful defence. I repeat that the man who attacks the loyalty of the French Canadians, whether it be on the floor of this House or elsewhere, that man is a worse foe of the British Empire than it was ever in the power of Mr. Paul Kruger to be. And to-day, if you need a proof of the loyalty of French Canadians, call over the roll of those officers who are fighting in South Africa to main-

tain British power and British institutions there, and amongst the foremost in their respective ranks you will find the name of Panet, and Pelletier and Girouard and de Lotbinière.

There is a more excellent way—and as he is absent I may speak the more freely—which our hon. friend, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, has shown us, and that is, to weld these two races into one solid union, so that shortly—and the sooner the better in my mind—we in Canada shall know neither French, nor Saxon, nor Irish, nor Scotch, nor English, but we shall be proud to call ourselves all alike Canadians. One thing more. I notice that some of these gentlemen, not particularly acquainted apparently with constitutional history or doctrine, have cavilled at the demand which was made by some parties in Quebec, that we should submit our action to parliament before we proceeded to take this new departure. Let us ask these men: Did no Englishmen hesitate before they took this new departure in the case of Australasia? Are these hon. gentlemen aware that in the several Australasian colonies, the question whether a contingent would be sent was put to the vote, and that in almost every instance a considerable minority, and in some cases a large minority, dissented. Do they know that in the case of one important colony, if I remember aright, the decision to send a contingent was carried only by the casting vote of the president? Now, Sir, under those circumstances, bearing in mind that the Australasian colonies have far more close connection with the Cape than we can possibly have, and are far more directly affected by anything that would sever the Cape Colony from British control—I say that it is utterly absurd to cast it as a slur against certain gentlemen of French origin, that they, rightly understanding the British constitution, thought that this was a case which should be submitted to parliament. I agree with them that in an ordinary case it should be. But I repeat that our justification and our defence lay in the fact that this was not an ordinary case, that we were called upon to act with great promptitude and that the safety of the empire was at stake.

I ask again, why should this question have been brought into the arena of politics? Why should an attempt have been made to stir up political strife between the two divisions in Canada? I am sorry to say that I can conceive of but one reason why that was done. Four years ago the present leader of the opposition did not scruple to try to set French against English for the purpose of maintaining himself in power. Sir, he failed, notably, signally and ignominiously, in that attempt. Now, four years later the same hon. gentleman is attempting to set English against French for the purpose of regaining the power that he justly lost; and I will venture to prophesy that in this case, as in the former, he

will fail, notably, signally and ignominiously, as he deserves.

I am sorry the leader of the opposition is not here. I suppose that like some others, he may have pleasanter engagements than listening to me on the present occasion. However, present or absent, I take leave to say that I have considerable sympathy with the hon. gentleman. I make allowances for his position. Already round his neck he feels the bow-string tighten that was so fatal to Mackenzie Bowell. If he looks to the left, he sees the member for East York (Mr. Maclean); if he looks to the right, he sees the member for West York (Mr. Wallace); if he looks beside him, he sees the member for the other York (Mr. Foster); and it is just a question which of the three will be first and quickest to give the final twitch. Under such circumstances much may be forgiven to that hon. gentleman. But there is one thing I cannot forgive, one thing I will not forgive, one thing which to my mind is the unpardonable sin of Canadian statesmen: that is, the attempt to gain or to keep power by setting the two races of Canada against each other.

Mr. Speaker, three things have occurred in my time which I think in their respective ways have done a good deal to cement the ties between Canada and the mother country. One of these, although a small thing in a sense, was the foundation of the Royal Military College, which has given some hundreds of admirable officers to help lead Her Majesty's troops; another was the preferential tariff, which gave to Great Britain an advantage of nearly one-third in the Canadian markets against any foreign competitor; and the third was the sending of this contingent. Well, Sir, who founded the Royal Military College? It was founded by a Liberal administration, presided over by Alexander Mackenzie. Who granted the preferential tariff? A Liberal administration presided over by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Who have sent forward this contingent? The same Liberal administration presided over by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Why do these heathen rage? Because, Sir, we did what they talked about. Again I say I dislike to make comparisons, but they force me to do it, and when we do, we have to compare Liberal acts against Conservative promises; we have to compare Liberal successes against Conservative failures.

Mr. BENNETT. In Manitoba.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I rather think that in Manitoba Mr. Greenway had the majority of the popular vote by some hundreds over Mr. Hugh John Macdonald.

Mr. TAYLOR. We had the same here in 1896.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I am speaking of 1899. I say

that this attempt to divide the people of Canada has no chance of success if the Liberals of Canada act together in the future as they have done in the past; and Sir, speaking for myself, and speaking for my colleagues, I may say to our supporters, here and outside the House, that this government asks for no servile submission at their hands. We do ask for such trust and loyalty as self-respecting men can grant to leaders who have shown themselves worthy to be entrusted, to leaders who have had to deal with serious difficulties, and have solved those difficulties well, to leaders who have earned the thanks of their sovereign, to leaders who have raised Canada to a higher pinnacle than Canada has ever before reached in the eyes of the world, and in so doing have helped to weld Canada together into what will be, I hope, a united and powerful nation. And, I ask, will this House undo this good work? Will this House listen to factious intriguers who endeavour to irritate one section against another? I say that the government have done in this matter exactly what they ought to have done; that they have acted with due promptitude and with due consideration and deliberation. Also, I say, they have acted with due regard to the future possibilities—with due regard to the difficulties which may be laid upon them under certain not impossible contingencies. For, remember, Sir—and there I agree with the leader of the opposition—that Canada took no light task upon her shoulders when she undertook to maintain law and order, and to repel invaders over the whole of this northern half of North America. More, Sir, I say: that if need arose Canada and the government of Canada would be prepared to go further. Whether need will arise it is entirely premature to say. According to the statement of the English Secretary of State, England has to-day something like 213,000 men in Africa, or on their way to Africa. What England needs to-day is not gallant, but undisciplined men, however willing they may be. England needs, perhaps more than ever she did before, trained and tried soldiers; and I believe that the men we have sent, and are now sending to South Africa, will in many important respects approve themselves tried and good men, fit to stand beside the best troops in the whole empire.

There was one other attack which might have been spared, made upon the government by the hon. leader of the opposition. The hon. gentleman thought that we had acted very improperly because we had not thought fit to insure the lives of our troops before they left for Africa. Sir, that hon. gentleman has a very low and poor idea of the duties of a government in a case like this. I beg to tell that hon. gentleman that when Canada sends her sons to the front, Canada

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

becomes responsible and will know how to redeem that responsibility to the widows and orphans of the brave men who may fall in this conflict. We do not propose to shift that duty on to the shoulders of any insurance company, and I may remind the House that, with the full concurrence of his council, my hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) gave that assurance to the last contingent that sailed from Canada. Sir, I have no fear that the Canadian people will shrink from that duty. The success of the contributions to the patriotic fund is a clear proof that they are ready and willing to do their part. I am glad to see that individuals contribute generously out of their means to so good a cause, but I repeat that there is a right way and a wrong way of doing these things. I say that the government have chosen the right way, and I say again that the brave men in the front need have no fear, if it should please Providence that they should remain on the soil of Africa, that their widows and little ones will not be the wards and the care of the state and the wards and care of every true and honest-minded Canadian.

Motion (Mr. Gould) agreed to.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright) moved:

That the said address be engrossed and be presented to His Excellency the Governor General by such members of this House as are of the honourable the Privy Council.

Motion agreed to.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Business, business.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I hail this as a good omen that we are going to be a united Canada and a united parliament after all; and in view of this happy termination I think hon. gentlemen might take a little holiday, and I move the adjournment of the House.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, go on with business.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman state what business he proposes to take up to-morrow?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. To-morrow is private members' day, and I see there is a considerable number of private Bills on the paper.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 9.15 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, February 7, 1900.

The **SPEAKER** took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

MEMBER INTRODUCED.

Edmond Fortier, Esquire, member for the electoral district of Lotbinière, introduced by the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) and Mr. Lavergne.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That a special committee of five members be appointed to prepare and report with all convenient speed, lists of members to compose the Select Standing Committees ordered by this House on Thursday, the 1st inst., and that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir Louis Davies and Sir Adolphe Caron compose the committee.

Mr. **FOSTER**. That is very aristocratic, no democrats on that.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. No doubt the House will agree with entire unanimity to the motion which has just been made by the right hon. leader of the House. I would like to take this opportunity of saying that I think it would facilitate business very much, and the progress of the session, if an early meeting of that committee were called in order that the permanent committees may be struck without delay.

The **PRIME MINISTER**. Would tomorrow be convenient to my hon. friend?

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. Would it be equally convenient to say the day after tomorrow?

The **PRIME MINISTER**. Very well.

Motion agreed to.

LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT.

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That a Select Committee composed of Messieurs Borden (Halifax), Bourassa, Caron (Sir Adolphe), Clarke, Davies (Sir Louis), Davin, Flint, Foster, Fraser (Guysborough), Laurier (Sir Wilfrid), McNeill, Monk, Powell, Russell and Scriver be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in the direction of the Library of Parliament so far as the interests of this House are concerned, and to act as members of a Joint Committee of both Houses on the Library.

Motion agreed to.

SUPPLY.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE** (Mr. Fielding) moved :

That this House will, on Tuesday next, resolve itself into a committee to consider of a Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Motion agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE** (Mr. Fielding). These motions may not mean as much as some hon. gentlemen imagine. I beg to move :

That this House will, on Tuesday next, resolve itself into a committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising a Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Motion agreed to.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE—PENSIONS.

Mr. N. F. **DAVIN** (West Assiniboia) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 6) respecting pensions for the North-west Mounted Police.

Mr. **GIBSON**. Explain.

Mr. **DAVIN**. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad that my hon. friend (Mr. Gibson) has asked me to explain, because I should like to say why I feel it necessary to introduce this Bill. I have introduced this Bill twice before, and the need for it now is, I think, greater than it was on either of these occasions because, owing to circumstances that it is not necessary to dwell upon, but partly owing to the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite, the North-west Mounted Police, at the present time, hardly exist. Since the first Pension Act was passed in 1889 that great body of men progressed in such a manner that we know that it became, in a few years, the admiration of every man who visited the North-west Territories. Every soldier, whether he was militia or Imperial, whatever country he belonged to, felt great admiration for this force. High German officials visited us and no man ever contemplated that force, until two or three years ago without admiration, without feeling that he was in the presence of a splendid body of men that would do honour, although they were police, to any army in the world. On a previous occasion, when I introduced this very Bill, one voice, at all events, from the other side of the House, almost challenged my right to dare to interfere with such an important thing as the pensions of the North-west Mounted Police. It so happens that I was the first man in this country and the first man in this House who ever mentioned pensions for the North-west Mounted Police. We petitioned the government of Sir John Macdonald in that behalf and made representations to the government of Sir John Macdonald with the result that the Act of 1889 was passed. When the Act was proposed it was proposed by the late Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, and at that time it was opposed by the Liberal party, then in opposition, and they divided the House. Mr. Jones, of Halifax, who was then the military critic of the Liberal party, moved an amendment joining issue with the principle of granting pensions to the North-west Mounted Police,

the House divided and amongst those who voted against giving pensions to the police we find the names of Laurier, Cartwright, Mills and all the leading members of the opposition of that day. Notwithstanding that the Bill was passed and it has been one of the means of contributing to the formation of a corps which culminated in the excellence to which I have referred. In 1898 an Act was passed having one clause, and that clause runs :

The Mounted Police Pension Act, 1889, is hereby amended by striking out the words 'twenty-five'—

As the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) is Superintendent General of the North-west Mounted Police, I must ask the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) not to distract his attention for a moment or two.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The conversation was akin to the subject the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) is talking about.

Mr. DAVIN. If the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) was pouring any light on it, that is all right. The clause of the Act of 1898 runs as follows :

The Mounted Police Pension Act, 1889, is hereby amended by striking out the words 'twenty-five' wherever they occur in sections 3, 7 and 8 thereof, and inserting instead the word 'twenty.'

The right hon. gentleman will remember that when that Act was passed I pointed out to him that it was not worth the paper it was written on, and I might have gone further and shown, as I will show him now, that it was actually, to a certain extent, disfranchising the North-west Mounted Police. It was taking away advantages from them that they had before and therefore, in this Bill the first thing I propose to do is to repeal that Act. I should like to ask the right hon. gentleman whether he has done what he promised in regard to that Act. When I pointed out the character of the legislation, the same session it was passed and suggested a clause that would have made it effective, the right hon. Prime Minister said :

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). On what date ?

Mr. DAVIN. On April 26, 1898 :

I will move the adjournment of the debate, with the view of having the point of order investigated, and with the view, moreover, of having the views advanced by my hon. friend—(Mr. Davin)—referred to the officers of my department for a report, for I am not prepared to deal with them at this moment.

I should like to ask the right hon. gentleman if he has had that report yet.

The PRIME MINISTER. I do not know if I have it, I must say, at this moment.

Mr. DAVIN.

Mr. DAVIN. It does not require a report from the Department of Justice on a matter like this, as I will show him in a moment. This Act passed in 1898 strikes out the words 'twenty-five' from sections 3, 7 and 8. Section 3 reads as follows :

Subject to the provisions of this Act, every constable who became a member of the force on or after the 23rd day of May, 1873, or who becomes a member of the force after the passing of this Act—

(a) If he has completed not less than twenty-five years' service, shall be entitled to retire and receive a pension for life.

That is the only part of that section where 'twenty-five' is mentioned, and you will see what it provides for. Suppose that a man has served twenty-five years, no matter how strong he may be, let his health be ever so sound he is able to retire and with a pension. Section 4 provides for pensions as follows :

That the pension to a constable on retirement shall be according to the following scale, that is to say :

(a) If he has completed fifteen but less than twenty-one years' service, an annual sum equal to one-fiftieth of his annual pay for every completed year of service ;

(b) If he has completed twenty-one but less than twenty-five years' service, an annual sum equal to twenty-fiftieths of his annual pay, with an addition of two-fiftieths of his annual pay for every completed year of service above twenty years ;

(c) If he has completed twenty-five years' service, an annual sum equal to thirty-fiftieths of his annual pay.

According to the Act of 1889 a man retiring after twenty-five years is entitled to thirty-fiftieths of his pay. This Act, passed in 1898, takes away the clause empowering a man to retire in full health after twenty-five years' service. That is all it does, and it provides that he shall retire after twenty years' service. When you come to the pension that can be given according to the Act to a man who has served twenty years, it runs thus :

If he has completed fifteen, but less than twenty-one years' service, an annual sum equal to one-fiftieth of his annual pay.

So that the old Act enabled him to retire with thirty-fiftieths when he is in full health at twenty-five years' service, and all the new Act does is to enable him to retire in full health at twenty years of age and get one-fiftieth instead of thirty-fiftieths. Palpably that is no advantage whatever to the North-west mounted policemen. As far as that goes, therefore, it is not worth the paper it is written on, but when you come to section 7, it actually circumscribes the men in the Mounted Police. Section 7 reads :

When any constable who became a member of the force on or after the 23rd day of May, 1873, or who becomes a member of the force after the passing of this Act, has completed a service of twenty-five years, the commissioner

may, with the approval of the Governor in Council, require him to retire upon the terms as prescribed by this Act.

Therefore, under the old law, the commissioner could not require a man in full health and without anything against him, to retire on a good pension of thirty-fiftieths until he had been twenty-five years in the service; but under the change, the commissioner may require a man who has only served twenty years—who may be in good health and nothing against him whatever—to retire on one-fiftieth of his salary. I propose, therefore, that the first clause shall repeal the Act of 1898, and that the second clause of the Act should run as follows:

If he has completed not less than twenty years' service, shall be entitled to retire and receive a pension for life; and

If he has completed not less than ten years' service and is incapacitated for performance of his duty by infirmity of mind or body, shall be entitled to retire and receive a pension.

Then, I enact as follows in the second clause:

If he has completed ten but less than sixteen years' service, an annual sum equal to one-fiftieth of his annual pay for every completed year of service.

If he has completed sixteen but less than twenty years' service, an annual sum equal to twenty-fiftieths of his annual pay, with an addition of two-fiftieths of his annual pay for every completed year of service above sixteen years.

If he has completed twenty years' service, an annual sum equal to thirty-fiftieths of his annual pay, with an addition of one-fiftieth of his annual pay for every completed year of service above twenty years, so, however, that the pension shall not exceed two-thirds of his annual pay at his retirement.

Therefore, by this I will accomplish a little more than the present law accomplishes, but I will mainly accomplish by these two sections what was undoubtedly aimed at by the Act passed in 1898, and which the right hon. gentleman is responsible for, because it was by means of his support that the Act was passed.

I then propose by this Bill to provide that the officers shall be recruited from the ranks. All our best officers to-day have risen from the ranks. Col. Steele has risen from the ranks, and his second in command of the Strathcona contingent has risen from the ranks. Mr. Baker, the adjutant in the second contingent, rose from the ranks, and so on. That men who have risen from the ranks are the best men would be a matter of inference. When I dealt with this matter in 1896, I think, the right hon. the Prime Minister replied to me by saying, that it was not necessary to make such a provision, and he gave me a list of the large number of men who had risen from the ranks. But, Sir, what has occurred within the last few years? I cannot recall a man who has been promoted from the ranks under the right

hon. gentleman's regime. They have been political appointments most of them, though the great bulk of them have been made from quarters that it may be fit enough to select from, such as from the Military College or from the officers of the officariate of the militia; but nevertheless, it strikes at what I hold, and what most of those who were interested in the North-west Mounted Police held was of vital importance to the efficiency of that force, namely, that the officers should be recruited in the main from the ranks. I, therefore, have a clause in this Bill which reads as follows:—

The position of superintendent in the North-west Mounted Police shall be filled by promotion from among the non-commissioned officers, but in special cases cadets from the Military College or commissioned officers of the Canadian militia or of the Imperial service, may be appointed to such position.

I put in that proviso so that if it should become absolutely necessary to depart from the rule it can be done. Then, Sir, there is another great injustice to the officers of the North-west Mounted Police. Take the man who is going out second in command to Col. Steele. I think he is only five or six years an inspector, but if he were to retire, his superannuation allowance would be counted only from the day he became a commissioned officer. What I propose in a clause I have in this Bill is—of course, I will have to put it in italics, because it is beyond a private member to propose it—what I propose is, that in the case of a commissioned officer, if he retires on superannuation, that his superannuation shall be calculated on the base of his service from the time that he joined the force as a constable. The right hon. gentleman will probably recall that at the end of last session or the previous session, he himself proposed or supported a measure in regard to the superannuation of certain civil servants, and I rose in my place and called attention to the fact that in voting as the right hon. gentleman was then voting, he was endorsing the principle of the Bill that I had explained that session to the House, and which contained a clause such as I have described just now. It is palpable that this Bill cannot become law unless the government carries it through, because it affects the revenue, but if it does become law, I hold that it will accomplish a great deal of good. It is a Bill that I think necessary to the efficiency of the North-west Mounted Police force. If the right hon. gentleman looks at his own words he will see that he felt conscious that he was responsible for the present Act, and this Bill of mine will make that Act of his effective, and take it out of its present position of offering a mere simulacrum of benefit to the North-west Mounted Police.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

MILITIA ACT AMENDMENT.

Mr. DOMVILLE moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 7) to amend the Militia Act. He said: The Bill is very short, and needs very little explanation. Its object is merely to alter the Militia Act of Canada, so that we shall not be compelled, whether we like it or not, to accept an Imperial officer to command the militia of Canada. The Act states at present:

There shall be appointed an officer who holds the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel or rank superior thereto, in Her Majesty's regular army, who shall be charged, under the orders of Her Majesty, with the military command and discipline of the militia, and who, while he holds such appointment, shall have the rank of Major-General in the militia, and shall be paid at the rate of \$4,000 per annum in full of all pay and allowances.

That provision bars us from having a Canadian officer. It may be said that we have never had anybody competent for the position; but some of our officers are now seeing service in South Africa, and when they return, that reason will no longer hold. Apart from that, I think we shall hear enough before this House rises to convince anybody that it would be far more prudent to have a Canadian in command of the Canadian army. I merely ask to have this clause in the Militia Act amended to allow of such an officer being appointed either from Her Majesty's regular army or from the militia of Canada. I think the whole country will endorse the idea that Canada is for Canadians, and if Canada has sent men to South Africa to help to fight the battles of the empire they will be far better able to handle the Canadian militia than people who come from the other side.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

FRANCHISE ACT, 1898, AMENDMENT.

Mr. A. B. INGRAM (East Elgin) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 8) in further amendment of the Franchise Act, 1898. He said: Under the provincial law a certain residence is required to enable a man to have his name placed on the voters' list; and as a large number of men have left Canada for service in South Africa, they will become disfranchised under the several provincial laws, which now form the basis of elections to this House. I wish to amend the Act so that their absence from Canada will not deprive them of the privilege of voting on their return, should they return one day before an election.

Mr. CASEY. What class of people does that apply to?

Mr. INGRAM. I will read the section:

No person, otherwise entitled to vote, who has or shall have left Canada under enrolment

Mr. DAVIN.

or entry under Dominion or Imperial authority or sanction for military or naval service to Her Majesty in the South African war, shall by reason of absence caused thereby be disentitled to vote; but every such person shall upon his return after such absence be entitled to vote as if he had remained resident of the place of which he was resident at the time of his so leaving; and if his name is omitted from the voters' list while so absent he shall nevertheless be entitled to vote on his offering to take, and taking if requested, before the deputy returning officer or other person in charge of the polling station, the following oath, in addition to such parts as are applicable to him of the oath he might be required to take if his name had been on the list:

I (A.B.) do swear that I am legally qualified to vote at this election, and that I verily believe my name was omitted from the list of voters by reason of my absence caused by leaving Canada under enrolment or entry for military or naval service to Her Majesty in the South African war, and for no other reason.

There is another point. I have noticed, while attending the Court of Revision in my own constituency—and I have no doubt that a large number of the members of this House have noticed the same thing in other provinces—that the names of Dominion voters frequently disappear from the lists simply because they have removed from one municipality to another in the constituency. The courts of revision in the various provinces are controlled by the provincial authorities, and the judge says, 'It is true, this man has only moved into the next municipality, but I can take no other course than to strike him off the list.' Therefore, I propose to amend the Act so as to provide that if a voter has moved from one municipality to another, so long as he is still within the Dominion constituency, his name shall not be struck off the list, but he shall be allowed to vote on taking a special oath somewhat similar to the oath I have read and which applies to the soldiers who have gone to South Africa. There is another point. I understand that the government intend introducing an Act to correct a number of errors in the Dominion Franchise Act, and there are a great many. I think hon. gentlemen, especially those from the province of Ontario, will bear me out in saying that the Registration Act of that province is not a good Act, that it is expensive, and that it bears no comparison with the old system of preparing voters' lists. In the city of Toronto, in the city where I live, and in other cities, it takes practically four days, and in lesser towns it takes practically two days outside of the regular election days. Under that Act there are ways of stuffing the voters' lists and of doing things that could not have been done under the old system. We are perfectly powerless to wipe out that legislation, and I would ask the government to use their influence with their friends in the province of Ontario to have that Registration Act abolished altogether.

Mr. MACLEAN (East York). In reference to this Bill, I would suggest that the government advise their friends in Ontario either to abolish that Registration Act or to extend it to every constituency in the country. I believe the best way to enable the men who are away in South Africa to vote is to adopt the principle of registration universally, and to give every man who is twenty-one years of age, who earns a dollar a day, and who is a citizen of the country, an opportunity to register his vote within thirty days preceding election day in the constituency where he votes. Our experience is that there are partisan assessors who strike off names of voters as quickly as we can put them on, and it is a constant fight to keep the proper names on the lists; whereas, if we had a proper Registration Act applied everywhere, every man would know that within thirty days before an election, he could go before a registrar and have his name registered. I am in favour of the widest franchise. We have not got it in this country to-day, and I hope the leader of the government will consult with his friends in Ontario and give us universal suffrage on that system. At present, as the hon. member has just said, this House is at the mercy of the provinces with regard to the franchise. We should control our own franchise. The greatest mistake ever made here was made two years ago when we abandoned that control, and the way to overcome the evil now is to adopt universal suffrage.

Mr. WALLACE. I cannot quite agree with the remarks of the previous speakers on this question. My own opinion is that the Registration Act is very defective and expensive, and, in the case of cities, involves the trouble and expense of an election for three or four days in bringing up those whose names are not on the municipal list to have them registered. I would suggest another remedy which would be cheap and effective. I am speaking now of the province of Ontario. The voters' list of that province is divided into three parts. The first embracing the municipal and legislative vote, and the second the municipal vote only, and the third the legislative vote only. Under the present system of registration, list number one is taken, and list number three is added to it by compelling the attendance of the voters to have their names put on. I would suggest that we begin with list number one, and then take list number three, which has already received two revisions—one by municipal court of revision, and one before the county court judge, and, therefore, does not require further criticism and examination—and then add those names which are not on either. That would be a cheap and inexpensive method. Let us suppose there are 1,000 voters in a municipality. Six hundred are on list number one, and are not interfered

with now, but the other 400 have to be registered. Perhaps 350 of those are on list number three, and are, therefore, struck off and the parties have to make a personal application to be put on. Suppose you take list number one with 600 names and list number three with 350 names, both of which have been revised twice; that gives 950 names. You have then only to add the other 50, and both political parties will see that they are added. That would give very little expense and trouble, and more complete representation to the electors than can possibly be given by the present cumbersome and expensive system in Ontario.

With regard to the other clause of the Bill of the hon. member for Elgin, to permit the soldiers who are now in South Africa, to vote on their return, I think it is one that would commend itself to the approval of every member of this House.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

DRAINAGE ACROSS RAILWAY LANDS.

Mr. GEO. E. CASEY (West Elgin) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 9) to facilitate drainage on and across the lands of railway companies.

He said: In asking leave to introduce this Bill, I merely wish to say a word or two as to its general scope and the reasons for its introduction. It is known to every member of this House that there are many sections of Canada which require artificial drainage by open drains, sometimes in the lines of existing watercourses and sometimes not. In the case of railway lands, a great difficulty has been experienced in some cases in getting liberty to drain across the railway property at all, and in other cases in arranging the terms on which such drainage will be permitted. I shall not go into any details on that point just now. Some years ago the province of Ontario enacted legislation to avoid these difficulties and to impose upon railway companies, under the control of that province, the usual duties and responsibilities of land-owners in regard to drainage affecting their neighbour's property. But when the Dominion took charge practically of all railways, and brought them under the Canadian Railway Act, it was held by the courts that the Ontario Act did not apply, and the railway companies have since then been able to act independently of provincial legislation, and compel parties requiring drainage across their property to agree to such terms as they see fit. There has been, of course, always a court of appeal in matters of this kind, namely, the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, but experience has shown that that committee is a most imperfect and inadequate relief to a person requiring to improve his property in this way; and in the word 'person' I include, of course, municipalities having township drains to

open up. The expense attending an appeal to the Railway Committee—employing costly counsel to meet the counsel retained by the railway company, and the making a trip to Ottawa by somebody representing those concerned, has been a bar to a great many settlements that might otherwise have been obtained. Sooner than go to this expense, parties aggrieved have preferred to pocket their grievance and let the thing slide.

Again, I do not know that the Railway Committee is the best possible tribunal in cases of this kind. It includes the Minister of Railways, specially charged with some knowledge of railway matters, but the other members of the committee have no particular knowledge of these matters, but are occupied with the business of their own departments and can only give a necessarily desultory attention to those that come before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. That committee is an expensive and rather unwieldy and awkward tribunal to settle the differences between parties who wish to drain their lands and the railway companies.

The Bill that I beg to introduce again, for the third or fourth time, is one based on the Ontario Act, and has the same object in view. It provides for due notice to the railway companies on the part of those who intend to drain land, and afterwards for the appointment of an arbitrator by each party and of an umpire by those two, who will visit the spot and settle the whole matter from personal inspection and such evidence as they may see fit to take.

The machinery of this Act has to be changed somewhat from the Ontario Act, because we have not the control over municipal officers that they have. I have tried to introduce such changes in this Bill as seemed to be required by the circumstances. As I said, I have introduced this Bill several times before, but it has not made much progress for several reasons:—In the first place, the Bill which I have brought in is rather tentative than otherwise; it is a Bill indicating one method by which this difficulty might be settled. I have attempted by introducing it to invite the attention of the House, and especially of the government to this subject. This has been before governments of both parties, and efforts have been made to induce them to find some settlement which would be satisfactory, if the Bill does not offer such settlement. With that in view, I introduce the measure again. I do not pin myself to the particular words or to the particular plan of this Bill. Probably there will be other Bills on the same subject brought before the House. My idea is that all these Bills should be referred to a committee to take such evidence as they can get and frame a Bill therefrom such as the House can accept. Then, again, with the exception of two or three, the localities and municipalities have not taken such an interest in the

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matter as they should have done, they have not made such full representation of their interests to the House and the government as they should have made. I take this opportunity of inviting the municipalities throughout the country and private individuals who may be aggrieved, and the railway companies on the other hand, to lay their views fully before any committee to which this Bill may be entrusted, in the hope that at last some conclusion may be reached beneficial to the parties concerned. What I urgently press upon the government, whose attention I have already called to the subject on many occasions, is to look into the Bill and see if it does not seem applicable to the circumstances, and if it does not, to ask them to introduce a Bill of their own which will meet the case, or such amendments to this Bill as will make it acceptable, in their opinion, to the House and the country.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE WINTER OVERCOATS.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

1. Of what skins is the regulation winter overcoat used now in the North-west Mounted Police made? 2. What does it cost? 3. By what firm or firms were overcoats supplied in the years 1897-8-9?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The answers to the hon. gentleman's questions are as follows:—1. Sheepskins. 2. \$17.44 per coat. 3. No winter overcoats were purchased in the years 1897-8-9. During 1898 and 1899, 300 cloth overcoats were purchased from Messrs. Shorey & Co., of Montreal, at \$8.38 each.

POPULATION OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Whether the Department of the Interior has the means of making an approximate estimate of the population of the North-west Territories at the present time? If so, has such estimate been made, and with what results?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). The Department of the Interior has not the means of making an approximate estimate of the population of the North-west Territories at present.

MR. JAMES H. ROSS, INDIAN COMMISSIONER.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

How much per day was Mr. James H. Ross, of the North-west government, paid by way of remuneration as Indian Commissioner? What for expenses? How many days was he employed as Indian Commissioner? What was the gross amount which he received? Did he, while acting as Indian Commissioner, also draw a salary as Minister of Public Works for the Territories?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). Mr. James H. Ross was paid \$10 a day as remuneration while acting as Indian Treaty Commissioner. He received for expenses \$37.35, but there is still a balance due him, for which he has not yet received his accounts. He was employed 124 days. The total amount paid him as remuneration, and on account of expenses, was \$1,277.35. The department has no information to enable it to answer the question as to Mr. Ross's salary as Minister of Public Works for the Territories.

THE GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING AND LIEUT.-COL. HUGHES.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked :

1. Whether the following has come to the notice of the government:—

DENIES THE REPORTS.

Major-General Hutton Explains 'Mysterious Influence' Rumours.

Ottawa, January 29 (Special).—So many rumours of 'mysterious influences' being at work to prevent Lieut.-Col. Sam. Hughes from obtaining military employment in South Africa have been afloat that Major-General Hutton has found it necessary to deny that he is in any way responsible for this condition of affairs. In conversation about the matter, the Major-General said: The 'mysterious influence' is simply that Col. Hughes went to South Africa unrecommended, and it is not customary for the British military authorities to employ officers who are unrecommended. I should like the public to know that nothing has transpired during my tenure of office that has touched me so keenly as to deal with Col. Hughes in the manner that became necessary. The Colonel has many estimable qualities, but unfortunately these are overweighted with others not quite so commendable. He has enthusiasm and patriotism in large degree, qualities which I possess myself and which I like to see in others. But the strictest discipline is essential if the effectiveness of the volunteer force is to be maintained unimpaired.

Colonel Hughes seemingly lacked the smallest perception of discipline; it was to him apparently an unknown quantity. I like the Colonel personally and associated him with myself in the staff ride in the hope that he would gain some knowledge of what discipline in military matters really means. But the lesson was altogether lost. The public so far has only become possessed of one side of the story. The other side is disclosed in the correspondence between the Colonel and myself. But I do trust—as I said in my speech on the occasion of the banquet to 'D' Battery just before its departure—that no misguided friends of Colonel Hughes would call for the correspondence, as it cannot fail to place the Colonel in a most unenviable light. Those who have seen the correspondence so far—and all the letters are now before the government—are of the opinion that Colonel Hughes could not have been exactly in his right mind when he wrote in the manner in which he did. The incident possesses most unfortunate features—features that I trust will not again be repeated.

2. If so, have they taken any steps to ascertain if it is correct? 3. If so, what steps have been taken?

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE** (Mr. Borden). 1. Yes. 2. Yes. 3. The General Officer Commanding the Militia was requested to state if the interview published was a correct report of what he said, to which he replied that it was substantially correct, but was not intended for publication.

ONTARIO INDIAN RESERVES—PROHIBITING EXPORT OF LOGS AND LUMBER.

Mr. BENNETT asked :

Is it the intention of the Department of Indian Affairs to prohibit the exportation of saw-logs or other timber cut upon Indian reserves in Ontario, to the United States during the coming season of navigation?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). The department has not, as yet, decided upon the policy of prohibiting such exportation. The matter is under consideration. I shall be able to give my hon. friend (Mr. Bennett) further information in a few days.

ONTARIO RESERVES—QUANTITY OF LUMBER EXPORTED.

Mr. BENNETT asked :

What quantity of timber or saw-logs cut upon Indian reserves in the province of Ontario were during the last season of navigation exported to the United States?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). The Department of Indian Affairs has not the information necessary to enable it to give a statement as to what quantity of the timber or saw-logs cut upon Indian reserves in the province of Ontario was exported to the United States during the last season of navigation.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY—SYDNEY AND NORTH SYDNEY TRAFFIC.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

1. How many first-class tickets were issued at the Sydney and North Sydney stations respectively over the Intercolonial Railway, from the 1st day of September, 1899, to the 25th day of January, 1900?

2. How many first-class tickets were issued to each of these stations respectively during the said period?

3. How many parlour car tickets were issued to and from each of these stations respectively during this period?

4. How many cars of freight and the aggregate number of tons of freight that were shipped from and arrived at each of these stations respectively during the stated period?

5. The aggregate amount earned at or received from each of these stations for passenger rates and freight during the period stated?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). The information the hon. gentleman asks for is not available in the department here, but I will procure it

from Moncton as speedily as possible. I would suggest that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Gillies) should move for a return of this information, which is quite voluminous. I shall be very glad to furnish it.

DOUKHOBORS AND GALICIANS.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

How many Doukhobors have been settled in the North-west and Manitoba since January, 1897? How many Galicians? How are they settled, scattered amongst other settlers or in bunches and colonies? How much per head has their incoming to Canada cost the government? Have any had to be assisted after coming to the country? If so, to what extent?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). The complete information which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) asks for I could not give at the present time. If the hon. gentleman will put his question two days later, I hope to give him the information he desires.

YUKON MINING CLAIMS.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

1. Does the government approve of the following statement of policy (on p. 199 of the Report of Evidence, in the Yukon Inquiry) made by Mr. Ogilvie when dealing with mining regulations: 'It is part of the government policy that no man shall suffer through any act on the part of an official. If you were put wrongly into a claim and lost it, the government would consider that you were entitled to some compensation and the only way would be to give you some other claim.'

2. Does the government approve of the action taken by Major Walsh on the report of Mr. Fawcett (p. 197, Yukon Evidence Blue-book, 1899) in the case of Alexander Macdonald, and placer claim 16 B, below Lower Discovery on Dominion Creek?

(a) If so, under what statute or Order in Council had the Minister of the Interior, Major Walsh or other officer, authority to grant the said claim to Alexander Macdonald on the terms and under the conditions existing?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). The answers to the hon. gentleman's questions are as follows:—1. Yes. 2. Yes. 3. Orders in Council of the 21st May and 17th August, 1897.

THE YUKON—LEASE OF WATER FRONT.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

Has the attention of the government been called to the evidence of Mr. Wade at p. 19 of the further report of Mr. Ogilvie, 1899, respecting the approval of his action touching the letting of the water front?

(a) Is his statement correct?

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(b) If yes, at what date was his action approved by the Department of the Interior?

(c) Has a formal lease of the water front ever been granted? If so, when? If not, why not?

(d) If no formal lease has been granted, has the government confirmed the letting of the property to Macdonald & Morrison, and if so, when?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Yes. (a) The statement is substantially correct. (b) Major Walsh's official report (page 323 of the annual report of the Department of the Interior for 1898) shows that he approved of the action. The department did not disapprove but allowed the matter to stand. (c) No. It was not considered necessary. (d) No. The rent was collected for the property during the period for which it was let, which period has expired.

THE YUKON—EXTENSION OF TIME TO OFFICERS.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

What officers or employees were, in 1897 and 1898, given extension of time in representing their claims, as in cases referred to on pp. 251, 252, 253 (Yukon Evidence Blue-book, 1899)?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). So far as the department is aware the names of such officers or employees are Mr. Justice Maguire, Mr. Wade and Mr. McGregor.

THE YUKON—RATES OF PAY OF OFFICERS.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

At what date and at what rate of pay and allowances did the following officers in the service of the government in the Yukon district respectively enter and leave the government service :

(a) Phil. Walsh.

(b) Louis Carbeno.

(c) McBeth (referred to at pp. 258 and 259, Yukon Evidence).

(d) Callum boys (referred to at p. 261, Yukon Evidence)?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). (a) Phillip Walsh entered service 25th September, 1897, at \$60 a month; and left 31st August, 1898, when his salary was \$100 a month. No extra allowances were paid apart from actual travelling and living expenses. (b) Louis Carbeno entered service 25th September, 1897, at \$60 a month; he is still in the service; his allowance for living expenses is \$100 a month. (c) Two men named respectively E. V. and M. McBeth were employed as dog drivers. The former was employed in December, 1897, and January, 1899. His pay was \$40 a month. The latter was employed from the 13th January, 1898, until the 13th

March, 1899. His pay was at first \$40 a month, but was increased to \$45. Both received rations. (d) There is no record of boys by the name of Callum being employed; but two Indians named Isaac and Simon Collin were employed by Major Walsh from the 25th September, 1897, to the 25th September, 1898. They were both paid at the rate of \$1 a day except during the months of May and June, 1898, when they received \$10 each in addition to the \$1 a day, and the months of July and August, 1898, when they were paid at the rate of \$40 a month instead of \$1 a day. Their living was provided.

THE YUKON—LEVERE VILLENEUVE.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

Is Levere Villeneuve (referred to in Blue-book Yukon Evidence, p. 30) still in the employ of the Canadian government in the Yukon district or elsewhere ?

(a) If so, in what capacity ?

(b) If not, when did he cease to be in government employ ?

(c) If he was dismissed from the government service, for what reason was he dismissed ?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). 1. (a) No. (b) 17th August, 1899. (c) As far as known he left of his own accord.

THE YUKON—CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST OFFICIALS.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

Have criminal proceedings been instituted against any of the officials referred to in the evidence taken before William Ogilvie, Esq., respecting Yukon affairs ? If so, against whom ? If not, why not ?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). 1 and 2. No. 3. Because no sufficient ground for doing so was shown.

THE YUKON — ACTION RESULTING FROM INQUIRY BY MR. OGILVIE.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

Has the government, or any department thereof, taken any action upon any of the matters arising out of the inquiry into Yukon affairs conducted by William Ogilvie, Esq., in 1899 ?

(a) If yes, what action ?

(b) If no, is it proposed to take any action ?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). As to this question I am bound to say that it is drawn in such vague and general terms that I cannot frame an answer to it. If the hon. gentleman will put his question in a more categorical way I

will try and give him the information which he asks for.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. If it will not be too much trouble for the hon. the minister to specify in what particular this question is vague, I would be much obliged, because to my mind it is clear and intelligible. I am aware that it is not in order to discuss the question, but I am perfectly willing to elaborate the question if the minister has any difficulty in replying to it.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. The inquiry the hon. gentleman speaks of contains the evidence which forms a large printed book, and as a matter of course the result of the inquiry was the subject of examination and study by officers of the department and by myself. I have no doubt a great many things were done in consequence of the inquiry, but the hon. gentleman evidently desires to get information in regard to some particular thing, and if he will indicate what it is, or the line of action concerning which he desires to get information, I will be happy to give it.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. I will certainly comply with the hon. gentleman's request. I may say by way of explanation, with the indulgence of the House for one moment, that my desire was to ascertain whether for instance, if there had been no criminal proceedings as the hon. gentleman has stated, on another matter, arising out of this report, the evidence had suggested to him irregularities that should be checked by some other system.

THE YUKON—SALARY OF MR. OGILVIE.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

1. Has the salary or have the emoluments of William Ogilvie, Esq., Commissioner of the Yukon District, been increased since his appointment ? 2. If yes, at what date was provision made therefor, and by what authority and what was the amount of such increase ?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). 1. Yes. 2. The increase was granted under authority of an Order in Council of the 14th October, 1899. The amount of the increase was \$1,000 per annum, and its payment dated from the 1st July, 1899. Under an arrangement made on the 15th September, 1899, instead of the government providing rations and supplies, Mr. Ogilvie was granted a living allowance of \$2,000 per annum. In addition to this he is allowed \$250 a year for house rent and \$60 a month for a housekeeper. The amounts are paid out of the general vote for government of the Yukon district.

THE YUKON—DISPOSAL OF ALTERNATE CLAIMS.

Mr. CLANCY asked :

Have any of the alternate sections or claims or fractional sections or claims on Eldorado, Bonanza, Bear, Dominion and Hunker Creeks been disposed of? If so, on what terms and conditions? If not, is it the intention of the government to dispose of during the present year any of the said sections or claims or fractional sections or claims?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Alternate and fractional claims on Dominion Creek have been disposed of by public tender. No such claims on Eldorado, Bonanza, Bear or Hunker Creeks have been disposed of except certain claims granted to persons who furnished satisfactory proof that they had lost other claims through error in the Gold Commissioner's office. 2. The terms and conditions upon which the claims on Dominion Creek were disposed of by tender may be seen by reference to the advertisement calling for tenders for placer mining claims on Dominion Creek in the Yukon Territory, which advertisement will be brought down on its being moved for. I may say to the hon. gentleman that if he does not care to take the trouble to move a motion he will find the advertisement in the *Canada Gazette*. The claims disposed of, as already stated, on the other creeks named, were disposed of in accordance with the terms of the mining regulations. 3. The government will probably dispose by public tender or auction of alternate and fractional claims during the present year.

Mr. CLANCY. Would the hon. gentleman be prepared to state to the House the names of the parties to whom these claims have been disposed?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). That would imply the bringing down of a long list, and if the hon. gentleman will move for a return, I will bring it down at once.

PROVINCIAL SUBSIDIES.

Mr. CLANCY asked :

Is the capital sum of \$5,397,503.13, on which a yearly subsidy of \$269,875.16 is paid by the Dominion of Canada jointly to the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, a debt due and payable to the said provinces when and if demanded by one or both of the said provinces in lieu of and instead of the yearly subsidies now paid the said provinces under the provisions of Act 47 Vic., chap. 4?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The sum mentioned is dealt with by chapter 4 of the Acts of 1884, which declares that the moneys therein mentioned shall be 'deemed capital owing to the said provinces respectively, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum, on which

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interest shall be payable to them as part of their respective subsidies from the Dominion.' We think that practically the Act of 1884 operates as an extension of earlier Acts relating to the debt account of the provinces and that the sum mentioned in the hon. member's question stands in the same position as a balance of debt account, favourable to a province, under the British North America Act. We do not think that the provinces of Ontario and Quebec would have the right to draw these moneys for the ordinary purposes of government, but with the previous sanction of the respective legislatures, and with the consent of the federal government, these moneys could be drawn by the provincial governments for local improvements.

TRENT CANAL.

Mr. BENNETT asked :

1. How many tenders were received for the Trenton-Frankfort section of the Trent Canal?
2. Has the contract been awarded for the above section? If so, to whom? If not, why not?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). There were tenders received for the Trenton-Frankfort section of the Trent Canal, but the contract has not been awarded; the tenders are being held for consideration, and it will be necessary that the matter should remain for a short period in that condition. I am not free to state to the House just what the matters are which are being considered by the government.

Mr. BENNETT. How many tenders were there?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. If my memory serves me there were six in all.

ST. LAWRENCE CANALS.

Mr. BENNETT asked :

1. How many contracts of the St. Lawrence System of Canals let by tender prior to the 1st of July, 1896, for deepening to fourteen feet, were cancelled, if any, by the present government?
2. If any were cancelled, who were the tenderers for the same?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). I will have to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) to move for a return for this information.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would suggest to my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) that perhaps it would be convenient and would facilitate the business

if we pursued the usual course of taking the unopposed motions first.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I think there are none debatable except one or two. I have no objection to taking the non-debatable motions first.

YUKON TERRITORY — CORRESPONDENCE, ETC., RE DOMINION CREEK.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER moved for :

Copies of all reports, papers, telegrams and correspondence on file at Ottawa relating to the closing (so called) and opening (so called) of Dominion Creek, referred to on page 79, Yukon Evidence Blue-book, including (a) minutes or notes of meetings or of council, such as referred to on pp. 79, 81, 85, 88, 89, 112 (Yukon Blue-book Evidence).

(b) Report of Mr. Fawcett, referred to, p. 80.

(c) Typewritten statment, p. 100.

(d) Order of Major Walsh, p. 110.

(e) Returns, memoranda and reports of Corporal Wilson and other officers respecting inspection of mines and collection of royalties, p. 121.

(f) The letter from Mrs. Koch to Major Walsh, p. 128.

(g) The permit to Mrs. Koch, pp. 127, 128.

He said : Mr. Speaker, I do not suppose that there is any objection to that. I may say that it is only such papers as are actually here that are asked for. I suppose that some of them are in the Yukon, but the return asks for those that are at Ottawa and not those which may be in the Yukon.

Motion agreed to.

GRAIN SHIPMENTS TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assinibola) moved for :

Copies (1) of any correspondence between Mr. James Ross, M.L.A., Minister of Public Works in the North-west Territories government, on the subject of the desirability of the Department of Agriculture of the Dominion handling wheat in the same manner as dairying is handled, so as to secure that the highest grade of North-west wheat should reach the English market. 2. Copies of letters inclosed in the aforesaid correspondence which had passed between Mr. A. J. Hunter, farmer, Assinibola, N.W.T., and a Plymouth miller, respecting a certain sample of wheat.

He said : At the Elevator commission held at Regina, Mr. A. J. Hunter was sworn, and deposed amongst other things that he sent home a sample of wheat to a miller in Plymouth, and the miller was ready to take any quantity of it. Mr. Hunter, however, could not handle such a large quantity as this miller wanted, and he took the correspondence to Mr. James Ross, the local Minister of Public Works. Mr. Ross told him that he would see, through his friend, Mr. Fisher, the Dominion Minister of Agri-

culture, what could be done. The witness deposed further that Mr. Ross told him that he had sent this correspondence to the Minister of Agriculture and that nothing was done. The witness wrote to the miller that it was impossible for him to send the quantity required of the same sample. The miller wrote back that he knew it was impossible, because he found that the Canadian Pacific Railway and the big millers had such a pull with this government that it was impossible to fight them.

Motion agreed to.

SEED GRAIN INDEBTEDNESS.

Mr. DAVIN moved for :

Copies (1) of all correspondence which has passed between the Minister of the Interior or any of the officers of his department, and any persons in the North-west Territories or in Manitoba on the working of the Act respecting securities for seed grain indebtedness passed in 1899; (2) more particularly all correspondence respecting the claim of any homesteader to get his patent and which claim may have been refused because of the homesteader being bondsmen for the seed grain indebtedness of other parties, including the application of homesteader and the letters refusing his application.

He said : When the present Minister of the Interior took office, I took the earliest opportunity of communicating with him on the subject of seed-grain indebtedness, and he will remember that, on the first occasion of his paying an official visit to the North-west Territories, I headed a deputation to his private car and laid the whole subject before him. He will further remember that I again and again brought this matter before the House. The hon. gentleman was not willing, I think, anyway he was not ready to deal with the matter in 1898, and at first in 1899 he did not hold out very glowing hope that anything would be done. But towards the close of the session of 1899, he came to me on the floor of the House and told me he was going to meet my views on this subject.

My views were these, as I have laid them before the hon. gentleman and the country frequently. That the lands of the primary debtor being value for the amount of the indebtedness of those who went security, should be relieved. The system on which the seed grain was lent to the settlers was this, that each farmer was bound for two other farmers, and so they were linked together until it became like the shell of a tortoise, and we find now that a number of men in the territories are responsible for the seed grain furnished to those who cannot or will not pay and for others who have gone away. I proposed that the bonded indebtedness should be got rid of altogether as superfluous and unnecessary.

It may be asked why that policy was ever adopted. It was adopted for the same reason that other legislation of a similar char-

acter was adopted, namely, because hon. gentlemen opposite, when in opposition, could not see, without active and aggressive disapproval, any proposal made from the government of that day to do anything for the North-west Territories. Any expenditure for the benefit of the North-west Territories was condemned by these hon. gentlemen on the ground that the government were in this way buying the people of the territories. We had to fight that sort of thing, and no doubt it was this unwillingness on the part of the opposition to agree to any expenditure in the interests of the North-west Territories that led the government of that day to resort to this system of dove-tailed security in order to meet the criticism of such strong critics and economists as the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), and others.

What I proposed was that the bonded indebtedness should be entirely got rid of. I then proposed that in the case of quarter sections, for which patents were issued and the patentees had left the country, that indebtedness should not rest against the quarter section and be saddled on the poor settlers coming in, but that the government should wipe it off as private firms do frequently, in the case of large transactions, wipe off certain indebtedness by charging it against profit and loss.

The justification for this course is this. At that time it was not demonstrated, as it is now, that we have in the North-west Territories the most fertile region on the face of the globe. At that time, before population had gone in, that was doubted, but now that the country is filling up and climatic conditions have been effected, so that frosts are not so frequent or severe, and now that our farmers have discovered how to farm that country, a different condition exists. At that time instead of our farmers being, as they are to-day, rich, with their granaries filled and with large balances to their credit in the bank—the most prosperous and best farming community in the world to-day—we had an anxious community, not certain about the future. Well, those who joined with the government in making that great experiment at that time were doing service to the country, they were laying Canada under an obligation, and it is not fair that the settler, either the old or the new settler, should bear any burden that may have been left as a legacy of the population of that time. I therefore propose that any claim against an abandoned quarter section, for which a patent has been issued, should be entirely wiped off. I then proposed that the debt of the primary debtor should be handed over to the government of the North-west Territories, with instructions that they could either receive money for that debt or, in the case of persons who were unable—and there may yet be a few such persons—to meet that debt, they might be

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allowed to pay, by means of statute labour. Well, Sir, the result was that when the Minister of the Interior came to me and said: I am going to meet your views in regard to the seed-grain business, I thought he was going to bring in a comprehensive measure that would deal with the whole matter and set it at rest. But instead of that he brought in a Bill with a single clause:

The Governor General in Council may discharge from liability persons who are liable to the Crown as sureties upon bonds given to secure repayment for seed grain furnished by the Crown to persons in the North-west Territories in every case where, upon inquiry, it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that land owned by or entered as a homestead by the primary debtor is liable, and is, in the opinion of the said minister, sufficient security for the sum owed by the primary debtor.

When that was passed, although it was very far, as I thought, from meeting my views, still I supposed, as everybody in the North-west Territories and everybody in this House must have supposed, that those who were security for these debts, the bonded men, were relieved. But, on looking closely at the clause, I find that the minister has, in very many cases, handed the settler of the North-west Territories a stone when he should have given him something much more grateful and more satisfying. The way the Department of the Interior interprets it is that when the patent has not been issued for the homestead, the bondsmen are not relieved. As a consequence, there have been a number of cases like this. One Thomas Bond, of Balgonie, wants to get his patent, and makes application for it. He is told that there is so much due for seed grain against the homestead, and if he will pay that, he will get his patent. He pays it. Then comes a letter telling him that he is responsible for some other person's debt, and if he will pay that, he will get his patent. I believe he paid that. And then came another letter telling him he was responsible for still some other person's seed-grain and if he paid that he would get his patent. Well, he balked at that; he did not know when it was going to end. Another case is that of Mr. Bradshaw, of Moosejaw. The same principle is involved in that. I would urge the minister to look over this correspondence, and let us have copies as soon as he can; and, meanwhile, let him consider whether he cannot bring in another Bill this session, amending his legislation of last session so as to do full justice to these men who are hampered by this bonded liability, in regard to which, I think, he must feel, now that his attention has been directed to it for some time, that it is not creditable to us who are in this House, and certainly not creditable to the government, that they should be held liable any longer.

Motion agreed to.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE SUPPLIES.

Mr. DAVIN moved for :

Copies of all correspondence between any officer of the Interior Department and any officer of the North-west Mounted Police in the inside service at Ottawa, respecting the giving of contracts for supplies for the North-west Mounted Police since 23rd June, 1896. Copies of all correspondence between Mr. Fred. White, Comptroller of the North-west Mounted Police, and Col. Herchmer or any officer of the North-west Mounted Police, respecting the giving of contracts for or the buying of supplies for the North-west Mounted Police since 23rd June, 1896. Copies of correspondence which passed between Walter Scott, of Regina, and the Minister of the Interior, or any officer of his department, in 1899, respecting the purchase of large quantities of teas at the hands of a Regina merchant.

He said : It will be within the memory of the House that, in regard to the supply of drugs for the Mounted Police in Prince Albert, the Prime Minister told me last session or the session before, that the contract for these supplies had been given without tender. We want this correspondence for this reason. I believe I am only saying what is now notorious—I think I have seen it in black and white—that the Prime Minister has handed over the management of the Mounted Police, so far at least as tenders and contracts go, to the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton). I see that the right hon. gentleman shakes his head. Well, I know this, that the Minister of the Interior has been taking an active part in these matters, and I am strongly under the impression that their management has been handed right over to the Minister of the Interior. And not only that, but the Minister of the Interior is making the contract-letting, the supply-buying, in connection with the Mounted Police part of his machine in the North-west Territories.

Mr. BENNETT. Is that the Manitoba machine?

Mr. DAVIN. No, we have a machine now in the North-west Territories. Five days before I left the North-west Territories, one active gentleman in the Liberal party declared openly in a public store, in reply to a Conservative who was making some statement as to the prospects of one of the constituencies: 'All that you say may be correct, but we have the machine.' So he openly declares that the machine, that machine that has been in existence in Ontario and which issued in the reward of Mr. Preston, that machine which we saw working in Manitoba, has now been introduced in the North-west Territories where, up to the present moment, it was a glorious thing to be able to say that the constituencies there had not a shadow of corruption over them. But the baneful shadow of the

Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) is now over them. We have an election in prospect. I may tell the House in regard to this correspondence, if we get it, that it will show that the machine in its worst form is in active operation in the North-west Territories.

Motion agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT—THE LEINSTER REGIMENT.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. FOSTER. But we are not tired.

The PRIME MINISTER. There is nothing else to do. The only two items left are the motion of the hon. member for King's, N.B. (Mr. Domville), and the motion of the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver), who is not ready. We have exhausted the programme.

Mr. FOSTER. I hope the government will be ready with business to-morrow.

The PRIME MINISTER. To-morrow is not a government day. I hope the opposition will be ready with their business. I hope they will show more fight than they did yesterday.

Mr. McNEILL. Before the House adjourns I desire to recur to the subject I referred to yesterday. I understand that the ship which is to convey the Halifax regiment to South Africa is to leave England on the 12th, and prepared to convey troops from England here, that is to say, that she would leave England on Monday next. Under these circumstances, of course, it becomes a matter of great urgency, and that is my excuse for recurring to it again so soon. I would like very much if the right hon. gentleman could give the House some assurance that he will do everything in his power to induce the authorities at home to allow Canadian militia to take the place of this regiment. Within the last few minutes a despatch has been placed in my hands which seems to throw doubt upon the removal, at the present moment, of this regiment from Halifax. It seems, from what I gather from this despatch, that it is proposed to send to South Africa the militia regiment which was to have come out here in place of the Leinsters. But what I wish to urge upon the right hon. gentleman is this, that if this information which has been communicated to me is correct, I hope he will still do all he can to set free this regiment for service at the front, and urge the Imperial authorities to let it go to South Africa on the ground that we are prepared to place men of our own in Halifax, to guard our own territories at once.

The PRIME MINISTER. I may inform my hon. friend that the Department of Militia is engaged at this moment with the War Office in correspondence upon a subject closely touching the one to which he has just alluded. The correspondence is pending at this moment, and I am not in a position to state anything definite upon it, or even to state anything at all. But I may say to my hon. friend that the subject is engaging our attention.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. May I remind the right hon. gentleman, in the absence of the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden), that as I understand it, this is a matter so urgent that the correspondence, if the hon. gentleman means by that ordinary correspondence, would of course not meet the suggestion of the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill). The time is so pressing and the sailing of the steamer so near, that I trust, as one member of the House, that the cable will be used, and that no difficulty, for instance, of this kind may intervene, and that Her Majesty's government would not have notice of the readiness of the Canadian government to meet the suggestion of my hon. friend, before having completed all arrangements, and before the sailing of the trooper from England. That seems to me to be an urgent matter that should be settled one way or the other, in a couple of days, else the opportunity for placing it before Her Majesty's government would perhaps be lost.

The PRIME MINISTER. My hon. friend knows that this is a progressive government, and we will use the cable.

Mr. McNEILL. If my hon. friend will pardon me—I would like to understand from him whether the communications which are at present proceeding between the Imperial government and this government will necessarily answer my question, and whether the proposal to place a militia regiment of Canada in Halifax in place of this regiment of the line, will be covered by the correspondence which is now going on.

The PRIME MINISTER. I must repeat to my hon. friend that the correspondence that we have received up to the present time by cable is pending, and is not yet concluded. We shall be able to give the information to my hon. friend which he wants at an early date.

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to be permitted to ask the right hon. Prime Minister if he is in a position to reply in regard to the subject I drew his attention to the day before yesterday, and that was the report that the Imperial government had consented to the

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abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, that the proposal was submitted to the Canadian government, and that the latter consented to giving the United States control of both shores of the American continent. I hold in my hand the New York 'Tribune' which says, under date of Washington, February 5:

Secretary Hay and Ambassador Pauncelote at eleven o'clock to-day signed the new convention between the United States and Great Britain which guarantees the neutrality of the Nicaragua Canal, and abrogates those portions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty which had long been irksome to this government.

It is further stated in the same paper, on February 5:

About a fortnight ago, in consequence of the attitude of the Senate, Joseph H. Choate, the United States Ambassador here, received instructions to endeavour to press the conclusion of the old negotiations. As a result of his efforts the British Cabinet considered the matter, after first having submitted the convention to Canada, and receiving the Dominion's sanction to grant the request of the United States.

I should imagine that there can be no difficulty now that matters have reached that stage, about the question being answered, and that is, whether the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was referred to the government of Canada, and whether they had given their assent to that previous to its coming into operation.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I would have no objection at all, in so far as the government is concerned, to giving to my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) all the information we have on this question. But my hon. friend is aware, that in these matters, we do not proceed as they proceed in the United States. We observe some rules of etiquette, and until we have the sanction of the Imperial authorities we cannot divulge anything that has taken place. I think, in a few days, I will be able to place on the Table of the House all the correspondence that has taken place on this subject which has been going on for more than twelve months past.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. This is not confined to the American press. A cable from London on February 6 says:

The 'Daily News,' commenting on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, says that England has renounced control without getting anything in return. Something, it says, might have been asked for Canada or ourselves.

The 'Morning Standard' says that 'Britain gets nothing in the shape of a quid pro quo, either in Alaska or elsewhere, and we must assume that further information will modify this view of the matter.'

I think my right hon. friend will see that this subject having reached a point in which it is being freely discussed as having been accomplished both in England and in the United States, there should not be much diffi-

culty in giving the Canadian parliament a statement of it in answer to the question that has been asked.

The PRIME MINISTER. There is no difficulty at all except having the assent of the Imperial authorities.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I presume that will be obtained in a day or two.

The PRIME MINISTER. Yes, perhaps to-morrow.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I must ask the indulgence of the House one minute more on a very different subject. The House will remember that I have had occasion to call the attention of the House to two or three instances in which the courtesies given to gentlemen of the press to sit in the gallery of this House has been singularly and greatly abused. I hold in my hand now the following telegram sent to me by my son, J. Stewart Tupper, from Winnipeg. He says:

Referring to your speech yesterday, the 'Free Press' Ottawa correspondent says: 'He attacked the French in a most bitter way, but said that he did not include all French Canadians.'

I believe that I am correct in saying that this is the same gentleman who has, on two or three, or more, occasions so scandalously abused the privilege he is permitted to enjoy in having a seat in this gallery, and that is Mr. Magurn. This is one of the comments which has been published in this paper of which he is the editor, in Winnipeg:

He attacked the French in a most bitter way, but said that he did not include all French Canadians.

My right hon. friend knows that it is impossible, in the English language, to place the facts as they occurred in this House in a more disgracefully false position than that. The time has come when it will be absolutely necessary that measures shall be taken by this House to protect hon. gentlemen on both sides of it from being falsely maligned by parties who abuse the privilege they possess of sitting in the Press Gallery of this House, and I want to say to the House that unless these false and malicious statements—more false, more malicious statements could not be put into print, and every hon. gentleman on both sides of the House will regret it as much as I do—I want it to be perfectly understood that unless a proper retraction is given in this case and an apology for thus abusing the privileges that you, Mr. Speaker, permit these gentlemen to enjoy in this House, I shall feel it to be my duty to move a resolution that that individual shall be expelled from the gallery of this House and that he shall not be permitted to sit here as a press correspondent.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I would not pass judgment upon the statement made by the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) until I had an opportunity of looking into the paper itself and judging more accurately of what may have taken place. I may say, however, that I will be ready to support any motion of the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), or any other hon. gentleman in order to prevent misrepresentations of speeches in the press. Yesterday, my hon. friend, the member for York (Mr. Foster), in the speech which he delivered, made a quotation from what purported to be a report of the speech which I delivered some weeks ago in Sherbrooke and in which the hon. gentleman used the sentence that I had said that Sir Charles Tupper, speaking in Ontario—I cannot quote verbatim—made an appeal to the prejudices of the people against me because I was a Frenchman. I made a speech, but I never used the name of Sir Charles Tupper in the speech at all. I am not accusing the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster)—he must have taken it from somewhere, but it is altogether inaccurate. I did not refer to Sir Charles Tupper by name or in any way in connection with this subject. I alluded to the subject but not bringing up the name of Sir Charles Tupper. I looked at the report of *La Patrie*, which was the only full report published, of *La Presse*, and of the *Montreal Herald* and nothing is suggested in these that I referred to Sir Charles Tupper by name or otherwise. So that, if my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) has suffered, I am a victim with him in this respect. I think it is only due to the privileges of Parliament that the words which are spoken here should be reported just as they are, and that headlines, when they are indulged in, should be a summary of what is stated and not a garbled signification of words which may be uttered here.

Mr. FOSTER. I would be very glad indeed, if the statement which the right hon. gentleman has made is carried out so far as the papers from which I took the lines are concerned. I think I have them still, and I will look them up, and if they carry out what I did say it will have to go with the right hon. gentleman's statement. If they do not carry it out, I will be very glad to make a retraction.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Copies of all correspondence in the possession of the government relating to the offer of Major-General Hutton to serve in the South African war; and also all correspondence between the Department of Militia and Defence and Major-General Hutton relating to the organization of the Canadian contingents despatched to Africa.—(Mr. Bourassa.)

Copies of all correspondence, applications, grants and other papers relating to the area of and any part thereof covered by the fol-

lowing applications (and including the said applications and papers connected therewith) mentioned in Return 83, third session, eighth Parliament, 61 Victoria, 1898:—W. J. Lindsay, Brandon, Stewart River; P. C. Mitchell; A. E. Philp, Klondike; F. Burnett, Vancouver, Hootalinqua; F. Burnett, Colborne, Indian River; J. G. Burnett, Edmonton, Peace River; F. Burnett, Colborne, Teslin River; A. E. Philp, Ottawa, S. Fork Stewart; G. Philp, London, L. Salmon; A. E. Philp, Ottawa, Indian River; A. D. Cameron, Ottawa, Indian River; F. A. Philp, Ottawa, Teslin River; W. L. Parish, Ottawa, Pelly River.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Copies of instructions to Mr. F. C. Wade not already brought down and referred to on page 15 of Further Report of William Ogilvie, Esq., laid before parliament, 1899.

The tenders and papers respecting the same, referred to on page 16 of said report, not already brought down, and any note or memorandum of approval of the Department of the Interior at Ottawa, referred to on page 19 of the said report.—Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Copies of all applications, records, reports, letters and memoranda relating to claims Nos. 18 and 26 and 16 E, referred to on pp. 197, 204, including the letter from Alexander Macdonald to Major Walsh, pp. 197, 198 (pages refer to Blue-book Yukon Evidence, presented to parliament during session of 1899).

Also the records or papers showing the dates when royalties became due, and when royalties were collected in the Yukon district in 1897 and 1898, in the case of Alexander Macdonald's claims and mining interests.

(b) Alexander Macdonald's letter of 20th July, referred to at p. 211 (Yukon Blue-book of Evidence, 1899).

(c) Return or report of Major Walsh re royalties (referred to on page 211, Yukon Blue-book Evidence, 1899).

(d) Reports and papers relating to the case of Jenkin Llewellyn, referred to on pp. 211, 212, 213 (Yukon Blue-book above).

(e) Reports and papers relating to cases dealt with under Judge Maguire's ruling, referred to on p. 246 (Yukon Blue-book above).

(f) Reports and papers relating to Phil. Miller's case, p. 247 (Blue-book above).

(g) Reports and papers relating to Murphy's case, 247 (Blue-book above).—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Copies of all correspondence by letter or telegraph, and all reports respecting the inquiry under Royal Commission, dated October 7, 1898, including references to or connected with the following subjects:—

(a) The limitation of the scope of the inquiry referred to in the Blue-book of Evidence, 1899, re Yukon affairs, at pp. 12, 13, 34, 35, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 85, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 196, &c.

(b) Mr. Ogilvie's request for another commission, or an extension of the above, referred to on pp. 72, 74, 75, 76, of the above Blue-book.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Copies of all reports, Orders in Council, papers and correspondence relating to the admission of United States vessels to coasting privileges on the Canadian lakes in the year 1899.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all correspondence between the Minister of Railways or any of the officers of the department and the Canadian Pacific Railway

Company in reference to traffic arrangements over the Intercolonial Railway, and all reports, agreements and instructions in connection therewith.—(Mr. Foster.)

Tabular statement of all contracts and agreements for mail service between Victoria and Vancouver and the Yukon district for the year 1898-9, the names of parties thereto, the routes covered, amounts paid or to be paid for such service, and a similar return for the year 1899 and 1900 so far as they are current.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return of names of all clerks in the civil service who received statutory or other increase of salary during the year 1898-9, and the first half of the year 1899-1900, and the amount of increase paid.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return showing in tabulated form all tenders, accepted tenders and departmental agreements for supply of steel rails for the government railways, detailing quantities and price, dates, places of delivering and quantities delivered, from July 1, 1896, to date.—(Mr. Foster.)

An itemized statement of the number of gallons of spirituous and malt liquors taken into the Yukon district since the period covered by Return 639 (1899), the number of permits issued therefor, names and post office addresses of those persons or companies to whom permits were granted, and the amount paid therefor, and all correspondence in connection therewith.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all correspondence between the Department of Finance and the directors and officials of the Ville Marie Bank since January 1, 1890, and of reports upon the situation of said bank by the officers of the Department of Finance. Also a statement of all sums paid by the government, and of claims made upon the government in connection with the prosecution of directors and officials of said bank since its suspension.—(Mr. Monk.)

Copies of all correspondence between all members of the government, the Militia Department, General Hutton, or any other officers of the department, and Colonel Hughes, in reference to the contingent sent to South Africa; also all correspondence between the Dominion and Imperial governments on the same subject, if any.—(Mr. Corby.)

Copies of all specifications, plans, tenders received and contracts entered into by the government relating to the construction of ten miles of railway, known as the Belfast and Murray Harbour Railway, in the province of Prince Edward Island.—(Mr. Martin.)

Copies of papers, correspondence, telegrams and memoranda and agreement entered into between or on behalf of the governments of Canada and Prince Edward Island relating to the construction of a railway and traffic bridge across the Hillsborough River, in the province of Prince Edward Island.—(Mr. Martin.)

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 5.30 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, February 8, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 10) in further amendment of the Weights and Measures Act.—(Mr. McMillan.)

DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTORAL LISTS.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

1. Have the electoral lists of 1899 been distributed to the representative of every electoral division or the defeated candidate at the last election, viz., twenty copies, according to law ?
2. If not, is it the intention of the government to do so, and when ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Yes, except in those cases where the lists have not been completed by the municipal authorities, or where not printed yet. The particulars are as follows :

The electoral lists have been distributed in accordance with the law, as follows, in the respective provinces :

Nova Scotia.—All the lists for this province have been distributed, except that for Cumberland, for which the copy has not come in.

New Brunswick.—All the lists have been distributed without exception.

Quebec.—All the lists for this province have been distributed excepting seven. Copy for one list has not come in.

Ontario.—Only nine lists have been distributed for this province. Copy for eleven more came in before the end of the year, but have not been set. The copy of forty-two more constituencies came in a fortnight ago, which have not been touched.

Manitoba.—The lists for Winnipeg have been distributed; none of the others.

British Columbia.—New Westminster and Victoria have been distributed. Copy for the others is incomplete.

Mr. INGRAM. Can the hon. gentleman say which nine lists for the province of Ontario ?

The PRIME MINISTER. I could not today.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Would the right hon. Prime Minister object to giving us the information as to when these lists came in ?

The PRIME MINISTER. If my hon. friend (Mr. Montague) will put a question on the Order paper, that will be the easiest way to get the information.

SALE OF BINDER TWINE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

To whom and at what price was the binder twine on hand on August 1, 1896, sold at the Kingston Penitentiary ?

To whom and at what price was the binder twine manufactured at the Kingston Penitentiary between the 1st day of August, 1896, and the 31st day of July, 1897, sold ?

To whom and at what price was the binder twine manufactured at the Kingston Penitentiary between the 1st day of August, 1897, to the 31st day of July, 1898, sold ?

To whom and at what price was the binder twine manufactured at the Kingston Penitentiary between the 1st day of August, 1898, and the 31st day of July, 1899, sold ?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). 1. The twine on hand in August, 1896, was sold to Coll Bros, St. John, N.B., at the following prices :—Manilla (maple leaf), \$5 per cwt. ; mixed (beaver), \$4.50 per cwt. ; sisal, \$4 per cwt. 2. To the Hobbs Hardware Co., at the following prices :—Manilla (maple leaf), \$5.25 per cwt. ; mixed (beaver), \$4.75 per cwt. ; sisal, \$4.40 per cwt. 3. To H. N. Bate & Sons, at the following prices :—Manilla (maple leaf), \$4.95 per cwt. ; mixed (beaver), \$4.45 per cwt. ; sisal, \$4.15 per cwt. 4. To the Hobbs Hardware Co., at the following prices :—Manilla, \$7.25 per cwt. ; mixed, \$6.15 per cwt. ; sisal, \$6 per cwt.

DISTRIBUTION AND PRINTING OF PAMPHLETS AT SHERBROOKE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Was the pamphlet entitled 'The Laurier Government and the Conservatives' distributed through the electoral district of Sherbrooke during the late by-election, printed at the Government Printing Bureau ? If so, how many copies were printed thereat ? What charge per 1,000 was made for them ? Have they been paid for ? If so, by whom ? Were they or any of them put up in government envelopes in the Department of the Minister of Agriculture ? Were they or any of them franked and sent through the mail by the Minister of Agriculture ? If so, under what legal authority ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). In answer to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor), I have to tell him that the pamphlet 'The Laurier Government and the Conservatives,' was not printed at the Printing Bureau.

Mr. TAYLOR. I wish the right hon. gentleman would read the question ; if not, I will read it for him, and let him answer to the whole question.

The PRIME MINISTER. As to the other question, I will have to ask it to stand until the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) is in his seat.

Mr. TAYLOR. Then let the whole question stand.

The PRIME MINISTER. I have no objection.

DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTION PAMPHLET 'POLITICAL POINTERS.'

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

How many pamphlets entitled 'Political Pointers, No. 1,' being the address delivered by the Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright at Toronto, on the 24th day of August, 1899, were sent through the mail to the electors of Canada? Were they sent in sealed envelopes? Were they sent through the mail free of postage? Were they franked or initialled R. J. C., M. T. & C.? Were the envelopes to inclose said pamphlets furnished by the government? Were the envelopes containing said pamphlets, or any of them, addressed by civil servants?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I will have to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor) to allow this to stand until tomorrow, as I have not received the information yet.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman is in his seat, the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), who could answer it.

The PRIME MINISTER. He is not at the head of the Printing Bureau.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). I really do not know how many were sent out, but I regret that a great many more were not sent, because it contained much valuable information.

Mr. TAYLOR. If I understood the Prime Minister aright, he said that my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce did not control the Printing Bureau. There is nothing in this question referring to the Printing Bureau. I asked a separate question altogether. I am satisfied that these were printed outside of the bureau, and I am satisfied that the others were printed there.

REPATRIATION OF THE 100th REGIMENT.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Has the government already taken, or is it their intention to take, any steps looking to the repatriation of the 100th Regiment (now the Leinster Regiment) of the Imperial Army?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The government has taken steps looking to the repatriation of the old 100th Regiment. The matter is now the subject of correspondence between this government and the Imperial government.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day, I beg to call the attention of my hon. friend the leader of the opposition to a matter which he brought up yesterday in connection with some report that

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appeared in the *Winnipeg Free Press*. I trust that the hon. gentleman will regret the language that he used towards a respected member of the press, Mr. Magurn. Mr. Magurn has always been known to be a respectable member of a respectable profession. I thought at the time that my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) was somewhat hasty, but as I had not seen the paragraph in the paper referred to, I did not express an opinion on the matter at the time. I have received the following letter from Mr. Magurn:—

Ottawa, February 8, 1900.

The Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Dear Sir Wilfrid,—I was surprised to hear at my hotel last evening that my name had been mentioned in the proceedings of the House yesterday, and an attack made upon me by the leader of the opposition, under the guise of a question of privilege. I cannot conceive it to be the privilege of a House composed of gentlemen to attack in it an absent man and a person occupying simply the position of a private citizen of this country.

I am not a member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. I did not write, or dictate, or even see the report to which the hon. gentleman takes exception, in a vague and general way. As a visitor, I heard some short portions of Sir Charles Tupper's speech, in common, I presume, with many other visitors. Not being a member of the Press Gallery, and not having a seat there, I am under no obligation to the House, either real or fancied, and his reference to me yesterday was, therefore, wholly gratuitous.

The leader of the opposition sets up his privilege; I claim the protection of the House against an attempt to injure private reputation, and, in the case of a journalist, it is the more to be deplored. I have always had a deep sense of responsibility in the discharge of my duties, and, if necessary, could have the testimony of nearly every member of this House on both sides during the last four parliaments. In a well-known passage a great poet has characterized the conduct of a man who will attempt to deprive another of his good reputation.

In conclusion, it appears to me that as the question of an apology has been mentioned, that apology should come, not from me, but from my detractor.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A. J. MAGURN.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. So far as Mr. Magurn is concerned, I was aware that he was the correspondent of the *Free Press* in this House during previous sessions, and in that capacity I had occasion to bring to the notice of the House a gross violation of his duty in having published some malicious and scandalous falsehoods in regard to what had taken place before a committee of this House of which he was an employee. The present Judge Lister, who was then chairman of that committee, said that he would compel Mr. Magurn to retract, and to withdraw and correct the lying telegram which he had sent to the *Morning Chronicle*. Therefore, I think Mr. Magurn hardly deserves the high character which the Prime Minister has ventured to

give him just now. I am speaking in the judgment of the House when I say, that no man ever sat in the press gallery of this House, so far as I am aware, who so grossly abused that privilege as Mr. Magurn has. On various occasions he has been charged in the same way in terms that admitted of no qualification. When I referred to the correspondence of the *Free Press* yesterday, I was told that Mr. Magurn himself was here.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. He is in the press gallery now.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. He is, I am informed, in the press gallery at this moment. Previously, I know, he occupied the position of correspondent of that paper of which he is now, I believe, the responsible editor. I quoted a telegram from the city of Winnipeg giving the words used in the *Free Press*, and I knew that Mr. Magurn was in the press gallery here. It appears now that the party employed on the *Free Press* is Mr. Mackenzie. If Mr. Magurn or Mr. Mackenzie think they are going to avoid the just right which I have, to claim protection at your hands, Mr. Speaker, and the protection which the members of this House have a right to claim, against lying misrepresentations of what takes place here, they are very much mistaken. I shall take an early opportunity, Mr. Speaker, of moving in a formal way that the representative of the *Free Press*, who sent that lying telegram which I read, be excluded from the House. I quoted yesterday the evidence of my son, Mr. Stewart Tupper, whose name only requires to be mentioned in this House or in the city of Winnipeg, to secure for his statement the most implicit credence. I gave the very words from the *Free Press*, and called the attention of the leader of this House to them, and I ask the right hon. gentleman now: If that statement was not as gross a falsehood as could be put in the English language in reference to what had taken place in this House. I received this telegram from Mr. Stewart Tupper:

Referring to your speech yesterday, the 'Free Press' Ottawa correspondent says:

I now understand that the *Free Press* Ottawa correspondent is Mr. Mackenzie, and I see here alongside of him, and associated with him, Mr. Magurn:

The 'Free Press' Ottawa correspondent says: He (Sir Charles Tupper) attacked the French in a most bitter way, but said that he did not include all French Canadians.

Is that true or is it a lie?

Some hon. MEMBERS. It is a lie.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Every man in this House knows that is as gross a falsehood as a man could print. Where in the history of my life did I ever attack

French Canadians? Let any gentleman show that in any hour of my life, either in this House or out of it, I personally, or any one under my authority and direction, assailed the character of the French Canadians, and I will retire into private life. Sir, no man can show it. Sir, no man living has throughout his whole career, from the very first hour of his public life set his face more determinedly than I have against everything or anything that would cause race or religious rancour in this Canada of ours. And, Sir, the first man in this House who ought to protect me against such attacks is the Prime Minister who represents that race and that religion. He should protect his own people from the foul aspersion that is cast upon them by falsely charging me with having assailed the character of the French Canadians.

I brought this matter before the attention of the House as was my right. I gave my authority, and I did not shrink from giving the names of the parties whose statements I challenge. The statement that I attacked the French Canadians as a people, the right hon. the Prime Minister knows to be as gross a falsehood as a man could utter. I claim from the right hon. gentleman the support which he said last night he would give me when he said he would endorse any motion to expel any man from the gallery of this House who violated his privilege by spreading false information through the press of this country in regard to what takes place in this House. I shall hold my right hon. friend to that promise. Why, Sir, what has followed this insolent attack made upon a member of this House by a man who is now in the press gallery, and who has been a press correspondent, greatly to his own discredit in the past. What does the Prime Minister think, appears in the *Winnipeg Free Press* to-day? Instead of an apology, instead of a retraction, instead of correcting the false report, sent all over the country by it, the *Free Press* to-day contains the following statement from its Ottawa correspondent. This is the language used by the same person who has so grossly abused your hospitality, Mr. Speaker, and the hospitality of this House by being permitted to sit in the gallery:

Sir Charles Tupper, on a question of privilege, referred to a report of his speech in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, but as he refrained from attempting to establish the accuracy of his assertion, and as the matter will be fully discussed to-morrow, when Sir Charles Tupper will be asked to apologize for an unwarranted attack on a private citizen, the report of the matter may well stand over until the facts are known.

What does the Prime Minister think of the gross insolence of such a travesty of what took place in this House? As was my right, I drew the attention of the House to this gross and false libel uttered by this correspondent sitting in the gallery of this

House, under the authority of the Speaker. My right hon. friend very properly said that he would refrain from dealing with the matter until he had the facts before him. We are not discussing now whether Mr. Magurn, in his capacity as correspondent, or Mr. Magurn in his stronger and more important position of the publisher of that libel, was the person who actually sent it, but we have the double fact before us that Mr. Magurn, the editor, is here and alongside him his correspondent who sent this lying message. That being brought to the notice of this House, my right hon. friend stated at once, as became him in the position of leader of this House, that he would be prepared to support me in any course that would prevent false and libellous statements in regard to the transactions of this House, being sent broadcast throughout the country by any representative of the press who is permitted to sit in the gallery of this House, and to-day we have the right hon. gentleman condescending to bring forward this statement, that Mr. Magurn is not at this moment a press correspondent. That does not matter; that does not touch the essence of the question. He is here in a double capacity—responsible as the editor of the paper, and responsible for his correspondent, Mr. Mackenzie, who sits beside him; and I will take the opportunity now to ask you, Mr. Speaker, to take the proper measures to protect in his rights every hon. gentleman sitting on either side of this House from these false and libellous statements, and to move the expulsion of the correspondent of that paper from the gallery of this House; and we will let the people of this country know whether a party have condescended to so low a position that they can only sustain themselves by means of papers which thus violate every principle of honour, and by having correspondents of these papers sitting under the authority of this House in the press gallery, libelling, traducing, vilifying and lying in reference to what hon. members in this House state. If that is the position my right hon. friend intends to take, instead of the honourable, straightforward position he took yesterday, I do not envy him the responsibility he assumes.

Now, Sir, as this matter is under discussion, I may as well take this opportunity of dealing with the question that underlies this statement; and in order to put myself in order, I will conclude with a motion. I say a more vile thing never was done by a party or by public men in this country than to assail the character and reputation of a public man on one of the most vital and important questions, that is, his action in reference to race and religious hostility in this country. The time has come when we must deal with this subject in the way in which it deserves to be

SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

dealt with. My attention has been called to an organized attempt on the part of hon. gentlemen sitting on the Treasury benches of this House to grossly libel, calumniate and traduce me throughout this country in regard to this most vital and important question. I will therefore take the liberty of drawing the attention of the House to some of the evidence by which I sustain that charge. I do not look for anything from those gentlemen who, when they are attacked, run away, who, when they have no answer to give, hide themselves from this House, when none of their colleagues on the Treasury benches will venture to say one word in their behalf. What do we find? Instead of a manly defence or apology, which would be much more appropriate for their misconduct, we find them disappearing and seeking refuge in places of hiding. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) at a banquet of the Young Liberals of Toronto on January 30, said:

He (Sir Charles Tupper) is raising the race cry. He started that cry in the campaign of 1896, in his speech in the meeting at Winnipeg. He was speaking before an English and Protestant audience, and there he said: 'Are you going to vote against me, an Englishman and a Protestant, and give power to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic?' That war-cry has since been followed by him and by his friends, and now to-day you can scarcely open a Tory paper without finding accusations of disloyalty against the French Canadians. I regret that he is devoting the last years of his life, of a career which is nearly terminated—

Which seems to give the hon. gentleman great satisfaction, because he refers to it continuously as apparently the only hope his party have—

—to arousing in this country racial and religious animosities. He is seventy-nine. I admire his strength and his vitality, but instead of seeking to divide citizens among themselves, instead of seeking to sow national and religious hatred, why does he not devote his eloquence to cementing the bonds of union and peace among the different races who live in Canada.

And, Sir, what does the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) do? Why, Sir, he lends his countenance, his imprimatur, to those lying and calumnious statements. He franks, in violation of the statute, a tissue of the grossest misstatements in reference not only to the public affairs of the country, but to myself. He franks a pamphlet which is headed, 'The Laurier Government and the Conservatives.' Well, Sir, what right has Mr. Fisher to take from the public revenue the means of disseminating these false and malicious statements all over the country? Thousands of copies of this pamphlet, a tissue of falsehoods have been circulated under the frank of the hon. Minister of Agriculture, and therefore he has made himself directly and personally responsible for its contents; and to do that he has robbed the public revenue of this

country. If the hon. gentleman will look at the franking privilege of ministers of the Crown, he will find that it is confined to public business and to official documents during the recess of parliament, and they have no right or privilege during the recess of parliament to frank any other documents. Is this an official document? Will any hon. gentleman dare to say that it comes within the law or the regulations for the exercise of the franking privilege? I am glad to know that we have somebody in this House to be held responsible for the misstatements in this paper. I do not intend to discuss it at length. I will simply call attention to the parts which apply to the question which is now before the House, and we shall, I think, soon arrive at a tolerably correct conclusion as to who in this country have held their success in the past and rest their hopes in the future upon exciting race and religious cries in this country. This pamphlet, for which Mr. Fisher has made himself responsible, says:

After the elections, as well as during the elections, of 1896, it was upon the Manitoba school question that Sir Charles Tupper fought the Liberal party.

Before the elections, Sir Charles and his partisans stated on every public platform in Ontario and in the west that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, being a Catholic and a French Canadian, could not do otherwise, when he came to power, than impose coercive measures upon Manitoba, and they put the electorate on its guard against the danger of seeing the separate schools restored in Manitoba by the present Prime Minister.

The Laurier government entered into negotiations with the Greenway government with a view to secure important concessions for the Catholic minority, and in the month of November, 1896, the famous Laurier-Greenway arrangement was concluded.

In passing, I would just draw the attention of the House for a single moment to the position in which my right hon. friend stands in regard to that. He never made a speech in Ontario or in Quebec, in which he did not plume himself upon having settled and disposed of for ever the Manitoba school question. I am very glad he has done so; but I ask the hon. gentleman if he is in a position to claim the redemption of the pledge he gave to the people of this country when that question was brought up. At St. Roch, during the election, in the presence of his constituents, what did the hon. gentleman say? He said:

If the people of Canada put me in power, as I am convinced they will. I will settle that question to the satisfaction of all interested parties. I will have with me Sir Oliver Mowat, who, with his popularity at stake, has always been in Ontario the champion of the minority and of separate schools. I will place him at the head of a commission, which will look into all the interests in jeopardy, and I am sure I will succeed in according justice to those now suffering.

The hon. gentleman there committed himself to the declaration that the minority had

been deprived of their rights and were suffering. He continued:

Is not the very respected name of Mowat a guarantee of the success of this scheme, and lastly, should those means of conciliation fail, I shall have recourse to constitutional means, and these I will use fully and in their entirety.

What did that mean? Did it not mean that if the right hon. gentleman did not succeed in inducing the government in Manitoba to restore, in their entirety, the rights of the Catholic minority in Manitoba, he was pledged to bring an Act into this House, under the law and constitution of the country, restoring to them these rights. What did his own organ, *Le Soir*, say with regard to that:

Could any one bind himself in a more emphatic manner?

But where is the hon. gentleman to-day. Every one knows that he is a great supporter of Mr. Greenway, and I have under my hand Mr. Greenway's manifesto published in 1899. What does it say? Does it say that the right hon. gentleman had succeeded in restoring in their entirety the rights of the Catholic minority in Manitoba? Here is what Mr. Greenway said in November, 1899:

When I last appealed to you the main subject then presented for your consideration was the attack menaced by the government of that day upon our national school system. That attack was supported by those within the province who oppose us to-day; but despite their efforts, we succeeded in preserving the system, which will continue so long as I maintain the confidence of the electors.

There is, on the one hand, the declaration of the right hon. gentleman that unless he succeeded in getting the Greenway government to restore the rights of the French minority in Manitoba he would fall back on the law and constitution of the country and carry a measure much more stringent than anything Sir Charles Tupper promised, which he regarded as altogether too weak and inefficient. He promised solemnly that he would restore the rights of the minority in all their entirety. And you have following that pledge given to parliament and the people by the right hon. gentleman, the declaration by Mr. Greenway that he has yielded nothing, that he stands in November, 1899, exactly where he stood in 1896 when we were in power. I am very glad to learn that it has been settled, and I do not want to hear anything more about it, but I can only tell my right hon. friend that he will have to settle with the people of this country who is telling the truth in this matter. These statements cannot both be true. They are as wide apart as the poles; and under these circumstances I would recommend my right hon. friend not to boast that he has settled the school question, when he stands face to face

with his own pledge before the people on the one side and the absolute contradiction of that pledge by the ex-Prime Minister of Manitoba, who declared that he had not yielded one jot or tittle of the position or attitude he had taken in 1896.

I propose to occupy the attention of the House a few minutes as this question has been forced upon my attention by the extraordinary conduct of the Prime Minister in defending as he has done, this lying correspondent of the *Free Press*. I propose, as that is the question at issue, to deal here and now with this question of race and religious antagonism in this country, and show at whose door lies the indelible disgrace which must rest upon the men, whoever they may be, who will lend themselves to anything so utterly detrimental to the interests of the people of this Dominion.

I have said that the hon. Minister of Public Works declared that I made this appeal at Winnipeg: 'Are you going to vote against me, an Englishman and a Protestant, and give power to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic?' I never said anything of the kind. The hon. gentleman knows that on the floor of this parliament I took the earliest opportunity of meeting that slander, and disposing of it, as it ought to have been disposed of, for ever. What was the position? As you know, I was called upon, in discharge of what I considered my duty, to support the Remedial School Bill for the purpose of restoring to the French minority in Manitoba the rights which the highest judicial authority of the empire had declared had been improperly wrested from them by the local government, and the responsibility was thrown on this parliament and government of doing them justice under the constitution of this country. I took my life in my hand. More, I took the life of the party I have the honour to lead in my hand, in order to carry out what I regarded a duty to the country and the constitution. I brought forward a measure in this House, I supported it as strongly as I was able, and when defeated here—not by a majority, for you know, Sir, an overwhelming majority was at my back, a majority comprised of almost nine-tenths of the right hon. gentleman's supporters in this House.

The PRIME MINISTER. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, you will find on the journals of this House the fact recorded that when I was met, not by argument, not by parliamentary means, but by obstruction of the most disgraceful character, the right hon. gentleman found himself deserted by his French colleagues and found them standing at my back and voting down the attempts made to obstruct the business of this House, and prevent a settlement being arrived at.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). We had good men of yours with us.

Mr. CASEY. What about the hon. gentleman for West York (Mr. Wallace)?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman had the good fortune to have the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) acting with him. And why? Because the hon. member for West York believed in his heart and conscience that the measure was an unwise one.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, that was the reason. These gentlemen who now assail the hon. member for West York are the followers of a leader, now the Prime Minister of Canada, who was then sandwiched between the hon. member for West York and the hon. the late Mr. Dalton McCarthy, the man who of all others had raised questions of race and religion in this House. They were only too glad to have his support then as against the Conservative party, but when that question is, as the right hon. gentleman declares, disposed of and removed from the arena, do they expect that the hon. member for West York is going to abandon all his principles in reference to the fiscal policy of this country and everything else, in order to remain associated with a party which he found not sincere in the attitude they adopted. When the hon. gentleman was sustained in this House by the hon. member for West York, it was when he was declaring that he never would be a party to the policy I proposed. His policy was a Janus-faced policy, one face looking toward Ontario and the Protestants of this country, declaring that there should be no coercion of Manitoba; and the other face turned to the Catholics of Quebec, telling them that my measure was a weak and pitiable measure that would not accomplish the object it sought, and pledging himself and his reputation as a public man that, if he were returned to power, he would give them a measure far stronger and one that would restore to the Roman Catholics the rights of which they had been deprived. And now where is he? Why, Sir, with all his boasting, the late leader of the government of Manitoba, with whom he made the negotiations that are heralded in this pamphlet as a magnificent settlement of this question, tells him to his teeth that he has never yielded anything and that he stands in November, 1899, exactly where he stood in 1896, when the right hon. gentleman was not in power.

Well, Sir, I do not intend to take further time with this except to say—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am not quite through with it. I am aware that the government who have called us together are

utterly unable to proceed with the business of the House. I am aware that it was a mere farce they went through on the opening day, of having one member of this House ask for correspondence. Did not that hon. gentleman know that in England—and we have the same institutions here—the whole of the correspondence had been published to the country long before the House met? And yet the Premier, having no correspondence to bring down that was of any consequence or importance, nothing that could not have been laid on the Table in an hour, has the House adjourned for two or three days, and leaves the members he had called here kicking their heels about the city of Ottawa with nothing to do—simply because he was not ready to proceed with the business of the country. I am not done with this Manitoba story. I am here inaccurately and falsely charged with having made the appeal to the electors: Are you going to vote against me, an Englishman and a Protestant, and give power to Mr. Laurier, a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic? What I said was this, and it was perfectly consistent:—I was addressing a great public meeting in the city of Winnipeg, the very day when the *Free Press* newspaper had published with comment the remarkable statement that the right hon. gentleman had made at St. Rochs, utterly at variance with anything he had said in this House or anywhere else outside of the city of Quebec. I then put the question, not to the public, not to the electorate, but to my own friends who were deserting me: Gentlemen, I ask you as Liberal-Conservatives and as supporters of the party, are you going to turn your backs upon me, a Protestant, because I have introduced this measure, when you have the evidence here, in the mouth of the hon. gentleman who opposed me in regard to the measure, that if he gets power and it is necessary to do it, he will carry a far stronger measure than I brought forward. Why should you leave me your leader, why should you leave the party to whom we both belong to bring in a French Catholic premier, who declares that the moment he gets power, he will give these people—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Is it possible, Mr. Speaker, that hon. gentlemen opposite are unable to draw the distinction? If they think that the people of this country are so ignorant as not to be able to draw the distinction, they are deceived, and they will find that out. When an argument, clear, logical and conclusive, is put they have no means to meet it but by laughter and jeers. It is a pitiable position for them to occupy. Though this government has been assailed as no other government ever was, there has not been, either from the Treasury benches or from the men assailed, any attempt to vindicate their course. That is the posi-

tion in which they find themselves on this question. But they are beginning to learn, Sir, that it is not always to a packed jury that they have to appeal. They are beginning to learn that there is a great independent electorate in this country who have enough intelligence, even if these hon. gentlemen have not, to draw the distinction, and that they are drawing it, as shown by recent events in Manitoba, in Ontario, in Quebec, in Prince Edward Island and in New Brunswick. These hon. gentlemen charge me with exciting race and religious animosities. They say this when, with the great majority of the Protestants of this country, I stood up in this House and fought the battle of a feeble minority in the province of Manitoba. Was I appealing to race and religious antagonism in so doing? No, I have been ever incapable of anything of the kind—and hon. gentlemen opposite know it. And I shall take care to place that question right before I sit down. They talk about race and creed animosity, but what did the right hon. gentleman do himself? He perverted the language I used in Manitoba—not to the same glaring extent as the Minister of Public Works has done in the extracts I have read, but in the same spirit—and with what result? Why, Sir, he went from one end of the province of Quebec to the other addressing his French compatriots and telling them that the issue he put before them was, whether they would permit Sir Charles Tupper to appeal to Protestants to strike him down because he was a French Catholic. And the right hon. gentleman sits where he sits to-day by virtue of the perversion of my statement at Winnipeg. And his supporters went throughout the province of Quebec with the same story of race and creed antagonism, in order to achieve success for his own party. I have heard of sneak thieves who, having stolen something, and afraid they would be pursued, raise the cry of 'stop thief,' and ran off after somebody else. That is the pitiable position to which these hon. gentlemen are reduced on the present occasion. Now, in this pamphlet to which I have drawn attention, this pamphlet fathered and adopted by the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), it is stated:

For the purpose of satisfying his senile ambition, of securing the realization of what was, perhaps, the dream of his life, that is, to become Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Charles Tupper does not at the present moment hesitate to appeal to racial and religious prejudices against the people of the province of Quebec, who, nevertheless, have in the past generously given him their support and their votes. Sir Charles Tupper imagined that by arousing in the English provinces fanaticism and racial prejudice against the 'French premier' and against the people of Quebec of French origin, he may perhaps run a chance of regaining power. Now, Sir, I ask where is an act in my life indicating either a senile or a juvenile ambition to become Prime Minister of Can-

ada? I can point to the records to prove the contrary again and again. When I was offered the position of succeeding to that high position in the Conservative party, I rejected it; and again, when I resigned my seat here in 1888, and the late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald implored me to remain and become his successor whenever the time might come. On that occasion, and when it was pressed upon me by members of the cabinet, I placed the matter before that right hon. gentleman in the strongest terms I could, and said to him that in my judgment I ought to decline. I told him: 'Sir Hector Langevin has been led to expect that position.' He said: 'I will send for him and he will agree, here and now, if you will remain, that you shall become, so far as I am able to bring it about, my successor, and he will agree to it.' I said: 'No, Sir John, I don't forget that in the past history of Canada there was an arrangement between the two great races in Canada that there should be an alternation of French and English premiers, that such an arrangement took place between you and Sir George Cartier when you were in power, and the government was defeated, and at the next formation of a government Sir George Cartier became Prime Minister. And I added that, looking to the fact of the great French Catholic population in Canada, I thought it was much wiser to adhere to such a policy and to adhere to what had been the practice then, that in case of a change Sir Hector Langevin, the representative of the French race and the French religion in this country should be his successor. Did that show any senile ambition? Did that show any desire on my part to become premier? Again, Sir, when on the death of that eminent man, Sir John A. Macdonald, and when I learned at Vienna that some of the leaders of the party in this House were anxious to see Sir John Thompson, then Mr. Thompson, succeed to that position, what did I do? Did I show any ambition to become Prime Minister of this country? No, and the testimony is on record. I at once telegraphed to my son that nothing would induce me to accept the position, because no one should ever have it in their power to say that the party had been divided by me, and I hoped he would give to Sir John Thompson all the aid and assistance in his power, as I regarded him as eminently a worthy successor to Sir John A. Macdonald in that high position. I give this House that evidence, which is on the public records of the country, to show that I had no overmastering ambition in regard to that question. I was only induced to accept the position when, in the unfortunate position of the party, it was pressed upon me to return to parliamentary life in order to prevent a great disintegration taking place in the Conservative party. I never consented more reluctantly to any act in

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my life than when I consented to take that position, and which resulted in my being called upon to form a government.

I have now shown that if there is a party in this country who owe their present position, whose future hopes are now founded upon this race and religious antagonism, it is the party of hon. gentlemen opposite. They know that by this means they obtained the position they now occupy. Now, Sir, the school question having been happily removed from the arena of public discussion in this country, what does the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) do? Why, Sir, he sits down and he devotes all the energy that he possesses, the influence of the paper that he owns, *La Patrie*, to promoting race and religious animosity in this country. Its columns are filled with such articles as I have read and which are reproduced as original matter in the pamphlet fathered by the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher); the very same articles are found in *La Patrie*, which I hold in my hand. Any person who will look at *La Patrie* of January 31, will find the same articles to which I have drawn attention appearing as editorial matter, and they are reproduced in that pamphlet. Sir, I say that no charge that could be launched against myself could be more unfounded; but on the contrary, all the evidence that exists to-day shows an attempt on the part of the administration to endeavour to grasp at power by exciting a war of race and religion in order that they may continue to hold on to that power which they find is rapidly slipping from their grasp. I may say that my whole life as a public man gives the lie in the most emphatic manner to any charge that I have been guilty under any circumstances of fostering in this country an antagonism of race and religion. Why, Sir, at the first hour of my entry into public life, nearly 45 years ago, what did I find? I found the organ of the Liberal party in Nova Scotia, the *Morning Chronicle* of Halifax, engaged in the unholy work of exciting antagonism of race and religion. The *Morning Chronicle* of that time, now the principal supporter of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) in that province, declared in its columns, officially, that in the province of Nova Scotia no Roman Catholic should be permitted to have a seat in the government. It said that a Roman Catholic was a representative of the Pope, of a foreign potentate, and that he was by that fact disqualified from sitting in the government of the province of Nova Scotia. What did I do, Sir? Why, I did then what I have done ever since my entrance into public life, I took the ground that in this country every man should stand equal in the eyes of the law and the constitution, irrespective of race or religion. That is the platform that I adopted then, that is the principle that, from that hour

down to this I have never, under any circumstances, at any time or any occasion, shrunk from maintaining to the fullest extent with whatever little ability I possess. The Liberal party were broken down in the unholy attempt to build a party upon religious domination; they were broken down, and I am proud to say that no man had a greater part in breaking them down on that occasion than I had myself. From that hour to this we disposed of that question, and from that hour to this, the question having been fought out, the Liberal party having for three years adopted an anti-Catholic platform on every hustings, they were beaten down and defeated, the question was settled for ever and you cannot find in the whole realm of the British Empire any portion of it in which the two races and religions live in any greater mutual confidence and esteem than the Catholic and Protestant population of the province of Nova Scotia. Does any person suppose that in these, the last hours of my life, which the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) gloats over so, as a sweet morsel under his tongue, that I am going to go back on that glorious record of which I am so proud? From the first hour of my public life down to the present I have treated that man as an enemy to his country who would raise the question of race or religion. That is the position I occupy to-day. When, in 1866, I was fighting the battle of confederation, in London, England, when the anti-confederation party sent a number of gentlemen there to oppose confederation and to break it down, and when they adopted, as one of their arguments, the disloyal character of the Canadian population, I met them on that occasion and in a letter which I wrote to the Right Hon. Earl of Carnarvon, which hon. gentlemen will find at length in the Library, they will find this reply. I said:

That certain parties in Canada carried to an extreme length their struggle for constitutional privileges, which have since been frankly conceded, must be admitted; but the charge of disloyalty has been disproved by her whole history. So long ago as 1776, the overtures of Franklin, Chase and Carroll, sent by the revolting states to turn the Canadians from their allegiance to the British Crown, proved unsuccessful; and those emissaries had to return home discomfited. These diplomatic efforts were followed by hostile armies led by Arnold and Montgomery, two of the ablest American generals, whom, with but a handful of soldiers sent from England to assist them, the Canadians successfully resisted, raised the siege of Quebec and recaptured Montreal.

I may say that in the recapture of Montreal the gallant French Canadians who were there, and who in all numbered only 800, beat back and overwhelmed the enemy under an able general at Chateauguay with a force of no less than 7,000 men—

The struggles of 1812, 1813 and 1814, when Canada was attacked at every point, again proved

the indomitable courage and loyalty of Canadians, who, unheeding the specious allurements held out to them, met and drove back the enemies of England, and Canada was once more saved to the empire.

Canada may now safely put the following well-earned tribute to her loyalty uttered long after these events, by His Grace the Duke of Wellington, alongside of any detraction. His Grace said:

That the Canadians had, by their vigorous exertions in the war, carried England through a period of great difficulty and danger, and had, by their gallant conduct at a time when England's hands were tied in European wars, raised a monument to their power equal to that which any country in the civilized world could boast of. . . . A feeling of profound devotion to the Crown of England, of unqualified attachment to British institutions, pervades every portion of British America, including all races, religions and parties. They have the same pride in all that has made the empire glorious that is felt by the inhabitants of these islands, and they are all animated with the conviction that, under the free institutions that prevail in British America, there is a security for life and property and personal freedom which is to be found neither under the despotic governments of Europe nor the republican institutions of America. Our greatest incentive to a union of British America is that we may be better able, as an united people, to discharge our duty to our sovereign, and that we may hand down more securely to our children, the priceless blessings of the British institutions which we so highly value.

I was fighting the battle of confederation against the misrepresentations of the emissaries of the anti-confederationists sent from Nova Scotia for the purpose of defeating that object. I give you that as the language that, in the face of the parliament of England, I adopted in regard to the character and position of all classes and all races of the people of Canada. I ask Sir, with such a record as that, and having never swerved from the maintenance of those same principles, I ask the right hon. gentleman who leads this House, I ask every honest and intelligent and patriotic Canadian, irrespective of party, if there could be a more dastardly thing done by any man living than to attempt to place me, as has been said, in the last remaining period of my life, in the position of having gone back upon that great and glorious principle which from the first hour of my public life I have maintained, the equal claim of every man, of every race and of every creed in this country. I hold in my hand the report of a speech which I did not see until I saw it some months after it was delivered at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. I was addressing a great body of electors in the Royal Theatre at Yarmouth. What did I say? I said:

It is gratifying that after eighteen years of power, when the change came, the Liberals did not obtain the verdict of the people upon any great question. I was glad that the Prime Min-

ister should be a French Canadian. I have always attached vital importance to the enforcing of the conviction that the bond between Canada and Great Britain would last for ever. A weak point in the Dominion, it was said, was Quebec. An English gentleman once said to me, 'You have two millions of French Roman Catholics in Canada—what would happen if war should break out with France?' I said, 'You wrongly judge the French Canadians.' The Quebec Act has given them such guarantees of the continuance of their laws, language and religion that they are thoroughly loyal. They know if they became a part of the United States they would lose these advantages. I agree with Sir Etienne Taché, who said that the last gun in support of British institutions would be fired by a French Canadian. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had an opportunity, the like of which has seldom been seen. At the Jubilee, statesmen of Europe, America and Australia were assembled to do honour to the greatest woman who has ever sat upon a throne. They found a French Canadian Prime Minister outvying in loyalty other colonial statesmen. The influence of this circumstance, in impressing the solidarity of Canada, quite reconciled me to seeing Sir Wilfrid so creditably discharging the functions of Prime Minister.

That is an address which I did not know had found its way into print, an address delivered in Nova Scotia on the 7th of October last, and I ask the right hon. Prime Minister, I ask any hon. gentleman opposite, if he finds any evidence in that of a disposition on my part to excite a war of races, or creeds in this Canada of ours. And, it has been suggested to me that there is no more Protestant community to be found, perhaps, than that now so well represented by the hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Flint), in the town of Yarmouth, as every person knows. These are the grounds upon which I repel the vilest slander that can be uttered against my reputation as a public man, namely, the assertion, that for any purpose living I could be induced to depart from that great principle of equal rights and equal justice for every race and creed, a principle that, which from the first hour of my public life I have continuously maintained.

But what about these hon. gentlemen opposite? Did they not attempt to raise questions of race and religion during the general elections of 1896? Why, the right hon. gentleman knows that the most dishonourable means to delude the French Canadian population were resorted to in order to bring him and his party into power. And, Sir, one of the curses that is coming home to roost to-day is the policy which the right hon. gentleman and his friends committed themselves to in that struggle of 1896. Has he read this brochure which was scattered all over the province of Quebec as a means of bringing him into power. If he has read it he must blush for shame when he reflects that a confiding, but not in some instances a very well informed, people, should have been deluded by means so dishonourable. I was a member of the gov-

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ernment of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and when the Venezuelan difficulty cropped up, I took the ground that the time had come when it was absolutely necessary that the militia of Canada should be armed with the best weapon in the world. The government of the Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, of which I was a member, committed themselves to an expenditure of \$3,000,000 for the purpose of arming the Canadian militia, with what the right hon. gentleman knows the British government has declared to be the arms with which the soldiers in the Transvaal must be supplied. What was the result? The result was that several French Canadian members in this House endeavoured to excite hostility against the Conservative government, and there was published this brochure in the interests of the Liberals, a small portion of which I will read. When the House hears this language they will learn whether it is the Conservative party or the Liberal party of Canada which resorts to low and contemptible and dishonourable means for the purpose of exciting a war of races and creeds. Here is what the Liberal campaign pamphlet said:

One of the blunders of old Tupper is Imperial federation, which signifies a more intimate alliance between England and her colonies in general and Canada in particular.

Mr. MONTAGUE. What is that from?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. This is from a brochure issued by these gentlemen opposite to help them to carry the elections in the province of Quebec in 1896.

Mr. BERGERON. And published in their own organ in Quebec.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes. I ask my right hon. friend now: Whether Imperial federation is one of the blunders of old Tupper. How does that language compare with his brilliant peroration of the other night, in which the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) gloried in the manner in which he was promoting Imperial federation and the United Empire. I am glad to see this change of heart on that subject. I think it is Watts who says:

While the lamp holds out to burn,
The vilest sinner may return.

This brochure continues:

One of the conditions of this alliance will be that in times of war Canada will be called upon to pay its share of the cost in money and in men.

Thus, as England is always at war with somebody, we will have to continually tax ourselves to find money and to draw lots to furnish the men.

In return England will create these droll baronets, knights of this, and commanders of that.

But the people will remain food for the cannon.

Why all these armaments if we are not to have war?

And why fight for England?

That is the motto under which these gentlemen went to the country in 1896. This is the manner in which people not well informed of the true condition of affairs were induced to return these gentlemen opposite to power. The brochure continues :

The electors should remember that these great big chiefs who are so anxious to show themselves more patriotic and more loyal than others, and ready to throw us into war for the benefit of others, will not be the ones to support the burden of it. It is the electors who will have to use these carbines and these cannons. We are considered quite good enough to furnish food for cannon.

The Tupper, the Angers, the Tallons, will be in their ministerial offices when they will send us to the posts.

It so happens that they were not exactly prophetic in that particular, and gentlemen of a different stripe have had to act. Something more from this pamphlet :

With joy in their hearts and a glass of champagne in their hands, they will send our children to Africa—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes.

They will send our children to Africa or to Asia, whence they will never return.

If you vote for the bleu candidates you approve of these preparations for war.

Vote for Laurier and his candidates, if you wish to see your country enjoy tranquillity, and not expose yourselves to have to leave one of these fine mornings for distant shores, leaving behind your wives, your children and all that is dear to you.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is the most disloyal sentiment that was promulgated by these gentlemen opposite. Sir, we on this side of the House stand on this question where we stood then. Not daunted by the fact that we might be assailed, the right hon. gentleman knows that I have all along adopted the same attitude which I took when, as a member of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's government, I endeavoured to carry the measure through the House for the purpose of placing the most effective arms in the hands of the Canadian militia. Since the present government has been in power I have continued in the same attitude. When appealed to by hon. gentlemen opposite, to support them in obtaining the highest qualifications on the part of the commander of the militia, when appealed to to support measures to put the Canadian militia force in the best possible condition to discharge the duty for which they are enrolled, I gave the right hon. gentleman on the floor of this House just as hearty and as warm support as I did the government of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, in providing for proper and suitable arms.

I do not intend to detain the House further than to say that if there is one charge

that I can afford to repel with the strongest possible indignation, it is this vile charge of pandering to race or religious antagonisms in this country for the sake of power. Nothing in life could induce me to do that. No consideration that this House, this country, or, that the empire could present before me would induce me at the close—nearly at the close of a long career of forty-five years of public life, for a single moment to tarnish that character which I have endeavoured to maintain; that character which I have maintained from the first hour of my public life. Sir, my policy always has been equal rights for all without respect of race or creed, and, that the only quality which a Canadian should require for promotion is ability and character, irrespective of what race he may spring from or what creed he may profess. But I was induced to take this opportunity of dealing with this matter, in consequence of finding myself assailed and calumniated by a person in the press gallery of this House, and accused falsely of having attacked the French of Canada, although he was good enough to say not all the French. I stand here to repel that attack with indignation, and I shall ask this House, as I said in my opening remarks, to take such an independent course as will fully and completely protect members of this House, whether they sit on one side or the other, from these vile and false attacks on the part of persons who have abused the privilege accorded to them of sitting in the gallery of his House. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. HENRI BOURASSA (Labelle). Mr. Speaker, I am sure that neither you nor any other member of this House expected that such a small cause would produce such a big effect. At first I felt disposed to stand as a defender of the gentleman who sent the report to the *Free Press*, but I feel now rather disposed to vote for the expulsion of any member of the press gallery if the shortest newspaper report forces us to listen to such a long page from the history of this country, and to such a complete autobiography as we have been subjected to. In a general way I fully partake of the view expressed by the right hon. Prime Minister and the hon. leader of the opposition, that every speech which is uttered not only in this House, but on every public platform in the country, should be faithfully and correctly reported by the representatives of the press, whatever may be the political shade of either the speaker or the reporter. If there is anything wanting in the political life of this country, it is accuracy and independence in the reports and articles that appear in the public press. But in the present instance, let us look at the sentence which was objected to by the hon. leader of the opposition :

He (Sir Charles Tupper) attacked the French in a most bitter way, but said he did not include all French Canadians.

The hon. gentleman has thought proper to give these words an interpretation which, if correct, would lead me to agree with him that the reporter had misquoted the hon. gentleman. But there is a slight distinction to be made, which is very important under the circumstances, and which the hon. gentleman did not make. The report did not say that Sir Charles Tupper attacked the French Canadians in a most bitter way, but said he did not include the whole of them. It stated that he attacked the 'French' in a most bitter way, but said he did not include all French Canadians. Now, what do I find in *Hansard*? Speaking of the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), whom the hon. gentleman has thought proper to attack to-day, not knowing, I am sure, that that hon. gentleman is now lying in his bed and is therefore not able to be here to defend himself, the hon. gentleman said:

I need not say to the House that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is the person to whom I allude. I draw attention to the fact that he had just come from France, a country that unhappily at this moment is in the most bitter antagonism against England. He had just come from that country which daily, through its press, and through its public men, is declaring the most enthusiastic sympathy with the Boers. He had just come from a country that is denouncing England, that is gloating over every misfortune to our arms and rejoicing at every triumph of the enemy. It appears to me that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) became imbued with the atmosphere by which he was surrounded, and so let us hear his first declaration after his arrival in Canada.

Again, the hon. gentleman, referring to an incident which I shall have another opportunity to speak about, said:

We have witnessed the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) taking the very course I speak of. He took, apparently, a very independent, high-handed and dignified course. No doubt, he did so under the direction of the members of this government, under the direction, as I believe, I do not hesitate to say, of the Minister of Public Works, and in order to strengthen the French position—not the Canadian French position, but the French position—he had taken, and to prevent anything being done to show sympathy with Great Britain in the struggle with the Boers in which she is now engaged.

Mr. Speaker, I ask any man of good faith in this House if these words which I have just quoted are not to the effect that Mr. Tarte, having been in France, brought to this country the feelings of the French people against Great Britain. I am not here to defend the Minister of Public Works, who, when he is in the House, is quite able to reply to the hon. leader of the opposition. Nor am I going to defend myself as to my personal relations with the Minister of Public Works. I shall have an opportunity on

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the proper occasion of placing before the House the whole course which I thought proper in my conscience to take since last session, and I will then deal with the large and the small incidents connected with my resignation, my campaign in the county of Labelle, and my re-entrance into the House. If I needed to borrow reasons from anybody to defend my course, I might adopt the words in which the hon. leader of the opposition to-day tendered such kind absolution to the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace). But I will not use them; I shall have a better defence.

But the point I want to make is this, that the hon. leader of the opposition, misquoting facts and forgetting dates, has tried to prove that the position taken by the Minister of Public Works and by the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet), and by myself was the position of Frenchmen and not of French Canadians, and therefore that the loyal British citizens, electors in the county of Labelle, who thought proper to send me here unanimously, and the British citizens who are electors of Laprairie and Napierville, who have not thought proper to differ from the view of their member, did not act on this occasion as French Canadians, but as Frenchmen.

With regard to the report sent to the *Winnipeg Free Press*. I do not know what the context was, but, taking the words themselves as quoted by the hon. leader of the opposition, they are a perfectly correct résumé of his speech. It is certainly the right of the hon. gentleman, if he thinks proper, to attack the policy of the French government or the feelings of the French people. I am not here to defend them. But the hon. gentleman, who is sometimes apt to mix dates, forgets that at the time the Minister of Public Works was in France and at the time he came back to Canada, the feelings of the French people had not been roused on the subject of the war in South Africa; but there had been an incident developed in Paris shortly previous to that time which called for an exchange of messages between the French government and the British government—an unfortunate incident which, for the sake of the peace of Europe and the peace of the whole world, was settled in the proper way, thanks to the good spirit and the courtesy of the French government of the time. I refer to the Fashoda incident, which was made so much of by the jingo element of England and the jingo element of Canada and to which the Tories of England and the Tories of Canada resorted so freely in their appeals to the fanatic sentiment of the lower sort of electors.

Fortunately, broad-minded journalists in both countries endeavoured to restore feelings of reconciliation between the people of France and England, and that reconcilia-

tion was effected, thanks to the broad policy of Lord Salisbury in England and the wise, intelligent policy of Mr. Delcasse in France. Therefore to say that the sojourn of the hon. Minister of Public Works in France was the means of causing discord and antagonism between French and English in Canada is utterly false and not borne out by any words that may have fallen from the lips of that gentleman whom the hon. leader of the opposition has thought proper to attack in this debate. I never try to judge the intentions of any man; and as a young member of parliament I would not attempt to belittle the intentions and purposes of the hon. gentleman. But, as a matter of fact, the words that he uttered the other day, a résumé of which was sent to the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and those he has uttered to-day are just of a character to prejudice people who do not know thoroughly the feelings of the French Canadians of the province of Quebec and to misrepresent the real intentions of those who, on the present occasion, have not thought proper to go as far as the majority of the people of this country, or speaking for myself, as far as the government of the country has thought proper to go. He has no right to attempt, as he has done, to prove that our feelings correspond with those of the French people of France; and I take this occasion to make a statement which is nothing new but which, strange to say, has to be repeated often though it ought to be well known to this country. It would be one of the greatest mistakes made by public man in Canada and a mistake that might be the cause of great misfortune, to think that the feelings which exist between French Canadians and English Canadians in Canada are the same as those which exist between the people of France and the people of England. I do not say this because I am ashamed of my origin or of the country from which my ancestors came, who were first loyal subjects of the king of France and afterwards became as loyal subjects of the king of England. I glory in my French origin. I have no reason to be ashamed of the people who live in old France; but it is utterly false for any one to compare the differences that may exist between the English and French in Europe to those that may exist between English and French Canadians. I do not wish to go at length into this matter but may take another occasion to do so.

As regards the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), who went over the whole story of his life in order to prove that he is not a fanatic or a bigot, let me here say that I do not believe he is either. I believe that the hon. gentleman, whatever may have been his political faults in the past, on which I am not called to pass judgment to-day, is a broad-minded man in those matters. But unfortunately circumstances have

placed him at the head of a party which has based its success too often upon religious and national cries.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BOURASSA. I am not going either to say—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Mr. BOURASSA. No, I shall not. I will prove it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Mr. BOURASSA. I am not going to say now—

An hon. MEMBER. Be a gentleman.

Mr. BOURASSA. I am not going to say that the Conservative party has had in the past, or has in the present, a monopoly of those appeals to religious and national prejudices. I am free to admit that in some instances, unfortunately, some groups of Liberals also have appealed to national and religious prejudices. I know that in the Conservative party there have been in the past, as there are in the present, among both English and French members of that party, men of good will and broad minds who would be ashamed to appeal to those prejudices; but there is at the same time an element in that party that has very often forced the leaders of that party to make declarations which, left to themselves, they would never have made. But does that excuse them? I must say that the hon. gentleman himself, who leads the opposition, whatever may be the differences between us, is after all one of the most remarkable figures in Canada. He was one of the founders of confederation, he has been one of the noted public men, not only of Canada, but of the British Empire, and I am proud to say it; but it is most unfortunate that that hon. gentleman, for the purpose of securing votes, felt himself compelled to use such language as has been quoted to-day and to make such appeals as he was obliged to resort to in the city of Winnipeg.

The hon. gentleman has tried to-day, and not for the first time, to explain the speech he made in Winnipeg. I quite agree that he might have told the people of Winnipeg that they could just as safely put their confidence in him as in Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that they could just as well rely on the policy of the Conservative party to settle the school question as on that of the Liberal party; but I ask, what was the use of his appealing to the people of Winnipeg on this ground—'I a Protestant and he (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) a Catholic'? How did that religious difference affect the question? What did it matter, as regards the policy of either party, if Sir Charles Tupper was

an English Protestant and Sir Wilfrid Laurier a French Catholic? We know that one word or two, falling at a particular moment from the lips of a man occupying the position which the hon. gentleman then held, are more pregnant and more effective for evil than a whole tirade of religious appeals by smaller men.

It has been said, Mr. Speaker, that during the elections of 1896 the French Liberal party resorted to racial and disloyal appeals.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BOURASSA. It has been stated that during the elections of 1896 all the French Catholics in the province of Quebec, supporting the Liberal party, appealed to the French electorate in this way: Put into power Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic, and he will certainly settle the question better than Sir Charles Tupper could, an Englishman and a Protestant. Well, during the elections of 1896 I looked after my election. I went through some of the surrounding counties and I read a good many newspaper articles. Of course, some of those articles had a bellicose tone, fully equal to that of the newspaper articles supporting hon. gentlemen opposite. But I think it would be childish for real statesmen to come here and go through all the columns of newspapers to try to prove that one party or the other held feelings that the people really never entertained and which were really never given utterance to by the leading men of either party.

Sir, what was the argument of the French Liberal candidates of the province of Quebec as to the school question. When the Bill came up for the second reading in 1896 and the leader of the opposition of that day, followed by the large majority of his party, voted against the second reading, hon. gentlemen opposite knew, and their newspapers knew, and their stump speakers knew, that the French Liberals had not voted with the intention of appealing to the racial and religious feelings of Quebec. I am not here to pass judgment on the conduct of either of the great political parties at that time. I was not a member of this House then. I may say that if I refrain from passing judgment, it is not because I am afraid to do so, but because it is useless. I am merely pointing out that the position taken by the French Liberals of Quebec was not a position that was supposed to bring them into favour with their countrymen and co-religionists. But they gave that vote, and in the campaign that followed, this was their general argument, throughout the province of Quebec: The Conservatives have been in power for six years since this question arose. During that time they did nothing until the very last session of parliament, when so short a time remained that they could not hope to secure the pas-

Mr. BOURASSA.

sage of the measure they proposed. They did this in spite of the notice and advice that had been given them as soon as in 1895 by the then Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Angers, who thought fit to leave the cabinet on that ground. He told them that whatever might be their good will, if they waited until the last session of the parliament, they would not be able to settle the question. Still, they waited until the last session, and had only three months before the time of the expiry of parliament. They knew that their Bill could not pass. The policy of the Liberal party was different. Instead of trying to take legal means that could not apply, they wanted to try by conciliation to bring the Manitoba people to settle by themselves this question which they themselves had brought into the political arena. That was the difference between the two parties. And I say that if the province of Quebec voted in favour of the Liberals on the school question, it was because the feeling prevailed in that province, and has always prevailed, that, as so often expressed by the Liberal leader, an ounce of conciliation is better than a pound of coercion. Whatever may have been the local feeling in one part of the province or the other, the broad line that differentiated the two parties throughout the province was that one tried to settle the school question by law, while the other tried to settle it by conciliation. That was the real difference.

And, speaking of racial and religious appeals, when we came back to this House and this government tried to settle the school question by conciliation with the Manitoba government, when they entered into negotiations and when the Roman Catholic supporters of this government, anxious to see that question settled, anxious to see peace established, not only in Manitoba, but in their own province, took steps to that end, what did we see? These members sent, as it was their right to send, a petition to the head of the Church, asking him to send to this country a representative of his high moral authority—not to do anything against the civil authority of this country, not to do anything against the power of the Crown, but simply to settle with the least friction the religious differences that had existed between a certain portion of the clergy of the province of Quebec and a portion of the laity. And what was the spectacle that we saw in this House? We saw members, and particularly the hon. member to whom the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) has, this afternoon, tendered so kind a hand, telling the people that the Liberal government had appealed to the Pope of Rome to assist them in ruling this country. Sir, if ever a strong appeal to religious feeling was made in this House, since I became a member of it at least, it was in this effort to fasten a charge of disloyalty upon the Liberal party

and the Liberal government, because the Catholic members of the party thought proper, without asking the permission of the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), to use the liberty guaranteed under British rule to citizens of all creeds and nationalities to take the proper means established by their Church to settle a question of religious difference.

There was another question which the hon. gentleman thought proper to bring into the discussion. He speaks of a brochure that was distributed in 1896 concerning the three millions of dollars which appeared in the budget of the Conservative government for buying guns, carbines and other weapons. Sir, knowing as you do, the feelings that I entertain on the question of war in general, you will not be surprised to hear me say that, if all the words contained in that brochure are not right, at least the spirit is not wrong, from my point of view. Sir, the hon. gentleman tried to say that the Liberals who issued that brochure in the province of Quebec entertained disloyal feelings toward England because they saw in the buying of these weapons an effort on the part of the Conservative government to bring Canada into such relations with Great Britain as would force Canada to act with England in all her wars. I have never read the brochure referred to; I did not have it distributed in my county. The position I took in my county was this: I am opposed to militarism for Canada. I consider Canada a pacific country, a country happily situated far from the rivalries which always threatened to destroy the peace of Europe and bring into armed conflict the great powers of the world. It is fortunate for us that our country is so situated, that we may invite the peaceful people of all nationalities to come and settle here. I was in favour of the policy of conciliation, not only for the races that live in Canada, but also for the nations of the wide world. Therefore, I did not think proper to approve of a policy that meant that we were going to war. I am speaking now of my personal position. But certainly, when that brochure was written and circulated and when the general elections came on, there was never any idea generally propounded in this country, either by one party or the other, that Canada was to be an armed nation. Therefore, I say, that it was proper, at least it was open, for any candidate, either Liberal or Conservative, to declare himself opposed to any military preparations for this country, to declare himself opposed to any policy that would bring Canada into closer relationship with Great Britain, so far as military operations were concerned—and for any candidate taking such a position did not lay himself open to a justifiable accusation of disloyalty to Great Britain.

I am not going to discuss that point now, because we shall have another occasion

to discuss it at length, along with the other points that have been mentioned. I merely want to say that times change, and when we wish to criticise members' words and acts we must place ourselves at the time when they spoke and acted. I say that at the time that brochure was written and published nobody could accuse any man of disloyalty to England because he was opposed to Canada preparing for war. Times have changed, as we have often been told by hon. gentlemen opposite, and at the present time a different spirit has developed in this country. At that time it was perfectly legitimate—I do not say to use all the words that may have been used in that brochure—but to entertain those ideas and to speak upon those issues.

Now, I have spoken at much greater length than I had intended, but I have been compelled to do so by the lengthy remarks of the hon. gentleman himself. But to sum up my argument, let me say that the hon. gentleman has no right, based upon anything which may have been said by hon. gentlemen on this side, to accuse of disloyalty any French Canadian British subjects in this country. We have a right to understand and to interpret the constitution of this country according to our judgment, and we have a right to do so without being charged with disloyalty. We have a right to interpret the British constitution, and the Canadian constitution, according to our judgment, without laying ourselves open to the charge of disloyalty because our interpretation differs from that of the Tory party. There was no occasion for charging us with entertaining different views from those our words express, there was no occasion at all for insinuating that we were acting as Frenchmen in sympathy with France, instead of as British subjects. I say that the hon. gentleman opposite having uttered those words, that I have quoted, he cannot now complain if the press of the country interpret his words as an attempt to raise the race and religious cry in Canada.

Mr. JOHN McINTOSH (Sherbrooke). As one of the latest members elected to serve the country in this House, and as representing a constituency in the province of Quebec, it may not be out of place for me to say a few words. The position of the Conservative party on the main question was well defended by my respected leader, and needs no further defence from me. But I may say that it seems to me that the government ought at this time to come to the rescue of a man who has been admitted by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), to have not been guilty of an action that this House ought to condemn. As you, Mr. Speaker, have allowed the hon. gentleman from Labelle to roam from Winnipeg to Rome and back again, perhaps you will allow me a few moments to discuss the

question of who is responsible for this race cry. Now, it is admitted on both sides that the race cry has been raised, it has been raised in the province of Quebec. Some one is responsible for it, but I desire to take this early opportunity of stating here that the Liberal-Conservative party has no part in that race cry. Now, who has anything to gain by this race cry? Let me go back to the year 1886 and remind you that in the province of Quebec the Riel cry was raised in the local elections, and who raised it? It was raised by an hon. gentleman who sits opposite, and it was approved by other hon. gentlemen who are sitting opposite to-day. That was the chief topic of the Liberals in their campaign literature and in their speeches. The Hon. Mr. Mercier came to power on that race cry, and remained in power for just five years. Now, I want to say right here that I come from a loyal province, and I want to say that the French Canadian people are a loyal people. But I want to make this distinction; we have a few fire-brands in that province who are causing all this trouble, and this government is responsible for them. When a minister of the Crown, who has taken an oath of allegiance to the Queen, will make such speeches as he has made, when he makes such a speech as he made near St. Vincent de Paul, near that institution where such men as he ought to be incarcerated—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. McINTOSH. I want to say that we have a loyal people in the French Canadians of Quebec.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Mr. McINTOSH. If the word is unparliamentary I will take it back.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. member had better withdraw it.

Mr. McINTOSH. Then I will take it back. I want to say that we have a remarkable people in the French Canadians of Quebec. They have their feelings, they have their sympathies, and we admire them for it. Remember that any people who is in a minority as they are, in this Dominion, are naturally more jealous of their rights than the majority. Now, Sir, can you point to any other nationality that had they such fire-brands amongst them would stand the same test as the French Canadian people have. We have a few fire-brands in the province of Quebec, and they are a source of great mischief to that province and to the Dominion of Canada, but I am glad to say they are only a few.

Mr. TALBOT. Is Thibault one of them?

Mr. McINTOSH. Well, he is a wrecker. But you can scarcely put him on a par with the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte).

Mr. McINTOSH.

If the Liberal party is not responsible for raising the national cry and keeping it in flame, then why do they make such speeches and distribute such literature as they have done in the Sherbrooke campaign? Now, I want to put it on fair grounds; can you cite a case among the Conservatives, from the leader of the opposition down, to any speaker on the hustings in that election, using such language as that? Well, Sir, I had to contend with such men as I see sitting in this House and who used such language as this from house to house: 'Ladies,' one of these gentlemen would say in travelling around from house to house—if he had stated it publicly we would excuse him—'you have a duty to perform in this; do you know that in those veins of yours runs the same blood that runs in the veins of Sir Wilfrid Laurier?' He first elevates the women because he knows, and I know that that gentleman occupies a high position. I speak with all reverence, but he said: 'You have a duty to perform towards your husband.' And, what is more, he says to the woman: 'When I mention the name of Sir Wilfrid Laurier you ought to drop down on your knees.' Is that high politics? Is that a race cry? Name me a man on our side of the House who talks in that way. But, Mr. Speaker, that is not all; right in public and on the hustings at the nomination we had these words coming from one hon. member. He said: 'Our candidate is a descendant of the old Norman race; in his veins runs the same blood that runs in the veins of the leader of the government.' He said: 'You can see they are that kind of a build, and that is French.' Is that high politics? I would name him if I knew what seat he occupies. In addition to that we had that brochure which has been spoken of, to contend against. When you come down to treat electors in that way, where are we going, Mr. Speaker? Where are we going to land when such politics are introduced in a rural municipality? Such politics as that is the curse of the nation. Then, they ask the question: How are you going to stop it? It will never be stopped, in my humble opinion, until the leaders rise above that and say to their subordinates: This is not the kind of politics that we want. The right hon. leader of the government said the other day that the government had acted in response to public opinion. Does he know that public opinion is rife in this country on this question. Well, stop it; that is my advice. It is only when the men who lead this House stop it that it will cease to create those terrible disasters that have taken place. Now, I shall go back a few years; in 1886 Mercier got up that cry, and came in, and in 1892 he went out on that cry. While I am on my feet I want to say that such a cry does not have much effect on the French Canadian elector. He is about tired and sick of it, and in proof of that I may say that in my county, where in one parish

they are all French, I got majorities time and time again. He is tired and sick of this cry, and he is ready, as all true French Canadians are, when the time comes, to turn right over the other way, when they have the general elections, if that cry is raised. I will tell hon. gentlemen opposite that they will have to get up a new cry because the French Canadian electors are tired of this one. I may tell my hon. friends on this side of the House that the first contingent of the government forces came to Sherbrooke, headed by the right hon. leader of the government with forty of his subordinates, some of the greater lights, but mostly the lesser lights, and that failing to arouse the sentiments that they expected, they brought back, on nomination day, four other ministers. The hon. Minister of Public Works was brought there the second time, and that was an indication of the introduction of the machine. That is what put us on our metal; if they had not brought him perhaps we would have lost our election. When we saw that he was coming we knew that it meant the introduction of the machine. The third contingent was sent into the riding; the hon. Minister of Public Works came again with some more of the ministers, but their arguments fell flat. If the majority was reduced at all it was reduced by money, by the machine and by whisky. I am sorry that this cry was raised in Sherbrooke; I have to live there; do not make it any worse in my province. You have gone far enough and you have hurt that province immensely. I do not know how you are going to gain by such a course. I want to say that the French Canadians are as loyal a people as there are in this Dominion, and I do not know whether I am going too far, but I cannot understand why a member of this government is allowed to make such speeches. I cannot understand why it should be allowed. I think every hon. minister is responsible for what any other member of the government says. Mr. Speaker, I will have occasion, at some other time, of saying something more upon this subject; I would not have spoken if it had not been that I wanted, in my feeble way, to show that the Conservative party are not responsible for the race cry. We have nothing to gain by it; our opponents are in power to-day, but if they wish to remain in power they will have to get another cry, because they cannot any longer rely upon this one.

Mr. GEORGE E. CASEY (West Elgin). Mr. Speaker, this is a day of surprises. Out of a little matter a great debate has sprung and out of a great debate has sprung a debater who seems fit to rival the leader of the opposition himself. A purer example of what we may describe as the Tupperian school of oratory in strength of assertion, and of the peculiar characteristics of that

style has yet to be discovered. A new member who signalizes his maiden speech by saying that a French Canadian member of the government ought to be in the penitentiary will not lack for want of self-confidence. He may go very far, and I advise the hon. leader of the opposition to look out for his laurels.

But, we must return to the origin of this debate. It was asserted by the hon. leader of the opposition that a certain gentleman had telegraphed to the *Winnipeg Free Press* from the gallery of this House a tissue of lies and fabrications in regard to his speech. The hon. leader of the government expressed a willingness to assist him in preventing any such thing, but he suggested that it would be better to wait and see the full text of the offending article before deciding upon any course, and what has taken place this evening has shown the propriety of waiting. The hon. leader of the opposition is the subject of many hallucinations; one of these was that a certain Mr. Magurn, well known to us here, must have been the author of this objectionable telegram, and that the report in the paper must have been very libellous and untrue. He proceeded to denounce that gentleman on the floor of this House last evening. He denounced him in language which, if it had been used outside of the House of Commons, would have been compared to that of a scolding fishwife who had been insulted by calling her a female, but which cannot be properly described in parliamentary language. To-day, it appears that he was utterly mistaken in the main facts of his assertion. Mr. Magurn never sent any such telegram, and in stating that fact suggested that the leader of the opposition should make an apology. The leader of the opposition had another illusion here. Instead of admitting his mistake and stating that he was too hasty in charging this on Mr. Magurn, he thinks it an honourable thing to further insult Mr. Magurn by saying, that if he was not guilty of this particular abomination, yet he had done so many bad things before that he should be expelled from the press gallery—although he is not a member of it. It is easy to stand on the floor of this House and bully-rag men who sit in the reporter's gallery and who cannot say a word in their defence. The leader of the opposition seems to revel in the delight of speaking in the worst terms possible of men who are within the sound of his voice, but who are unable to defend themselves. It is a much easier job than to discuss with his equals on the floor of this House the important questions of the day. Sir, I ask you, is such conduct worthy of any member of this House—I need not ask you if it be worthy of a gentleman holding the exalted position of leader of one of the great parties, for the answer would be too obvious.

It appears to be thought by the leader of the opposition, that the time has come when he must make a supreme effort of some kind to recall himself to the minds of the public. Perhaps the cheers that were given the other night for his first lieutenant (Mr. Foster) are ringing in his ears, and he may think that 'the lean and hungry Cassius' is becoming too much appreciated by the members of his party. There were no cheers when the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) closed his speech, and so it is his turn now to make a bid for popularity in the only way he knows how; namely, by a flow of language which is peculiar to himself. In the course of this diatribe, he has been affected by another hallucination—and I must say that his political hallucinations extend to the extreme limit at which genius is said to divide itself from a different frame of mind closely allied thereto. The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) labours under the hallucination to-day, that he has never been the author of any race or religious agitation. Why, Sir, what was the whole agitation on which the Conservatives fought the last general elections but an appeal to race and religion? It was the only hope of the party, that by appealing to the race feeling of our French Canadian citizens, and to the religious feeling of all Catholics, they could sweep the country. And so, Sir, they made that appeal in the strongest possible way, and their friends in the hierarchy of the province of Quebec made that appeal in an infinitely more pressing and forcible way than any party leader could make it. Sir, I am happy to say that it was the people of the province of Quebec, to whom that race and religious appeal was made, who gave the Tories their coup de grace and who showed in returning Sir Wilfrid Laurier to power, that the only sentiment which governed them was a sentiment of conciliation and a regard for provincial rights.

But the leader of the opposition for once reached his ambition, and he was the premier of Canada for six weeks. He was something like the early peas which used to be advertised, and called 'early six-weeks peas.' They were ripe in six weeks and fit for destruction, and Sir Charles Tupper as premier of Canada for six weeks, was ripe at the end of that time, and went to pot like the peas. He had his ephemeral period of glory, but he does not seem satisfied with it. In his present frame of mind he thinks he is burying the hatchet by repeating to-day the offence with which he was originally charged. In the course of the very speech in which he said that all the rewards of earth and heaven would not induce him to tarnish his reputation for political fairness, he has actually repeated his appeals to race and religion. I agree that literally speaking no reward of heaven and earth could induce him to tarnish his reputation for political fairness—the thing is utterly impossible. He

has no reputation for political fairness. Why, in the very speech which we heard from him this afternoon, he charges the French Canadian Liberals with not being loyal to British rule. You may cover it up with any paraphrases you like, and you may say that he only charges them with not being sufficiently prompt in lending their aid in the present war, but undoubtedly what the leader of the opposition means to imply is, that the French Canadians are not loyal. He read quotations tending to show that the French Canadian Liberals are tinged with disloyalty. May I ask, who are the French Canadian Liberals? Sir, judging by the popular vote in 1896, and judging by the representation on the floor of this House, the French Canadian Liberals are the vast majority of the French Canadian people. and in charging the French Liberals with disloyalty, he is charging the vast majority of that race with such a crime.

It is not the first time, Sir, that the loyalty of a Minister of the Crown has been called in question in this House, and I shall refer to that, in order to show that appearances are not always conclusive. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), then Commissioner of Customs, once made a speech at a meeting in Kingston which was considered to require notice in this House. It was a propos of the apparent danger, as he considered, that home rule for Ireland would become the law. At various meetings in Ireland, the Orangemen had claimed that they would not submit to home rule. Dr. Kane, a leading Orangeman, at a certain meeting, at which 5,000 were present, said:

Ulster was determined to defend herself to the last against the proposals of the Home Rule Bill. The men of Ulster need not feel, however, that they will be alone and unaided in the fight for their liberty. We have the sympathy of Englishmen throughout the world. We have received letters from military and police officers in England and Ireland and telegrams from Canada and Australia promising to cooperate with the men of Ulster if the latter resorted to arms to defend their liberties against the tyranny of their historic foes.

In other words, the Orangemen of Ulster were proposing to rise in rebellion if the Home Rule Bill passed the British Parliament, and it was sought to enforce it in Ireland. This was all in the year 1893. The hon. member for West York, as reported in a Kingston paper on March 15, said:

We find to-day in the old country that brethren, the descendants of the heroes of two hundred years ago, are perhaps facing difficulties of a similar character to those which their ancestors had to face in 1688—that the men of 1893 are threatened with a rule which is antagonistic to freedom there, to the liberty which they have always enjoyed as citizens of the British Empire. What is proposed is not only to shake off their allegiance to Great Britain—the bonds of love that bind them to the empire—but to put them, forsooth, under an alien and hostile gov-

ernment. Our friends in that land are preparing and have asserted their unalterable determination never to submit to that home rule which Mr. Gladstone and his government have laid out for them. I am sure that in their efforts they shall have the sympathy of the Orangemen of Canada—more than sympathy; they shall have our active aid, if that active aid is necessary.

Now, Sir, it appeared to myself, who first brought the matter up in the House, and to others, that this language indicated distinctly that the hon. member for West York, in his capacity of Grand Sovereign of the Orangemen of British North America, was prepared to assist the Ulster Orangemen by force of arms, if they rebelled against Her Majesty the Queen. That language speaks for itself. The hon. gentleman admitted in the course of the debate that this report of his speech was substantially correct. You can draw your own conclusion whether that language meant sympathy with rebellion or not. It undoubtedly did mean that the hon. gentleman would sympathize with an Orange rebellion in the North of Ireland against Home Rule, if such a rebellion took place. The hon. member, while admitting his language, and not denying the inferences that might possibly be drawn from it, claimed high authority for using such language. He claimed the authority of no less a person than Lord Salisbury himself, who, when Premier of England in 1892, as quoted by the hon. gentleman, said:

I am a Tory, yet I cannot accept in all their width these doctrines of unrestricted, passive obedience. I believe that the title of both kings and parliaments to the obedience of their subjects is that these kings and parliaments should observe the fundamental laws and the fundamental understandings of the compact by which they rule. Parliament has a right to govern the people of Ulster. It has not a right to sell them into slavery; and I do not believe in the unlimited, unrestricted power of parliaments any more than I do in the unrestricted power of kings. Parliaments, like kings, may take a course which, while it is technically within the legal limits of their attribution, is yet entirely at variance and in conflict with the understanding of the institutions by which they rule. James II. forgot that law. He stepped outside his attributions. He stepped outside the limits of the spirit of the constitution, and we know how the people of Ulster met him. If a similar abuse of power—be it on the part of a parliament, or on the part of a king—should ever occur at any future time, I do not believe that the people of Ulster have lost their sturdy love of freedom or their detestation of arbitrary power.

Now, the hon. member claimed, and I think with some justice, that he had the sanction of the present Prime Minister of England in hinting that under certain circumstances rebellion in Ulster would be justifiable. I do not quote this speech for the purpose of saying that the hon. member for West York was disloyal. I am convinced that he spoke under the influence of the

peculiar feelings which an Orange meeting seems to excite in him, and that he expressed a purely speculative view of the possibility in question. I do not think the Prime Minister of England is disloyal because he used these words. But I quote these passages to show that things can be quoted against leading men of both parties which may have an unfriendly and unkind construction put upon them. Then, it does not lie in the mouths of gentlemen on the other side of the House, subject to such quotations, to try to read a false meaning into things that have been said by gentlemen on this side of the House.

The larger question, as to the present agitation to arouse race and religious feeling, may come up again. It is sufficient to say now that it is not to be wondered at that our friends opposite have felt bound to resort to such an agitation. They have given up all hope of winning the people of Quebec, especially while the present right hon. gentleman is leader of the government. They feel that their only chance of returning to power is to stir up an anti-French, anti-Catholic feeling throughout Canada. They are somewhat more guarded in their personal utterances than are their organs in their printed utterances. But the campaign is going on through the press, in this House, in the Orange lodges, and I do not know what other organizations all over the country—the campaign of no Popery and down with the French and wooden shoes—that is the amount of it. If they think they are going to gain anything by such an agitation we are glad to see them go on with it. Judging by the results of the last election, we are willing to await with confidence the result of the new departure.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). Mr. Speaker, I do not think it is necessary to say many words in reply to the hon. member who has just taken his seat. He has quoted the report of a speech I made at Kingston, and he has quoted the report of a speech of Lord Salisbury, who was then, as he is now, the Premier of England, taking exactly the same position that I had taken in my remarks at Kingston on that occasion. In neither of these was there any rebellion, as the hon. gentleman terms it, but simply a protest against Great Britain handing a portion of her dominions over to the control of another authority or power—that while she had a right to govern it herself, she had not the right to confer the power she exercised on another. That was the whole question. He referred to the question brought up this afternoon. I can say for myself that there is no man of this House who has done more to prevent religious questions being brought up and discussed in this chamber than myself. My experience in parliament has been a continual protest against such questions up in

our House of Commons. As hon. members know, I parted from my old political associates, I parted from the government of which I was a member, because I thought that that government had made a mistake in bringing religious questions into this House. I was opposed to the bringing up of such questions. I said then that I thought the question which then divided us should be left to be dealt with by the provincial legislature of Manitoba. That was the position I took. I have never been in favour of, but always have deprecated, the introduction of religious and race questions into this House.

Sir, when we look back at the history of this government, what do we find? We find a member of it, and we cannot disassociate one member of the government from the other, for when a member of the government speaks on a question of great public policy, he must be taken to speak for the whole government—we find the Minister of Public Works giving utterance to disloyal sentiments and thus subjecting to the same measure of condemnation all his colleagues because he spoke as the mouthpiece of the government, and as the representative of every one of its members.

The hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) says there is an element in the Conservative party which has compelled that party to take up grounds of religious and national prejudices. Sir, I do not know to whom he refers. I challenge him to produce the evidence. So far as I know, if there is one political party in this country that is more free from the charge of bringing up racial questions or religious questions, it is the Liberal-Conservative party. Take its history in the past. Take the history of its former great leader Sir John Macdonald, and you will find that his whole aim was to join the two races that compose the greater portion of the population of this country, not on racial, but on political lines. He did not ask what your religion or nationality might be, but asked you to support the national policy and the policy of the Conservative party, which he claimed was the best for this country. But what about hon. gentlemen on the other side? What about the leading men of the Liberal party? I read the statement made by the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk), whose word will be taken in my opinion as undoubted as the word of any gentleman in this House or out of it, and statements made by the hon. member for Montmorency, and the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), that prominent members of the Liberal party had said on the hustings in scores of places, dozens at any rate, in the province of Quebec, that there the cry was made: Will you vote for Sir Charles Tupper, a Protestant and an Englishman, against Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic? I heard these gentlemen make that state-

ment, and I accept it as an absolute fact. If it is, it is a sorry thing for Canada that prominent public men, occupying high positions in this country, should descend to such arguments and appeals. I may say that in all my political experience I have never heard such arguments used in the province of Ontario. A gentleman who will get up and use such arguments on the hustings in Ontario and the other provinces to the west, where I have been, and in the other provinces to the east of Quebec, would be considered unworthy of public confidence. Yet such an attempt to divide the country on racial and religious lines has been made by prominent members of the Liberal party led by the right hon. gentleman. Then let us come down to later day. We find that the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) who, as such, represented the whole government, and who got his inspiration and pointers from the right hon. leader of the government himself, making similar appeals. We find the right hon. leader of the government saying, when speaking about Imperial unity:

It was indeed absurd. It would make Canada take part in all the wars which Great Britain might have to wage in every part of the world. The only tie which binds Canada to the mother country is Canada's own will. Canada and England have interests apart and the day will and must come when Canada and England will have to separate from each other.

That is the language of the right hon. First Minister. That is the inspiration he gave to the Minister of Public Works and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) and others, who have been, it seems, but too apt and willing pupils. They have accepted the doctrines laid down by the right hon. gentleman, doctrines which are not in accord with the sentiments of the people of this country. But the right hon. gentleman, at a later day, after we had passed the resolution in the House of Commons during last session, pledging ourselves unanimously, when war seemed imminent and inevitable, to assist Great Britain, sympathizing with her, in the course she had taken, and declaring that her position was a righteous one, and that we would stand by her as we were bound to do in the bonds of empire in every emergency. But when that occurred, what position did the First Minister take. His first position was one that will not be endorsed to-day by any loyal citizen of Canada. It was that we have no business to interfere, for two reasons. First, that parliament had not voted the money to send contingents to South Africa. Why, he forgot apparently that Governor General's warrants can be used, that his government had supplied themselves with millions of dollars, through the medium of such warrants, in 1896, without the authority of par-

liament or without that necessity which existed in this case. He said, further, that we had no power to send men out of this country. Had he read our Militia Act? He said he had given the question great study of late, but I am afraid that in that statement he was indulging in a little bunkum. Why, he had failed to learn the A. B. C. of the British constitution, which declares in a hundred different ways, that wherever the Union Jack floats the Queen can call upon her subjects to defend the old flag. He had forgotten that and the Act of this parliament. What did he say? He said: 'I have given much study to the question; our volunteers are enrolled to be used in the defence of the Dominion; they are Canadians to be used here, but not outside this country. They are Canadian troops to be used to fight for Canada's defence. Then he says further, as if hedging a little:

Perhaps the most widespread misapprehension is that they cannot be sent out of Canada. To my mind, it is clear that cases might arise where they might be sent to a foreign land to fight. To postulate a case, suppose Spain should declare war upon Great Britain. Spain has, or had, a navy, and that navy might be got ready to assail Canada as part of the empire. Sometimes the best method of defending oneself is to attack, and, in that case, Canadian soldiers might be sent to Spain, and it is quite certain that they might legally be despatched to the Iberian peninsula. The case of the South African Republic is not analogous. There is no menace to Canada. And although we may be willing to contribute troops, I do not see how we can do so.

I can tell him. Take up the Militia Act, sec. 78, and you will find that 'Her Majesty may call out the militia'—this, remember, is the Militia Act of Canada passed by the parliament of Canada—'or any part thereof, for active service, either within or without Canada at any time when it appears advisable to do so, by reason of war, invasion, insurrection, or danger of any of these.' It allows the widest latitude. The Prime Minister said he had given considerable study to the question, and that, under the circumstances, he could not send out the troops. Why? There is the Act of parliament as authority. As my hon. friend from Victoria (Mr. Prior) says, every militiaman knows that; every private member of parliament knew it whose feelings were guided by right impulses. But the hon. Prime Minister was trying to get out of the responsibility resting upon him as the leader of the government in a great and loyal Dominion. He did not realize the position—he said that he was blown hither and thither by the wind of public opinion. He wanted to find out what public sentiment was. And where did he go to learn what public sentiment was? He went to the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), instead of finding out the sentiment of the people

of Canada. He evidently did not want to study the Militia Act. What more does this Act say? It provides 'that the militiamen so called out shall continue to serve for at least one year, if required so to do, or for any longer period which Her Majesty so appoints.' Subsection 4 provides for the time when the active militia or any corps may be called out by the Governor in Council. And reading section 81 our attention is called to another question. The First Minister said: We have no money. Section 81 provides for the militia called out for active service, and places officers and men, in this respect, upon the same footing as the Imperial troops. 'They are to receive such pay as may be fixed by the Governor in Council, who is given complete authority, even to raising of money, in case of war, without calling parliament together.' The hon. gentleman says it is unconstitutional, and begs pardon all round for breaking the constitution. He says that the circumstances justify this breach of the constitutional rule. Sir, in sending these troops to South Africa the government violated no constitutional rule; on the contrary, they were simply carrying out the constitution of this country, they were simply obeying the law as it was laid down. But they obeyed it in a very perfunctory and half-hearted manner. They did not go into it with the spirit the Canadian people desired. According to the admissions of the Prime Minister himself, the people had to force him step by step. The leader of the opposition showed a loyalty and self-abnegation which does him credit. He might have made political capital out of the inaction of the First Minister, but he did not seek to do so. He gave the Prime Minister his advice, and pledged, not only the support of himself, as he was perfectly justified in doing, but the support of the great Conservative party, in furnishing troops and paying these troops. But it was a humiliating despatch that was sent by the government. These hon. gentlemen boast of the wealth of Canada, of the great surpluses rolled up year by year, and of the great progress we are making. We are delighted with these things. But when the troops came to be enlisted, those dull-witted people that the Prime Minister so scornfully and insultingly referred to the other day—when they were offering their services to fight the battles of the empire, he said: We will permit you to go. We will permit you! Why, he could not prevent them. He dared not raise a hand to prevent them. England did not propose to pay for transporting them, but said: Deliver them safely in South Africa, and we will take charge of them. If the government had come out and said, as they ought to have done: We will furnish a thousand men, we will not 'pernit' them to go, but we will enroll them, pay them, take charge of them and look after them in every way as a nation should look after the men who fight its battles.

But they abandon them on the shores of Africa without a dollar, and we cannot get a word from them to-day as to how they are getting along—a complete abandonment of the men who loyally stood up for the defence of the empire and who are there in South Africa representing this portion of the empire. I say, it was offensive from start to finish. The government said: We will permit a thousand men to go, we will send them to Africa, but we wash our hands of them after that—and this is to be no precedent. I think it should not be a precedent. I think, Sir, that Canada should not make a precedent of such a shabby course as that; she should be too much ashamed of it to repeat it. But that was not the sense in which the minister intended it. It was a slap in the face for the British government, virtually saying: You must not ask us for any more men, nor must you think we are bound in any way. We sent troops, but we did it in the most offensive way, instead of in the loyal, patriotic and brotherly way that should have characterized the government in such a crisis.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, when you left the Chair at six o'clock I was referring to the fact that the government never made an offer of the first contingent, they had permitted the British government to remind them of their duty. Offers had been made by others, but the government themselves never had made an offer. The correspondence just brought down, in the despatch from the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain on the 3rd of October, gives directions as to the formation of the contingent. He says, in winding it up: 'Inform accordingly all who have offered to raise volunteers.' Showing that the government had made no offer, but that offers had come in to the knowledge of the British government, which offers had been transmitted, I presume, by the Governor General of Canada.

The attention of the House and the country has already been called to the extraordinary circumstance that Canada, the first in the Jubilee celebration, the first in the Jubilee procession in 1897, was the last when material help came to be given to the empire. It was not, as we all know, that the empire required either men or money, it was not that the empire needed our assistance, because the British Empire is pre-eminent over all other nations in her wealth, and in the strength of her navy, and not second to any people in the character of her citizens and their ability to hold their own against any other nation, as they have proved in a hundred fights, in a hundred wars. But, Sir, at this critical period it was

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a matter of paramount importance to show the hostile nations of Europe that Great Britain could count upon the assistance of her colonies, because we see to-day and we knew then that all the nations of Europe were more or less hostile to Great Britain; we saw and we knew, that some were bitterly hostile to Great Britain, that they had been watching for years an opportunity to attack Great Britain when her hands were tied, when she was involved in some serious undertaking, when they would execute that hostility which they have against Great Britain, a hostility excited by their envy of Great Britain, because Great Britain is the richest, because she is the most powerful, and because she is the freest and greatest nation of the world to-day. This is what excited the hostility of the powers of Europe, and they were watching for their opportunity. We knew that. We are an integral portion of the empire, a portion that day by day and year by year must take a more prominent part in the affairs of the great empire to which we belong, and are taking to-day a more prominent part than we have ever done in our history, so I say it was of paramount importance that at that crisis, just at the moment when all the other colonies, all the other possessions of the empire, were flooding the offices in London with their offers of material assistance in men and money, of all that would be required, I say it was of paramount importance at that moment that Canada, the first among the possessions of Great Britain, the first of her dominions, the one with the greatest population, the one with the greatest number of free citizens, should be the first to offer her assistance. But, Sir, Canadians were humiliated, and the empire, too, was humiliated by the fact that the Premier was waiting to get the course and current of public opinion. He got that course; he was fishing for it. Where? With the Tarts, the Bourassas, the Monets and other men, apparently, because his interview with the *Globe* newspaper indicates the kind of instruction, or inspiration that he was getting from those whom he consulted. What does he say? He says:

Then, again, how could we do so without parliament granting us the money? We simply could not do anything. In other words, we should have to summon parliament.

I think I have demonstrated already, by reading from the Militia Act of Canada that it amply provides for raising volunteers and for providing the money without calling parliament together:

The government of Canada is restricted in its powers.

He did not know its powers; he had not read the Militia Act, the law of the country, although he tells us, in the beginning, that he had given it much study of late. He had not studied the Militia Act, which I have read to the House this evening, be-

cause we had that Act on the statute-book and we have that power to-day. He says :

There is no doubt as to the attitude of the government on questions that mean a menace to British interests, but in this present case our limitations are very clearly defined.

I would like to ask the right hon. gentleman where our limitations are clearly defined, I would like to ask him now to give an answer, briefly, to the question as to where our limitations are defined. Why, Sir, our powers are the most extensive, the most widespread, the most full and complete that could possibly be desired by any government that desired to do anything in the matter. He says further :

So it is that we have not offered a Canadian contingent to the home authorities. The Militia Department duly transmitted individual offers to the Imperial government and the reply from the War Office, as published in Saturday's 'Globe,' shows their attitude on the question. As to Canada furnishing a contingent, the government have not discussed the question, for the reasons I have stated.

Why, Mr. Speaker, the whole Dominion of Canada, from one end of it to the other, was discussing this question, the loyal sentiment was rising up among the people showing their determination that Canadians should do their duty, and the government, we are told, have not even discussed the question, have never considered it. It was not of sufficient importance in their minds, for discussion or consideration. They were the only men in this broad Dominion who had not discussed the question, they were the only men who lacked that feeling, that desire to look after the interests of Canada and to see that Canada should do her duty to the empire, the only men in this Dominion who failed in their duty in this regard. What more ?

As to Canada furnishing a contingent, the government has not discussed the question for the reasons I have stated, reasons which, I think, must easily be understood by every one who understands the constitutional law on the question.

Here we are brought face to face with this great constitutional law. Where did the right hon. First Minister get his constitutional law ? Where did he get this authority ? It is not in the Militia Act, it is not part of the statute-book. Where does he get this prohibition, this constitutional law, that he is continually referring to ? The hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) quotes the right hon. First Minister's constitutional law, but the right hon. First Minister's dictum is not constitutional law; it is not the statutes of Canada. I challenge him to quote a statute of Canada that will justify the position that he has taken in this matter. Then again, they say that parliament should be summoned. The great argument of the hon. Minister of Public Works is that parliament should be summoned. Very well, we have no objec-

tion to parliament being summoned ; we had no objection to its being summoned months ago. We never made any objection; this is a matter that might be discussed in the cabinet behind closed doors where the ministers could fight out their difficulties. The hon. Minister of Public Works said : I contend that parliament should be called together. Who was he arguing against ?—not against anybody on this side of the House because no member on this side of the House was opposed to the meeting of parliament. We are always ready to have parliament meet, to have the great council of the nation consulted, because we know that these hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House are always blundering into mistakes and difficulties, and the safety of the country requires that we should be called together to give them sound advice and to keep them in the straight and narrow path from which they are continually straying. So, I say that this argument of the hon. Minister of Public Works was a piece of moonshine. It is a family matter among themselves; it appears that they have disagreed and that they have fought it out. It is disclosing apparently what has occurred in their councils, when the hon. Minister of Public Works and the right hon. First Minister and other hon. ministers have had a disagreement whether parliament should be called or not. Let them settle that among themselves. If they had called parliament together before we would have been delighted because we think a better solution would have been arrived at than the government have arrived at by the mere pressure of outside public opinion without the discussion of parliament. Now, Mr. Speaker, for four years, nearly, these gentlemen have controlled the affairs of this country, and they have, as the hon. Minister of Public Works has told us, controlled the province of Quebec because the hon. Minister of Public Works tells us that so completely have they controlled and dominated that province with their opinions and ideas that there will not be six Conservative members elected from the province of Quebec at the next general election.

An hon. MEMBER. It is not true.

Mr. WALLACE. It is not true, an hon. gentleman says. I do not think it is true, because I do not place the slightest credence in any statements made by the hon. Minister of Public Works. He pretends, and others pretend that they have completely dominated the province of Quebec. What is the result ? I am told to-day, Mr. Speaker, by men qualified to know, living in the province of Quebec, that never in its history, so far back as the recollection of hon. members of this House goes, has there been as much cleavage between the two nationalities as there is to-day in the province of Quebec. I am assured of that

by men who are capable of knowing, and if it be the case, who is responsible for it?—the hon. gentlemen who have dominated sixty constituencies, according to their own statement, out of sixty-five of the province. If this be a fact it is a most deplorable fact, and I lay the blame for it at the door of the government of Canada, led and dominated by the hon. Minister of Public Works, followed by the right hon. First Minister himself. I am not going to make a subdivision because, as I said before, the government, on all important questions of public policy, must be a unit; there must be no division. The utterances of one man are the utterances of the whole of the members of the government, and therefore the statement of the hon. Minister of Public Works is the statement of every member of the government. What does he say? He has never been very backward in expressing his views. I am very sure that the expression of them has not always been a pleasant ordeal for the other members of the government. He is always making a cleavage, making a division, calling up the national question and the religious question. He never makes a speech, he never writes an article, he never makes a programme but he endeavours to divide the country on racial and religious lines. The right hon. First Minister, Mr. Speaker, is not entirely guiltless in that regard. The First Minister is always doing the same thing. He made a speech at Sherbrooke the other day, and instead of saying that we are all Canadians, as we should be, and that we are all inspired by the same Canadian sentiment, he, without any necessity in the world, took occasion to show that there are lines of race cleavage in this country. Is it loyal or patriotic to remind us of these things? No, Sir, it is not. The Prime Minister said:

This war does not affect English and French Canadians in the same way.

Well, Sir, we are all loyal British subjects, and it should affect us all in the same way. The ancestors of these gentlemen of the French race came under British rule in 1759, 140 years ago—how many years have they got to be here in order that they may acquire the same loyal British sentiments which the Prime Minister says belong to English-speaking Canadians? We should live in Canada as one people; we should be all Canadians, and no one should endeavour to distinguish between us and divide us into classes as the Prime Minister has done. The right hon. gentleman further said at Sherbrooke:

This war does not affect English and French Canadians in the same way. With Canadians of English origin it was the voice of the blood that spoke, the most powerful voice that can appeal to the human heart. When Canadians of English origin knew that their brethren were fighting in Africa their blood boiled, and they burned to go to their kindred's aid.

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Sir, our soldiers went to the aid of every British subject, never inquiring whether he was of French extraction, or Dutch extraction, or Irish extraction, or any other extraction, so long as he was a fellow-subject under the British flag. Further the right hon. gentleman said:

It was not the same voice that spoke to us of French origin; it was the voice of gratitude, the voice of national solidarity, which summons us all to be united under the flag of the country in which we live.

Under which class does the First Minister place himself? We know where to place the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), we know where to place the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), we know where to place the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), and those men who express sentiments such as a loyal Canadian should not express; but will the First Minister please tell us where he places himself. It is stated by the hon. member for Northumberland (Mr. Cochrane), that during the Northwest rebellion, the Prime Minister told us that he would like to shoulder his musket and go to the banks of the Saskatchewan—but he did not go. Here is some more of his Sherbrooke speech:

I do not ask my fellow-countrymen of French origin to feel the same enthusiasm about that war as that which naturally inspires our fellow-countrymen of English origin. I know how to make the distinction; but I ask my French fellow-countrymen to do from a sense of duty what our English countrymen do under the impulse of enthusiasm.

Have we English-speaking Canadians no sense of duty? Are we not all inspired by the same sense of duty, and yet the First Minister classifies us under different headings. No wonder that after such language from the First Minister, the ruler of the cabinet, as he is called, and the other satellites of the government should take their cue and go much further. Here is what the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) says:

Violent efforts are being made to induce the government of Canada to send a military contingent to South Africa.

'Violent efforts' mark the words.

This attempt is being made by the principal organizers of the Tory party. The Montreal 'Star' has made the most fuss of any of the newspapers about this question. We must admit that it was closely followed by several of the other important Conservative organs. We have, then, the right to conclude that the policy of the Tory party is to adopt as a plank in its platform participation as a power in the European and foreign wars of Great Britain.

Well, Sir, that was the policy of the Conservative party and they impressed that policy on the Liberal party so that the Liberal party were forced to do what the First Minister, on the 3rd of October, said they would not do because they could not do it under the law—a law made in his own

imagination. Here is some more of Mr. Tarte's language :

The Transvaal Republic is a very small state. It is against this insignificant power that mighty England is preparing to fight. No one will pretend, let us hope, that the mother country needs the help of its colonies to vanquish so small an adversary. It is a question, then, not of the Transvaal, but of the adoption of a policy that is entirely new and full of responsibilities—the future participation of Canada in the struggles of Great Britain on the battle-fields of Europe and everywhere else that she engages in conflict. Nothing is easier than to go, as the 'Star' reporters did when ordered by Mr. Graham, and ask for interviews right and left from business men, manufacturers, members of the bar, &c. And let us add, too, that nothing is easier than for these business men, these manufacturers and these lawyers to declare that it would be a good thing for Canada to send troops to the Transvaal.

We are in America. Canada has not and should not have any ambition to play a role in European diplomacy.

Now, this is what we are being exposed to by a certain number of those who in this Transvaal matter wish to make us take the first steps towards such a future.

For our part, we are astonished at the easy way in which some citizens whose characters we respect have, in conversation with the 'Star' reporter, provided their words have not been distorted, expressed the opinions reported in the columns of that paper.

We take the liberty of calling their attention to the grave consequences of an undertaking and of a policy like that upon which the Canadian government are invited to venture, even without the consent of the Senate and Commons.

What have we to do with African affairs? What interests have we in the Transvaal? Why should we take the money and the blood of our people to spend them in such far-away regions? We leave the question with all who are capable of reflection.

That is the statement of one of the members of the government, and that is the statement of the whole government, and it is the policy of the whole government, because I emphasize the fact that the whole government is responsible for whatever one of their ministers does. Says Mr. Tarte :

What have we to do with African affairs?

Yes, Mr. Speaker, what have we to do with African affairs? The British Empire is invaded. The other portions of the empire are going to fight to maintain the integrity of the empire, and this sneering Canadian minister, who draws his pay from the loyal people of Canada, thinks it fit to sneer at the loyalty and patriotism which we as Canadians are proud to possess. He said further :

I returned from France, where I received the care that French science can give, and I return to Canada more French than ever.

What was the necessity at this particular period, or at any other period for that matter, for a Canadian minister to be parading his French before the eyes of the people of Canada. What was the necessity for it

at a period when the country from which he came was bitterly hostile to Great Britain. Was his conduct not on the line he has always pursued, of trying to divide the people, because that is his only chance of getting any prominence in the public eye of this country. Mr. Tarte said further :

I am a minister in a British government, and I have the right to say that I am French. But I tell you this: if to declare myself a British subject would prevent me from being French, then I would refuse to call myself a British subject. We make no threats.

That is just where he does make a threat. You do not hear of the Minister of Inland Revenue going around parading in that utterly obnoxious fashion; but you find men of the stamp of the Minister of Public Works. He made a speech at Laval University on the 21st of November, 1899, on the occasion of a banquet there. I think our friend, the member for Jacques Cartier, (Mr. Monk), was there. The Hon. J. I. Tarte, Minister of Public Works, in the course of his reply, said :

You are favourites of fortune, you are blessed by fate. Be proud of having professors in this Catholic and French university to which those who have at heart the advancement of the French language are glad to associate themselves. French Canadians had formerly been in a position inferior to that of their English-speaking neighbours, who received help from the motherland. He hoped to see the young men of his race compete with them and become their superiors.

He said further :

One of the paramount duties of the French members of the House of Commons was to show that they were Frenchmen.

Mr. Speaker, I think the paramount duty of a member of the House of Commons is to show that he is a Canadian, and a British Canadian too; and I repudiate the sentiment contained in that remark, as the people of Canada will repudiate it and the government that makes it. We are all Canadians. We come here or we were born here; we are going to make our homes here; and we must be loyal to the flag and to the institutions under which we live, if Canada is ever to become a great and powerful nation. Those men who are continually endeavouring to stir up racial and religious differences are not true Canadians, are not loyal to the country in which they live.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. I am glad to find that my sentiments meet with the approval of some members on the other side of the House, and I hope they will visit with their condemnation their leader, the Minister of Public Works, who takes a diametrically opposite course.

Mr. BOURASSA. That is why we do not vote with you—that we are full of the sentiment you have just expressed.

Mr. WALLACE. I am afraid the hon. gentleman gets his inspiration from a very bad source. Now, Mr. Speaker, I see behind me the picture of the hon. member for North Victoria, Col. Sam Hughes. There is an impression abroad throughout this country that the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden), in regard to Col. Sam Hughes, is trying to hide behind a bigger man, Major General Hutton. I have personally no reason to come to the defence of the hon. member for North Victoria; but I think Col. Sam Hughes is a much better soldier than he is a politician, and owing to his military experience and his possession of military qualities, he is exactly the class of man who would do great service for the British cause in South Africa in connection with our Canadian contingent. I believe he was given to understand that he would be taken on the contingent. He was the first Canadian who called the attention of this House and of the government to that matter. Every one must admit that he had always been urging that Canada should take a share in the defence of the empire; and the sending of the contingent was just in the line of the policy he had previously been advocating. He was determined to go, the newspaper press gave it out that the government had decided to send him, and public sentiment approved of that course, because the public believed that it was a proper recognition of the policy which Col. Hughes had been advocating. It was therefore with a great deal of disappointment, when the contingent sailed away, that the member for North Victoria went on the vessel in civilian's clothes and without an appointment of any kind or a letter of any description to the authorities in South Africa. In my opinion, such a course was unfair and unjust to that hon. gentleman. The papers have been asked for and will come down. I do not know anything about the correspondence, but I do know that Col. Hughes is a loyal Canadian citizen, that he has studied the art of war, and that, in the peculiar military tactics prevailing in South Africa, he would have been a most valuable acquisition to any military organization. The Minister of Militia and Defence permitted Col. Hughes to go away without a line of recommendation and without any assistance, we presume, on the ground that he had not been quite subordinate to the Major General; but we are told in the public press that a son of the Minister of Militia was insubordinate to his superior officer the other day and we will look with some interest and curiosity to see how he is to be treated.

With reference to exciting racial and sectional divisions in this country, I assert that the Conservative party is the party that has the fewest sins to answer for in that regard of any political party in Canada. Do hon. gentlemen opposite remember the cam-

paign of 1882, when we had Edgar's War Song:

The traitor's hand is on thy throat,
Ontario, Ontario.

Who was the traitor? The province of Quebec, according to the war-cry and the speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite, had its hand upon the throat of Ontario, and was bound to destroy her. The Conservative party in their career have stood on higher and more loyal grounds.

Let me refer to another matter with regard to this contingent. When it was decided to send out a full regiment of more than a thousand men, the government were bound to take proper precautions. They were not going, as they announced themselves, to undertake the responsibility for a dollar's worth of expenditure after the troops landed in South Africa, but were merely going to equip them with the cheapest material—I presume this khaki uniform, worth a few cents a yard, and which may be suitable to this warm climate. I am not finding fault with that, but only wish to point out that the uniforms were exceedingly cheap. The government were bound to look after the safety of those who left their positions and volunteered to go to the front. The First Minister said that the government permitted them to go. Why, Sir, the government could not have prevented their going. The government should have said: We have enlisted them and have promised to pay them and look after them. Lord Strathcona gave perhaps one year's income and has done more, so far as cash contributions are concerned, than any man in the British Empire. But 2,500 of our Canadians have given up each his one year's income and risked their lives in addition. So that I say, while Lord Strathcona's contribution is one that makes every Canadian proud of having such a liberal, loyal citizen among us, we are still prouder to know that we have 2,500 Canadians, and can have ten times as many more should the necessity arise for their service, who would risk not only their years' income, but their lives as well. It was then the solemn bounden duty of the government to take every care of those men. But what did they do? They engaged the steamer *Sardinian*, a steamship that I know well because I crossed the Atlantic in her once. I think that 400 passengers would fill her up, but the government put on board 1,060 soldiers and 80 of a crew, making more than 1,000 all told. The correspondent of the *Globe* newspaper, in criticising that vessel, makes some charges that show the government failed to realize its duty when it sent out on board that steamer that large number of men. The summer season was coming on to the south of the equator, a season of great heat, and which required that particular precautions should be taken. Those

precautions were neglected. The *Globe* correspondent, who was with the troops, said :

In the soldiers' pocket book it is laid down that troops should never be lodged on a deck without side scuttles. Theory might be disregarded, however, if the fittings of the ship permitted a free current of air to be maintained throughout the deck in every part where troops are obliged to sleep and live. But our steerage deck does not conform to this rule. Painstaking effort has been made to ensure ventilation, and the ventilating fans are aided by wind-sails. But the fittings of the ship are so arranged that the air currents cannot reach certain corners.

Sometimes about thirty men are sleeping in a row. The tops of these are from twenty to twenty-four inches from the deck above. It will readily be seen what an obstacle to ventilation these berths are. The question as to why these bunks are used instead of the far more hygienic hammock finds various answers. One is that more men can be accommodated in the same space by means of the bunks. This I have heard contradicted by those who assert that the hammock could accommodate just as many men as the berth. Not infrequently during our brief experience of hot weather the thermometer on that deck went up to 120, and I have heard statements of even higher temperature being registered.

Just imagine, Mr. Speaker, putting those volunteers into a close, stuffy place, where the thermometer registered 120 degrees, and no ventilation during the nights' rest.

Mr. MACDONALD (East Huron). What was the mortality.

Mr. WALLACE. Very low, no thanks to the care of the government, but thanks to Providence. The correspondent continues :

No wonder the men fled to the spar deck and availed themselves gladly of permission to spend part of their nights under the sky. It was stifling in the state-rooms, and many of the officers slept in hammocks slung on the quarter deck. I did not like to think of that steerage deck on those hot nights.

This gentleman had state room accommodation, and he said he did not like to think of the steerage accommodation on these hot nights. What more ?

For private soldiers a trooping voyage cannot be anything less than an ordeal. A far more serious defect is the condition of the sanitary arrangements. These are, on the whole, to be pronounced inadequate and their fitting up has been defective in the extreme, with great resultant discomfort to all on board. The ablution rooms sail close to the wind in the matter of adequacy; thirty-seven basins are provided for over 900 men. The arrangements also are primitive. No reason can be seen why the water should not be laid on, but it is not, and buckets have to be used. Incidentally this affords an excellent explanation of the waste of fresh water which caused some heart-searchings when the voyage was about two-thirds over.

Summed up, then, the ship's accommodation is not sufficient for the number of men upon her, and the fittings are extremely inadequate. The opinion generally expressed upon board is that

she would have made an excellent transport for half the number of men now upon her.

That is the opinion of the correspondent of the *Toronto Globe* newspaper, and he says very much more in the same line, which I will not take up the time of the House by reading. But I must say this, that he discloses a state of affairs which is not creditable to the government. The government should have looked after the care of those men better than it did, and I am sure there will be nobody to endorse that statement more readily than the hon. member for East Huron.

It was said here the other night, but as I have not the right to refer to a former debate in this House, let me say that it was said in the *Globe* newspaper that in the province of Manitoba, in the recent elections, the Liberal party was sustained by a majority of the people's vote. Well, I happened to be in Manitoba last November, and when I got there I found that a general election was in progress for the local legislature. I was easily persuaded to stay for a week or two. I did not have the pleasure of meeting our friend, the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), though I was told he was travelling all around in his magnificent private car.

Mr. TAYLOR. And drawing his salary of \$7,000 from the people of Canada.

Mr. WALLACE. Surely not. I think his salary must have been dropped during the time he was there. There was a drop of some kind, I know.

Mr. DAVIN. He dropped his influence.

Mr. WALLACE. The *Globe* newspaper said there were one or two constituencies whose returns came in four or five days later than the others. One of them was called Dauphin, and it was said by the *Globe* that there was a remarkable revolution of public opinion already in Manitoba because a constituency named Dauphin, that had given nine of a Liberal majority in the last election, gave 450 of a majority when the returns came in, showing that the people had regretted supporting Hugh John. Well, I was told that in two polling subdivisions in the electorate district of Dauphin, in one night 604 names were added to the list, and when that came to be investigated they were found to be the names of Doukhobors, Galicians, Finns and Poles, and all possible kinds of settlers. It is a curious coincidence that these 604 were the same names as appeared on the pay roll of Messrs Mackenzie and Mann, two famous contractors, sometimes known as Bill and Dan. These 604 names were transferred bodily from the pay roll of Messrs Mackenzie & Mann to the voters list in the district of Dauphin. By that means, every vote was polled during that day, there was not one left off. By polling

these 604 votes, they got a majority of 455, which the *Globe* said was a remarkable instance of the revulsion of public feeling in one constituency. And then we are told: Look at the province of Manitoba, where, though Mr. Greenway is not in power, he had a majority of the popular vote. In this case he got 604 votes, every vote being polled, as I believe, dead or alive. I presume that the first duty of the new government—and it will be performed with neatness and despatch will be to strike off these 604 names and give the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Roche) a fair square chance for his life and that is all he asks.

An hon. MEMBER. Did those whose names were put on vote at the election?

Mr. DAVIS. No, they did not; they were not there.

Mr. WALLACE. My hon. friend from Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis) has a history in connection with that campaign. If he had been given the same treatment as his colleague who was with him and who was lodged in the county jail in Winnipeg, he would not have opened his mouth quite so wide here to-night. It is because of misplaced leniency that he is able to sit here and interrupt those who address the House. There are other inquiries to be made and we will make them in this House. And those who have been operating in the country, we will make them face the music in this House. Those investigations that were burked in the past hon. gentlemen opposite will not be able to burk any longer. We will call this government to account. They are already in fear and trembling. Last year they might act in high and mighty fashion; but the handwriting on the wall in the form of results of elections throughout the country gives them warning that they cannot continue to play their games. We will compel them to obey the rules of parliament and to grant those investigations which they were afraid to grant because the political lives not only of private members but of ministers would be endangered. Mr. Speaker, I will not trespass further upon your time. I had not intended to speak so long. The questions that have been referred to are interesting questions, and I am sure we shall have another opportunity of discussing these matters which are of so much importance to the country.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan). I had no intention of taking part in this debate, and should not have done so had not the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) dragged in my name in a very peculiar manner. I believe that the subject of discussion is the question who raised the race cry in this country. So far as the Western part of the country where I live is concerned, the statements that some of the hon. gentlemen have made that the Conservative party

have not tried to raise that cry are without foundation. At a meeting held in my own constituency about a year ago, the hon. member for West Assinibola (Mr. Davin) addressed the people; and I was there and heard what he said and took it down. At that meeting he asked the English speaking people how they liked to have the French tail wagging the Anglo-Saxon dog. I would like to know what that means if it is not intended to raise racial strife in this country. But that is what that hon. gentleman said, and he claims to be the leader of the Conservative party for that part of the country. Now, with reference to the Manitoba elections, which have just been mentioned by the hon. member for West York, and more particularly with reference to the election in Dauphin, I may say that I was in Dauphin during that election, and that there is no truth in the hon. gentleman's assertion that the voters' list was packed. There were names put on the list, but the men were not there and they did not vote in many cases. If the hon. gentleman will take the trouble to look at the different polls on the line of railway owned by Messrs. Mackenzie & Mann, he will find that very few votes were polled. Though there may have been five or six hundred names on the list, there were not more than 100 votes polled in that portion of the country.

Mr. WALLACE. How many names were put on the lists?

Mr. DAVIS. Only those were put on that had a perfect right to be put on. If the hon. gentleman knew about the franchise of Manitoba, he would know that every one of those men had a perfect right to have his name on the list.

Mr. WALLACE. How many?

Mr. DAVIS. I have not counted up the list. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) made the statement that there were 600 on the list.

Mr. WALLACE. I said 604, and I repeat the statement and can prove it.

Mr. DAVIS. They may have been on the list, and I have no doubt they were. They have a perfect right to be on the list. But it does not follow that they voted, because, as I said, they were not there and they did not and could not vote. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) made another statement with reference to myself. He said that a friend of mine was placed in confinement or something to that effect. I may tell the hon. gentleman that the less he says about that the better for his friends, as the matter is no credit to the Conservative party. They made a statement in the reptile paper—I cannot speak of it in any other way, I refer to the *Winnipeg Telegram* that this man travelled in a private car with the Minister of the Interior, or was travel-

Mr. WALLACE.

ling with him, and that he came with me. There was no truth in the statement and I fancy that the man who made it knew there was no truth in it.

Mr. WALLACE. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) deny it?

Mr. DAVIS. The party referred to did not come in the car and, to my knowledge, the minister had not seen him or spoken to him. This man came to Manitoba, as he had a perfect right to do. He came in to Winnipeg, and some of the hon. gentlemen's (Mr. Wallace's) political friends got hold of him and took him around for a couple of days. They introduced him to parties under assumed names, and filled him up with tory whisky. After they had filled him with liquor, they proceeded to get up some bogus charge. I understand that the man who swore out the information was the editor of the newspaper I referred to, who had never seen the man. He laid that information and took the affidavit and had the man arrested on a bogus charge. They had really nothing against him. They found some old letters in his possession. One of these was written to him 14 years ago, by the present leader of the House, who was then in opposition. They printed this letter, after garbling it and omitting the date, with the intent of trying to lead the public of Manitoba and other portions of this Dominion to believe that the Prime Minister was in correspondence with this gentleman, who had been the secretary to Riel. The object of this was to affect the elections by trying to make it clear that this Garneau, who was a French Canadian, was in league with the leader of the government, another French Canadian, and, as he had been secretary to Riel, no doubt they wanted to leave the impression with my hon. friend (Mr. Wallace) who has just taken his seat that they were connecting the Prime Minister with this, and making out that he was disloyal.

Now, with reference to who is raising the race and religious cry in this country. I want to go further, and I want to tell the hon. gentleman that there is to-day a member of Mr. Macdonald's cabinet, a gentleman by the name of Campbell, who attended a meeting I was at in the county of Morris. It was a French meeting, and this gentleman accused the Liberal candidate of that riding, Major Mulvey, with having, as he said, passed some resolutions in an Orange lodge with reference to these French Canadians. He got up and said: How can you gentlemen here, Frenchmen, vote for an Orangeman, and a man who passed these resolutions? When I questioned his right to read them, when I asked if it was possible for him to get any resolutions of that kind passed in an Orange lodge, when I said that I did not think Orange lodges were accustomed to scatter their resolutions around the country for political heelers to get hold

of them, and when I asked if he could produce anything with the stamp of the Orange lodge upon it, he turned around and said: I have an Orangeman here to prove that it is true. Still, hon. gentlemen opposite are trying to accuse the Liberal party of carrying on a campaign of that kind. I want to tell the hon. gentlemen that in my riding, at the present time, which is largely a French riding, this campaign is going on all the time, a kind of still hunt, trying to raise dissatisfaction with the Liberal government because they are led by a French Canadian. There is no doubt at all of that, because it has already been thrown in my teeth. It is a still hunt, and I think the less hon. gentlemen say about these things the better.

Now, as I said, the hon member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) made that statement in a hall in my town, in the presence of a great many parties. He may be like the leader of the opposition, who, when he made a statement about Mr. Philp, whose only crime was that he had been at some time in the past a law partner of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), when the hon gentlemen made a slanderous statement about him and was in consequence served with a writ, he turned around and said that he never made the statement at all, although a thousand people heard it. I venture to say the member for West Assiniboia will say that he did not make the statement, although a great many people heard it, and a great many got up and left the hall, amongst them, French Canadian Conservatives who were not satisfied. There are scores of people who will give affidavits to show that that was a fact. And yet this hon. gentleman, I suppose, thinks himself the leader of the Conservative party in that part of the country.

Now, my hon. friend has accused me of travelling around with a certain party by the name of Garneau, but I say there is no truth in it whatever. I have good reason to believe that the member for West Assiniboia, not more than a month ago, was travelling around the North-west Territories with a very respectable gentleman by the name of Chamberlain; the hon. gentlemen opposite know him. I am given to understand that this same Mr. Chamberlain is to-day going around through the North-west Territories in the interests of the Conservative party. Now, my hon. friend knows who this Mr. Chamberlain was. We had an election in Winnipeg a few years ago between the Hon. Joseph Martin and Mr. Colin H. Campbell. A number of Conservatives sent this Mr. Chamberlain up there, but our people looked after him and the consequence was that he was put in the penitentiary for ballot box stuffing and crookedness, where he should be yet.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon gentleman is quite mistaken, and he knows it. The charge was not for ballot box stuffing.

Mr. DAVIS. Will the hon. gentleman tell us what he charge was?

Mr. WALLACE. They might have made any charge they liked, but the only charge that was sustained was that he was addicted to drink, and they took him up to make him vote when he was incompetent and did not know what he was doing. He was convicted on the charge of personation.

Mr. DAVIS. Personation and perjury was the charge made against him, and, I believe, he was convicted and was put in the penitentiary, and I have no doubt if he had his just deserts he would have stayed there until the end of his sentence. Now my hon. friend knows there was more of that kind of thing going on, when he is talking of Mr. Garneau. I suppose he is aware that in 1896 a certain gentleman by the name of Freeborn came to the province of Manitoba for the purpose of opening a school for the education of deputy returning officers, so that they could travel around the province of Manitoba and steal the people's franchise. I suppose the hon. gentleman has forgotten that. Why, it is a well-known fact that came out before the Public Accounts Committee, that this gentleman got a jar and showed them how to carry it around, and how to manipulate the ballots and to steal the ballots of the people. He got a number of gentlemen to travel around on this business, many of them had not a good reputation, some had just escaped from jail. He sent them around the country to steal the people's ballots. Some of them told about it as a good joke, they said they had actually got round the reeve of a township, who is a well-known Liberal, and made him cast a Tory vote, they told of that as a good joke. My hon. friend knows that is true.

Mr. WALLACE. Was he in West Elgin?

Mr. DAVIS. My hon. friend appears to know more about West Elgin than I do. But I want to say that when any one is talking about Mr. Philp and Mr. Garneau they had better see that their own backyard is kept clear.

Mr. WALLACE. Would the hon. gentleman permit me to say that while Mr. Freeborn told this story, not a jury could be got in Manitoba to believe him.

Mr. DAVIS. My hon. friend knows very well that in a case of that kind you cannot get juries, very often, to convict, because they disagree. He knows that you can pack a jury with three of four Conservatives, and if it is a Conservative who is accused, it is hard to get a conviction. My hon. friend knows that very well.

Mr. WALLACE. I do not believe the electors in Manitoba are the perjurers that the hon. member would make them out to be.

Mr. DAVIS.

Mr. BENNETT. They took no stock in you up there.

Mr. DAVIS. Then I was given to understand that a brother of the Conservative candidate, Mr. Boyd, who, I believe, was the gentleman that imported all these beautiful workers into Manitoba, was on one of the juries, and I wonder why my hon. friend thinks a jury of that kind would not disagree, in a case of that kind. Now, I do not want to take up any more time, I would not have spoken at all if my name had not been dragged into this discussion with reference to Mr. Garneau, and I want to set myself right. I had nothing to do with Garneau, good, bad or indifferent. That paper went so far as to say that I had signed a blank cheque, and connected me with Garneau. I never signed a blank cheque.

Mr. BENNETT. Was the cheque marked good?

Mr. DAVIS. I don't think my hon. friend's cheque would be marked good. I want to say that I had nothing to do with Mr. Garneau, the hon. member to the contrary, notwithstanding, and therefore, I wish the hon. gentleman, in future, to confine himself to what are facts.

Mr. F. D. MONK (Jacques Cartier). Mr. Speaker, I have no desire to prolong this incident unduly. I am well aware that the government are anxious to place before us the measures for the consideration of which we have been called together, and certainly, we have no desire to detain them in any way. But I think this discussion was necessary. If the state of affairs which exists in the province of Quebec, exists to a similar degree, as regards race and religious questions, in the constituency represented by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) who has taken his seat, I can say that it is extremely desirable that some change should be brought about. I had not the advantage of hearing every one of the arguments presented by the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey), as I was obliged to leave the House, but I heard him place the interpretation on the remarks made by the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) that he had, in reality, attacked the loyalty of the province of Quebec, and it was enough for me. But, referring more particularly to what was said by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), I may say that I have known the hon. gentleman since he was a very small boy, and I am free to say that he is possessed of many qualities, and among the many gifts which I know him to possess there are two which I have the misfortune not to enjoy, having lost them a long time ago. One is that he is extremely young, and the other is that he must be a very fresh man, because otherwise I fail to see why he should have taken upon himself to take up the defence of Mr.

Magurn and Mr. Mackenzie when he had, not long ago, himself, the opportunity of giving some explanation about his own conduct that we very much required and that we were anxious to hear. The hon. gentleman must not lose sight of certain facts that strike the public. He, at a certain moment, took it upon himself to protest against the conduct of this government, and he gave to that protest the form which, as far as I am conversant with constitutional usage, rendered it obligatory upon him, to take up an attitude hostile to the government. He went so far as to resign his seat in this House, and then he comes back to the House, he is sent here to make a protest against the government, a protest in regard to which, as I said before, constitutional usage obliged him to take up an attitude hostile to the government. He comes here, is introduced to the House by the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), and when the moment arrives for him to give a sanction to that protest, to give an essence to it, we find him remaining silent. His conduct, upon that occasion, reminds me to a very considerable extent of the conduct of that gentleman who started off on his wedding tour and who, upon reaching New York, found that he had forgotten his wife. The hon. gentleman forgot at the precise moment that he should have given this explanation to put it into proper form.

Mr. BOURASSA. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Monk) permit me a word. If he looks at the Order paper for to-morrow he will see that I have found my wife.

Mr. MONK. I consider that it is a great piece of audacity, perhaps, on my part, to venture some advice to him, but if he will allow me I would tell him that we will always be very glad to hear him on this subject, but, preferably, later on. I think he will do very well to follow the example of the British statesmen belonging to his own political party, who, upon this occasion, probably consider that they have a great deal to say upon many subjects connected with the war and who have thought fit to postpone their criticism of the action until a later date. Mr. Speaker, there are, perhaps, at the very moment I am now addressing this assembly, a number of those brave and heroic men who have left our shores, who have gone to fight for and defend the flag, on a far-off continent, exposing their lives, many of them dear to us, many of them very dear to some of us who are sitting around this assembly, who may be suffering from the consequences of their bravery, and if I might be permitted to make a suggestion to an hon. gentleman, who appears to have so much confidence in his own opinions, as the hon. member for Labelle. I would suggest to him to postpone, as he has done already, his explanations until a later date. But, Sir, referring more particularly to what gave rise to this question,

I will say that unless the conditions of the warfare that is waged against our party in the province of Quebec are changed, it is possible that the sinister prediction of the hon. Minister of Public Works will be realized, and that it will be impossible for members of our party to be elected in that province, because there is a continual appeal to race by a certain number of people and by certain men in conspicuous positions. If we had had the mere advantage, which we have had to-day, of hearing the hon. member for Labelle state before this House that he considered the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), a broad-minded and liberal man, it would have been an advantage to have had this debate, because in very different colours is he shown up daily in the province of Quebec, and shown up by the press which, to-day, is defending the hon. member for Labelle and this government. What would you say of an honourable and broad-minded man who, not having the courage to attack the province of Quebec, would systematically pay and subsidize people to wage war against that very province. What would you think of such an accusation? Take the trouble to open the organ of the hon. Minister of Public Works, which is published in the city of Montreal, and you will find that idea repeatedly expressed in *La Patrie*. Not only is it stated there that the hon. leader of the opposition is not a man who belongs to the same race as the majority in the province of Quebec, but for a few months it has done it systematically, and I appeal to my colleagues from the province of Quebec to support me in the statement that he is charged with undertaking to wage warfare against the province of Quebec. Take up this newspaper, not looking over old numbers of the newspaper, but take up *La Patrie* of the 7th of February, which is yesterday, and there will be found an article upon the hon. leader of the opposition bearing this title: 'Get along, Old Clam', referring to the address by the hon. leader of the opposition. Let the hon. members who have some knowledge of French read that article, and see what is the tone that is adopted in it, and whether it is a tone of criticism which commends itself to the public men of this assembly. To go further and to refer to the point which I raised particularly, read the correspondence from Ottawa. Here you will find that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) nobly avenged the province of Quebec for the insults which have been offered for several months and which have been heaped upon that province by certain papers paid by the chief of the opposition, or which are in the pay of the chief of the opposition. Take up that paper any day and you will find allegations of this kind. You will find, for instance, that the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), as well as myself, and every other hon. mem-

ber from Quebec, are charged with making it the especial object of their lives to detract from that province. I say the time has come when these things should be shown up wherever they occur. I think it is in the interests of both sides of the House and of both political parties. I do not wish to refer again to this particular point, but I will lose no opportunity of referring publicly, in this assembly, to articles and insinuations of that nature. Let these gentlemen in the province of Quebec, in a province where the largest spirit prevails, where, amongst many qualities, perhaps not sufficiently appreciated, of the French Canadian people, there is above all, that predominating quality of justice, that largeness of view, let those few who are continually using that argument against that party be satisfied, that at every opportunity, I will denounce that kind of warfare.

We have in the province of Quebec a singularly broad-minded population, and if that were not the case matters would be a great deal worse than they are to-day. Those who are familiar with the province of Quebec know, that in many of the French Canadian counties, members have been returned to this House, and gentlemen have been elected to high office who are not of the religion or of the nationality of the majority. You remember the case of Mr. Holton who was repeatedly returned to this House from a French Canadian county. We have had as Prime Minister of that province the present Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière) who was never open to any attack on account of his religion. He was repeatedly returned to parliament by his Catholic constituents. If you go to the other counties in that province you will find English speaking Protestants repeatedly elected mayors and councillors. That is the case in my own county which has a large French Canadian majority, and I may mention that the president of the agricultural society there is an English speaking Protestant. The people of Quebec have not any tendency at all to bigotry against their fellow Canadians of different race and religion, and it is a matter of extreme importance in my opinion that this phase of our history should be mentioned in this House and made known to the world.

Now, Sir, I do not think that the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) has interpreted in the proper way the despatch to the *Winnipeg Free Press* which he undertook to defend. No person who reads this phrase, can come to any other conclusion than that what was really meant by it is what irritated, and justly irritated, the leader of the opposition. The despatch says :

He attacked the French in a most bitter way, but said that he did not include all French Canadians.

Mr. MONK.

How is it possible to place any other construction upon that phrase, than that given it by the leader of the opposition and endorsed by the right hon. the Prime Minister, who admitted that there was a grievance and stated that he suffered similarly. There can be no question but that the object of that despatch was to lead the people who read it to believe that the leader of the opposition had made an attack upon the French Canadians. It was an unjust statement, it was an untrue statement, and it was the duty and right of the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) to contradict it before this House and before this country. The hon. gentleman from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) entered into a discussion of the Manitoba school question. I do not know why it is, Mr. Speaker, that upon every possible occasion, hon. gentlemen opposite who come from the province of Quebec are continually discussing this school question. There is a theory—I do not know if it was expressed by Alombroso or Orviete or some other great criminologist—that murderers are continuously visiting the scenes of their murder. I can find no other reason for the constant reference by these gentlemen to that unfortunate question. When the great settlement was accomplished, we had down in Montreal the Hon. Mr. Greenway. He was given a grand reception, and if I mistake not, it was at a banquet in that city that he announced that this question was fully settled and that the minority had received, or were about to receive, entire satisfaction. For my own part I have no desire to again discuss that question—a statement which may perhaps satisfy the government, for it might provoke a discussion of several weeks and prevent them submitting the public business to the House. I will, however, say, Mr. Speaker, that the settlement which has been arrived at has not in any manner changed my own views. I took a strong stand upon that question in 1896. We were told in my own county by the Prime Minister himself (then the leader of the opposition) that a great commission of inquiry would be established, having at its head Sir Oliver Mowat, and that a full and entire restitution of their rights would be made to the minority. Has that restitution been made? If it has, why are these gentlemen opposite continually discussing the question on public platforms in the province of Quebec. If there has not been sufficient restitution, then what has become of the promise solemnly made in the province of Quebec in 1896?

Just one word more, as regards the explanation given us for the absence of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). What strikes me is this: The Minister of Public Works throughout the entire management of our contribution to the defence of the empire in South Africa, has taken up a most contradictory position. He has

daily in his paper advocated opinions which were the exact opposite of the policy adopted and carried out by the government of which he is a member. Was it not our duty as members of the opposition; our duty to ourselves and to the country, to ask the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) and the government, for some explanation of such an extraordinary attitude. We might have been informed that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) was unable to come here and give us that explanation which the House and the country demanded? He was here when these legitimate demands for explanation were made. It was from him as a member of the government that these explanations were asked, and his colleagues were here, yet not one minister of the cabinet rose to explain. When last year the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) was attacked by my hon. friend from Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) he was defended from the Treasury benches and from outside the Treasury benches, and the member for St. James, Montreal (Mr. Demarais) took up his defence. Why do not some of the ministers to-day give us the explanations to which we are entitled? Is it really the case that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has among the followers of the government some men who are not prepared to take up his defence? Is it the case, as we have heard it said, and as I believe, that some of these gentlemen opposite are at the present moment after the scalp of the Minister of Public Works? If that be not so, why did not some of his colleagues in the cabinet attempt an explanation of his extraordinary conduct? The attitude of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) in undertaking the defence of the Minister of Public Works, and of the representative of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, is as illogical as the rest of his position upon this important position.

Mr. DAVID HENDERSON (Halton). Mr. Speaker, a few moments ago I rose to address the House but failed to catch your eye at the time. However, I do not intend to detain the House for more than a few moments, and I would not have done so had it not been for the remarks made by the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis). That hon. gentleman spoke in terms that did not commend themselves to me, with reference to an hon. gentleman, who is now a member of the government of Manitoba, with whom I have had the pleasure of an acquaintance for many years, who was born in the county I represent, whose father has been an elector there for the last forty years—a gentleman held in the highest esteem by the people of the county of Halton, and whose wife, I may say, is a daughter of one of the most prominent Liberals of that county, who, I feel sure, will not read with much pleasure the words uttered

by the hon. member for Saskatchewan. I believe that the hon. gentleman to whom he referred is incapable of committing the wrongs attributed to him.

The hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) taunted the leader of the opposition with having been the Prime Minister of Canada for a very short time indeed, remarking that the early peas matured in about six weeks, which he said was about the length of time the leader of the opposition was Prime Minister of Canada. I thought at the time that the hon. gentleman should not have forgotten that years ago a man who stood high in the esteem of the Liberal party of this country, and whose memory will ever remain green in the minds of Liberals, and I may say Conservatives as well, the Hon. George Brown was at one time a member of an administration that lasted only two days. In fact, the Hon. George Brown's peas never sprouted.

Now, one word with regard to the matter we have been discussing this afternoon—the charge of disloyalty which we have been told comes from the people of Ontario against our French Canadian friends in the province of Quebec. I desire briefly and very plainly and pointedly to express my opinion with regard to that matter. I live in the central part of the province of Ontario, I read the newspapers from day to day, and I can say without hesitation to my French friends from Lower Canada that no such sentiment prevails in Western Ontario, it is not expressed by the people, either in their press, by their public men on the platform, or in ordinary conversation. Such a sentiment is never hinted. We believe our French Canadian friends are not only good Canadians, but loyal to the empire, and good citizens in every respect. Where we do hear this charge of disloyalty is from prominent men in the province of Quebec—even from men who are at the present time members of the administration, and controlling leading newspapers in that province. We quite understand what they mean. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), and I am sorry to say other members of parliament who may not be members of the government, use their positions as such and as publishers of leading newspapers, to disseminate this false teaching for the purpose, and the sole purpose, of creating a prejudice in the minds of the people of Lower Canada against the English-speaking people of the province of Ontario, with a view of cementing into a solid phalanx the French electors of the province of Quebec. I had occasion a few days ago to travel some distance into the province of Quebec; and in the course of my travels I met a very intelligent young man, a French Canadian. He spoke English very clearly, though with a French accent. I was much interested in the young man, who, I learned was a member of the local legislature of the province

of Quebec. He said to me that he felt very sorry indeed that people in the province of Ontario accused the people of the province of Quebec of being disloyal. He expressed his regret, not only once, but twice. I said: 'My dear sir, you are entirely mistaken; we have no such feeling in the province of Ontario where I live. I read the public press, I hear public men speak. I know what the people are talking about, and they express no sentiment of the kind; but that sentiment comes from your own people in the province of Quebec, and it is put forth wholly and solely for the purpose of prejudicing the French people against the leader of the opposition and against every Conservative of English, Irish or Scotch descent. This young man listened to me carefully, when I reiterated my statement, and at length he said to me: 'I am glad to hear you say so; I have heard that statement before.' The young man quite well understood the tactics of these men, and fully realized the absolute truthfulness of the statement I made. I regret indeed that a party can so far forget itself, can sink so low—I mean a few members of the party. I am glad to believe there are only a few in the party who would do it. It is a matter of regret, in a country like Canada, where we have so many different religions and nationalities, that men will allow themselves to sink so low for mere party purposes as to attempt to excite prejudices and create divisions such as I have referred to. I do not charge the Prime Minister with having disseminated these teachings; but I do say to him that so long as he continues in his government men like the Hon. Mr. Tarte and the Hon. Mr. Fisher, who do so, he must be held responsible by the country for the action of these hon. gentlemen. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, for your kindness in listening to these few remarks.

Mr. GEORGE TAYLOR (South Leeds). Mr. Speaker, just one word, and one word only. My hon. friend, the Prime Minister, made a statement yesterday that the press supporting the Conservative party was a reptile press. When I read the article which I purpose quoting from the right hon. gentleman's official organ, the organ owned by the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte)—an article penned by himself as an editorial, and I have no doubt approved of by the Prime Minister, because his colleague certainly would not write and publish it in the official organ of the government without his approval, I will ask the hon. Prime Minister to say if he should not apply the term reptile press to his own organ as he applied it to the Conservative press of this country. I refer to this article particularly because it slanders a body of men scattered all over this broad Dominion, of whom I am a member myself; and on behalf of this loyal body of men I hurl back the in-

Mr. HENDERSON.

situation that is made in that reptile press owned by this government. The article was published in *La Patrie* of the 28th of December last, and reads as follows:

The government is to be congratulated on the early calling together of parliament, as summer sessions are detestable.

The opposition cannot reproach the government on a single administrative act. The country is more prosperous than it ever was and the finances of the country are in a brilliant condition. Sir Charles Tupper has only one resource—an appeal to the English and Protestant prejudices against the French Prime Minister who is at the head of the country and against the province of Quebec, which has given him such a generous majority. It is this appeal which the whole Tory press has used for months with a violence which does not relax. In the Orange press, of which Clarke Wallace is the great monitor, it has been seriously considered to conquer the province of Quebec by arms.

I ask the hon. Minister of Public Works when he or any of his emissaries ever visited an Orange lodge? As an Orangeman, I repudiate that slander. If ever any member of the order made such a proposition in an Orange lodge it would be immediately repelled, because the Orangemen are loyal, and loyal to their French brethren in the province of Quebec, and if they were oppressed it is the Orangemen of this country who would be the first to come to their rescue. The late Sir John Macdonald was a member of that honourable body, and what was his life task? It was to cement the races which the Minister of Public Works, through his paper, is to-day trying to set at loggerheads for the purpose of carrying out his prophecy that at the next general election the Conservative party would carry but six seats in the province of Quebec. I rise particularly to repudiate the charge made by the Minister of Public Works, through his organ, that the Orange lodges throughout the country have considered the advisability of suppressing the people of the province of Quebec by force of arms. I say that that is a slander, and I hurl it back in his teeth as malicious and designed only for the purpose of arousing his co-religionists in the province of Quebec against the English Protestant community and the Orange community in the other provinces.

The article goes on further:

Only a few days ago a local Tory, Col. White, at a dinner in Guelph, said in a speech that there was in Canada a people as disloyal as the Boers, and that very probably the English would very soon have to suppress the French element in Quebec.

I do not know who Col. White is, but I know that he never said that in an Orange lodge. I know not whether the statement be true or false, but the chances are that Col. White never made it. It may possibly have been manufactured by that reptile press of the government out of the whole

cloth, as the other charge against the Orangemen. Then the article goes on :

This is only a repetition of what the 'Mail and Empire' and other newspapers are saying every day.

Now, I have been a reader for years of the *Mail and Empire*, and I challenge the Prime Minister or the Minister of Public Works to point to one line of editorial in its columns ever written in the direction of arousing race feeling in this country.

The question—the whole question—therefore, is whether Sir Charles Tupper and the Tories who surround him are able to arouse enough prejudice to lead to a war of races, which it is needless to say, will lead to the speedy breaking up of confederation.

There is what the reptile press of this government is saying, owned by the Minister of Public Works and purchased out of the money obtained from a subsidy voted by this parliament. I have no hesitation in saying, and backed up by this government simply to do the dirty work of that minister.

Mr. F. A. MARCOTTE (Champlain)—(Translation)—Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to participate at any length in the debate before the House. In a country like Canada, composed of various nationalities, one should guard against arousing religious and national animosities. We all live here together under the protection of the British flag, which allows us the fullest enjoyment of our rights and privileges. Now, I say that, if we have at heart the progress and advancement of this country of ours, we ought to refrain from raising racial issues, which create bitterness of feeling, stir up bad blood, and are fraught with such danger to the community in general. But it is impossible to dissemble the fact that there are certain newspapers in the province of Quebec which seem bent upon reviving the conflicts of the past, sowing dissension and strife, and setting race against race. Let me mention here, among others, *La Patrie*, the organ of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). Every day that paper reproduces in its columns articles, borrowed from the English press, which may be more or less correct, but which are, nevertheless, calculated to inflame the minds of the French Canadian people. The explanation of this recent revival of the racial question is no doubt to be found in the war which has broken out between Great Britain and the Transvaal. This racial question is by no means a new one. As stated by the hon. member for Sherbrooke (Mr. Mackintosh) this afternoon, such an agitation broke out in 1886, and, later on, in 1896. And I may say here that my political opponents did not fail to raise this racial question in my own constituency, during the two electoral contests which took place in 1896 and in 1897. Upon those occasions, they raised the ques-

tion of the purchase of the rifles by the government. If my memory serves me right, this is what they said, among other things : 'If you vote for Sir Charles Tupper you vote at the same time for war ; you vote in favour of Imperial federation.' But, since that time, they have changed their mind. And notably, they have materially varied in their opinions, when they had to endorse the policy of their leader, the Prime Minister. Telegrams were sent by the *Herald* to the hon. gentlemen, asking them what position they took in connection with the war question. And the hon. gentlemen replied to the *Herald* that they approved of the sending of a contingent to South Africa. The hon. member for Beauce (Mr. Godbout), the hon. member for Richelieu (Mr. Bruneau), the hon. member for Rouville (Mr. Brodeur), the hon. member for Maskinonge (Mr. Legris), and several others who had denounced us on the hustings throughout the province of Quebec for the purchase of the rifles, all these gentlemen, I say, declared in favour of sending a contingent to South Africa. Because we had purchased three million dollars worth of rifles, for the defence of our country, these gentlemen had denounced us everywhere as being supporters of Imperial federation, telling the electorate that they would be called upon later on to fight England's battles ; that their children would be enlisted in the Imperial army, and sent into Asia and Africa ; in short, that they would have to take part in all the wars of the empire would, in a more or less remote future, wage against other powers.

Now, Sir, the hon. gentlemen, after all those heated appeals to racial prejudices, after kindling ill-feeling between the races, have to endorse what they formerly denounced, and to approve of that policy of ours, in connection with the purchase of rifles.

When I first read in a public print that a movement was on foot for sending a contingent of volunteers to take part in the war, it occurred to me that the contingent should be sent upon one condition, namely, that the gentlemen who were opposed to the purchase of rifles in 1896 be also called upon to enlist in the army, and supplied not with modern rifles, but with the old rifles they wanted to be used exclusively by our militia.

There is another question, Sir, which, the Liberals said, was dead and buried, and still always crops out in debate. I refer to the Manitoba school question. It was again raised to-day in this House, though, they pretend, it is settled. How is it, then, that this great constitutional question so often comes up before the House ? Obviously, it is because it is not yet settled. I was quite astonished to read the statement made by the hon. leader of the House at a meeting held at Drummondville. He said :

You all know that in 1896, there was a vexed question which was agitating the country. It was a question in which religion was mixed up with politics. It was a question which called forth the exercise of the highest statesmanship. Our predecessors claimed that they had settled that question through the Remedial Bill they had brought down. But that legislation was such as to create bad blood among the people of a sister-province. That Bill did not pass, and then we came into power. We had promised to settle that question within six months from our coming into power. And you see that we have redeemed our pledge. The school question is now a dead issue, anxious as our friends the Bleus are of resuscitating it. At their political meetings, they no sooner open their mouths, than they pitch into us and denounce our policy in connection with the school question, when there is nobody there to reply to them; but when there is some of our friends at hand, ready to defend our policy, they dare not open their mouths. They have referred to the matter at their political meetings in Beauharnois and elsewhere, but they have not dared to bring it up in the House of Commons.

Such are the utterances fallen from the right hon. gentleman at Drummondville, with reference to the Manitoba school question. Now, humble as is my position in the party to which I belong, I had the opportunity of referring to that question on the floor of this House, and I stated that it was not settled. No, Sir, the Manitoba school question is not a dead issue, and we have it from no less an authority than Mr. Greenway himself, who, in 1899, stated that the school question had made no progress since 1890.

It is a well-known fact that last year public collections were made throughout the province of Quebec, which amounted to \$16,000. An appeal was made to public charity, in favour of the Catholic schools in Manitoba. If the school question is settled, I would like to know why the Manitoba Catholics appeal to our charity in favour of their schools?

No, the school question is not settled, and it is an outrage to Catholics to pretend that it is settled, at the very time when our fellow-countrymen in Manitoba have to appeal to public charity, and raise funds to support their schools.

I was very glad to hear the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) state to-day that he meant to uphold the constitution of the country; that he was in favour of equal rights for all. He has stated that, if the Prime Minister said that the school question was settled, he was satisfied. But I am still of the same mind on the matter. It was that hon. gentleman who stood up by the rights of the Catholic minority in Manitoba, and brought down a remedial Bill, in favour of which he voted, as well as the whole Conservative party, while the hon. gentlemen opposite voted it down. And it is the very same man, who took his political life in his hands, when he brought down that

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Bill, for restoring to Catholics their separate schools—a measure for which he had the support of Mgr. Langevin, archbishop of St. Boniface—it is the very same man, I say, who is now being accused of being a fanatic! I say, without hesitation, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. leader of the opposition, for taking such a course under those trying circumstances, is entitled to the greatest credit at the hands of the country.

I am free to state, Sir, that, in 1896, I took no stock in the promises of the present Prime Minister, Catholic and French Canadian as he is; and experience as well as later events have shown that I was right, as the school question is not yet settled, the right hon. gentleman having not had recourse to the constitutional means which he had promised the electorate in the province of Quebec he would resort to.

It is to be hoped that we have heard the last of the charges levelled by the press against the hon. leader of the opposition, who has so manfully stood up for the rights of the Catholic minority in Manitoba, and who, as a matter of fact, has stood up, under the constitution, for the rights of minorities throughout the country, and that due credit will be given to that broad-minded statesman, who did not hesitate to constitute himself the champion of French Canadians, and who has ever upheld that constitution which he was instrumental in framing, as one of the fathers of confederation.

Motion (Sir Charles Tupper) to adjourn negatived.

BRITISH COLUMBIA OFFER OF MEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire if possible, to elicit a little information from the government in regard to a matter that I consider of greatest importance at the present time. I am sorry that the hon. Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) is not in his place to-night. But I have no doubt that the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) who leads the government will be able to give me the information I require. It is in regard to the offer of the British Columbia government to raise and equip one hundred men to go to South Africa. Several telegrams have passed between the provincial and Dominion government, and, as yet, neither I nor any other person in British Columbia, I believe, has been able to find out what the Dominion government intend to do in regard to that offer. The last step, so far as I have seen, is that the matter has been referred to the War Office. Now, Sir, I took occasion some weeks ago to telegraph to the Minister of Militia—

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Order. Let the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) ask his question.

Mr. PRIOR. In order to place myself in order, I will conclude with a motion.

The PRIME MINISTER. You cannot do that now.

Mr. PRIOR. Mr. Speaker, this is a matter of very great moment, and I wish, if I may be allowed to ask a question—

The PRIME MINISTER. If my hon. friend (Mr. Prior) will ask his question, I shall be glad to answer; but this is no time to make a speech.

Mr. WALLACE. It seems to me the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) is making an explanation in regard to a matter of urgent importance.

Mr. PRIOR. If the hon. gentleman will allow me—and I know it is not quite in order—of course, I can only ask the question. I desire to know what the Dominion government intend to do with regard to this matter, whether they are going to accept the offer or whether they are not. I would like to be allowed to say more on the subject, but if I am out of order, I shall merely ask the question.

The PRIME MINISTER. I am sorry that my hon. friend the Minister of Militia is not in his seat. He would have been in a position to give more details than I can at this moment—

Mr. WALLACE. He ought to be in his place.

The PRIME MINISTER. It may be said that several gentlemen ought to be in their places who are not here. But if a man does not remain to listen to such talk as a great deal of that we have had to-night, perhaps he may be pardoned. I can only give the substance of the decision in this matter. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) has followed the despatches, he will remember that the British Columbia government wanted accommodation on some of the steamers which were provided to carry our contingents, but this could not be given. The answer we have telegraphed to the British Columbia government is that we shall be happy to give them or any other province that makes such an offer the same treatment that we have accorded to Lord Strathcona, that is, to put at their disposal all our machinery, officers, organization, to organize the contingents that may be offered, the province bearing all expenses.

Mr. PRIOR. Do you make any conditions as to the number of men?

The PRIME MINISTER. No. I suppose my hon. friend (Mr. Prior) understood me. We are ready to assist the province. We would treat any such offer as we have treated the offer of Lord Strathcona. He bears the expense and we organize.

DEFENCE OF MANITOBA AND NORTH WEST TERRITORIES.

Mr. DAVIN moved:

That it is the duty of the government to at once make provision for the defence of Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and that more particularly provision should be made whereby rifle associations, duly formed, shall be provided with military instructions as well as with rifles and ammunition.

He said: The position of the North-west Territories at the present moment is one which may well cause the government grave concern. The Mounted Police, as a body, practically does not exist. It has been reduced to such small dimensions that it can no longer be considered as able to cope with the problems that, at any moment may present themselves in the North-west Territories. And I can assure the right hon. gentleman that there is serious alarm in the North-west Territories. That alarm has been expressed in one of the Calgary newspapers, the *Herald*, in an article going over the conditions of the country and pointing to the North-west Mounted Police as practically reduced to zero, and strongly condemning the government—I do not say I endorse this part of it—for having recruited from the Mounted Police for Lord Strathcona's contingent. And though the Mounted Police has been practically reduced to zero, we have a large number of Indians and a large number of half-breeds. These half-breeds, as I may show at another sitting, have been dealt with by the government during the past year—or rather they have not been dealt with, for it is a sin of omission rather than of commission—in such a way, in the opinion of persons well acquainted with them and well capable of forming an opinion as likely to irritate them.

Mr. TAYLOR moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT—GOVERNMENT BUSINESS.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the house.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Will the right hon. gentleman tell us what business the government proposes to take up to-morrow?

The PRIME MINISTER. We will take up the resolution of my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) of which notice was given yesterday.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. And after that.

The PRIME MINISTER. There is no other business ready, as the hon. gentleman knows, and cannot be ready.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). There is a number of government Bills on the Order paper.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, February 9, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

THE PILOTAGE ACT AMENDMENT.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 11) to further amend the Pilotage Act:

He said: The provisions of this Bill relate entirely to the pilots engaged on the portion of the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Quebec. Hon. gentlemen will recollect that some three years ago there was a great deal of friction existing between the Harbour Commission of Montreal, which is made by law the pilotage authority for the port of Montreal, and the pilots of that port. The pilots number nearly fifty and they had a great many complaints as to the manner in which they were treated by the pilotage authorities. They caused a Bill to be introduced into this parliament for the purpose of constituting themselves into a close corporation. That Bill received a good deal of attention at the hands of the Private Bills Committee of this House, and in an amended form, and somewhat satisfactory to the pilots, it went through this House, but when it reached the Senate that honourable body did not concur in the suggested amendments and the Bill was thrown out. The consequence was a serious strike on the part of the pilots, resulting in a great deal of damage to the shipping of the port of Montreal. I had several interviews with the pilots and had from them a very full statement of the grievances of which they complained. I promised them that if the strike was declared off I would issue a commission for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon the grievances of which they complained, and, if on that report it was found that the grievances were substantial, I promised I would take the necessary measures to remedy them. That commission was issued in the beginning of January, 1898, and subsequently made its report. That report to a

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

very large extent endorsed the complaints of the pilots and recommended they should be removed in the way the commission suggested. The pilots complained that when any one of their number was charged with dereliction of duty he was tried before the pilotage authority for the District of Montreal, namely, the Harbour Commissioners, pilot if found guilty, applied to the court was not properly fitted to discharge such important duties. The results frequently were, that owing to the form in which the investigations were held, the incriminated pilot if found guilty, applied to the court for a certiorari to remove the proceedings into the Superior Court, and in most cases, on account of defects in the manner of conducting the inquiries these certiorari were granted and the proceedings removed into the Superior Court, so that before they were finally disposed of the suspension of the pilot's certificate had lapsed and he was not punished at all. The shipping interests complained very strongly of the then existing conditions. The commission which was appointed by the authority of His Excellency consisted of Mr. Justice Lavergne as chairman, the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and Commander Wakeham. They examined a very great number of witnesses, and held a very complete inquiry with the result that they reported, as their opinion: That it would be preferable to constitute an independent court, a court independent of the Harbour Commissioners altogether, which would be empowered to make the important examinations which in the interests of shipping and in the interests of the pilots themselves should be made. This suggestion in the opinion of the commission would be received with approval by the shipping interests on the one hand and the Pilot Board on the other. The pilots contended that in matters affecting their interests, in all consultations held by the Harbour Commissioners which related to the buoying or lighting of the St. Lawrence, one of their number should be permitted to be present as an adviser of the Harbour Board. That recommendation I have adopted so far as my department is concerned by drafting a by-law which I have referred to the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal for approval if they see fit. The committee also recommended that these pilots, who have charge of most valuable property, should be subjected from time to time, as masters of vessels are, to a colour test, to ascertain whether their eyesight is good or not. That suggestion after consideration was adopted, and I drafted a by-law for the approval of the Harbour Commissioners with reference to it. I also provided a by-law that the number of pilots should not be increased beyond fifty, and that until that number is reached, no new pilots shall be appointed, and that every third year the same test as regards eyesight shall be under

gone by each pilot, so that if he is found to be colour blind, he would be declared incompetent further to discharge his duties. These minor matters can all be remedied by by-laws of the Harbour Commissioners, but the constitution of the court requires legislation from this parliament, and the Bill which I am now asking leave to introduce takes away from the Harbour Commissioners the jurisdiction hitherto exercised by them of making investigations into accidents happening through any fault of the pilot on the St. Lawrence River, and invests that power in this proposed court. The court will consist of three persons, two of whom shall possess nautical or pilotage experience. They are to be appointed by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries—one on the minister's own nomination, to be the president, one on the nomination of the Montreal pilotage authority, that is, the Harbour Commission, who represent the shipping interest, and the other on the nomination of the licensed pilots themselves. This court, when so constituted, shall have sole and complete jurisdiction, which is now possessed and exercised by the Board of Harbour Commissioners, for the trial and punishment of all offences against the Pilotage Act. These are very numerous; I need not go over them; and the decision of the court is to be final and binding. The Bill goes on to provide for the manner in which the court shall be called together, and the time when it shall hold its sittings. No investigation shall be held after the expiration of thirty days from the happening of the damage or ten days after the arrival of the ship at its destination, so far as inward bound ships are concerned; and, in the case of outward bound ships, no investigation shall be held after thirty days from the happening of the damage, unless within six days after the arrival of the ship at its destination a proper complaint is made by the ship's owner or master. The remuneration of the members of the court is very small—\$5.00 a day while actively engaged in the examination; which shall be paid out of the funds of the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal. In this way we shall have constituted an independent court, in which the pilots, by nominating a member of it, shall have a fair voice. If this Bill receives the approval of the House, and the Harbour Commissioners ratify the by-laws which I have sent for their approval, every grievance of the pilots will have been removed, and we shall have harmony and good-will existing where heretofore there has been nothing but suspicion and ill-feeling. I therefore move the first reading of the Bill with very great pleasure, and with confidence that it will bring about a state of affairs which I am sure everybody would desire to see brought about, and prevent a recurrence of such a dangerous strike as we had a year or so ago among these important persons.

Mr. BERGERON. Will that court sit only in Montreal, or is it provided that it shall sit somewhere else?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Only in Montreal.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE SAFETY OF SHIPS.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 12) to amend the Act respecting the safety of ships. He said: Mr. Speaker, I had the honour last session of introducing a Bill to the House relating to the safety of ships, which had reference to the size of deck loads which ships were permitted to carry after October 1 of each year. That Bill provided that after that date the deck load should be a restricted deck load of the height of three feet from the deck. It was contended by the shipping interest that recent changes in the character of steamships were such that we might very well extend the time from the 1st to the 12th of October. Provision was also made in the Bill that no steamship should leave any port in Canada at any time in the year without a certificate from the port warden that the deck load was safe and prudent. I had the Bill printed, and sent copies of it to the different shipping ports in the Dominion. The first provision of the Bill, extending the time during which steamships should be allowed to carry unrestricted deck loads, met with general approval; but in the maritime provinces there was a very determined opposition to the provision appointing port wardens to regulate what was called the summer deck load. The merchants contended that they knew more about that business than the port wardens could know, and that it might very well be left to themselves. Owing to the great opposition generated to this provision, I deemed it prudent to drop it, and confine the Bill to the extension of the time during which steamships might carry the unrestricted deck load, giving them twelve days more. When the other provisions were taken from the Bill, a mistake was made, which I propose to remedy by the Bill I am now introducing. The clause as left in the Bill provided that a steamship sailing from any port in Canada on or before the 12th of October of each year should not be subject to the restriction; but there was nothing to cover the time between the 1st of January and the 16th of March; and this Bill is to supply that omission.

Mr. PRIOR. May I ask the hon. gentleman if he has had any communication from British Columbia in regard to this subject?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. None.

Mr. HAGGART. Have we power to legislate in reference to British ships that are loaded, say at St. John or Halifax, and go to Britain? Would not the British Shipping Act apply to them?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No. The British Shipping Act regulates the admission of any ship into Great Britain, no matter what her nationality may be, so that if she went in during the restricted period she would be stopped by the British Act. But unless we amend this Act, it might be contended that as Canada allows ships to leave between the 1st of January and the 16th of March, they would be subject to the British Act, and it is to remove that doubt that I desire to have this amendment made.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 13) respecting representation in the House of Commons. He said: Mr. Speaker, this Bill comes back as an old acquaintance in this House.

Mr. BERGERON. The same one as last year?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is in the same words, and it is one year older. This House and the other Chamber have had one year more in which to consider its merits, and I have no doubt they will decide this time in favour of the measure. Hon. gentlemen are aware that it received but a brief discussion in the other House, considering its importance. Since that time it has been before the country, and no doubt wiser views have been formed, so that a different result will now be reached. The Bill itself is exactly in the words of the measure of last session, which contained a provision that ought to have commended itself to the other House. That Bill was carried by a very large majority in this popular assembly, representing the people in the fullest sense of the word, and it contained a provision that was novel in connection with redistribution measures in any legislature of Canada, so far as my knowledge goes. Instead of following the practice heretofore obtaining whereby the House itself, perhaps influenced by political or party considerations, determined the limits of constituencies, it proposed to hand that task over to a committee of three judges of the Superior Court of Ontario, men occupying the highest and most responsible positions in the land, men wholly aloof from party warfare and party strife, and beyond all question the most independent tribunal that could be found in this coun-

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

try. That was a departure from the political and party standpoint, which might have been properly regarded as an act of self-abnegation on the part of the party now in power.

Take what occurred in 1882 and 1892, and there is no conscientious man who can truthfully say that the redistribution Acts of 1882 and 1892 were not a travesty of the principle of the representation of the people in parliament. They were destructive of the fundamental principle of responsible government, they purported not to seek a fair representation in this House of the different opinions in the country, but to destroy representative institutions and prevent the will of the people being declared by the members sent here to represent them. Therefore, the measure I now introduce cannot too soon become law in order to restore the rights to which the people are entitled.

I do not think that on the present occasion it will be necessary for me to go into details. They are familiar to hon. gentlemen, but I might venture to express the hope that the Senate, which I wish to treat with every respect, will not strain the right it possesses, as a portion of our legislature, to veto, by its arbitrary will, this measure which is essential to the proper representation of the people in this House. Technically, the Senate is an integral part of parliament, and has the power to do what it did before, and I am not now criticising what it did or the manner of its doing, but expressing the hope that after fuller consideration it will to some extent rise superior to any other considerations than what this measure ought to evoke, and at the earliest moment undo the wrongs committed against the people of Canada by the parliaments of 1882 and 1892. The Bill of last year met its death in the Senate on the motion of the leader of the opposition, if there is such a leader in that body. Perhaps the Senate is a disinterested body, not influenced by party considerations; and if so, then I have no right to imagine that there is in it an opposition or the leader of an opposition; but I am afraid it will be taking too Utopian a view to suppose that the Senate has altogether risen equal to the height it was expected to attain when confederation was formed, and when it was thought that by nominating Senators for life that branch of our legislature would thereby become judicial rather than partisan. I am not saying that senators are all partisans, but it is a coincidence, at least, that those who defeated the Bill last session were not in accord politically with the government of the day and the majority in this House. I, however, trust that now, after a year's experience and the introduction of new members—

Mr. LaRIVIERE. How will they vote?
Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL—new light will be afforded them, and that the case will be so represented that those who took a different view last session will give their support to the measure this session. Some hon. gentlemen on the other side appear sceptical with regard to that prophecy. Surely they cannot have information in advance as to what will occur. I am satisfied that the case has not been pre-judged, but that, when the Bill goes to the Senate, it will there receive fair and impartial consideration on its merits, and become law, and then we will have the satisfaction of not only having wiped out improper legislation, but also the advantage of having enabled the government to do what hon. gentlemen opposite appear so desirous that they should do, and what they have done in almost every other respect, namely, carry out almost the last of their unredeemed pledges.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. And the unredeemed pledges of the Liberal party as set forth in the platform adopted by the convention of 1893.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I am glad to find that my hon. friends opposite receive with such approval this expression of desire on our part, and, therefore, cordially invite their most active co-operation here and elsewhere in order to successfully carry through this measure.

Mr. CLANCY. May I ask the hon. gentleman if the Bill is precisely the same as that introduced last year?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I did not compare them, but it is the Bill reprinted in the Senate, and I presume is literally in the words of that passed by this House. It is meant to be, at any rate.

Mr. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). I judge from the tone and manner of the hon. Postmaster General, in introducing this Bill, that it is an effort on the part of the government to mark time and put in time this afternoon, and that the Bill is introduced without the slightest idea of its ever becoming law this session. Why, the farcical nature of it can be seen when we find that in the same paragraph in the speech from the Throne announcing the introduction of a representation or gerrymander Bill, there is also a declaration that a Bill will be introduced to take the census in 1901, on which the law bases representation in parliament. Would it not be a farce? In 1900 we are passing a representation Bill, and in 1902 we must pass another one based on the new census. The Postmaster General told us that the one last year was carried in the popular House by a large majority.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, because these hon. gentlemen were afraid to appeal to the constituencies that elected them in 1896. That is why they had a large majority in this House. Hon. gentlemen opposite are going to have their constituencies gerrymandered so that they need not appeal to the constituencies that sent them here last time, which they know will not send them here again, but to cut up the constituencies in the most outrageous manner, as was pointed out in the House of Commons and in the Senate last year. The hon. gentleman says that there is a new feature about this Bill which is commendable, and that is that it refers matters to the judges. But what have the judges to go upon? The census of 1891. Nine years have elapsed since then. My constituency in the last decade from 1881 to 1891 increased its population from 18,800 to 41,880, that is, the population has been multiplied two and a quarter times. Other constituencies will be changed in that way, during the present decade, but the judges will not have a particle of information to guide them for these years, and so they will be compelled to work in the dark under this infamous Bill. As was pointed out last session, the Bill gives two members to 36,000 people in the county of Brant, and only four members to 200,000 people in the city of Toronto.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Five members.

Mr. WALLACE. It is five now, but the Bill as introduced by the Postmaster General had only four. The reason is that the county of Brant is Liberal in politics and the city of Toronto is Conservative. The same principle runs through the whole Bill. The hon. gentleman says that the Bill of 1882 was a travesty on the representation of the people in parliament. Sir, the Bill of 1882 was not perfect; no one can say it was, for no handiwork of man is. But the Bill of 1882 recognized the great principle of representation by population, while this Bill does not recognize that principle from one end of it to the other. The hon. gentleman said he had great confidence that the Senate would give it fair and impartial consideration. So have I. They gave it fair and impartial consideration last year, and threw it out; and I have no doubt they will pursue the same righteous course this year, if they have the opportunity.

Mr. GEO. E. CASEY (West Elgin). I beg to congratulate the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) upon the task that is imposed upon him to-day of leading the opposition. It appears that more than one of the Yorks has ambitions in that direction. The hon. leader of the opposition (Sir

Charles Tupper) may well ask to be delivered from the 'glorious sons of York.' The hon. gentleman made one or two allusions that, it seems to me, call for attention, even at this early stage of the discussion on this Bill. He goes to the root of the matter by arguing that this is not the time to redistribute. There is a surface appearance of logic in that contention. But the fact remains that what we consider an injustice, a mis-distribution, a gerrymander, was perpetrated in 1882 and 1892. What this government pledged themselves to do, when they took office, was to remedy that injustice and put things back where they should have been in 1892, and to go into the next election, whenever it may be held, on the basis on which the country should have been arranged when the last distribution took place. I consider that the government are only fulfilling their pledge and doing their necessary duty after making such a pledge in bringing in this Bill.

The Bill is not theoretically perfect, as the hon. member for West York admits that the Bill of 1882 was not. It does not apply the principle of county boundaries to all the province of Ontario. And why? Simply for the reason I have already pointed out—it is not intended by this Bill to arrange constituencies as they should be arranged now, but as they should have been arranged in 1892. We have not the census to guide us. We have statements such as are made by the hon. member for West York about his own constituency, that this, that or the other constituency has grown vastly in population; but we do not know these things officially; we can only take the last census. It may work unfairness for one election, but that will be due to the change of population. It was inevitable, no matter how fair the redistribution of 1892 had been made, that it must have been based on the figures of 1891; and that now, nine years after, it must work unfairness in some of the constituencies. But the argument that this is not the time to redistribute falls to the ground when we consider in the first place that this is a measure to remedy something that was done wrong, to put right, partially, and for one election, such constituencies as were affected by what we call the gerrymander of 1892, and not to propose a general scheme of redistribution. That accounts for doing the thing now, and for the partial character of the Bill, to which otherwise exception might be taken.

Now, the hon. member says that the previous redistribution Act effected representation by population, that such was the intention and that it did effect it. It will be shown, when this Bill comes up for serious and full consideration—

Mr. BENNETT. Then, you are not serious now?

Mr. CASEY.

Mr. CASEY. Well, it is unusual to discuss the details of a Bill on the first reading. I am only making a statement of what can be shown in regard to it. Previous Bills did not establish representation by population. There were anomalies of representation under these measures almost as great as those which they were professedly intended to remedy. Admitting, however, that there was an attempt in these Acts to arrive at representation by population, admitting that that was the alleged *raison d'être*, it does not follow that this Bill, which prescribes adherence to county boundaries, is unfair or unjust. The principle of representation by population is one which it is impossible to carry out accurately and consistently with the natural associations of the people who are formed together into constituencies. It has been our contention as a party, uniformly and ever since confederation, that, with the exception of a few administrative districts like Bothwell or Cardwell—and we object even to these—county boundaries formed the only proper line of demarcation between the people who should be united in one constituency and those who should be united in another.

Mr. COCHRANE. You did not carry it out.

Mr. CASEY. We had not a chance to redistribute.

Mr. COCHRANE. Yes, you had.

Mr. CASEY. No census was taken during the term of the Mackenzie government, or when any Liberal government was in power in Canada.

Mr. WALLACE. Was there not the same opportunity to redistribute as there is now?

Mr. CASEY. The cases are not comparable, because, as I say, we could not affect the general redistribution except when a census had been taken. This is merely putting the things that were—

Mr. CLARKE. Why not restore county boundaries?

Mr. CASEY. We will restore them under the next census. We will do everything regularly, arithmetically and judicially under the census.

Mr. WALLACE. Does the hon. gentleman know how many constituencies are affected by this Bill?

Mr. CASEY. I cannot say off-hand.

Mr. WALLACE. Would the hon. gentleman like to know. If so, I can tell him that about half the constituencies in Ontario are affected.

Mr. CASEY. That only speaks all the worse for the iniquitous measure introduced and passed by the hon. gentlemen opposite.

If it affects as many as half the ridings in Ontario, so much the greater reason for passing it this session. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman said with a sneer that the members on this side of the House were afraid to face the constituencies that elected them the last time. Speaking for myself, I may say that I am not at all afraid to face the constituency that elected me in 1896; but if this Bill passes into law I shall have a much more difficult constituency to face than I have now. Yet I am a strong supporter of this Bill.

Mr. CLANCY. The hon. gentleman will find shelter before that time comes, he will never be a candidate there.

Mr. CASEY. I beg leave to say that that is a point not for the hon. gentleman to decide, that is a point for the Reform convention of the west riding of Elgin to settle at the time of the election; it is they who will decide whether I shall be a candidate or not, and I am very glad that the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Clancy) has no voice in that convention. One of the hon. gentlemen opposite said something about a post office. The organ of hon. gentlemen opposite has been very fond lately of appointing me to post offices to deputy headships of departments, and different things, but I never had a hint of any such appointment from any more authoritative source, and have not sought for it. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman himself, in 1882, I think, was in the position in which he charges members on this side of the House with being. He did not like to go back to the constituency that he had previously, and one of the most iniquitous things of the Gerrymannder Act of 1882 was the fixing up of West York to satisfy the hon. gentleman, and he still represents it, I think, purely and simply in virtue of the changes that were then made in the boundaries. I, on the other hand, representing a Grit hive, have great pleasure in saying that I am willing to take my chances, if that hive was broken up and the honey scattered amongst the neighbouring constituencies where it properly belongs, I am willing to take my chances of re-election, and am not afraid of it either.

Mr. HAGGART. I do not intend to discuss the Bill, but I want to know from the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), if I understood him correctly on one point. Does he mean to say that the instructions to the committee are as nearly as possible on the lines of the county boundaries and the equality of population, and is the basis of population to be the census of 1891?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I presume the census of 1891 will be a guide to the judges. The Bill contains a provision saying what information they shall proceed upon. It sets forth the various divi-

ions proposed to be made, the reduction or wiping out of some constituencies, and the number of constituencies assignable to other counties. In no case will county boundaries be disregarded. Where a county has not a population large enough to justify its having two members, it is given one; where its population is sufficient to give it two members, but not three, the Bill gives it two; where it is large enough to have three members, the Bill proposes to give it three; and it will be for the judges to divide those counties according to the number of constituencies assigned to them respectively.

Mr. HAGGART. I wanted a distinct statement that it is to be done on the basis of the population of 1891.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. There cannot be any other population basis.

Mr. BERGERON. But, as a matter of fact, it does not represent the population at all.

Mr. CLARKE. I would like to ask if it is the intention of the Bill to provide for the restoration of county boundaries in the province of Ontario, east of the county of Ontario. The Bill last year allowed the boundaries to stay as they were fixed by the last Gerrymannder Act. Will there be any attempt made in this Bill to destroy county boundaries in the eastern part of the province of Ontario?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I presume my hon. friend refers to the Act of 1892 when he speaks of the last Gerrymannder Act. I do not quarrel with his designation of that Act, I think it is quite apt. I may say that the features of the Bills of 1882 and 1892 to which the term gerrymannder may be applied, are limited to the country including North and South Ontario and westerly of that. I am not aware of these measures having done any injustice east of that line.

Mr. TISDALE. I do not exactly understand the Postmaster General's statement about county boundaries. Will the Bill itself abolish all boundaries of ridings unless they are in some county? If I understood him right, that is what he said. For instance, at the present time a riding may be composed of parts of two counties. Do I understand him to say that a riding is all to be in the same county without reference to population?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The hon. gentleman was illustrating the case of a riding composed of municipalities in different counties.

Mr. TISDALE. Yes.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. In every instance where the Bill affects a county it does not create, or lay the foundations, or

permit a constituency to be created out of territory not embraced within the county. It entirely does away with the late system of disregarding county boundaries, as, for example, in the case of North Brant which, I think, is composed of parts of several counties and wanders about touching seven or eight different ridings. That is all done away with by the measure, and in every case where it affects a county it limits the representation to either one, two or three members, in that county, according to the population of that county.

Mr. TISDALE. Does that apply to all ridings? Do you propose to abolish all cases or affect all ridings, parts of which may be in two counties?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The hon. gentleman is aware that in 1882 the legislature proceeded upon the fixed principle of creating about eight Grit hives, and in order to do so it had to disturb the boundaries of some forty or fifty constituencies. The whole of that outrage took place west of the county of Durham. It began at the county of Ontario and extended westerly to Lake Huron. In order to accomplish that purpose of creating these eight hives and grouping together the Liberal vote in those hives, so as to strengthen the Tory vote in a large number of constituencies, a new political map of Ontario was created. This Bill proposes to deal with that outrage, and nothing more.

Mr. BERGERON. My hon. friend will remember that in 1882, on account of the increase in population, new counties had to be created in Ontario for the increased population. But we are not in the same condition to-day. We do not know whether the representation will have to be increased or decreased.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Well, will you help us to work up the measure?

Mr. BERGERON. You had better wait a year or two before you do that.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). With the permission of the House, I beg to lay on the Table the report of the special committee appointed to prepare and report lists of members to compose Standing Committees.

No. 1—ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

Messieurs

Angers,	Lemieux,
Belcourt,	Logan,
Bell (Prince),	McAlister,
Bennett,	McCarthy,
Bergeron,	McCleary,
Blair,	McClure,
Borden (Halifax),	McInerney,

Mr. MULOCK.

Britton,	McIsaac,
Bruneau,	Madore,
Carroll,	Malouin,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),	Martineau,
Casgrain,	Mills,
Chauvin,	Monet,
Davies (Sir Louis),	Monk,
Davin,	Morrison,
Fitzpatrick,	Mulock,
Flint,	Powell,
Fortin,	Quinn,
Fraser (Guysborough),	Russell,
Geoffrion,	Sifton,
Haggart,	Tisdale,
LaRivière,	Tupper, (Sir Charles
Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),	Hibbert)—45.

No. 2—ON EXPIRING LAWS.

Messieurs

Archambault,	Fitzpatrick,
Bazinet,	Fortin,
Bell (Addington),	Hale,
Bennett,	Harwood,
Bourbonnais,	Hurley,
Carroll,	Legris,
Chauvin,	Lozan,
Copp,	Meigs,
Cowan,	Roche,
Desmarais,	Rogers,
Dugas,	Seagram,
Earle,	Somerville,
Ethier,	Tyrwhitt—27.
Ferguson,	

(And that the quorum of the said committee do consist of seven members.)

No. 3—ON RAILWAYS, CANALS AND TELEGRAPH LINES.

Messieurs

Angers,	Kaulbach,
Archambault,	Kendry,
Beattie,	Klock,
Beith,	Kloepfer,
Belcourt,	Landerkin,
Bell (Pictou),	LaRivière,
Bennett,	Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),
Bergeron,	Lavergne,
Bernier,	Lemieux,
Bertram,	Lewis,
Bethune,	Livingston,
Blair,	Logan,
Blanchard,	Macdonald (Huron),
Borden (Halifax),	Macdonald (King's),
Borden (King's),	Macdonell,
Bostock,	Mackie,
Bourassa,	MacLaren,
Britton,	Maclean,
Broder,	MacPherson,
Brodeur,	McAlister,
Brown,	McCarthy,
Bruneau,	McCleary,
Burnett,	McCormick,
Calvert,	McDougall,
Campbell,	McGregor,
Cargill,	McHugh,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),	McInerney,
Carroll,	McInnes,
Carscallen,	McIntosh,
Cartwright (Sir Rich'd),	McIsaac,
Casey,	McLennan (Glengarry),
Casgrain,	McLennan (Inverness),
Champagne,	McMillan,
Chariton,	McMullen,
Chauvin,	Madore,
Christie,	Malouin,
Clancy,	Marcotte,

Clarke,	Martin,
Cochrane,	Martineau,
Ccupp,	Maxwell
Corby,	Mignault,
Costigan,	Mills,
Cowan,	Monet,
Craig,	Monk,
Davies (Sir Louis),	Montague.
Davin,	Moore,
Davis,	Morrison.
Dechene,	Mulock,
Demers,	Oliver,
Desmarais,	Osier,
Dobell,	Parmalee,
Domville,	Penny,
Douglas,	Pettet,
Dugas,	Pope,
Dyment,	Poupore,
Edwards,	Powell,
Ellis,	Préfontaine,
Erb,	Pricr,
Featherston,	Proulx,
Fielding,	Quinn,
Fitzpatrick,	Ratz,
Flint,	Reid,
Fortin,	Richardson,
Foster,	Robertson,
Fraser (Guysborough),	Robinson,
Fraser (Lambton),	Roche,
Frost,	Rogers,
Canong,	Rosamond,
Gauvreau,	Ross,
Geoffrion,	Russell,
Gibson,	Rutherford,
Gillies,	Savard,
Godbout,	Scriver,
Gould,	Sifton,
Guillet,	Snetsinger.
Guité,	Sproule,
Haggart,	Stenson,
Hale,	Sutherland,
Haley,	Talbot,
Harwood,	Tarte.
Henderson,	Tisdale,
Heyd.	Tucker,
Hodgins,	Tupper (Sir Charles),
Holmes,	Turcot,
Hurley,	Tyrwhitt,
Hutchison,	Wallace,
Ingram,	Wilson,
Johnston,	Wood—176.

(And that the quorum of the said committee do consist of twenty-five members.)

No. 4—ON MISCELLANEOUS PRIVATE BILLS.

Messieurs

Beattie,	Joly de Lotbinière
Beith,	(Sir Henri),
Belcourt,	Kaulbach,
Bell (Addington),	LaRivière,
Bell (Pictou),	Lavergne,
Bennett,	Leduc,
Bergeron,	Legris,
Bethune,	Lemieux,
Bourbonnais,	Livingston,
Broder,	Logan,
Brodeur,	Macdonald (Huron),
Burnett,	MacLaren.
Calvert,	Maclean,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),	MacPherson.
Carroll,	McAlister.
Carscallen,	McClure,
Casey,	McDougall,
Casgrain,	McHugh,
Cochrane,	McLellan,
Comstock,	Marcotte,
Corby,	Martin,

Cowan,	Martineau,
Craig,	Meigs,
Davies (Sir Louis),	Mignault,
Davin,	Monet,
Desmarais,	Moore,
Dyment,	Morin,
Earle,	Morrison,
Edwards,	Mulock,
Ellis,	Paterson,
Ethier,	Penny,
Fitzpatrick,	Pricr,
Fraser (Guysborough),	Proulx,
Fraser (Lambton),	Roddick,
Gauvreau,	Rosamond,
Gilmour,	Russell,
Graham,	Savard,
Guillet,	Scriver,
Hodgins,	Stenson,
	Tucker—78.

(And that the quorum of the said committee do consist of ten members.)

No. 5—ON STANDING ORDERS.

Messieurs

Bazinet,	Lang,
Bourbonnais,	Leduc,
Broder,	Mackie,
Brodeur,	McGugan,
Brown,	McInerney,
Cargill,	McInnes,
Clancy,	McMillan,
Comstock,	McNeill,
Copp,	Marcotte,
Davis,	Maxwell,
Douglas,	Mills,
Dupré,	Monk,
Earle,	Moore,
Erb,	Morin,
Ferguson,	Pettet,
Fitzpatrick,	Quinn,
Flint,	Ratz,
Fortier,	Roche,
Hodgins,	Ross,
Hurley,	Scriver,
Ingram,	Semple,
Joly de Lotbinière	Snetsinger,
(Sir Henri),	Stubbs,
Kaulbach,	Tolmie,
Landerkin,	Wilson—49.

(And that the quorum of the said committee do consist of seven members.)

No. 6—ON PRINTING.

Messieurs

Bergeron,	McLellan,
Bourassa,	McMullen,
Casgrain,	Marcell,
Charlton,	Montague,
Clarke,	Oliver,
Davis,	Parmalee,
Ellis,	Préfontaine,
Foster,	Richardson,
Gibson,	Somerville,
Landerkin,	Sutherland,
LaRivière,	Taylor,
Maclean,	Tisdale—24.

No. 7—ON PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Messieurs

Bell (Addington),	Landerkin,
Bennett,	Macdonald (Huron),
Bergeron,	Macdonell,
Bertram,	McCarthy,
Blair,	McCleary,

Borden (Hallfax),
Borden (King's),
Britton,
Campbell,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Cartwright (Sir Rich'd),
Casgrain,
Champagne,
Clancy,
Clarke,
Cochrane,
Costigan,
Cowan,
Craig,
Davies (Sir Louis),
Dobell,
Donville,
Fielding,
Fitzpatrick,
Flint,
Foster,
Fraser (Guysborough),
Fraser (Lambton),
Frost,
Ganong,
Geoffrion,
Gibson,
Gilmour,
Haggart,
Holmes,
Johnston,

McClure,
McDougall,
McGregor,
McInerney,
McIsaac,
McLennan (Glengarry),
McMullen,
Madore,
Malouin,
Mills,
Montague,
Morrison,
Mulock,
Oliver,
Paterson,
Powell,
Quinn,
Rosamond,
Rutherford,
Sifton,
Somerville,
Sproule,
Sutherland,
Tarte,
Taylor,
Tupper (Sir Charles Hibbert),
Wallace,
Wilson,
Wood—70.

(And that the quorum of the said committee do consist of twelve members.)

No. 8—ON BANKING AND COMMERCE.

Messieurs

Angers,
Archambault,
Beattie,
Beith,
Bell (Pictou),
Bernier,
Bertram,
Blair,
Blanchard,
Borden (King's),
Bostock,
Bourassa,
Britton,
Brown,
Brubeau,
Calvert,
Campbell,
Cargill,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Carscallen,
Cartwright (Sir Rich'd),
Champagne,
Charlton,
Chauvin,
Clarke,
Cochrane,
Comstock,
Copp,
Corby,
Costigan,
Cowan,
Craig,
Dechene,
Davies (Sir Louis),
Demers,
Dobell,
Donville,
Dugas,
Dupré,
Earle,
Edwards,

Hutchison,
Ingram,
Kaulbach,
Kendry,
Klock,
Kloepfer,
Landerkin,
Lang,
Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),
Lavergne,
Legris,
Lewis,
Livingston,
Logan,
Macdonald (King's),
Macdonell,
MacPherson,
McAlister,
McCarthy,
McCleary,
McCormick,
McDougall,
McInnes,
McIsaac,
McLellan,
McLennan (Glengarry),
McLennan (Inverness),
McMullen,
McNeill,
Madore,
Malouin,
Marcotte,
Mignault,
Moore,
Morin,
Oaler,
Paterson,
Penny,
Pettet,
Pope,
Poupore,
Powell,

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

Ethier,
Featherston,
Ferguson,
Fielding,
Fortin,
Foster,
Fraser (Guysborough),
Fraser (Lambton),
Frost,
Ganong,
Gauthier,
Geoffrion,
Gibson,
Gillies,
Godbout,
Gould,
Guillet,
Guité,
Haggart,
Hale,
Haley,
Henderson,
Heyd,
Holmes,

Préfontaine,
Prior,
Reid,
Richardson,
Robertson,
Rosamond,
Ross,
Russell,
Rutherford,
Scriver,
Seagram,
Sproule,
Stubbs,
Sutherland,
Talbot,
Tarte,
Taylor,
Tisdale,
Tolmie,
Tupper (Sir Charles Hibbert),
Wallace,
Wilson,
Wood—130.

(And that the quorum of the said committee do consist of twenty-one members.)

No. 9—ON AGRICULTURE AND COLONIZATION.

Messieurs

Bazinet,
Beith,
Bell (Addington),
Bell (Pictou),
Bergeron,
Bernier,
Blanchard,
Bostock,
Bourassa,
Bourbonnais,
Broder,
Burnett,
Calvert,
Campbell,
Cargill,
Carscallen,
Casey,
Christie,
Clancy,
Cochrane,
Comstock,
Davin,
Dechene,
Demers,
Duglas,
Dugas,
Dupré,
Dyment,
Edwards,
Erb,
Featherston,
Ferguson,
Fisher,
Fertier,
Frost,
Gauthier,
Gibson,
Gilmour,
Godbout,
Gould,
Graham,
Guillet,
Guité,
Haley,
Harwood,
Henderson,
Hodgins,
Hurley,

Lewis,
Macdonald (Huron),
Macdonald (King's),
Macdonell,
Mackie,
MacLaren,
McCormick,
McGregor,
McGugan,
McHugh,
McInnes,
McIntosh,
McLennan (Glengarry),
McLennan (Inverness),
McMillan,
McMullen,
McNeill,
Marcil,
Marcotte,
Martin,
Maxwell,
Meigs,
Monk,
Montague,
Moore,
Morin,
Morrison,
Mulock,
Oliver,
Parmalee,
Pettet,
Pope,
Poupore,
Proulx,
Ratz,
Reid,
Richardson,
Robinson,
Roche,
Reddick,
Rogers,
Rosamond,
Rutherford,
Seagram,
Semple,
Sproule,
Stenson,
Stubbs,

Hutchison,
Ingram,
Joly de Lotbinière
(Sir Henri),
Lang,
LaRivière,
Leduc,
Legris,

Sutherland,
Talbot,
Taylor,
Tolmie,
Tucker,
Turcot,
Tyrwhitt,
Wilson—111.

(And that the quorum of the said committee do consist of twelve members.)

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That the report of the special committee appointed to prepare and report with all convenient speed, lists of members to compose the Select Standing Committees of this House be concurred in.

Motion agreed to.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That a Message be sent to the Senate informing their Honours that this House will unite with them in the formation of a Joint Committee of both Houses on the subject of the Printing of Parliament, and that the members of the Select Standing Committee on Printing, viz. :—Messieurs Bergeron, Bourassa, Casgrain, Charlton, Clarke, Davis, Ellis, Foster, Gibson, Landerkin, LaRivière, Mclean, McLellan, McMullen, Marcell, Montague, Oliver, Parmalee, Préfontaine, Richardson, Somerville, Sutherland, Taylor and Tisdale, will act as members on the part of this House on said Joint Committee on the Printing of Parliament.

Motion agreed to.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—CANADIAN CONTINGENT.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved that the following notice of motion be set down for consideration on Tuesday next :

1. Resolved, that it is expedient to provide that from and out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada there shall and may be paid and applied a sum, not exceeding in the whole the sum of eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, being the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars authorized under Order in Council, dated the fourth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, and the sum of six hundred thousand dollars authorized by Order in Council, dated the fifth day of January, one thousand nine hundred, towards payment of the expenditure incurred, or to be incurred, in sending the contingents of Canadian volunteers to South Africa, or in connection therewith, and the members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, and the officers and persons who authorized or made the expenditure of any of the said sums under the Orders in Council above referred to, or under any warrant of His Excellency the Governor General issued in consequence of or on the authority thereof, are hereby indemnified and exonerated from all liability by reason of having used or authorized the use of the above-mentioned sums of money, or any portion thereof without due legal autho-

riety, and all expenditure heretofore made of any of said sums shall be held to have been lawfully made.

2. In addition to the said sum of eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars referred to in the preceding resolution, there shall and may be paid and applied, from and out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, a further sum not exceeding in the whole the sum of one million one hundred and fifty thousand dollars towards defraying any further expenditures that may be incurred in connection with the sending of Canadian volunteers for active service in South Africa, and for providing as hereinafter mentioned by way of allowance to such volunteers or their dependents.

3. The word 'expenditures' in the foregoing resolutions includes the following:—

(a) All expenses of every kind in connection with the raising, enrolling, arming, equipping, provisioning, despatching and transporting of the said contingents up to the time of their arrival at the place of debarkation in South Africa;

(b) The payment of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men composing the said contingents up to the time of debarkation as aforesaid, at the rates authorized by the regulations and orders of the Department of Militia and Defence;

(c) All separation allowances paid to the wives and children of the married non-commissioned officers and men at the rates laid down by the Imperial regulations;

(d) The difference between the rates of pay of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men which they receive or are entitled to receive from Her Majesty's government during their period of service in South Africa and the respective rates of pay received by them up to the time of debarkation in South Africa—such difference not to be paid to such officers, non-commissioned officers and men while on such service, but the amount which would be payable to each such officer, non-commissioned officer or man to be placed to his credit, and to be applied in such manner as the Governor in Council may determine for the benefit of the dependents on him, or failing such application to be paid to him or his representatives at the close of his period of service.

He said: I beg to inform the House that His Excellency the Governor General recommends it to the consideration of the House.

Motion agreed to.

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) when we may expect the correspondence re the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. I notice that the American papers are full of comments on it, and they seem to know a great deal more about it than we do here. We ought to have official information as soon as possible.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, there is a part of this correspondence which can be brought down at any time. It is official and of

record, but there is a part of it coming from the Imperial authorities, which is confidential, and I have not yet the authority to bring it down.

DEFENCE OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, as I see that the hon. Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) is in his place, I would like to mention something that is of great importance to the North-west Territories, and that is the necessity of, at once, taking steps to meet the wishes of the population of the Territories to be placed in a position of defence in case they should be molested either from within or without the Territories.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. DAVIN. I will conclude with a motion if necessary.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). My hon. friend (Mr. Davin) has a motion on the paper which he will reach directly and upon which he can speak.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, that is all right.

THE LEINSTER REGIMENT.

Mr. ALEX. McNEILL (North Bruce). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) if he has any announcement to make in regard to the proposition that has been made as to the substitution of a Canadian militia regiment in place of the regulars who are at present at Halifax.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). Mr. Speaker, I have much pleasure in informing my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill), and the House, that the government have decided that in case the Imperial government desire, or find it necessary, or convenient, to withdraw the Leinster Regiment from Halifax, to South Africa, temporarily, this government will undertake to supply the place of that regiment and to provide a garrison at Halifax from the militia force of Canada.

Mr. McNEILL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that I am much gratified and delighted to hear the statement that has been made by the hon. minister in reference to this matter. I would like to give to him and to his colleagues all possible credit for having acted so promptly in connection with it. I would like also to ask him in regard to the other matter that I spoke of, the Bermuda question, whether anything has been done?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I am not able to-day to make a statement in regard to that.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

Mr. LANDERKIN. He will give you more happiness to-morrow.

Mr. McNEILL. Mr. Speaker, if I may be allowed to make an observation, and if it is necessary, I will conclude with a motion, although I would rather not do so. I would like, at the outset, to say that I do not wish to make any criticism at all in reference to the action of the government, or to make any remark in regard to the action of the government in the past as to our contingents. That matter has been already criticised on the floor of parliament, and it was necessary that there should be criticism; the country would not have been satisfied with less. The criticism has gone out, the government's answer has gone with it, and in view of the fact that the address has been passed, and that we had a debate on that subject last night, also, I venture to think, Mr. Speaker, that what is required of us now, at this moment, is that we should consider in what way we can best give aid to the mother country at the present time. I say this all the more in view of the grave statements I see posted this afternoon on the bulletin boards. They may not be true, of course, but they are, at all events, grave in their aspect, and as I say, I think the time has come when we should take counsel together and endeavour to discover in what way we can best aid the mother country in her attempt to suppress a most formidable conspiracy directed against the well-being of our fellow subjects in South Africa, a conspiracy aimed against the well-being of our fellow colonists in South Africa, and in fact against our empire there. Mr. Speaker, this is no party question at all. It is a question upon which both sides of this House can entirely unite. I will venture to say to my hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), whom I see in his seat, that I hope that while he objected to action in anticipation of the course that parliament might pursue; he now may be able to join with us heartily when we attempt to discover what is best to be done at the present moment. It seems to me that it would be well if the leaders of both sides of the House were to consult together and were to act together in this crisis. We are face to face with a very grave national emergency. This, Sir, is a question not of party, but of the status and security of the country. That is the issue we have to face to-day. No one can presume to say what the result may be if this war be dragged out to any considerable length. No one can foretell what international complications may arise. I say, Sir, this is a question of our national security. I want to know what position Canada would occupy in presence of—if I may so describe it—the land hunger which is gnawing at the hearts of the great powers at the present moment;—I want to know in what position Canada

would be placed if any great misfortune were to overtake the mother country at the present time. I want to ask especially: in what condition would the province of Quebec be placed, and in what condition would our French Canadian friends be placed if anything of that kind were to occur? I say, Sir, that their position would be even more unhappy than our position would be, because if the worst came to the worst we might make a common cause with our neighbours to the south—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. McNEILL. My right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) laughs. We are making a common cause with them to-day, as far as that is concerned, but I am speaking of emergencies which are not upon us, and which I hope will never be upon us, but which we must consider—I say that in view of that condition of things, while we English-speaking Canadians perhaps would be in a position to join hands with them, in what condition would the province of Quebec be in reference to its special institutions? I would like our French Canadian friends to consider that, and to ask themselves whether that is not a question as vitally affecting every one of them as it is affecting us. I believe that the overwhelming majority of the thinking people of the province of Quebec are just as much attached to British institutions as we are.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL. I would like that they who do think so and who are the leading people of that province, and I do not wish to say one word hurtful to any individual—but I say that I would like that those who do think so, should endeavour to teach those who may not be so well informed in that province, the truth that I am now pointing out: that for them as much as for us, the maintenance of British supremacy and the maintenance of the British Empire is essential. Therefore it is, Mr. Speaker, that I say, that at the present moment, and in view of the gravity of the situation, I think that all party considerations should be set aside, and that the leaders of both sides of this House ought to join together and endeavour to discover what best can be done in order to strengthen the hands of the empire in the present crisis. I know it has been said that the United Kingdom does not require any help from us. I cannot assent to that proposition. I would have been prepared to agree to that proposition last August when we thought that all that was required was to settle the matter with the government of the Transvaal; but now we know that a very different condition of things exists. We know that a most formidable and dangerous conspiracy has been discovered to exist all over the great regions under Her Majesty's dominion in South Africa. We know that

there is not a single portion almost of that vast region which is not honeycombed with this conspiracy which has its headquarters in the two republics. We know that by reason of the fact that that conspiracy exists, it has been necessary to retain for the protection of lines of communication a vast armed force, which the British generals have not been able to send to the front. The result of that is, that comparatively few British soldiers were able to go to the front in the beginning of the struggle, a struggle which is being carried out amidst an almost interminable sea of natural fortresses. We are not merely dealing with a handful of men as was supposed last fall, we are dealing with an army, the individuals composing which have been trained from childhood in the most perfect methods of carrying out the system of warfare best suited to that country. We are dealing with an army of from 60,000 to 80,000 men.

Mr. DAVIN. There must be more than that.

Mr. McNEILL. At least that at all events. We are dealing with an army of from 60,000 to 80,000 men officered by some of the ablest and most scientific military experts to be found in Europe, and possessed of the very best weapons which money can buy. That is the position of affairs at the present time, and the mother country is called upon to deal with this enemy at a distance of something like 8,000 miles from the United Kingdom. We have heard a great deal about the forces of two little republics being opposed to the might of the British Empire, but we all know that a very famous philosopher once said: that if he only had a lever long enough he could move the world, and it seems to me that 8,000 miles is a pretty considerable leverage in the hands of the Boers, for that is about what it comes to. Under these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, and in view of the fact that Mr. Chamberlain said two days ago: that the colonies were increasing their offers, and that all the offers they made were gratefully accepted by the Imperial authorities, I venture to say that our first duty as representatives of the people of Canada, is to see what we can do best to assist the mother country in the struggle she is making. And what Great Britain is doing to-day in defence of the liberties of her colonists and her subjects in South Africa she is prepared, if necessity arose, to do to-morrow in defence of the province of Quebec, if any foreign power were to attempt to encroach upon the rights and privileges of the people there. The people of Canada, Mr. Speaker, consider their empire as one and indivisible, and they are perfectly satisfied that an attack upon any part of it is an attack upon Canada. So it is; and they will not, I am sure, be satisfied with

the conduct of their representatives in this parliament if they cannot feel that they have done all that they could to uphold the empire in the struggle which is now going on. Under these circumstances, and again saying how much gratified I am to find that the government have moved so promptly in this matter of the Halifax regiment, I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk). Mr. Speaker, I hardly know whether to consider that my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) has been indulging in a criticism and condemnation of the conduct of the government in connection with the contingent or not. I understood that the hon. gentleman did not approve of the action of the government in regard to providing a garrison in Halifax.

Mr. McNEILL. Will my hon. friend forgive me? If he wishes for information, I may just say that my desire was very carefully to avoid making any criticism of the conduct of the government with regard to the contingent. I may make some criticism hereafter; that will depend on what occurs, perhaps; but in the meantime I have no desire to do anything of the kind.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am glad to hear the hon. gentleman's statement; but it struck me, as a listener to his remarks, that he was engaged in a criticism of the government.

Mr. McNEILL. I had no such desire.

Mr. CHARLTON. There was one feature, however, of my hon. friend's remarks which I must deprecate. He stood up and spoke in the tone and attitude of an alarmist—a very grave crisis was on the country, and we required the joint action of the government and the opposition—a careful comparison of views, and a serious attempt in this grave crisis to act in harmony. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am unable to believe that a very grave crisis confronts this country. Of course, the British government is engaged in a task of considerable magnitude, that will require a large force of men and a large expenditure of money. But I have no idea that the British Empire is in danger. I have no idea that 140,000 semi-civilized Boers in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State threaten the existence of this mighty empire; and I think that a great amount of impatience and ignorance of military matters is shown by the criticisms in the public press and on the part of men, public and private, with regard to this affair. It is an easy matter, here in Canada, or in a club in London, or in any newspaper office, to criticise the actions of British officers in South Africa, to show where they made mistakes, in what respect they might have done better, and how, if we had control of those operations,

Mr. McNEILL.

a different result would have been reached. The British government at this moment is assembling its forces. This crisis was precipitated on the British government by the action of Kruger before adequate preparations were made; and it seems to me for one that so far the results of the military operations have proven satisfactorily the great superiority of the British troops. We have had isolated and feeble garrisons at Mafeking and Kimberley which the Boers have been unable to reduce; while, on the other hand, every position that has been occupied by British troops has been carried with the utmost gallantry at the point of the bayonet. We have been fighting a foe hidden behind rocks, and armed with the best armament known to modern warfare, and with all the conditions of such a character as to render the task of our troops a herculean one; and we have not done these men justice in our criticisms, or adequately estimated the difficulties they have met or what they have accomplished. Sir, I have no doubt about the issue of this struggle. I have no fears about its outcome. I do not regard it as necessary for the opposition and the members of this government to meet in solemn conclave or enter into a discussion or a grave consideration of what measures are to be taken to avert disaster and ruin from the British Empire. The government of Canada, in my opinion, have acted promptly and judiciously in this matter. They did not, of course, lead public sentiment by deciding to take a course of great importance without taking the trouble to ascertain what the public feeling and sentiment was on the subject; but they have responded to public sentiment.

An hon. MEMBER. They had to.

Mr. CHARLTON. They were willing to. No great leader will attempt to lead public sentiment. No great leader will attempt to take a course which public sentiment may disapprove of. To have taken such a course in this instance would have been disastrous. It would not have been prudent on the part of the government to have assumed that public sentiment would support them in any given line of conduct; and they were perfectly in their right and were acting judiciously in waiting for the evidence of the existence of a public sentiment that would warrant the course they have taken—a course involving the sending of thousands of our sons to South Africa, a course involving the expenditure of millions of money, a course of the gravest character, but a course which is certain to produce the grandest and most beneficent results relating to ourselves as a part of the empire and relating to the empire at large. The British Empire has assembled in Africa at this moment probably 200,000 men; more are going; and it is fighting a foe entrenched in positions of great natural strength. It

is engaged in a contest that will require time, careful generalship, and a great many other things that we know nothing of here : and, in my opinion, we had better let the British generals work out the problem themselves without dictating to them what we think should be done. We had better rest in quiet confidence that British knowledge and valour will bring us out of this conflict victorious. For this reason I rise to deprecate this pessimistic and alarmist tone which my hon. friend has assumed in regard to the present crisis. Of course, we must all deprecate the great loss of life and the great expenditure of money that will be incurred ; but this war has got to be carried through to a successful and triumphant issue. The British are not going to abandon South Africa. The loss of prestige such a course would entail is not going to be met by the British nation. If my hon. friend and those connected with him on the opposite side of the House will heed and act consistently with the advice that he gave a few moments ago, to refrain from making this a party question, if they will not deal with it in a party sense, if they will not attempt to make political capital out of it to injure the government, and will pursue instead a patriotic course in the matter, then the country will form a better opinion of these hon. gentlemen than it has at present. But they have not done that. On the contrary, I do not hesitate to say that the right hon. leader of the opposition and his followers have been influenced in the course they have taken in this matter by a desire to make political capital out of it. I am afraid that that is the object of these hon. gentlemen opposite in making this demand that we should pay the troops while in South Africa and send on more troops ; and possibly some farsighted man who will look down the vista of the future will believe that should such a course be adopted, the vast accumulation of public debt that will thereby be entailed, can be made use of against the government in a future election campaign on a charge of extravagance and reckless increase of debt.

Mr. CLANCY. That is party politics.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, of the kind I deprecate, and that I fear the hon. gentleman is only too ready to put to use. At all events I re-echo most heartily the sentiment of my hon. friend from North Bruce that we should avoid making of this a party question, that we should approach its consideration with a desire to see the interests of the British Empire promoted and guarded, and that whatever else we may quarrel about, we should not attempt to make political capital out of a great question like this, in which an empire is at stake, in which the interests of the greatest empire in the world are involved, and in which it is the patriotic duty of every citizen to stand

by the empire and do what we can to aid a cause which is common to us and a cause which is in the interests of civilization and humanity.

Mr. McNEILL. I desire with your permission, Mr. Speaker, to say a word of personal explanation. In the first place, I may congratulate my hon. friend on having made a patriotic speech. It is the first time I ever heard him make one, and I was delighted to hear it. It is most satisfactory to find that the overwhelming opinion of the country has brought him to that healthy frame of mind.

Mr. CHARLTON. That is not a personal explanation.

Mr. CLANCY. It is very pertinent.

Mr. CHARLTON. It is impertinent.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not wish to refer to my hon. friend's remarks except for the purpose of correcting a misapprehension under which he seems to labour. He says that I rose here as a pessimist and implied that a terrible calamity was about to befall the British Empire. Such a thought never crossed my mind. I am quite satisfied that we are going to come out of this struggle a much more united and stronger empire than ever before. I quite agree with what Conan Doyle said the other day, that it would be well to raise a monument to Paul Kruger because of the benefit he has conferred on the British Empire. I should be sorry, therefore, to have the statement which the hon. gentleman attributed to me allowed to go uncontradicted. I also want to say that I had no thought of suggesting that the British generals at the front were not doing their duty as well as any other generals on the face of the globe would be able to do it. I would like to ask my hon. friend if he would be just kind enough to tell me what I did say which led him to declare that I had made any such implication. I did not refer to the British generals at all, from the time I rose to my feet until I sat down again, and can only say that the hon. gentleman, in making that statement, made a gratuitous mistake. I do not wish to use stronger language.

Mr. CHARLTON. I had not the slightest intention of doing an injustice to the hon. gentleman. I merely judged, from the tenor of his speech, that he thought a crisis had overtaken the country and that things were going wrong, and we wanted to look around and see what could be done.

Mr. McNEILL. I did not say that things were going wrong. I never made any observations which would justify my hon. friend in assuming that I thought things were going wrong. I said that a great crisis was upon the British Empire and I say so again ; and in saying so, I am borne out by every British statesman in the United Kingdom.

And when the hon. gentleman makes remarks with reference to me in the future, I would ask him to be kind enough to confine them as nearly to the facts as is consistent with his temperament.

Mr. CHARLTON. I shall always endeavour to do my hon. friend justice.

Mr. DAVIN. I wish to say a word or two on the subject, because I confess that I think my hon. friend who introduced it was misrepresented by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). Mr. Kruger was congratulated the other day on being one of the greatest unifiers of the British Empire. But he has also accomplished a great task here for us, because he has made a Britisher out of my hon. friend from North Norfolk. I never heard from his lips before anything so enthusiastic about British valour and British prestige and British predominance. But I want to deal with the position taken by the hon. gentleman. His position seems to be this: That any government, whether it be Liberal or Conservative, which may happen to undertake the prosecution of any purpose of a patriotic character is removed from criticism. It would be a very extraordinary thing if the government at this moment were to be removed from criticism, when a member of that government has allowed himself, both in spoken and written speech, the utmost latitude of criticism on all and sundry, including one of his own colleagues at the Council board. So that when we find an hon. gentleman, occupying the position of a minister of the Crown, criticising English generals, the English government and the members of the opposition, declaring that the members of the opposition in this very regard are guilty of the grossest misconduct that public men could be guilty of, and even criticising the Solicitor General and condemning him for the attitude he took, it would be an astonishing thing if we were to be forced into the position of not venturing to criticise anything the government may do or may have done or may have failed to do in this matter.

The opposition in this House have, I think, shown their patriotism and their self-restraint in the way they voted the address. Our whole attitude on this matter has been that of patriotic citizens of Canada and of a patriotic and loyal opposition. Well, Sir, are we to be deprived of the right of saying what is in the minds of the people? The hon. gentleman has just laid down the extraordinary doctrine, with regard to his leader, that his leader is bound to follow public opinion and not to lead it, that he is bound to be not at the head but at the tail—not to come in at the front but at the rear. That is an extraordinary position for a leader. Why, the word 'leader' implies one who leads, but the ideal which the hon. gentleman has held up before us of a leader is one who fawns him-

self on circumstances, who waits on opportunity, and who crawls after events instead of taking them by the forefront.

There was discontent with the right hon. gentleman respecting the sending of the contingent. What was it? It was this, that he made it appear to the world at large as if Canada hesitated. He was in fact playing the role and living up to the ideal of the hon. member for North Norfolk. Here was Canada, this vast country of imperial proportions, vibrating from end to end with enthusiastic patriotism and determined to rush to the support of the mother country in a great crisis, and show Christendom that England had her colonies by her side. Yet at that moment our leader was hesitating. That is the charge against him made by the people, and the offence has not been forgotten nor will be forgotten, because in taking the course he did, the right hon. gentleman showed that he was not ready to give voice to the bounding enthusiasm of the people of Canada. Some question has been raised here as to whether a certain portion of the people of Canada are loyal or not. I do not find any evidence of any public man, of any public print worthy of the name, saying one word impugning the loyalty of the French race. Nowhere do I find it. But I find a systematic attempt in the pages of *La Patrie*, aye, and as far west as my own constituency, people whispering around that men who believe that the greatest calamity that could befall this country would be racial or religious differences, or the casting of doubts unworthily upon the loyalty of any portion of our citizens—that these men are saying that French Canadians are disloyal. The other day we had a meeting in the west, and a politician attended that meeting and stated, as was reported afterwards in the newspapers, that that man was an enemy of Canada who would throw doubt upon the loyalty of the French Canadians. And what was whispered around that city by the creatures of the leading wire-puller of the Minister of the Interior? Why, that at that very meeting the gentleman who had spoken in this way had attacked the French Canadian character from the point of view of loyalty. But, Sir, there were gentlemen there of different races and religions, every man of whom was ready to say that that statement was a falsehood. Why should the French Canadian not be loyal to the empire? Why is he in a different position from the Irishman or the Highlander, or even from the man of British descent in England itself? He has done his part, as the history of this country shows, where there was a great Christendom-wide crisis in the face of England, to maintain the solidarity and integrity of the British Empire. Why should not he be proud of the empire? Why should not he be grateful to it? The right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) is at the head of this nation.

He wears the Imperial honours bestowed upon him by his sovereign. Sir, if this had remained a French colony, with seigneurs and predial slaves instead of free citizens, would the right hon. gentleman be in his present position? Would Sir George Cartier have arrived at the high position he arrived at? Would one French Canadian after another, with habitant blood in their veins, and who rose to the highest positions, have had the happy, distinguished and useful careers they had? No, Sir; there is no class of the community that should be so loyal to the empire as the French Canadians, and there is no class of the community therefore, I am more ready to believe loyal to the empire, unless some evidence very different from what I have seen were brought before me to lead me to a different belief.

Sir, we in Canada occupy, in my opinion, about the happiest position that a race or people could occupy. We have a strong executive, but we have boundless individual liberty. There is no country in the world where the citizen is more free, and there is no country where law and order are so certainly and steadily maintained. Here in this country, therefore, Scotsman, Irishman, French Canadian, Englishman, or German, whether he be born on the soil or whether he has become naturalized, would be a dastard unless he felt grateful to the great empire that has conferred upon him such priceless privileges. And there is this to be said in regard to our position—that we have certain material advantages purchased at a very low price. We have behind us miles and miles of ships, the great 'sea-dragons her seas have bred' of the empire; we have all her prestige and power, as my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) who has introduced this subject, said. We have all this behind us; and every man, be he a settler of three years' residence, or be he born on the soil, wherever he goes, not a hair of his head shall be touched, for all that power and all that overshadowing prestige are behind him. And, Sir, especially I say that the French Canadian should be instinct with the feeling of Sir Etienne Pascal Taché, the chairman of the Quebec conference whence confederation sprang, when he said that he believed that the last shot fired in defence of the British Empire on this continent would be fired from a French Canadian gun, and the trigger pulled by a French Canadian finger. A few years ago, when, on the other side of the line, there was some growling in regard to Canada, when the feeling was not as friendly as it is to-day, I stood in the later autumn on the citadel at Quebec and looked down on our great St. Lawrence stretching her mighty arms to the sea. I looked up and saw the star of evening, and I felt that whatever planet might shine there, that for all Canada, and I will say even for the French Canadian who has a true conception of

what he owes to the empire, the real star that will always for the patriotic heart, shine over Quebec is Wolfe's glory and Wolfe's victory. As I thus reflected the evening gun was fired, as the evening gun is fired on Pacific waters and at Halifax, and it seemed as if the august mother put her arms around her Canadian child and said: Sleep in peace, my invincible arms are around you. It is because those arms are around us that we have that sense of security, that confidence in the present and in the future that belongs to us to-day. Now, while I deprecate as unworthy of our patriotism, unworthy of British power and British resources, any undue alarm, still, Sir, why are we confronted in South Africa to-day with the state of things that makes us all uneasy? Undue security, sitting down confident that nothing could touch us, believing that we were equal to any emergency, and that it was time enough when there was a fence to be crossed to look to see whether on the other side there was a ditch which may be awkward for our steed and for ourselves. And I think that all my hon. friend means is this—that now if the danger is greater than any of us supposed a short time ago, we should not wait as we waited, I think unworthily, before—no, Sir—not we, not the people of Canada, but the government that did not express the opinion of Canada—we should not wait until the unwilling sides of our intent were pricked from across the Atlantic, but we should be ready to tender to the Imperial mother our good offices in every possible way, in case more help should be needed in her arduous task. With natural fortresses against her arms, manned by foes numerous beyond anticipation, and brave beyond anticipation, it may well be that more men will be required. And if more men and more help should be required, I say we should be forward to let the Imperial authorities know, as I am sure the other colonies are, that we are ready, that we have only given her a mere foretaste of what we can do, that these five millions of men with the blood of the great heroic races in their veins are ready to stand by her side and see to it that the empire is not impaired or its prestige dimmed or a shadow allowed to rest upon its glory.

Let me say, while thus speaking, that I deprecate using such language as that used by the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) — 'semi-civilized Boers'. I deprecate speaking of them with that contempt. The other night the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) spoke of them with similar contempt. He called them a half-civilized race. I deprecate that. Why, Sir, they are descended from the choice races of Europe. They have in their veins the blood of the choicest fighting stocks of Europe. Those of them who are Dutch are descended from the men who bearded Philip II. when he had all the power

of Spain behind him ; those of them who have French blood in their veins are descended from the Huguenots who fought beside Henri IV., I suppose both stocks are now long mingled ; but such as they are they have the choicest fighting blood of Europe in their veins. They are poor in some respects, they are men accustomed to hardships, but notwithstanding regrettable instances of conduct that we must all deplore, their demeanour to the wounded, their demeanour on the battlefield, stamps them as gallant and chivalrous men. England has in these men no unworthy foe ; she is not dealing with semi-civilized men and a semi-civilized race, as these leaders of the government call them, she is dealing with a highly civilized foe that has prepared by long years for this great crisis which they foresaw. They saw the advantages the country gave them, they got the best guns, the best ammunition, the best skill of Europe, and under these circumstances it is a fact that when England went into this struggle originally, she went into it handicapped because of that sense of security which my hon. friend here now would on our part try to dispel. Therefore I say I sympathize with the suggestion made by him. I deplore what occurred in October ; I deplore the hesitancy shown by the Prime Minister—one week saying : I can't do it, the law is against me, I have no power ; and then turning around in less than a fortnight and sending a contingent, and out-Heroding Herod in flaming rhetoric when they took their departure from Quebec. The spectacle of inconsistency, the spectacle of weakness, is something that will never leave the mind of Canada. Because, Sir, Canada is instinct with the heroic blood and brain of the sea kings of old, instinct with the same heroic blood and brain that has fought on every sea and under every sun, in Asia, in Europe, that fought in the Peninsula, that fought on the Dargai Heights, that fought in the Soudan, and that are fighting with equal heroism against greater odds in the Transvaal. Canada instinct with our ancient valour is determined to stand by the empire as its right arm. Something like a hundred years ago that empire, not nearly what it is now, had to face a world in arms and to fight the Apollyon Europe, when those two little heroic islands were the last refuge of freedom. England met all that overwhelming power then, and never took her seat, as she will never take her seat now, never sheath her sword, until she has put around her brow the laurels of a bloody and yet stainless, an unqualified and humanizing victory.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON (Three Rivers). I desire to say a few words upon the motion of the hon. gentleman, the member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), and in rising to do so I may be allowed to express to my

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hon. friend who has just taken his seat (Mr. Davin), my admiration for the eloquent way and brilliant manner in which he has referred to the history of the French Canadian race. Sir, I would consider myself wanting in respect for the House of Commons of Canada, in respect for the French Canadian race, were I to discuss any question as to whether the French Canadian people are loyal or disloyal. Such discussion would indicate on the part of members of this House of Commons an ignorance of the history of that race on this continent far from flattering ; consequently I will say only a word or two on that point. Discussions of this nature which are occasionally taking place, seem to me fraught with more mischief than anything else, discussions concerning the loyalty of the French, the loyalty of the Scotch, the loyalty of the English, or the loyalty of any other nationality, such discussions seem to me far beyond the field of usefulness, for the simple reason that Canada has proved on more than one memorable occasion, that all her sons, whether coming from English stock or from those who peopled this country for the first time, who came from France, are thoroughly devoted to British connection. Sir, we admire France, and as Frenchmen we love her still ; but that admiration and that love for the country of our ancestors has never prevented us on every occasion from being loyal and true to the British flag which has given us liberty, the greatest liberty that can be afforded to any people in the world. Sir, standing here as a French Canadian let me express my opinion that if any disaster occurred to the British Empire, the race of all others who would suffer most keenly from that disaster would be the French Canadians. And the reason is obvious. My hon. friend has spoken of the possibility of the English people making good terms on the other side of the line. It may be so or it may not be so. But we French Canadians, occupying our peculiar position on this continent, have rights which have been accorded to us by treaties, which have been respected by England, and the respect which England has shown by her conduct and treatment of us is a reason why we have remained on every occasion true and loyal to Great Britain.

During the course of these discussions some newspapers have attacked the clergy of Quebec, and have hinted that possibly that clergy was not as loyal as it should be. Mr. Speaker, I leave it to every historian of my race to settle that question. One of the great reasons why the French Canadians remain so true to England is because they were led by their priests. It was the clergy who sounded the first note of loyalty, a note which was taken up by the people of Quebec, which has maintained them a loyal people under the British flag, and has made of them one of the best allies of

England on this side of the water. Now, Sir, one of the most eminent of our clergy, Mgr. Begin, archbishop of Quebec, was attacked a little while ago, and permit me to read some of his words, which are more eloquent than mine could be, and which express very clearly the feelings that animate not only himself but his clergy and the people who follow his clergy:

It is truly deplorable that the history of our country should be so little known. Should not a century and a half of true and unswerving loyalty to the British Crown suffice to convince our fellow countrymen of English origin of our attachment to the flag that shelters us?

The loyalty of the French Canadian bishops and priests is written in letters of gold, traced in lines of fire in the annals of history, and all the sovereigns, all their representatives who have succeeded one another here since the cession of Canada to England—even those among the latter against whom it was necessary to contend lawfully in the defence of the most legitimate rights—have all borne the most solemn and hearty testimony to it.

Shall I recall here a Monseigneur Briand, who, while occupying the See of Quebec, when a fresh page was turned over in the history of New France, living successively under the white standard with the golden fleur-de-lis and under the British flag, loyal at first to the former, until on the Plains of Abraham all was lost save honour, and then generously transferring to the latter the homage of his entire loyalty, brought all his sacred influence to bear, during the terrible days of 1775, to keep French Canada faithful to its new masters? And yet God knows how great must have been the temptation for the children of France in America to join those sons of Albion, less scrupulous, less loyal than they—and might we not add less vilified and more easily pardoned for a real and successful revolt than we are to-day for a fancied disloyalty. If the Catholic emissaries from the United States, if the pressing appeal of the French officers who were serving the cause of American independence were unable to overcome the last resistance of the Canadian people, it was because the potent voice of the head of the church in Canada, invoking the sacred principles of the respect due to the reigning authority and stigmatizing as 'rebels' those who allowed themselves to be carried away, opposed an insurmountable barrier to the revolution. And England, already robbed of the richest portion of her inheritance in America, owed to a French bishop the preservation of this country of Canada, one of the most precious gems in the Imperial Crown.

What could I not say—did I not wish to be brief—of a Monseigneur Denaut, whose devotedness to England manifested itself by deeds of heroic generosity, and of a Monseigneur Plessis, who, in 1807, reminded his flock that it was impossible to be a good Christian without being a loyal and faithful subject, and that they would be unworthy of the name of Catholics and Canadians if they manifested disloyalty or were indifferent when they had to perform the duties of subjects devoted to the interests of their sovereign or to the defence of the country. It was this illustrious prelate who in 1812 spared no effort and succeeded in keeping the Canadians faithful in their allegiance to England. We find the same attitude maintained by Monseigneur Panet, the maternal uncle of the lamented Cardinal Taschereau.

Then, in the regrettable days of 1837-8 it was Monseigneur Signay, in Quebec, and one of your predecessors, Monseigneur Lartigue, in Montreal, who interposed in the name of religion to put an end to fratricidal conflicts, an act of loyalty which has often caused them to be bitterly reproached by some of their fellow-countrymen; a sacred duty which they had to accomplish notwithstanding that the ties of blood and the voice of paternal tenderness appealed to them. Later on, we find Monseigneur Baillargeon, who laid down the same line of conduct for his flock in connection with the Fenian invasion, and Monseigneur Taché, who, at a critical moment, pacified his half-breeds and kept them loyal to England.

And if I might venture to mention myself, I could repeat what I said in France itself, in the cathedral at Rouen, at the solemn celebration of the 14th centenary of the baptism of Clovis and of his Franks—that, while retaining affection for our old mother country, we were happy to live under the shadow of the British flag, and that we inhabited one of the freest countries on earth.

As may easily be seen, history has repeated itself from the cession of Canada to our days, and it will repeat itself so long as there will be a Catholic bishop in our Canada. Our good friends seem at times to forget this: Loyalty for the children of the Church of Christ is not a matter of sentiment or of personal interest, it is a serious and strict duty of conscience, derived from a sacred principle, immutable, eternal as the divine Law-maker. Let them, therefore, reassure themselves as regards the attitude of the Catholic clergy on similar occasions: the past has been beyond attack, the future will likewise be so, because our Catholic principles never change.

As a matter of fact, I have no hesitation in saying that it would be impossible to find, even among the highest of England's aristocracy, a succession of men who have been more loyal than the bishops, than the clergy of Quebec to the British Crown. This should suffice, it seems to me, to protect us from imputations devoid of solid foundation, supremely unjust and improper.

If ever—which God forbid—the question of annexation to the United States should seriously arise, it would be a curious thing to observe the respective attitudes of our two nationalities—English Canadian and French Canadian—in presence of such an eventuality. I am sure that we should not have to blush for our people under the circumstances, because they would once more do their duty as loyal subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that the extract may be somewhat long which I have just quoted, but it is—I do not mean to say to reassure the public mind, because it would be almost impossible to imagine that any set of men, living in any part of the Dominion of Canada, could for one moment, doubt the loyalty of the French Canadian people, who have so signally proven their loyalty. Take up the history of that people, take Chateaugay, take up all the brilliant pages which have been recorded to the credit of the French people, and there is not an intelligent man, or a man at all familiar with the history of Canada, who can doubt the loyalty of the

French people. My hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) has spoken about a meeting of the leaders on the government side and the leaders of the opposition side for the purpose of finding out the true needs and of helping Great Britain when the time comes. Well, I know the deep loyalty of the hon. gentleman, and let me congratulate him upon it, because I have seen it displayed on more than one occasion, but really, my hon. friend had only the report on the board as a basis to go upon in proposing this very important measure.

Mr. McNEILL. Not at all; that is merely one instance.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Well, as I understood, it was the instance that was used as making necessary—

Mr. McNEILL. No, no; it was not so intended at all.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Well, I may have misunderstood my hon. friend, but for the purpose of my argument, I wish merely to say, that in so far as I understand, Canada has done well, and there are no people in any part of the world who can complain of the action taken by Canada in showing how cheerfully she is ready to take a share in the defence of the British Empire when the British Empire requires it. I have a belief which was well expressed in a copy of *Punch* which I saw the other day. The arm-chair generals were represented as discussing amongst themselves where General Buller was wrong and where they could make it all right if their views prevailed. I believe that the English army is well generalled by men like Lord Roberts, General Buller, General Wolseley and the other officers who are taking part in this war. I believe that the army is generalled by men who are able to look after the trust which the British nation has placed in their hands. And, I am prepared to say more: If anything should occur, and if anything does occur, to place England under the necessity of calling upon her colonies for greater sacrifices than the sacrifices already made, I am quite prepared to make them. But, do not let us induce other people to believe that we think that England is in very great danger. Any one who will take up a topographical map of that country can easily see, without being a military man—and I am not posing as a military man—he can easily see how difficult it is for the British army to advance in that country. Our soldiers are always on the attacking side, and the enemy is defending these fortified positions which are almost impossible to capture. It is only the pluck and energy and determination of the British people, that has enabled them to attain even their present measure of success. My hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) says: Do not make a party question of this. I agree

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with him, but unfortunately he never practises what he preaches, for he at once proceeded to make a party question of it. He told us it might be said at the next general election, that there has been too much expended, or that the money which was asked for was beyond the requirements of the situation. Mr. Speaker, who was the first who came straight before the people of Canada to say that anything he could do to strengthen the hands of the government in this matter he was prepared to do? Sir, it was the trusted leader of the opposition who made that offer, and when Sir Charles Tupper sat in this House, responsible to a great political party for his words, he again stated that as far as money was concerned, he was prepared to go even beyond what the Prime Minister proposed, and would pay all the expenses of the contingents. However, I do not want to follow the bad example of my hon. friend (Mr. Charlton) and enter into questions which might be considered of a party nature. I am very glad, Mr. Speaker, of this opportunity which has enabled me to give expression to, not only my own opinion, but the opinions of the French Canadian people. My personal opinion has never changed. Year in and year out whenever the question of French Canadian loyalty came to be discussed, I was not afraid to state my views. I belong to the French Canadian race, and I have made a study of that race. I believe that I know our history probably as well as most of the people who are criticising us, and I am prepared to state that it is absolutely ridiculous even to discuss in parliament the question of the loyalty of the French Canadian people. Nay more, if you want further testimony, go to any Englishman in the province of Quebec who lives side by side with us, like my hon. friend from Sherbrooke (Mr. McIntosh) who rose in his seat the other day and said, he did not wish to live with a people who are more loyal or whose character was higher than the character of the French Canadians. At any rate, Mr. Speaker, the French people have come to Canada to stay; the English people have come to Canada to stay, and the policy that should be pursued by every intelligent man is to promote harmony amongst the two races, and to prevent any friction which may occasionally arise, and only occasionally does it arise. One of the newspapers here in speaking of the French Canadian government in Quebec called it a 'Moccasin government.' Well sir, I am prepared to recognize myself as a moccasin. It is a word we are not ashamed of, because it was the moccasin-footed Frenchmen who opened up this continent to civilization and to religion. I am not ashamed of the term, but unfortunately it was not used with a view of bringing the people of the province of Quebec and the people of the other sections of the country together

as united Canadians. It was used for an entirely different purpose, and that is why I find that these people who employ such an expression in such a form are guilty, more guilty, much more guilty than they think they are.

Motion (Mr. McNeill) to adjourn the House negatived.

BRITISH COLUMBIA'S OFFER OF MEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw the attention of the leader of the government to his answer to a question which I put last night, in regard to the offer of a contingent from the British Columbia government. The right hon. gentleman is reported as follows in *Hansard* :

The answer we have telegraphed to the British Columbia government is that we shall be happy to give them or any other province that makes such an offer the same treatment that we have accorded to Lord Strathcona, that is, to put at their disposal all our machinery, officers, organization, to organize the contingent that may be offered, that province bearing all expenses.

Am I to understand that if the British Columbia government should raise a contingent of mounted men, that they will be expected to pay transportation, not only from Victoria, Vancouver and other points in British Columbia, to Halifax or St. John; but also from Canada to South Africa?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Yes.

DEFENCE OF MANITOBA AND NORTH WEST TERRITORIES.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Davin :

That in the opinion of this House it is the duty of the government to at once make provision for the defence of Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and that more particularly provision should be made whereby rifle associations, duly formed, shall be provided with military instruction, as well as with rifles and ammunition.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assinibola) The Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) knows that I made some suggestion to him in regard to the contingents, and he knows well that I made them with the sole desire to further his work. This matter that I am bringing before the House is of too much importance to admit of thinking of it in connection with any other end or aim than the interests of the North-west Territories. We are at the present time in a position in the North-west Territories in which we need defence from within, and defence, it may be, against attacks from without. We have a large Indian population and a large population of half-breeds, and I may say that owing to the fact that the com-

mission did not complete its work, there is a great deal of discontent amongst them. Now, the Mounted Police practically no longer exists.

The PRIME MINISTER. Oh, no; it does exist.

Mr. DAVIN. I wish to read an article which appeared in the *Calgary Herald*, which is published over 600 miles west of where I live. Calgary is practically the capital of Southern Alberta, if not of all Alberta. This is what that paper says :

The announcement that volunteers for Strathcona's Horse will be accepted from the officers and men of the North-west Mounted Police will be received with a good deal of surprise and disgust by the people of the Territories.

Last night, when I referred to this, I guarded myself from endorsing that view. I read this for the purpose of showing that there is a sense of alarm in the Territories. I do not see how anything better could be done than to take officers from the Mounted Police, because it would be much easier to get others to do the work of these gentlemen in the Territories than to get men of the same ability to do the work that has to be done in South Africa. This article goes on :

The police force, when it was 1,000 strong, was no stronger than was necessary, and since that time it has been systematically reduced, while the population has materially increased.

The 'Herald' has time after time pointed out the gross injustice to the settlers of this country of depleting the strength of this body by repeated drafts for the Yukon, and it was thought that the limit had been reached when the few men who were left were ordered to South Africa.

Now, however, it seems that the police are to be wiped out of existence altogether. If volunteers are needed for Strathcona's Horse, every member of the force who has not already been accepted will feel it his duty to volunteer. This is all right and proper from the policeman's point of view, but how about the settlers of the North-west who are indebted to the police for the existence of law and order in this new country? Every settlement in the Territories objects to what is being done, and has said so as plainly as it was possible to say it. The press of the Territories, regardless of politics, are a unit in demanding that the force be restored to something like its strength four years ago, but not only is no notice taken of the just demands of the people, but even the few remaining men are now wanted elsewhere. The people have sufficiently good memories to recall the special promises that were made regarding the police force when the Liberal party were seeking office, and they well know how to treat in the future those politicians who have so unblushingly violated their most sacred pledge.

I read this for the sole purpose of showing that a leading journal in the town of Calgary, which is one of the most considerable towns in the North-west Territories, feels it necessary to sound a note of alarm, and what I would suggest is this, that the Mounted Police be recruited up to its full

strength, and that means be at once taken first, to instruct and as soon as may be arm rifle corps at different centres in the Territories. There is a rifle corps at Moosejaw, which the Department of Militia, when it was presided over by Mr. Patterson, I think, supplied with Snider rifles. The Snider rifle is now an obsolete arm. They would like to be supplied with Lee-Metford rifles. Then, there is a strong desire on the part of large numbers—I have the names of some forty gentlemen in Swift Current—who have formed a rifle corps, and want Lee-Enfield rifles. I have also communications from gentlemen at Medicine Hat to the same effect; and I have received a letter from Edmonton saying that there are gentlemen there who desire to form a rifle corps. Here is this desire on the part of the people of the North-west in various centres to fit themselves without pay, without any expense, to do the work required. I have had a few words with the Minister of Militia, from which I infer that he looks sympathetically on the course that should be taken. When General Hutton was out west, I met him. I attended his meetings, and heard his scheme explained; and any little influence I had I gave in support of his scheme. Since General Hutton, however, has come east, and other events have occurred, and I have been able to meet the people, I have found that even if the same circumstances existed to-day that existed when General Hutton was there, his scheme of mounted rifles, each man having a horse of his own, is not feasible in all parts of Manitoba and the North-west Territories; and the suggestion I have to make to the government is this. Part of it sounds at first like a bull; but after it is looked into more closely, its bull-like character will disappear. What I suggest is, that as far west as Swift Current corps of mounted rifles without horses should be formed. That is to say, let them be drilled as mounted riflemen. They can easily get the loan of horses for the purpose of learning to ride. Let them be taught to ride, as well as drill; let them, at Regina or at any other point, pass an examination as horsemen at the hands of the riding-master; and let them also pass an examination in drill at the hands of the drill sergeant. In that way you will have men trained as mounted riflemen, because, after all, the mounted rifleman fights on foot; but you have got rid of what would be a bar to your scheme, the requiring each man to supply his horse at first. Some of them would do it. For instance, at Regina, at Qu'Appelle station, and at other points, some men would supply their horses; but at least seventy-five per cent of those who would desire to be drilled and are good horsemen would not have their horses, and would find the necessity of providing a horse a bar. I suggest, that action be taken at once. We have heard talk, which I hope is pure talk,

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of a Fenian raid on the part of some loose-tongued persons below the line. The same thing was talked of in 1885, when men came across the line, and caused some trouble. These men have been talking of visiting the North-west. You have the possibility of an attempt being made to disturb the public from that quarter or from some particular reserve or or from those who disturbed it in 1885, so that I think the government cannot take a course that will commend itself more to patriotism and to the needs of the North-west at present than for the Minister of Militia to at once take steps to see that those gentlemen, who desire to put themselves in harness to-day and strike a blow if necessary for Canada, for their homes and families, shall be put in such a position that they would be fit to do the work efficiently and be given possession of the requisite arms. I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything further, and I hope that we may hear something from my hon. friend the Minister of Militia that will be satisfying to that portion of the North-west for which I speak.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The subject to which my hon. friend called our attention is most interesting and important. The uneasiness, I may say, at the outset, which he has expressed as to the present condition of matters in the North-west, in view of the fact that a large number of the North-west Mounted Police have been withdrawn to go to South Africa, I may set at rest by assuring him, in the most public manner, that it is the intention as I understand, of the government to promptly fill up the ranks of that corps. I am sure that everybody will agree that no better men could have been sent to South Africa to assist the British Empire than those who were withdrawn from the North-west. Two squadrons of those men have gone over or are about to sail from Halifax, as the result of the action of the government, endorsed by the people; and in addition, a distinguished Canadian, Lord Strathcona, is now fitting up and sending out at his own expense from Manitoba, the North-west Territories and British Columbia, three other squadrons, composed, not exclusively of North-west mounted policemen, but of men who and officers who have had special experience to fit them for the service that will be most useful in South Africa. While that is being done, the ranks of the mounted police will be filled up promptly to the strength at which the force was before this draft was made upon it.

With reference to what may be done in my own immediate department, I may say to the hon. gentleman that the question of the defence of Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and I may include British Columbia as well, is a question which has been occupying the attention of the

administration particularly since the defence committee sat here, some year or eighteen months ago. It is a very difficult one and might be a very expensive one, but it is one which I think it is our duty promptly to grapple with. I am inclined to agree in much the hon. gentleman has said. I certainly agree with him that it is our duty to encourage, as far as possible, the organization of rifle associations in that country and to do everything in our power to encourage the formation of such associations by supplying them with rifles and ammunition and the necessary instructions. As head of the Militia Department, I intend submitting a proposal to inaugurate in Manitoba and the North-west and a portion of British Columbia corps of mounted rifles. I think that the events of the war now going on in South Africa have demonstrated beyond question that mounted soldiers are the soldiers of the future, and that in a new country like this, with an immense area and a sparse population, it is absolutely necessary that we should, so far as we are able, adopt that idea. That idea has taken shape to some extent, and I intend, when the Militia estimates come before the House, discussing it at greater length. But I may say that a beginning will be made this year in the way of organizing special corps of mounted rifles in the North-west. The suggestion of the hon. gentleman that these corps, which are really infantry on horseback, might be organized, even without all the men being provided with horses, drill being carried on and preparations made for emergencies which might hereafter arise, is one which has occupied the attention of the department. I have only to say to the hon. gentleman, in conclusion, that the matter is receiving the most careful attention of the government, that prompt action will be taken, and I would ask him in view of that statement whether he will be good enough to withdraw his motion.

Mr. DAVIN. After that very satisfactory assurance, I will be glad to act on my hon. friend's suggestion.

Motion withdrawn.

Mr. WALLACE. I would ask the Minister of Customs when the annual report of his department will be on the table?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). It is being printed with all possible speed. It has been in the hands of the printers for some time, and the Printing Bureau are being urged to hasten its completion with all possible despatch, but of course they are giving precedence to the Auditor-General's Report, which all hon. members are anxious to get.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 5.45 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, February 12, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

REPORT.

The Civil Service List of Canada.—(Sir Wilfrid Laurier.)

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 14) to regulate the grain trade in Manitoba and the North-west Territories.—(Mr. Douglas.)

CARETAKER OF ORILLIA PUBLIC BUILDING.

Mr. BENNETT (by Mr. Sproule) asked :

Who is caretaker of the public building at Orillia, and what is his salary?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). His name is John Frawley. His salary is \$15 per month.

DOUKHOBORS AND GALICIANS.

Mr. DAVIN (by Mr. LaRivière) asked :

How many Doukhobors have been settled in the North-west and Manitoba since January, 1897?

How many Galicians? How are they settled, scattered amongst other settlers or in bunches and colonies? How much per head has their incoming to Canada cost the government? Have any had to be assisted after coming to the country? If so, to what extent?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). According to the report of the immigration office at Winnipeg, the number of Doukhobors who have settled in the North-west and Manitoba since January, 1897, is 7,427, and the number of Galicians during the same period, 16,787. These people are located in colonies, some of which are small and some large, in different parts of Manitoba and the North-west Territories. The cost per head for the Doukhobors was \$7.47, being bonus and a proportionate amount of cost of locating and taking care of settlers during the year 1899. The estimated cost to the government for Galician settlers for bonus and proportion of cost of taking care of and locating, was, in 1897, \$4.65; 1898, \$4.86; and in 1899, \$4.80, an average of \$4.77 per head. The records of the department show that advances were made to Galicians to the amount of \$5,954.56, included in above, for which liens have been taken as security. No direct advances, over and above the bonus which was paid at Winnipeg in connection with the Doukhobors, have been authorized, although some slight assistance has been given where it was felt necessary to do so, a portion of which has been repaid. If there are any balances when the accounts are

adjusted, it is proposed to make them a lien against the property of those who have received the advances.

PUBLIC WORKS IN SAGUENAY.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. LaRivière) asked:

1. What was the amount of money expended in the county of Saguenay, including therein the North Shore, for public works: (1) from September 1, 1896, to July 1, 1897; (2) from July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1898; (3) from July 1, 1898, to July 1, 1899; (4) from July 1, 1899, to February 1, 1900?

2. Of the amount lastly, as above, so expended, how much has been spent on the North Shore telegraph line?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte):

Sept. 1, 1896, to July 1, 1897—		
Harbours and rivers	\$ 1,474 93	
North Shore tel. line	5,185 80	
		\$ 6,660 73
July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1898—		
Harbours and rivers	\$ 2,159 77	
North Shore tel. line	13,790 70	
		15,950 47
July 1, 1898, to July 1, 1899—		
Harbours and rivers	51 16	
North Shore tel. line	13,780 34	
		13,831 50
July 1, 1899, to Feb. 1, 1900—		
Harbours and rivers	14 00	
North Shore tel. line	26,385 34	
		26,399 34
		\$62,842 04

PUBLIC WORKS IN CHICOUTIMI.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. LaRivière) asked:

What was the amount of money expended in the county of Chicoutimi for public works: (1) from September 1, 1896, to July 1, 1897; (2) from July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1898; (3) from July 1, 1898, to July 1, 1899; (4) from July 1, 1899, to Feb. 1, 1900?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte):

Sept. 1, 1896, to July 1, 1897—		
Harbours and rivers.....	\$12,186 54	
Tel. line—St. Alexis and Anse St. Jean.....	2,495 24	
		\$14,681 78
July 1, 1897, to July 1, 1898—		
Harbours and rivers.....	\$14,225 19	
Tel. line—St. Alexis and Anse St. Jean	2,014 52	
		16,239 71
July 1, 1898, to July 1, 1899—		
Harbours and rivers	16,154 85	
July 1, 1899, to Feb. 1, 1900—		
Harbours and rivers	12,528 30	
		\$59,604 64

BENNETT AND DAWSON TELEGRAPH LINE.

Mr. CLARKE (by Mr. Clancy) asked:

1. What was the total cost for constructing the government telegraph line between Bennett and Dawson?

Mr. SIFTON.

2. What was the cost of the wire, and from whom was it purchased?

3. Who supplied the insulators, and at what price?

4. How many men were actually engaged in the construction work under Overseer Charleson? What are their names, where were they engaged, and what was the rate of pay which they received?

5. Were public tenders invited for any of the supplies required? If so, for what material and from whom?

6. Were private tenders invited for any of the supplies required? If so, for what and from whom?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I beg to reply: 1. The cost of the construction of this line is reported by the Superintendent of Construction as \$146,937.99, or an average of \$222.63 per mile. 2. Wire was purchased from W. G. Charleson at \$2.50 per 100 lbs., and from Alexander Macpherson & Son at \$2.74 per 100 lbs. 3. Insulators were supplied by the Potters' Manufacturing Association, \$1,828.50, and The North-west Fixture Co., \$42.50. 4. In order to prepare an answer to this question, it will be necessary to tabulate the several pay lists, which will require several days' time. 5. No. 6. Yes; for wire from W. G. Charleson, the Edward Cavanagh Co., Montreal; Lewis Bros. & Co., Montreal; J. A. Seybold & Co., Ottawa, and Alex. Macpherson & Son, Montreal. Tenders for provisions were asked from the following: McMillan & Hamilton, Vancouver; Kelly Douglas & Co., Vancouver; Braid & Co., Vancouver; W. H. Malkin & Co., Vancouver; F. R. Stewart, Vancouver; Wilson Bros., Victoria; Simon Leizer & Co., Victoria; Bate & Co., Ottawa; Eby Blain & Co., Toronto; H. P. Eckhart, Toronto; Jas. Osborne & Son, Hamilton; A. T. Gilmour & Co., Brockville; Lockerby Bros., Montreal; Hudon & Hébert, Montreal; Herritt Bros., St. John, N.B.; John Tobin & Co., Halifax; Bauld, Gibson & Co., Halifax; McKay & Powis, Winnipeg; W. K. Cunningham, Ottawa.

MR. J. B. CHARLESON'S SALARY, ETC.

Mr. CLARKE (by Mr. Clancy) asked:

What were the amounts paid to Mr. J. B. Charleson, superintendent of construction of the Bennett-Dawson telegraph line for (a) salary, (b) travelling expenses, and (c) living expenses from the day he left Ottawa on March 13 last until his return to the capital?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I beg to reply: (a) Salary, \$2,668.66; (b) travelling expenses, \$762.63; (c) Mr. Charleson lived in camp with his party, and it is impossible to distinguish between his personal expenses and the general outlay.

BENNETT TO ATLIN TELEGRAPH LINE.

Mr. CLARKE (by Mr. Clancy) asked :

1. What is the estimated cost of the telegraph line from Bennett to Atlin City ?
2. When will the work of construction commence ?
3. How soon is it expected that this line will be completed ?
4. Who has charge of the work of construction, and what instructions have been given to him ?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I beg to reply : 1. Connection between Atlin City and the Bennett-Dawson telegraph line has been made by the construction of a line from Tagish to Atlin at the cost of \$15,500, and the line is now in full operation.

DISTRIBUTION AND PRINTING OF POLITICAL PAMPHLETS AT SHERBROOKE.

Mr. TAYLOR (by Mr. Borden, Halifax) asked :

Was the pamphlet entitled 'The Laurier government and the Conservatives,' distributed through the electoral district of Sherbrooke during the late by-election, printed at the Government Printing Bureau ? If so, how many copies were printed thereat ? What charge per 1,000 was made for them ? Have they been paid for ? If so, by whom ? Were they or any of them put up in government envelopes in the Department of the Minister of Agriculture ? Were they or any of them franked and sent through the mail by the Minister of Agriculture ? If so, under what legal authority ?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. The pamphlet entitled 'The Laurier Government and the Conservatives,' distributed in the electoral district of Sherbrooke during the late by-election was not printed at the Government Bureau. It was paid for, along with the envelopes in which it was sent, by private individuals from private sources. Some were franked through the Department of Agriculture, but not by the minister, and in doing that, there was, in a slight degree and at a very far distance, followed out the precedent set by my predecessors.

REVOLVERS FOR CONTINGENTS.

Mr. POPE (by Mr. McIntosh) asked :

1. Has the government purchased any revolvers ?
2. If so, how many and for what purpose ?
3. What was the price paid for same, and (4) name of the firm or firms from whom they were purchased ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). I beg to reply : 1. Yes. Colt's revolvers. 2. 700 ; for Canadian Mounted Rifles sent to South Africa. 3. 300 at \$14.50 and 400 at \$15.50. 4. Messrs. Lewis Bros., Montreal.

GRAIN COMMISSION—DEATH OF JUDGE SENKLER.

Mr. LARIVIERE asked :

Will the death of Judge E. J. Senkler, chairman of the Royal Commission on the shipment

and transportation of grain, prevent that commission from making a report, and is it the intention of the government to appoint another chairman, so that the commission may complete its investigation ?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). It is not anticipated that the death of the chairman of the commission on the shipment and transportation of grain will prevent the completion of the work of the commission and the making of the report. It is the intention of the government to appoint another chairman.

REMOVAL OF CERTAIN JUDGES TO MONTREAL.

Mr. FAIRBAIRN (by Mr. Casey) asked :

Has the Minister of Justice received a communication from Chief Justice Lacoste respecting the removal of Judges Lynch, Tellier and Charland to Montreal ? If so, what is the nature of such communication and what action does the government contemplate ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Speaking under correction, and in the absence of the Minister of Justice, I beg to say that no such report has been received from Chief Justice Lacoste.

RECIPROCITY TREATY BETWEEN NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE DOMINION.

Mr. MARTIN (by Mr. Macdonald, King's) asked :

1. Have any proposals been made by the government for the establishment of a commercial treaty of reciprocity between Newfoundland and the Dominion of Canada ?
2. Has any such proposal been made by Newfoundland to Canada ?
3. If no such proposals have been made, is it the intention of the government to make Newfoundland an offer of reciprocal trade relations ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). There have been no proposals respecting reciprocal trade relations with Newfoundland. The general question of the relations between Canada and the British colonies is engaging the attention of the government.

ELECTRIC LIGHT ON BROTCHE'S LEDGE BEACON, B.C.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Has the Department of Marine and Fisheries yet obtained the cable for laying on the electric light to Brotschie's Ledge Beacon, opposite Victoria, British Columbia ?
2. If not, why not ?
3. If already obtained, why is it not laid in position ?
4. Can the department state when the beacon will be in proper working order ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. No. The cable intended for the purpose offered to the department by the Department of Public Works was found to be inefficient and unfit for the purposes required, and since

that was discovered, in the present state of the market, it has been found impossible to place an order for the electric cable. The cable makers refuse to accept any more orders, and especially will not look at a small order for a special make of cable. Arrangements have been made for the immediate lighting of the beacon with one of Wigham's thirty day oil lamps, and the light is now in full operation.

PACIFIC CABLE.

Mr. CASEY asked :

Has the attention of the government been called to the following paragraph, which appeared in the Toronto 'Globe' of the 6th instant:

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

There is considerable disappointment in parliamentary circles over the cabled statement that the Imperial government had no objection to the Western Australian government making an arrangement with the Eastern Extension Cable Company, whereby that company should receive a land grant in consideration of building a cable line to the colony. Some days ago Sir Sandford Fleming expressed to the 'Globe' correspondent his conviction that there was nothing in the story, but some members of parliament are apprehensive that the story may be true and that the Pacific cable scheme will be seriously injured.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Yes, the attention of the government has been called to that paragraph in the *Globe* newspaper.

EASTERN EXTENSION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

Mr. CASEY asked :

Has the Imperial government signified its approval of any Australian government granting permission to the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company to open offices or to acquire any other facilities for promoting its cable business ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government has no information of any such action being taken by the Imperial authorities. We have been making inquiries and have not received an answer.

HENRY LOGAN LOUCKS.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Whether, at the close of January, 1898, Henry Logan Loucks, and some seven or eight others, all of or near Prince Albert, N.W.T., were hired by Capt. Gagnon, on behalf of the government, to go to Dawson to drive dogs ? 2. Whether the agreement with them was \$40 a month, expenses and fares both ways ? 3. Whether those who came back to Prince Albert have been paid their fare back ? 4. If not, why not ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I beg to reply : 1. Yes. 2. Pay, \$30 per month for one year with a bonus of \$10 per month if service satisfactory ; also

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

free rations and free transportation to the Yukon. 3. No. 4. The reason is that it was no part of the undertaking that the government should supply transportation for their return.

RIFLE RANGE, VICTORIA, B.C.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Is it the intention of the government to provide a rifle range at Clover Point, Victoria, B.C. ?
2. If so, why is not the work proceeded with without any further delay ?
3. What amount of the sum, voted for this purpose during last session, has been expended ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Yes, if suitable location can be found. 2. There has been a difficulty owing to the existence of a public road too near the proposed site. 3. The amount voted last session for the purchase of land for rifle ranges was \$75,000. Out of this sum \$2,000 only was expended on the Bedford rifle range. I may say that the vote which was taken specially for the rifle range at Victoria lapsed, and this larger vote was intended to cover the expenditure that might be necessary there.

COTE ST. LUC RIFLE RANGE.

Mr. MONK (by Mr. Prior) asked :

1. When was the Cote St. Luc rifle range closed by the Militia Department ?
2. Has the Militia Department selected a new rifle range in the vicinity of the city of Montreal, and if so, where is the proposed rifle range situate ?
3. When will the new rifle range be open and ready for use ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. It was closed on the 31st August, 1898. 2. The matter is under consideration. Several sites are proposed. A decision will soon be made. 3. It is expected that the new rifle range will be opened early in the summer.

BLANKETS FOR TROOPS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

1. Has the government bought blankets for the soldiers who left for South Africa ?
2. If so, from whom were such blankets bought ?
3. What was the amount of money paid for such blankets ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. No; they were issued from the supply in stores. This covers questions 2 and 3.

THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND THE FOX BAY SETTLERS.

Mr. TAYLOR (by Mr. Clancy) asked :

Did the president of the Montreal conference of the Methodist Church in Canada write a let-

ter to the Hon. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, or did the missionary committee of the said church, appointed to inquire into the grievances of the Fox Bay settlers on the Island of Anticosti, pass a resolution, and send a copy of the same to the said Hon. J. Israel Tarte, demanding a public retraction and apology of the following statement made by him in this House on the 28th day of March, 1899, and recorded at page 575 of the 'Hansard' of 1899, as follows:—'Everybody who lives in the province of Quebec knows that nearly all those who live on that island are professional wreckers, people who deceive the captain of the ship in order that the vessel might be wrecked, that they might steal everything that is on board.' If so, has the Hon. Mr. Tarte made the apology? If not, is it his intention to do so?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Although I do not see very clearly what the hon. gentleman has to do with this matter, which is personal to me, I take great pleasure in saying that whatever misunderstanding may have existed as to the words I have uttered in the House in reference to the Fox Bay settlers, I have reason to hope has been explained away. Statements that have been lately put before me have convinced me that I have been unwillingly unjust towards the Fox Bay settlers, and I have written to that effect to their representatives.

NORTH-WEST FARMERS AND AUSTRALIAN COMPETITION.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

1. Whether the attention of the government has been called to the fact that the steamship 'Mlowera' recently arrived at Vancouver from Australia with 1,840 carcasses of frozen mutton for British Columbia? 2. Whether the company owners of this ship receive an annual subvention of \$120,000 from the Dominion government? 3. Was not the bonus to the Crow's Nest Pass Railway supported on the ground that the mining population of British Columbia would be fed from the farms of the North-west Territories? 4. Whether the principal exports to Australia from Canada do not consist of machinery, mostly agricultural implements? 5. Whether a rebate has been given to any manufacturers of agricultural implements in the iron and steel used in the manufacture of the implements exported to Australia? If so, how much? 6. Whether the government intends to protect the North-west farmers from competition of Australian mutton? If not, why not?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). 1. No. 2. The company running this steamer receive, under a contract entered into in 1893, the amount of the subsidy mentioned. 3. The vote for the Crow's Nest Pass railway subsidy was an unanimous one. No doubt the reason suggested by the hon. member (Mr. Davin) was one of the reasons that had weight with the members in favour of the construction of the road. The fact that the desired result has been in a large measure attained is a source of gratification. 4. The total exports of Canadian produce from Canada to Aus-

tralia for the fiscal year 1898-9, amounted to \$1,498,344. Of this amount \$589,802 represents the value of agricultural implements exported. 5. A drawback of 99 per cent of the duty paid on imported iron and steel used and wrought into certain agricultural implements exported from Canada to Australia has been allowed under regulations prescribed by Order in Council under date November 2, 1894. 6. The government has no reason to believe that the farmers of the North-west are suffering from competition from Australia, but, on the contrary, believe that these farmers are finding good markets for their products.

YUKON—MR. JOSEPH ENO GIROUARD.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

1. When was Joseph Eno Girouard appointed to a public position in the Yukon?
2. Was he appointed by Order in Council?
3. If so, at what date?
4. What was his position?
5. What was his salary?
6. Is he still employed and paid by the Federal government?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Mr. Joseph Eno Girouard was appointed to the position of registrar of the Yukon Territory by Order in Council, dated the 3rd August, 1898, with a salary of \$2,000 per annum. He is still employed and paid by the Federal government.

PARADE GROUNDS AND DRILL SHED, ST. THOMAS, ONT.

Mr. INGRAM (by Mr. Davin) asked :

1. Have the government purchased the military parade grounds at St. Thomas, Ont., owned by J. H. Wilson, M.D., ex-M.P.?
2. If so, what was the price paid?
3. Did the military authorities here or elsewhere rent the drill shed at St. Thomas for the purpose of having a skating rink therein?
4. If so, what is the amount of rent to be paid, and to whom rented?
5. Who made application to rent the drill shed from the party or parties who rented it or gave authority to parties to use it?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. No. 2. Answered by No. 1. 3. Yes. 4. The rent to be paid was \$100 for the skating season. Rented to Thomas Cross and J. Baker. 5. The above tenants.

LAND SUBSIDIES TO THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Mr. RICHARDSON (by Mr. Landerkin) asked :

1. How much land has been voted by the Dominion parliament to the Canadian Pacific Railway as a subsidy in connection with the construction of the company's main line and branch lines (the Manitoba South-western and Glenboro roads being included in the branches)?
2. What proportion of the land subsidies so voted has been allotted by the government?

3. At what dates were the several allotments made ?

4. Were the allotments made by the government and the lands set apart for the uses of the company immediately or shortly after the lands were selected by the company ? If not, what periods were allowed to elapse between the selection and the allotment of the various land subsidies or portions thereof ?

5. For what proportion of the land subsidies earned by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have patents been issued by the Crown ?

6. Under the terms of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's charter from the government, when will the first allotment of land made to the company by the government become amenable to taxation for school and municipal purposes ?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). 1. The original land subsidy to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company on account of its main line was 25,000,000 acres, but it was subsequently reduced to 18,206,986 acres. The land subsidy on account of branches, including the branches named in the question, amounted to 2,983,680 acres, making a total of 21,190,666 acres of land for the main line and branches. 2. 3. and 4. It is not possible to give categorical answers to the 2nd, 3rd and 4th questions, on account of the way in which the questions are framed, but the following information appears to cover the points sought to be brought out by the questions. The railway company indicated between 1881 and 1891 the tracts or belts within which it agreed to select 14,644,871 acres on account of the land subsidy in connection with the main line. In February, 1891, the company agreed to select from the lands reserved for the purpose along the international boundary 1,000,000 acres of the land subsidy in connection with the branch known as the Manitoba and South-western Colonization Railway. The company has selected the lands to which it is entitled on account of what is known as the Pipestone branch. Nothing has been done in the direction of selecting the lands to which the company is entitled on account of the Glenboro, or as it is known in the department, the Souris branch. The government from time to time as the land grant was earned set apart tracts of land out of which the selection was to be made. A question was raised as to whether or not the land comprised in the tracts so set apart was 'fairly fit for settlement,' and this question of the selection of the balance of the land subsidy is still the subject of correspondence between the department and the company. 5. Up to the end of January last patents had issued covering an area of 1,649,880 acres. 6. This is a matter of legal opinion, which, if disputed, can only be settled by a judicial decision.

GARNOT AND LOUIS RIEL.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Whether Garnot, formerly associated with Louis Riel, has been taken into the employ of

Mr. RICHARDSON.

the government ? If so, what position does he hold, at what salary, and why has he been employed ?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). In reply to the hon. gentleman I beg to say, no. The man Garnot has not been taken into the employ of the government.

J. B. CHARLESON.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Is it true that J. B. Charleson lately left for British Columbia, taking with him some twenty-five men, more or less, to work on the construction of a telegraph line from Bennett to Atlin ?

2. If so, did these men defray their own travelling expenses, or were they paid by the government ?

3. What wages per diem are these men paid by the government ?

4. Are their wages exclusive or inclusive of board ?

5. What are the names of the men who went out with J. B. Charleson, or were sent out by him ?

6. Why were British Columbians not given the opportunity to take these jobs instead of men being sent from the east ?

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS** (Mr. Tarte). 1. Mr. Charleson has left for the Yukon. He has charge of constructing, not the Bennett-Atlin, but the Quesnelle-Atlin telegraph line. He has taken with him 23 men for that telegraph construction. 2. Paid by the government. 3. The pay of these men is to be settled by Mr. Charleson, according to the importance of the labour done by them, and their location on the field of operation. 4. Exclusive of board. 5. Caliste Clément, Healy, Sullivan, Ranson, C. J. Jones, Félix Hudon, John F. Phelan, James Mooney, Semple, J. A. Lafortune, Murphy, J. Tassé, A. Larose, McLaughlin, McLaughlin, L. Picard, Tel. Gorrell, O'Connor, O'Neill, Forest, C. Rogers, C. Lacroix, White. 6. These 23 men are a nucleus of skilled workmen, some having already worked on the Dawson line. When the force is to be completed, the men to be employed will be engaged either in British Columbia or any other available point where required.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY—ACCOMMODATION AT SYDNEY.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

1. Is the government aware that great dissatisfaction exists in the town of Sydney and the southern parts of the county of Cape Breton, as well as among the travelling public generally, at the express train to and from the west to Sydney running in and out twice every day from the junction to North Sydney, a distance of some six miles ?

2. Have representations been made to the government against this condition of matters, and has the Railway Department been requested to discontinue the present arrangement of run-

ning the whole train into and out from North Sydney twice every day, thereby subjecting the travelling public to much inconvenience, annoyance and delay?

3. Does the department contemplate changing the present arrangements so as to allow the express train to and from the terminus at Sydney to run direct, and thereby avoid the present delay and inconvenience of running in and out from the junction to North Sydney? If so, when will the change be made?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). 1. Yes, the government is aware that some dissatisfaction exists at Sydney for the reason mentioned in this question, but there would probably be equal dissatisfaction on the part of the people of North Sydney if the present or some similar arrangement were not continued. 2 and 3. Upon examining the second and third questions carefully, the hon. gentleman will see that I cannot be expected to answer the same. I am asked to subscribe to the statement that the travelling public are now being subject to annoyance and delay, an admission which I cannot possibly make. Such is not the case.

SUPERINTENDENT PERRY.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Did Supt. Perry volunteer for service in South Africa? If so, why was his offer not accepted?

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I may say to my hon. friend that Inspector Perry has volunteered his services to South Africa. His offer was not accepted for the reason that the force having already been depleted of many of its best officers and men, the government deemed it would be inexpedient further to deplete the force by parting with the services of so valuable an officer as Superintendent Perry.

J. H. ROSS, M. L. A.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Were the expenses of Mr. James H. Ross, M.L.A., Minister of Public Works in the Northwest Territories government, when acting as Indian Commissioner, provided for at so much a day, or was he entitled only to his actual expenses?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). Only the actual expenses of Mr. Ross were allowed.

GRAND TRUNK TARIFF ON OIL.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

1. Whether Mr. F. Stanton showed before the Railway Committee that the Grand Trunk tariff of the date of December 26, 1898, for freighting oil between Buffalo and Black Rock and Montreal was 36 cents per 100 pounds, and between Sarnia and Montreal 25 cents per 100 pounds?

2. Was this tariff sanctioned by the Governor in Council? If not, is it illegal? If illegal, what steps have the government taken in the premises?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). At a recent hearing before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, Mr. Stanton produced two tariff sheets apparently issued by the Grand Trunk Railway, one purporting to give the tariff between the points named on illuminating oil and another on gas oil, and alleged that these tariffs were not covered or authorized by any tariff approved by the Governor in Council. The hearing was postponed at the request of Mr. Stanton, and will be resumed, but no definite conclusion was arrived at, nor can any further reply be made to the question at present.

REPORT OF COMMISSIONER ROTHWELL.

Mr. McINNES asked :

1. Did the government transmit to the British Columbia government or communicate with them regarding the reports of Commissioner Rothwell on the claims of certain settlers upon lands within the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway land belt on Vancouver Island? If so, how often, and when?

2. What reply, if any, has been received from the government of British Columbia?

3. Has the government of British Columbia taken any exception to the finding of Commissioner Rothwell, or proposed to the government any method of settling the said claims?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). 1. Yes. On the 28th November, 1898. 2. No reply has been received. 3. This government has not been made aware that any exception has been taken by the government of British Columbia to the findings of Commissioner Rothwell; and no proposal has been made by the provincial government as to the settling of the claims which formed the subject of Mr. Rothwell's inquiry.

INSPECTION OF UNITED STATES STEAMERS.

Mr. WILSON asked :

Is it true that in future United States steamers carrying passengers to or from any port in the province of Ontario shall be exempted from steamboat inspection, tonnage dues, and also from steamboat inspection fees?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). Yes. In 1884 an arrangement was made with the United States government by which steamships of the Dominion arriving at ports in the United States from a port in Ontario would be exempt from tonnage or light dues or other equivalent tax in consideration of similar exemption in favour of United States vessels arriving at ports in Ontario.

Mr. WILSON. Why?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I do not know why the arrangement was not different from what it

was. I am telling the hon. gentleman what the arrangement in 1884 was.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Was it under Order in Council?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES.** I assume so.

Mr. FOSTER. That does not seem to be an answer to the question: Is it true that in future United States steamers will be exempted?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES.** In future, as in the past, of course. I said this in answer to the first question.

GENERAL SERVICE MEDALS.

Mr. CLARKE (by Mr. Clancy) asked:

1. Have the terms and conditions under which the long service decoration and medal are to be issued been sent from the Militia Department to the Imperial authorities in London?

2. If so, what are said terms and conditions?

3. Does Canada possess a national colour, and if so (4), will such colour be incorporated in the ribbon for the decoration and medal above-named?

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE** (Mr. Borden). 1. No. But they have been prepared and will be forwarded at once. 2. They will be published after approval by the War Office. 3. I am informed by Major Rivers of the Medals' Claim Board that there is no national Canadian colour, but if one is chosen such colour will be incorporated, I presume, in the ribbon or the decoration medal.

W. H. BAILEY.

Mr. PRIOR asked:

1. Is one W. H. Bailey still in the employ of the Post Office Department, or Public Works Department, in Victoria, B.C.?

2. If not, when did he cease to be in such employ, and what was his position?

3. Did he leave of his own accord or was he dismissed?

4. If dismissed, what was the cause of his dismissal?

5. Has any one been appointed in his place; if so, whom, and at whose recommendation?

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS** (Mr. Tarte). 1. No longer in the employ of Department of Public Works. 2. Since 1st March, 1899. Caretaker of the old post office building. 3. His services were dispensed with. 4. Being no longer required. 5. No one appointed in his place by the department.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL PENITENTIARY—RELEASE OF ONE VANDAL.

Mr. M. J. F. QUINN (Montreal, St. Ann's) moved for:

Copies of all petitions and other documents in the possession of the Minister of Justice con-
Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

cerning the release of one Vandal from the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary.

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I have to ask my hon. friend (Mr. Quinn) not to persist in this motion. I am informed by the Minister of Justice that all the documents concerning this matter are confidential, but I am asked by the Minister of Justice to say to my hon. friend, that if he will call at the office, the minister will be very happy to put everything at his disposal for his own perusal.

Motion withdrawn.

FREIGHT CARRIED BY SS. STANLEY AND SS. MINTO.

Mr. A. C. MACDONALD (King's, P.E.I.) moved for:

Return showing the amount of freight in tons, barrels or other convenient form discharged and taken on board the winter SS. 'Stanley' at Georgetown, P.E.I., during the current years 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1898, and for the year 1899 in SS. 'Stanley' and 'Minto,' and to February 1, 1900. Also amount of freight collected thereon per month, and amount paid per month for labour in connection therewith, apart from the crews of said steamships.

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am informed by my hon. colleague (Sir Louis Davies) that there is no objection to this motion, but that it must take a very long time, perhaps several months before these reports are completed.

SALARIES OF COUNTY COURT JUDGES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER moved for:

Copies of all despatches, papers and correspondence respecting the salaries of county court judges in the province of British Columbia, not already brought down.

He said: Though some correspondence has already been brought down, I do not think we are in possession of the complete papers in regard to this matter, and though the terms of the motion would seem to relate only to the province of British Columbia, it covers a very important question, in regard to the responsibility of the federal government respecting any arrangements made for supplementing the salaries of the judges appointed by the federal authorities. There seems to be no difference in the opinion held by the present Minister of Justice and the judges in the province of British Columbia in regard to important facts connected with their appointment and the fixing of their salaries. Let me remind the Prime Minister of the facts of this case. Some of the British Columbia judges were about to be appointed, and the salaries then paid by the federal government amounted to about \$2,000 a year for the first three years, and \$2,400 afterwards. Correspon-

dence took place between the government of British Columbia and the federal government, in the course of which the provincial government pointed out that the county court judges in that province had in some respects much wider and higher jurisdiction than similar judges in some of the other provinces, and that competent men could not be obtained in British Columbia for the salaries that prevailed in the eastern provinces. The long and the short of it was that the federal government agreed to make the initial salary \$2,400, and the provincial government, by appointing those judges stipendiary magistrates for the whole province, voted them \$500 a year additional, thus making their salaries \$2,900, and the judges were appointed. Some of these judges—two, at any rate—held their positions under that arrangement, and for several years they had left their practice at the bar. Suddenly and without any notice whatever, the attorney-general of the province (Mr. Martin) wrote to each of the judges—according to papers brought down already to this House—the following letter, in October last :

Sir,—The salary paid by the provincial government will be discontinued after November 30.

I wish to call the attention of the government to one or two passages in the report of the Minister of Justice, which has been laid on the Table of the House. The Minister of Justice is now dealing with the position put before this government by the local government when the county court judges appealed to the federal government to protect them from interference with their vested rights in regard to this increase in their emoluments. He says :

If in the opinion of the present provincial government competent judges for the county courts may now be secured at a salary of \$2,400, this remark of the Attorney General may hold so far as the future is concerned, but as to the present judges good faith requires that the payment should be continued. They accepted office upon the assurance that they would receive an allowance of \$500 per annum from the province, in addition to the salary paid by the Dominion, and as it appears in the opinion of the provincial government of the time it was necessary to give that assurance in order to obtain competent men for the office.

Further on, the report of the present Minister of Justice says :

While the judges would doubtless be satisfied to have their previous salary maintained from whatever source the moneys were paid, it is clear from the correspondence to which they refer that the obligation does not rest with Your Excellency to supply the allowance which is being withheld by the province.

From the correspondence before us it would seem that the federal government extend to the judges their sympathy and their concurrence in the view that they have not been treated in good faith ; but they put

the burden on the local authorities. It is quite clear, if this state of the facts be correct, that there has been a breach of faith on the part of the local government, and this government is not morally responsible for anything that has happened. That, I do not think, can be disputed. But my point is, apart from the particular individuals who hold those judicial appointments, that the government here should take a far broader view of the position. If they have failed to induce the provincial government to continue that annual vote of \$500, and for this reason, that these judges are after all federal judges, the appointees of the federal government, and the government here was indirectly responsible for the arrangement which induced those gentlemen to occupy their judicial positions ; and if they are fit for the positions and fit to continue as judges, when an arrangement of that kind—which I am glad to say does not continue in any of the other provinces, so far as I am aware—falls through, it seems to me, after a full review of all the facts and circumstances, that it is too small a position for this government to take, that because there has been a misunderstanding if not worse, on the part of the other party to the bargain, the provincial government, these outside parties can receive no redress. It seems to me, not pressing the matter too far, to say that, under these circumstances, the federal government should step in and supplement these salaries on the expectation that was held out to these men when they received their commissions from the federal government, and settle as best they can the matter with the local government. Apropos of that, there is a precedent, though not one on all fours with this case. The Prime Minister will remember that some years ago, when Sir John Macdonald was leading the government, there arose a feeling in the province of Ontario on the part of the bar that the judges of the Appeal Court were not being paid a sufficient stipend by the federal authorities ; and to strengthen that court and maintain its dignity, the local House voted \$1,000 additional salary to each of the judges. After some official or semi-official correspondence between the Department of Justice and Sir Oliver Mowat, who was then Attorney General of the province, the federal government took the whole matter over, the local authorities abstaining from voting the \$1,000, and it was recognized that the case made out for the court of appeal was a good one, and that the whole salary ought to be paid by the appointing power. I make this motion for the papers at this time so that we may have the whole case before parliament, and particularly in order that the government may have it before their minds before completing the estimates to be laid before the House.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The question which has been brought by my hon. friend to the attention of the House is one of some importance—not so much, perhaps, in respect to the money consideration involved as in respect to the importance of our preserving understandings, so far as we can, and keeping good faith with all public servants. The views of the government, as my hon. friend is aware, have been embodied in the Minute of Council passed upon the report of the Minister of Justice from which my hon. friend has just quoted. The government deeply regret the attitude taken on this matter by the government of British Columbia; but they have no control over that government, who acted within their powers in doing as they did. Whether they acted judiciously or not is a matter more for the people of British Columbia than for us. So far as we are concerned, my hon. friend rather suggests that we should, by a vote of this House, make up the proportion of the salary of the judges which has been taken away from them by the action of the government of British Columbia. There is this difficulty. When these members of the bench were appointed, some twenty years ago or more, parliament did not think it advisable to give them more than the salary of \$2,400 a year. It was felt, however, that in view of the remoteness of British Columbia at that time, and the higher cost of living there than in the eastern provinces, that the salary was scarcely adequate; and yet, with these facts in view, parliament did not deem it proper to give them more than \$2,400 a year. But parliament depended on the action, subsequently taken by the provincial government, that this salary would be supplemented by their giving the judges additional jurisdiction involving additional salary. The understanding which was arrived at, tacitly or openly, between the two governments at that time was carried out; but after the lapse of twenty years or more, the provincial government has deemed it advisable, for reasons upon which I shall not pass any judgment, to do away with that part of the understanding, and to take from the judges the \$500 additional salary which had been voted to them for the additional duties which had been laid upon them by the legislature. Now, the question is whether or not it would be advisable for the federal parliament to do in the year 1900 what it refused to do at the outset, and to give to the judges of British Columbia the salary which parliament at the time they were appointed refused to them. It is a question that is not free from difficulty, as my hon. friend will see. I can assure my hon. friend, so far as my own wishes and the wishes of the Minister of Justice are concerned, we would be glad to be able to carry out in its entirety the understanding which was come to at the outset. The ques-

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tion is one which the government is not, perhaps, primarily, to decide. I know that at this moment the attention of the Minister of Justice is engaged on the matter, but further than this I cannot say at present.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.). The matter which the member for Pictou has brought up is one which I think the right hon. gentleman must see is of great consequence to men holding high and responsible positions in the province of British Columbia. There evidently has been a breach of faith by the provincial government in failing to fulfil promises made to these judges. As far as I know they are paid less for the work they do than similar judges in Ontario and the maritime provinces. I am given to understand that gentlemen holding similar positions in the maritime provinces and Ontario are paid as high as \$3,000 a year, besides being allowed to accept fees. The county court judges in British Columbia do not get any fees whatever, and their maximum salary, when they had the \$500 allowed them by the provincial government, was only \$2,900 per year. The right hon. gentleman has told us that some twenty years ago it was thought advisable to make their salaries \$2,400 per year on account of the higher cost of living in British Columbia. I do not know that the cost of living there is quite as high now as it was twenty years ago, but it is still more expensive than in the maritime provinces or Ontario. Besides, the work which these judges do has increased four or five-fold since they were first appointed. These gentlemen left good practices, which, if they had retained, instead of accepting their present positions, would no doubt have given them much greater remuneration than they can ever look to in their present position. I think the matter well worthy the consideration of the government. I have the greatest possible sympathy not only for the county court judges but also for the Supreme Court judges who are, in my opinion, and in that of a great many in British Columbia, underpaid. Why should not the judges in British Columbia get just as much as they do in Ontario? They have to deal with a large number of cases, involving very heavy amounts, mining and land cases, they have to work night and day, and they are men who, in point of ability and in every other respect, will compare favourably, I think, with any other judges in Canada. I am informed that the provincial government in British Columbia is now taking some action looking towards the raising of the salaries of these judges, and I hope that the right hon. gentleman and his cabinet will also give that question every consideration.

Motion agreed to.

GRANTS OF SCRIP TO HALF-BREEDS.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia) moved :

That it was wise and just of Canadian governments in the past to recognize the agrarian claims of the Indians of Canada;

That this statesmanlike policy of justice to the Indian has been attended with advantages to peace and progress;

That departure from it would be a retrograde step and certain to entail regrettable consequences;

That no feature of the Indian policy of Canada is juster or more incumbent on the ministry of the hour to observe than that which provides that in the case of half-breeds who do not take treaty money and live on a reserve, the agrarian title in them, which comes from their Indian blood, shall be recognized and compounded with by grant of land;

That once it has been adopted as policy that, the half-breeds preferring it, scrip entitling the holder to the amount of land considered sufficient as a grant, may be given instead of the land itself, it is the bounden duty of the government not to withhold scrip from such of our half-breed fellow-citizens as are entitled thereto, for it is no gratuity, but a just payment, and it being not only possible, but probable, and even certain, that delay in discharging the country's obligation to this class of our citizens, many of whom are poor, may result in loss to them and render some of them the victims of designing knaves, and, constructively, the government a party to a cruel and repulsive pillage of simple and almost defenceless persons.

He said : This motion is one arising out of the Act we passed last year, and in passing of which we discussed the merits of giving scrip to the half-breeds. It will be remembered that some hon. members took the view that what should be done was to give land to the half-breeds ; but the hon. Minister of the Interior assured us that the half-breeds would not have been satisfied with that, and would not have been satisfied unless they received scrip, and he further told us that the policy of the government was to give scrip to children born before 1885, and to treat the half-breeds in the same way as the Manitoba half-breeds were treated in 1870, and on the same principle. You will find in *Hansard*, page 4,804 of volume 2, 1899, that the hon. Minister of the Interior spoke as follows :

The law at present only enables the government to give scrip on the basis of the half-breeds who were entitled to it on April 15, 1870, and was passed for the purpose of applying to the half-breeds in the immediate neighbourhood of Red River. Of course, that date has no application whatever to the Athabasca district, and we purpose taking power to deal with this question on the basis of giving to the half-breeds scrip up to the time they are dealt with. The same amendment would enable us to deal with the disputed cases in the North-west Territories, and to give scrip to half-breeds there who have been, since the settlement of 1885, urging that they should be dealt with upon the same principle as that on which we now propose to deal with the half-breeds of Athabasca district.

It will be remembered that I supported the policy of the government in that respect, and the hon. gentleman will further remember that years ago in this House I contended that that was the true policy, and that the half-breeds in the North-west Territories should be dealt with on precisely the same principle as the Manitoba half-breeds were in 1870, and that the giving of scrip to the half-breeds around Saskatchewan and elsewhere in the territory in 1885 could not extinguish the title in their children who had been born before that time. Therefore I contended that the proper thing was to do what the Minister of the Interior announced in that speech last year as the intention of the government. Again, on page 4,895 of the same *Hansard*, the hon. minister said :

What I mean is this. The hon. gentleman is aware of the fact that since scrip was issued to the half-breeds immediately after the rebellion in 1885, there was a large number of half-breeds there who claim that, as the children born between 1870 and 1885, of the half-breeds who were dealt with in 1885, they should receive scrip as well as their parents, and that is what the government propose to recognize by taking the authority referred to in the Bill.

And in October last, the commissioners, authorized by this government to deal with the matter, advertised that they would deal with it immediately and would extinguish the Indian title in those children. The half-breeds in the Saskatchewan around Prince Albert and Battleford and Wood Mountain and around Edmonton were in consequence led to believe that they would be dealt with forthwith. Of course they should have been dealt with forthwith. The commission was up there and it is impossible to find any good ground why they were not dealt with. Last year there was a promise of a very good harvest and consequently those half-breeds who expected that good harvest let out a little, but the harvest did not turn out what they expected.

The consequence is that there is a good deal of distress now. And the delay of the government in settling with these people—a delay contrary to what was held out to them and to the advertisement circulated—has been made use of by speculators. Of course, as the half-breeds were not in possession of the scrip, and were, therefore, in the position of selling a future title, they could not make as good a bargain as if they had had the scrip in their hands. To my knowledge, on the line of railway, the delay of the government in dealing with this matter has been made use of by speculators to the great disadvantage of the half-breeds who are entitled to scrip. I have just read from the speech of the Minister of the Interior last year his positive statement that the policy of the government is to give scrip to the children born between 1870 and 1885 and whose Indian title has not been ex-

tinguished by previous settlement. I read this before the Minister of the Interior came in, and I had better refer to the page—

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR**. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) need not take the trouble to prove that. That was announced as the policy of the government, and it is the intention to carry it out.

Mr. DAVIN. Then, at page 6,401, the minister says :

After the rebellion of 1885 a commission was sent up there and gave these half-breeds this scrip, but they always claimed, and I think with justice, that they should have been dealt with on the basis of a settlement in 1885, so that their children, born up to 1885, should have scrip issued to them.

I am quoting from the minister's speech—

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR**. There is no dispute about that; the hon. gentleman need not take the trouble to prove it.

Mr. DAVIN. I am glad to hear that. Indeed, there can be no dispute, because the minister is three times pledged on the floor of this House to do that. Well, Sir, the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis), two days after he saw that I had put this motion on the paper, placed a motion on the paper as follows :—

That, in the opinion of this House, scrip should be granted to all half-breed children born in the North-west Territories prior to 1885.

Thus he asks this House to endorse a proposition in regard to which the Minister of the Interior tells us that there is no dispute whatever, and which the government state, through the Minister of the Interior, was the fixed policy of the government last year. Why, Sir, it was the act of a farceur. I have in my hand a letter written by a prominent man in the Prince Albert district, which is dated 26th January and addressed to myself. It is as follows :—

January 26.

Dear Sir,—I am taking the liberty of writing to you about the way the present government are acting with regard to the payment of half-breed scrip in the Saskatchewan.

Before going further, I may say that for the last forty-six years I have been dealing with the Indians and half-breeds all over the country, and I am well acquainted with both them and their way of looking at things.

Now, take the way they have dealt with them. The Manitoba half-breeds were settled with long ago. Last summer they settled with the ones in the north, and up to now nothing has been done in the Saskatchewan, except that the commissioners advertised that they would settle with them last October. It is a well known fact that all the grain was frozen in the Saskatchewan last summer, and as nearly all the half-breeds have very small farms, they were consequently ruined. Had scrip been issued last fall, as promised, it would have been a God-send for them. Failing that, these poor people had to part with most, and, in some cases, with all, of their cattle to meet their debts and

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live. As the crops promised to be the largest ever known, they naturally took larger debts than they would otherwise have done. Some people say, Look at the great increase of cattle shipped out this season as a sign of prosperity, whereas it is the very proof of the poverty of the poorer classes that more cows than any other kind have been sold, and sold principally by the half-breeds.

Another thing to look at is the great dissatisfaction among most of the Indian reserves, caused by the dismissal of the Indian agents, who had experience and knew the Indian character, and replacing them by men who hardly know what an Indian is, and whose only recommendation is that their votes can be bought by a paying position.

Indians, half-breeds and whites all know that great numbers of the North-west Mounted Police have gone to South Africa, and that they have not been replaced—report says will not be.

I am glad to say that, in answer to inquiries and motions of mine, we have the assurance of the Prime Minister that the force will be brought up to an efficient level.

Now, it seems strange that the government are taking away as fast as they can all means of protection from the country, and they are doing all they can to disgust and irritate the Indian and half-breed population. If trouble comes, and come it will if this goes on, and the police force are reduced, they will be to blame for the whole thing.

Now, the longer the scrip is kept from the half-breeds, the harder they will be pressed, and the better it will be for the speculators. Report has it, and I think with good reason, that our present Liberal member has been doing a good business all winter in scrip, i.e., making bargains with the half-breeds to hand him over the scrip for \$80 or \$90 when it is issued, and he makes them some small advance on it. Is this all the scrip is worth, and is it right?

I think if you showed up the real reasons for and against having the scrip given out soon, that the government would have to do it and not hold it off too long.

Hoping that I have been able to give you some useful pointer,

I ever remain, yours truly,

The gentleman who writes this is well known, but it is unnecessary to give his name. Now, what could be the reason for not dealing with the half-breeds last year? The government advertised that they would deal with them last October. But then came the time when they began to doubt whether they could go to the country or not; and dealing with the half-breeds was put off, so that when they are dealt with, it may be on the eve of a general election, hoping that thus dealing with them will give the government a pull. But, Sir, the half-breeds are intelligent men, many of them clever men; and they are far too clever, now that this conduct on the part of the government has been exposed, to be taken in by a dodge for which they are made to pay. I venture to say that, when it is seen that the government is delaying dealing with them and postponing a settlement that should have been made last

August, the result will be that the half-breed will feel that he has been mulcted out of an amount that he might otherwise have had, and so, what was meant as a weapon of offence will turn out to be a boomerang.

Mr. DAVIS. I am very much pleased—

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Perhaps my hon. friend from Saskatchewan will allow me to say a few words now. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that my hon. friend from Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis) who has just risen to his feet, is much more conversant with the general question in relation to scrip than, perhaps, any other member of the House. The claims of these people to the issue of scrip existed from the year 1885 to the present time, and from 1885 until the time when the legislation of last session upon the subject was introduced, these claims were vainly pressed upon the government which the hon. gentleman from West Assiniboia supported, and the era of justice in regard to them was only ushered in when a change of government took place in 1896. Legislation having been pressed upon our attention from time to time, a Bill was introduced at the last session of parliament, which authorized the government to deal with this question, and at the same time with a similar question which existed in regard to the unceded territory north of the organized portion of the North-west Territories. The session of parliament at which we obtained the necessary legislation to deal with this question, adjourned on the 11th day of August last, and at that time the half-breed commission was in the far north dealing with the question of the half-breeds in that territory. The commission returned late in the fall, and had in the meantime, while they were away, dealt with the questions of the half-breeds of the far north in the unceded territory, leaving still to be dealt with the half-breeds of the organized territory who had claims which had remained since 1885 without being dealt with. It is my intention immediately to proceed with the work of settling the claims of the half-breeds in the organized portions of the North-west Territories, to whom the hon. gentleman refers. I say without any hesitation that there has been no improper delay in connection with that question at all. When we received the legislation at the session of parliament which was adjourned on the 11th of August last, our commission was then in the field dealing with a large and important portion of this question. A large and important portion of the question has been satisfactorily dealt with and disposed of. I have only been waiting until I might receive further information in regard to some phases of the question which it will be somewhat difficult to deal with and to settle, before issuing instructions to the commissioners to go to the North-west and finally settle the question

of these particular half-breeds to which the hon. gentleman has referred. I expect these matters will be settled in the course of a few days, and I have no doubt the commissioners will be in the field in the course of a month or, perhaps, two months, and the half-breeds will be enumerated and the question will finally be set at rest. I think under all the circumstances that the method in which the government will have dealt with the question will compare very favourably with the method in which it was dealt with by their predecessors in office.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan). I am very glad that the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) has seen fit to take the half-breed population of the North-west Territories under his wing on this occasion. I may say that this question has been before the country for a great many years, not only previous to, but since the rebellion of 1885, and from that time, somewhere about 1886, until the present time, this question has been before the country. An agitation was going on in the North-west Territories, and, I believe, resolutions have been passed by the assembly in the North-west Territories in favour of getting scrip for the half-breeds of the North-west Territories; but up to the present time I never heard of the hon. member for West Assiniboia taking a very lively interest in trying to get these claims of the half-breeds settled. Now, Sir, when he knows that legislation has been enacted here allowing the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) to deal with this question, when he knows that in a certain portion of the country this question has already been settled with the Indians, and when he knows that it is the intention of the government to treat with the half-breeds in the older portions of the Territories, now he comes down with a resolution for the purpose, doubtless, of trying to make a little cheap political capital for himself. I cannot see any other reason for his making this motion. He alludes to a motion that I have on the Order paper declaring that all children born previous to 1885 in the North-west Territories should be entitled to scrip. Now, it is very evident to me and must be evident to this House that the hon. gentleman does not know what he is talking about when he speaks of that motion. I will briefly place before the House how the matter stands. It is a well-known fact that in 1878, when the half-breeds were treated in the province of Manitoba, the government went into the Territories and treated with the Indians of the North-west Territories, but they failed to treat with the half-breeds of those Territories at that time. They treated with the half-breeds in Manitoba and gave scrip to all children born before the date of the treaty, and they stopped at that. In the Territories there were a large number of half-breeds that had never participated in this grant, and they

were agitating from time to time to have the government recognize their claim. The agitation went on, as the hon. member well knows, for several years until it ended in the unhappy rebellion of 1885. He knows that if the government of which he was a supporter had taken this matter up and dealt with it in the same manner and spirit in which my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior has done, there never would have been a rebellion in the North-west Territories in 1885, and this country would have been saved not only the loss of the blood of its sons but of millions of treasure. The government of the day did not take the matter up; they pigeon-holed the petitions of the half-breeds of the North-west Territories, they paid no attention to their letters or anything of the kind, and at last a rebellion broke out. After the rebellion broke out and almost before the sound of the last gun had died away, a commission was sent up by the hon. gentlemen who were then controlling the business of the country to treat with the half-breeds. This was after the rebellion was over. Had they sent up that commission one month before the rebellion took place, there would never have been any rebellion at all. How did they propose, when they came to settle with the half-breeds? Here were a lot of people who had been living in the North-west Territories for years, who had an interest in the soil, who had raised families in the Territories, and whose families had just as much interest in the soil of the North-west Territories as they had, and the commission said: We are going to give scrip to the heads of families, but we are not going to recognize the children at all. It seems to me that if the parents were entitled to scrip their children were also entitled to scrip. But these gentlemen did not concede that they had such a right, and they refused to grant scrip to the children of half-breeds born up to 1885 in the North-west Territories. This question was made an issue in every election in the North-west Territories. I do not know about the hon. member for West Assiniboia; I was not in West Assiniboia at the time to listen to his melodious voice, but no doubt he was making the same statements as the hon. gentleman who then represented Saskatchewan. Years rolled on, time went by, and we heard nothing more about that; we never saw a motion put on the Notice paper by the then hon. member for Saskatchewan, or the hon. member for West Assiniboia, calling upon the government to do justice to these half-breeds. Time went on; this government came into power, and the first thing they did was to take this matter up and to deal with it in a manner satisfactory to the half-breeds. The hon. member for West Assiniboia comes forward with the object of making a little cheap political capital in an effort to make the half-breeds believe that he is the cham-

Mr. DAVIS.

pion of their cause in this House. To show how much the hon. gentleman thinks of the half-breeds, I want to read a little speech delivered by him on Friday last.

Mr. DAVIN. Order, order.

Mr. BERGERON. Past debate.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. DAVIS. Well, I will take another opportunity of bringing this matter before the House. It is evidently with the intention of making cheap political capital that the hon. gentleman brings forward this motion. In addition to the other half-breeds, there is another class of half-breeds; they were resident in the North-west Territories previous to 1885, and their parents were settled with in the province of Manitoba in 1870. These half-breeds claim scrip on the ground that they were in the Territories before they were ceded to the Dominion government, and they hold that that entitled them to consideration. That is what I am dealing with, and the hon. member for West Assiniboia does not attempt to explain that. The hon. gentleman tells us that the Indians are in an unsettled condition, and he gave as his reason that competent men, who had been appointed as Indian agents by the late government, had been replaced by men who are not competent to look after the Indians. Now, the less the hon. gentleman, or any other hon. gentleman on the other side of the House, says about that, the better it will be for themselves. In one case there was one Indian agent by the name of Keith. Why was he dismissed? The reason was that the clergy petitioned the government to have that man dismissed from the position of Indian agent, and we found, when an investigation took place, and if the hon. gentleman wants the papers I will give them to him, it was proven by no less than five or six competent witnesses that this gentleman had been in the habit of giving liquor to the Indians. There is a statute which provides that any person who is shown, on the evidence of one credible witness to be guilty of giving liquor to Indians, is liable to a fine of from \$50 to \$200, whereas, on the evidence not of one, nor of two credible witnesses, but on the evidence of five credible witnesses, it was shown that this agent had been giving the Indians liquor, and not only giving them liquor, but handing over liquor to the possession of the Indians. Yet the hon. gentleman complains that these parties were dismissed. Take the other agent at Battleford, in my riding. The same thing was going on; the man was intoxicated all the time. I do not want to go into these matters, but the hon. gentleman has raked them up to try and show that these gentlemen have been dismissed from these positions, and that they have been replaced by men who are not properly qualified officers. The men who

have replaced these persons are doing their duty in every way, and I may say that there has not been a complaint from any association or from any person since these agents have been appointed. I saw a report in a newspaper the other evening of a speech made by the hon. member for West Assiniboia. Here is what it says.

Mr. LANDERKIN. What paper ?

Mr. DAVIS. It was in the *Globe* of Saturday, February 10. The hon. member for West Assiniboia, in talking about the half-breeds and Indians of the North-west Territories, to show the amount of respect he holds these people in, says :

There was a large Indian population and a large population of half-breeds, and owing to the fact that the commission did not complete its work, there is a great deal of discontent among them. He suggested that steps be taken at once to instruct and arm rifle corps at different centres in the North-west.

As well as to increase the Mounted Police. There is an insinuation that the half-breeds of the North-west Territories are rebels. It is an insinuation, and the hon. gentleman cannot make anything else of it. I say it is a slander, it is a malicious proceeding to come out and slander a respectable portion of the people of the North-west Territories in that way. He says that we should increase the North-west Mounted Police and arm rifle corps in the Territories to keep the Indians and half-breeds in subjection. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman what grievances Indians have ? How has he found out any grievances that they have ? He says on account of the commission. As far as the Indians are concerned, the commission has completed its labours, and it has settled with them. I would like the hon. gentleman to point out where any unrest exists in the North-west Territories amongst the Indians at the present time and to state what grievances they have. Yet the hon. gentleman gets up and makes such statements as these. He says that the Indians and half-breeds are in a state of unrest, while, here, we are spending thousands of dollars in the effort to get immigrants to settle in the North-west Territories. I am quite well aware that the hon. gentleman has been at variance with the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) on the question of immigration. He would do anything to try to stop the flood of immigration that is coming into the whole of the North-west Territories, as well as into the district of Saskatchewan, and these are the means he is adopting, giving it out to the world that the half-breeds and Indians of the North-west Territories are in a state of unrest. I am sure that the half-breeds will remember the hon. gentleman when they read that he considers them a lot of rebels, and that we have to put police and rifle corps there for the purpose of keeping them

in subjection. This is a nice thing to say of a respectable portion of the community in the North-west Territories, a class of men which has given to this country a man of the character of John Norquay. The hon. gentleman knows that in the legislature of Manitoba there are two very respectable and very intelligent half-breeds, that in the legislature of the North-west Territories there are two very respectable and very intelligent half-breeds, men of more than average ability, men of recognized ability, yet he tries to make it appear that the half-breeds of the North-west Territories are absolutely unworthy of confidence, and that we want a big force of mounted police and two or three rifle corps to keep them in subjection. In reference to the half-breeds, I want to say a few words more. How were the hon. gentleman and his political friends at that time treating the half-breeds after the rebellion was over ? The day the rebellion was over they sent up a commission to treat with the half-breeds in reference to their claims. They recognized that any losses that have occurred to the people from that rebellion should be compensated, and they appointed a commission, but how did the commission work ? Whenever a political friend of the hon. gentlemen opposite had a claim against the government he was paid, but whenever the claimant happened to be of another political stripe from hon. gentlemen opposite, he got nothing. It was not a question of loyalty, but a question of party. These gentlemen opposite are daily crying their loyalty from the housetops, but in one case I know of they paid a chief counsellor of Riel in the rebellion \$8,000 or \$9,000 ; and in another case they paid Riel's high priest in the rebellion, a large sum of money because he happened to say he would support the Tories. I know another gentleman who got \$20,000 for nothing at all, and it is a well-known fact that he was one of the men who furnished arms and ammunition to the half-breeds. But, Sir, there were numbers of Scotch half-breeds and French half-breeds who took up arms to restore law and order, and after the rebellion was over not one cent did they get. If a list of the rebellion claims paid is looked at, it will be found that every political friend of hon. gentlemen opposite was paid and had his claim settled ; but those who were not political friends of theirs got nothing. I am quite certain that the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) intends to settle in a proper spirit, the claims of the half-breeds in the North-west Territories. My hon. friend (Mr. Davin) does not understand the question at all or he would not talk as he does. He (Mr. Davin) will agree, I think, that most of the half-breeds are in my district, but he is not satisfied to confine the scope of his operations to his own constituency, and he goes junketing around the North-west Territories trying to look after every-

one else. I am able to look after the interests of my own constituents, and my own constituents know it, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) need not bother himself about the matter. A question arose, about children who had died previous to 1885, and I have asked the minister (Mr. Sifton) to take up this matter so that we may know on what basis the settlement is to be made. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) said that I had been buying scrip in my own store.

Mr. DAVIN. I did not say that.

Mr. DAVIS. He read what purported to be a letter from some gentleman unknown containing the statement that speculators were getting hold of the scrip. I suppose if the hon. member (Mr. Davin) had a store, he himself would be buying in odd scrip if any one came along and offered it for sale to him. I do not think I am deterred from buying scrip if any one wants to sell it to me, so long as I give value for it, and I do not think it is a matter which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) should bring into this House. The hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) has sat in this House for years and years when his own party was in power, and he never thought it worth while to fight the battles of the half-breeds, but now, when the whole thing is settled by this government, and the half-breeds are to get this scrip, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) comes up with a clap-trap motion to try and make these people believe that he is acting in their interests. Well, the people of the North-west Territories know where to place this hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) and they do not take stock in nonsense of that kind any longer.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I rise for the purpose of stating that the government have no fault to find with the sentiment contained in this resolution. Perhaps it is couched in more flowery language than I would have indulged in, but the substance of it is, that it is the duty of the government to promptly see that the half-breeds get their scrip or have their Indian titles extinguished. Well, the government have always been of that opinion. We have passed legislation to this effect, and at this very moment the government is trying to speedily carry out this intention which was embodied in the statute last year.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). It would be impossible for the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) to deny that he had laid down the proposition that the children born between 1870 and 1885, would be dealt with. My complaint is that they have not been dealt with promptly, and the object of the motion is to get them dealt with promptly now. My complaint is, that not having been dealt with promptly they have suffered loss, and the rambling statement of the hon. gentleman from Saskatchewan (Mr.

Mr. DAVIS.

Davis) amounts to nothing. He talked about every mortal thing except the question, and like the hunted animal that tries to dodge the pursuer, ran here and ran there, until at last the gopher got into the hole and sat down. I think you will agree with me, Sir, that the manner of his defence showed that the bringing of this matter up made him uneasy. What I pointed out in regard to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) was this: That when he saw I was dealing with the interests of these people, and bringing the government to book for not being prompt in settling with them; two days afterwards, he put this motion upon the Order paper:

That in the opinion of this House, scrip should be granted to all half-breed children born in the North-west Territories prior to 1885.

What is the meaning of putting that there unless he wanted to throw dust in the eyes of the half-breeds of the North-west Territories? He asserts a proposition that was laid down twelve months ago by the Minister of the Interior in this House. If he were to say: In the opinion of this House, that white was white or black was black, or if I were to follow in the wake of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) and use some very opprobrious epithet and then predicate and copulate it with the verb 'to be,' and make a proposition asserting something like that black is black, it would not be more absurd than this proposition of the hon. member (Mr. Davis). I said that the action of the hon. member was the action of a farceur, and I say that if the motion was the act of a farceur, still more so was the speech of the hon. member (Mr. Davis). What had we to do with discussing what led up to the rebellion of 1885? The gentleman who wrote me the letter which I have read, did not mark it 'private.' He is one of the most respectable men of the North-west Territories, and I do not know that he would object to give his name. If it would add any force to it I would have given his name, but the only personal charge made in that letter, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) admits. He admits that he is dealing with these half-breeds, and he has not denied that the amount mentioned in this gentleman's letter is the amount he is giving them, and if he is giving them only that amount, he is doing what others are doing along the line, namely, taking advantage of them owing to the fact that they have not the scrip in their possession, and therefore cannot have the advantage of competition for the scrip. He (Mr. Davis) takes the view—and it is a very extraordinary view to be taken by a gentleman who has been three or four years in this House—he takes the view that a member of this House is debarred from taking up grievances that happen to affect a number of persons in another constituency from that which he represents. Why, Sir, every mem-

ber here is a representative of the whole of Canada, and each one of us has the right to take up any grievance from Halifax to Victoria, or from the Saskatchewan down to the boundary line. However, I have half-breeds in my constituency, though perhaps not as large a number as there are in the Saskatchewan. The hon. member (Mr. Davis) is mistaken in supposing that I never previously brought this case before the House. The very thing I have advocated to-day, I have advocated before now in and out of this House. Sir, if I could fix on anything that that hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) has done since his delightful presence has dawned upon this chamber, to stamp him I would take what he has just done in regard to my advocacy of prompt dealing with the half-breeds. He has stated that I have suggested that the half-breeds were to be guarded against as rebels. In the speech to which he refers, what I said was this. I said the government were dealing with them in such a way as might well irritate them—that I had information that they were irritated in consequence of the way they were dealt with, namely, in the delay of the settlement promised by the Minister of the Interior and advertised to take place as far back as October last. Is that not a proper thing to say when I was advocating defences for the North-west Territories? But, Sir, look at the logic of the hon. gentleman. In reply to my advocacy of defences for the North-west Territories, the Prime Minister rose and told the House that the government were going to raise the Mounted Police to their full strength, and his colleague the Minister of Militia told us that he was going to establish rifle corps in the North-west Territories and arm them with rifles. If my advocacy of defences for the North-west implied, as it did not, that the half-breeds were rebels, how much more did the government's statement imply that they considered them rebels. But there is no cogency in the hon. gentleman's reasoning, and the action of the government does not imply, any more than my remarks did, that the half-breeds are rebels. The hon. gentleman said that his constituents recognized him as a person fit to look after their interests. I have visited the Saskatchewan, and I have found that they do not regard him as a fit and proper representative; and the very fact that he has to wait until I put a notice of this kind on the paper, before he puts on the paper the notice that I have referred to, farcical as that notice is, proves what? If it was necessary that he should put that notice on the paper, why did he not put it on before? And if he felt it necessary to do it in consequence of my putting this notice on the paper, does it now show that he is to that extent incompetent? I have addressed meetings all over the Saskatchewan. I have had meetings at Prince Albert at which the hall was crowded to overflow-

ing; I have had no meetings there at which the hall was not crowded. But the hon. gentleman, who says he has the confidence of his constituents, held a meeting there a short time ago, on the eve of his departure for parliament, at which forty-two persons were present.

Mr. DAVIS. That is ten more than you had the last time.

Mr. DAVIN. When I was there the last time, I had a meeting, which for weight and volume, has never been surpassed in Prince Albert. That was in the afternoon. Moreover, in the evening, when we held a meeting for organization, and when only Conservatives were asked to attend, that great hall was three-fourths full, and a son of the president of the Liberal Association marched up and signed the roll of the Conservative Association.

Mr. DAVIS. He is only fourteen years old.

Mr. DAVIN. At the meeting held by the hon. gentleman, a Mr. McLeod was chairman, and in giving the hon. gentleman a character, this is what he said of him:

Mr. S. McLeod was chairman, and in a few words introduced Mr. Davis as the only member of parliament that had nerve enough to go into a minister's room without knocking.

So that because the hon. member can do a boorish thing he is a fit and proper person to represent the people of Saskatchewan; that is the highest praise Mr. McLeod can give him. I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, that the people of Prince Albert, who were represented for years by a gentleman, do not relish very much the way they are represented here to-day. I am glad to hear from the Prime Minister that he consents to this motion, and that I have been able to get a declaration from the Minister of the Interior that in a month or two months he will do what he should have done six months ago.

Motion agreed to.

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would like to ask my right hon. friend if he is yet in a position to answer the question with reference to the Nicaragua Canal and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

The PRIME MINISTER. I am not in a position to answer that question now, and I do not expect to be in a position to answer it until action is taken by the Senate of the United States one way or the other with regard to the ratification of the new treaty.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Copies of all and any reports of surveys that have been made since last session, as well as all petitions and applications from all and any source whatsoever in connection with the Montreal, Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal project.—(Mr. Poupore.)

Return showing the dates of the different trips of the steamer 'Lunenburg' to the Magdalen Islands in 1899, under the contract with Robt. J. Leslie, of Halifax, for carrying mails, passengers and freight, and setting forth the hours of arrival at and departure from the Magdalen Islands, and arrival at and departure from Pictou, N.S.—(Mr. Macdonald, King's.)

Statement of all sums paid to the 'Leader' Company, Ltd., of Regina, N.W.T., or to N. F. Davin, M.P., managing director of said company, in the years 1894 and 1895, showing the services for which such sums were paid. Also for copies of all letters, telegrams and correspondence between said N. F. Davin and the government in connection with such payments.—(Mr. Davis.)

Copies of all letters, reports, entries and other documents in reference to the homesteading or sale of the south-east and the south-west quarters of section 25, of township 1, in the third range, east of the first principal meridian, in the province of Manitoba.—(Mr. LaRivière.)

Statement of the number of permits to cut timber, fuel, or both, issued during the year 1899 by Martin Jérôme, or upon his recommendation, by the Crown Timber Inspector, or by any officer of the Crown Timber Office at Winnipeg; the dates of such permits, the amount of fees collected or due, and the dates of payment, whole or part; also the names of the respective parties to whom these permits were issued.—(Mr. LaRivière.)

Return of (a) the number of all first-class tickets issued at the Sydney and North Sydney stations respectively over the Intercolonial Railway from September 1, 1899, to January 31, 1900; (b) the number of first-class tickets that were issued to each of these stations respectively during the said period; (c) the number of parlour car tickets issued to and from each of these stations respectively during the stated period; (d) the number of cars of freight and the aggregate number of tons of freight that were shipped from and arrived at each of these stations respectively during the period stated; (e) the aggregate amount earned at or received from each of these stations respectively for all passenger rates and fares and for all freight during the period stated.—(Mr. Gillies.)

Return of all reports, correspondence and papers relating to the SS. 'John C. Barr,' admitted to Canadian registry of shipping at Dawson.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Copies of Orders in Council, reports and correspondence relating to the coasting laws on the Pacific coast of Canada and the United States not already brought down.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.)

Copies of Orders in Council authorizing the free issue of copies of the voters' lists to hon. members of this House or any other parties, or instructions by any minister or by his direction to the officer in charge of such voters' lists for such free issue.—(Mr. Pope.)

Copies of all correspondence and telegrams between the Dominion government and the provincial government of British Columbia, also between the Dominion government and the Imperial government, or any other persons, in re-

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

gard to the offer of the British Columbia government to raise and equip a contingent of mounted men in that province for service in South Africa.—(Mr. Prior.)

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 5.20 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, February 13, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have the honour to inform the House that the Clerk of the House has received from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery certificate of the election and return of Arthur W. Puttee, Esq., for the electoral district of Winnipeg.

MEMBER INTRODUCED.

Arthur W. Puttee, Esq., member for the electoral district of Winnipeg, by Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Stubbs.

INFRINGEMENT OF COPYRIGHT.

Mr. McCARTHY moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 15) to amend the Criminal Code, 1892. He said: Under the existing law, an infringement of a trade-mark is punished as a criminal offence; but, at present this does not apply to copyright. The object of the amendment is to put infringement of a copyright upon the same footing as infringement of a trade-mark.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to say a few words on a question of privilege. I see in the *Gazette* of Montreal, the issue of Friday, February 9, 1900, a report of the transactions of the House for the day previous, in which the following appears:—

Mr. Davis briefly addressed the House in reference to ballot-stuffing and other irregularities as practised by Liberals in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, as well as elsewhere.

Now, I think that any person who was in the House at the time and heard what I had to say must come to the conclusion that the reporter who made that report should be treated much the same as my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) wished to treat another gentleman in the gallery on a similar occasion. I never made a statement of the kind attributed to me, nor do I think there is any foundation for such a statement. As far as the North-west Territories are concerned, I

do not think our political opponents can find any ground for a statement of that kind. I know of no irregularities practised by the Liberals of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. But, if I come home to Ontario, I find that within the last few days nineteen of the political friends of hon. gentlemen opposite have been placed behind prison bars—

Mr. SPEAKER. I would draw the attention of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) to the fact that he must confine himself to the original matter.

Mr. DAVIS. I have said all I wished to say, Mr. Speaker.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE—REPORT CONCERNING LT. BORDEN.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). Before the Orders of the Day are called I would like, in justice to a member of the militia who was referred to by the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), to speak a single word of explanation. The hon. gentleman for West York used the following language :

We are told in the public press that a son of the Minister of Militia was insubordinate to his superior officer the other day, and we look with some interest and curiosity to see how he is to be treated.

About the time the report to which the hon. gentleman refers appeared in the newspapers, I received from my son, who is going to South Africa as a member of the contingent, a statement by wire that the report was absolutely without foundation. I also received from Major Williams in command of the detachment to which my son belongs, a statement in the same terms. However, I did not think it proper to bring the matter up at that stage. I waited until the officer in command of the district, the Nova Scotia district, No. 9, had communicated officially with the headquarters staff here at Ottawa, I wish to read to the House that officer's statement :

Hallfax, N.S., Feb. 10, 1900.

To the Chief Staff Officer of Militia,
Ottawa, Ont.

With reference to the report of unpleasantness between Major Williams, commanding the detachment of this division, C.M.R., and Lieut. Borden, commanding a troop therein, the whole story is absolutely without foundation, no difficulty of even the slightest nature having occurred.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). Mr. Speaker, the facts are not just as stated by the Minister of Militia. It was not just at the time the report appeared in the newspapers, that I called attention to this matter, but it was many days afterwards, and the report was not contradicted up to that day, although there was time enough for a contradiction.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) doubt the statement I have made?

Mr. WALLACE. I am not doubting the statement the hon. minister (Mr. Borden) has read, but I am contradicting the statement he has made to the House that about the same time that I made the remark he has referred to there appeared a report in the newspapers. I say, and I repeat, that that statement had appeared in the newspapers many days before.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Not many—about three days.

Mr. WALLACE. I think it was the week before. Many days had elapsed during which the report might have been contradicted.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The report appeared on Monday, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) made his statement on Thursday.

Mr. WALLACE. Then four days had elapsed, and no contradiction had appeared.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) should not prolong the discussion.

Mr. WALLACE. I do not desire to prolong it ; but the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) has contradicted the statement I made. I accept what he has read, and I can say I am glad to hear that statement. I do not desire to have reflection cast upon any member of the volunteer force, if it be not correct.

I did not originate the statement and waited those four days to hear it contradicted, and it has not yet been contradicted. That is all I have to say about it.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORGANIZATION OF COMMITTEES.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask my right hon. friend if he would take the earliest opportunity to have the committees of the House organized. The House is aware that there was unfinished business left at the close of last session, which passes over to the present, and that owing to the loss of time in not having the committees organized at an early stage last session, a great deal of important business was delayed until a late period, when some of the most important business was brought before the committees when half the members of the committees had absolutely left for home. It will greatly expedite the business of the House if my right hon. friend would see that the committees are organized as promptly as possible and thereby save a good deal of time.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I will.

THE DEPARTURE OF GENERAL HUTTON.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to address the House, and as my remarks will be of somewhat lengthy character, I shall conclude with a motion. I wish to bring to the attention of the House a matter that is of the greatest interest to the people of Canada, especially those belonging to the militia force. I refer to the near departure of Major General Hutton, who has been in command of the Canadian militia for some eighteen months past. We are informed by the press that he is leaving the Dominion in order to go to the front in South Africa as an Imperial officer. It seems to me that this is a case of swopping horses in the middle of the stream. We know that at present Great Britain is in the throes of a mighty struggle, in which, I am proud to say, Canada and the other colonies are taking a hand and thereby showing that they are heart and soul with the mother country. It shows also that the time has come in the history of this country when one would naturally expect the government to do everything possible to put our militia force on the best possible basis and the affairs of the department in the best running order. All the information we have up to the present is that General Hutton is leaving because he has been offered a position in South Africa, but there is a widespread feeling all over the Dominion that that is not the true reason for his departure. We have had British generals here before, good men, who left Canada somewhat under a cloud, whether owing to their own faults or to unfortunate friction that has occurred between them and the various Ministers of Militia, I leave it for hon. members to decide; but I am sadly afraid that the present instance is one in which the general commanding is leaving on account of friction. I have no reason for saying so except general rumour, but I think there must be something in it, because I cannot believe that a gentleman who has the welfare of this Dominion so much at heart, as General Hutton has, who has done his duty so well—in which statement I think nearly every man in the militia force in this Dominion will agree with me—would give up a position in which he knows he would be of immense value to this country. It is most deeply to be deplored if his departure is owing to friction between him and the government, and if the government has not seen fit to try and bring about a good understanding between it and the general. General Hutton is acknowledged by almost every military man in Canada, to have a splendid grasp of the whole situation. He is an infantry soldier, but also well versed in the cavalry and artillery branches, a combination rarely found, and he also has had large experience on the staff and in the field and among militiamen in dealing with

the volunteers in the Australian colonies. With regard to his qualifications in the latter respect, I may say that I have met many Australians who have been under him, and have taken great interest in the work he did, and they were all loud in their praises of the manner in which he carried out that work.

I think that any one who has read the first report he issued must agree with me that Canada was very fortunate in getting a man of his calibre to look after her military force. His ideas were no provincial, no narrow ideas, but broad and imperialistic, and I am perfectly certain that anything he has done in this country was done with the sole motive of enabling the government of Canada to put our militia force into such a state that it would not only be a credit to ourselves, but the whole British Empire, and be able to hold its own with any troops from any portion of the empire.

I am well aware that the general has unfortunately had some disputes with gentlemen in our militia, one of whom, I am sorry to say, is a gentleman who has a seat in this House, but who is now at the front. I do not intend saying a word on that subject, and I am sure the hon. Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) will not ask me to, because the papers have been called for, and until they are laid on the Table it would not be fair for any one to discuss the dispute in question. Everybody who knows Col. Hughes knows that he is a most enthusiastic militiaman, who has always done his best to carry out successfully anything to which he has put his hand, but every one who knows General Hutton can also say that no dispute could have come about unless he had really thought there was some cause for his strictures. However, as I have said, until the papers are down I do not wish to say anything on that point.

But if it be true that politics are at the bottom of the general's leaving this country, I think that is a fact to be deplored by the whole country. When the present Minister of Militia took office, we were told that he was going to do his best to keep politics out of the department, which, every militiaman knows, is the curse of the whole thing. At meetings of Rifle and Artillery Associations, the hon. minister laid great stress upon the point that he was going to devote his whole time to seeing that the Militia Department was run on military principles alone, and that politics were left out of the question altogether.

The positions were to be given to the men who were best fitted for them, independently of whether they were Liberals or Conservatives. Now, I believe the hon. gentleman really meant what he said, I believe he tried his utmost to carry that out, but I am sadly afraid that the pressure brought to bear upon him has been too much. If

such is the case, I say that there can never be a militia force in Canada that will be what it should be. Until we can keep politics out of it, I do not believe the present government—and I speak of past governments as well—until we can keep politics out, there is no earthly chance of having that Militia Department carried on with credit to itself or credit to the country. For another thing, we shall never get an Imperial officer to come out here from Great Britain and stay. Some gentlemen say we have had enough officers sent out to us from the War Office at home. Well, I do not agree with them. Personally, I believe it would be the greatest mistake, a most fatal mistake, to break that link that now binds us to the mother country. We must have an officer who has had large experience in organization, large experience in the service, and a man who is perfectly free from all political taint. Such a man, I believe, cannot be found in Canada. We have, Mr. Speaker, splendid officers in Canada, we have sent many of them to the front to represent us in South Africa, men who cannot be beaten for the positions they hold anywhere else in the British Empire. But I say fearlessly, and speaking from my own knowledge of the militia for the last twenty-five years, that there is not a single man in Canada to-day who is fit to take the position of general officer commanding the forces of Canada. We may in time train men fit to take that position, and when we find Canadians who have passed through the Royal Military College, and who have served with distinction in the British Empire, I would say if possible we should get a Canadian who has had that experience. But until we find such a man we cannot do without an Imperial officer in that position.

Now, Sir, I do not wish to make a long speech on this subject, because it is a matter on which any man can say in a short time all he wishes; but I do say this, that I think it is deeply to be regretted that a man of General Hutton's attainments and abilities should either have seen fit voluntarily to retire, or, which I believe is nearer the truth, has been forced to leave Canada at this juncture. I feel perfectly certain that my feelings are shared by a very large number of men in Canada. We cannot all agree, but anyway, speaking for myself alone—I have no wish to bind any one on this side or on the other side of the House to agree with me, as I do not know what their feelings may be—but I feel it my duty to my country and to the militia at large, to lay this matter before you and to speak these few words on this subject. I only trust that General Hutton, when he leaves Canada, will be encouraged by the consciousness that he has done his duty, as I know he has done it, and that he may be fortunate in the new field to which he is going. I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Whilst I appreciate fully the motive which has actuated my hon. friend from Victoria (Mr. Prior) in bringing this matter before the House, I desire to say that for reasons of equal moment, at least, I submit to the judgment of the House that it is not desirable at this time to enter into a controversy as to the causes which have led to General Hutton's recall. General Hutton has been recalled by the Imperial authorities to take service in South Africa. Whilst he has been here he has in many respects rendered good service to the militia of Canada, everybody acknowledges that he is a meritorious officer; but that he is not free from faults, like everybody else in the world, even his best friends will admit. I think at this moment it is just as well to leave the matter where it is, and to allow General Hutton to leave this country for Africa carrying with him the best wishes of all Canadians in the career in which he is about to enter, a career which, we believe, he will fill worthily by his courage and his ability as a soldier.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I entirely concur with the remarks just made by the right hon. gentleman. I think it would be extremely difficult to do any kind of justice to this question in the absence of the correspondence, for which there is a motion standing on the paper, and which, I suppose, will be brought down in due course. When the House has all the facts before them, it will be much easier to deal with that subject satisfactorily. I believe my hon. friend who has introduced this motion is quite right in saying that it is a source of deep regret to everybody that at this particular crisis the gentleman who was sent here from England at the request of the government to discharge such important duties, should now be obliged to break the continuity of his service. But that is, of course, a matter which we cannot control, and I agree that we should have the papers before discussing the matter further.

Mr. D. TISDALE (South Norfolk). I do not intend for a moment to question the wisdom of the advice of the First Minister and the leader of the opposition; I quite agree with them that if there is to be any discussion at any time upon this subject it is better to wait until the correspondence shall be brought down. At the same time, I think the government should go a little further and give us some information as to whether his place is to be filled by another Imperial officer, or whether there is to be an evasion of the law as it now stands. I heartily concur in every word uttered by the hon. member for Victoria. I heartily agree with him that the time has not come when we should have anybody but an Imperial officer of experience and of the qualifications which he

has enumerated, to command our military forces. I also agree with him in hoping that the time will come when a Canadian can properly be called upon to fill that position. I believe that time will come, but at present, and for a good many years yet, we shall need an Imperial officer. But while the law remains as it is, I think we ought to carry it out. This is not a time to be silent, on the contrary, as we all agree, it is a time when military matters have come to the front, and it is a time when Canada ought to be assured that, though so excellent a man has departed, we are going to get one equally good in his place. We should be prepared in Canada to take whatever steps and afford whatever assistance is necessary, and to spare neither money nor effort to get the right sort of men in the right places, and to make abundant preparations for any exigencies that may arise. I quite agree with what some gentleman said the other day on this matter, speaking on another motion, that while it is no time for making any alarmist observations, at the same time it is due to the empire, and it is especially due to Canada, that we should be in a forward state of preparation in every possible way.

I think it would be a very serious thing if we were to attempt to have the militia force in this country, or part of it, administered by any one less capable than an Imperial officer of high standing. One word further in regard to my agreeing with the hon. member for Victoria (Mr. Prior); I had the pleasure of a short experience in the Militia Department, and I came to this conclusion, which I will give the hon. minister the benefit of, that with an officer such as the late incumbent before the last one—I mean General Gascoigne—or with an officer such as General Hutton, that one thing was necessary, one thing that ought to be carried out, and that was, that although the law must remain as it is, that the minister must be responsible and should be responsible, as the head of the department, that he should abolish politics, and I believe, that if he would become unpopular with his own party for a couple of years, and if, to use a common expression, he had backbone enough to let it be understood that no politics should be introduced, but that qualification should be the rule, he would become a very popular man, not only with his own party, but, particularly, with our militia. It is a difficult thing to do, and would be a very hard thing and a very unpopular thing with many hon. gentlemen on the side of the House to which the hon. minister belongs, but it is a thing that is necessary. Consequently, there should be a distinct understanding between the minister and his general as to where one was to govern and as to where the other was to govern, and wherever they ran so near to the line as to which should reign they should have an understanding that they should quietly dis-

Mr. TISDALE.

cuss matters of that sort together and decide them together, and act upon their decision. With these two simple rules, though very difficult to carry out, I believe that much might be accomplished, but, without them, I am like the hon. member for Victoria: I begin to feel hopeless that our militia will ever have a chance of being put in an efficient state, such as I believe the application of these simple rules would result in. I can only say in regard to General Hutton that, I believe, from reading his reports and from what I have heard of him, as to matters that he has accomplished, that he has brought a faithful intention, great abilities and great experience to the discharge of his duties, and as far as I am concerned, I propose to suspend any judgment, not only in reference to this matter, not only in justice to him, but in justice to the hon. minister and to the department, until all the papers are down, when a more opportune time will present itself and when we can more clearly discuss the case and ascertain if there is any blame to be attached to anybody. For the present, I am content to understand and believe that General Hutton is ready and willing and desirous to go to South Africa. I believe he is a man of the sort that would prefer to be there than here, and I hope that the government will be able, as quickly as possible, to secure as good a man or better to take his place, because, I believe, at this time, more than at any other time, we should have an Imperial officer, and I think that the whole country would feel better satisfied that our preparations would be, not only on a large scale, but under proper supervision.

Mr. JAMES DOMVILLE (King's, N.B.) Mr. Speaker, I think it is rather unfortunate that the hon. member for Victoria (Mr. Prior) should have got up an apologetic for the general on the eve of his departure. It rather challenges the question as to why he was going away, and wherefore this sudden departure. There are charitable people in this country, and perhaps in this House, who would rather have liked to have let him slide out, not only quietly, but quickly, which he is doing. If the hon. member for Victoria was correct, that his case requires investigation in this country and in this House, there should be a state trial instead of trying a man after he has gone. Nor would I pass a whitewashing act before he leaves. It seems to me that my hon. friend has gone a little too far in reference to this question. The press says that the general has gone under a cloud, but the press does not say that he is going away with the well wishes of this country.

Mr. PRIOR. He is though.

Mr. DOMVILLE. There may be an officer, in this country, who has, perhaps, been a little more particular in his attentions to the general and he may have been held in

position or got some little favours, but I have some correspondence in my desk here, which I just received to-day, of the most violent case that ever occurred. I refer to the case of Lieut.-Col. Van Wagner. While it is stated General Hutton is going to do duty for his country in South Africa, it is not known that he has not got an offer to go, although some people have been kind enough to say that he is going to get a position. Well, many will perhaps get positions some day a little higher up than they occupy to-day. It is contended that this discussion is likely to place him in a false position before the War Office. But it should be remembered that the War Office is not so wedded to any officer that they will show him favour because some hon. gentleman in this House will get up and attempt to cover his tracks. The War Office is bound to look at these questions in an Imperial way. We are not to have every general coming over here and turning the Minister of Militia down. We turn to the Journals of the House of New South Wales and we find five or six volumes of the very same trouble occurring there as have occurred with General Hutton here. If hon. gentlemen will turn up the Journals of the New South Wales House they will find what occurred there. Not only is it here that Major-General Hutton has been troublesome, but you will find that the same thing occurred there. Seventeen months have elapsed since General Hutton came to this country. Where was the militia before he came here? Where was Sir Patrick McDougall? He was the best officer that ever came to Canada, and he was content to occupy a position subordinate to the minister, the position of Deputy Adjutant-General. He laid down the best system that was ever laid down for the Canadian militia. He went out of this country with honour, came back afterwards to Halifax as the General there, and, I think, that for a time he administered the government of this country. Yet we hear so much about the services of this Colonel, or General Hutton. He never held any position very long. Let us take the times that he has held the positions that he has occupied. He was A.D.C. to the Major-General of the Expeditionary Force, Egypt, for two months; Assistant Military Secretary to the G. O. C., Egypt, for seven months; Brigade-Major, Aldershot, for five months; D.A.A.G. and Q.M.G., Egypt, for seven months; D.A.A.G. at Aldershot, for seven months; Commander of Mounted Infantry Regiment at Aldershot, six months, and Brigadier Commanding 10th Brigade, 5th Division, Aldershot, for one month. He has done better here, because he has been able to hold his position here for seventeen months. I do not think there is anything in the record to lead us to the conclusion that the government have been hasty. I am not in the confidence of the government, and

I do not know what he has done and what they have done, and will not until the papers come down. But I am satisfied that when they do come down, in the case of Lieut.-Col. Hughes and in many other cases, it will be found why he left Canada. I am not pro-Boer; I am in favour of the British nation. I think nobody will accuse me of being opposed to the British, although, in one way, I would rather select a Boer general than an officer such as General Hutton. It is not because the British nation has not the pluck, but, as Napoleon said, the army of England was an army of lions led by jackasses. The point I want to make from this is that officers assume a position that they are not qualified for. In England, General Hutton will have to take some subordinate position, if he gets one there, and he will have to learn what he never learned here, that there is somebody superior to him. There he will have a chance to learn from some one superior to him. Instead of his dictating to the government, and dictating to the Minister of Militia, and dictating to parliament he will have to go back to the old story of his youth; he will have to obey and not dictate. I join with the hon. member for Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) in expressing regret that this gentleman is leaving Canada, but my regret is that he has not been found equal to the task allotted to him. All of our general officers commanding have had trouble in Canada, but most of them when they left had friends both inside and outside of the House. This, Sir, is the only occasion on which a general officer commanding ever left Canada with almost a consensus of public opinion against him.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. DOMVILLE. I say yes.

Mr. PRIOR. Very far from it.

Mr. DOMVILLE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) denies my statement, but anyway he cannot get over the fact that General Hutton is going, and the hon. gentleman himself admits that he is going under a cloud, whatever that cloud is. General Hutton has not served his time out here, and I know that the excuse given, namely, that he is going to get a position in South Africa, is not the correct one. They do not remove British officers that way. The rule of the service is that when an officer takes a position he must abide by it, and when he got that position it was perhaps a little better than he could get anywhere else at the time. The rule of the service is that an officer in a high position has no right to volunteer, but his Queen has a right to call on him for service and he has to obey. General Hutton's going now means that there is disapprobation in connection with him. I have not seen that the

press on either side takes up his case very strongly. No one seems to stand by him. General Hutton was not a Commander-in-Chief in the same sense as Lord Roberts or Lord Wolseley; but he came to Canada simply as a superior officer to direct the militia and to give advice to the minister. Instead of doing his duty, he thought he could dictate to the whole country. If the British government cannot send men to Canada who have more discretion, and who are better able to learn the character of the people of the country and the requirements and wants of the country, then I hope we shall never have another Imperial officer sent here. We have lots of Canadian officers able to do the work, and if they are not considered up to date then they can be sent to England to learn. I may say that some of the Imperial officers we have had here, have never been able to learn. I trust that I will not be accused of any vindictiveness in any remarks that I have made. For four years I have been trying to get the Militia Act altered so that if we have a worthy officer in Canada, he may not be debarred from attaining this position. Even if an Imperial officer is employed, the proviso must be sent to England by the Canadian government, that the Imperial authorities must send out some one who will behave himself before the people and before the militia. We will not allow them to import into this country this Buckingham Palace business we saw in England during the Jubilee. We trust that they will not send Imperial officers out here who will endeavour to arrogate to themselves all the power that belongs to parliament. We trust that officers will be sent whose sole idea will be to serve our militia and serve the nation. The present war in South Africa has taught England that she has greater responsibilities of empire on her shoulders, and that she has to rely more and more upon her colonies. England has been taught that she must look on her colonies no longer as colonies, but as allied nations. This incident will, I trust, teach England that she must send out here an officer who is better fit to take charge of our militia than was General Hutton. I agree with my hon. friend (Mr. Tisdale) that the position of the minister and the position of the general officer commanding must be defined hereafter. The position of the minister must be one of superiority and free control, and while the general shall have the power of the administration of military affairs to a certain extent, the third line must be marked down so that we, the people of Canada who are paying the bills for the militia and who are doing the fighting will have something to say in the matter. I regret to have to repeat that I believe it to be in the best interests of Canada that General Hutton is leaving. I am pleased to think that it is in his own interest as well as in the interests

Mr. DOMVILLE.

of the country, that he should be going from Canada so suddenly. It is better for himself that he should leave now, than to hear the criticisms of his character which his conduct has deserved.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). As a member of the House who is in no way connected with the militia of Canada, I trust I may be permitted to express what I believe to be the sentiments entertained by a large majority of the members of this House, as well as by a large majority of the people of Canada, in reference to this matter. I regret that the hon. member (Mr. Domville) has availed himself of this opportunity to criticise in such uncalled-for language the general officer who is leaving Canada, and who in leaving Canada carries with him the well wishes of the majority of the people of this country.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. SPROULE. I regret that personal considerations can so blind the judgment of some men as to carry them further than either reason or discretion would justify. So far as I can judge the sentiments of the people of this country, General Hutton as commander of the militia, has been the right man in the right place. We believe he has done most valuable work, that he has accomplished a better organization amongst the militia, and that he has made our military forces more competent and better able to give a return for the money that is spent on them. It is to be regretted, if it be the case, that politics has had anything to do with General Hutton leaving the country. Time after time, when the General Officer Commanding the Militia has been called away from us the thought has occurred to me: What a great pity it is that we in Canada should mix up politics with military matters. I cannot disabuse my mind from the impression, that in many instances politics have had a great deal to do with the adverse criticisms which we have heard on the different generals commanding our militia. I believe that the present case is the worst of all. To the same extent as General Hutton was a greater man than any of his predecessors, to that extent is the offence against him the greater. I cannot imagine for a moment that the trifling difference of opinion which arose between the hon. member from King's, N.B., (Mr. Domville) and Major General Hutton, and Col. Hughes, can have anything to do with the removal of the major general from Canada. I regard them as too insignificant to seriously engage his attention; but if there is anything of the kind, I certainly very greatly regret it. I believe the general is too large a man to take any notice of such incidents, or in any way to allow them to

sway his conduct. The hon. member has referred to the fact that General Hutton has occupied several very important positions during his life. I think that no higher eulogium could be passed on a man than to acknowledge that he has been capable to occupy these various positions. The very fact that he has so, and that he has been transferred from one to another, always going higher in the scale, is the strongest argument for his fitness and capability for the various positions he has occupied, in the estimation of those best able to judge. I have nothing more to say with regard to this matter beyond expressing my belief that the country will regret the departure of General Hutton. It will no doubt be pleased to know that he is going to South Africa, where good men are wanted, and will have opportunities of doing valuable work; but at the present juncture in the military affairs of Canada, it is to be regretted that he is leaving, because it may seem to some that he is leaving under a cloud. I do not believe that this is the case; but those who will be under a cloud, in the judgment of the people of Canada, will be those who have contributed in the least degree to his removal at the present time, no matter whether their motives have been political or otherwise. I can only say I express the regret of the people of Canada that he is leaving, because there was a good work for him to do if he had remained. He has done well so far, and had he remained a sufficient length of time in the country, I have no doubt he would have stamped his impress on the militia of Canada in such a way that it would have redounded to his credit for all time in the future.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON (Three Rivers). I wish to say a few words in reference to the matter that has been brought up. I feel some regret that the hon. member for King's, N.B. (Mr. Domville) has not considered it consistent with his duty to adopt the suggestion of the leader of the House and the leader of the opposition not to discuss, at the present moment, the merits or demerits of General Hutton. I speak with some diffidence, owing to a protracted absence from Canada, and not having been able to follow closely the course of General Hutton's administration of militia matters since he came to Canada; but one thing I can say is that no officer in the British army stands higher in the opinion of military authorities in London than General Hutton. I can also say that from my frequent intercourse with members of the militia force, I have heard from them the expression of the opinion that since he has been in Canada he has contributed more largely than any other commanding officer to improve our militia force. But my object in rising is not so much to discuss that point. I feel it a possible injustice to the subject, and certainly an injustice to the

general, to discuss a question of this kind before the papers, which have been called for, are laid on the Table of parliament. But I may be permitted, from the fact that for many years I occupied the position of Minister of Militia, to say that I do not agree with the opinion expressed that the efficiency of the militia force in Canada would be better promoted by having a Canadian instead of an Imperial officer. The great desideratum of a force such as ours, which is not a permanent army, but which is drilled only for a short period every year, and until recent years was only drilled once in two years, is to have a man in command who comes fresh to his task, with a knowledge of all the improved methods of the modern science of warfare. We all know that it is a science which is developing to-day as rapidly as any other science. I had to study this subject very fully when I was Minister of Militia, and I came to the conclusion that it was essential, owing to the rapid development of military science abroad, that the general should be changed every five years. In the great armies of continental Europe, there are every year evolutions which indicate the progress being made in that branch of science, and a general or a staff officer is usually sent by each country to witness these manoeuvres, in order to be informed of the progress that is being made and utilize them for the instruction of others. When one of these men comes to Canada, he comes with the fresh knowledge thus acquired. I am a Canadian, and I believe in the doctrine of Canada for the Canadians; I am prepared to admit that within our ranks we have men as able as the men sent to us from Great Britain to command our militia force; but I am also prepared to say that able as our men are, they have not the same opportunities for acquiring the knowledge that is indispensable to maintain our force at the highest point of efficiency, as the men who come from the Imperial army. I do not dispute for one moment the ability of the Canadian people to take any position; but in the conditions in which we are placed we have not the same facilities, as the British officers of following as closely as they can the development of military service. I think we should draw upon the best possible sources in order to keep our force up to the proper state of efficiency.

Mr. A. McNEILL (North Bruce). Mr. Speaker, I am only a civilian, and perhaps should not say anything on this matter. But, as one of those who pay for the militia of Canada, I may have a right to say something on behalf of others who do as I do in that regard. I venture to think, Mr. Speaker, that what fell from my hon. friend who opened this discussion is absolutely correct, that is, that unless the general commanding the militia forces in Canada receives a generous support, not only from

the public, but from the government, in the difficult task which is assigned to him, and unless he is relieved from political pressure and from political intrigue, it will be impossible for us to have such a militia force in Canada as the people who pay the money are entitled to have. I want to say, in reference to what has fallen from the hon. gentleman opposite, that I was astonished to hear him state that there was even any considerable feeling in Canada to the effect that General Hutton had been in any sense a failure here. If I had been asked—and I have made it my business to make inquiries with regard to this matter for some considerable time past—what the opinion of the militia in Canada was, I should have said that the consensus of opinion was that General Hutton had done signal good work for that force and the country, and I am satisfied that that is also the opinion of the military authorities in England.

Of course I do not know what the opinion may be of a gentleman who, I believe, holds a commission in Her Majesty's forces, but who says that he would prefer a Boer general to a British general. I do not know what the opinion of this country may be with regard to a gentleman who thinks proper to suggest at the present moment that British generals are jackasses. I know that a great general, who is said to have made that remark on a former occasion, met one of those jackasses, who was rather too great a man for him.

I would like to say that I am surprised at the silence of the government in view of the remarks which have fallen from the hon. gentleman opposite. I would like to know whether they intend that General Hutton shall leave this country under the imputations cast upon him in this House without saying one word in reply. Do they endorse the statements made by the hon. gentleman opposite? By their silence it would almost seem that they do. But if they do not, I hope that some member of the government will rise and say so.

I do not know what the pressure may be that was brought to bear to drive General Hutton out of this country. I see the hon. Minister of Public Works leaving the House, and I wanted to refer to him. I would like to know whether this (holding up a newspaper) has anything to do with it or not.

An hon. MEMBER. What is that?

Mr. McNEILL. It is an organ called *La Patrie*, and it has this heading in enormous letters, this display at the head of its despatches: 'Buller et McDonald battent en retraite.' That is not a very sympathetic heading for an organ belonging to or controlled by a Minister of the Crown at the present time. The statement in that heading is false, because General McDonald was not beaten, but on the contrary did not withdraw until he had driven all the

Mr. McNEILL.

Boers in that neighbourhood out of it, so that they could not be found by the cavalry he sent out to look them up. We know that the hon. minister, who is supposed to control this organ, threatened General Hutton—or at least his organ did—last fall, and I think it would be very much to the enlightenment of the people of Canada that they should understand whether it is in revenge for the course he ventured to pursue at that time in opposition to the Minister of Public Works that this agitation has been promoted against General Hutton which has resulted in his withdrawal from this country, and in this country being deprived of the services of a most able administrator and splendid soldier.

Mr. L. G. McCARTHY (North Simcoe). I desire, after the remarks which have fallen from my hon. friend from King's (Mr. Domville), to place myself on record. I do not agree in his proposition or suggestion that silence may be taken to mean that the consensus of opinion in this country is against the retention by General Hutton of the position which he has held in Canada, and that such consensus of opinion is the cause of his withdrawal or departure from this country. We have seen in the press of Ontario, and no doubt also of the other provinces, a considerable amount of discussion over the fact that difficulties have arisen between him and hon. members in this House. The general may have been right or wrong, the hon. members in question may have been right or wrong, but surely this is not the time to discuss that question. The introduction of this subject at present may have been a friendly act, and no doubt the hon. member who started the discussion did so out of friendliness to General Hutton; but admitting that to be the case, it is, to my mind, a very doubtful act of friendship. It has evoked considerable criticism and discussion of a harsh nature in regard to General Hutton on the eve of his departure from this country, and we who are not in the confidence of the government or of the opposition do not know what the cause of the friction is. I know nothing about it beyond the fact that I have seen on the Order paper a motion asking for papers and communications which have passed between the hon. member for North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) and the department and General Hutton, concerning the friction existing between them, nor do I know what friction may have existed between the hon. member for King's, N.B. (Mr. Domville) and the general, beyond the fact that the hon. gentleman has asked a great many questions of the Militia Department with regard to certain acts of the general, in certain matters. Surely this is not the time for us to discuss this matter. Nothing is on record before this House giving any reasons for the belief that any dissatisfaction exists with regard to the general. General

Hutton has been in command of our militia force for some seventeen months. He previously held, under the direction of the War Office, many important positions in the Imperial service for greater or shorter lengths of time, and it is not fair to read out of any book an account of the positions he held and the length of time during which he held them, and attempt to draw any conclusion unfavourable to the general. It may be proved that during the length of time he occupied the various positions he has held, he proved himself an officer worthy of promotion and received promotion. On the other hand it may be shown that he was not competent to fill these positions, but owing to what is called 'political pull' was promoted from one position to the other. That could only be ascertained by an investigation, if it were within our competence, to bring the whole record of that officer before the House. But as regards what has taken place in this country, I desire to withhold my judgment until we have before us all the papers relating the causes of friction, if any friction existed between him and the department.

I would go so far as to say that as a citizen in this country, familiar to a certain extent with the militia, and having some knowledge of the subject, I have no hesitation in saying that as a general commanding our militia General Hutton has worked exceedingly hard and done his best in the interests of that force.

There is one point in this discussion, that we may consider. The hon. member for King's, N.B. (Mr. Domville) has said that we do not require an Imperial officer in this country, because we have men in Canada competent to fill the position. But whether we have competent men or not in this country to take command of our force, I think we should look at the question from another point of view. If I read public opinion aright, it is that we Canadians should be ultra-Imperialists. Such has been the opinion given expression to in this House, and such I venture to say is the consensus of opinion prevailing in this country from east to west. There may be some dissentient voices, but let me say that the community or the government which will endeavour to oppose that sentiment is doomed. If that be the case, what more binding link could there be between the motherland and ourselves than to have an Imperial officer sent over from her own War Office to supervise and educate the militia of this country, which in any war that may take place will have to fight side by side with British soldiers. They will thus be educated by men brought up in the best institutions of the old country and create confidence in the War Office that we are being educated on the same lines and subjected to the same training as English soldiers, and thus be able to hold our own side by side with those soldiers in company

with whom we will have to fight the battles of the empire. That seems to me to put it above and beyond all discussion as to whether we should still have an Imperial officer. There cannot be any doubt that an Imperial officer will be as good as our own, and, if this is so, the cutting of that link which draws us closer to the motherland is one to be well considered and well thought out before it is cut.

Now, perhaps, the discussion has ranged somewhat far afield. I do not intend to deal with the question whether we would sooner have a Boer general or a British general. I do not think the insinuation could be made seriously.

Mr. DOMVILLE. They are all Boers.

Mr. McCARTHY. My hon. friend (Mr. Domville) goes further now. I will not endeavour to answer him because it seems to me that when he was a commanding officer perhaps the appellation he used in regard to the British officers might apply to him in common with some other officers.

Mr. E. B. OSLER (West Toronto). There is one statement of the hon. member for King's, N.B., (Mr. Domville) that I cannot allow to go uncontradicted. The statement has been made that the general who is now retiring is the most unpopular man in the country, that he is going away by the wish of the people, and that the militia will be glad when he goes. I must contradict that so far as the west is concerned. When General Hutton came here, his appointment was looked upon with great favour. He has been growing in favour ever since; and I venture to say that if his retirement is caused by politics, those who have had to do with it will regret it. The hon. member for King's, N.B., and the general had a difference of opinion on one occasion and I suppose that is the reason why that hon. member assumes that all the people in Canada are averse to the general. I venture to say that the general has now the confidence of the people of Canada, and the confidence of the volunteers, and that there is in Canada universal regret at his retirement whatever be the cause.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The discussion, I think, has clearly proven to the House the wisdom of the observations made at the outset by the right hon. leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), supported by the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), that it was inadvisable and undesirable to discuss questions of this kind in the absence of papers, if there be any papers, and in the absence of notice. My hon. friend from Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) did send across to me a little slip of paper, I should think about five seconds before he rose to his feet, but that is all the notice I had that this subject was to be brought up. I doubt if that

hon. gentleman will conclude—or, if he spoke at the instance of anybody outside of the House, that that person will conclude—that it has done him or anybody any good to bring forward this discussion in this way to-day.

One word with reference to an observation made by my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill). That hon. gentleman seemed to take the view that the government was bound in some way to make some defence or some observations with reference to the remarks that had fallen from the hon. member for King's, N.B., (Mr. Domville). I was surprised that an old parliamentarian like my old friend from North Bruce should speak in this way. He knows that my hon. friend from King's, N.B., is an independent member of this House, just as independent as the hon. member himself—and we know that on occasion he has proven his independence. I doubt if that hon. gentleman, at the times when he has been independent, would say and hold that any member of his party, or that any of the leaders of his party, or any members of the government representing his party at the time he may have expressed his independent views, should be held responsible for anything he said. I am sure my hon. friend from King's, N.B., will not hold any member of his party or any member of this government responsible for a single remark he has made here to-day. In the course of the discussion two or three things have been said by my hon. friend who introduced the subject and my hon. friend, the ex-Minister of Militia (Mr. Tisdale), my immediate predecessor. One point is as to the danger to the militia at this particular moment, because it has lost or is about to lose the services of the General Officer Commanding. Now, I may say to my hon. friend, paraphrasing the old song that generals may come and generals may go, but the militia of Canada goes on for ever—goes on improving, goes on developing. I am not aware that, in the past, any serious check has ever resulted from the changes that have taken place. Certainly a successor to the general will be found. Steps to that end will be taken at the earliest possible moment, and every effort will be made to get the best man possible. In this connection, let me refer incidentally to one matter which is of some importance, and, I think, which was referred to by nearly all who have spoken—the question whether we should limit ourselves any longer to the Imperial army as the source from which we should draw a commander of the militia force of Canada. Speaking simply for myself, and not for the government, I may say that my own personal view is that the time has come when we should enlarge the field from which we draw our commanding officer; and that, while we shall be glad to benefit by the opportunity of drawing our commanding officer, for many years to

come, perhaps, from the Imperial army, we should not limit ourselves to that, that if it should happen that there is in Canada a man competent to fill the position, we should not be tied down to the Imperial army, but should be able to put our Canadian officer in that position if we choose. Now, one word with reference to another matter, which nearly every speaker on the opposition benches—three or four of them at least—referred to, the charge, direct or implied, that politics is and has been the bane of the Canadian militia, as my hon. friend from Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) said, and that politics in some mysterious way or other, has something to do with the events we are now discussing. I observed that my hon. friend from Three Rivers (Sir Adolphe Caron) who so long adorned the position I now occupy, did not re-echo that charge. Now, I wish to say at once, and I think I shall be supported in this at any rate by my hon. friend from Three Rivers, that I do not believe that in the administration of the militia of Canada from 1867 down to the present time, there has been any extraordinary political influence improperly exercised in connection with the Canadian militia. I had the opportunity of making a speech in Montreal in the presence of some twenty or thirty colonels and ex-colonels and I appealed to them to know whether any Minister of Militia had ever attempted to exert any pressure upon them in the matter of carrying out the discipline of their regiments, or with reference to the appointment of a single officer whom they had recommended to headquarters, and I could not get one of those officers to stand up and make any such admission. As a matter of fact I think it would be difficult to find a force anywhere where politics in the worst sense of the word has had less to do with such force. I may say this at once, and I challenge contradiction, that so far as the present government is concerned, politics has been excluded from the administration of the militia. In the contingents which have just been picked out for South Africa, I challenge any man in this House or out of it to put his finger upon a single officer who has been appointed for political reasons—it cannot be done. The Conservative press throughout Canada have admitted that politics have not entered into the administration of the department. The general officer commanding the militia and who has just resigned, at a dinner given recently to the second brigade of artillery which has gone with the second contingent to South Africa, did me the credit of saying that to his knowledge not a single political appointment had been made on either contingent. Therefore I think it is only fair to myself and to the officers under me to deny promptly the charge which has been made here to-day, that the militia department of this country is being run upon political lines. With reference to the officer him-

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

self who is leaving us, as I said in opening. I think it is much fairer to that gentleman that discussion of his conduct and of the results of his zeal should be left to some more fitting occasion.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.). I am not a military man, and I do not propose to discuss this question from a militia point of view; but I could have wished that the Minister of Militia and Defence who has just taken his seat, should either have said less or a little more. I will tell him frankly why I think so. I regret that this discussion has ultimately run into the line in which we find it. But what are the facts of the case? We have had an English general, an English army officer of undoubted standing and holding a high position in his country, coming over to Canada to take charge of our militia, that charge which such an officer has from confederation held in this country in conjunction with our government. I am not qualified to judge for a single moment as to his military skill and the like of that; but I have followed from a civilian's standpoint the course of the generals as they have successively come and gone in Canada, and I am bound to say that I believe General Hutton has been a most painstaking man, that he has been a thorough gentleman, that he has been frank, and if sometimes he has been frank almost to a degree, and it may have been imputed to him as a fault, that is not one of the worst faults that may attach to even a general in this country of ours. No general we have ever had, I believe, has worked harder and with a stronger desire to put the militia of this country on the footing that he as an Imperial officer would like to see it, than has General Hutton. To-day he leaves us. A discussion is brought up in this House, and statements are made in this House, and the Minister of Militia and Defence, I think, might have gone one step further than he did, and might, at least, have said one generous word with reference to the retiring general. He cannot disassociate himself from the statements which have been uttered in this House just on the eve of the general's departure. It has been stated here, and at this moment is uncontradicted, that the general is leaving under a pretense, that he is leaving under a cloud, that he has not behaved himself while he has been in this country; and I think the Minister of Militia and Defence of this country should have thought it due to himself, and due to the general, and due to the British and Canadian public as well, to say at least one generous word with reference to General Hutton—if he could do it, and I believe that he could do it with an honest heart. So far as I can judge, though my opinion is not worth much, General Hutton goes from this country with my most sin-

cere regrets. I believe he has been a good general, I believe that he has acted as a gentleman. He may have faults, and who amongst us has not? I am sorry that a more generous farewell could not have been given to him by the minister who has known him and worked with him from the time that he has come into this country.

Mr. FRANK OLIVER (Alberta). Like the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) I am not a military man, and I do not propose to discuss military subjects in connection with this matter. But there is one question that, I think, is well worthy of discussion, and that is the question of politics in the administration of the militia department. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me a very popular thing that while hon. members have declared that there should be no politics in connection with the militia, they have deliberately brought up in this House a question and taken part in a discussion with the express purpose of making the retirement of General Hutton a political question in the country. I am not finding fault with them at all, but I say that it comes with ill grace from the hon. member for Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) beside whom I see the picture of a colleague (Mr. Hughes) who has gone to South Africa to serve the empire, and to whom be all credit due for his action. I say it come with ill grace from the member who sits beside that picture to call in question the action of the minister, if action has been taken, when the first friction that occurred, so far as the public knows, occurred between the member who is now in South Africa and Major General Hutton. It seems to me that the position is this: The hon. members who have taken up this case at first wished to find fault with the Minister of Militia and Defence because the case of the hon. member now in South Africa was not backed up against General Hutton; but they now reverse their action and attack the minister for having, I suppose, to some extent, backed up the militia officer and not the major general.

Mr. PRIOR. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Oliver) say where I made an attack upon the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence? Will he show one single sentence in which I made an attack upon the hon. minister?

Mr. OLIVER. I did not say that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) made an attack upon the hon. minister. I said that his whole speech and his whole action in the matter was evidently for the purpose of making this question of the resignation of Major-General Hutton a political question on this country, and there can be no other construction put upon it. Just one word on the general question of the propriety of a British officer managing the militia force of Canada. I

am one of those who have always believed in the desirability of the militia force of Canada being managed by a member of the Imperial forces. I always believed that there were good reasons for that, but I am sorry to say that recent circumstances have proven to the world and to the empire at large that all British officers do not understand their business, and that it is not enough to say that we have a British officer in command of the militia of Canada; that is to say, that any British officer is fit to command the militia. We need a choice of British officers; and there is a possibility that all the military knowledge of the world is not contained amongst British officers. It is not our fault that it is so, but, it being so, and the fact is not capable of contradiction, it is well for us to look the matter in the face and to say that we want men who are suitable for the purpose whether we get them from one country or another.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). Mr. Speaker, I think that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Oliver) who has just sat down has not added to the information of the House, nor has he, I submit, added to the dignity of debate by charging the hon. member for Victoria, B.C. (Mr. Prior), with a political object, when he arose to discuss this question. Hon. gentlemen in the House listened to the hon. member for Victoria, and I think that all, with the exception of the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver) will agree with me that there was not one word of politics in any of the statements made by the hon. member for Victoria in dealing with that subject—I mean of party politics. The hon. member for Victoria, when he was criticising the management of the militia of the country, and when he was asserting that his chief desire was to keep politics out of the Militia Department, said that he referred to past governments as well as to the present government. And, I presume he also meant future governments, who may have something to do with the militia of the country as well as the present government, because, I might repeat again for the benefit of the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden), that while men may come and men may go, the militia system goes on for ever. It is equally true that while men may come and men may go, Liberal governments do not go on for ever as the experience of this country has proven in the past.

An hon MEMBER. They are not going in the meantime.

Mr. MONTAGUE. That is quite true, but it is no guarantee for the future. But the fact is that as they are 'going' on in the meantime, it seems to be a guarantee of the fate of the government in the future. In the first place, I think, if bad taste were displayed in the discussion, it was displayed

Mr. OLIVER.

by the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence when he rather suggested that the hon. member for Victoria had brought this matter up on the suggestion of someone else whose cause was not helped by this discussion here, this afternoon. It was an exceedingly delicate way of asserting that someone had asked the hon. member for Victoria to discuss this question. It was hardly the way you would expect a minister to speak of the officer commanding the Canadian forces, an officer of his department, because evidently, the hon. minister had the party in that position in mind when he made the statement I have just referred to. It is just possible, I fancy, and I think this House will see that in its entirely probable that out of his warm feeling for Major-General Hutton, out of his desire to see an officer who has done his work, receive his reward, in a measure, in the praise of members of the Canadian parliament, out of his love for the militia, and out of his pride in the achievements of the militia, the hon. member for Victoria introduced that question here this afternoon. I am here to say, that, though I am not a militiaman, I know something of the opinion of the militia officers and members of the militia in Canada, I know something of the opinion of the volunteer force of Canada, and I am here to say, that, while there may be a fault found here and there with the strictness of the manner in which Major-General Hutton has commanded, there is, outside of those who have met him in personal conflict as to personal interests, a clear and definite conviction that General Hutton did his duty in Canada manfully, that he did it ably, to the best of his ability, and as a British soldier and commander should do his duty to this country.

In saying that, I am in nowise criticising my gallant colleague, at my right, here, whose picture the hon. member for Alberta has frequently referred to, who is a good soldier—as good a soldier as Canada has—who has gone, with the pulse of his loyalty beating strongly to fight the battles of his country in South Africa. That is a matter which will stand upon its own footing; that is a matter that will stand upon its own basis, and if, when the correspondence is brought down, we find that General Hutton badly treated the gallant Lieut.-Col. Hughes, there will be no one more anxious to condemn him than I am upon the floor of this House. But, can we, for a moment, think that any such minor matter as that would send Major-General Hutton from Canada; can we for a moment think that his dispute with Lieut.-Col. Hughes would cause him to leave Canada. It is only a small matter in the work which a general has to do in this country. He has to deal with the Militia Department in Canada, he has to deal with the Minister of Militia in Canada. We found the hon. member for King's, N.B. (Mr. Dom-

ville) asserting that British generals were jackasses; we have heard the hon. member for King's, N.B., asserting that General Hutton was practically a nuisance to Canada, that we were glad to get rid of him, that the unanimous sentiment of this country desired his recall and his return, and we have the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) standing up immediately afterwards and saying that the government could not be held responsible for these sentiments, but he never, for one moment, suggested that these sentiments were improper, or untrue. Is it not an evident fact that there are reasons, other than a mere dispute with Lieut.-Col. Hughes, that are taking Major-General Hutton away? I am not going to suggest what these reasons might be; certainly, the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence must, to a certain extent, be connected with these reasons, otherwise, he would have made a disclaimer to the House of Commons this afternoon. But, we have had the announcement, as I understood it by the hon. minister, an announcement which seems to have caused a sort of unpleasant shade to cross over the faces of the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), and of the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), for a moment, that the Militia Act is to be changed, that it will be no longer necessary that the officer commanding the Canadian forces shall be an officer from the Imperial army. In other words, we have practically had the announcement from the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) that the Bill promoted by my hon. friend (Mr. Domville) is to be adopted by the government, and that hereafter it will rest with the Canadian militia authorities to say whether a Canadian or an Imperial officer shall command the militia in Canada. The question immediately arises: Where will politics then be in the Militia Department? At the present time—I am not charging it is true, because I have no charge to make—at the present time there may be political influence in the selection of minor officials and minor officers, but there can be no politics in the selection of the general commanding, because he must be an Imperial officer. If we are to be permitted to appoint a Canadian officer, then I fancy we shall have come to the millennium days if we do not have political influence and political pull brought into the selection, not only of the minor officers, but into the selection of the general officer commanding. We are all anxious that Canadians should occupy the very highest positions in Canada, and we are anxious as well that the highest positions in the British army shall, if possible, be filled by Canadians and by graduates of our military college. If the government will pledge themselves to us that they will only select Canadians who have the very best of service record, such men, for instance, as

Lt.-Col. Otter, who is now commanding the Canadian contingent in South Africa, if the government could give us that assurance, so far as I am concerned, and speaking for myself—I am not quite so military as some of the hon. gentlemen around me—I say that it will require that assurance before we should be willing to accept the suggestion that we shall have a Canadian officer, with possibly a political pull, to occupy the position which hitherto has been occupied by an Imperial officer.

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND (North Oxford). It is not my intention to discuss the merits of the question raised by the hon. member (Mr. Prior). That hon. gentleman, in the course of some remarks made by a member from this side of the House, took the opportunity to deny that he stated that politics influenced the present minister (Mr. Borden) in the administration of the Militia Department. Let the House and the country read the speech of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) and then ask him: For what reason did he bring this question up at the present time?

Mr. PRIOR. I will tell you.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) commenced by referring to the promises made by the hon. Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden), and the burden of the balance of his speech was, that politics influenced the action of the Minister of Militia at the present time. Well, Sir, I need not leave it to this House, but I leave it to the militia force of Canada, whom I confidently believe will say, that never since the Militia Department of Canada was instituted have they found a minister at its head, freer from politics and freer from political considerations in administering the department, than is the present Minister of Militia.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Sir, I am willing to accept the judgment of the militia force of Canada on that score. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) told us that the empire was in the throes of war, and that it was unfortunate that such an occurrence should take place at such a critical time, but it did not seem to occur to him that it was unfortunate that a lieutenant-colonel in the militia, and a member of the House of Commons, should at this very critical time get up and criticise the action of the Imperial government. I regret, too, that the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Osler) should be guilty of the same indiscretion. So far as my humble judgment goes, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) took this course simply for the purpose of trying to make a little political capital out of the matter. As an officer of the militia of Canada, as a member of this parliament, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior), not having the papers

before him, might have said to himself, that this was an unfortunate time to insinuate censure on the Minister of Militia, who to-day has such important work in the interests of the empire thrown upon his hands. Why did not the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) wait until he had all the facts before him? Did it occur to him that it was unfortunate that the Major-General Commanding was not aware that this was a critical time in the history of the empire, and that he might have so conducted himself that no such occurrence would take place. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior), in his attempt to make political capital out of it, has by insinuation been very unfair to the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden). I leave it to the Conservative members of this House who are officers of the militia to say, whether the minister (Mr. Borden) has not conducted the affairs of his department without any reference to politics. Sir, my hon. friend and colleague (Mr. Borden) and his officials, deserve the greatest possible credit for the manner in which they have discharged their arduous duties during the past few months. The hon. member for Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) is the last man in this House whom we would expect to take such a course as he has taken to-day. My hon. friend from Haldimand (Mr. Montague) seems to have become much exercised that any one should pass the slightest criticism on the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior). Surely when a subject is brought before this House, we have a right to form our judgment and to express our opinion upon it. If it is necessary to have a discussion at all, I say Sir, that it is in the interests of the empire, in the interests of Canada, in the interests of our militia force, and in the interests of General Hutton, that this discussion should not take place in the absence of the papers bearing on the matter. For my own part, I am willing to submit to the judgment of the Imperial authorities on this matter. It is a question out of which no political capital should be attempted to be made. It is a question which should be discussed at the proper time, and that proper time is not now.

Mr. PRIOR. The hon. member for King's, N.B., (Mr. Domville) and others, have seen fit to accuse me of bringing this matter before the House for political purposes. Sir, I deny that in toto. I had no such thought. It was my belief that when this matter was mentioned the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) would be the first man to uphold General Hutton, an officer who has been under him in his department for so long. But, instead of that, the hon. minister (Mr. Borden) sees fit to keep his seat without saying a single word in defence of General Hutton.

It was also hinted by the hon. member for King's, N.B., (Mr. Domville), as well as by the minister, that I had brought this mat-

ter up at somebody's request. Let me tell this House that I have not had a single word from anybody, either inside the House or outside the House, either in the Militia Department or from any gentleman who was in the Militia Department, requesting me to bring this matter forward. I did it because I think I have enough of the spirit of fair-play in me to see that it was a most cowardly thing to allow a general officer commanding our militia to leave the country without one word being said as to the reason why he was leaving. If there is anything against Major General Hutton, let the government say what it is and give him a chance to refute it. If he were not a man of such sterling fairness himself, I believe he could enlighten the country as to the reason why he is going; but no doubt he prefers to let the onus fall upon himself rather than upon the government. If the matter had not been brought up, it would have been a virtual condemnation of him, and I am sure there is no person in this House to-day who wishes to treat a man so unfairly as that. I have nothing further to say except that I am very glad I did bring this matter up, as General Hutton now knows the worst that can be said against him in the country.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). I desire to say a few words on this matter before a vote is taken. The hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) has made the statement that the hon. member for Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) did a great injustice in not waiting until the papers came down. What papers? The correspondence with reference to the member for North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) are the only papers I know of. Then it must be that the removal of Gen. Hutton is in consequence of the dealings with the member for North Victoria, that is, if we are to accept the statement of the member for North Oxford as correct. I would like to ask another question. It is rumored that the government of Canada have asked for the recall of General Hutton. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Militia, is that correct?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). Put a notice on the paper.

Mr. WALLACE. I could do that, but if the hon. minister is not desirous of giving that information on that important point to-day, he would be no more willing if a notice were put on the paper, because we know from past experience that when the ministers do not wish to answer questions, they find many excuses for not doing so. At any rate, I would like to ask the government another question—whether the statement of the hon. member for King's, N.B., (Mr. Domville) is correct, that Major-General Hutton had received no appointment in Africa or no request to go to Africa. If the

hon. member made that statement from information received from the government, I think we should have information on that point too. I think, as some other members on this side of the House have expressed themselves, it is a lamentable fact that Major-General Hutton, who left his home in the old country and come here to Canada, and, as we all know, has devoted himself with diligence, energy and earnestness to improve the militia of Canada, leaves to-day without a kindly word from the First Minister, who not only did not utter a kindly word but deprecated the utterance of such a word from any member of the House of Commons and that the Minister of Militia himself, though he was anxious that the major-general should give him (the minister) a certificate and he quoted that, had not one word of kindness or recognition to say of the ability, the energy and the soldierly qualities displayed by the Major-General Commanding for these years past. For my part, I can re-echo what has been said, at any rate from this side of the House, that the major-general carries with him to South Africa or wherever he may go the best wishes of the large majority of the people of Canada. I can also at the same time repudiate the brutal utterances—if that is not unparliamentary—of the hon. member for King's, N.B., a supporter of the government—utterances in reproof of which the government had not a word to say, and which I am sure no loyal man in this country would use towards one with the regard and reputation of Major-General Hutton and those British generals who are so freely shedding their blood to-day in South Africa for the maintenance of the great British Empire.

Motion to adjourn negatived.

BROCKVILLE AND WEST HURON ELECTIONS.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax). I would like to give notice that when motions are called to-morrow, I will move :

That the poll-books, voters' lists and all other papers, letters, documents and memoranda relating to the last election for the electoral district of Brockville and the last election for the electoral district of the west riding of the county of Huron, which were referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections during the last session of this House, and also all proceedings and evidence had, given, taken or received by or before the said Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections during the last session of this House respecting the matters aforesaid, be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections appointed during the present session of this House for further consideration, and for the purpose of inquiring into and investigating the conduct of the respective returning officers and of the several deputy returning and other officers at and in connection with the said several elections respectively.

LEGISLATION RESPECTING FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I should like to ask the Minister of Finance at this early period of the session, because it is a matter interesting a great number of people and societies, whether he intends to re-introduce his Bill of last year respecting friendly insurance societies.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). No. In answer to some gentlemen who called on me with reference to that subject some time ago, I stated—and my answer was communicated to the press—that it was not the intention of the government to proceed with that measure.

Mr. MONTAGUE. In no form at all?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No measure touching friendly societies.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved :

That the House resolve itself into committee to consider the following resolutions :—

1. Resolved, that it is expedient to provide that from and out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada there shall and may be paid and applied a sum, not exceeding in the whole the sum of eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars, being the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars authorized under Order in Council, dated the fourth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, and the sum of six hundred thousand dollars authorized by Order in Council, dated the fifth day of January, one thousand nine hundred, towards payment of the expenditure incurred, or to be incurred, in sending the contingents of Canadian volunteers to South Africa, or in connection therewith, and the members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, and the officers and persons who authorized or made the expenditure of any of the said sums under the Orders in Council above referred to, or under any warrant of His Excellency the Governor General issued in consequence of or on the authority thereof, are hereby indemnified and exonerated from all liability by reason of having used or authorized the use of the above-mentioned sums of money, or any portion thereof, without due legal authority, and all expenditure heretofore made of any of said sums shall be held to have been lawfully made.

2. In addition to the said sum of eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars referred to in the preceding resolution, there shall and may be paid and applied, from and out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada, a further sum not exceeding in the whole the sum of one million one hundred and fifty thousand dollars towards defraying any further expenditures that may be incurred in connection with the sending of Canadian volunteers for active service in South Africa, and for providing as hereinafter mentioned by way of allowance to such volunteers or their dependents.

3. The word 'expenditures' in the foregoing resolutions includes the following :—

(a) All expenses of every kind in connection with the raising, enrolling, arming, equipping, provisioning, despatching and transporting of the said contingents up to the time of their arrival at the place of debarkation in South Africa;

(b) The payments of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men composing the said contingents up to the time of debarkation as aforesaid, at the rates authorized by the regulations and orders of the Department of Militia and Defence;

(c) All separation allowances paid to the wives and children of the married non-commissioned officers and men at the rates laid down by the Imperial regulations;

(d) The difference between the rates of pay of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men which they receive or are entitled to receive from Her Majesty's government during their period of service in South Africa and the respective rates of pay received by them up to the time of debarkation in South Africa—such difference not to be paid to such officers, non-commissioned officers and men while on such service, but the amount which would be payable to each such officer, non-commissioned officer or man to be placed to his credit, and to be applied in such manner as the Governor in Council may determine, for the benefit of the dependents on him, or failing such application to be paid to him or his representative at the close of his period of service.

He said: Mr. Speaker, the general question of sending Canadian contingents to South Africa having already been discussed in the House, I do not think it is necessary for me to make any extended remarks in presenting the motion which stands in my name. When the House goes into committee, no doubt the House will expect from the Minister of Militia, whose department is charged with the expenditure, such information as is usually asked in relation to the expenditure of public money. I shall therefore be content to move these resolutions in the briefest terms. They are for the purpose of appropriating the sum of \$2,000,000 from the treasury of Canada for the expenses connected with the sending of the Canadian contingents to aid in the defence of the empire in South Africa. It is, as it should be, the largest contribution made by any of the British colonies on this great and important occasion. We have had some expressions of opinion as to whether or not it was wise to deal with this matter without first having parliament summoned. I only refer to that today for the purpose of saying that whatever differences of opinion may have been entertained on that subject by one or two members of this House, now that parliament is in session and we are in a position to invite the attention of parliament to this matter in the usual form, I trust there will be no division of opinion whatever, but a unanimous vote of the House of Commons of Canada for the appropriation of this money to this great Imperial purpose.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would like to make a few remarks upon this question, and I think it is unfortunate that my hon.

Mr. FIELDING.

friend, in making the motion, did not go more fully into particulars. I may say that I heartily approve of the motion, but I think it would be desirable to have a little fuller information in regard to what is intended and the bearing that motion has upon the position in which we stand in relation to this question.

I wish to take the opportunity, as I see the hon. Minister of Public Works is in the House, of correcting that hon. gentleman with regard to certain statements which he has made concerning myself. I am quite satisfied that he has been entirely misled in the statements he has made on various occasions with reference to the position which I have taken with regard to this question of a contribution by Canada for the purpose of sustaining Her Majesty's government, when engaged in wars in any part of the world. The hon. gentleman will, I am quite sure, on correction be disposed to withdraw the assertion he made. Not only has he, from some cause or other, been entirely misled, but he has also been able to mislead my right hon. friend; and as this is a matter of great importance, as it concerns a question that I have always regarded as one of prime importance, I am quite sure the House will indulge me while, as briefly as I can, I draw their attention to this matter.

The hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), at the Reform Club, in Montreal, on the 11th October, said:

He (Tarte) was the first Canadian to become a member of the Imperial Federation League. That was in 1887, but three years later, 1890, Sir Charles Tupper expressly said that Canada should not be expected to become embroiled in European wars, and he was surprised that Sir Charles Tupper took another step to-day.

The hon. gentleman also, on a more recent occasion, at the banquet given by the Young Liberals in Toronto, on the 30th January, said:

I have been, during the last twelve years, a member of the Imperial Federation League, and it is no injustice to Sir Charles Tupper to remind you that that gentleman has persistently fought, before the Imperial League, the idea of helping England in her outside wars.

That is a very strong statement, and being the very reverse of the truth, being opposed to everything I have ever done or said, as a member of the Imperial League or in any other capacity in public life, the House will see the importance of my setting the hon. gentleman right and showing him that he has entirely misapprehended my position with regard to that question. The hon. Minister of Public Works said:

Sir Charles Tupper has changed his opinion on several occasions, and perhaps I should not blame him much, because I have done the same thing myself.

I am afraid the hon. gentleman will have to shield himself behind somebody

else as to change of opinions, because I have never changed my opinion with regard to this important question. I have always held the importance of the outlying portions of Her Majesty's Dominion being in a position to give the most substantial aid in their power to the mother country wherever and whenever the occasion might require it. And I am sure that hon. gentlemen on both sides will agree with me that that being the case, I would fail in my duty on this occasion if I did not draw the attention of the House to the great, I will not say wilful, inaccuracy of which the hon. gentleman has been guilty, for I presume that when he made that statement so publicly on two occasions, he really believed he was stating what was the fact. I think, however, I will satisfy him, and I am sure I will satisfy my right hon. friend the leader of the House, that the position the hon. Minister of Public Works took is entirely inaccurate and unfounded on anything I have ever said or did.

In 1884, the Right Hon. George W. Foster brought forward the project of founding an Imperial Federation League. He did so at a very important meeting held in the Westminster Palace Hotel. A motion was made by the Right Hon. Mr. Smith, the leader of the House of Commons, seconded by the Earl of Rosebery, if I remember right, and Mr. Foster was good enough to call upon me to support that motion. The motion was stronger than I felt warranted in supporting, because it declared that unless the federation of the empire could be accomplished the empire would go to pieces. I stated frankly to that meeting, at which was present a large number of peers and members of the House of Commons, that I was unable to commit myself to a declaration that I thought was of a dangerous character, and likely to be misunderstood abroad and do mischief. I may say that, upon my suggestion, the resolution was modified. The Imperial Federation League was founded, and the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald became a member of it, and in 1889, when I was pressed to give to the Imperial Federation League at its annual banquet, my views as to the position of Canada on that question, I took the matter up and subsequently became a member of that league and was for some time associated with it.

But the speech to which the hon. Minister of Public Works referred was a speech made, in the first instance, at a meeting of the Imperial Federation League, when I moved a resolution for the appointment of a select committee to examine into and report in what manner the unity of the empire could be best accomplished, and I subsequently embodied the substance of that speech made in moving that resolution, which was also, at a very large meeting of the Imperial Federation League, carried

unanimously—I subsequently embodied my views with regard to the best means of promoting the unity of the empire in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*. My right hon. friend was wrong in quoting the date of that article as 1892. It is contained in the *Nineteenth Century* of April, 1891. I may say to my right hon. friend that I felt greatly flattered at his doing me the honour of reading so large a portion of the article I had written. And I regret very much that he had not gone a little further—because, if he had done so, he would have found that that very article in the *Nineteenth Century* contained an absolute refutation of the statement made by the Minister of Public Works and the opinion that my right hon. friend had been led to adopt in regard to my position on that question. I may say that the ground I took on that occasion and the ground I took upon subsequent occasions, was this: When the question was brought forward of imposing a tax upon the colonies for the support of Her Majesty's navy, I joined issue, holding that it would be most mischievous. I believed that for an arrangement to be made for the colonies to be called upon to levy a heavy burden, contribution, or a contribution of any kind for the support of Her Majesty's navy was not only the best means of supporting the British government, but it was fraught, I believe with dangerous consequences that would result in promoting anything but the unity of the British Empire. I may draw the attention of the House to the omission made by my right hon. friend as shown by the very article from which he did me the honour to quote a long extract to the House. I will not read what the hon. gentleman quoted, but I will read a further portion of that article. This is an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1891:

There is no doubt that in a comparatively few years a large population will occupy Canada, and that England will be strengthened by a great British auxiliary on the northern half of the continent of North America. Canada has, in addition, expended since confederation over forty millions of dollars upon her militia and Mounted Police, and in the establishment of a military college, which I am proud to know from one of the highest authorities, is second to no military school in the world—

In passing, I may say that I thoroughly concur in the sentiment expressed by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) that the Royal Military College is a proud and enduring monument to the late Alexander Mackenzie when leader of the government in this country.

—and of nine other military schools and batteries in the various provinces of which Canada is composed. In 1839 Canada expended no less than two millions of dollars on the militia, and the North-west Mounted Police, which any one who knows the country will admit is a most effective means of defence. It is true we have

a comparatively small permanent force, but we have established military schools, and we have such a nucleus of a further force as, in case of need, would enable us to develop the militia in the most effective manner, consisting of 37,000 volunteers who are trained annually, and a reserve of 1,000,000 men liable to be called upon should the necessity arise. One of the most effective means adopted by the Imperial parliament for the defence of the empire is by subsidizing fast steamers built under Admiralty supervision, with armament which can be available at a moment's notice. These steamers could maintain their position and keep up mail communication in time of war, or be used for the transport of troops. Canada has contributed £15,000 a year to a splendid line of steamers, such as are now plying between Canada, Japan and China, and has offered no less than £165,000 per annum to put a service like the 'Teutonic' between England and Canada, and a fast service between Canada and Australia. All these splendid steamers would be effective as cruisers if required for the protection of British commerce and the transport of troops and thousands of volunteers from the colonies to any point that the protection of the empire demanded. These actual facts illustrate, in my opinion, the best mode of contributing to the strength and defence of the empire.

My right hon. friend will see that this is entirely inconsistent with the idea that we were to incur no further obligation, and take no further part in aiding Her Majesty's government in any difficulty in which the mother country might be placed. Now, I would draw the attention of my right hon. friend and the Minister of Public Works to this. I have here an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1892, in which I was dealing with the criticisms that the first article had evoked. In that article I say:

I may say, however, that I did not refer to what Canada had done to promote the security of the empire as in any way absolving her from further expenditure, but as an indication of her readiness to discharge her duty in this regard.

So, the right hon. gentleman will see that I entirely protected myself against any such impression as he seemed to have gathered, that I thought Canada should not come to the aid of the mother country in case of any wars that might take place. At a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute in 1894, when the most noble the Marquis of Lorne was in the chair, I read a paper in support of Imperial aid being given to the fast line of steamers between the mother country and Canada, and in support also of the proposition that the mother country and the colonies should unite in establishing a Pacific cable between Australia and Canada. Replying to certain criticisms of Sir John Colomb, I said:

This further I may tell to Sir John Colomb—and I am speaking by the book—that one of the first services for which this line of steamers will be available in case of war is in carrying volunteers from Canada and Australia to fight the battle of England and maintain British institutions.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

Now, I ask you if it is possible, with these statements put on record in the strongest manner in an influential review and in discussion before the Royal Colonial Institute, for any person to say that the attitude I assumed was one in any degree whatever in conflict with the view that Canada was bound, and that Canada was prepared whenever and wherever the necessity arose, to send her volunteers in aid of the mother country. I may explain where I joined issue with others on this question. Sir John Colomb, who was a member of parliament, and a member of the Imperial Defence League, took up very warily and actively the question of colonial contribution to the navy. It seemed that the only thing he proposed to do in regard to the promotion of the unity of the empire was to adopt a policy under which the various colonies should be compelled to support the navy. As I say, I joined issue with him, and when, consequently, the Imperial Federation League was dissolved—and dissolved largely in consequence of the inability of the parties who were taking that line to secure the co-operation of the Imperial Federation League—a defence committee was formed, of which Sir John Colomb and Mr. Arthur Loring, the Secretary of the League, were members. Mr. Loring published a letter in the *London Times*, August, 1885, in which he used this language:

Either means must be found for including the great self-governing colonies, containing eleven millions of our own race, in the system by which the navy is provided and administered, or they must be fairly warned that if this cannot be done they must see to their own safety.

Well, I do not hesitate to tell you, Mr. Speaker, that I resented that action and that attitude in the strongest manner I possibly could. I took that question up when called upon to address the Royal Geographical Society at Tyneside, with the Hon. Sir Edward Grey in the chair, who was either at that time Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, or who had been so. With this gentleman, one of the leaders of the Liberal party in the chair, I discussed this question that had been raised in that way by this young gentleman who had been secretary of the Imperial Federation League. I do not wish to inflict on the House all that I said in that long address, but I will give a few points to show the House exactly the attitude I took in regard to what I considered a most important matter:

No statesman of the present day would venture to make such a statement as the one referred to, as they all—of whatever party—hold the opinion so well expressed by the late Lord Derby when, in the little England days, Sir William Molesworth moved his famous resolution in favour of a like proposal to relieve the mother country from civil and military expenditure on account of the colonies. Lord Stanley—as he then was—said:

'I am compelled to come to the same conclusion as the Under Secretary of State, and with

him to believe that the effect of this motion, if carried out, would be the entire abandonment of the colonial empire. To that step, I will never consent.

That was from so eminent a man as that great Rupert of debate, Lord Derby. Mr. Loring added :

In order to effect this, it will be necessary to induce these colonies to contribute to the cost of naval defence, and the people of the United Kingdom to admit the colonies to a share in the ownership and the administration of the navy.

Now, Sir, I took the position in the strongest way that any proposal on the part of the Imperial government to levy any taxation whatever upon British colonies for any such purpose, would be taxation without representation. I may say here that some hon. gentlemen opposite seem to have entirely misunderstood my own opinion in regard to taxation without representation. My objection to the whole proposal was that it would involve at once taxation by the Imperial government of the British colonies by a parliament in which they had no representation, and would, in fact, bring about a condition of things as objectionable as that which led to the revolt of the American colonies. I may add that in this speech before the Tyneside Geographical Society, on November 21, 1895, I used the following language :—

The Lords of the Admiralty, after the most careful consideration, have placed on record the opinion that no better means exists of strengthening the naval power of the empire by a moderate outlay than by fast mail steamers, built under Admiralty supervision and prepared to take on armament and to be available for Her Majesty's services as 'royal navy reserve cruisers' whenever required by the British government. Canada stands pledged by Act of Parliament to pay £190,000 sterling per annum for a fleet of nine such steamers, five of which are now on the Pacific, and the remaining four, I trust, will soon be put on the line between this country and Canada, bringing it and the mother country within five days of each other. These cruisers, in time of peace, will be strengthening the empire by promoting commerce and intercommunication; be able to maintain that communication by their speed and armament when ordinary mail steamers would be compelled to abandon the route, and be ready, if required, to carry troops to any part of the world. The past history of Canada—

Mark that, Mr. Speaker.

—warrants the belief that one of the first things for which they would be utilized would be to carry brave Canadian volunteers to any part of the world where the honour or interests of this empire were threatened. Let those who sneer at what Canada has done to promote the unity and integrity of the empire read the testimony of Lord Jersey, who so ably represented the Imperial government at the conference at Ottawa:

I may say, in order to make that point plain, that the whole demand that a levy should be made upon the British colonies,

and upon Canada especially—because it was said that Australia had done something in the way of creating a navy—the whole demand was based upon the principle that Canada was contributing absolutely nothing towards the strength of the empire, either in its army or navy; and in consequence of that contention I brought forward what Canada had done, that in my judgment was eminently calculated to strengthen the empire, giving the evidence in that direction. I will quote what Lord Jersey said at the time of the conference here in Ottawa :

Suffice it to say, that the spirit which inspires me—and I doubt not, inspires all my colleagues—is one of absolute sympathy with the far-seeing policy that has called us together, and could there be any more fitting place than the grand Dominion of Canada. His Excellency has well pointed out her splendid position in this question. It is with wonder that I think what Canada has done to bring the northern and southern parts of this empire together. She has linked the two great oceans, after an exhibition of courage, constancy and skill which has never been surpassed in the history of the world.

At that conference the representatives of Canada, Australia and New Zealand united in a proposal to join this country in laying a Pacific cable to Australasia—free from the dangers that beset the existing lines—declared by the highest military and naval authorities to be of vital importance to the defence of the empire. Is the past action of Canada not sufficient to prove that she is not insensible to the responsibility that devolves upon her as a component part of this great empire, and that in future, as in the past, she will be always found ready to discharge her duty to the utmost extent of her ability? . . .

My right hon. friend will see at once that instead of having put forward what Canada had done as a discharge of all claims upon her, I put it forward as an evidence of the great contribution that she had made in the past to the strength of the empire, and I referred to it as an evidence that whenever and wherever the interests of the empire required she would be ready to discharge her duty. Now, I may say that the *Times* newspaper, which had watched this controversy on the question of the support to the navy by a levy upon the outlying portions of the empire, made this very authentic statement, and I may add that I could give you, if time permitted, statements from every prominent journal in the city of London and throughout Great Britain, sustaining precisely the position which the *Times* took. The *Times* of September 17, 1895, referring to Mr. Loring's proposition made in that newspaper, said :

The colonies are to be invited to share the control and administration of the navy, in consideration of a contribution to be made by them towards the cost of its maintenance; and the committee express the truly astonishing opinion that a change of the kind suggested need not necessarily lead to any serious alteration in the present methods of controlling and directing the royal navy. We really must protest against a proposal to shift the centre of gravity of the British Empire in this light-hearted fashion.

The navy exists primarily for the defence, security and prosperity of the United Kingdom. The defence, security and prosperity of the United Kingdom depends on a world-wide maritime commerce. If, solely for the sake of argument, we assume for a moment that no single colony retains its connection with the mother country, it by no means follows that the cost of the naval defence of the United Kingdom, with its world-wide maritime interests, would be reduced to any appreciable extent. . . . Thus the gratuitous defence of the colonies by the British navy is perhaps the strongest bond of Imperial union that could be devised, because the colonies obtain an appreciable advantage at little or no appreciable cost to the mother country. It is certain that the colonies would be less secure if they could no longer rely on the protection of the navy: it is by no means certain that the cost of the naval defence of the United Kingdom and its commerce would be materially diminished if the navy were relieved of the responsibility of defending the colonies. The question brought forward by these hon. gentlemen (Sir John Colomb and Mr. Loring) was this, a proposition to show that 11,000,000 of British colonists in Canada, South Africa and Australasia would have to contribute, and if they contributed it would naturally assume the character of a relative contribution proportionate to the population. That would be, in any mode in which it could be devised, establishing a precedent that, in my judgment, would absolutely propound the doctrine of taxation without representation, and it was therefore objectionable in the highest degree. I pointed out what Canada had done, what she was prepared to do, and, again and again, on every occasion I stated, in regard to this fast Atlantic service, that one of the very first services that these steamers would be called upon to perform, under the arrangement with Her Majesty's government, which placed them entirely at their disposal in case war was declared, would be to carry thousands of brave Canadian volunteers to the scene of action and to aid Great Britain in fighting her battles in any part of the world in which need might arise. I am quite sure that I need not detain the House another moment in pointing out to my right hon. friend and to the hon. Minister of Public Works that they have entirely misapprehended the whole scope and attitude of the position I have taken on that question, and that no further discussion need be added in regard to that.

Now, Sir, I may say that I want to refer for a single moment to the resolution which the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) has placed before the House, and I want to repeat again my statement of extreme satisfaction at finding that the government have become so much alive to their duty, and it is undoubtedly an imperative duty, to take the course which the government have taken in placing this very considerable vote before the House for its support. But in doing so, I want to meet,

SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

what I suppose was intended as a sneer by my right hon. friend, or a taunt, that he was waiting for the amendment to be moved by myself in virtue of statements I had made at Vancouver, in the first instance, at all events, statements that I had made in various parts of the country, that I should be prepared to support, in this House, the payment by Canada of the entire cost of the Canadian contingents. I may remind my right hon. friend that I do not think that I am exposed to any sneer or taunt for not moving an amendment to the address, and I will venture to say why. In the first instance, the point on which we differed was whether there should be any aid given by Canada to the mother country on this occasion. My right hon. friend gave an official pronouncement on this question in which he declared that the law and the constitution of this country forbade him doing anything, that he would do nothing, because he could do nothing, and he was good enough to say, I think, on a recent occasion, that the attitude which I had taken on this question had cleared the way for him. I think, now that he has had explained the position I had taken on this question of Canada giving support to the Imperial arms, it will relieve him of any such impression or idea. But I may say that the matter was happily settled by the government having changed their position and deciding that they would send a number of volunteers, or a number of parties who had volunteered to go to South Africa. I do not hesitate to say, in view of the correspondence which has been laid on the Table of the House, correspondence with the Imperial government and with other colonies, that I regret that Canada, the brightest jewel in the Crown of England, which forms a portion of Her Majesty's dominions in this wide empire—should not have been the first to offer its services instead of the last. And I deplore the fact that my right hon. friend and the government did not at once, promptly, make the offer to Great Britain that was made by the colony of New Zealand. New Zealand proposed to send a troop of mounted men and horses, equipment and everything of that kind, and they asked that they should be allowed to pay the full charge of that contingent. I regret to say that I cannot find any evidence that the government of Canada ever gave the faintest intimation to Her Majesty's government that we were willing to pay the cost of the Canadian contingent. I shall not detain the House with that, as it has become a subject of discussion before, further than to say that the answer that my right hon. friend gave is not sufficient that the proposals to Her Majesty's government, to the right hon. Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the arrangement proposed by the right hon. Secretary of State for War, pre-

cluded such an offer. It did not preclude such an offer, because I will show my right hon. friend that they took exactly the same position in reference to that that they took in respect to the units of 125 men that were to go over without any indication of their colonial character, and were to be incorporated in the British army. I took strong exception to that, and as my right hon. friend will remember, I ventured to offer the suggestion that the honour and interest of Canada required that the force sent out by Canada should be a Canadian force, officered by a Canadian officer, although embodied, under a British general, as part of the great force that Her Majesty's government had sent to South Africa. My right hon. friend ventured to use some rather strong language at Bowmanville in reference to that. He said now that they had agreed to do what the colonies were required to do, to send these units forward, they were yelling at Toronto that they should be sent as a contingent and officered by a Canadian officer. But that did not prevent my right hon. friend from taking a wise course and pressing upon Her Majesty's government that the Canadian force should go, not as units, but as a distinctive Canadian contingent, and if, without saying anything about being more loyal than the Queen, or wiser than the Secretary for War, they had said what New Zealand said, in the strongest, clearest and most emphatic terms, that they wished to pay the entire cost of the contingent, they would have met the expectations of the country. But I am grateful for the smallest concessions on the part of this government. I am grateful, in the first place, for the Prime Minister has changed his original attitude of hostility to any aid being sent to the mother country. Then, when my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) gave out an official communique or memorandum of what was proposed to be done, and again having ventured to address my right hon. friend, I am gratified to know that he adopted the suggestion made to him, and decided that our soldiers should not go as units, as stated in that communique, but as a Canadian contingent officered by Canadians and commanded by a distinguished Canadian officer. I was at Vancouver when it was announced that my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) was going to send a second contingent, and, as I have already said to the House; I then stated I was rejoiced to learn that the government had become so fully alive to their duty, and I trusted that the speech of the Governor General at the opening of parliament would announce that Canada proposed to pay the entire cost of the contingents. I repeat to the House that on every occasion whenever and wherever throughout Canada this question was raised—and it was raised in my presence before

thousands of people—it was the universal opinion of men of all classes, of all races, of all creeds and of all parties, that the honour and interest of Canada demanded that we should send substantial aid to Her Majesty's government, and that the Canadian soldiers should be paid by Canada and not by the British government.

A few days ago, on the floor of the House, I drew the attention of my right hon. friend to the fact, that although he had given us Lord Strathcona's correspondence, I still was in doubt upon the question of New Zealand not paying the entire cost of her contingent. The population of New Zealand is not 800,000 people, and we in Canada have seven times more, and are in a better position financially than the government of New Zealand to deal with such a matter. I pointed out then to the Prime Minister, that although Lord Strathcona had gone to the Colonial Office, he had based the decision of the Colonial Office on despatches Nos. 13 and 16, in which New Zealand offered to pay her contingent, and the answer of the British government that they preferred themselves to pay their men in the field. I pointed out that in the same correspondence was to be found a later despatch, No. 82, from the New Zealand government stating that they intended to pay the entire cost of their contingent. I was afraid that some misunderstanding had taken place, because despatch No. 92, answering that, did not contain the slightest objection to the proposal of New Zealand to pay the entire cost of its contingent. I attached a good deal of importance to this matter, and so I cabled to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and I may state here that I found that the statement made by Lord Strathcona was absolutely correct. I addressed the following cable to the Prime Minister of New Zealand

Do your government pay your contingent in the field?

And the reply I received was:

We pay difference between Imperial pay and colonial pay.

That sets at rest the question. I naturally felt that there might be some misunderstanding about it and entertained the same idea which prompted the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to cable Lord Strathcona to ascertain what the actual facts were. I find that under these circumstances, Canada and all the other colonies are in the same position so far as is concerned the actual pay of the force in the field by the British government.

I found in the speech from the Throne at the opening of this session, the following statement:

A Bill will be submitted for your approval making provision for the cost of equipping and paying the cost of the Canadian contingents.

I was delighted to see that, but I regretted to learn from the Minister of Militia (Mr.

Borden) that that announcement did not include the payment in the field. However, as I find now, that this is the universal practice in all the colonies, and as the British government has not yielded to the request from New Zealand that that colony should be permitted to pay the cost of its contingent throughout, I cannot, of course, press that matter further upon the attention of the House, because my right hon. friend is fortified by the action of the Imperial government and the decision which they have come to in regard to all the other colonies. I still express my regret that upon no occasion did the Canadian government do as the New Zealand government did, which not only once but twice pressed on Her Majesty's government that the colony should have the opportunity and the pleasure of paying the entire cost of the contingent. I am delighted and gratified to find that although the Canadian government have not been allowed to pay the services of the men in the field, they propose to do as they have a right to do, and which will, I am sure, receive the unanimous commendation of every member on both sides of the House, namely, to provide the additional amount between the sum paid by the Imperial government and that which the officers and men of the North-west Mounted Police, and of the Canadian forces generally would receive if on active service in Canada. I cannot see that I am exposed to any very great taunt on the part of my right hon. friend. I think it is not usual for governments to press for amendments to the address in answer to the speech from the Throne, but, however, I will let that go.

I am very anxious to draw the attention of my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) and the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) to a point raised in the speech of the hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright). Although perhaps it may be held that I am referring to a past debate, my right hon. friend will see, as I am sure every member of the House will see, that the discussion in relation to the subject of this resolution which took place on a former occasion, must necessarily be referred to here; and I want to draw the attention of my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) to a statement which was made by Sir Richard Cartwright in his speech on the address. He said:

There was one other attack which might have been spared, made upon the government by the hon. leader of the opposition. The hon. gentleman thought that we had acted very improperly because we had not thought fit to insure our troops before they left for Africa.

I did not say that. I said that it was a cruel thing for the organ of the government to announce to a thousand men just sailing for Africa that their lives had been insured by the government to the extent of \$1,000 each, when the same paper said a few days

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afterwards that nothing whatever in that respect had been done; and I shall take another opportunity of asking for the papers to be laid on the Table of the House so that the House will be informed of what communication did take place on that subject between the insurance companies and the government. I am quite certain that the *Globe* newspaper occupies too high a position in this country to have manufactured such a statement out of whole cloth, for it stated emphatically that the insurance had been effected, gave the name of the gentleman who had arranged it with the government, and stated the amount; and the press all over the country expressed its gratification that the government had made the arrangement. So that I do not see why what I said should be called an attack. It was not an attack. I wanted some explanation why it was that that statement was made, and why these thousand brave Canadian volunteers should have left our shores with the hope in their minds that in case any of them fell in battle those depending on them would receive that thousand dollars—a hope to be swept away four days afterwards. The statement was made on the 28th of October, and on the 1st of November it was declared that there was no foundation whatever for it. I think we should have some information in regard to what induced the government to abandon that proposal. It appears we have it here to a certain extent:

Sir, that hon. gentleman has a very low and poor idea of the duties of a government in a case like this.

Well, I cannot imagine any lower or poorer act on the part of a government than to mislead, as undoubtedly those thousand volunteers were misled by the announcement of the government's own organ in the great province of Ontario and by the statement made afterwards that there was no foundation whatever for the announcement.

I beg to tell that hon. gentleman that when Canada sends her sons to the front, Canada becomes responsible and will know how to redeem that responsibility to the widows and orphans of the brave men who may fall in this conflict.

Well, Sir, these are brave words, but the acts do not seem to me to run parallel with them. I find that under this arrangement the British government not only pays our men in the field, but pays the transport back to Canada of those who live to return, and wound pensions and compassionate allowances. I want to know if the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) wished to lead us to believe that the government were going to cover all the expenditure.

We do not propose to shift that duty on to the shoulders of any insurance company, and I may remind the House that, with the full concurrence of his council, my hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Lau-

rier) gave that assurance to the last contingent that sailed from Canada.

I want to know what assurance that was. Was it that every man should feel that there would be \$1,000 paid to his heirs or dependents? What was that assurance that enables the Minister of Trade and Commerce to sneer at any attempt on the part of anybody in this country, from their own private means, to secure against the casualties of war no less than \$1,000 per man on 1,000 men? The hon. gentleman said:

Sir, I have no fear that the Canadian people will shrink from that duty.

I am glad to find that the government have come up step by step until we find this resolution placed before the House. I shall give it my most hearty support, and I shall give my hearty support to anything that will carry out to the fullest extent the recognition Canada owes to those brave Canadian volunteers who are taking their lives in their hands to maintain the honour of Canada in South Africa. The hon. gentleman says:

I say that the government have chosen the right way, and I say again that the brave men in the front need have no fear, if it should please Providence that they should remain on the soil of Africa, that their widows and little ones will not be the wards and the care of the state and the wards and care of every true and honest-minded Canadian.

That, Sir, is most gratifying to me; and if anything would justify me in not moving an amendment, which hon. gentlemen opposite seem extremely anxious that I should move—though it would be for the first time in my life the violation of a promise I had made in relation to a public matter—it is that the government have at last realized their responsibility on this great question; and I am quite sure that they have made no mistake in feeling that they can rest confidently on not only this House but the people of this country for the most thorough support of anything they may do in this direction.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk). In the course of the remarks, Mr. Speaker, presented to the House this afternoon by the hon. the leader of the opposition a good deal of time was devoted by him to the task of proving that his past record had not been inconsistent with his present attitude upon the question of Imperial defence. I certainly have no disposition to call in question the accuracy of the hon. gentleman's remarks in that regard, and it would be far from affording myself or any member on this side any pleasure, were we able to prove any inconsistency in that regard. No member of this House, no citizen of this country will, I apprehend, raise the claim

that the hon. leader of the opposition is not a truly loyal man—loyal to the empire and loyal to Canada.

His speech further was devoted to an attempt—justifiable perhaps from a partisan standpoint, as the leader of the opposition—to cast a certain measure of discredit upon the government for alleged tardiness in grappling with the great duty which confronted them in connection with the South African war and for half-heartedness in the course they at first pursued. His criticisms as regards this alleged lack of readiness of the government were of a character that I shall deal with in detail later on, and I think that I shall be able to convince myself at least that the government have acted in this matter with prudence, sagacity and dignity. It is to be lamented that an attempt should be made to make party capital part of this matter. This is a question above party politics, above politics in any sense. It is a question which should appeal to the patriotic impulses of every Canadian, and we should never permit an attempt to cast discredit on one party or make political capital out of this matter to be a factor in the discussion now before the House.

I propose to enter briefly into a discussion of the question as to whether the action of the government is justifiable. Of course we have this wave of patriotic fervour that has swept over the country. The government are unquestionably acting in accordance with the popular will. They have the mandate of the people to warrant their taking the course we are pursuing; but it would be well perhaps to calmly and dispassionately examine this subject and satisfy ourselves, if possible, whether, aside from excitement, aside from the general feeling that prevails in the country, there are really sound and sufficient reasons to justify the conduct of the government in this respect, and I propose briefly to deal with that question. I propose to do so because there are a great many people in Canada—more perhaps than is imagined—who are a little distrustful as to the propriety of the course the government have adopted, and who perhaps secretly cherish the opinion that this course is scarcely warranted. In my own constituency, the people are not influenced by the excitement which pervades great commercial, business and population centres; and in calmly considering this question, when this vote of \$2,000,000 is asked, some of these constituents and other citizens in other rural constituencies of this country may possibly be disposed to cavil at the line of action adopted by the government, the first result of which is so palpable in the asking of this House to vote \$2,000,000 to defray the expenses of the contingents. In looking this matter over, I propose to cover some little extent of ground. I propose, first of all, to inquire into the character of

the British title to South Africa. We hear asserted that this is a war for independence on the part of the Boers, that they are oppressed, that they have gone back into the wilderness and established a state with a government of their own, and that now, when the impingement has come with British population and British interests, they are being trampled into the dust by the superior power of the British nation. I propose, then, to inquire into the character of the British claim in South Africa. If our title is not a good one, of course the arguments which we base upon that title are false. I propose next to inquire, very briefly, as to the importance of South Africa. It may be asserted that this is a barren, inhospitable region, incapable of supporting a great population and that the importance of the country does not justify the exertion necessary to put down this rebellion, pacify the country and make it a secure British possession. I propose next to inquire what our own interests are in Africa. Our own interests there seem to be a somewhat remote matter. We are separated from Africa by the width and length of the Atlantic Ocean. It is a voyage of over 6,000 miles from one of our seaports to Cape Town, and the impression might prevail that, whether the British title was good or not, whether the country was good or not, we at least had little or no interest in the matter, and were not called upon to make sacrifices or undergo exertion, or in any manner to interfere. I shall examine next, very briefly, into the causes of the war. If we have a good cause, the war can be justified; if not, our action cannot be upheld. I shall next deal with the question of Canadian duty, viewed from the standpoint of our connection with the empire, viewed from the particular standpoint of the fact that we are a part of the empire, growing in population and power, joined to other portions, and with common interests with the rest of the empire. Taking this view, I shall inquire what is the duty of Canada in the premises. I shall next inquire whether the government has moved in this matter with due promptitude, whether their conduct is such as to warrant them in asking the people of Canada for their approval. I shall next have something to say about the propriety of avoiding an attempt to make party capital out of this affair, and to reduce this great question to the low level of party politics.

Now, Sir, with regard to the British title to South Africa. Cape Colony was founded by the Dutch in 1652. It was taken by the English in 1796. It was ceded to the Netherlands under the provisions of the treaty of Amiens in 1803. It was again occupied by the British troops in 1806, and in August, 1814, the British government extinguished the title of the Netherlands

to Cape Colony and all their colonies in South America for a consideration of £6,000,000 sterling. So, the British first conquered the country, then they occupied the country, and then they paid £6,000,000 sterling for South Africa and some colonies of insignificant importance in South America. So, our title rests upon conquest, occupation and purchase. There can be no question as to the title.

The explorations of Africa by British subjects from an early day have fairly entitled Great Britain to claim almost any portion of the continent she might desire. Mungo Park and Lander first discovered and descended the Niger from Timbuctoo to the sea. Bruce, away back in the early part of the century, traced the blue Nile to its source, supposing that it was the true Nile. Sir Samuel Baker traced the white Nile to its source, and discovered the great equatorial lakes of Albert Nyanza and Victoria Nyanza. Burton and Speke discovered the great inland sea of Tanganyika. Stanley, a British subject, and now a member of the British parliament, traced the Congo from where Livingstone had left its descent to the sea. And Livingstone, the greatest of all African explorers, gave to the world knowledge of the whole South African empire, which now claims attention. He commenced his explorations in 1841. He was a missionary, and when he commenced his explorations, the whole of Africa was a blank from Kolobing, the most northern missionary station in South Africa, to Timbuctoo and Kartoun. He penetrated to the Zambesi in 1851, and discovered the Victoria Falls. Unaided and alone, he succeeded in getting the assistance of a party of Makololo, and made the journey from Linyanti to Loanda, on the west coast of Africa in the Portuguese colony of Angola. He retraced his steps to Linyanti, near the centre of the continent, and in 1853, he took a party of 126 Makololo and traced the course of the Zambesi to its mouth, being the first white man to cross the continent of Africa. He went to England, and returned under the auspices of the Geographical Society and the British government, and explored the Zambesi, discovering Lake Nyasa, a larger body of water than Lake Erie, traced the Zambesi and the Shire River, and discovered the great inland sea of Bangweolo, on the shores of which he afterwards died. He, as a British explorer, gave us knowledge of this whole region, which now forms or which will form the South African empire.

This is a country of very great importance, a country of an importance and magnitude which very few in this country understand. It is the richest mineral country in the world. It is rich in iron, in lead, copper, in coal—richer than any other land under the sun in gold and diamonds, and rich in silver. In this country are situated

the mines of the Witwatersrand, from which in 1898, £11,400,000 of gold were taken. Rhodesia, lately added to this country, extending north from the Transvaal to Lake Tanganyika, possesses, unquestionably, the richest gold-bearing region on the face of the globe, a region not developed, and only now commencing to be explored. In this region are found the traces of ancient mining, and ruins of great magnitude. Everything points to the correctness of the belief that this is the ancient Ophir. In Rhodesia, south of the Zambesi, within the next twenty years, if British supremacy is established, undoubtedly will be placed more than a million white men engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and digging from the bowels of the earth gold from the quartz reefs, and working the alluvial deposits in the valleys of the rivers. This is a region of breezy, salubrious upland, of rich valley, fertile corn lands, excellent fruit lands, and lands for the vine, a country admirably suited for settlement by whites, and possessing resources beyond the reach of imagination, resources which English statesmen are conversant with, but of which we are comparatively ignorant. The stake in this war is of immense magnitude, a stake of first-class importance, it is an empire with potential wealth beyond almost the dream or imagination of man. This South African empire, as at present constituted, contains five provinces, Cape Colony, Basutoland, Mashonaland, Natal and Rhodesia, with an area of 1,286,000 square miles. It has a native population of about 7,000,000, a white population of 475,000, and an Indian population from Hindostan, and centred in Natal, of 53,000. In addition to this are the territories of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The Transvaal has an area of 119,000 square miles, the Orange Free State an area of 48,000 square miles, a total of 167,000 square miles. Of these two states, the Orange Free State has a white population of 77,000, and a native population of 130,000. The Transvaal has a Boer population, according to Whitaker's almanac of 1900, of 63,000, a Uitlander population of 87,000, and a native population of 600,000. Therefore the white population of these two Dutch states now in rebellion is 227,000, with a native population of 730,000. The Boer population in these two states is 140,000. The total population of British and Dutch Africa, including these two states is 8,500,000; the total white population is 700,000; and the total Dutch population of South Africa is, in round numbers, 340,000, as near as I am able to make out. The total area of Dutch and British Africa is, in round numbers, 1,500,000 square miles.

Mr. DAVIN. May I ask my hon. friend a question? Does he separate the white

from the Boers, or include the Boers with the white population?

Mr. CHARLTON. I stated that the Dutch population of South Africa was, in round numbers, 340,000, out of a total white population of 700,000. In addition to this area of 1,450,000 square miles, this South African empire abuts upon the Congo Free State with an area of 900,000 square miles, and a native population of 30,000,000; upon Portuguese West Africa with 200,000 square miles, a rich country; and upon Portuguese East Africa, Mozambique, with an area of 620,000 square miles, and a population of 1,500,000. It is not reasonable to suppose that the limits now occupied by the Anglo-Saxon race of that country will continue to measure the bounds of their African empire, and they are almost certain to acquire Portuguese East Africa, and possibly the wheel of fortune may bring around some change by which they will take what they are justly entitled to by virtue of the discovery of the great basin of the Congo, the most of the Zambesi valley with a drainage of 1,500,000 square miles. They already have most of the Zambezi valley with a drainage of 800,000 square miles embraced in that territory. Now, I have said enough with regard to this matter, I think, to make it apparent that the claim I make that South Africa is a country of great importance, is well founded. With regard to the Transvaal, I have a few interesting figures to present. The Transvaal, or the Dutch Republic of South Africa, as it is called, has for the last five or six years extracted an enormous revenue, considering the extent of its population, from the foreign residents mainly, in that territory. In 1882 the revenue of the Transvaal was \$870,000. Subsequent to that the gold mines of the Witwatersrand were discovered and worked, and in 1897 the revenue of this state was \$22,000,000, mainly derived from the working of the mines. The total production of the mines in 1897 was \$57,000,000, of which a taxation of \$22,000,000, or 38 per cent was exacted from the Uitlanders who were working those mines. This revenue was obtained by exactions of the most outrageous and unjustifiable character, monopolies of various kinds; and the money so raised was expended, not for the benefit of the community, but for the purchase of arms and munitions of war that this state of the Transvaal might place itself in a position to enter upon the career of rebellion which it is now pursuing. The city of Johannesburg, with over 100,000 inhabitants, had 250 voters; and out of the vast amount contributed by those who had their homes in that city not a dollar was expended for drains, for sewerage, for school purposes, or for anything in the shape of public benefit. When Kruger invited to the Transvaal foreign immigration, a residence of two years

entitled the immigrant to the franchise ; but as the immigrants began to pour in and it became apparent to this astute old Hollander that there was danger of the Boer element being submerged by the great tide of immigration flowing in, the franchise laws were utterly repealed. After a great effort a concession was made granting the franchise at the expiration of 14 years upon condition that when that period had expired the man who wished to exercise the franchise should get the written consent of two-thirds of the Dutch men who resided in the district where he voted, and then get the consent of the authorities of Pretoria. And these men, denied the franchise, these men from whom were wrung \$22,000,000 of revenue in unjust taxation, these men were liable at twelve hours notice to be called into the military service of the Transvaal, without food, without clothing, without pay. These men were living in a country in which British authority should by right have been paramount, but they were helots, slaves, without rights in the country where they lived. There were of those Uitlanders 83,000, and 63,000 Boers ; there were of those Uitlanders 70,000 British subjects, or 80 per cent ; there were 7,000 more British subjects than the total number of Boers in the Transvaal. And these men were trodden upon, these men were denied every civil right, and the purpose of the Transvaal government was to continue denying them those rights and to make their life in the Transvaal one of bitterness and humiliation.

Now, British policy in South Africa has not always been a prudent or a wise policy. This struggle that is being fought out now ought to have been fought out in the days of Majuba Hill. That was the time to settle whether Africa should be Dutch or British. And in the Soudan where Gordon's life was sacrificed at Khartoum, it was a lack of courage, a lack of comprehension of the importance of the issue that led Gladstone to fail to secure the Soudan and to rescue Gordon when it could have been done at comparatively slight cost. At that time the great colonial possessions which have since fallen into the hands of Germany, of France, and of Belgium, might have been had by the British government by merely claiming possession of them ; but the policy of the British government of that time was one which failed to comprehend or failed to grasp the situation, and we are paying to-day the penalty of the mistakes made 20 or 30 years ago. But the British authorities understand the case now, and they have now clearly defined purposes as to South Africa. Whether those purposes are right or wrong is a question to be decided later on, but the character of those purposes and the policy of the British government with regard to South Africa, are clearly defined. Those purposes are to procure just as much of South Africa as they can get, and the more they get of Africa

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the better for the country. If they had it all it would be a God-send to the country over which British rule would prevail. And if we look at their accomplishments we will see that they are making tolerably good progress. They have recently smashed the power of the Mahdi at Omdurman, they have nearly constructed a railway from Cairo to Khartoum, a distance of almost 2,000 miles ; they are building a railway from Mombossa, on the Indian Ocean, to Victoria Nyanza, the great equatorial lake in Uganda, a distance of 700 miles, they have pushed their railway system from Cape Town northward, they have nearly reached Mashonaland, they are almost to Salisbury, and but for the little unpleasantness that has occurred they would have reached the Zambesi. In one or two years more this line would have been pushed on northward to Lake Tanganyika ; then the gap from Tanganyika to Victoria Nyanza would have been rapidly constructed, and the dream of a railway from the Cape to Cairo would have been realized, and will be realized in due time. The scope of these English possessions is a grand one. They have acquired the entire valley of the Nile. There was a little question at one time whether France might not plant a post at Fashoda, but France has withdrawn. England has the valley of the Nile from the mouth to the Albert and the Victoria Nyanza, extending over 37 degrees of latitude, an empire in itself ; she has Uganda and great possessions in the equatorial regions of Africa. She has the great empire in South Africa, the position of which, the history of which, the value of which I am discussing to-night. This question as to the possession of Cape Colony and the country north of Cape Colony is one of importance to every person who is interested in British supremacy, and who wishes well to British interests. Cape Colony, as a strategic position, is as important as Gibraltar, is as important as any other strategic position on the globe. Its relation to Australia and its relation to India makes it a matter of prime importance that England should control it, because, in the hands of a foreign power, it would be a perpetual menace, not only maintaining the line of communication in the case of the closing of the Suez Canal, but as a rendezvous and harbour possibly for some maritime power hostile to British interests. Its strategic importance is one that cannot be overestimated. Its importance to England is a matter which, in a lesser degree, makes it a matter of importance to ourselves. Our own interests, it is unnecessary to say, are intimately blended with those of the empire, and what is calculated to injure the empire is calculated to injure ourselves. We are interested in maintaining the Imperial power from the mercenary standpoint, from the standpoint of self-interest. We cannot afford to have the Imperial power destroyed, we cannot afford to have the power

and prestige of England weakened. We want her markets. Last year we sold to England 63 per cent of our exports—I say England, I mean Great Britain—we sold 63 per cent of our total exports to Great Britain, \$99,000,000 worth, and to the whole world, Great Britain included, \$158,000,000. Now, I repeat that the loss of territory by England involves the loss of trade, involves the loss of prestige and involves for us the loss of markets, so that we are directly and intimately interested in this question, and what is in the interest of England is in the interest of every portion of the empire, and especially in the interest of Canada, which is barred out by hostile tariffs from her natural market at her doors, and must continue to find her chief markets in the British islands. That market will be maintained and extended and will become more valuable only by the progress of British commerce and British wealth and by the continuance of British prosperity. I was talking with a young man, about 22 years of age, in my own county, who had volunteered to go to South Africa. His name is Stringer. I asked him why he was going to South Africa, and he gave me a theory of his own which he had. 'Yes,' he said, 'I am going to South Africa, not on account of England, but on account of Canada. I would like to know what would become of Canada if England is destroyed.' His reasoning was sound, he is a noble boy, and may God be his shield in battle in Africa, where he has gone to fight for the British cause.

We have certain obligations to England, and we do not, perhaps, always stop to realize what they are. We have enjoyed, from time immemorial, the protection of England, we have enjoyed the protection of England's navy and army, we have had the advantage of the services of England's diplomatic corps, we have had the advantage of the services of England's consular corps, and these advantages have not been of a less efficient character because we have not been called upon to pay a dollar for them. I say that we are under obligations to England, obligations the money value of which will infinitely exceed all that we will ever incur in the shape of expense in sending two contingents to South Africa. Then, this sending of the contingents is an epoch in our history. It is more than that, it is an epoch in British history, and the world is taking note of this thing, perhaps not saying very much about it, perhaps not fully, in some cases, realizing the significance of the thing; but, in the majority of cases, the significance of this movement is realized. I was reading an article in the January number of the *North American Review*, by a Russian writer, who refers to this country and says that this new movement is immense; it means that England's military strength is increased to the extent of the population of her colonies, and we may possibly have to face the eventualities

of millions of the colonists of England and India being summoned into the field. When I hear talk about the magnitude of this struggle and the amount of difficulty that it imposes on England, and the strain that is to be put upon her resources, it seems to me the height of absurdity. I look back upon the struggle in the United States from 1861 to 1864, and in looking at the records I see that the North, with a population of 20,000,000, put 2,500,000 soldiers in the field, and that when the war closed they had a million veterans in arms. If this is the case, figure it out on the same basis, and it will be seen that England has a population, in round numbers, of 40,000,000, and her colonies a population, in round numbers, of 10,000,000, besides the vast hordes in India out of whom good soldiers can be made. The efforts necessary to be made to demonstrate England's capabilities as a great military power has as yet scarcely begun, and when people make pessimistic statements about the magnitude of this struggle, I laugh them to scorn. It is a large matter in one sense, it is going to cost a good deal of money and a good many lives, but to suggest that England is not capable of coping with this emergency, of putting down this rebellion of the Dutch element in South Africa is supremely preposterous.

And now, a word in regard to the character of British rule in South Africa. Of course, if we were engaged in forcing upon these people a tyrannical form of government, not calculated to bring blessings to the people, not calculated to afford to them that which every British subject has the right to demand—protection to life, protection to property, and enjoyment of liberty; if we were engaged in forcing any other kind of government on South Africa, the movement would not have my sympathy at least. But what is the character of British rule in South Africa? Sir, the character of British rule in South Africa is precisely the character of British rule in Canada. Cape Colony has representative institutions. It has two branches of the legislature; one elected by the people for seven years and the other for five. It has a governor appointed by the English government. Its premier at the present moment is an Afrikaner. Its laws and institutions are administered in the same way as our own. Two languages are permitted in the assembly, the Dutch and the English, just as French and English are permitted here, and the same degree of care for the rights of others, of generosity towards others, of respect for the rights of all, characterizes British rule in South Africa as it characterizes British rule in Canada. All these British institutions in South Africa are institutions which Great Britain does not propose to change. She proposes to conquer that country, she proposes to crush the rebellion into fine dust, and then she proposes to give to every man in South Africa—Englishman or Dutchman, white man or black man—equal lib-

erty before the law, the right to enjoy all that he lawfully possesses, and perfect security in life, in liberty and in property. These are the institutions which South Africa, when it is erected into a dominion, would enjoy to the fullest extent and to the same degree as we do in this country. Now, Sir, I ask is not this consummation preferable to the erection of a Boer semi-civilized government—I beg pardon of my hon. friend from West Assinibolia (Mr. Davin), for he challenged that expression the other day—I repeat that the Boers are semi-civilized nomads; men who did originally come from a good stock, the descendants of Dutch and Huguenot ancestors, but who got mixed up with Hottentots and Zulus and Basutos and other tribes of South Africa, and are somewhat mongrel in their character now. Ten or fifteen per cent of them perhaps can read, the majority wander over the veldt, respect no rights, and enslave the natives. They are men who trekked off from Cape Colony many years ago because the British had there the same law for the white man that they had for the black man, and the same law for the black man as they had for the white man. They could not stand that, and so they went off to the north, following the Old Testament usage, as they supposed, of visiting the wrath of God upon Canaan, and enslaving the natives, and making their lives miserable in bondage, and denying them every right that pertains to humanity.

Boer versus British civilization is in the balance to-day, and one or the other has to prevail in that country. I for one have no doubt as to where the sympathies of every man in this House and of every man in this Dominion of Canada should rest in this great struggle between those two elements. Sir, I have heard criticisms upon the conduct of Mr. Chamberlain outside of this House, and in private conversations inside of this House. I have heard it asserted that Mr. Chamberlain on the one hand was just as much to blame for this war as Mr. Paul Kruger was on the other, and that this war could have been averted, and was a proof of a lack of diplomacy in the management of this matter. Why, Mr. Speaker, for the last eight years, ever since the mines of the Witwatersrand have yielded a revenue, the Boers have been devoting that revenue to the purchase of arms. For the last ten years the Afrikaner element in South Africa has steadfastly kept in view its ultimate object to make South Africa Dutch. There is just one underlying issue that has prevailed from the outset, and that is the issue to-day, viz.: Shall South Africa be Dutch, or shall South Africa be British. That is the question to be settled now. There is no outcome but to decide which it shall be, and either it will be Dutch and we will leave South Africa as Paul Kruger in his ultimatum practically demanded we should do last October; or South Africa will be British and the

Dutchman will have to be content with the same degree of liberty that the Englishmen possess. Notwithstanding all, England will see that the Dutchman has that liberty. The outrages that have been perpetrated on British subjects by the Boer government will have to cease. The tone of that ultimatum in last October is but a very poor basis for the assertion that the British in their treatment of the Dutch element in South Africa were arrogant, and rash and overbearing, and that they were to blame for the war. Sir, this war was a foregone conclusion. The Dutch had decided it should come, and they purposely precipitated the contest while the British troops were being gathered in South Africa so that they might strike the first blow under the circumstances which gave them a decided advantage, and which for the time being has seemed to have placed the British troops at a disadvantage, and has led perhaps to the belief that the Boers are fully the equal, if not the superior of the British soldier. Mr. Speaker, that is not the case. We heard quoted in this House not very long ago the aspersion once cast upon British generals, but, Sir, the very man who was reported to have said that the British general was a jackass, was himself conquered by a British general and as a result of his defeat, sent a prisoner to St. Helena. Of course, Sir, the British army is now engaged in a war under new conditions, as the American army was engaged in war under new conditions not long ago. This war is going to demonstrate a good many things that were not before known. It has already demonstrated the great advantage possessed by an army acting upon the defensive, behind rocks and entrenchments, and armed with Mausers and rapid-firing guns. The Boer, as he has been situated in Natal in the military operations up to the present, has been, I admit, an ugly customer. But, Sir, as I said the other night, the Boers have accomplished nothing in this war which has evinced great bravery and dash. They besieged a little garrison at Mafeking, consisting of colonial troops, and not many of them, and they have had Mafeking under siege for several months but have failed to capture it. They have besieged two or three thousand British and colonial troops in Kimberley, but have not been able to take that town. They have besieged six or seven thousand British soldiers in Ladysmith, and beleaguered it, with forty or fifty thousand men, but for months they have been unable to overcome the gallant resistance of the British soldiers there. I repeat: The British soldiers time and again have driven them from strong positions at the point of the bayonet, with gallantry such as could not have been excelled; and if you will give them a fair chance on an open field, the character of this war will soon demonstrate itself, and its result will very

soon be known, and will prove the superiority of British arms.

Now, this maintenance of British supremacy, I said a moment ago, is a matter in which we colonists in Canada are very directly and intimately interested. England has built up a very wonderful empire. If you look around the world, you will be struck with this fact. Here we have half of the North American continent, just in its infancy. We have room here for 75,000,000 people who can be fed from our own soil. We have in Australia an empire which will support probably 100,000,000 people. We have this magnificent region in South Africa which I have been describing. We have our hands upon every important naval strategic position in the world. We command the entrance to the Mediterranean at Gibraltar. We have our coaling and naval station at Malta in a commanding position half-way to the east. We control Egypt; we have the Suez Canal; we control the outlet to the Red Sea with our fortresses at Aden. We have a great naval position at Cape Town. We have our coaling stations and naval positions scattered over the whole face of the marine globe. We have Zanzibar, midway off the east coast of Africa, commanding the Zambesi, the German sphere of influence in Africa and the Portuguese sphere of influence in Africa. The British empire has its colons of vantage and its strategic positions in every part of the globe; and its power is ubiquitous. Its sails are found on every sea; and its armies are collected in almost every part of the globe. Its accomplishments have been almost beyond human belief; and to talk of the incapacity of the leaders of the great movements or the lack of bravery on the part of men who have carried England's flag in triumph over so many quarters of the globe and over so many fields of action is the supremest folly. Of course, as I said a few moments ago, we have difficulties to meet; and perhaps, Mr. Speaker, it is a fortunate thing for Great Britain that we have occasion now to test our strength. Perhaps it is a fortunate thing for us that we are taking a short canter over the military field under these changed conditions, to adjust our chronometers, to test our armaments, to ascertain where weak points exist, so as to get ready for any great difficulties that may come in the future, and to know how to strike great blows unerringly and efficiently when the occasion arises. In that respect the two great Anglo-Saxon nations of the world, the United States and England, have passed through the training required to fit them to meet great emergencies. Sir, we have lost some men in the Transvaal. It is an unfortunate thing. We may expect to lose some more. You do not go to war and fight battles with an enemy capable of handling arms without loss of men. You have to expect that; but we have lost very few men compared

with the numbers that have been lost in other wars. We have had some reverses; but the reverses have reflected no dishonour on our arms. We have had no reverse like Bull Run, the opening episode in the American struggle. We have had no fighting like the fighting at Cold Harbour, where 10,000 men were swept out of existence in twenty minutes through the mistake of a general. We have had no fighting like that at Gettysburg, where Pickett's brigade of 20,000 men made its assault on the Union centre and the fire was held till the assaulting column was within twenty rods, and 6,000 men went to their death in sixty seconds. We have lost no such numbers of men as were lost at Chancellorsville. And we have had a greater reserve to draw upon than the republic which sustained these losses, and yet fought through and came out triumphant at the end, having buried, indeed, half a million men, but having proved its capacity to subdue the rebellion and its right to claim the position of a first-class power. No, we do not need to borrow trouble about this matter. You do not need to sit down and talk about the necessity of calling the leaders of the opposition and the leaders of the government in this House together, or to resolve ourselves into a Committee of the Whole to determine what is to be done. In the first place, we have not anything to do with what is to be done. We are not fighting this battle. We are not managing these military movements. That belongs to the British War Office. We are doing what lies in our power to promote the interests of the British Empire, and we are called upon not to direct the military operations, not to tell England what is to be done, but to send as many men as we can spare, to raise as much money as we can, and to do our duty as a child of the motherland, loyal to her interests, and well aware that her interests are ours.

And now, Sir, I think I have satisfied my own mind, and I hope I have satisfied those who have listened to me, that we have a good title to South Africa, that it is a country of importance which we want to retain, that we have a just cause, that our interests have been trampled upon in that country and our citizens subjected to indignities and wrongs which we could not brook, and which we would have been craven if we had permitted to pass unchallenged. I am not one of those prepared to support a resolution like the Redmond resolution, which I consider the resolution of enemies actuated by treasonable feelings. No, Sir, our motto should be 'No Surrender;' and I believe that Canada in this matter has acted in a proper and patriotic spirit. We have a personal interest now in this struggle, and I believe that our hearts all reach out to the brave boys, our own brothers and sons, who have gone to South Africa. I deprecate the evident attempt that has

been made to make party capital out of this matter. It has been said that the government moved too slowly, that they ought to have led public opinion, that they ought to have jumped right into the breach and decided incontinently that they would send their contingent to South Africa. Well, governments as a rule are elected to carry into effect certain lines of policy. They do not originate these lines of policy; but the people decide questions at the polls, and a government is installed in office for the purpose of giving effect to the policy which the people have decided upon as a proper one. The question of sending a contingent to Africa had never been passed upon by the people of Canada. The government had no mandate in this matter, and the government, in my opinion, were not called upon to assume that they knew what the people wanted until the people expressed some indication as to their own opinions on the matter. In the great struggle of the United States, to which I referred a moment ago, when President Lincoln took office, state after state seceded. Why, then, did not President Lincoln at once call out the troops? Because he was uncertain of public opinion, and he waited until the American flag was actually struck down at Fort Sumpter and until American blood was shed, before issuing a proclamation calling out a single soldier, and then he only called out 75,000 men, committing the error with which the British government has been charged, of underrating the magnitude of the task before him. He recognized that slavery was the cause of the civil war, he was an anti-slavery man from his youth, he was always ready and anxious to destroy slavery, he was petitioned to abolish slavery by the anti-slavery societies, and by ministers of the gospel, who preached that the negro should be free, he was pressed to issue a proclamation emancipating the slaves, but he withheld his decision and waited. Not because he was not willing and ready and anxious to do it. No, he waited until he knew he had public sentiment behind him, and when that point was reached, when he knew that public sentiment would back him up, he issued his proclamation emancipating the slaves. He issued it two years after the struggle had begun—on January 1, 1863. Why did he not jump in and lead public opinion? He knew better. He knew it was necessary to have public opinion to back him up, and that it was not for him to create public opinion, that he could not do it. So, with hon. gentlemen occupying the Treasury benches here. The issue was a new one. They were confronted by a crisis of a grave character that had never confronted Canada before. It was proper for them to see that any steps taken in this case should be taken only after being fully certain

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of popular approval. It would have been quite constitutional to call parliament together. It would have been a proper, perhaps, but not a practical thing, because the first thing that would have happened would have been a debate perhaps of a month on the address, and in the meantime we would not have been sending the contingents to South Africa, but the government took action in this case as fast as public opinion crystallized, and as fast as they felt public sentiment behind them with sufficient distinctness and force to warrant them in believing that they were acting in a line that would receive public approval. I hold that the government proceeded in this matter as promptly and as courageously as the condition of the case would warrant, and as rapidly as their duty required. And the government to-day is undoubtedly ready to do whatever the people ask, and I am sorry to hear these carping criticisms, because I repeat, this question is above politics. We want, as parties, to make our capital out of some other kind of issues than this. I am, therefore, sorry to hear these carping criticisms about the tardiness of the government in not proposing at once to pay all the expenses and give full pay to our soldiers, and all these other things. Why, Mr. Speaker, the government are doing all that is necessary, and all that we can require as soon as it is necessary. They have the responsibility of office resting upon them. They cannot jump up and propose rashly one thing or another, but have to reflect that in every step they take they are accountable to the people, and are custodians of the public interests, and must give an account of their stewardship; and if mistakes should be made in a grave crisis like this, they are responsible, and the government are to be commended rather than censured for the course they have taken in this matter from beginning to end. For myself, I say they have taken a course which I approve of, which I think no party in this country is called upon to disapprove, and I think we had better get up our political quarrels on some other issue and join hands in this matter to preserve the honour of Canada and to hold up the hands of the mother country and do our duty as loyal subjects.

There is one consideration in connection with this matter, Mr. Speaker, that has occurred to me, and it would have a great amount of force with me if I were upon the opposition benches. I should be very much afraid, Sir, of placing myself in a position where I would be liable to the charge of having sought to embarrass the government by making demands which I foresaw would lead to a large increase of debt and a great drain of human life, and that when these things came back, when the consequences returned upon our heads,

I might turn round and upbraid the government for its recklessness in incurring an enormous debt, and in the sacrifice of Canadian lives and interests. I do not accuse the opposition of being animated by any motive so base, but these are considerations that might have weight with an unscrupulous opposition. It might be that the opposition would hound and dog the government for having incurred great expense and sent a great number of men abroad, with the result that there would be mourning in due time at home, as many would never return, and might be looking forward to the time when the people, on reflection, would say: You went too fast, you piled up an enormous amount of debt, thousands of our sons have never returned, you were too precipitate in this matter. These charges, which might be urged by an opposition without scruples, and actuated by mercenary motives, as of course this opposition would never be—these charges might be made, not from patriotic motives, but from a desire to ultimately embarrass the government. We want to bear these things in mind. The gentlemen of the opposition ought to remember that the government have all these considerations to take into account. The government will have to meet, in the future, the accumulation of debt, and the fact that a great many gallant Canadians have gone from our shores who will find graves in a foreign land. These are matters requiring due consideration, and concerning which patriotic and generous feeling should sway all classes and parties in this country.

I am sure that these reasons I have urged are a justification of the course that I intend to take, as a representative of the electors of North Norfolk, in supporting the government in the policy it has inaugurated. I am ready to face the consequences of voting any amount of money that may be deemed necessary to vote for maintaining the honour of Canada and the interests of the empire. I am ready to say: Send as many men as are required, feeling sure that willing hearts are ready to respond to the call, and that these men will never bring disgrace upon their native land. I am for all this, and I am ready to confront, if need be, any contingency and any crisis that may arise. I have no fear as regards the position and condition of affairs as they exist to-day, but something more serious may come up. There may be interference. England is not very popular in Europe, I believe. I suppose it is due largely to the fact that she has out-distanced all her rivals. But we might have interference, we might have a condition of things that would cause us to deliberate as to what course we ought to pursue, and to summon to our aid our utmost resolution. If these things come, in God's providence, they will have to be met, but I

feel that we can hardly have a general European interference, because we can hardly expect the Dreibund and Russia and France to act together, and we hope that we shall find Great Britain sailing smoothly along without interference. But if interference takes place, we shall simply have to meet it, and I hope we are able to meet it, believing that we have the power behind us.

Feeling that the interest of the great empire with which we are associated and bound up to-day, and of which we are a part, and rapidly increasing part in importance, I venture to implore those who are listening to me to-night to look upon this question calmly and dispassionately, from the standpoint of patriotic Canadian citizens, scorning to make out of such an issue, base political party capital, seeking to promote the interests of the grandest empire of the globe, by doing our duty manfully and honestly in the crisis that confronts this empire and this great colony.

Mr. HENRI BOURASSA (Labelle). It is not my intention to follow the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) over the full score he has just placed before us. Nor is it my intention to offer any opposition to the motion of the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding), that we should go into Committee of Ways and Means in order to carry the proposed resolutions. Of course, the House is aware that some days ago I gave notice of a motion I proposed to bring before the House the next time the motion should be made for the House to go into Committee of Supply:

That this House insists on the principle of the sovereignty and the independence of parliament as the basis of British institutions and the safeguard of the civil and political liberties of British citizens, and refuses consequently to consider the action of the government in relation to the South African war as a precedent which should commit this country to any action in the future.

That this House further declares that it opposes any change in the political and military relations which exist at present between Canada and Great Britain unless such change is initiated by the sovereign will of parliament and sanctioned by the people of Canada.

It may be thought strange that I did not bring forward this resolution as an amendment to the address, or that I do not move it as an amendment to the present resolution. My reason for not moving an amendment to the address may not be in accordance with the strict understanding of parliamentary procedure; but in these days of new policies and new movements, perhaps a little variation as to the time a principle should be laid down does not make so much difference as to the opinion that the representatives of the people should entertain upon the merits of the question. My reason was that I wanted to see this House pronounce upon the principles laid down in my motion in that

broad spirit which the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat has asked us to show. It is with that same broad spirit, I may say without boasting, that I have approached this problem from the day when I felt it my conscientious duty, at the sacrifice of personal and political friendship, to resign my seat and go back to my constituents to test their opinion upon the question. Of course, the debate on the address, at the opening of any session, is always more or less animated with the party spirit, perhaps even with a little rancour between the two parties. Stump speeches, newspaper articles read and written during recess, and especially by-elections, after which the victors are a little too proud and the vanquished feel somewhat sore—all these give the debate on the address a partisan spirit which I did not wish to see prevail in the debate upon that resolution. My reason for not bringing my motion forward to-day is that, if I am well informed, moving it would mean that I oppose the motion of the hon. Minister of Finance, and this, I repeat, I do not want to do. At the same time, there is another reason that I may state frankly to the House. It is that I want the representatives of the people of this free country to lay down their straight opinion and vote upon the motion I have just read without seeing that motion emasculated and discoloured in such a way as to cover all shades of opinion. Sir, in the action of the government upon the South African question, a part of which is submitted to us to-day for ratification, there are, as in every other human action, public or private, two points of view to take. There is the general question, or the question of right; and the question of fact, the actual concrete question. By the general question, I mean the right of the executive to presume public opinion, to presume the sanction of parliament, and to act upon undefined expressions of public will so as to frame a constitutional change for the country, or to take any important step of political government. There is for us the general question of our participation in Imperial wars: there is also the question of the introduction of militarism into a country heretofore peaceful and devoid of that plague which is poisoning the blood of European countries, which is threatening our neighbours to the south, and which, unfortunately, is getting into our own veins. How far the action that the government saw fit to take on this question involves the problems I have just enumerated is exactly what I shall discuss before the House when I move the resolution I have just read. The questions of fact are the Transvaal war, its causes, its merits and its consequences; our participation in such war and the still smaller question of the appropriation of public money by the government, before it is voted by parliament. Sir, from the beginning of my campaign I expressed my-

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self very clearly on these points. I made that distinction, and said all along that the questions of fact, and especially the money question, were, in my mind, very small and very unimportant compared with the constitutional questions I have just mentioned. I may be permitted—though I may weary the House a little, still in my position I am obliged to defend myself—to give a few extracts of reports that appeared in the newspapers of some of my meetings in the county of Labelle. At the first meeting, which was held two days after I sent in my resignation, I am reported in *La Patrie* to have spoken as follows. I translate:

Mr. Bourassa is not so much anxious about the expenses that this military campaign is going to entail upon this country as about the principle at stake. The country is prosperous enough to stand the \$100,000 or \$200,000—

Of course, I was far below the mark then.

—that will be required, but why take shares in a war which interests Canada in no way and the issue of which will inevitably be in favour of Great Britain? Great Britain has a powerful navy, which she can send to the coast of the South African continent; she has a powerful army which she is about to land there nearly as considerable in number as the total population of the Boers. Why, then send a thousand Canadians to be used as bullet targets in those far distant regions? It is useless to this point that the 'Star' has recently published a despatch from London stating that England wanted only 500 Canadians to share in this war. It is not, then, our soldiers that Mr. Chamberlain wants, but our moral adhesion, so as to be able to claim one day or another that as a matter of principle the colonies should share in Imperial wars.

At another meeting which I held later on, I am reported as having said:

Mr. Bourassa says that the only question at issue in the present fight is the sending of Canadian troops in the Transvaal, or rather the larger question of the participation of Canada in Imperial wars. The actual expedition is only the first step towards Imperial federation.

At a meeting I held in Buckingham, I am thus reported by the *Montreal Star*, a paper which did not support me in my campaign, I need not say:

It was not because he wanted to protest against sending soldiers to the Transvaal that he had taken his stand. That was a small question as compared with the constitutional one, and in the course of two or three years he would not be abused as now because of the stand he had taken.

In a newspaper published in Buckingham, I wrote a letter containing these words:

I have repeated time and again that I had resigned, not for the mere fact of the government sending a contingent to the Transvaal, but because such action constituted a radical change in our relations with Great Britain.

Sir, as to the merits of the war I will state frankly to the House that a few weeks be-

fore I began that campaign I had no decided opinions about it. My pretension was that Canada was not obliged, either as a nation or as a colony, to fight outside of her own territory unless, as stated by the Prime Minister in that interview published in the *Toronto Globe* and frequently quoted in this House, Canada might be indirectly threatened. I had not given to the South African problem more attention, probably, than the average member of this House, or the average citizen of Canada, a little studious, may have given to it. I had not given it special attention, until after the resolution which was moved and carried in two days without discussion by this House, approving of the policy of the British government, or rather of Mr. Chamberlain's policy in relation to the South African problem. I may say 'en passant' that I was absent when that resolution passed this House, when the members of this House solved in two days a problem which has taken so many years of study on the part of eminent British statesmen, and upon which they cannot yet agree, though they have much more knowledge of the subject than we had. But after I saw that we were going to take a hand in the struggle, I began studying the question. I do not boast of having mastered it, I do not boast of having achieved a right conclusion; men of high political standing, men that have given to this problem years of their life, still disagree. Many prophecies have proven to be false, many previsions have failed to materialize, and yet who can tell what the future of South Africa is to be? That future as well as the fate of the brave men who are fighting on both sides are now in the hands of God; and the man who states that he knows all about the South African problem, that he knows what policy the British government should have pursued, is far more in advance of his time than I do propose to be. I may say that from the start two ideas directed me in my study. First, I realized that there was from my own point of view and from the point of view of my fellow-countrymen, no racial sympathy whatever for the Boers. I am glad to find in the *Montreal Gazette* a report of a few words that I uttered at the Club National, in Montreal, before the Order in Council was adopted sending Canadian troops to the war in South Africa. I am reported as saying:

Referring to the Transvaal question he said: It should be faced with great coolness and that nobody should yield to what a certain class of people falsely consider patriotism. . . . Thank God there was no racial interest in this matter. The Boers were not our race and we could not have much sympathy for them. We would not be worthy of the freedom we are now enjoying under the British flag if we failed to give this question all the serious and unbiased consideration it deserved.

So far as racial sympathies are concerned, I think the Boer element is more closely

connected with our Anglo-Saxon friends than with us. A gentleman said to me: Why don't you get up in the House and tell Mr. Wallace that King William was a Boer? I admit that through the French Huguenot blood that has been united to the Dutch blood in Africa, there is some connection with us. But you will admit, Mr. Speaker, that two hundred years of African life, with Dutch assimilation, and the difference of religion, are sufficient to prove that the contention that the French Canadians have racial sympathies with the Boers is perfectly absurd. Sir, I do not wish to deceive anyone. The French Canadians have an admiration and a sympathy for a small nation struggling for independence. This I cannot deny, but I say that this feeling is at the same time coupled with the strictest and sincerest loyalty to the British flag and to British institutions. Besides that, I was convinced, from the start, and I am still convinced, that there were two sides to the question; that there was a right and was a wrong to the contention both of the Transvaal Republic and of the British government; and that in this case, as in most others, the last drop that filled the glass was caused by diplomatic friction rather than by the real questions at stake.

It is not my intention here to give a lengthy study of the South African problem. As I said in the beginning, I do not propose to follow the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. He has given this House interesting facts and figures that will no doubt be useful to hon. members hereafter. But the hon. gentleman has forgotten one point. He has spoken of the Boers being in rebellion against Great Britain; he has spoken of the people of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic as British subjects ungrateful to the British Crown, and fighting against their suzerain. There is a little bit of history that I could add, I think, to the one given by the hon. gentleman. After Great Britain became possessor of Cape Colony, and before she had covered by her capitalists as well as by her missionaries, those new countries that the hon. gentleman has referred to, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Rhodesia and those other new colonies, the British government acknowledged the complete independence of the South African Republics then called the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Before the British flag had been planted north of Cape Colony, a convention was signed, on the 17th of January, 1852, by Her Majesty's High Commissioner and by the representatives of the Boer emigrants, acknowledging that the Boer emigrants that had crossed the Vaal River had a right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves without any interference on the part of Her Majesty's government.

This was proclaimed by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in the Cape of Good

Hope on the 15th of April, 1852, and in 1858 the Transvaal became the South African Republic. Of course, I need not go into all the treaties that were entered into between Great Britain and the South African Republic as to boundaries, but it is sufficient to say that from 1852 to 1877 three or four treaties were signed between Great Britain and the Transvaal republic, and that therefore the question of the complete sovereignty of the Transvaal up to 1877 was acknowledged by the British government. In 1877, April 12th, after troubles between the Boers and the natives, Sir Theophilus Shepstone claimed the Transvaal to be a British colony. Hon. members of this House are aware of the events that came afterwards, of the war of 1881, of Majuba Hill, and of the peace that was signed by the representatives of the Gladstone government. Of course, many people have said, since that time, that Gladstone was a blunderer, that his policy was a bad policy. I state frankly to the House that I do not feel big enough to pass judgment upon the policy of Mr. Gladstone, but I might give the opinion of a man who has studied the South African problem far more than I have done, and I think a little more, at least with more practical knowledge, than the hon. member for North Norfolk has done. In an article which Mr. James Bryce published last fall, he said :

No one, however, denies that the war in which England will, of course, prevail, is a terrible calamity for South Africa, and will permanently embitter the relations of Dutch and English there. To some of us it appears a calamity for England, also, since it is likely to alienate, perhaps for generations to come, the bulk of the white population in one of her most important self-governing colonies. It may, indeed, possibly mean for her the ultimate loss of South Africa.

Between Mr. Gladstone's policy, which is upheld in England by Mr. John Morley, by Sir William Vernon Harcourt, by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and by Conservatives like Sir Edward Clarke, Sir Robert Reid, and Mr. McLean, and the policy upheld by Mr. Chamberlain and his supporters, I do not feel big enough to pass judgment. But I think that we should wait a little before condemning the policy of the Liberal party of England. That policy was not only, as it has been stated, founded upon a poetical magnanimity. It was based upon one of the principles that has made England the greatest colonial power, I mean a full knowledge and appreciation of the national and religious sentiments of the people who, being English colonists, are not of the Anglo-Saxon blood, or do not profess the same religion as the majority of the people. I say, that we might have paused a little before condemning a policy which has brought so much glory to England, which has attached to England so many foreign peoples that rebelled at first against her former oppressive policy. The Liberal party of Canada could have hesitated a little

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before attaching its name to the glorification of Mr. Chamberlain's policy.

I am not going to enter into the details of the differences between the two countries, but I shall say a few words in reference to the main difficulties. First of all, there is no doubt that the franchise difficulty was the greatest of all; there is no doubt that the government of the South African Republic showed a good deal of stubbornness, that it manifested an exclusive spirit and did not grasp the real situation. I am quite ready to agree with hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House in regard to that point. But, belonging to a race that is not always acknowledged the same freedom of thought, when I express opinions, I may be obliged to support these opinions with the opinions of others. I will quote the opinion of a man who has written an article in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy; I refer to Mr. Sydney Brooks. Here is what he says about the feelings of the government of the South African republic on the question of the franchise :

The Uitlanders had come into the country uninvited and undesired, seeking only gold and with full warning that it was a Boer republic they were entering. By what right could these strangers of yesterday claim to be on a level with the old burghers who had fought and bled to keep the state free from alien control, and what Boer looking to the past experiences of his people with the English, could guarantee that their capture of the franchise would not lead to their capture of the entire state, that the Republic would not become an English Republic with an English President and its original founders a despised and oppressed minority ?

I have read with a great deal of attention, the official report of the Bloemfontein Conference, in which Sir Alfred Milner, as the representative of the British government, met President Kruger, and where they discussed the whole situation. It is a very interesting document, and perhaps, if the hon. members of this House had read it last session before declaring themselves so unhesitatingly as supporters of Mr. Chamberlain's policy, they would have paused a little. Mr. Kruger puts the question, right at once, on the real ground. He asks the British commissioner if he has come there to give orders from the British government, or if he has come to give friendly suggestions as to the treatment of the Uitlanders in the South African republic. There, the question as to sovereignty and suzerainty was placed before the commissioner, and what was the reply of the British representative ? It was that he had come there to give friendly advice to the president of the South African Republic. Then, taking up the franchise question, the president of the South African Republic puts the question very frankly. He says : If you have come here to ask me to give the same franchise rights at once to all the Uitlanders, to those who have come to reside in this country and to become citizens, as well as

to those who have come here to make a fortune and go back to their own country without any intention of remaining with us, I cannot grant the request. Though I want to give satisfaction to just claims, at the same time, I want to preserve the independence of my country. What was the reply? That the British government did not want to ask the immediate franchise for all the Uitlanders, but that they wanted to submit to a tribunal of arbitration, the conditions upon which it could be done. It has been said that the franchise laws of the Transvaal republic were abolished, and that a new franchise law was introduced making it impossible for the Uitlanders to get any rights which would enable them to control the government.

First of all, there is the little fact which should not be forgotten, that the second volksraad has been created for them, and that to vote for electing members to that chamber, the Uitlanders require only two years' residence, and are not asked to renounce their allegiance. The second volksraad initiates all laws concerning taxation and the gold laws, but as that House is controlled by the first volksraad, I admit that so far as individual rights are concerned, it was more or less inefficacious. It should not be forgotten above all that the Uitlanders who go to South Africa have not gone there to settle or to farm, nor to acquire property, unless it be mining property. As stated by Mr. Brooks, they have gone there uninvited and undesired. I admit that they have a right to ask a certain control in the laws of the country if they are called on to pay for the maintenance of the institutions of that country. There is one thing which is perhaps not known to all the members of this House, and that is, that the taxation which falls upon the Uitlanders is exactly in principle the same taxation which falls upon the burgher. The moment a Frenchman, or an Englishman, or a Turk, or a Russian acquires a mining property, he is submitted exactly to the same taxation as the burgher who acquires a similar property. The taxation is not so very high after all. The taxation is half a crown monthly for a prospector's claim and one pound for a digger's claim, of which one-half goes to the government and one-half to the owner, so that if the digger is the owner he gets back his share. Therefore, the greatest taxation that can be paid by a miner is twelve pounds sterling a year, and I do not think that is so heavy taxation. Of course, it will be said that the bulk of the taxation of the South African Republic is paid by the Uitlanders. True. But why? It is because the Uitlanders possess all the richest properties. As was truly said by the Prime Minister at Sherbrooke: The Dutch population is to a certain extent a primitive population. They are the only living example of the people of the sixteenth century. They despise gold, they despise diamonds, they want to lead a pastoral life

as the first settlers of all countries. They want to lead the same life as the first settlers of New France; they want to lead the same life as the first settlers of New England. They are content with their horses, their cattle and their sheep; they are content with their share of the soil and they do not care for the mines. Is it a surprise that mines that are yielding millions and millions of dollars, that are giving to their owners in one week what the whole of the South African soil is giving to the Boers; is it a surprise to find that this gold is paying more revenue to the state than the horses and the cattle and the sheep of the burghers? I ask gentlemen who come from the North-west Territories, would it be right to say that they were undertaxed because the people of the Klondike give more money to the Treasury of Canada than do the people of Manitoba and the North-west Territories? Is it because they do not have gold on their prairies that they should be overtaxed so as to make their taxation equal to the people of the Klondike?

Now, a good deal has been said of the religious and educational disabilities to which the Uitlanders were submitted. I agree with the Prime Minister's statement at Sherbrooke, that that population which has lived isolated from outside communications, which has lived outside of trade and industry, is a primitive population. No doubt the Boers have the defects of their times and surroundings. They are a primitive people and they are fanatics, I agree. They believe in what they think is right, and that they are ready to die for what they believe to be true, they have proved. But, Sir, the doctrine is new to me that under the British flag and under the Canadian flag, we should go and broaden people's minds with dum-dum bullets.

In all this, the question of arbitration has been lost sight of. Taking for granted, as I am quite ready to do, that the claims of the Uitlanders are real and that they have not been properly met with by the Transvaal government, there is yet one consideration which remains. Nearly three years ago, on the 7th of May, 1897, Mr. Kruger offered to the British government to submit to arbitration the whole of the difficulties existing between the two countries. Five months afterwards he received from Mr. Chamberlain a refusal to arbitrate on account of the suzerainty which Her Majesty was said to hold over the South African Republic. It was for the first time in thirteen years that the question of suzerainty had been spoken of by a British government. As is well known, in 1881, after Majuba Hill—whatever may be the opinion we entertain on the policy then pursued by the British government—a convention was signed between the representatives of Great Britain and the representatives of the Transvaal, acknowledging the independence of the South African Republic, subject

to the suzerainty of Her Majesty. Several articles were embodied in the convention giving effect to that suzerainty. For example, the British resident at Pretoria was put upon a different footing to the representatives of other countries, and several clauses were contained in that convention, proving the fact that England meant to keep her suzerainty over the Transvaal. There was great difficulty in getting that convention ratified by the volksraad, because, as has often been shown, the great aim of the Boer people was to have thorough independence. They had left their homes, they had left their lands, they had left a far better country in Cape Colony, to trek on and settle in the Transvaal, so as to have a country of their own. The agitation went on for three years, and then a new convention was signed on the 3rd of March, 1884. The old name of the South African Republic was restored, and the suzerainty of Her Majesty was dispensed with. All the articles which in the convention of 1881 gave sanction to that suzerainty, disappeared from the convention of 1884, and the only restriction which was put upon the complete sovereignty of the republic was, that she was not able to make a foreign treaty without the sanction of Great Britain—or rather, that she was at liberty to make treaties with foreign powers, but that these treaties could be vetoed by the British government within six months; the exception being made in the case of the Orange Free State, with which the Transvaal republic could at any time make a treaty. Since that time, as Mr. Morley said in the House of Commons of England, as Sir William Vernon Harcourt said, as Sir Edward Clarke said when he abandoned his party on this very question, from 1884 to 1897, no foreign minister nor colonial minister of England ever thought of raising the question of suzerainty. But here is a declaration which was made in the House of Lords at the time the new convention was discussed, which I think clears up the point. The convention was signed on the 3rd of March. Fourteen days afterwards, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Cadogan gave an explanation of it and said:

Sir Hercules Robinson, who had signed the convention on behalf of Her Majesty, had lately described the instruments saying . . . that it gave the Transvaal as complete internal independence as was enjoyed by the Orange Free State; and that in regard to its relations to foreign powers, a veto only was reserved to Her Majesty's government. In fact, as he understood the matter, the suzerainty of the Queen was practically abolished.

Sir, it may be that the policy of Mr. Chamberlain is the best policy for England and the best policy for the empire at large, but I do not think that the act of Mr. Chamberlain, thirteen years after a declaration was made by a minister of the Crown that the suzerainty of the Queen over the Transvaal was practically abolished—I do not think

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the act of Mr. Chamberlain in invoking that suzerainty was such as to inspire confidence in the word of the British Crown on the part of the Boer republic. After the arbitration was refused by Mr. Chamberlain, it was offered again; and finally Mr. Chamberlain accepted it. He accepted it by a document which was sent to Sir Alfred Milner in Cape Colony, and kept there for about three months. Before that, the Bloemfontein Conference had taken place, and there again the Transvaal republic offered to reduce the time for the franchise by five years, and leave the whole dispute to arbitration. Later on, after the conference was broken off, the Transvaal threw off two years more, and offered a franchise of seven years, expressing their willingness to submit the rest of the questions to arbitration. The acceptance of this offer was sent, as I have said, to Sir Alfred Milner at Cape Colony, and kept there. After that, the Transvaal republic sent a despatch making another proposal of a five years' franchise, with certain conditions attached to it, but on the condition that their offer of a seven years' franchise and arbitration made to the British government should not be considered as set aside. They received an affirmative reply. The five years' franchise with the conditions attached being refused, the South African Republic came back to their first proposal, on which they received a communication from the British government informing them that the offer would no longer stand, and the whole thing was broken. I think there is enough in the blue-books to show that if the claims of the Uitlanders were right—and I say they were right—and if these claims have failed to be gained, and if England is to-day engaged in one of the most bloody wars it has had in the century, a great deal of the blame must rest on the diplomacy as it was directed by Mr. Chamberlain.

I do not propose to go at any greater length into these questions: but I will fall back on the question of arbitration. I do not want to bring back to debate a question which formerly interested us. I know that comparisons are odious, but sometimes they are true. A question has agitated this country, involving the rights of British subjects, based upon the same principle as is involved in this case—I mean the rights of the French minority of Manitoba. The difference is that the minority in Manitoba were British subjects who had settled that country under the British flag. They were the first settlers, and other British subjects came afterwards. A document was framed and acknowledged by the Federal government and by the British government upon which the French settlers and the English settlers of Manitoba came to agree. I need not repeat the history of that school question. It has been repeated too often in this

House. But what happened? Certain laws were passed which the French minority considered as infringing upon their rights. They came to this government. This government submitted the question to arbitration. The arbitration decided that as a question of legal right the new laws adopted in Manitoba were right; but that as a question of equity and justice, those British citizens had good claims. The conservative party proposed to settle the question by law and by force. The Liberal party proposed to settle the question by conciliation. I have supported the Liberal policy, not because I thought the French minority of Manitoba had no rights, but because I thought that for the peace of Manitoba as well as the whole of Canada it was better to settle the question by conciliation. And, Sir, the views which I held on the Manitoba school question I hold on the South African question; and I regret very much that the Liberal government which has come to power on the principle of conciliation and arbitration in cases where the rights of British subjects are attacked in this country, is using its power and its influence and is asking this House to vote money, to force by war the granting of rights which are certainly not so well consecrated by law and by facts as were the rights of the Manitoba minority. Therefore, when I say that I consider this war unjust, I am simply consistent with myself; I am upholding the principles of true Liberalism, which I upheld in the election of 1896.

But, Sir, whatever may be the causes of the war, guilty as I think are the men who have led England into it by bad diplomacy and by bad policy, wrong as I think it for us to participate in it without having had the right to pronounce upon the causes of it, I repeat that I do not oppose these resolutions, for one reason. I feel disposed to take the same stand that the English Liberals have taken upon this question. It has been said in this House that we should not discuss the merits of the war of to-day, because the time has passed for discussing them. Well, Sir, when was that time or when shall come the time to discuss them? In England, in all the Australian colonies, in all the British constitutional countries except Canada, the representatives of the people were called together and given the opportunity of expressing their views and casting their votes upon the constitutional question as well as upon the merits of that war. In Canada, however, we have been treated differently. Therefore, I say I have the right to pronounce myself upon the merits of this war. Appeals of a similar kind were made to Sir Henry Bannerman and to the Liberals of England to give a free course to the British government. What did they reply? They replied: We have the right to discuss the war. They did it during the

war session of October last, and in the session and are doing it in the session now going on. They blamed the policy of the government, which they charge with having brought this war upon England. During the session now going on, they have blamed the conduct of the war, but at the same time they have not refused to Her Majesty the subsidies required to carry it on.

Of course, I admit that there are two differences between the position taken by the Liberals of England and the position I am now taking, not speaking of the numerical difference. Those differences are these. One, I think, is in my favour, and the other against me. One is that England is at war with the South African Republic but we are not. I do not admit that we are, because I do not admit that Canada, any more than any other free country, can be plunged into war by an Order in Council without obtaining the opinion of the representatives of the people. But the other difference, I think, is in my favour. By blaming the British government for their policy and by giving afterwards the subsidies, it may be argued that the Liberals of England have given to the British government the means of carrying on a war which they have condemned. Sir, my position is not this, and I offer this point as one worthy of consideration to men who are ready to throw us into the midst of Imperialism and make us share in all the wars over which we have no control, as regards their causes, their management and their consequences. What would be the result of my vote against these resolutions as affecting the men whom I consider blamable for this war? Supposing, what of course is not the case, that the majority of this parliament were condemning, as the Liberals of England are, the policy of Mr. Chamberlain and contending that it is the actual cause of the war, what means would we in this parliament have of reaching the men we considered guilty? I repeat it, this is a matter worthy to be considered by those who think the time has come when we should go to war, but who do not think the proper means should be given to the representatives of the people either to approve or blame the conduct of the men responsible for the war itself and its conduct.

But the reason for which I am going to let these resolutions pass is that there is one fact we cannot forget. Two thousand Canadians, of all origins and creeds, have gone to South Africa. For the war, they are not responsible, its causes they did not study, they were led to it, by enthusiasm and true patriotic fervour. We know how many are gone, but how many will come back we do not know. Let their blood, let the tears of their mothers, let the sorrows of their families fall upon the men who have played upon their enthusiasm and loyalty; but for my part I

do not feel disposed to offer any opposition to the engagement that has been contracted between them and this government.

Sir, I am proud to take advantage of this occasion to repudiate the accusation which was made against me, not in this House but at several places in the country. When the first contingent sailed from Quebec, I happened to be there, and met several people who accused me of disloyalty and who told me that I was going there to sneer at the brave men who were starting for South Africa. No, Sir, I never blamed them or sneered at them, but I admired them far more than I do the men who are the cause of their departure, but who have not gone themselves. A few days ago, I read a despatch stating that at an engagement near Belmont some of our Canadian boys had captured a few prisoners, and that great was their indignation on discovering that these prisoners were British subjects. Poor, brave, straightforward boys! If they only knew the secret motives and reasons that are underlying this war, their indignation would be greatly increased.

According to the new policy the governments of free countries are to be conducted by newspaper articles. Of course, I am too much of a little Canadian and of the old Liberal stock to admit that the policy of any country would be properly framed by big inflammatory headings of newspaper articles or wood engravings. But at the same time, I admit that you sometimes find in these sources of information striking illustrations. I have here one from the *Montreal Star*, which is the great organ of the jingo-imperialist party. It consists of two little engravings. On the one side I see a man seated comfortably in a cosy chair, smoking a good cigar, drinking a glass of wine and surrounded by cases of preserved meat, and the epigraph beneath is: Cecil Rhodes, in his underground room in Kimberley mine, where he defies Boer shot and shell. On the other side of the page I find depicted a young soldier, British or Canadian, dying on the kopje, and standing over him a sturdy, harsh-looking Boer holding in his hand the weapon with which he has just shot the enemy. There is no inscription to this picture, so that I cannot tell whether the gun came out of the factory of which Mr. Chamberlain's brother is a director. But, Sir, I do not wish to go any further on this question. As I have said I am ready to help in ratifying to the letter the engagement contracted between the government and the volunteers, but the government have added to that engagement a clause, the last one, which provides to give our soldiers, as an additional pay, the difference between British and colonial rates.

This, our volunteers did not expect to get. When they landed—and this is exactly one of the reasons that have been given

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by the Prime Minister for not calling parliament to settle this question—once landed on the soil of Africa, our soldiers are to become part of the British army; they share the British soldier's tent, they eat his bread, they get the same pay. This, I think, our boys subscribed to joyfully, and they did not expect any more. Now, Sir, we are called to add to that an amount, which, it is true, is very small in itself, amounting to about 25 cents a day, or a total of about \$500 a day. I need hardly repeat that the question of money has always been a small one from my point of view. But, if we are going on at this rate towards militarism, it may become an important question. For example, we have now offered 2,000 men. That increase would mean \$500 a day or \$15,000 a month, or \$180,000 a year. If we send six contingents, as the hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) said the other day in Montreal, he would be ready to send, that would mean \$540,000 a year. Should we send 10,000 men, as the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries said in London that Canada would be happy to supply, it would mean \$900,000 more a year. Should we send 100,000 men, as General Hutton had decided we shall send in the next war, it would mean \$9,000,000 more. Or, should we follow the advice of the Prime Minister of Ontario and send all the men in the country, it would amount up to hundreds of millions. And, mind you, that is only for the extra 25 cents a day. You may say I am talking of eloquent exaggerations and fictions. Sir, in these days when, as I have stated, a new policy is to be initiated by the jingo press, everything is possible, especially the impossible. But I repeat, I do not consider this question of money of any importance compared with the question of principle. I am opposed to militarism. I am in favour of a policy which will induce the youth of this country to go on the farm, to go and work peacefully at intellectual or manual work; but I am opposed to giving the young men of this country too much inducement to go into the army. We expend millions to bring foreigners into this country. I am in favour of that policy. Are we going now to start a policy of spending as many or more millions to take the flower of our youth, descendants of the two great races that have settled this country, and send them, as the *Montreal Star* has said, to Africa, Oceanica or Asia? I am opposed to that policy.

I shall, therefore, support the government in carrying out their engagement with the volunteers, in fulfilling the conditions that have been laid down between them and the British government, making, of course, my reservation as to the constitutional bearings of the question, which I propose to treat when my motion is before the House. But, when the present

resolutions are in committee, I shall move to strike out the last clause, for the reason I have just given to the House.

Mr. T. D. CRAIG (East Durham). The House has listened to two speeches on this subject, and I must say that I have never heard two speeches wider apart than they were. I was rather surprised at the patriotic tone of the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and I may say I was also much pleased. I agreed with nearly everything he said. One or two things he said are open to criticism, and I shall criticise them in a little while. But I must say that I have never, since coming into this House, listened to a speech that gave me greater pain, I may say, than that to which we have just listened. I am almost ashamed to think that a member of this House should make such a speech. It would almost seem as if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bourassa) held a brief from Paul Kruger to present his case to this House and to the country as well as it could be done. He started out by saying that he would not oppose the motion to go into committee, and then went on to discuss the merits of the war. He said he had studied this question a great deal, that, in fact, had the hon. member for North Norfolk studied it as much as he had, he would not have made the speech he made this evening. There is one thing upon which I can congratulate the hon. member for Labelle, and that is on the possession of a vast amount of self-confidence. I would not say that but for the fact that I feel sure that if he were a little older in political life and had had a little more experience he would not have made the speech he has just made. He started out by saying that when he had first studied this question he came to the conclusion that Canada was not obliged to fight outside of her own territory. I can tell the hon. gentleman that he is quite right, that Canada is not obliged to fight outside of her own territory. Nobody has said that she is. There is no question of compulsion in this matter at all. Great Britain did not issue an order that we should send so many men to the Transvaal. An opportunity was given to Canada if she wished to send men; Great Britain only said to Canada: If you do send men, you can send them under such and such conditions, and in such and such a way. It is foreign to the spirit of Great Britain and the manner in which its colonies are governed to issue any commands of that kind. I think that the remark of the hon. gentleman that he came to the conclusion, after a search and consideration, that Canada was not obliged to fight outside of her own territory, shows that he knows very little of the British constitution. The hon. gentleman tells us that, after the war began, he studied the question of the merits of the war more serious-

ly. I am not going to follow him all through what he said on this question. There is no necessity of my doing so, because I am sure that there are hardly any members of this House who have the least sympathy with what the hon. gentleman said about the merits of this question. One thing that the hon. gentleman said was that the French Canadians had sympathy with a small nation struggling for liberty. I suppose by that he wishes us to infer that the French Canadians have sympathy with the Transvaal Republic. I do not believe that; I believe he misrepresents his fellow-subjects in the province of Quebec. It would seem that the hon. gentleman sympathized with the Transvaal Republic from the speech he has made. But those who sympathize with a small nation of people struggling for liberty, should have sympathy for the Uitlanders, for they are the men who are struggling for liberty. The liberty of the republic was not threatened by England. In fact, England made very moderate requests. They had denied liberty to the Uitlanders, and wished to keep them for years in an inferior position. These men, who have been developing the country, and paying the taxes have been denied rights that have been accorded by every other civilized country to men of that kind. The hon. gentleman spoke of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and referred to it in sympathetic terms. He said it was defended by the Hon. John Morley and others of whom he spoke.

John Morley is a man for whom I have the greatest respect as a literary man; as a statesman I have very little respect for him. John Morley is a man who lives in dreams and ideas. Dreams and ideas are all right outside of practical life, but when you get into practical life you have to meet men who have ideas different from yours, and you have to combat those men. You are not living in an ethereal world away above all these troubles and practical questions. John Morley lives in a world like that. If he could have all his own way and make everybody think as he does, everybody would be all right. But the world is not made of people of that kind. One thing the hon. gentleman did not mention, that was that Lord Rosebery, the man who stands high in the Liberal party, who stands almost at the top of the Liberal party in Great Britain to-day, does not approve of the policy of Mr. Gladstone at the time of the Majuba Hill defeat. He said that policy was not one that Great Britain should have pursued, he took issue with Mr. Gladstone lately in making a speech on that policy, and no doubt the views he gave utterance to are the views of the great mass of the people in Great Britain. I may say that even in the parliament of Great Britain men who are friends of Mr. Gladstone think he made a very serious mistake at that time.

The hon. gentleman criticises strongly Mr. Chamberlain's policy. There is no use in saying anything about Mr. Chamberlain's policy in reply to the remarks of the hon. gentleman. Mr. Chamberlain is well able to take care of himself, as he has abundantly shown in the parliament of Great Britain. But I was rather amused, as I suppose a good many of us were, when the hon. gentleman said that had the members of this House studied the question last session before they voted they would not have so readily passed a resolution endorsing Mr. Chamberlain's policy. Now, I think they would. I think the hon. gentleman has no right to say that the Premier of Canada, that all the government of Canada, that the leader of the opposition, that all the members on both sides of the House, voted with their eyes shut, that they did not know what they were doing. He was the only man that knew anything about it, and he happened to be absent. Unfortunately, he was not here to enlighten us. But the parliament of Canada did not vote endorsing the policy of Mr. Chamberlain; the parliament of Canada at that time passed a vote endorsing the policy of the British government, and pledged themselves to support the British Empire against the Transvaal. The hon. gentleman says that he holds the same opinions on the Transvaal question as he holds on the Manitoba school question. He said on that question he supported the present government because their policy was a policy of conciliation, and so he would support a policy of conciliation in reference with the Transvaal. Well, I can only say in reply to that, that the hon. gentleman has missed his vocation altogether, and instead of being a member of this House he ought to be a member of the Imperial parliament; then, perhaps, he might be able to urge his views on the government there and show that this policy of conciliation was the best policy. For myself, I do not pretend to set myself above Mr. Chamberlain, and the government of Great Britain, and Lord Salisbury, and these great men who have studied this question. We know that Lord Salisbury and his colleagues were willing to do almost anything in order to have peace, there is no doubt of that. Lord Salisbury is a man who hates war, he tries to preserve peace with honour, we see that all through his career. The Queen herself was averse to the war; and we may rest assured that when war broke out between those two peoples, it was a source of great sorrow and disappointment to the government of Great Britain.

Now, I want to ask right here who commenced the war? It is very well to criticise Great Britain now, but who began the war? Who issued the ultimatum to Great Britain and gave her 48 hours to carry it out? Who invaded Natal? Why, it is absurd for a gentleman to get up in this House

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and criticise the action of the British government with reference to this war. Now, Sir, the other day I picked up a paper, the *Canadian Baptist*, published in Toronto, a religious journal, and I noticed a piece there copied from a paper called the *Christian Budget*, a paper published in England. I will just ask the House to listen while I read a portion of an article, which is the best thing that I have seen on this question. The article is headed: 'Was the war inevitable?' and was written by the Rev. Charles Phillips, of Johannesburg, a man who was on the spot. It is very well for gentlemen who are in Canada, or in England, to talk when they know nothing at all about the circumstances, when they never saw a Boer in their lives, and do not know what he thinks or what his ideas are. This is the article I mentioned:

The Reverend Charles Phillips, Congregational minister who has just returned to this country after eleven years' pastoral work in South Africa—the last four having been spent in Johannesburg—writes: There is one remarkable fact to which I would call the attention of your readers. In South Africa there are some hundred of ministers of free churches. They are akin in training and creed, in feeling and sympathy in politics and religion, with the ministers of the Free Churches at home. They are on the spot, and have had practical experience of all that has led up to the present war. They may, therefore, be supposed to understand it better than the same class of men in England. It has involved the Transvaal section of them also in very serious consequences. We are houseless, and homeless, and salaryless. Our people are scattered; our houses, furniture, books as well as churches, are exposed to devastation, and I fear there is little prospect of any of us finding them as we left them. Our interests, therefore, were all on the side of peace. And yet (and in this we may include Episcopalians) there is in reality no dissentient voice among us. We all believe that this war was inevitable; that whatever may be the defects of the diplomacy it did not cause the war; that the object of it has been the dream of a quarter of a century; a dream that seemed likely to be only a dream, until the Uitlanders provided for them the sinews of war; that since then there has been steady, persistent, unflinching preparation for the present conflict. 'Africa for the Afrianders'; a united Dutch Republic from the Zambesi to the Cape; the exclusion of the English from South-Africa; that is the true explanation and the true inwardness of our present conflict.

This gentleman goes on writing more in the same strain, but that is enough to show the facts of the case. I find here a letter copied from the *Outlook*, an American paper, from their correspondent in Africa, a man also on the spot. I will read a few words from what he says in a private letter:

If the Boers should succeed—what I think impossible—South Africa would be a perfectly unlivable place for any one who spoke the English language. They hate all Anglo-Saxons with a bitter, unreasoning hatred that is beyond describing.

I just read the first article to show what these men think who criticise Mr. Chamber-

lain's policy. I suppose the gentleman who writes that belongs to the Liberal party, but he lays down the proposition that this war was inevitable, that it had to come. It was foreseen all the time by the Boers. The dream of the Boers and of the Orange Free State was to possess the whole of Africa and drive all the English out of the country. That was the dream that they have been indulging in for years. They have been preparing for this war for years, they have secured the latest weapons, the most modern rifles and cannons, and no doubt they have been training under the most skilful officers from Europe in preparation for this war. On the other hand, what was the attitude of the British government? They did not want war, they were not ready for war, they were hoping the war would not come, but that something would turn up and prevent a war, that the Boers would give way on this question. The circumstances show that Great Britain had no desire for this war at all, and they commenced to fight because they were forced to fight. But I hold this is not the time to ask whether this war is justifiable. The war is going on to-day.

This is not the hour to discuss the question as to whether the war is justifiable or not and to find excuses for criticism. What we have to do is to do all we can to sustain the empire and back up Great Britain in this war if we are loyal, as I believe we are. The hon. gentleman said that he objects to the government acting without the sanction of parliament, although he does not object so much to giving the money. That is something, but after all it is not such a great thing. He objects on principle; he lays down the proposition that this must not be a precedent. I care nothing about that. If there was no precedent when action was first taken there was no need of a precedent when another contingent was sent, and if still another contingent is needed, we will not talk about precedents. We are not asking questions about precedents, we have not to talk about precedents, but we have to do our duty. If it was shown to be a wrong precedent, it would not make any difference. The hon. gentleman says that he objects to action being taken without the sanction of parliament. That point has been answered already by hon. members who have spoken on this subject. There is no doubt that, theoretically, he is right. But how often do we act against that principle? Something unforeseen arises, and the government get Governor General's warrants for, perhaps, half a million dollars. If it is right they know that their supporters will sustain them, and they are not afraid to do it. And, in this case, they did it without any fear at all because they knew that the sentiment of the country was strongly behind them. I do not wish to say anything more harsh about the hon. gentleman than I have

said, but I have it down here, that, apparently, his sympathies are with the Boers. I do not say they are, but his speech misrepresents him if they are not. His speech really represented him as being in sympathy with the Boers. Of course there is no need of discussing that now, but he says that when we come to the last clause of the resolution he is going to oppose it. He will support them in whatever the government have agreed to do, but he has declared himself as being opposed to the last clause. I can tell the hon. gentleman that it makes no difference whether he objects to the last clause or not. The last clause is going to be carried by hon. members on both sides of the House who are in perfect sympathy with it. The hon. leader of the opposition has proposed that something more than this should be done, but we are glad that the government are doing what they propose to do in this matter, and it is fortunate for the government that there are not many who are going to oppose them. They know that they have nearly the whole of parliament behind them, and that they have the whole of the country behind them in this matter. The hon. gentleman expressed great sympathy with the poor Canadians who have gone to this war without being parties to the beginning of the war and without understanding the circumstances of the war. He is not going to oppose the government paying them because they went away without knowing what they were doing. The hon. gentleman is very kind indeed, but I can tell him—he is not in the House; if he were I would like to tell him that these Canadians have volunteered, and that they went away understanding perfectly what they were doing. I do not say, that they stopped, as the hon. gentleman did, to criticise the policy of Mr. Chamberlain, or of the British government, or, to read a book, written, no doubt, in opposition to the government of Great Britain, by some man who is opposed to it, and who wants to find all the fault he can with it. I say that these volunteers are intelligent men and they knew that what they went away to do was to support the empire. They did not go out to assist the Boers, they knew what side they were going to fight on, they were intelligent, they went away with their eyes open, and I can tell the hon. gentleman that these brave men would not thank him for his sympathy if they had heard the speech that he has made to-night. Some times, hon. gentlemen in speaking of this question, like the hon. member for Labelle, talk as if these men were forced to go. That is a thing that we must never forget, that every man who has gone to the Transvaal is a volunteer. Nobody has asked him to go, he has begged to go, he wanted to be allowed to go. I had a young man here the other day from East Durham, and I am happy to say that several volunteers went

from East Durham, that the people of the town of Port Hope in giving them a send-off had the greatest time they ever had in their history. Before allowing these volunteers to go away they insured their lives and thus showed their sympathy with the cause for which they were to fight. This young man, to whom I have referred, enlisted, but, becoming ill, he was obliged to go back home. Then, his place here was filled, and now he wants to go with the second contingent. These men have not been forced to go, they have asked to be allowed to go, they have gone with their eyes open, and they knew what they were going for. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have done with the hon. member for Labelle. I want to say that war is not always as bad a thing as it is represented. I do not like war, but wars are a necessity for strong nations, and nations that cannot fight are no good in these days. They might as well stand aside because the strength of every nation is judged by its fighting capacity. This war, I believe, will be a blessing in disguise to the British nation, but, apart from all this, the war has been a blessing, because it has done more to bind together the various parts of the empire than anything else that could have happened. While there will be a great loss of life, while this war will cost a great deal, it is worth it all. The result will be worth it all to South Africa and to the empire if South Africa is acquired, and no matter how much Canada spends, it will be worth every cent to Canada. We have been trying all the time to make the people of England realize how important we are. We want to get their trade; we have given them a preferential tariff; we want them to realize how important a part of the empire we are, and nothing else could have happened to make them feel an attachment for this country like what has happened. No matter what Canada may spend in this war, it will come back to Canada; even in the monetary point of view it will all come back to Canada, besides which it will open the eyes of the people of England to the resources and greatness of this country, and to the fact that this country is an integral part of the British Empire. I intended, before referring to the hon. member for Labelle, to speak a few words in reference to the speech of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I congratulate him upon his speech. There is one thing that I must criticise, however, and it is that the hon. member deprecated the attempt made to make political capital out of this war. I deprecate that, too, but while I think the hon. gentleman alluded to this side of the House, I would ask him who is attempting to make political capital out of it. I do not think that the Conservative party have done so. I know that I have not. I am only a humble member of the party, but I am one. I have not attempted to do that, and I have

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never heard any one else on this side of the House trying to make political capital out of it. I do admit that the hon. leader of the opposition criticised the action of the right hon. Prime Minister, and I must say that the subsequent action of the government justified that criticism. There is no doubt that the hon. leader of the opposition did criticise the government, and if some political capital was made, well, that was not his fault. That was the fault of the government, because the government might have acted a little quicker than they did. Sir, the Conservative party have not tried to make capital out of this, but from what I have heard some other parties have tried to make capital out of it, and I believe they have met with no success in that attempt. I agree with the government in these resolutions, and I congratulate them—or rather I congratulate the country, because the Premier has told us that it was public opinion in the country which forced him to act, and therefore for what has been done by the government the country must get the credit. After the country, I give the government credit. It is my opinion that in a crisis of this kind the government should not have waited for public opinion and in that I disagree with the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who stated that the government should await public opinion. On an important issue like this, the government should have known public opinion, and should have led public opinion, and they might have done so with advantage to themselves in this case. I think the government waited too long, and the Premier gave his opinion too freely in the first place, although I congratulate him on having changed his opinion afterwards. There are crises which arise in the history of nations in view of which the government should not wait for public opinion to force them to act, and this was a case in point if ever there was one. True, public opinion moved rapidly and strongly in this matter, and it is a matter of congratulation to us all that the government had sense enough to recognize that public opinion when they saw it. I notice in this resolution that the government says with reference to the expenditure incurred in sending the contingents to South Africa, they :

are hereby indemnified and exonerated from all liability by reason of having used or authorized the use of the above mentioned sums of money, or any portion thereof without due legal authority, and all expenditure heretofore made of any of said sums shall be held to have been lawfully made.

I wish to say, Sir, that the government need have no fear of any opposition to that proposal from this side of the House. The Conservative party are a unit on this question. We will heartily vote this money, and we are prepared to indemnify them and to release them from all blame. We are

more generous than some of their own friends in that, and I hope they will appreciate it and give us due credit for it. At any rate, whether the government do or not, the country will give us credit for our patriotic course.

Mr. D. MONET (Laprairie and Napierville). Mr. Speaker, it is with some regret that I rise to enter my protest against the motion which has been placed in your hands. As is known, I suppose, to all the members of this House, I have always been a loyal supporter of the Liberal government, but I am very sorry indeed that in their new policy of involving Canada in a contribution to foreign wars, I cannot follow my political friends. The motion which you have read, Sir, asks this House to go into Committee of Ways and Means in order to ratify a large expenditure of \$2,000,000 which has been incurred without the consent of parliament for the purpose of sending our Canadian soldiers to the South African war. On that policy I am at variance with my friends in the government. The position which I now take on the floor of this House I already took several months ago in the public press, and since doing so, I have been charged with disloyalty by both friends and foes. My friends have suspected my loyalty to my party and my political foes have charged me with disloyalty to my country. If ever I have been sorry not to be more familiar with the English language than I am, it is certainly at this present moment when I would like to be able to utter my thoughts as plainly as I have conceived them. However, I shall do my best, and I leave it to the kindness of my fellow-members to do the rest.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONET. Sir, what are the facts which render necessary these resolutions now before the House. On the 11th of October last, war was declared between the Transvaal and Great Britain. The population of the Transvaal, as has been stated by the hon. member of North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) is about 350,000, and the population of Great Britain in round figures is 40,000,000, so that this war is being waged by a population of forty millions against a population of about a quarter of a million. When the war was declared, an agitation commenced all over the Dominion to the effect that Canada should contribute to assist Great Britain, but the leader of the government thought he would not be justified under the existing law in forcing Canada to so contribute. However that may be, Canada did contribute a little later on. This is the interview which the Prime Minister gave to the *Globe* newspaper, an interview which is very familiar to all the members of this House, but which I may be permitted to read in order that I may base my argument upon it:

As I understand the Militia Act, and I may say that I have given it some study of late, our volunteers are enrolled to be used in the defence of the Dominion. They are Canadian troops, to be used to fight for Canada's defence. . . . There is no menace to Canada, and although we may be willing to contribute troops, I do not see how we can do so. Then, again, how could we do so without parliament granting us the money? We simply could not do anything. In other words, we should have to summon parliament.

The hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) did not take the same stand as the Prime Minister then took, and he wrote to the right hon. gentleman expressing his disappointment that Canada should not send a contingent of her soldiers to South Africa, with the obligation on our country to pay all the expenditure entailed thereby. Every member of this House is familiar with the Woodbridge platform, a platform which has been endorsed by the member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), and 'en passant' I may congratulate him on the fact that he has since been selected as one of the leaders of the Conservative party in the province of Quebec. This Woodbridge platform having been endorsed by the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) it was then endorsed by the hon. member for Montmagny (Mr. Casgrain) at Granby; the third Conservative leader in the province of Quebec remaining dumb for the time being. It was the opinion throughout the country that the Conservative party had unanimously agreed upon sending Canadian soldiers to South Africa, and an Order in Council was passed by our government, the following extract from which I shall read:

The Prime Minister, in view of the well known desire of a great many Canadians who are ready to take service under such conditions, is of opinion that the moderate expenditure which would thus be involved for the equipment and transportation of such volunteers may readily be undertaken by the government of Canada without summoning parliament, especially as such an expenditure under such circumstances cannot be regarded as a departure from the well known principles of constitutional government and colonial practice, nor construed as a precedent for future action.

Sir, this small expenditure which is spoken of in this Order in Council amounts to the sum of \$2,000,000; an expenditure that has been incurred, as I have said, without the consent of parliament. In the Order in Council, a detrimental precedent, a most detrimental precedent has been established and a most criminal attempt has been made by a responsible government to trample under foot the constitution. It is in order to protest against this infraction of the cardinal principle of responsible government that I rise in my seat to-night, and in so doing, I may state I am backed by the unanimous feeling of the constituency I have the honour to represent. You have been told already, Mr. Speaker, that a few months ago, I took a certain

position on this question in the public press of the country. I told my electors that I was opposed to this policy of my friends in the government. I told them that I understood full well that a member ought to represent his constituents, and if these views were not the views of my constituents, I was not ready to yield to their views, but I was ready to resign. I do not want to read the whole of my letter, but I will read the conclusion. I said :

For my part, I am opposed to any contributions to foreign wars of the empire, and I shall oppose such contributions as well, on the floor of the House of Commons if I am still a member at the coming session of parliament.

It is not because I am a Canadian of French extraction that I have adopted this course : I do not make it a question of sentiment. My language would be the same were I the citizen of a French colony. I am opposed to the expenditure of one cent which has for its object to tighten closer the ties of Canada to Great Britain (except the commercial bonds which unite us to our mother country). We have almost nothing in common with the old continent.

I am a Canadian, and my ideal is to see Canada rank among independent nations as soon as the vitality of its people and the immensity of its natural resources will have sufficiently developed our country.

Therefore, in order to attain this end duty to our country compels us to apply all our actual revenue for the development of our resources. Moreover, we must attract foreign immigration here instead of sending our fellow men as targets in Africa.

Now is the object of my letter : I understand quite well that a member of parliament must represent his electors, also that he should resign if his opinions differ from those of his constituents, and if I do not resign immediately it is because I believe my opinions coincide with those of my constituents. At all events, if I mistake their feelings, my determination is hereby made known, and, if it is not in conformity to popular will, let my constituents present me a requisition signed by twenty-five electors, either Liberal or Conservative and I shall resign at once if so requested.

Sir, I did not want to say, 'Here are my views, and if 200 or 300 of my electors are not satisfied with them, I am ready to resign.' I did not want even to confine the challenge to my Liberal friends who supported me. I said as plainly as possible, 'If twenty-five of my electors, either Liberal or Conservative, ask me to resign, I am ready to do it.' Sir, that challenge was not taken up. Some newspapers have said that over two thousand men asked me to resign. This was a falsehood ; I have not been blamed nor asked to resign by a single elector, either Conservative or Liberal. The Conservatives in my county have been sensible enough not to look at the question from a party point of view ; I thank them for it. The Liberals who fought with me the contest I had to sustain in 1896 were independent enough to understand that, however close a member of parliament has been instructed by his constituents to stick to his

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leader, he has the right to be something more than a mere machine ready to move or to stop at the first touch of the finger of the master. Sir, these independent Liberals I am glad to represent in this House, and it is with their moral support that I want to say to-day that this appropriation of \$2,000,000 is a detriment to the country and quite unconstitutional.

Mr. Speaker, without going any further, let me say that I have not examined just now whether the war is right or wrong, is just or unjust. Let me take for granted that the war is a just war, or, rather, that a loyal subject—and I claim that I am a loyal subject—has not the right to question the justice of a war, when once that war has been decided upon by the legitimate authority of the country. But by the force of the same argument, Mr. Speaker, you will have to admit that any future war of Great Britain, whether Canada is interested in it or not, will be as just as this war. By the force of this very argument, you must admit that Canada will never have any less reason to contribute to future wars than she has had to contribute to the present war on the ground of merit. But I do not want to deal just now with the question of precedent or no precedent. I will only look at the bare facts of the expenditure already incurred. This expenditure amounts to \$2,000,000. On what ground were these \$2,000,000 spent ? Did we owe these millions to England by law ? Did we owe these millions to England by necessity that knows no law or at least, as the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has said, is the expenditure of these millions for the best interests of this country ? Sir, did we owe these millions to England by law ? I say no. It is easy for me to explain my views on that point. The hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig), who has just taken his seat, has admitted that the law did not oblige Canada to contribute a single penny to a war except a war in defence of Canada, either externally or internally. I suppose this will be admitted by every member of this House. If we do not owe it by law, what was the reason why this expenditure was incurred ? Was it because England was in need of help ? Let us examine what were the circumstances of the war, and see if necessity from England cried for colonial help. Let us examine the respective forces of the parties who are now warring. At the beginning of the war England sent about 20,000 soldiers to the front ; to-day England has over 200,000 men in South Africa. So that when we first intervened, when we sent the first contingent from Canada to South Africa, there were over 180,000 soldiers remaining idle in England at the disposal of the British government. Where was the necessity of Canada intervening ? It seems to me very sensible to say that as long as England keeps her own soldiers at home Canada is

not called upon to contribute directly or indirectly. Now, was this expenditure incurred for the best interests of our country? The hon. member for North Norfolk has said that this expenditure was for the best interests of Canada: but he failed to prove that Canada was in the least interested, or will derive any profit from the spending of these \$2,000,000. Sir, we are a young country: we are a comparatively small people and we are a comparatively poor people.

We are a young nation and a small people, and every year we are paying immigration agents who are rapping at the doors of every country filled up with population to induce settlers to come and settle in this peaceful Canada, and, therefore, I ask, is it proper that we should send the best blood of this nation to South Africa, from which perhaps a great many soldiers who went will never return. I repeat it, we are poor, everybody knows that every year deputations come to the capital asking for substantial aid to develop this or that national industry, and in nearly every case the government replies: Your scheme seems to be a very fair and promising one, but we are sorry that the condition of the public exchequer does not warrant such an outlay of money as you require. Everybody knows that in half of the speeches made every year on the Budget, the burden of complaint is that our debt is now very large, but at least we can show that this debt has been the means of producing a very fair revenue to the people or to the government. But what will be our revenue from the debt incurred in carrying on this war in South Africa? Why, we are not to be allowed even to call to account those responsible for the war, whether just or not, or those responsible for the imprudent management of the British soldiers, which has so far characterized it. I may be told that the cost will be very large indeed for Great Britain herself, but I do not expect that the practical mind of England will fail to reach some benefit from it. The greater may be the cost of the war, the greater will be the Kimberley diamonds which England will cut off from the Boer dominions. But so far as we are concerned, we have no means of recouping ourselves for the millions we will have spent. If there was no necessity for England calling for colonial help, and if it is not proper for this young country to spend millions on this war, what reason can be urged to justify this large expenditure? The only reason which can be given is the very one that has not been given by the government. It is that the intention was to create a precedent that will for ever bind Canada to contribute to the carrying on of the future wars of Great Britain.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONET. I hear an hon. gentleman say 'hear, hear,' and, therefore, take it for granted that he assents to this point. Then if the intention was to create a precedent, why should not the whole truth be known and the real position disclosed. I really believe it is intended to create a precedent.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. Minister of Public Works says not.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). The hon. minister will say just what he thinks later on.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I hope I may be mistaken, but the hon. gentleman was reported as having said that.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman was engaged elsewhere and did not know what was going on.

Mr. MONET. I would like to be able to think that it will not be a precedent, and I admit at once that this clause in the Order in Council is certainly a little better than nothing, though I do not suppose it is much better. The hon. leader of the opposition says it is nonsense to say it is not a precedent, and the *Montreal Gazette* says that certainly it is. The very following day after the address was adopted, I find the *Gazette* of Montreal, the leading organ of the Conservative party, publishing this editorial:

A great precedent has been set and sanctioned; and while, in petty border wars, there will in future be neither call nor contribution by the colonies, when grave Imperial crises occur, and the forces of the central power are called on to put out all their strength, as they are called on now, the rule will be for the colonies to be represented in the fighting line, as they are now. To have done something to create this situation is a thing to mark one session of parliament as distinctive, and it is to be noted, as the most interesting feature of the thing, that it is the work of parliament, as a whole, and not of any one party in it.

But regardless of all these opinions, let us reason out the question whether it is or not a precedent. Similar causes always call for similar effects, and therefore let us examine the reasons which induced the government to contribute to the war between England and the Transvaal. The only reason given—I have no right to refer to the speeches delivered in this House—but the only reason given in the speech from the Throne is this:

It appeared to my ministers expedient to anticipate the action of parliament by equipping and forwarding two contingents of volunteers to the seat of war as a practical evidence of the profound devotion and loyalty of the entire people of Canada to the sovereign institutions of the British Empire.

So that the only reason given to justify Canada's action is based on gratitude and loyalty or devotion and loyalty. Well, in the very next war which may take place between England and any other country, are we to be less grateful, and will those

who make it a standard of loyalty to bleed their own country for the benefit of England be less loyal in the very next war that may take place? I am afraid that a precedent has been created which will be for ever followed in the future. And if so, let us boldly face the uncertainty of the future and endeavour to ascertain what will be the position of Canada if we are always to contribute to the carrying on of British wars outside of this country. I will take just 50 years, not the whole reign of our great sovereign, but 50 years of that reign, and in that period I find that thirty-two wars have been waged by Great Britain with other countries. Here is a list of those wars :

The second war of Burmah, 1852-53 ; Crimean war, 1854 ; third war with China, 1856-58 ; the Indian mutiny, 1857 ; the Mavre war, 1860-61 ; the new war with China, 1860-62 ; the second Mavre war, 1863-66 ; the Ashantee war, 1864 ; the war of Rhouton, 1864 ; the war with Abyssinia 1867-68 ; the war with the Bagondi, 1868 ; the third war with the Maoris, 1868-69 ; the war with the Luki, 1871 ; the second Ashanti war, 1873-74 ; the third Kaffir war, 1877 ; the war with the Zulus, 1878-79 ; the third Afghanistan war, 1878-80 ; the war with the Basutos, 1879-81 ; the Egyptian war, 1862 ; the war with the Transvaal, 1879-81 ; the war with the Soudan, 1884-85-89 ; the third war with the Burmese, 1885-92 ; the war with Zanzibar, 1890 ; the Indian frontier war, 1890 ; the war with the Matabeles, 1894-96 ; the Chitral war, 1895 ; the third Ashanti war, 1896 ; the second war with the Soudan, 1896 ; the Indian frontier war, 1897 ; the third war of the Soudan, 1898 ; and lastly, the war with the Transvaal, 1899.

Supposing that in the ensuing fifty years there shall be as many wars between England and other countries of the world as in the last fifty—and I suppose I shall not be called a false prophet, when I say that we are on the eve of a general conflagration in Europe, and that if England wants to keep her colonies and her possessions all over the world, there will be at least as many wars in the next fifty years as there have been in the last fifty. Assuming that to be the case, we can have an idea of the large expenditure that will be incurred by Canada in the next fifty years, if this is to be a precedent.

I should like to be understood by everybody in this House who might be led to believe that were I not a Canadian of French extraction I should not hold the same views as I do. I admit that we have been very generously treated by England. And why do I say so? For the reason that we have the same responsible political institutions that England has herself. But it is because I appreciate the value of those British institutions that I want to see them respected by those who are in charge of them in this country. I say at once if parliament had been summoned, not to ratify a vote as we are called upon to do, but to discuss the question in this House, to have the views of those who

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oppose this contribution on the part of Canada as well as the contrary views placed before you, Mr. Speaker, and if a decision had been arrived at, especially if this had been done after a general election where the matter or plan had been openly stated in the country, I would be the first one to give in to the will of the majority. Parliament is the supreme authority for me. I am a democrat to the hilt, and parliament is supreme authority for me as for everybody in this country. Law binds everybody in Canada, but everybody in Canada has the right to be heard, either by himself or by the representatives of his constituency, in framing the law ; and it is only when a free discussion is had in this House that a decision arrived at by parliament takes the shape and has the force of law. But, so long as there is no law to change the relations of Canada with Great Britain, I object to sending our men to take part in the wars of Great Britain when Great Britain does not need them. I object to force the drop of water from the glass of the thirsty man to that of the Queen of the seas ; I object to taking the money or our workers to aid the millionaire country of England. Discussion is free in this House. Since the Bill of Right was passed in England, discussion is free to such an extent that you, Mr. Speaker, with all the authority you are entrusted with, have no right to stop these eight and nine-hour-long speeches that are delivered every year in this House. Discussion is free, because it is the very spirit of British institutions that the will of the people may be known before action is taken, that all the country may be aware of the matters discussed, and the way in which they are discussed. I repeat, as long as there is no legal or constitutional change arrived at by the will of parliament, as expressed by representations coming fresh from the country after a general election, I object to tearing up the written contract between Great Britain and Canada, the British North America Act.

Now, this leads me to examine for a moment the constitutional aspect of the question to which I will come again when the motion of my friend from Labelle makes his motion. It is well known that by our constitution all the subsidies that are to be voted are to be voted by the House of Commons, and, however, great may be the majority of the government, it has no right to spend a single penny unless it is voted by the members of this House. And this right, this sacred right, which has been conquered by the people of England, first of all the nations of the world, is surrounded by safeguards which are very plainly stated. Under our constitution not only the money is voted by parliament, but the senators who are not responsible to the ratepayers, have no right to take the initiative in voting public money. Here are articles 53 and 54 of the British North America Act :

53. Bills for appropriating any part of the public revenue, or for imposing any tax or impost, shall originate in the House of Commons.

54. It shall not be lawful for the House of Commons to adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address, or Bill for the appropriation of any part of the public revenue, or any tax or impost to any purpose that has not been first recommended to the House by message of the Governor General in the session in which such vote, resolution, address, or Bill is proposed.

Now, there is an exception which is provided for by the Audit Act, which says :

If, when parliament is not in session, any accident happens to any public work or building which requires an immediate outlay for the repair thereof, or any other occasion arises when any expenditure not foreseen before or provided for by parliament is urgently and immediately required for the public good.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONET. Will the hon. gentleman who says 'hear, hear,' claim that the sending of our contingents was something urgently required for the public good; will he reflect for a single moment that between the offer of a second contingent and the departure of that contingent for South Africa, more than four weeks passed? If he does not forget that how can he claim that this is a matter of urgency? Why was not parliament called to ratify the offer of the second contingent? Can the hon. gentleman explain that if he has the Audit Act in his recollection?

Mr. SPROULE. Ask the government to explain it.

Mr. MONET. I hear the hon. member for East Grey say that the government claims so. I do not suppose—

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman misunderstood me. I say that he had better ask the government to explain it. They have the power to call parliament. An explanation from them would be very important.

Mr. MONET. It would not be fair for the hon. gentleman to try to involve me in a contradiction when he himself shares the sentiment and opinion of the government, and when I differ from the government on this matter. I will go on with the extract in the Audit Act :

—Then, upon the report of the Minister of Finance and Receiver General that there is no parliamentary provision, and of the minister having charge of the service in question that the necessity is urgent, the Governor in Council may order a special warrant to be prepared, to be signed by the Governor General for the issue of the amount estimated to be required.

I suppose this has always been the law as understood by everybody in this country since 1848. I will read an extract from the *Globe* of 1872, which was then, as it is to-day, perhaps the most important newspaper of the country. The *Globe* on the 6th of July in that year published the following words :

The policy of the Liberal party is to make parliamentary government supreme, and to take from the government all power to use any portion of the people's money without a direct vote for such service.

In a debate that took place in 1887, the hon. Mr. Mills, the present Minister of Justice, said :

Not a dollar had they the right to take from the public treasury under the law, and every dollar which has been taken in that way has been taken in flagrant violation of the law.

Sir Richard Cartwright, in this very same debate, uttered the following words :

It is a very cardinal principle on which parliamentary institutions hinge that ministers of the Crown should not under any pretext whatever expend public money until that money has been voted by parliament, and until the reasons why the Crown asks for the money, have been fully explained and discussed. To that rule there is but one exception : in cases of public emergency, in cases of unforeseen expenditure.

Mr. Davies, who is now Minister of Marine and Fisheries, said on the same occasion :

Two things that must concur are : first, that the expenditure is unforeseen, second, that it is urgently and immediately required.

And the present member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) said in his graphic language :

It is time that a stop was put to this expenditure of money without the consent of parliament.

In 1891, Sir Richard Cartwright held the very same views as those I have just quoted. So I assume, Mr. Speaker, that it has been pretty well understood up to the present that parliament should vote all the money to be spent on any purpose whatever. This is not the case of a public building falling down, it is not even the case of the British Empire being overthrown. The member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has said to-day that it was ridiculous to claim that this trouble was of such enormous danger to Canada and to the empire itself.

Sir, the right of the people to control the vote of public money to be spent for any purpose whatever is a very old right in the British constitution. It is a right that England has conquered from her kings, because the kings of England were not better men than the kings of any other country. They were disposed to tyrannize their subjects, as all other masters of nations have been. But the glory of the people of England is that they conquered their right five or six centuries before the people of other countries conquered the same right. As early as 1215 King John was obliged to give his people what is called in English history the 'Magna Charta.' By this grand Bill of rights the people obtained by their representatives a certain supervision over the levying of taxes. In 1689, at the same time that in France, under the reign of Louis XIV., pub-

lic moneys were being spent to supply the debaucheries of the court, the Bill of Rights was voted by the House of Commons and accepted by the King of England. Although this Bill of Rights must be known to everybody in the House, allow me to quote two or three of its most important clauses :

That it is illegal for the Sovereign to suspend or execute laws without the consent of parliament.

That parliament ought to be frequently held.

That it is illegal to levy money without the consent of parliament.

Sir, this magnificent franchise was given to the people, as I have just said, in 1689 ; but so jealous was England of that beautiful gem in her constitution, that she was not willing to concede it to anybody else outside of her own territory. What she had acquired for her own people she was not willing to concede to Canada, and England tyrannized Canada as France would have had done. It was only in 1791 that a kind of popular government was given to Canada, popular, because the councillors were taken from amongst the people, not a responsible government, because they were not responsible to the people. But what does this franchise represent in England, and what does it represent in Canada. In England it represents a victory for the people in their struggle of four centuries with the kings ; in Canada it represents over 50 years of constant struggle in parliament by our best men. It was only in 1841, over half a century after Canada was ceded to England that Canada was granted responsible government, as they had it in England. This concession was only granted to Canada after years of persistent struggle by our public men.

Mr. MONTAGUE. When did she offer it first ?

Mr. MONET. In the very Act by which Canada was ceded to England, and in spite of this pledge the promise had never been fulfilled. Sir, I do not say this with any animosity whatever. I think this is not the proper time to make recriminations against anybody ; but we must take history as it stands.

Now, what is the reason given by the government for not following the constitutional course in this matter ? The reason given is that the government were forced to yield to a wave of public opinion. Sir, although I am a democrat, I do not consider myself bound to yield to a wave of public opinion when I don't share that opinion. I must retain my right to oppose this wave of public opinion when I believe it is in the wrong direction. I cannot understand what kind of statesmanship that is which says : My only justification is that the public demanded it. Sir, I say that if the public at large demanded a contribution from Canada to this war, the true course for the government was to summon parliament and take

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the voice of the members who have been elected by this public opinion. Where is the leader of a party who, on the eve of an election, does not claim that he has public opinion in his favour ? If we were always so sure of public opinion, and if we always knew what public opinion was we would not need to have general elections. We would always be sure that when the press of this party took such and such a ground it represented public opinion. Mr. Speaker, I do not want to refer to a past debate, but the right hon. gentleman who leads the government has said many times, not only in his answer to the speech of the hon. leader of the opposition in the debate on the address, but he has said a great many times elsewhere that the Conservative press is a reptile press, and I agree fully with him. On a great many occasions it has shown itself to be a reptile press, and if it is a reptile press, which is admitted almost, I wonder if this reptile is a proper indication of public opinion and if it was proper to base upon it the policy that has been pursued. I am afraid that the reptile has crossed the threshold of the council board to present the apple of temptation. I won't say that the cabinet took the whole apple, but they took half of it, and the balance is still in litigation between the Liberal and Conservative parties. What is this public opinion ? As regards what I have said of the Conservative press, public opinion may be influenced by some interest as the public press of England, I have been told, has been influenced by the power of gold. But, without throwing any unkind imputation on the press of this country, let me quote a few articles from newspapers to show to the House what was the state of public opinion in regard to the new policy that was to be inaugurated. *Le Temps* does not belong to the reptile press ; it is a Liberal newspaper. It is printed in Ottawa. It must be a faithful echo of the public opinion of the capital. *Le Temps* says :

We already know that it is Mr. Tarte who opposes the ridiculous idea of taking our money to carry on Imperial wars. The Minister of Public Works considers the question of the Transvaal from the Canadian point of view. What should we go to Africa for ? To help England to conquer an undisciplined army of 50,000 farmers ? The empire can do without us in this easy affair.

Le Temps, which is now quoted as being a strong supporter of the government on this question, admits that there was no urgency, that there was no necessity :

Besides she does not ask us to come, and did she do so, such an audacious and unusual proceeding would be a new reason for distrust of her.

Mark you, how *Le Temps* has changed.

Is it not plain that Great Britain, seeing the storm about to burst over her head, seeks to engage us in a conflict created or provoked by

her, the responsibility for which in no wise can be shared by Canada, and that in order to establish a dangerous precedent which would permit her in future to call on our country for money and for men whenever she might need them. Truly we should be great fools to sacrifice our present security, as well as that of the future, and our painfully-acquired autonomy, for the doubtful advantage of sharing the fortunes of England.

Where was public opinion at that time? And that was only a few days before the Order in Council was passed on October 14, 1899. This is the only French Liberal organ of the government in the capital. Let us see what is said by *La Patrie*. *La Patrie* is the only daily Liberal French organ of the government in Montreal. *La Patrie* must be read by quite a number of readers, and it must echo, to a certain extent, public opinion. Here is what *La Patrie* says:

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the other day, very clearly defined the government's position in stating that there was no justification whatever for the government offering or sending a contingent without previously consulting parliament. It, therefore, follows that the Canadian government did not offer any military contingent to the Imperial government.

For our own part, we have no hesitation whatever in stating that if the Laurier cabinet had taken upon itself the responsibility of exposing the future of Canada in sending a military contingent to the Transvaal at the expense of this country, we should have blamed its policy.

Where was public opinion in Montreal? Where was public opinion in the office of *La Patrie*, which echoed public opinion as being against a contribution by Canada towards the cost of the war. Let me read some more articles. I will take the *Globe*. I do not suppose that the *Globe* belongs to the reptile press. I suppose that the *Globe* must echo, to some extent, the feelings of some of its readers. It has a large circulation indeed. Here is what the *Globe* says:

If parliament becomes merely an instrument for registering the decrease of the executive, one of the greatest safeguards of our liberties will be gone, and parliament itself will fall into a position of weakness and contempt.

Suffer not the old king under any name.

Sir, this language of the *Globe* I admire. This is the policy I would have liked to have seen pursued by my friends of the government. I have given you a little history of British parliamentary institutions. The old king had always been, as early as before 1689, an enemy of the British constitution, and we are suffering now from the old king under a new name. *L'Evenement* is a Conservative paper. At this time it must not, however, have suffered very much from the influence of the reptile press, because *L'Evenement* although a Conservative daily newspaper, with quite a large number of subscribers, pronounces itself quite strongly against a contribution by Canada to that war. *Le Trifurien* says:

We don't want Canada to take any other official part than that of the defense of our country.

Before reading extracts from English newspapers, let me say a word about *Le Soleil*, the Liberal organ of the party in Quebec. *Le Soleil* this year is extremely loyal. It does not understand why the farmers of Quebec should not take their guns and go to South Africa, but, when guns were bought by the late government *Le Soleil* had quite another opinion to give to its subscribers, and here is the opinion it gave at that time, under a display heading, with letters one inch high:

Do you want war?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). That was not *Le Soleil*.

Mr. MONET. That was *L'Electeur* quite true, but, *Le Soleil* of to-day is only a spot on the sun of the ancient *L'Electeur*.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. That is what you say it is.

Mr. MONET. My hon. friend (Mr. Fitzpatrick) can have his own opinion on that. Will he deny that Mr. Ernest Pacaud, who is editing *Le Soleil* to-day is the very same gentleman who edited *L'Electeur*. Now, if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fitzpatrick) is silent I must accept his silence for consent to my assertion. *L'Electeur* said:

Do you want war? Three million dollars for rifles, guns and bayonets. A near danger for your farmers.

How he warned them at that time. After saying that Sir Charles Tupper was in favour of Imperial federation, I quote the following words:—

Mr. WALLACE. Read it all.

Mr. MONET. I do not want to take up more than reasonable time.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. It is extremely interesting, we ought to have it all.

Mr. MONET. *L'Electeur* said:

One of the conditions of this alliance would be that in time of war, Canada would be called for to pay her share in money and blood.

Why all these armaments, if we are not going to get war? And why would we fight for England? Your sons will be sent in Africa, in Asia wherefrom they will never come.

Just fancy, Mr. Speaker, the faculty of *L'Electeur* for prophecy. He told us four years ago that our sons would be sent to South Africa. Well, that is really what has been done this year, but what does *Le Soleil* say about it now? Why *Le Soleil* endorses the policy of the government on that point. Sir, is this public opinion? Can the members of this House judge from that, that there is any public opinion in this country. *Le Soleil* said: Farmers, are you not afraid that your sons will be sent to the war; it is a shame

for the Conservative government to spend \$3,000,000 for arms. But, Sir, three years afterwards, the same exponent of public opinion changes front, and while the government has sent our sons to the wars, he says now: You should do much more, you should endorse the policy of the leader of the opposition, and not only send 2,000 men, but 5,000 men if necessary, and pay the whole expenditure in connection therewith. Mr. Speaker, I for one do not admit that such is the honest public opinion of the province of Quebec. But let me read a few extracts from the English press of Canada on this very matter. The *Sentinel Review* on the 25th of October headed a long article 'Our Real Duty,' which concludes as follows:—

Our real duty is to provide for our own defence instead of contributing to foreign wars.

The *Weekly Sun* said this:

To attack people who have done no wrong, slaughter them and desolate their homes is either a necessity or the greatest of crimes. It will not do to leave such questions to be settled by secret influences such as those by which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was approached; by a tide of passion, sweeping through the British music halls; or by vague guesses at the sentiment of our own country. If Canada is a responsible community, the questions of peace or war must be fairly submitted to the reason and conscience of her people.

There was the public opinion in the office of this English newspaper at Toronto. Let me quote the *Huntingdon Gleaner* to show that not only in Toronto, but even a portion of English-speaking people in the province of Quebec was against Canada contributing to this war. The *Huntingdon Gleaner* said:

What is Canada's justification to send our men to kill Boers. The Boers have never provoked us, never done us any harm. Is it not a murder to take the life of a man who has neither provoked nor threatened?

And the *Montreal Herald*. The *Montreal Herald*! It must be a scandal to mention the *Montreal Herald* here as a paper opposed to Canada sending a contribution to the war. But let us tell the whole truth, and as my hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa and myself are accused of being traitors to the party, we shall know who are all the traitors to the Liberal party. The *Montreal Herald* says:

It is in the highest degree essential to Canada's interests that a discussion in parliament, free, complete and unengaged on the whole question should determine the situation of Canada in the sense of constitution.

Let me ask this: was this contribution of Canada determined in the sense of the constitution, in the face of the admission of the right hon. gentleman on the floor of this House: that he was outside of the law when he did it? It is true that the leader of the opposition said to him: You are not guilty; it is absurd to claim that the constitution has been trifled with and violated. But, Sir, the fact remains that the man who

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will be charged before public opinion at the next general election is the man who admitted in this House that he was outside the law in taking this course. In the words of the *Montreal Herald*, this question ought to be settled according to the constitution, but it has not been.

Mr. BERGERON. The *Herald* got \$15,000 from the government last year.

Mr. MONET. I suppose the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) would describe it as one of the reptile press.

Mr. BERGERON. There are eight or ten of them in the same position.

Mr. MONET. I do not admit the insinuation of the hon. member (Mr. Bergeron) because the *Herald* had earned all that money before giving the opinion I have quoted. But, Sir, not only did the newspapers give their opinions in the sense I have already shown, but certain members of this House expressed their opinion publicly. My hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) went back to his constituents and said to them: I do not approve of the policy of my friends in the government; do you agree with me. The Conservatives did not take up his challenge, and the Liberals, although I suppose they were a little dissatisfied with my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) did not dare to oppose him. Where was the public opinion of the county of Labelle? Was it in favour of a contribution from Canada to British foreign wars? Not at all. Was the public opinion of the county of Laprairie and Napierville favourable to Canada contributing to this war? Not at all. Not a single voter in that county has come forward to condemn me for what I said publicly. Not only have Mr. Bourassa and myself taken that ground, but Mr. Fortin, the hon. member for Laval, has taken about the same view as we did. He said in substance at St. Vincent de Paul:

One contingent—well let it go, but don't do it again, because if you do it I will most likely oppose it.

Mr. Ethier, the hon. member for Two Mountains, held the same view. He said, in substance:

The first contingent, all right—no not all right; but it will do, if you don't do it again.

Well, the government have done it again, and where let me ask is the public opinion to justify the government in doing what they have done. If they only rely on public opinion as unanimous for their justification, I do not think they have it. Mr. Desmarais, the member for St. James Division, Montreal, a most prominent member of this House, and a most eloquent French speaker, one of the best orators of the French Canadians of the province of Quebec, if not the best, said in a certain club in Montreal:

I do not fear to say that the Laurier government would be seriously blamed by the electorate

if it approved of such a measure (sending a Canadian contingent to the Transvaal), and I, for one, would rise on the floor of the House, as member for St. James Division, if such a proposal were brought before parliament, and signify my disapproval.

Sir, that hon. member is still of the same opinion, but this opinion does not count, and will not amount to anything, I suppose, because public opinion is unanimous in the four corners of the country, saying, let us send our men and let us contribute the money of the ratepayers of this country. Sir, there is only one way to account for the change of opinion on the part of these hon. members if they have changed.

Mr. WALLACE. Is that the whole list?

Mr. MONET. If the hon. gentleman has any suggestion to make to me, I am ready to listen to him.

Mr. WALLACE. I am only asking if that is the whole list.

Mr. MONET. That is the whole list which I have in my hand; but I have a pretty good memory, and if the hon. gentleman gives me any more names, I will quote them. I might quote the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Adolphe Caron), who attended a meeting and did not make any protest against the speeches of those who spoke against the action of this government.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I had no reason to protest. I made my speech.

Mr. MONET. The hon. gentleman was reticent. He did not say much.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. You will not, however, read it.

Mr. MONET. Now, Mr. Speaker, there has been a little cooling in public opinion, everybody must admit. *Le Temps*, referring to a meeting which was held at Quebec to secure some funds for the relief of the families of the members of the second contingent, said this:

The preparations for enlisting the volunteers of this city for the second contingent are moving very slowly. Up to to-day there are not ten citizens who have given their names.

This is headed 'Very little enthusiasm.' There is, perhaps, one way to explain the change of view of the members, if they have changed, and the newspapers which have changed on this point. I remember a story of Cuvier, one of the most eminent naturalists of France, who was asked one day, while among a group of very learned naturalists: 'Do you believe in spontaneous generation?' It was in the time of the regime of Napoleon the First, and Cuvier merely answered, 'The emperor does not want it.' So I think the only way to explain this change of view is that the leader does not want it. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have said at

the beginning of my remarks that I have been charged with disloyalty.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). It is true.

Mr. MONET. The hon. Solicitor General says it is true. He should remember that I am not the only man from the province of Quebec who has been charged with being a traitor to his party; and if he does not know his own history, perhaps, later on, we can give him a little of it.

Mr. Speaker, before dealing with the question of my loyalty, I want to say one word about the justice and the merits of the war. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has claimed that the titles of Great Britain to the Transvaal were so just that nobody could refuse to help England to enforce them. I listened very attentively to what the hon. gentleman said. He spoke of all the discoveries that have been made in South Africa by English discoverers; but when he came to say what was the just title of England to the Transvaal, he stopped. He did not say a single word of the convention of 1884, nor a single word of the convention of 1881, nor a single word of the first convention of 1852. If it was a sound argument to say that a country has a right to go and conquer and possess another country because some citizens of the conquering country have discovered that other country, how would that argument apply to the province of Quebec, or even to the whole of Canada? Was not Canada discovered by Frenchmen? Would it be a good argument to say that because of that fact, Canada is still French? If I said that to the hon. member for North Norfolk, no doubt he would reply to me that the Treaty of Paris of 1763 settled the whole dispute as to what power Canada belongs to. The same argument will apply to the Transvaal. It is true, some English discoverers discovered not only a part of the Transvaal, but a part of South Africa, but there were treaties which defined very clearly the powers of England before the war. Mr. Speaker, there has been some talk about suzerainty. If it was true that England had a right of suzerainty over the Transvaal, I would at once admit that England had a right to make the war she is now waging in South Africa. I do not say she has not that right. I take the same stand as the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), that the question is a very doubtful one, to say the least. But let us take the question of suzerainty. The hon. member for North Norfolk will admit that if there is no right of suzerainty on the part of Great Britain, this changes altogether the question of her right to make the war she is now waging against the Transvaal. Lord Derby and Lord Rosemead negotiated the treaty of 1884. In explaining that treaty, Earl Cadogan said:

That the object of the convention had been to abolish the suzerainty of the British Crown. The word 'suzerainty' is a very vague word, and I do not think it is capable of any precise legal definition. Whatever we may understand by it, I think it is not easy to define. But I apprehend, whether you call it a Protectorate or suzerainty, or the recognition of England as a paramount power, the fact is that a certain controlling power is retained when the State who exercises this suzerainty has a right to veto any negotiations into which the dependent State may enter with foreign powers.

The hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig), whose attention I would like to have for a moment, has said, in criticising the opinion given here by the hon. member for Labelle, that it is absurd to question the right or justice of this war. Will the hon. gentleman say that if England has no right of suzerainty over the Transvaal, the war is still just. If he does not, then he will be obliged to define what he understands by 'internal affairs.' That embraces the question of the franchise, which is not an international, but an internal affair; and by this very convention of 1884, the right of suzerainty was abandoned by England altogether. The only right—and I challenge contradiction on this point—left to England over the Transvaal by that convention was the right to veto in six months any treaty negotiated between the Transvaal and a foreign power, except the Free Orange State. Nobody can contradict this, for it is borne out by the very words of Lord Derby and Lord Cadogan uttered by them in the House of Lords.

Let me say one word about equal rights. Of course I admit that the Uitlanders are not treated as they ought to be, but I do not admit the contention of the hon. member for North Norfolk that the Boers are a semi-civilized people, and that England had the right to impose on them her own rule, even if the Boers did not want to accept it. Of course it would be better for the Boers to accept British institutions, for, these institutions are certainly the best in the world, and for my part I would be glad to see them flourish in South Africa as they do in England and in Canada to-day. But where is the right for England to impose these institutions on these people, if they do not want them, and to seek to impose them on the Transvaal, because England is the strongest nation. It would be better for the Boers that they should enjoy the British institutions; I admit, of course, that it would be better for the sheep to eat with the lions, but when the lions eat the sheep, they can only do so by brute force, and England has no right to impose her British institutions on the Transvaal if the Transvaal does not want to accept them.

If any hon. member will show me that England has a right of suzerainty over these people, I will admit that I am wrong. If England has so plainly the right on her

Mr. MONET.

side in waging this war on South Africa, why did she not accept the tribunal of arbitration offered her? It seems to me that the frontiers of Venezuela would have been decided on the battlefield, if England had no other policy than the one she is acting on to-day with regard to the Transvaal. But the United States interfered, and England recognized that the United States were a lion too, and a big people who might be terrible to meet on the battlefield, and thought it prudent to settle the matter by a tribunal of arbitration. Is it then to be said that because the Transvaal is a small country, and because, as the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) has said, there are some rich diamond mines there and wealthy agricultural districts, England has the right to claim suzerainty and make war on these people. If England has not the right of suzerainty, will the hon. member for East Durham say that this is a just war?

Mr. CRAIG. I would ask the hon. gentleman who started the war?

Mr. MONET. I am sure that it was the Boers who fired the first shot, and who were the first to cross the frontiers, and who sent to England a rather ridiculous ultimatum, one which a big, strong nation would never have sent. But I am not going here to plead the case of the Transvaal, I am simply trying to ascertain whether England was right in waging this war as is urged by those who claim that she was. I am not the only one who doubts the justice of this war, and I do not question it because I am a French Canadian or a Catholic. Let me read to you an extract from a memorial forwarded to the British government, through Sir Alfred Milner, by the representatives of the Dutch Reform Church in South Africa:

As men holding the responsible position of members of the Moderamen of the Dutch Reform Church in South Africa, as preachers of the Gospel of peace, as representing a church one in creed, language, membership, blood relationship with the burghers of the Transvaal, as loyal subjects of our beloved Queen, we desire to urge upon your Excellency to leave nothing undone which may tend to avert active hostilities. We shudder to think of the consequences which are sure to follow such an eventuality. The race feeling between the Dutch and English will be intensified, the breach between the two sections of our South African community would become irreparable, the allegiance of Her Majesty's loyal Dutch subjects would sustain the severest shock it has ever been subjected to and hope of a United States Africa would be gone for ever.

Sir, this is the opinion of the Reform Church of South Africa sent to the British government through Sir Alfred Milner, and it is a strong one.

Coming back to the question of my loyalty, I have told you that I have been charged with disloyalty to my party. I do not mind much about that. I do not say

that I am altogether insensible to what people think of me, but I say that I do not mind it so much as I would if I had taken the opposite point of view. But hon. gentlemen opposite and the Conservative press have charged me with disloyalty to my country for two reasons. First, because I said in my letter to *La Patrie* of the 20th December, 1899, that my ideal was to see Canada an independent nation in the future. I was also charged with disloyalty to Great Britain, because I said I would oppose any contribution by this country to the foreign wars of Great Britain. I am sorry that the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) is not in his seat. He is the one who has made the most noise because I said that I did not want to spend money in the wars of the British Empire as long as the empire does not need it. The law is fixed. I do not suppose we shall ever attempt to change it. But, perhaps, while we say we will not create a precedent, we may go on doing the thing anyhow. But who are the men who framed the law fixing the relations of Canada with Great Britain? Were they not the leaders of the Conservative party? That point was settled under the Militia Act of 1868. And what has the Conservative party done to oblige Canada to contribute to foreign wars more than I have said I would be ready to do? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) sat in the cabinet from 1885 to 1896. Did he do anything during that time to force Canada to spend a single cent toward a foreign war? Did he ever attempt to change the law, which has been rightly interpreted by the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig). But, a great deal is said against the member for Laprairie and Napierville, because he declares himself opposed to do more than they have done themselves he is declared to be disloyal to Great Britain. Where is the logic of these gentlemen? They have never done anything, but because I am sincere enough to say what I think, because I am frank enough to have my own plain talk in the matter, I am disloyal. I am a kind of traitor to Great Britain. There were eight wars in which Great Britain was engaged during the time which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) was Minister of Finance. Miss Loyalty went to him and said: Will you not contribute a little to the war with China, to the war with Afghanistan, to the war in the Soudan. The hon. gentleman did not say what the member for Laprairie said. No, but he did nothing and he did not answer at all. What then, is the difference practically, between the hon. gentleman and myself? For my part, I do not see any. Now, because I have said that I would like to see Canada become later on, an independent nation, I am declared to be a disloyal man. The very man who said that, sat for ten years, I believe, in this House beside the late hon. Mr. Chapleau, who was declared, and very properly, by *La Presse* the other day, to be

one of the greatest of French Canadians. Can the hon. gentleman recollect that not once but many times the late Mr. Chapleau declared that he hoped that, later on, Canada would be an independent nation. The ex-Minister of Finance says that I have taken these lessons of independence from the right hon. gentleman who leads the government. That is true, but it is not the whole truth. I admired the leader of the government when he said that Canada would have to be detached from Great Britain by and by, as the ripe fruit is detached from the tree. But, it is not from him alone that I have learned this lesson, but from my own instincts and nature. It seems to me that a man who is worthy of the name should prefer to be free rather than a slave. I do not say we are slaves within the British Empire, but I do say we are not free. For instance, we have not the right to negotiate our own treaties. Is that not an important right? It is that right which is in question now between Great Britain and the Transvaal. In what way do I say that I wish Canada to be an independent nation. Do I say that I wish this independence to come by war, illegally and unconstitutionally? This is what I said:

I am a Canadian, and my ideal is to see Canadian rank amongst independent nations—

When? Did I say that I believed that we were now ready for it? I do not believe so. I do not believe that we are ripe for independence. We are not rich enough. But it is not the best means to enrich the country to spend two or three millions every time there is a war between England and another country.

--as soon as the vitality of its people, the immensity of its natural resources will have sufficiently developed our country.

This is called treason. Has freedom of thought been abolished in this country that one is not allowed to say that he wishes Canada to be independent later on? I have only one way of explaining—not justifying but explaining—the feelings of gentlemen who charge me with disloyalty on this account. You know, Mr. Speaker, that the galley slave who has had a ball chained to his leg, even though he may become a free man, the walk that he has learned in slavery always betrays him. He is always known to have been a galley slave. The ex-Minister of Finance, who has been taught in the school of Sir Allan McNab, who, for a portion of his life, fought against responsible government, will always be willing to remain a colonist, but I am not. I am ready to wait for the moment when Providence shall fit us for independence, but, in the meantime, I am ready to do all I can to secure that most sacred right, the same for a nation as for an individual, freedom and liberty.

Mr. DAVIN moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 12.20 a.m. Wednesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, February 14, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

BROCKVILLE AND WEST HURON ELECTIONS.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax). In accordance with the notice I gave yesterday, I desire to move :

That the poll-books, voters' lists and all other papers, letters, documents and memoranda relating to the last election for the electoral district of Brockville and the last election for the electoral district of the west riding of the county of Huron, which were referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections during the last session of this House, and also all proceedings and evidence had, given, taken or received by or before the said Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections during the last session of this House respecting the matters aforesaid, be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections appointed during the present session of this House for further consideration, and for the purpose of inquiring into and investigating the conduct of the respective returning officers and of the several deputy returning and other officers at and in connection with the said several elections respectively.

It will be remembered that, at the last session of the House an order was made referring the papers in connection with these two elections to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, and on the 9th of August, 1899, that committee presented their third report, which is as follows :—

Your committee, under the order of reference made on the 9th day of July, 1899, have partially inquired into and investigated the conduct of the returning officer and of certain of the deputy returning officers at the last election for the electoral district of the west riding of the county of Huron.

That in so doing they have heard the testimony of ninety-nine witnesses, and have submitted interrogatories for the examination by the county court judge of the county of Huron of four witnesses; that twenty-five sittings have been held for the purpose of taking evidence, covering seventeen days and comprising seventeen morning sessions and eight afternoon sessions—

Mr. MONET.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I wish to know if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) is in order in bringing forward this matter as he does. He has not given notice of motion.

Mr. FOSTER. Oh, yes.

Mr. McMULLEN. I do not think so.

Mr. BORDEN. I gave notice yesterday, when the Orders of the Day were called.

Mr. McMULLEN. There is no notice on the Order paper that the hon. gentleman would bring forward this motion, and I contend that it is not a subject that can be brought forward on the Orders of the Day being called. I desire your ruling on that point.

Mr. SPEAKER. Perhaps the hon. member for North Wellington will allow the hon. member for Halifax to complete his statement.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax), (reading)—

—that the committee determined to hold the last session for the examination of witnesses on Monday, the 7th day of August, 1899, and for that reason nine witnesses then in attendance for the purpose of giving evidence were discharged without examination; twelve witnesses also failed to attend, and the attendance of three was countermanded. The proceedings of the committee being thus incomplete, the committee do not feel warranted in reporting any conclusions.

Your committee therefore report herewith the evidence given by the witnesses who were examined that the House may take such action thereon and as to continuing and completing the inquiry and investigation as may be deemed best, and they recommend that the said evidence and exhibits be printed for the use of the members of the House.

It is apparent from the report of the committee that the investigation is still uncompleted, that a number of witnesses who were in attendance were not examined, because the committee, having fixed its last meeting for the 7th of August, could not continue, and very shortly afterwards parliament was prorogued. In fact, the report of the committee states that the investigation is still incomplete and that the proceedings are reported to the House to take further action. As to the point that has been suggested by the hon. member for North Wellington, I may say that this matter was dealt with last year as a matter of privilege, and was given precedence on that account, and on that account alone. I do not suppose it has ceased in the meantime to be a matter of privilege. Referring to Sir John Bourinot's work on Parliamentary Procedure and Practice, on page 378, he says :

The precedents go to show that the Canadian House of Commons, in its desire to deal promptly with all questions affecting its members, has generally waived the strict rules which govern matters of privilege, properly speaking, and given every possible facility for inquiry thereon.

I also observe, on the same page :

When a debate on a question of privilege has been adjourned until a future day, priority will still be given to it.

And at page 377 :

It is the practice to give questions of privilege the precedence over other matters when they appear among the notices of motions.

I therefore submit that I am in order in making a motion on this notice. Certainly, I am dealing with the matter in exactly the same way as it was dealt with last year.

Mr. SPEAKER. In dealing with the objection taken by the hon. member for North Wellington, I think it only fair to this House that, instead of expressing my own opinion, I should quote the opinion of a Speaker of longer experience. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) has correctly quoted from pages 377 and 378 of Sir John Bourinot's book. But I draw his attention to page 379 of the same book, where it is distinctly stated :

The Speakers of the English Commons have decided that 'in order to entitle a question of privilege to precedence over the Orders of the Day, it should be some subject which has recently arisen, and which clearly involves the privileges of the House and calls for its immediate interposition.'

I recall that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden), in making his statement, mentioned that this matter was before parliament at its last session incomplete. It can scarcely, then, I think, come within the term 'a subject which has recently arisen.' Speaker White, in the London election case in 1892, in a similar case to this, ruled that a member had no right to proceed by taking precedence before the Orders of the Day. In accordance with these two expressed views, I think it my duty to protect the privileges of the House by requiring the ordinary two days' notice.

FREIGHT RATES ON RAILWAYS.

Mr. REID moved for leave to introduce a Bill (No. 16) to regulate freight and passenger rates on railways. He said: This is just the same Bill as the one I introduced two years ago. Its purpose is to provide for the appointment of a commission with power to regulate freight and passenger rates on railways, and to settle differences that may arise between the railways and individuals. Such cases are arising in this country which call for remedy, and as the law now stands it is very difficult for the aggrieved persons to get justice. I read an editorial in the *Toronto Globe* of Monday last, showing the great wrong that is now being done to the people by the action of the Standard Oil Company and the railways. A rebate is given to this company by which other persons in the same business are working at a

great disadvantage. I think if this Bill were passed it would overcome difficulties of this kind. When the Bill comes up for the second reading I shall be prepared to explain it more fully.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

SEDUCTION AND ABDUCTION.

Mr. CHARLTON moved for leave to introduce a Bill (No. 17) to amend the Criminal Code of 1892, so as to make more effectual provision for the punishment of seduction and abduction. He said: I may say, in a word, that this is the same Bill that I introduced last session, and which was passed by this House but failed to receive the assent of the Senate. In addition to the provision of the Bill of last session raising the age of consent to 18 years, it has an additional provision, making seduction and illicit intercourse between a step-son and a step-mother, and between a step-father and a step-daughter, subject to the same penalties as seduction under clause 181 of the Criminal Code.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

DOMINION LANDS ACT AMENDMENT.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton) moved for leave to introduce a Bill (No. 18) to amend the Dominion Lands Act. He said: I may perhaps explain the provisions of the Act now as well as at a later stage. The first clause deals with the authority to grant and issue patents in cases where the settler, who may have earned the patent, has died without having received it. A few cases have occurred in which the settlers have been of foreign extraction, and their legal representatives are subjects of foreign countries; in such cases it has been impossible to tell what disposition to make of the lands. This clause will authorize a patent to be granted to the legal representative, although not a British subject.

As to section 2, an amendment to the Dominion Lands Act was made two years ago which, in case of second homesteads, permitted the homesteader to perform the residence duties, when he had formerly had a first homestead, by residing upon his first homestead. The object was to enable the settler to earn his patent for his second homestead without moving from his permanent residence and going to another place, and putting up temporary buildings and living there for a few months. There was no object in compelling that to be done. Some cases have occurred of persons who have second homesteads and who were residing, not upon the first homestead, but upon other land which they had purchased. There does not seem to be any reason for making a distinction between them and

other cases, and this clause will enable such a person to earn a patent by his residence upon the land which he may have purchased.

Section 3 relates to the case of issuing a patent where the government has a lien upon the land.

Section 4 is for the purpose of dealing with the case of a settler who may volunteer for military service, particularly for military service in South Africa, and to allow the time during which he has served in the body in which he may have enrolled himself, to count as residence upon his homestead just as if he had remained a resident upon his farm.

Section 5 is for the purpose of enabling a patent to be issued to such homesteader in case he is unable through illness resulting from military service to perform his residence duties.

Section 6 is for the purpose of enabling the department to deal with some cases where buildings upon a homestead have been destroyed by fire or other cause out of the control of the person owning the buildings. There have been some cases where such persons have applied to be permitted to leave their homesteads in order to earn sufficient money to enable them to go back and perform their settlement duties. With these explanations, I beg to move for leave to introduce this Bill.

Mr. DAVIN. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman whether the third clause will meet the case of those persons that have been brought to his attention, and who have been refused their homesteads in consequence of the seed grain liens?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. No, this Bill does not affect the case of seed grain at all.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE.

Mr. DAVIN moved for leave to introduce a Bill (No. 19) to amend the Mounted Police Act, 1894. He said: This Bill consists of one clause. The clause was in the Bill I have already introduced, but on looking it over I found it was inappropriately in that Bill, and it is better to have a Bill amending the Police Act of 1894. This Bill deals with promotion from the ranks.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CARRIAGE OF GRAIN BETWEEN CANADIAN PORTS BY AMERICAN VESSELS.

Mr. BENNETT asked:

Under the permission given by the government of Canada to that end, how many bushels of grain, if any, were carried between Canadian ports

Mr. SIFTON.

by American registered vessels during the year 1899? What were the names of the vessels carrying such grain, if any? What were the points between which said vessels sailed, and the number of bushels carried by each of said vessels?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). As soon as this question appeared on the paper, and also No. 2, standing in the name of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett), communication was had with the ports. The answers have not yet been received, and I will have to ask the hon. gentleman to allow the questions to stand until another occasion. I will intimate to him, at the earliest possible moment, when I can give the information he seeks.

VOTERS' LISTS FOR VANCOUVER AND VICTORIA CITY DISTRICTS.

Mr. McINNES asked:

1. Is the voters' list for Vancouver district, British Columbia, prepared? If not, what is the cause of the delay?

2. Is the voters' list for Victoria City district, British Columbia, completed? If so, when was it completed and printed?

3. When will the voters' list for Vancouver district be ready?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The list for Vancouver district has been received only lately. It will be printed as soon as the printing, immediately required for the session, is completed, probably within a few weeks. The list for Victoria has been received and printed and was distributed in September last.

PAYMENTS ON ACCOUNT OF SUPER-ANNUATION.

Mr. MARCOTTE (by Mr. Bergeron) asked:

1. What is the additional amount granted last year, as a pension fund, to public officials placed on the retired list?

2. Was Monsieur Legris, the member for Mas-kinongé, consulted as to the said increase, or as to the expediency of some of these payments?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). 1. The amount paid for superannuation during the fiscal year 1898-9 was \$325,560.47; during the fiscal year 1897-8 the amount was \$340,185.67. There was, therefore, no additional amount paid last year, but a reduction of \$14,625.20. 2. The department or Minister of Finance have had no communication with Monsieur Legris on the subject referred to.

IMPROVEMENT OF TRANSPORTATION—SPEECH OF POSTMASTER GENERAL AT COLLINGWOOD.

Mr. DAVIN asked:

Whether the Postmaster General is correctly reported as having spoken as follows in Collingwood:—

'We felt,' he said, 'that something should be done towards the improvement of transportation accommodation to the seaboard. We tore up old contracts and recast the whole situation, thus giving a uniform depth of fourteen feet.'

If correctly reported, is the statement historical?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mulock). The extract, though not in the precise words, is a substantially correct statement of the Postmaster General, made at Collingwood, to the effect that, when the present government took office, the condition of the works on the St. Lawrence canals, and the slow progress being made under the then existing contracts, indicated that the canals would not be completed for several years; and accordingly that the Minister of Railways and Canals cancelled or modified the contracts, so as to secure the completion of the canals, to a depth of fourteen feet, within a much shorter period, namely, about two years.

CLAIM OF MR. WILLIAM BEAUMONT.

Mr. McINNES asked:

1. Has Mr. William Beaumont, of Cowichan district, filed a claim with the Postmaster General for salary due him as postmaster at Maple Bay at the time British Columbia entered confederation?

2. Did the Postmaster General refer the matter to the government of British Columbia?

3. What reply, if any, has been received from the government of British Columbia regarding the matter?

4. Has the government of British Columbia, or any member thereof, recommended that the said claim be paid?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mulock). 1. Yes. 2. No, but Mr. Beaumont was informed by the secretary of the Post Office Department that the claim would have to be presented through the local government. 3. A minute of the Executive Council of British Columbia, approved by the Lieutenant Governor of that province, on the 27th of November, 1899, has been received referring the claim to the Postmaster General for consideration. 4. No recommendation was made by the British Columbia government, or any member thereof, that the claim be paid. In the minute above referred to, the Provincial Secretary of British Columbia reported that he was not in a position to express an opinion respecting the equity of the claim.

Mr. FOSTER. Would the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock) allow me one question? It seems peculiar as to why an application had to be made through the local government. Was there any peculiarity in the case which made that necessary?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mulock). Just giving the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) my own recollection, it is that when the claim came to my department I made some little inquiry and found that it

was a claim against the province of British Columbia prior to confederation, and it had to be considered as a claim against confederation.

Mr. FOSTER. I wondered whether it was a late or an old case.

YUKON TERRITORY—MR. CHARLESON.

Mr. BERGERON asked:

1. Has Mr. Charleson returned from Dawson?
2. Has he reported on the telegraph construction work and rendered full and complete accounts for the same?

3. Is he still in Ottawa? If not, when did he leave Ottawa, and for what destination did he depart?

4. What are the names of the men employed by him from Bennett to Dawson? What is the nationality of each man?

5. What wages and allowances were given to the men per day?

6. How long were they employed?

7. Did the men strike for further pay? If so, when, and what was done?

8. Who supplied the poles for the wire? At what price and on what terms?

9. Were the standing trees en route used for stringing the wires? If so, for what distance, approximately, in comparison with the distance where poles were used?

10. Did the government pay for poles distributed along the route and not used? If so, how many poles not used did the government pay for?

11. Are the linemen employed at Dawson, Ogilvie, Selwyn, Selkirk, Five Fingers, Lower Le-Barge and Tagish, British subjects? If not, to what nationality do they belong?

12. Were the following men employed: William McNamara, Oly Martinson, Carter, Laurity Oleson, Brown and S. E. Chambers? If so, at what wages and in what capacity?

13. How many linemen are employed?

14. What was the name of the contractor for the supply of poles, and what was the name of the sub-contractor?

15. Where does the sub-contractor reside?

16. Did the government charter the SS. 'W. S. Stratton'? If so, from whom, and on what terms?

17. What was the tonnage of the 'W. S. Stratton'?

18. Who was her master? Was he a British subject when engaged or acting as master?

19. How much was paid for the use of this boat?

20. What use was made of the 'W. S. Stratton'?

21. Were scows used for supplies?

22. What boat, other than scows, was used for supplies?

23. How many scows were used, and on what terms?

24. How much money was charged or paid for transportation by water other than by the steamer 'Stratton'?

25. How much of the time during construction was Mr. Charleson actually present with the construction party?

26. Did the government buy or charter the 'Lillie C.' above White Horse? If so, from whom and on what terms? What has become of this boat? If sold or disposed of, on what terms and to whom?

27. What arrangement was made for supplies to the men?

28. Is the government aware of the price charged to the men for boots, tobacco, pipes, linens, underwear, overalls, &c.? Were middlemen acting in this regard, or did the government directly deal with the men? If middlemen were acting, what arrangement was made by the government, if any, to protect the men from imposition?

29. What arrangement, if any, was made with the men engaged at Bennett respecting pay for their time when returning from Dawson?

30. What amount of money has already been paid for the telegraph line under Mr. Charleson's charge, and how much is now due, as per accounts rendered and certified?

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS** (Mr. Tarte). Would the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) be good enough to make a motion, and I will have the papers prepared as soon as possible? He will see that I cannot possibly answer a question of this size. I will prepare the papers as soon as possible.

YUKON TERRITORY—INQUIRY BY MR. OGILVIE.

Sir **CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER** (by Mr. Montague) asked:

Has the government, or any department or any official thereof, taken action upon any of the following matters arising out of the inquiry into Yukon affairs conducted by William Ogilvie, Esq., in 1899:—

- (a) Payment of expenses of witnesses.
 - (b) The 'pass' system.
 - (c) The conduct of Villeneuve.
 - (d) The opening and closing of creeks, or other mining districts or areas.
 - (e) The leasing or disposal of public lands (un-surveyed).
 - (f) The dealing with and disposal of placer grants by confidential instructions and confidential correspondence.
 - (g) The action of Carbeno and other paid officials in staking claims on Dominion Creek, and the Walsh agreement for staking of claims.
 - (h) Payment to officials for overtime work by private parties.
 - (i) Compensating parties who buy void claims, as in case of Nos. 18 and 26 below on Dominion Creek.
 - (j) Extension of time in representation of claims by officials.
 - (k) The condition of the official books and records (see p. 53, Yukon Evidence).
 - (l) Granting time for payment of royalties.
 - (m) Obtaining opinions from judges, as in the case of Hon. Mr. Justice Maguire (pp. 246, 249, Yukon Evidence).
1. If yes, what action?
 2. If no, upon what matters arising out of the inquiry has any action been taken or direction given?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). (a) The department authorized the payment of witnesses. (b) The department took no action in respect to what is called the 'pass system,' because the practice was discontinued as soon as it came to the commissioner's knowledge and before the inquiry took place. (c) Villeneuve was a dog-driver in the employ of the police. He was not in the employ of the government when the facts referred to were disclosed, and no

Mr. **BERGERON**.

action was, therefore, taken in regard to him. (d) The department approved of the action of the commissioner of the Yukon Territory in closing Dominion Creek. This is the only case of the closing of a creek that is of record in the department. (e) The action of the department in respect to the leasing and selling of public lands in the Yukon Territory can be ascertained by moving for the proper return. (f) It is not known to what this clause of the question refers. If it has reference to any matter touched upon in the evidence taken at the inquiry held by the commissioner it will be answered if a reference to the evidence is given. (g) No action has been taken in these cases. (h) No action has been taken by the department in connection with the payment of officials for overtime by private parties, because the practice was discontinued by the commissioner as soon as it came to his knowledge and before the formal inquiry was held. (i) The department has endeavoured in all cases where it has been proved that the person holding a claim had been deprived of the same through an error of a clerk in the mining recorder's office, to admit of such person acquiring another claim in lieu thereof. (j) No action has been taken. (k) The present gold commissioner on taking office gave prompt attention to the improving of the system of keeping the records and the official books. (l) Action was taken by the local officials to collect arrears of royalty. (m) No action was called for, and accordingly none was taken. A gold commissioner was placed in office who possesses the legal qualifications necessary to enable him to decide matters in dispute. 1. The answer to this question has been given in the replies to the various clauses of the preceding part of the question. 2. If further information is desired it will be necessary to draw attention to the particular matters upon which such further information is sought.

YUKON—WHITE HORSE RAPIDS—GRANT OF LANDS OR MINERALS.

Mr. **PRIOR** asked:

Has any grant or have any grants of land, or minerals, or both, adjacent to the White Horse Rapids, Yukon Territory, been made by the government to any individual or company within the last six months?

If so, what were the boundaries and what was the area of said grant or grants?

To whom issued?

Are there any conditions attached to same? If so, of what nature?

Do said grant or grants, if any, include the precious and baser metals contained therein?

Were applications received from one or more persons for same? If so, what were their names and where did they reside?

Were offers by tender called for?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). The hon. gentleman, I think, will admit that this is hardly information which I could give in answer to a question,

and I will have to ask him to move for a return. I may say there have been dealing with lands and mines in that neighbourhood, but they are somewhat extensive and they can only be satisfactorily placed before the House by bringing down a return.

Mr. PRIOR. If the hon. gentleman looks at the Order paper he will see that I have moved for a return.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. If the hon. gentleman calls attention to it, I will have the return made at once.

MILITIA IN YUKON DISTRICT.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What number of militia are now stationed in the Yukon district, and how are they distributed?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. 88 officers, N. C. O.'s and men are stationed in the Yukon district (6 officers and 82 N. C. O.'s and men). 2. 6 officers and 72 N. C. O.'s and men are stationed at Dawson and 1 N. C. O. and 10 men are stationed at Selkirk.

Composition of the force in the Yukon :

	Officers.	N.-C. O. and men.
Royal Canadian Dragoons....	1	5
Royal C. Arty., Fld. Division.		3
Royal Canadian Arty. Garrison Division		15
Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry..	3	59
Active Militia	2	—
Total	6	82

THE ELEVATOR COMMISSION.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

When will the evidence taken before the Elevator Commission be laid on the Table ?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). The evidence taken before the Elevator Commission will be laid on the Table of the House as soon as the report and evidence are received from the commission and sufficient time has elapsed thereafter to have it copied.

CONSTRUCTION OF LEE-ENFIELD RIFLE.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Has the attention of the Hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence been called to serious charges made in several well-known English newspapers against the construction of the Lee-Enfield rifle, now used in the British army and also by the Canadian militia, viz.:

(a) That it is undersighted at all ranges, the amount varying from 30 to 100 yards according to the full or fine sight taken by the soldier;

(b) That it throws constantly to the right, owing to the foresight being set too much to the left, thus making the rifle liable at a long range to be practically useless;

(c) That there is no allowance for 'drift' with the long range sights.

2. Have any complaints of this nature been received by the Minister from either officers or men of the militia who are considered to be competent judges of such matters ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Yes. 2. No formal complaints have been made; but a confidential report has been recently made by the superintendent of the government cartridge factory, and has been forwarded to the High Commissioner at London, to be submitted to the War Office.

NEW BRUNSWICK ELECTORAL LISTS.

Mr. McINERNEY asked :

1. From what counties or electoral districts in New Brunswick have the electoral lists, revised in the autumn of 1899, been received by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery ?

2. Are such lists being printed; if not, when will they be printed ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The lists from the province of New Brunswick which have been received so far are, Charlotte, Kent, Northumberland, Restigouche, Queen's and Sunbury, St. John City, St. John County, Westmoreland. They are being printed at this moment.

DATES OF LOBSTER FISHING.

Mr. McINERNEY asked :

On what dates does the lobster fishing season legally begin and end in the different parts of Canada in the year 1900 ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The answer to this question involves reading the regulations. 1. On and along that part of the coast or the waters thereof, of the province of New Brunswick, embraced and included within the county of Charlotte, and also on and along that part of the coast or the waters thereof, of the province of Nova Scotia, embraced and included within the counties of Yarmouth, Shelburne, Queen's, Lunenburg and that part of the county of Halifax, west of a line running S.S.E. from St. George's Island, Halifax Harbour, Nova Scotia, and coinciding with the fairway buoys in the entrance of the said harbour, lobster fishing legally begins on the 15th December, and ends at midnight of the 30th May then next following.

2. In any part of the Bay of Fundy, or on any part of the coast or waters thereof, inside of a line drawn from the division line of the counties of Charlotte and St. John, near Point Lepreau, running outside of Brier Island, to the boundary line between the counties of Yarmouth and Digby, in the province of Nova Scotia, lobster fishing legally begins on the 15th January and ends at midnight of the 29th of June.

3. On and along that part of the coast of the province of Nova Scotia or the waters

thereof, from the aforesaid line, running S.S.E. from St. George's Island, Halifax Harbour, Nova Scotia, and coinciding with the fairway buoys in the entrance of the said harbour, extending eastwardly and following the coast line as far as Red Point, between Martin Point and Point Michaux, in the Island of Cape Breton, and including Chedabucto Bay and St. Peter's Bay, and the coasts and waters of all the islands lying in and adjacent to these bays, and including the coasts and waters of the Gut of Canso, as far as a line passing from Flat Point in Inverness County, to the lighthouse in Antigonish County, opposite, lobster fishing legally begins on the 1st April, and ends at midnight of the 30th June.

4. On and along that part of the coast of Cape Breton Island, in the province of Nova Scotia, or the waters thereof, from Red Point, between Martin Point and Point Michaux, in the Island of Cape Breton, and extending to and around Cape North, as far as and including Cape St. Lawrence; also the coasts and waters of all the islands known as the Magdalen Islands, including Bird Rocks and Bryon Island; also the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from the Bay of Blanc Sablon, in the province of Quebec, westward to the head of tide, embracing the coasts and waters of all the islands adjacent to the said shore, and including the Island of Anticosti, lobster fishing legally begins on 1st May and ends at midnight of the 31st July.

5. Along the coasts and in the waters of Northumberland Strait, between a line on the north-west, drawn from Chockfish River, in New Brunswick, to West Point in Prince Edward Island, and a line on the south-east drawn from Indian Point, near Cape Tormentine, in New Brunswick, to Cape Traverse, in Prince Edward Island, lobster fishing legally begins on the 25th May and ends at midnight of the 10th August.

6. In any part of Canada or the coasts or waters thereof not embraced within the limits described in the foregoing regulations, lobster fishing legally begins on the 20th April and ends at midnight of the 10th July.

LAND GRANTS TO RAILWAYS IN MANITOBA AND THE N.W.T.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

What is the name of the different railroad companies in Manitoba and the North-west Territories that have received land grants by way of subsidies? What amount did each company receive per mile of road to be constructed? What is the total amount of land reserved for each company, how much has been earned by each company, and how much patented? What is the total amount of lands granted to all companies in Manitoba and the Territories?

Mr. DAVIN. I will ask the government to let this question stand. There seems to be some mistake, for I do not think it is my question.

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

BLANKETS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN CONTINGENTS.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

1. How many blankets were furnished to each man who left for Africa, in both contingents?
2. If not furnished by government according to last answer by Minister of Militia, from supplies in store, when were the blankets made and from whom bought?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Two blankets per man were issued to the first contingent, with a reserve of 400 placed on board ship, and four blankets per man were issued to the second contingent. No reserve for second contingent. 2. All the above blankets were issued from military store stock.

RIFLE RANGE AT MONTREAL.

Mr. QUINN asked :

Is it the intention of the government to provide a rifle range for the city of Montreal? If so, when and where? If not, why not?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Yes. 2. During the coming spring. The government has several sites under consideration in the immediate vicinity of the city of Montreal.

LIGHTS ON SAVAGE BAY, P.E.I.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's, P.E.I.) asked :

1. Upon whose advice were spar lights erected on Savage Island, Cascumpec Bay, P.E.I., and at what cost?
2. By whose advice have they now been removed?
3. How many times were the spar lights removed from place to place and by whom, and at what cost?
4. Are they now in a satisfactory position and how long are they likely to remain where they are?
5. At whose instance was Sandy Island light hauled over the channel to its present position?
6. By whom, and for what reason and at what cost?
7. The names of those employed in connection with the removal, and amounts paid to each?
8. Amount paid for material, and to whom?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. Upon the advice of the agent of this department for Prince Edward Island, who, on the 26th of May, 1897, examined the channel in company with the harbour master, Mr. John McKay, Pilot Richards and Captain John Champion. Two range light masts formerly used at Darnley were utilized. The cost of removal was \$52.90. 2. Upon the advice of the agent, who reported that the channel had changed. 3. They were moved from Savage Island to the South Sand Heads on 23rd September, 1899, where one of them was set up in range with the lighthouse; on the 20th October they were moved to a new alignment to suit change

in the channel. The removals were made by Mr. M. Walsh, at a cost of \$54.57. 4. Yes. Until a heavy storm makes another change in the bar outside the harbour. Cascumpec, like all other harbours on the north coast of Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, has a sand bar stretching along the coast outside the entrance, with a more or less defined channel through the bar. All these channels are subject to alteration by storm, and consequently it is only possible to maintain range lights of a temporary character that admit of easy removal. 5. At the instance of the chief engineer of this department, after a personal inspection; and with the approval of Mr. McLellan, M.P.; Hon. B. Rogers and the provincial agent. 6. The removal was made under the supervision of Mr. M. Walsh, foreman permanently employed in the agency of this department, who employed local labour. The reason for removal was that the former site was in danger of being washed away by the sea, and it was cheaper to remove the lighthouse than to protect the old site, while in its new position it is better located for use as a coast light. The total cost of removal, including the building of a new foundation, was \$585.37. 7. James Graves, \$10.95; Thos. Graves, \$7.70; Wm. O'Mara, \$1.40; John T. Profit, \$8.45; teamsters paid through B. Rogers, \$47; labourers paid through B. Rogers, \$149.25; Wm. Clark, \$50.60; Jas. C. Tuplin and assistant, \$43; Jas. Gard, \$9.20; Rod. Campbell, \$18.14; Peter Gillis, \$5.62; Geo. Oulton, \$8.75; total, \$360.06. Mr. Walsh, foreman, is paid an annual salary, and his work was not charged against the job. 8. B. Rogers, \$193.23; Geo. Gard, \$5.27; total, \$198.50. There remains sums paid for freight and board, &c., not classified above, \$26.81; making total cost of work as in answer No. 6, \$585.37.

FENIAN INVASION MEDALS.

Mr. CASEY (by Mr. Landerkin) asked :

1. How many volunteers (approximately) were called out in the autumn of 1865 in anticipation of the Fenian invasion ?
2. How many (approximately) on March 8 and 9, 1866 ?
3. How many (approximately) on June 1, 1866 ?
4. How many deputations, on what dates, have waited on the government asking for recognition for volunteers who served in the Fenian troubles ?
5. How many petitions, and when, to the same effect ?
6. When, and by what minister, were first steps taken to meet these requests ?
7. What was the date of asking of Queen's approval for grant of medals ?
8. What was the date and amount of appropriation for same purpose ?
9. What was the total number of applications for medals passed by the board ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. 500 volunteers were called out in the fall of 1865, and were stationed at Windsor, Sarnia, Niagara and Prescott. 2. 10,000 volunteers were called out on the 8th March, 1866, and in a few

days the number was increased to 14,000 men. This force was reduced to 10,600 by militia order of the 26th March, 1866. 3. 14,000 men were called out on the 31st May, 1866, and by the 3rd June, 1866, this force was increased to 20,000 men at least. These three answers apply to the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and do not include the maritime provinces, for which we have not been able to get the figures. 4. There are no records of the deputations which waited on the government, in this department, but there were deputations in the fall of 1896 and early in 1897. 5. In September, 1886, the first petition, largely signed, was received in the department, and from that date numerous petitions were received until the granting of the medals. 6. By the present Minister of Militia and Defence on the 27th of May, 1897. 7. In June, 1897, and Her Majesty approved of a General Service Medal being granted for Fenian Raids and Red River expedition, in October, 1897. 8. In 1898-9, \$5,000 was placed in the estimates; in 1899-1900, \$10,000 was placed in the estimates. It is proposed to place a further sum in this year's estimates. 9. About 10,000 to date. There are a considerable number of late applications not yet passed.

GRAIN TRANSPORTATION TO THE SEABOARD.

Mr. BENNETT moved :

That, in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when a fixed and definite line of action should be undertaken on the question of the transportation of the grain and other commodities of the North-west Territories, Manitoba and the Western States, with a view to centreing the same to the greatest possible extent in Canadian channels.

He said : I make this motion with the view of evoking, as no doubt it will, a considerable amount of discussion from hon. gentlemen on both sides, considering the importance of the subject to be discussed. The question of the transportation of grain and other commodities, not only from the western part of this Dominion, but from the western part of the United States, has been a subject that has called for a great deal of comment and also the exercise of a governmental action in both countries. So much so, that in this Dominion we have expended upwards of \$70,000,000 already in the construction and equipment of the St. Lawrence canal system. To-day there are before the public in this province, and likewise in the whole Dominion, a number of propositions, each having its own features of commendation and its own supporters. And it is well for the House, in view of the huge expenditure made in the past, and the large expenditure that must of necessity be made in the future, that a halt should be called in order to arrive at what should or should not be the system to be followed for all time to come. Expenditures in respect of the St. Lawrence system

of canals have been made in this country without their evoking comment or discussion in this House or the public press, owing to the fact that political ends had of necessity, to a great extent, to be served in meeting the wishes of the different localities interested, and it is therefore a question worthy of consideration whether the time has not come when a fixed and definite line of action should be established.

In all business ventures, in all affairs of ordinary trade, one looks to the success of others in order to guide himself in the future, and in this connection we may fairly look to the example and influence of the people of the United States. There is to-day more than one proposition before the people of the United States on the question of the transportation of grain. First, they have demonstrated apparently that the proper or the natural system for the carriage of the grain and other commodities of the west is by means of a system of rail connection and waterways. When one refers to the reports of the great cities of Chicago and Buffalo, one is at once struck by the startling figures they present as to the great trade of both of those cities. A reference to the report of the Board of Trade of Buffalo will show that in the year 1898, there was handled at that port the immense quantity of upwards of 275,000,000 bushels of grain, and when one looks back, one finds that in a decade there has been an increase, startling in its figures, which would indicate that the public of the United States evidently view with favour the proposition of the carriage by water and by rail. It is well, therefore, to consider that, despite the number of railways from the west to the east, from Chicago and Duluth to points on the Atlantic seaboard, the American people have evidently viewed with favour the proposition of the carriage for a portion of the route by water and a further carriage by rail.

The next question for us to consider is whether or not the system known as the water carrying route of the St. Lawrence Canal should be looked upon as a competitor, and a fair competitor with the system of the United States. The trade of the United States, in the carriage of grain and other commodities from the west to the east, is a trade in which, had we in Canada superior facilities and advantage, we should be able not only to successfully compete with our neighbours, but take from them a large proportion of that trade. Sentiment may weigh in these matters, and other things being equal, no doubt the people of the United States would prefer to ship their goods through American channels; but if it should occur—and I contend it possibly might occur—that we should have superior facilities in Canada for the transportation of grain and other commodities from the west to the east, then we should not only be competi-

tors with the Americans in holding our own trade, but should encroach on theirs. From Duluth and other points on Lake Superior, as well as Chicago and Milwaukee, large quantities of grain are carried, aggregating millions upon millions of bushels. Why is it that in the past Canada has not been able to secure a large part of that trade? Not only have we been unable to do that, but we see, to our mortification and regret, that we have not been able to hold the trade from Canadian ports on Lake Superior; and the result is that despite the fact that the export from Port Arthur is upwards of 20,000,000 bushels, a large proportion has gone through Buffalo and other American ports to the seaboard. I contend that from the outset we have always been hampered to a great extent in connection with the Welland system. First of all, the depth of water was such that it was impossible to carry boats and other craft down that waterway of sufficient size to make it pay. Experience has demonstrated on the great lakes that the day for the small carriers has gone by, and the construction of vessels a few years ago, which were able to carry 25,000 to 40,000 bushels of grain, is to-day a thing of the past. Instead they have vessels carrying 250,000 bushels, and there is a craft being built in Cleveland that it is estimated will carry 300,000 bushels of grain. Looking back to the past, looking to the fact that the grain handled at Buffalo has reached 275,000,000 of bushels, and that through the St. Lawrence waterway there only passed about 15,000,000, we are brought face to face with the question: Why have we met with such failure after such a large expenditure of money? True, in this House both political parties acquiesced in the proposition that the deepening of the St. Lawrence waterway was absolutely necessary before any headway could be made.

And the administration which preceded this one made a proposition and entered into contracts for the deepening of these waterways from ten to fourteen feet of water. It was announced last fall that next year, that is the season of navigation of 1900, we might hope to see in full swing navigation on the St. Lawrence canal system, with a depth of fourteen feet of water throughout the system, and that by the large expenditure made in the enlargement of these works, we might hope to be in a position successfully to compete for the trade of the great west, trade that was now passing largely to American channels. But what did we see last session as a line of action indicated by the government? In the absence of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) the government last year laid before the House a proposition for the expenditure of three-quarters of a million dollars for Port Colborne; and when the plans were produced it was claimed that the intention of the government was not to stop at the

expenditure of three-quarters of a million to deepen the harbour, but to expend about five million dollars for certain purposes plainly set out by the plans. According to my recollection, and I think I am correct, the government proposed to deepen the harbour so as to accommodate the large vessels of the great lakes. I refer to vessels with a carrying capacity of a quarter of a million bushels and drawing twenty feet of water. But the proposition was not only that the harbour at Port Colborne should be deepened, but that the government should assume the responsibility of erecting at that point grain elevators for the transfer of grain from the larger to the smaller vessels, and in other ways to provide means to cope with the trade. So, while the government were making this proposition to deepen the St. Lawrence canals to fourteen feet of water, they were saying, in effect, that they had no confidence in this fourteen-foot system. With fourteen feet of water, vessels carrying from 60,000 bushels of grain might ply from Port Arthur, Chicago, or any other point on the upper lakes to Montreal. It was assumed by many that with this depth of water, we should be in a position to compete with the American system of transportation. But the government instead of depending on this, declares, by these plans for Port Colborne harbour, its intention to follow the system in Buffalo, that is, to bring large vessels carrying a quarter of a million bushels to Port Colborne, and then transfer the grain to vessels carrying 60,000 bushels, and have these carry the grain to Montreal. That was their proposition, and was based upon the belief that the carriage of grain in quarter-million-bushel vessels could be done more cheaply than in sixty-thousand-bushel vessels. What has experience demonstrated in the past? We have been able to carry through the Welland Canal vessels with a capacity of about 75,000 bushels of grain. These vessels went on to Kingston and Prescott where the grain was transferred to barges carrying fifteen to twenty thousand bushels, and by these carried to Montreal.

The result of that transportation system was that we were unable to draw to the ports of Montreal and Kingston a greater quantity than 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 bushels, when we saw to our regret about 275,000,000 bushels of grain entering the port of Buffalo, and, included in that, was a large proportion of Canadian grain that had been shipped from Port Arthur. The present proposition will mean that while we carry from Fort William through to Montreal a vessel carrying 60,000 bushels of grain on a 14-foot depth, we shall only be in a better position in that we shall avoid the elevating of the grain heretofore made at Kingston from the sixty-thousand bushel boat to the fifteen-thousand-bushel boat. It is to be regretted that, after this large expenditure of money—because the expendi-

ture on the St. Lawrence has been upward of \$75,000,000—we have not been able to attract to the Canadian channel more carrying trade than we have. The government by their action in asking for this large expenditure at Port Colborne admit that they do not believe, now that they have completed their fourteen-foot waterway to Montreal, that they will be able to compete with the Buffalo and great lakes or rail transportation. This is the effect of the proposition brought forward last session, which, doubtless, will be brought forward this session also, to expend the large sum of \$5,000,000 at Port Colborne in the erection of elevators, deepening the harbour and so on, so that the larger carrier of the great lakes may seek Port Colborne and there transfer to the sixty-thousand-bushel boat. That proposition means so large an expenditure of money that, I contend, the government should hesitate and think twice before they plunge into it, especially having regard to the fact that, even if you do accomplish all this you will not be by any large percentage in a better position than we are at the present time, when the sixty-thousand-bushel boat goes to Kingston and its cargo is transferred to the fifteen-thousand-bushel boat.

Not only is this proposition before the people of Canada under the auspices of the leader of the government, but, as was announced by the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) a year or so ago in the city of Halifax, the government, in view of the fact that they have become possessors of railway communication from the seaboard, from St. John and Halifax through to Montreal, have in contemplation the purchase of what is known as the Booth system of railway in order to be able to tap the Georgian Bay. The distance from Montreal to St. John, both by the Intercolonial Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway, it will be seen, is very great to be traversed by rail, and that if that system were to come into force, it has an active and lively competitor in the Grand Trunk Railway. I do not say anything in connection with that proposition by the government except that I believe that it would be a wiser act on the part of the government, if the road could be obtained at a reasonable price, than to expend these large sums in deepening the harbour of Port Colborne and providing these other works there.

In connection with the system of transportation by water, we have in Canada, and shall have for years to come, very serious drawbacks; and it is a matter for consideration whether the canal system in Canada can ever be made to pay. It is even asked, and, on the face of it, it is a reasonable question to ask, how it is that we in Canada are doing so little in lake marine, while the Americans are so extensively engaged in it. The answer to that question can easily be found when one looks atten-

tively at the trade done by American vessels, and on the other hand, at the trade done by Canadian vessels. From ports on the great lakes to Buffalo and other points on Lake Erie, but particularly to Buffalo—we find vessels of the lake marine carrying upwards of 300,000,000 bushels of grain. We see that on their return from the west to the east these vessels are afforded a very considerable trade in the carriage and transportation of coal and other commodities from the east to the west, namely, to points like Duluth, Superior and other places on the lakes. Now, what trade is there to-day for the lake marine of Canada? There is none practically except the carriage of grain in the fall of the year, when it has to be hurried eastward to the seaboard. All the summer through when American vessels are having high rates in carrying ore from Lake Superior points to points on Lake Erie, Canadian vessels are practically lying tied up at the docks. A farmer never purchases a dozen wagons in order to hurry in his grain in harvest time, but he does the best he can with the vehicle he has. So to-day the Canadian vessel owner, or the investor in Canadian marine interests, always sees the fact plainly ahead of him that there is only a limited time for Canadian marine shipping to do business, and that is in carrying grain to the east in the fall of the year. The result is that year after year we see on the American side shipping interests increasing at a most extensive rate. We see larger vessels built year after year. If one glances at the figures of the quantity of ore carried from points on the great lakes and points on Lake Superior, we are afforded a fair idea of the trade that has been worked up in that respect. In the past year there has been no less a quantity than some 15 million tons of ore carried from points on Lake Superior. Now the Canadian vessel owner has no trade in that respect at all, and so of necessity he is forced in the fall of the year to make what money he can out of the grain carrying trade. If to-day we were to expend a million dollars more on the St. Lawrence canal system, how are we going to attract trade upon those canals from Canadian ports in Canadian bottoms? For this reason, there never was and never will be, at least for years to come, any capitalist who will invest in this country in the purchase of vessels with a view to coping with the Americans. And worse than that. Last year, when the Canadian vessel owner had a chance to make a little money, when there was a rise in grain rates, much to the disgust and annoyance of all Canadian vessel owners, the government placed to one side the restrictions against what is known as the coasting laws, and permitted American vessels to come in and ply in the same trade. What was the result? From Port Arthur to points on the Georgian Bay

Mr. BENNETT.

freights had been about five or six cents a bushel, but when American vessels were cut loose and permitted in that trade the rates dropped from about five and six cents a bushel down to four cents a bushel only.

Now, Sir, my argument is that the government of Canada should hesitate before they plunge into a large expenditure on the canal system. Having now about accomplished the work of making a fourteen feet depth of water channel they should hesitate to plunge into a large expenditure such as contemplated at Port Colborne; they should be guided by the experience of the United States and endeavour to take a leaf out of their book. Now, what other systems are there to-day in force in Canada? After years of trial of the St. Lawrence canal system, there has been a system undertaken by private capitalists somewhat similar to the Buffalo and New York system. What has been the result of that trade? Mr. Booth, of this city, with very commendable energy, has constructed a line of railway from Montreal clear through to the port of Parry Sound, and last year, I believe, I am in the mark when I say that Mr. Booth carried more bushels of grain over that line of railway than were carried through the ports of Kingston and Prescott. In addition to that, the Grand Trunk Railway have a line constructed from the port of Midland clear through to Montreal, and over that system there were carried last year some 12 million bushels. So that if we look at the system from ports on the Georgian Bay to Montreal, we are brought face to face with the fact that the expenditure of private capital has succeeded in diverting more trade into Canadian channels than the expenditure of seventy million dollars by the Dominion of Canada.

Now what is the position of these points on the Georgian Bay with their part water and part rail routes? The position is this: From Buffalo to all these points on Lake Superior and on Lake Michigan the distance is greater than from either Parry Sound to the same ports or from Midland to the same ports. In fact the difference is so great that a vessel leaving Chicago and going either to Parry Sound or to Midland can make five trips to any point on those lake ports as against three trips to Buffalo. When you consider that vessels carry to-day as high as 250,000 bushels of grain on the great lakes, and that rates in the fall run up as high as four and five cents a bushel, you can see the advantage of making five trips as against three. That has been demonstrated in many seasons past, and that is one of the reasons, no doubt, why Mr. Booth went into this expensive railway construction, and why the Grand Trunk Railway people are also making a bid for that carrying trade. Now, in connection with this matter I may quote some statistics in support of the statements that I have made.

From Buffalo to New York, I have seen the distance stated at 440 miles; from Midland to Montreal the distance is 383 miles, and from Parry Sound to Montreal it is 383 miles. So that according to these figures, both these Canadian systems have an advantage as against the Buffalo and New York system. Then, in addition to that, as I have pointed out already, there is the advantage of being able to make five trips to any of these points on the Georgian Bay as against three trips to Buffalo.

With these facts staring us in the face, that our railway communication from Georgian Bay ports to Montreal is shorter than the Buffalo and New York communication, and the fact that water communication is shorter on the upper lakes to Georgian Bay ports than to Buffalo, the question naturally arises. Why then should we not be able to cope with the people of the United States and divert all this trade into our own channels? The fault lies to a great extent at the port of Montreal. At Montreal we have not the same advantages that they have at New York. I presume I am within the mark when I say that there are ten outgoing sea vessels from New York to points in the empire and Europe as against one vessel from the port of Montreal. That is, of course, a large proportion, and as a matter of necessity the larger the number of freighters the lower the rate will be. Whether the statement is correct or not, I have seen it made, that the rates for grain from the port of Montreal to some points in Europe are as a rule three cents higher than from the port of New York to European ports. If that is the case, then the port of Montreal is suffering from serious drawbacks, and will do so until we have at Montreal a larger outgoing shipping than we have at the present time. My hon. friend from Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) also suggests that Montreal be made a free port. I am not conversant with the restrictions that may exist upon shipping in that regard, but if there are any, I think the government should endeavour to remove all these shackles, because they are shackles, in restraint of trade, and endeavour to attract as much trade to that port as possible.

Now, Sir, there are other serious drawbacks at the port of Montreal. We are all aware of the fact that New York is an ocean-going port all the year around, while, unfortunately, at Montreal the trade is hampered for a considerable portion of the year, and I think that I am within the mark when I say that ocean navigation rarely starts from Montreal before the 1st of May, and that, as a rule, it closes on the 15th of November. That is the most important season of the year, because the holder of the grain in the North-west is anxious to get it out in the fall. Just at the time that the grain is offered for shipment to European countries is exactly the

time that we are unable to export our grain from the port of Montreal. Fortunately for the success of the Grand Trunk system, and also for the success of the Booth system of railways, provision has been made to meet this condition. Mr. Booth has a connection by way of Boston, and he is therefore able to ship through the winter months, and the Grand Trunk have superior accommodation at Portland which they get there by the erection of very large elevators. As a result they are making a big bid for the carrying trade of the whole west, and as I before stated, the carrying trade from Midland to the port of Montreal has risen in a few years from 1,000,000 bushels to upwards of 12,000,000 bushels. From Montreal to Portland it is a comparatively short distance, the distance from Midland to Portland being 680 miles, while the distance from Midland to Montreal is 383 miles. What is to be done under the circumstances? It has been demonstrated that our canal system, in the past, has not been a success. It has been shown that these systems from Parry Sound to Montreal, and from Midland to Montreal, which follow closely after the fashion of the mixed route by water to Buffalo, and from Buffalo to New York by rail are popular systems, although they have some advantages and some drawbacks. It is true that the route from Buffalo to New York has many advantages, and very great advantages, because we are all well aware that there are several large trunk lines of railway practically paralleling one another from New York to Buffalo, and the result is that there is a cutting of rates that is unknown on the lines of railway between Georgian Bay points and the port of Montreal. These are matters which we will have to attempt to obviate. I am told that there are no lines of railway on the continent better equipped than the lines between Buffalo and New York. They are fine railways in point of construction and equipment, they are free from grades, and they are in such splendid condition that with the large engines with which they are equipped they are able to carry 40 cars each of 1,000 bushels capacity behind a single engine, and I have heard the statement that they exceed that. The difference with the Booth line and the Grand Trunk line, today, is that, while, on these lines between Buffalo and New York they are carrying 40 cars, each of 1,000 bushels capacity per engine, the Booth and Grand Trunk lines are only carrying 15 and 18 cars with a capacity of 1,000 bushels, and it must be manifest the great disadvantage under which these lines labour in that respect. What then as to the future of the transportation question of this country? It concerns every man in Canada, not only the farmer in the west, but the manufacturer in Ontario, because, the more farmers we have in the western country the more manufactured

goods we will ship to that country and the cheaper the rates of transportation for the farmers in the west and the farmers in Ontario, the greater will be the advantage given to the manufacturers in this province, and not only to the manufacturers, but to the farmers in this province and in Quebec, because they can turn to good account the trade of the country which is increasing in importance from year to year. What the government's action shall be in reference to this large expenditure at Port Colborne we know not until the House shall have closed, but, if it is contemplated by the government to expend \$5,000,000 on Port Colborne before they have tested the capacity as to carrying with a depth of 14 feet of water, this government should hesitate and halt, and they should rather give a fair trial to the 14-foot system of navigation by way of the St. Lawrence canals, and if it is a failure then, something else can be done along other lines and through other channels. I need not discuss the many other projects that have been brought before us in Ontario, in reference to other constructions. The very fact that the Booth and the Grand Trunk systems have invested their money in the construction of these lines of railways, apart and aside from the ordinary government assistance that is given for the construction of railways all over the provinces and all over the Dominion, is a guarantee that these gentlemen saw that there was a prospect for a trade being worked up, and they have, from year to year, demonstrated the possibilities of that trade in the vast increase which has gone on. Unless a scheme is backed up by the private capital of men who are enterprising and who are willing to invest their money, it must be that it lacks in that great essential that should be assured to it, success. That the Booth system has been a success is evident from the large trade that has been done. That the Grand Trunk system from Midland to Montreal has been a success is also evident from the large trade which has gone on in that respect. In the city of Montreal I have noticed, from time to time, that the *Montreal Witness*, the *Montreal Star*, and other newspapers have seen fit to find fault with the management of the Grand Trunk Railway, in this, that they complained bitterly that the Grand Trunk are not trying to centre their trade at Montreal, but that, on the contrary, they have made such provision at Portland that they are augmenting and adding to the trade that they have established there. In that connection the government of Canada should start at the threshold, and I believe, that in a matter of this kind, the commencement point should be the outlet to the ocean. The outlet to the ocean, of course, with the present system of transportation, is the port of Montreal, and last year, when the announcement was made that the government had in contemplation

the erection of a large elevator or more than one elevator, at the port of Montreal, I believe that the proposition met with general favour on both sides of the House. However, the House and the country, I am sure, were astounded after parliament had prorogued when the announcement was made in regard to the proposition to the government of Canada by what is known as the Conners Syndicate. I am not in a position to say whether or not it will be a success, but I do say, that, involving as it did, the trade, not only of Montreal, but, involving the trade of the whole Dominion, it was an indiscreet and ill-advised action on the part of the government of Canada to enter into a contract or an agreement with the Conners Syndicate during the interval between the sessions of parliament, but rather that it should have been postponed until parliament met. This is not only the opinion of hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, but I will read the remarks of the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson) made last fall when the construction of elevators was under consideration. The hon. member for Lincoln then said, in reference to the construction of elevators at Port Colborne as supplementing the construction of elevators at Montreal:

It would be quite within the mark for any company in Buffalo to erect an immense elevator in the harbour of Port Colborne, getting a site from the government and getting one also in Montreal, or even if not in the city of Montreal, so long as they have the accommodation in the harbour of Port Colborne they could practically tie up all the work the government had done by charging such excessive tolls for the elevating the grain; and those vessels would be obliged to go to Buffalo and transfer by way of the Erie Canal. So I say in the interest of the country it would be well for the government not to give any right to elevate the grain. My own candid opinion is that after the harbour of Port Colborne is completed, if there is a necessity for elevators, transfer the grain out of larger vessels into the smaller ones—they should be the property of the government—and if elevators for storage purposes are required, they should be built by the government, and the smallest charge should be made.

Now, Sir, that is a sentiment that I quite agree with, and I will be bound to say that the commercial world was rather startled when they saw that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) had launched this proposition with the Conners Syndicate. And who composes the Conners Syndicate? It is composed in the main of Mr. Conners, a well-to-do gentleman of the city of Buffalo; a gentleman who is largely interested, as I am told on reliable information, in the transportation trade of that city. Strange to say, there figures with Mr. Conners in this, no less a personage than Mr. Harcourt, then a member of the Ontario government and its provincial treasurer. I say here, speaking apart from politics, that as a public

man, it was ill-advised for Mr. Harcourt, a member of the Ontario government, to have been mixed up in that transaction, either as an advocate or a capitalist. It is a remarkable fact that Mr. Harcourt had never heretofore been known as a capitalist, and yet he embarked in this large undertaking. I am free to admit that from what I have seen of the so-called Connors Syndicate contract, certain safeguards are thrown around the interests of the people of the Dominion. I am free to admit that no monopoly is created; that is, upon paper at all events; but it must be borne in mind that monopolies can be created by action, as well as by express contracts. What is the position to-day? There are 275,000,000 bushels of grain passing through the port of Buffalo, and the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) and the government—because the government must have acquiesced in it—said to Mr. Connors and those associated with him: If you will pass 30,000,000 bushels of grain through the port of Montreal, we will be satisfied. Sir, are the people of Canada to be hampered and confined to a 30,000,000-bushel trade. After having spent millions upon millions of dollars upon our canal system; after having subsidized railways to run from ports on the Georgian Bay to Montreal, are we to be asked to restrict the trade of the port of Montreal to a paltry 30,000,000 bushels of grain? Are we to be hampered in this, especially in view of the fact that we can confidently look forward to a largely increasing yield of wheat in Manitoba and the North-west Territories.

Mr. DAVIN. Hear, hear.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, Sir, the Minister of Public Works and the government in excusing themselves for this conduct say: It is true Mr. Connors is to take thirty million bushels to the port of Montreal or his contract will be forfeited, but do not imagine that Mr. Connors is going to restrict himself to thirty million bushels. That may be true, but at the same time Mr. Connors is not bound to exceed thirty million bushels of grain and Mr. Connors fulfils the letter of the law if he transports that quantity. With the advantages at Buffalo, it is patent to any man that for years to come the firm of Connors, Harcourt & Co. will not handle over thirty million bushels through the port of Montreal. But the government further say: If Connors & Co. do not do that, the way is left open for other persons to come in. That is all right on the face of it, but the fact must be borne in mind that the Connors Syndicate have selected the very best sites in the port of Montreal on which to transact their business. They have been given the very cream of the choice of locations, and, as a result, if any others want to compete with the Connors Syndicate,

these others are at once placed at a disadvantage. Just look at the position Mr. Connors has established for himself. Through his connections with the American capitalists at the port of Buffalo, and the vantage ground he has obtained at the port of Montreal, if other capitalists wish to invest in elevators at that port, Mr. Connors and those associated with him, can for one year or two years offer such heavy competition, that the others will be driven to the wall, because it would be a contest between the strong and the weak. Mr. Connors and his friends have secured such advantages in Montreal that for years to come the trade of that port will be restricted to the trifling amount of thirty million bushels of grain. What is the transportation of thirty million bushels at Montreal, compared to the 275,000,000 bushels at Buffalo, not to speak of the other points on the lakes.

It is the complaint of the people of Canada voiced in the Montreal press, that the Grand Trunk Railway Company are availing themselves of their facilities at Portland to export from that port in preference to Montreal. Under this new condition of things, the Grand Trunk Railway Company will be driven more and more out of Montreal, owing to the privileges accorded the Connors Syndicate, and so the complaints of our people under this head will be all the greater. Worse still, for years to come capitalists will be deterred from trying to compete against Mr. Connors, knowing as they must that Mr. Connors will have the advantage over them. I reiterate the statement, that having regard to the importance of the subject, having regard to the fact that any work cannot possibly be done until navigation opens this season, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) and the government should have first secured the approval of parliament to this Connors proposition, rather than enter into a contract in the hurried and improvident manner that they did. In my humble opinion, based on what I have been able to read on this live question of transportation, based on conversations with men engaged in the shipping trade, I am forced to the conclusion, that if we are to compete with the people of the United States in the carrying trade, we must follow the system which they have successfully pursued in the past.

Whether state aid should be granted to the Booth Railway system and the Grand Trunk Railway system, I am not now going to say. Bounties have been given by the government to stimulate trade in one direction and another, and the present government have stimulated the production of iron by giving bounties. I say it would be a parallel case if the government would go to these railway systems and offer them a bonus or a preference for all grain which they might carry through Canadian channels. That would confer a benefit not only

on the farmers in the west, but on the large number of Canadians that would be employed in this trade. To-day our railway lines from points on the Georgian Bay are at no disadvantage in regard to mileage compared with the lines which traverse between Buffalo and New York, and if our railways were equal in point of equipment we would have the satisfaction of seeing a vastly increasing Canadian trade grow up from year to year. I do not expect that anything will be accomplished by this motion so far as the action of the present government may be concerned; but, Sir, I have submitted it to the House believing that hon. gentlemen on both sides are greatly interested in the question. I feel that the people of the whole country, irrespective of politics, have their eyes on parliament and on the government in respect to this transportation problem, and, Mr. Speaker, in the hope that a beneficial and appropriate discussion may arise, I beg to move the motion which has been placed in your hands.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Mr. Speaker, we all agree upon the principle enunciated in this motion, that the time has arrived when some definite line of action should be taken on this subject. The transportation question is in my humble opinion the question of the day, and I believe I am not going too far in saying that the government has grappled with this question with energy and success. My hon. friend (Mr. Bennett), who has just taken his seat, has not made his position very clear; but if I understood him correctly, he meant to say that we should not spend any more on our system of canals. He has stated, what is true, that the Welland Canal has not been so far a great success, commercially speaking. The reason of this is obvious. My hon. friend has repeatedly alluded to Buffalo, and has invited us to take a leaf from the book of our American friends. The hon. gentleman knows that the port of Buffalo is one of the best equipped ports in the United States. It is twenty miles from Port Colborne. It is, as we all know, on the American side of the Erie Canal, while Port Colborne is on the Canadian side. Well, Sir, what have we got at Port Colborne? I hope many members of the House have visited that port. It is incredible, but it is true all the same, that we have not the shadow of a harbour there, while our American friends have a magnificent harbour at Buffalo. Port Colborne has a solid rock bottom, is without any great depth of water, and is on the open lake. How can we expect that any ship would come there and load and unload in the absence of any harbour facilities? And yet my hon. friend asks us not to equip the terminal point of our Canadian system of canals. How could the Welland Canal receive or handle trade without any terminal facilities at Port Colborne? My hon. friend

Mr. BENNETT.

is quite mistaken when he suggests that these would require an expenditure of \$5,000,000. There is no necessity for such a vast outlay of money. There is no doubt that if we wanted to carry out a vast scheme of improvement, we could spend \$5,000,000, but I do not hesitate to say that with a much smaller sum we could equip Port Colborne in a very proper manner indeed.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. What sum?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I am not prepared to say on the spur of the moment.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I mean in general terms.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I will not bind myself to any definite figure; but I believe that with an expenditure of a million or a million and a half we could equip Port Colborne in a very decent way. It is necessary, as every one who knows anything about terminal facilities will admit, to have a breakwater. This could be constructed on the same plan as the breakwater at Buffalo, though on a smaller scale. Moreover, to tranship grain requires docks and harbour facilities, and we have nothing of the kind at Port Colborne. That port, as I have said, is the head of our Canadian system of canals on the lakes; Montreal is the terminal point at the other end. These two points have to be equipped in a proper way if we make up our minds to handle the trade. My hon. friend has spoken of an arrangement that has taken place between the Montreal Harbour Commissioners and what is known as the Connors Syndicate. I may remind the House at once that the Harbour Commissioners are the parties who have made the arrangement, though, of course, it has been submitted to the government and been approved. The hon. gentleman is under a misapprehension when he expresses the belief that the whole port of Montreal has been handed over to Mr. Connors and his associates. They have been given the privilege of erecting elevators and warehouses on what is known as the Windmill Point Basin. On the north side they have been given, I think, 1,500 feet, and on the south jetty, 2,000 feet. They have been given also the privilege of erecting elevator and terminal facilities in the eastern portion of the harbour. The conditions that have been imposed upon them are very severe indeed. I would be very glad if anybody would ask for the papers; they will be found interesting. The most important right that has been reserved by the Harbour Commissioners is the right to control the rates and the right to take over all the properties of the syndicate on certain conditions. I may say at once that my own personal opinion was that the gov-

ernment should erect elevators themselves. I stated my views in the House last year, and it was to a certain extent agreed that they would be carried out—so much so that \$500,000 was placed in the estimates for the erection of an elevator in Montreal; but on further consideration and in face of a strong opposition, my colleagues made up their minds that it was better not to carry out the views which had been to a certain extent agreed on. However, the result of the agitation has been very good indeed. When Mr. Connors and his associates came to Montreal, we were in a position to tell them that the country would certainly erect an elevator themselves if we could not secure proper and stringent conditions.

There are two important means of transportation by which trade can be diverted to the St. Lawrence route—the canals and our system of railways. Our canal system has not been successful so far for the reasons I have given. The port of Montreal was not properly equipped, and neither was the port of Colborne. Moreover, we had not reached the depth of 14 feet of water which we have now. What is the position? From Port Colborne to Montreal, the distance is 374 miles, and from Buffalo to New York by rail it is 445 miles. By way of the Erie Canal and the Hudson River the distance is 495 miles. The question then is whether, having the shorter distance of 374 miles and the greater depth of water of 14 feet, we can successfully compete by water with the American water system. The Erie Canal is only six feet deep, and it will be deepened to eight feet in a year or two; but even when deepened to eight feet, it cannot possibly compete with us. The rates from the west to Buffalo and to Port Colborne are the same, and the distance is the same; and if we make all things equal, if we equip Port Colborne as Buffalo is equipped, although on a smaller scale, we will undoubtedly be in a position to make a very successful fight against our American friends. That is so much the case that the American syndicate, headed by Mr. Connors, saw immediately that there was a great future for our Canadian system of canals. The rates so far between Buffalo and New York average about six cents, and from the western ports to Buffalo, I think that during the last season they were one cent and a third. I am told by people who know what they are talking about, that they will be in a position to take a bushel of grain from Port Colborne to Montreal for inside of three cents. I would rather see the rate a good deal less than three, say two and a half. So much for our waterways.

Mr. BERGERON. How much is it now?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The rates on the Welland Canal have been about eight cents, but we have not carried

much grain, and the reason is very obvious. Port Colborne has no harbour whatever, and Montreal has no accommodation, so that we could not possibly handle the trade.

Mr. BENNETT. Is the hon. gentleman aware how many bushels of grain they carry to Kingston and Prescott through the Welland Canal? I think the figures are about 25,000,000 bushels.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Not quite as much, but still we have carried a certain amount. Montreal received during the last year about 25,000,000 all told by railways and water.

Mr. BRITTON. The exact figures of the grain carried through the Welland Canal are 24,713,333 bushels. It came over the Canadian route to Kingston, Ogdensburg and Prescott.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. A good deal to Ogdensburg.

Mr. BRITTON. That is the quantity that came through the Welland Canal to these three ports, and there was not more than 4,714 bushels diverted from Ogdensburg to the Eastern States for home consumption. There were twenty millions that came through.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Not to Montreal. Montreal did not get more last year than I have said, but I have not the exact figures.

Mr. BERGERON. I am asking the hon. gentleman where he takes his figures, because they are very interesting.

Mr. BRITTON. There should be deducted from that amount the grain that went into home consumption through the Kingston elevator. That is not very much.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I should be very glad indeed to bring down the figures as they are most interesting. I was going to refer to what my hon. friend has said. He said that the arrangement made by the Montreal Harbour Commissioners with the Connors Syndicate will divert the Grand Trunk Railway from Montreal. I do not understand how that could occur. We all know that the Grand Trunk Railway have settled themselves in Portland and have equipped, out of their own private means, the port of Portland. I wish to heaven that they had equipped Montreal or a portion of the port of Montreal as they have equipped that American port. I do not blame them. The Grand Trunk Railway is located in such a way that Portland is their natural port, and money and business have no patriotism. The shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway have a right to expect the best possible dividends, and Portland being their natural port, the Grand Trunk Railway carry to it a large quantity of grain. My hon. friend knows as well as I

do that most of the grain that comes to Midland, for instance, is taken from that Canadian port to Portland. The last time I visited Portland I inquired from the manager of the elevator there what grain he was handling, and he said that he was handling nearly all the time Canadian grain. I do not think I am exaggerating in saying that out of ten bushels of grain discharged at Port William by the Canadian Pacific Railway, nine bushels have so far gone to American ports. In fact, nearly all the grain that the Canadian Pacific Railway takes from the west to Port William is carried through American channels.

Mr. BERGERON. By Buffalo.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Yes. The grain is landed there, where it is open to every vessel to come and take it; and so far as we have not a large Canadian fleet the American bottoms have taken that grain and carried it to American ports. I claim that the arrangement that has been made between the Harbour Commissioners and the Canadian-American syndicate is a good bargain. I do not expect, I may say frankly, that that syndicate will divert much Canadian trade. They will give their attention to diverting American trade. That is just what we want. I hold that the Canadian people are unable to take care of their own trade. We have spent, as my hon. friend has said, about \$80,000,000 on our system of canals. The question is why, having the shortest route, having to-day the best route, we should not take from Buffalo and from the west a large part of this 275,000,000 of bushels that my hon. friend has spoken about. The arrangement with the American-Canadian syndicate will result in diverting a large portion of the American grain, and not only of American grain, but American produce of all kinds. I would remind the House that the port of Montreal is already receiving a large quantity of American produce from the west. The Elder-Dempster Company has been one of the first to initiate a policy of this kind. When Mr. Harling was manager of that line, and came first to Montreal, he was told that there was no trade for his company. He had then only three or four steamers at his disposal. He answered that there was an immense amount of traffic in the west, and that, with energy and intelligence, it would be possible to divert a large portion of that trade. And so he did. The result of his efforts, and the efforts of those who have succeeded him is that to-day the Elder-Dempster Company, instead of three or four boats has seventeen or eighteen large steamers trading between England and Montreal, and carrying a very large quantity of American produce. Mr. Harling is no longer the manager of the Elder-Dempster Line but the manager of Leyland Line in Montreal.

Mr. TARTE.

Now, I quite concur with every word my hon. friend has said with reference to the Booth system. The Georgian Bay is destined, in my opinion, to be a very great reservoir of trade. But railways are one thing and waterways are another thing. We have spent about \$80,000,000 on our waterways. Our duty is to complete them, and to take every possible advantage of our past efforts and of the great facilities that we have at our disposal. The Parry Sound road has been carrying a large quantity of trade. I hold that the Canadian Pacific Railway, in the near future, will divert to the St. Lawrence route the millions and millions of Canadian grain that have so far gone to American ports. Some allusion has been made in the press to a project by which the French River would be made navigable for Canadian barges and steamers, to take our Canadian grain from Fort William right down to North Bay. The distance from North Bay to Montreal is 360 miles. The Booth system has been able with a railway of 384 miles to carry a very large quantity of grain. There is no reason why the Canadian Pacific Railway should not carry a large quantity also by that new route. I think that my hon. friend should not have taken the stand he has taken. There is no use in fighting any of our national means of transportation. There is such an immense store of trade in the west, that there is business for our waterways, and for our railways also. There are many schemes proposed that are worthy of our attention. The efforts that we have made in the last few years have been very successful indeed. Kingston was alluded to a moment ago. When I took office, it was represented to me that if additional depth was given to that harbour a much larger amount of grain could be carried down there. That depth was given, and what has been the result? Between ten and twelve million of bushels of grain are taken to that port. And now, Sir, Collingwood, Owen Sound, Midland and other ports are receiving additional trade. The last time I had the pleasure of visiting Toronto, the members of the Board of Trade were kind enough to invite me to a lunch, and there the question was discussed of an air line between Toronto and Collingwood. I am not prepared to say that that scheme should be carried out immediately; but I say as I said a moment ago, that all these propositions deserve consideration.

My hon. friend does not seem to have any great faith in our winter ports. He thinks we cannot compete successfully with the American ports. I agree that the distance is a little against us. But there has been a revolution in the transportation question. In past days when a car could carry 500 bushels of grain, it was thought a very fine car indeed. But the measure has been doubled and even more than doubled. Now,

instead of light rails of 45 to 50 pounds to the yard, we have rails to 100 pounds to the yard, which means that heavy locomotives and heavy cars can carry heavy loads. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, who know their business, have repeatedly told me that, with proper treatment they could successfully compete in St. John against Boston. For my part I think the Intercolonial Railway, although the distance is longer by that route than by the Canadian Pacific Railway, can and should be made a real national transportation route. We have the advantage that the Intercolonial Railway has been built, not to earn dividends, but as a part of the confederation compact. The people of this country do not expect dividends from that company. Having that advantage over railway companies which are obliged to pay shareholders dividends, I do not see why we should not carry a large quantity of traffic to our winter ports of St. John, Halifax and others.

Mr. BERGERON. Would the hon. gentleman kindly give the names of those who form the Conners Syndicate?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I really do not know the names. My hon. friend will remember that we had only to approve or disapprove of the arrangement. I think the syndicate is not yet quite completed. They have given all the money and other guarantees that we required.

Mr. BERGERON. I asked that question because, a moment ago, he said that if the papers were asked for they might be brought down.

Mr. DAVIN. Who owned the land?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The Montreal Harbour Commissioners. The proposed works of the Conners Syndicate are going to be erected on properties that are under the control of the Harbour Commissioners.

Mr. DAVIN. I did not ask whether the land is under the control of the Harbour Commission, but who are the owners of that land.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The port of Montreal was handed over to the Harbour Commissioners about fifty years ago. These works are erected on what is now public property. I have not much more to say. But I may remind the House that it is quite impossible to carry out all these works without spending some money. I cannot be asked during this session to dredge the port of Midland, to dredge the port of Collingwood, to dredge the port of Owen Sound, to give additional water at Kingston and other ports, without asking parliament for money. I believe, however, that our expenditure on the lakes will not be as large as my hon. friend thinks. I do not see any reason why, for instance, at

Port Colborne, we should spend more than a million and a half—from all I can see now. We do not need to dredge all the space that is available.

Mr. HAGGART. Does the hon. gentleman not know that the officers of his own department have reported that the cost of the harbour of Port Colborne would be over \$5,000,000?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I know what my officers have done and what they have said, and they have not said that. My hon. friend was not in his place when I gave the explanation on this point. My officers, and those of the Department of Railways and Canals, have been out there, and have taken soundings and prepared plans. The hon. gentleman has administered a large department; he knows very well that there are plans and plans. For instance, if you want to build a whole breakwater at Port Colborne in a year or two, you will need to build it 5,000 feet long. My own opinion is that half that length will be quite sufficient. If we dredge only a couple of thousand feet it will not cost much. The plans that have been brought down to the House were plans that the House could either carry out or not as they saw fit. There is no need of spending five or six million dollars if it is shown not to be necessary.

Mr. BERGERON. What has been done with the money voted last year for the deepening at Port Colborne?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I am sorry to say that the works have not yet begun, but the plans are ready. The Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) has asked tenders for certain parts of the work; I think the tenders will be in by the 28th of this month. The plans for the work entrusted to me are ready. The departments had some discussion, and I could not act any sooner. But those works will be carried out as speedily as possible now.

Mr. BERGERON. Does not the Conners Syndicate rely a great deal upon the completion of these works?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. It will be necessary for the success of the Conners Syndicate that the entrance to the canal be deepened so as to allow the largest ships to come there that now go to Buffalo. A great many ships now going to Buffalo draw eighteen, and even twenty, feet of water. At this moment there are five big ships of 6,000 or 7,000 tons being constructed for that trade. The reason why it is necessary to proceed as speedily as possible with the equipment of Port Colborne, is that we must give accommodation to all these big ships. We expect trade not only from the smaller craft, but from the larger craft.

The House must not lose sight of the fact that a ship going to Port Colborne, after having unloaded its cargo, will be able to proceed to Buffalo and take a return cargo. The great difficulty with the Georgian Bay route is that return cargoes are scarce and difficult to get. I desire, Mr. Speaker, to take this occasion of congratulating Mr. Booth on having achieved what, perhaps, no other company has achieved in the past: He has been able last year to secure return cargoes from American cities to the west. That was a great feat, I think. For instance, it is to my knowledge that on one or two occasions he successfully tendered for cargoes of sugar from New York to Chicago. That proves that we have a system of railway and water routes which deserve our best consideration.

Mr. DAVIN. What does it cost at present to take a bushel of grain from Chicago to New York?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The rates from Chicago to Buffalo are about a cent, or a cent and a third. They vary, of course, but they are about that. From Buffalo to New York, with terminal charges included, the charges so far have been about 6 cents, at times a little less, and at times a little more.

Mr. POUPORE. You mean by rail.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Yes, by rail. My hon. friend (Mr. Poupore) knows that three-quarters of the trade is being carried by rail. I may say that the American railways are equipping themselves for transporting the trade at better rates, and we will have now to look out for ourselves. But, I verily believe that when our system of canals is fully equipped we can take the life out of them. The St. Lawrence route between the Strait of Belle Isle and Montreal also plays a most important part in the transportation question.

Mr. HAGGART. If the hon. minister will excuse me, for the purpose of following his argument, I would like to know what is the cost, per bushel, of carrying grain from New York, including insurance and freight, to Liverpool, and what is the cost, per bushel, from Montreal to Liverpool?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I have no figures under my hand, but I am sorry to say that, so far, the rates from Montreal to Liverpool have been higher than the rates from American ports to Liverpool, and the reason is obvious. The terminal facilities at the port of Montreal have been simply abominably bad. Any one who has visited that port knows that just as well as I do. When the port of Montreal is equipped, as we are equipping it now, we will be in better shape. When the biggest ships are in a position to sail to the port of Montreal and the port of Quebec just as

safely as they can to American ports we will be in better shape. The House knows that the rates at Lloyds are simply horrible. What we have to do is to make the St. Lawrence route safe, and then I think that Lloyds cannot do otherwise than decrease the rates of insurance. The work of deepening and widening the River St. Lawrence is going on speedily, and perhaps, I may be permitted to add that in a few months, during the next season, I hope, in July or August, the telegraph line to Belle Isle will be completed. This will make our trade safer and will tend to decrease the rates of insurance.

Mr. QUINN. I would like to ask the hon. minister if the increase of these rates in reference to shipment from Montreal to Liverpool, about which the hon. ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) has spoken, is not due, in a large degree, to the excessive charges on the ships at the port of Montreal?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. My hon. friend (Mr. Quinn) has lived in Montreal, and he knows very well that the class of ships that has come to our port has been very inferior, up to a few years ago, to the class of ships that has gone to American ports.

Mr. QUINN. Yes.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Unfortunately, our Canadian lines of steamers, some of them anyway, have allowed themselves to be distanced altogether, but I am safe in saying that the new ships which are being built to-day will be quite capable of competing with success against the ships going to American ports. Take such ships as the *Bavarian*, the *Montfort*, *Montcalm*, and several others of the same class which are equipped with every modern facility, and I think that there is no doubt whatever, that, when the St. Lawrence has been made even safer than it is now and that when we have completed our terminal facilities at Montreal and Port Colborne and at Quebec—we must not forget old Quebec—we will be in a position, as I said, to compete against the American ports. We have the advantage of the distance from west to east, we have an advantage of about 600 miles over them.

Mr. QUINN. It is not in connection with insurance alone, but it appears that the port of Montreal is saddled with certain charges which weigh heavily upon the shipping interests of Montreal and which necessitate the imposition of this higher rate that is charged from New York to England.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I would like to see the rates decreased; I would like to see the port of Montreal a free port. I do not know but that some of these

Mr. TARTE.

days our canal system should not be made free. The Erie Canal is a free canal. But the charges in Montreal are not very high. The great trouble is, as the hon. gentleman (Mr. Quinn) knows, that we have no equipment whatever, that the cheese and the butter and all the produce that is shipped from that port has to be carted most of the time at enormous cost. I hope that, during the next season, when we will have the large wharf that has been erected and the facilities which will be added, we will be able to handle the trade at a less cost. But, we have a great deal to do yet. My hon. friend (Mr. Bennett) has repeatedly invited us to take a leaf out of the book of our American friends. He has only to look at the vast expenditure of money that the Americans have made on their harbours, at the large amount which they have spent at Buffalo, at Boston, at Newport, and which they have spent millions and millions, and I am sorry to say that when we come before the House and ask for a few hundred thousand dollars some hon. members seem surprised. There are no party politics in such a question, and I hope the House will give its best attention, during this session, to this important transportation question.

Mr. BENNETT. Can the hon. minister tell the House, or has he been furnished, or has his department been furnished with a calculation of this nature: At present vessels carrying 70,000 bushels of grain come to Kingston, the 70,000 bushels is taken from the steamers and placed in the elevator, and then the grain is placed in a barge carrying 20,000 bushels and conveyed to Montreal. When the Port Colborne scheme is accomplished you will probably have vessels carrying a quarter of a million bushels of grain to Port Colborne, which grain will be transferred to barges of 60,000 bushels capacity. What will be the difference in favour of the latter proposition per bushel?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I am not in a position to say that, but competition is the life of trade.

Mr. BENNETT. You have it now.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. My hon. friend (Mr. Bennett), if he permits me to say so, should not fall into the mistake that, evidently, the American people have fallen into. The American people have allowed the big railway corporations to prevent the improvement of their waterways. The railway companies of this country have no better friend than I am, but I cannot allow our waterways to be choked off by them. Our waterways are too important to permit of that. Why has not the Erie Canal been improved? The reason is obvious; it is because the big railway corporations have simply stopped it. I know

that some of our railway friends are not altogether pleased with the Conners Syndicate, but they must not forget that there is an enormous total quantity of trade, and they have only to improve their means of transportation to get a large share of that transportation.

Mr. B. M. BRITTON (Kingston). Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the St. Lawrence route has not had a fair chance in times past, and in my opinion there are three things necessary to be done in order to give it that chance. When these three things have been done, I am quite sure that the increase in the trade of the St. Lawrence will be most marked. In the first place, there must be work done at Port Colborne. As I said last session, I am not in favour of this very large scheme of building these elevators there, but what is absolutely necessary is that the harbour at Port Colborne shall be deepened so that vessels drawing eighteen feet of water can enter it in any kind of weather. That cannot be done now. Every one who has any idea of navigation knows, that in stormy weather when a heavy sea is rolling, even if the water were eighteen feet deep a vessel drawing that, cannot pass without danger of grounding, although she might navigate in safety when the water is smooth. It is now necessary to the economical carriage of grain that it shall be brought in vessels drawing at least eighteen feet. These large vessels could bring the grain down as far as Port Colborne. They could then lighten so as to allow the vessel to go through the canal and come on to Kingston or Prescott as the case may be. The second requirement is this, and I wish to press it on the attention of the government. Although the canals have been deepened to 14 feet, yet as all vesselmen know, there are three or four places on the St. Lawrence where the water is not now 14 feet. That is to say, the channel is so narrow that unless persons are most skilled in river navigation, they are afraid to take a full cargo even although they might perchance pass these danger points in safety. Then we have the third requirement, and that is increased harbour accommodation at Montreal. That port has not had a fair chance so far, and for this reason amongst others. In order to get grain to Montreal in time for European shipment it must reach there early in October each year, and vessel owners are not willing to take freight unless it can be delivered in Montreal at that time. I do not know what is the latest date that ocean-going steamers leave that port, but it must be comparatively early in the fall, and hitherto there have been no storage facilities for grain in Montreal. As I understand it this Conners Syndicate, whatever else they do, must tend to the advantage of the St. Lawrence route in two ways. First, they will create these storage facilities by the expenditure of money, and sec-

only, as it is said they are doing it to make money and not for the good of their health, it will be necessary for them to have their own line of vessels canvassing for freight on the St. Lawrence route. This double advantage will therefore be derived from the Conners Syndicate. There is another factor which must cause this trade on the St. Lawrence to increase. We know that in the early years of grain producing in Minnesota and Dakota the farmers could not afford to put their grain in elevators, and they were obliged to place it on the market at the earliest possible moment, no matter what the market price at the time being was. That is exactly the position of the people of Manitoba now, but I am glad to say that our farmers in the North-west are rapidly getting out of that condition, and acquiring the advantages possessed by the Dakota farmers. With these storage facilities for grain our farmers will be able to hold their produce for a longer period in each year and thus reap the advantage of a good-priced market. The St. Lawrence route being superior to other routes when it is furnished with these facilities, it must naturally have a very large portion of the trade. An elevator has been built at Kingston with a capacity of 800,000 bushels, and we can give greater despatch to vessels coming there now than we could in the past. Formerly these vessels had to wait for the transshipment of grain by the floating elevators, into the barges for river transport. At the present time there is immediate transshipment, the grain is put in the elevator, no delay is occasioned to the lake vessels, and in that way we have been attracting trade to the St. Lawrence route. Another consideration is that we are now building a larger class of vessels for the upper lake trade. If the company at Kingston were depending simply on the river trade last year they would have lost money. But, because they had the larger lake vessels to bring the wheat to Port Colborne, lightening sometimes there, so as to come through canal and so taking it down to Kingston, they were able to carry it from Kingston at no profit or perhaps a little loss; the profit on the upper end of the route thus making the business a paying one last year. All these things tend to the improvement of trade via the St. Lawrence route, and all these things emphasize what is suggested as to deepening the harbour at Port Colborne. I have the greatest hope of the best possible results accruing from the harbour improvements at Montreal, and the elevator accommodation to be given there. I do not know the particulars about this Conners Syndicate, but I do know that if elevators such as are proposed are built at Montreal, whatever profit the persons interested in the syndicate may derive, it seems to me that there cannot be any two opinions about this new venture being a benefit to the St. Lawrence route.

Mr. BRITTON.

Mr. R. R. DOBELL (Quebec West). Mr. Speaker, the question of deepening our canals and of transportation from the extreme west of this continent, and from the ports of Port Arthur, Duluth, Milwaukee and Chicago to the ports of Montreal and Quebec, has occupied my attention ever since I entered parliament. The very first effort I made was for the deepening of our canals from Kingston to Montreal; and when the hon. member for the east riding of Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) brought this question up, I thought, Sir, that he deserved not only the thanks of this House, but the thanks of the government, for giving us the opportunity of thoroughly threshing out this matter, which I believe is the most important one brought before this parliament. I do not think it is possible, Sir, to exaggerate the desirability of opening up every channel of transportation, both by water and rail, that we can open up. I think that any expenditure in that direction is well laid out; because, Sir, what do we find? We find that up to three years ago our magnificent waterways conveyed from the west to the Lower St. Lawrence not more than 8 per cent of the great trade of the west. Over 90 per cent found its way from Buffalo and other American towns to the Atlantic seaboard through American channels. Well, Sir, I felt perfectly satisfied that if we changed places with our American friends, they would have a very different case to show at the end of two or three years. This government set resolutely to work to complete in the shortest possible time the deepening of the canals from Kingston to Montreal, and this work is now virtually accomplished. It is not quite finished; it wants a little more masonry to build up the sides of some of the locks; but the channel is completed, and vessels drawing fourteen feet of water can pass through to Montreal without let or hindrance, and that work will be in operation at the opening of navigation.

Mr. HAGGART. Is the hon. minister certain of that statement—that there will be a fourteen-foot navigation from Kingston to Montreal at the opening of navigation?

Mr. DOBELL. Yes, in May.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). With the exception of the canal at Cardinal.

Mr. DOBELL. I make no exception, in deference to my hon. friend the Minister of Railways and Canals. I followed this up yesterday, and I found that there was not an exception, even at Cardinal.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The canal is not completed, but there is the river.

Mr. DOBELL. Taking the canal and the river, I repeat that from Kingston to Montreal at the opening of navigation the water-

way will be free for all vessels drawing fourteen feet of water.

Mr. TAYLOR. When ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Just as soon as there is any navigation in the river.

Mr. DOBELL. I did not say when the ice was in the river. I said at the opening of navigation that channel will be open, and there is nothing this government have done that reflects on them more credit. We had constructed at great cost at Sault Ste. Marie a canal twenty feet deep ; we had a depth of fourteen feet in the Welland Canal ; and then where were we ? We were dammed up at Kingston, and from there we had not more than seven feet of water. The consequence was that the whole of the trade found its way to Buffalo and was carried thence to New York. That is the answer to my hon. friend from East Simcoe as to why Canada has not heretofore been able to compete with the American ports. From this time forth I claim she will not only compete, but that instead of having 7 or 8 per cent of the western trade she will soon score 20 per cent or 30 per cent of that trade ; and what will be the result ? The result will be the employment of a great many large steamers crossing the Atlantic that now go to Boston, New York, Philadelphia or other American ports. You ask why it is that New York can compete in rates successfully as against Montreal. There are two or three reasons, none of which have been named. One is that to-day there is a discrimination in the rates of insurance against the St. Lawrence route of not less than 3 per cent. Three per cent on a steamer costing £90,000 would amount to £2,700 per voyage. On a tramp steamer costing £50,000 there is a discrimination of £1,200 or £1,500 per voyage. We cannot stand that discrimination. We must have that removed, and we can have it removed. If I am asked how we can have it removed, there is only one way. Canada must adopt measures to make the channel way from Belle Isle to Quebec and Montreal as free of risk as possible, and also initiate a sound, safe insurance company that will take a portion of the risk, and the moment it does, there will be other companies that will take the other portion of the risk. We must bear a portion of the burden. I agree with everything that fell from my hon. colleague the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) ; but he did not go quite far enough. He did mention Quebec once ; but my contention is that if our great North-west develops and opens out as it promises to do, Montreal cannot supply the necessary accommodation for the tonnage that will go up to be loaded. We must not look at this matter in any narrow, selfish way. We must prepare to make our country the great highway of this vast continent, and we have everything to favour us. I will give you one instance

that came to my knowledge in England last year.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Six o'clock.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). There is only one order on the Order paper for this evening which is ready for discussion ; that is the Bill of Mr. Denville ; and as that is not to be proceeded with this evening, I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams, reports or papers that have passed between the government, or any member thereof, and any person or persons or corporation in regard to a grant or grants of land, or minerals, or both adjacent to White Horse Rapids, Yukon Territory, during the last six months.—(Mr. Prior.)

Return showing the applications made for appointment on the official staff of the various contingents of Canadian troops sent to or now being collected for South Africa, the names, age, address and qualifications as to service and course of instruction of each, and the names of the successful applicants.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return showing all correspondence, investigations, reports and departmental action taken in connection with the case of H. A. Lamieux, Assistant Inspector of Customs, of Montreal, alleged to have taken part in the 1896 election in Magdalen Islands under the assumed name of H. A. Lamirande.—(Mr. Foster.)

1. Return showing the amount paid each year for printing for the government of the North-west Territories, namely, from 1889 until 1899, inclusive, for ten years, or at least until the audit of the North-west government expenditure passed out of the hands of the Auditor General.

2. The amount paid for advertising each year of the same period and for the same behalf.

3. The names of persons or officers or companies to which payment for each of these annual service was made.—(Mr. Davin.)

Copies of all letters, telegrams, evidence, reports, documents and papers in reference to or in connection with the investigation and dismissal of Henry Hall from the Customs Department.—(Mr. Tisdale.)

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 6.00 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, February 15, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 20) respecting the British Yukon Mining, Trading and Transportation Company, and to change its name to the British

Yukon Railway Company.—(Mr. Fraser, Guysborough.)

Bill (No. 21) respecting the Hereford Railway Company.—(Mr. McIntosh.)

Bill (No. 22) respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 23) to incorporate the Alaska-Yukon Railway Company.—(Mr. McIsaac.)

Bill (No. 24) respecting the Nova Scotia Steel Company, Limited.—(Mr. Fraser, Guysborough.)

Bill (No. 25) respecting the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.—(Mr. McInnes.)

Bill (No. 26) respecting the Kaslo and Lardo-Duncan Railway Company.—(Mr. McInnes.)

Bill (No. 27) to impose certain restrictions on immigration.—(Mr. McInnes.)

Bill (No. 30) in further amendment of the Trade Mark and Design Act.—(Mr. Campbell, Kent.)

CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENTS.

Mr. BRITTON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 28) to amend the Criminal Code, 1892. He said: The Bill that I now introduce is somewhat similar to the Bill that was introduced by me last session, and for the same purposes. I have, however, from this Bill, left out the second section which I understood to be the more controversial section of the Bill. I think, notwithstanding what was said last session in regard to any member of this House attempting to lay what is called violent hands on a thing that was regarded by some hon. members as perfect, namely, the Criminal Code, my position has been amply vindicated by a Bill that was introduced in the Senate last session by the hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Mills). Of course, it is almost beyond the expectation of any private member to carry through the House, without the consent of the government, a Bill so important as the one I now present, but, I dare say the larger Bill introduced by the hon. Minister of Justice last year, will, or something like it, be introduced again this year, and I desire to have amendments, suggested by myself, and which are incorporated in this Bill now presented, brought to the attention of the hon. Minister of Justice and of the House in order that they may be discussed. There are some of the amendments suggested by me that are manifestly necessary in the working of the Code. There are others that are so much matters of substance, that, no doubt, a good deal of opposition will be met with from some of the hon. members and which is only to be expected. I mention to the House that all the suggestions in this Bill are worth discussing even though they are not finally adopted by the House. I may say that there are two or three things proposed which I will just mention here. The

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

second section is a controversial one, and therefore I will leave it out. It has reference to an offence which will be considerably discussed. The first section of the Bill deals with a condition that manifestly ought to be changed, and that is in the case of an appeal. At present an application to the Court of Appeal, in criminal matters has either to be made to one of the three divisions of the High Court of Justice for Ontario. The result of this is that each division, being an independent Court of Appeal in reference to criminal matters, may give an independent decision; therefore, there may be at any time, as there have been in the past, conflicting decisions upon one point. In order to obviate that I propose that the Court of Appeal in criminal matters for the province of Ontario shall be the Court of Appeal for Ontario. I suppose there will be no objection to that. Then, the next section is one amending the section of the Criminal Code that requires corroborative evidence in regard to certain offences. Another section is in reference to reserving a case for the Court of Appeal, and the next is as to a very much disputed question and proposes to strike out section 748, which gives the Minister of Justice power to order a new trial. The next section is in regard to depositions taken in the presence of the accused and as to when they may be used at the trial. The next section gives magistrates the power to deal with offences without the consent of the accused; for instance, in the matter of an attempt to commit theft, when the value of the property is under \$10, and to remove the anomaly that although they may try the offence, they may not try an attempt to commit the offence in such a case. The next section is one which allows the informant, or complainant, to prefer a bill of indictment against an accused person, whereas at present the law is that unless the complainant is bound over to prosecute, he may not, as a right, prefer such a bill. These are the leading features of the Bill, and as I say, I think they are worth discussing, so I move the introduction of the Bill.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

DOMINION ELECTIONS ACT.

Mr. BRITTON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 29) to amend the Dominion Elections Act by providing for the use of the Macdonald voting machine.

He said: Mr. Speaker, this is the Bill introduced last session, and the object of it is to have voting done by a machine which will register—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BRITTON. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that the only objection that I have to the

Bill at the present stage, is that it is called the Macdonald voting machine. Since the election in Manitoba I rather object to that name.

Mr. COCHRANE. That machine voted all right.

Mr. BRITTON. I am afraid it did for you. This machine has a box which is placed in the compartment or room into which the voter retires to register his vote.

Mr. MILLS. Is it fireproof?

Mr. BRITTON. The hon. gentleman may need something of this kind as well as the other side. The object of it is to have, instead of paper ballots, a pellet which will, in addition to being deposited for a candidate, register the vote at the same time. The box is placed inside of the compartment to which the voter retires. That box has in it two tubes, or more, according to the number of candidates. Inside of the tube is a registering machine which registers the vote for the person whose name is on the top of the tube. On the top of the ballot box is a cylinder, and in the cylinder are slots, or places where this pellet may be placed, according to the person the voter desires to vote for. The end of the cylinder comes through the partition or curtain, as the case may be, and is within reach of the deputy returning officer. When the voter comes, and if it is found by the returning officer that he is entitled to vote, he is given the pellet, or more than one if he is entitled to vote for more than one candidate, as in the case of Hamilton where there are two members elected. He is furnished with a pellet for such number of candidates as he is entitled to vote for. He places this in a slot in the top of the cylinder under the name of the candidate for whom he desires to vote and returns to the deputy-returning officer. The handle of this cylinder is within reach of the deputy-returning officer and is entirely under his control; and he turns it, and in turning the pellet is deposited in the tube, and passes down, registers the vote and drops from the ballot box; so that before the voter retires, he sees returned to the deputy-returning officer, the same ball or pellet that was given to him on entering the polling place, and that he has placed in the top of the cylinder for the purpose of registering his vote.

Mr. WALLACE. How does he know it is the same ballot?

Mr. BRITTON. It is the official pellet, which is given to each voter. It is really like a marble or a little ball. One object is to avoid spoiling ballots and it facilitates the enumeration of the votes at the close of the poll. The machine registers the number of votes just as a turnstile registers the number of people passing through at a fair.

It is so simple that it is not likely to get out of order, and it is a most inexpensive machine. I saw one of those complicated machines at Buffalo last fall just before the November elections; and, while it was very perfect in itself, it cost something like \$500 or \$600. This machine will cost about \$30 or \$40, and can be made with perfect accuracy, so that with its use frauds would be practically impossible. It does away with the spoiling of ballots and the insufficient marking of ballots, as it does away with all printing of ballot papers. The name of each candidate is simply printed on a tablet attached to the machine, and perfect certainty can be attained by the identification of the pellet which is used.

Mr. INGRAM. Is this the same Bill that the hon. gentleman introduced last year?

Mr. BRITTON. The same.

Mr. BERGERON. Will you put it through this year?

Mr. BRITTON. I hope so. I will try to do it.

Mr. McMULLEN. I wish to say a word or two on this Bill. I shall have something more to say about it when it comes up for a second reading. I would certainly oppose the adoption of any voting machine without giving every person in the Dominion who has invented such a machine an opportunity of exhibiting his invention before a committee of the House, so that they can all be investigated. Our esteemed friend has not been as long in this House as I have been, or he would know that some years ago we had a committee of this House appointed for the purpose of examining a number of these voting machines. No less than seven or eight were exhibited before that committee; and, after the committee had thoroughly investigated them, the consensus of opinion was that it would be better that such a system of voting should be first introduced in municipal elections in cities and smaller municipalities, so that the people would gradually become educated in their use; afterwards they might be introduced in provincial elections, and then it would be time enough for this House to consider whether, in view of all the inaccuracies that have attended the recording of votes throughout the Dominion under the present system of balloting, it would be wise to adopt it here for Dominion elections. I know of several men who have spent a good deal of time on a voting machine that can be operated by simply drawing a knob in front of the name of the candidate for whom the voter wishes to vote. When he draws that knob he records his vote, and he cannot draw more than one. I think that every one who has a machine of this kind should have an opportunity of placing it on exhibition before a committee of this House before we adopt any particular one.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

LAND TITLES ACT AMENDMENT.

Mr. DAVIN moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 31) to amend the Land Titles Act, 1894. He said: The object of this Bill is to get rid of an anomaly that exists at present in the North-west Territories. If a person dies there, under the Act of 1894, his will cannot be registered, nor can an exemplification from a court in England be accepted, though an exemplification from a court in Canada can be taken. That seems to me to be an anomaly, and this Bill will remedy that by providing that an exemplification from the proper court in the United Kingdom shall be accepted.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Might I ask the hon. gentleman whether he considers whether an English court would accept an Act of this parliament as determining what should be received as evidence in England?

Mr. DAVIN. I am not concerned at the present time as to what shall be received as evidence in England. What I am trying to do is to get an unnecessary expense removed that attaches to persons in the North-west under wills made in England.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I do not know whether this Bill would fulfil what my hon. friend desires or not. In some of the provinces any will which has been proved in England can be admitted to probate on the mere production of the exemplifications of the letters of probate taken out in England.

Mr. DAVIN. We have not that in the North-west Territories.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). It is only the rule by virtue of the statute, and that statute has been enacted recently in my own province. Without the statute, you have to prove the will in the ordinary course.

CAMPAIGN LITERATURE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked:

1. How many pamphlets, entitled 'Political Pointers, No. 1,' being the address delivered by the Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright at Toronto, on the 24th day of August, 1899, were sent through the mail to the electors of Canada? 2. Were they sent in sealed envelopes? 3. Were they sent through the mail free of postage? 4. Were they franked or initialled R. J. C., M. T. & C.? 5. Were the envelopes to inclose said pamphlets furnished by the government? 6. Were the envelopes containing said pamphlets, or any of them, addressed by civil servants?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). I am not exactly in a position to state how many pamphlets entitled 'Political Pointers No. 1' have been issued to the electors of Canada. I am inclined to believe, however, Sir, that though not merely as many as ought

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be issued, have been issued, some hundreds of thousands have been distributed. As regards question No. 2, the answer is 'yes.' As regards question No. 3, the answer is also 'yes.' As regards question No. 4, I am not sure, but I rather incline to think that some were franked with the initials described and some by other members of the government. As regards question No. 5, so far as I am aware, any envelopes that were furnished were paid for by the parties who got them. As regards question No. 6, the answer is 'no.' As regards the general subject, Sir, I have been at some pains to ascertain what were the precedents established in the year 1896.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Mr. Speaker, I am perfectly in order.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I am strictly in order.

Some hon. MEMBERS. You are making a speech.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I am perfectly in order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the House had better come to order.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). What is the point of order?

Mr. FOSTER. He is making a speech.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Mr. Speaker, I am perfectly in order. I have the right to give the House all the information I see fit bearing directly on the question. If gentlemen put questions, they must take the answers given as the minister chooses to give them. I find that in the department over which I have at present the honour to preside, Miss Bertha Marks was employed by the department for two months, December, 1895, and March, 1896, (see Auditor-General's Report, p. T-2) during which time she was employed exclusively in addressing envelopes for this campaign literature. I find that a present member of the staff entered the department in April, 1896, and until the elections in June, her time was wholly taken up in addressing envelopes. I find that both the present messengers during that period sealed many thousands of envelopes and franked them with the late Mr. Ives' frank. I find that there is one item in the Auditor-General's Report, 1895-6, p. T-3, 'Envelopes, 42,775, price \$59.30'; which envelopes I have every reason to believe were used for the purpose of distributing the aforesaid campaign literature.

Mr. COCHRANE. And you said it was wrong at the time?

Mr. TAYLOR. You double distanced the other minister.

DEATH OF GUNNER WALLACE.

Mr. CLARKE asked :

1. Have the militia authorities appointed a board of inquiry or a commission to inquire into the cause of the death of the late Gunner Wallace, of Toronto, at Kingston, and as to the allegations of negligence on the part of the hospital assistants who were attending on Wallace during his illness ?
2. Who compose the board or commission ?
3. Will the government make public the report of the commission as soon as it is received ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. The officer commanding 'C' Battery, R.C.A., being the unit to which the deceased Gunner Wallace belonged, assembled a court of inquiry to investigate the cause of death. 2. The board was composed of: Captain Mackie, Lieuts. Irving and King. 3. It is not customary to publish the reports of the proceedings of such boards, but if the hon. gentleman will come to the department I shall be glad to show him the report.

MAGDALEN ISLANDS STEAMSHIP SERVICE.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's) asked :

Was the contract made with Robert J. Leslie, of Halifax, for steamship service for the conveyance of mails, passengers and freight to and from the Magdalen Islands, substantially as follows:—'A weekly service from Pictou, N. S., commencing with the opening of navigation until the close of navigation at Pictou, thereafter until close of navigation at Magdalen Islands, from some port in Cape Breton to such port or ports in the Magdalen Islands as the minister may approve. Subsidy \$9,000 per annum, payable July 1, October 1, and at the close of the service. The ports of call to be Georgetown and Souris, in the province of Prince Edward Island, and once a month during the months of June, July, August and September, a trip to be extended to Bryon Island. Calls at Grand Entry need not be made after close of month of September.' The class of steamships to be equal to the 'St. Olaf' or such other steamer of equal class, speed, equipment, capacity and accommodation as may be approved by the minister.

The 'St. Olaf' is of a class and capacity of not less than seventy-two tons net, triple expansion engines, carrying 160 pounds of steam, capable of a speed of not less than twelve miles an hour, the service to be run at an average speed of not less than ten miles an hour. Saloon accommodation for at least fifty first-class passengers, and for at least 100 second-class passengers, suitable accommodation for mails, &c.

Have the foregoing conditions been complied with by the present contractor during the past season ?

What is the size, class, equipment, speed, power and freight and passenger capacity of the steamer employed under the present contract ?

If the boat employed during the past season is not up to the requirements of the contract, is it the intention of the government to insist on an improved service as was promised the people interested ?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). The service to be performed between Magdalen Islands and Pictou is practically as stated. The conditions have been complied with by the present contractor—in fact while the service only calls for four trips to Bryon Island, five trips have been made. The service is performed by the steamer *Lunenburg*, a boat 124.9 feet long, 23.5 feet broad, and 12.5 feet depth of hold; net tonnage 113, speed capacity 13 knots per hour, accommodation for fifty first-class, and for 150 other passengers. The contractor in a letter dated the 15th January, stated that he was leaving for England to either purchase or build a boat especially adapted to the Magdalen route. The service was not continued after the close of navigation at Pictou from some port in Cape Breton, as navigation closed at Magdalen Islands this season before it closed at Pictou. The contractors, however, are prepared to proceed with the service next spring before the port of Pictou is free of ice, if necessary.

LATE POSTMASTER AT ST. JOHNS, P.Q.

Mr. MILLS asked :

1. Were Messrs. John Black and Henderson Black bondsmen for the late postmaster of St. Johns, in the province of Quebec ? If so, for how much ?
2. Was the said late postmaster, when removed, in default, and for how much ?
3. Was action in law taken against the said John Black and Henderson Black, or either of them, in consequence of such default ?
4. Has judgment been obtained against said bondsmen, or either of them ? If so, for what amount, debt and costs ?
5. Has said judgment been executed ? If not, why not ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Messrs. John Black and Henderson Black were sureties for the late postmaster of St. Johns, in the province of Quebec, for \$1,600 each. The postmaster died on the 27th August, 1896, and, shortly afterwards it was discovered that he had, at various times, between the 3rd November, 1890, and the 6th July, 1896, appropriated to his own use certain post office moneys, amounting in all, with interest, to \$4,718.31. One of the sureties, John Black, died, and an action was brought upon the bond against the surviving surety, Henderson Black, and Mary Jane Black and said Henderson Black as beneficiary heirs of the late John Black, and judgment was obtained against Henderson Black for \$1,600, the amount of his personal liability, and the said Henderson Black has paid the amount of this judgment against himself, including the costs of the Exchequer Court and the Supreme Court, to which the case had been carried. With reference to the judgment against the beneficiary heirs of the late John Black, it is represented that the estate of the late John Black

was insolvent. As yet nothing has been recovered against that estate. The Department of Justice is making the necessary inquiries with a view to ascertaining whether the amount of the judgment can be collected.

YUKON TERRITORY—REGISTRAR'S FEES.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER asked :

1. When were the fees fixed for the Registrar of Land Titles, under the Torrens system, in the Yukon ?

2. About how much patented land is there in this district ?

(a) What return of fees has been made by the Registrar, if any ?

(b) How many townsite Crown grants have been issued in the district, if any ? For what townsite ? At what dates, respectively ?

(c) How many grants of land have issued for private lots in the district of the Land Registrar's office ?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). I beg to reply : 1. 29th August, 1897. 2. 115 acres. (a) \$2,895.70. (b) There have been no Crown grants of townsites. (c) The total number of patents issued is 165.

APPOINTMENT OF MR. J. B. O'REILLY, Q.C.

Mr. BRODER (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Has Mr. J. B. O'Reilly, Q.C., of Prescott, Ont., been appointed a county judge ? If not, has he been promised the appointment ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government is not in a position to say what advice it will give to His Excellency the Governor General with regard to this matter.

RAILWAY FROM CANSO TO ST. PETERS.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

Has a contract been entered into between the government and any company for the subsidy revoked at the last session of parliament towards the construction of a railway from the Straits of Canso to St. Peters ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). My hon. colleague, the Minister of Railways, is absent, but it is my knowledge that no contracts have yet been given for the railway in question. I understand that two companies are seeking the work, one called the Cape Breton Extension Railway Company, and the other, I think, is the Canso and Louisburg Railway Company. There are, at any rate, two sets of people applying for the subsidy, and no contracts have yet been awarded. It would not be expedient, I am sure, for the minister to make any further statements on the subject at this moment.

Mr. MULOCK.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) Might I ask the hon. Minister of Militia if he has the information which he promised me the other day with reference to the four or five men left in Halifax on the occasion of the departure of the last contingent, in care of the sick horses ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). I overlooked the matter for a day or two, but telegraphed yesterday for the information to the district officer commanding. I will let the hon. gentleman know at once when I receive the answer.

THE SUSPENSION OF COASTING LAWS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Before the Orders are called, I would like to call the attention of my right hon. friend to the visit of the deputation which waited upon the government about the suspension of the coasting laws. On that occasion, my right hon. friend promised to look into the matter and said that probably the Order in Council, under which the suspension of the coasting laws was adopted, would be rescinded. Has that Order in Council been rescinded as yet ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). There is no necessity for rescinding it, because it was only for the present season, and is, therefore, now at an end.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). I wish, Mr. Speaker, to correct a report in the columns of the *Toronto Globe*. I am sure the intention was not to misrepresent me, but I certainly was misrepresented. In a report of some remarks I made with reference to the recall of General Hutton, the correspondent of the *Toronto Globe* says this :

He knew that to say this might be to criticise Col. Hughes.

That has reference to a statement I made with regard to the opinion existing in the country as to the general conduct in Canada of Major-General Hutton ; and I need hardly say to the House that I made no such statement. What I did say was that I felt, and the members of this House felt, that the case of Col. Hughes and his dispute with the general had nothing whatever to do with the recall of General Hutton, but there was a much more serious cause for that recall than any dispute with an officer of the militia. What I said further was that the case of Col. Hughes would not be dealt with now, but would stand on its own merits, and need not be discussed at all at present.

THE STRATHCONA HORSE.

Mr. FRANK OLIVER (Alberta). I would like, Mr. Speaker, to draw the attention of the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) to a report in circulation in our western country with regard to the purchase of horses for the Strathcona contingent. It has been rumoured for some little time that arrangements are being entered into by the gentleman who has the authority to purchase these horses—an officer of the government, I believe—whether acting in this matter for the government or not—with a private individual in that country for the purpose of having horses imported from the States to supply the requirements of the contingent. The *Calgary Herald* communicated with Dr. McEachern on the subject, and received the following reply:—

No horses are being bought in Montana by me. It is Lord Strathcona's wish—and every effort will be made in accordance therewith—to purchase all the horses in the Territories. It is doubtful, however, if nearly 600 well-broken, sound and suitable horses can be found within the limits, and purchasing agents will probably not refuse to buy suitable horses from within the Territories if such be imported by Canadian dealers.

Dr. McEachern has left the matter an open question in this answer, if he has not actually said that it is his intention to purchase horses from the outside. I bring this matter to the attention of the hon. minister in order that it may be settled, for it is an important one, not only to Lord Strathcona, who furnished the money, I understand, to pay for these horses, but also to the people of the North-west Territories, and also as affecting the credit of the Territories in the matter of horse rearing. For my own part, representing a part of the Territories, and only a part, I will say that there is absolutely no question as to the possibility of purchasing 600 well-broken and suitable horses in the Territories, if any reasonable time be given and reasonable means taken to make the selection. There was no difficulty in doing so in regard to the horses required for the first contingent; and I can certainly say that, as the supply of men was not exhausted with the first contingent, neither was the supply of horses. I should like to say further that if the Territories are good enough to get men from, they are just as good to get horses from. There is no question that it is Lord Strathcona's idea to get the best he can for his money, and his desire is to have the horses purchased in the Territories.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). As my hon. friend (Mr. Oliver) has said Lord Strathcona is furnishing the money, and to a very large extent, the corps that is going to South Africa at his instance, is being arranged for by him. So far as the purchase of horses

is concerned, I can only say to my hon. friend that this matter is entirely under the control of Dr. McEachern, who was appointed for that purpose by Lord Strathcona. Dr. McEachern came here to see me on his way west, but he had his instructions already. For anything he may have done, or may be doing, he is in no way responsible to me, nor is this government in any way responsible for him.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). In the absence of the hon. Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) four or five days ago, I spoke to the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) on this subject of the purchase of horses in the North-west Territories, and told him that what I now tell the Minister of Militia—that if Dr. McEachern finds any difficulty in getting 600 horses in one part of the Territories, all he has to do is go further afield, and he can get all the horses required. For instance, in East Assiniboia, in West Assiniboia, on the Saskatchewan, and, I have no doubt that my hon. friend (Mr. Oliver) who has just addressed the House could inform Dr. McEachern as he has informed us, in the northern part of Alberta, ample provision can be made for the horsing of the new contingent.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Supplementing what has been stated by the Minister of Militia, I may state that, after Dr. McEachern was selected by Lord Strathcona to look after that part of the equipment of the force, he applied to the Department of Agriculture for leave of absence, and was granted that leave of absence in order to apply himself exclusively to this work.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). I understand, from what appeared in the papers some time ago, that an effort was made to ascertain whether Canada could supply the right class of horses and in considerable numbers. Some buyers came into our part of the country, professing to buy horses for that service. But they could only pay from \$45 to \$60 apiece. Any person who knows anything about the matter knows that you cannot buy suitable horses at those figures. Unless this were understood, the impression might be left that a sufficient supply of suitable horses cannot be had in Canada. There are plenty of suitable horses to be found in Canada, but if only the prices I have named can be paid, the horses cannot be bought, at least in our part of the country.

Mr. J. G. RUTHERFORD (Macdonald). I think the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) has touched the root of the matter in this question of price. I understand that the prices offered by Dr. McEachern in the North-west Territories are such as to make it quite possible, in fact probable, that he will not be able to secure what he wants.

Mr. DAVIN. May I ask what the price is ?

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Eighty dollars, I understand to be the price, and we all know that at the present prices, it is quite impossible to procure suitable cavalry remounts at that figure. I feel that the class of horses brought in from Montana, bought by Dr. McEachern at that price, will probably be no great credit to Canada. I regret the incident now under discussion, all the more because we in the west have been for some time trying to get the Imperial authorities to countenance the establishing of a purchasing depot in the North-west. For a year, we have been pressing this matter, and have been urging upon General Hutton the advisability of carrying it out. General Hutton himself is keen on it, and is well aware that we can raise the class of horses wanted for the British service. Only last month, the Horse Breeders Association of Manitoba and the North-west Territories passed a very strong resolution upon the subject, pointing out the advantages which would accrue to the empire through the purchase of remounts for the British army on British soil. I need not occupy time; but, when we are trying to persuade the Imperial authorities that they can procure a sufficient number of horses for the British army in British territory, the publication of such an item as appeared in the *Calgary Herald*, authorized by a man of Dr. McEachern's standing—namely, that he cannot procure 600 horses in Manitoba and the North-west Territories—is likely to have a bad effect upon the reputation of that country as a horse-raising country. I think it is unfair to Manitoba and the North-west that such items should appear. Whether Dr. McEachern is authorized by the government or not, we know that he is a government officer; and I would suggest that he be reprimanded and cautioned, so that he may not again do anything to create a false impression in the way he has done in this instance.

PRIVILEGE—INDEBTEDNESS FOR SPEECHES.

Mr. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). I rise to a question of privilege, in order to make a personal explanation. It would appear from page O-51 of the Auditor-General's Report that I owe the Printing Bureau \$61.31.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, ch.

Mr. TAYLOR. I just wish to say that, personally, when the Auditor-General's Report was printed I did not owe nor do I now owe the Printing Bureau one cent. I may explain briefly how that item was there. An arrangement was made between the Queen's Printer and myself that in case of orders for speeches from members of the opposition, if I would send the names and

Mr. TAYLOR.

the number wanted, he would send the account to me and ask me to collect. It will be seen on the same page of the Auditor-General's Report that I paid \$295.05 last year. Coming on to the close of the session, a number of speeches that had been ordered were not printed in time for members to receive them before they had to leave. They left their voters' lists behind them to have the speeches addressed and sent out. I received the bills from the Queen's Printer, but could not collect the \$61.31, owing to the fact that the members had gone home. I wrote them, and some of them sent me orders on the Accountant's Department for the amount. I took the orders there and received the accountant's cheque, but made payable to the members themselves. I sent these down to them, and asked them to return them to the Queen's Printer; but I presume they came to the conclusion that another session would be on in a short time, and they would settle the account then. These members did pay me the amount immediately on their arrival here, and to-day I received from the Queen's Printer this receipt:

Ottawa, February 15, 1900.

Received from Geo. Taylor, Esq., M.P., sixty-one dollars and 31 cents (\$61.31) for balance for copies of speeches, session 1899.

(Signed) FRED. G. BRONSKILL,
for Accountant.

\$61.31.

Now, I wanted to make this personal explanation because I knew—and know better now from the exclamations from our friends opposite—that some of them will be showing the Auditor-General's Report, and saying that I am indebted to the government in this sum. The amount was not for myself, as I have explained; but, in any case, I want this receipt and my statement to be on *Hansard*, so that when any gentleman rises in any constituency in this country and quotes the Auditor-General's Report to show that I am indebted for the amount of \$61.31, I can place this record and this receipt alongside of it to contradict it.

GRAIN TRANSPORTATION TO THE SEABOARD.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Bennett:

That, in the opinion of this House, it is advisable to take a definite line of action with regard to the question of transportation of the grain and other commodities of the North-west Territories, Manitoba and the United States, with a view of centring the same to the greatest possible extent in Canadian channels.

Mr. R. B. DOBELL (West Quebec). In replying yesterday to the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), I endeavoured to answer the question he put, 'Why it was that Canada had not been able so far to compete with the United States in the transportation of grain to the seaboard,' and I

stated my belief that it was largely owing to our canal system from Kingston to Montreal not having been deepened to a greater depth. I also drew attention to the results on our Sault Ste. Marie Canal, and stated that in the year 1897 four million tons of American shipping passed through our canal. Since yesterday I have obtained a statement showing the amount of tons that passed last year, not only through our Canadian canal but also through the United States canal; and I consider it startling, because it shows how small a part of that western trade is carried by Canadian boats. I will give you the figures: The total tonnage passing through the two canals amounted to 25 millions, of which three million tons passed through the Canadian canal and 22 million tons through the American canal. Out of the three million tons that passed through the Canadian canal, only 496,000 tons were carried by Canadian bottoms. Well, Sir, I also made another statement, and that was that to-day our canals and water stretches will enable Canadian steamers, or American steamers, for that matter, any steamers or vessels not drawing more than 14 feet of water, to pass from Kingston to Montreal at the first opening of navigation this spring.

Mr. BERGERON. Is the hon. gentleman sure of that?

Mr. DOBELL. I think the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) will shortly publish an official announcement in the press of this country that such will be the case.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a few words pointing out the advantages of our route. In the first place, by using both our railways and waterways we have an advantage in the distance between Chicago and Liverpool of 500 miles over the American route. That is of itself a very striking advantage, but I believe we have other advantages still. One is that our route being so much cooler, corn is transported much more safely through our northern waters than when it is sent down the Mississippi to be shipped at New Orleans, which has so far attracted a large portion of that traffic. I believe that when our waterways are used to the full extent, after the 14 feet depth has been secured, a large proportion of that corn will take our route for Great Britain. A question arose as to the most economical way of carrying our corn, either from Chicago or from Port Arthur. Of late there has been a strong inclination to favour these immense steamers carrying 6,000, 7,000 or 8,000 tons each. But it is found that there are great drawbacks to these large steamers. I learn that they have considerable difficulty in entering the harbour at Buffalo, as they have to enter stern foremost, and with the aid of tug boats to put them in position before the

elevators. I have been told by a number of men that the most economical and expeditious way of transporting grain would be to put it on steamers attended by two vessels carrying not less than 8,000 tons, a quantity about equal to that carried by the larger steamers on the lakes when going through our canals without breaking bulk, and delivering that cargo either at Montreal, or Quebec, or any other point, as may be desired.

Mr. FOSTER. That is, the three vessels will carry 8,000 tons.

Mr. DOBELL. Yes, Now, Sir, I have heard a good deal respecting the benefits we can give to our farmers. I do not think there is anything that can conduce more to the prosperity of the farming community than by contriving means by which we shall be capable of moving the grain the year it has been housed and elevated, at the least possible cost, at any place from which it can be shipped to Europe or transferred into cars and distributed in the Eastern States. I do not think that there is any advantage that we can give the farmers equal to that of providing means of getting their grain shipped the same year that it is housed or put into the elevators, where they can deal with it, either by shipment, or by sale.

Mr. FOSTER. In regard to that steamer and its two consorts—do they go through the Welland Canal?

Mr. DOBELL. Yes, I made the statement that they would come from Port Arthur or Chicago without breaking bulk either to Quebec or Montreal, or wherever they may be consigned.

Mr. BERGERON. What is the tonnage?

Mr. DOBELL. The three will carry 8,000 tons on a 14-foot draft of water. One of the great drawbacks to our adopting large steamers is this: It will cost a very large sum of money to prepare Port Colborne for the reception of these steamers, and I think the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has done very wisely in holding his hand and not rushing into a great expense there, because, I believe, the large steamers will not be the best and most effective way of moving our grain. While on the other hand, I believe they afford the most economical way of moving iron ore from Duluth to Cleveland, when we come to carrying grain, I believe they are too cumbersome, too expensive, and they are not the most economical. In favour of these vessels it is interesting to learn that the Messrs. Connors, who have the contract to build these large elevators in Montreal, have contracted in England for five or six steamers to draw 14 feet of water, and which are to be utilized in our lake service with this object.

Mr. FOSTER. To haul consorts?

Mr. DOBELL. There will be a consort to one steamer or two consorts. I believe that two steamers are now being built by a Hamilton firm with the same object, and the only regret I have is that the western ship owners have had so little faith in our canal improvements that we find ourselves now, that our canals are deepened, with no steamers to take advantage of them. This brings me to mention a matter that was brought up by the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), and it was that he questioned the policy which this government adopted last fall in removing the restrictions which our navigation laws put upon American vessels in regard to their carrying grain from one Canadian port to another. Perhaps it will not be uninteresting if I put before the House exactly the case as it was presented to us. Mr. Booth, as you know, has moved large quantities of grain from Parry Sound to the seaboard, he was offered a large quantity of grain from Manitoba, and here, I may mention, that I have heard many hon. members remark upon the small quantity of grain that Canada has taken from Manitoba to be shipped via the St. Lawrence. I believe that nearly the whole of this grain has gone via Buffalo and New York. Mr. Booth presented his case, and he said: 'I am prepared, if you will remove this restriction, to send my steamers'—“which were American steamers”—to take Manitoba grain to Parry Sound and send it to the seaboard. I cannot do it under your present navigation laws, and I leave it for your consideration in future whether it is more desirable for the country to have the transshipping of that grain through Canadian territory and probably by Canadian steamers, than to prevent American steamers bringing that grain from Port Arthur to Parry Sound.' If there were plenty of steamers of Canadian ownership to do the work it would be another question, because no one would stand by the rights of Canada more strongly and more clearly than I would myself, and I hope that we will soon be able to provide sufficient tonnage to move what will be the greatest wheat crop in the world, if our North-west Territories go on increasing at the ratio they have increased in the last two or three years. It is not a question of one route or two routes, or of two, or three railways. We cannot estimate what is before us, and not only that, but look at the greater safety we have in our northern climate. As I have mentioned before, in moving Canadian corn, it is much safer to send it by the St. Lawrence route because of the cooler temperature. In our climate, unlike that of Philadelphia and Baltimore, we can winter wheat with perfect safety. I do not think we can overvalue the privileges we have in having such an important waterway as we have in our lakes and canals at the present time. In defence of the hon. Minister of Public Works, in approving of the lease to an American

Mr. DOBELL.

syndicate to build elevators in Montreal, I may say that I think, if they carry out that scheme, it will do us a great deal of good, and I think we ought to get all the capital we can to make provision for the removal of our western crop. There is no question that we shall have to spend a large sum of money even to provide for 14 feet of water at Port Colborne, because I believe that to-day the depth of water there is only about 12 feet, and I am told that at times there is a very heavy sea running in there which will make it necessary to provide for vessels drawing 14 feet of water, a depth of no less than 17 feet. I believe, also, that it would be necessary to build a large and expensive breakwater there, because, to get vessels to carry grain to any port, we must provide that that port is easy of access and provides perfect security against storms, or any other casualties such as any boulders being dropped into the channel, which we must carefully guard against. I would like to draw attention to the parallel position which is occupied by places like Quebec, Three Rivers, Sorel, or Montreal, and those great grain emporiums in Europe. Cities such as Dantzic, Memel, Riga, and St. Petersburg receive vast quantities of grain during certain months which is put in the elevators and held there during the winter months, until the winter ice breaks up, when a vast fleet of small-sized steamers, and some large steamers also, go and bring that grain to the European markets. We are no worse off than they are. It is quite true that our canals and our lake navigation are closed during five or six months in the year—certainly not over six months in the year. There is another matter to which I wish to direct the attention of the House, and that is with regard to the navigation of the St. Lawrence. I do myself firmly believe that there is nothing to prevent ordinary commercial steamers coming to Quebec, with perfect safety, up to the 1st of February. I know that is a bold statement. I know it may be challenged by many, but I have watched it for many years, and I contend that if we will only help nature to form an ice bridge at Cap Rouge, navigation to Quebec can be continued up to the date I have mentioned. The piers of the proposed railway bridge across the river there will form a key which will enable the ice to take with the first severe frost in the fall of the year. I want hon. gentlemen to fix it in their minds, that Quebec harbour will from that time be kept as free of ice in winter as at any time of the year. There is no reason in the world why Quebec harbour should not be kept free of ice. The reason why it is so dangerous now in winter time, is that they prevent the ice bridge from forming, and the ice flows down from St. Foyés Bay, and forms up as far as Three Rivers, flows to and fro with the tide, and so it continues until the latter part of

February, when what is called the jam bridge forms. At a very low tide with an easterly wind the ice is driven up in the harbour, and it has positively been known to measure 80 feet in thickness at this jamb. If there was a regular ice bridge it would disappear as soon as the spring came, and navigation would be opened earlier in the year. It is therefore quite a question for us whether we should not try to make the St. Lawrence available for the transport of our grain up to a much later date in the year than it is now, and at an earlier date in the spring. This, however, is less likely than to extend the time in the fall, because the Northern Labrador ice is brought down to the Gulf and makes it more dangerous in the spring than the fall and winter of the year. I saw building in Armstrong's yard, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, two immense ice breakers for the Russian government. We have no ice in the St. Lawrence that requires crushing by such steamers. Nature does that for us, by the rapid current and the large expanse of water, so that the ice drifts to the north shore and the south shore, invariably leaving an open channel.

Mr. BERGERON. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) is now speaking about winter navigation; but there is no ice in Quebec harbour during summer, and would he tell us why it is that, for years past, vessels have passed by the beautiful port of Quebec, and taken the trouble and risk of coming up to Montreal?

Mr. DOBELL. I can only say that we have had a great many drawbacks in Quebec, and it would be only ancient history to refer to them now. A short line railway was built which went through the Eastern Townships and the State of Maine, and which was afterwards found not to be the shortest route to St. John, N.B. Another great drawback has been that in the past, we have not been able to bring down grain to Quebec in sufficient bulk to pay for the haul from Montreal to Quebec. When we have elevators in Quebec, and when we can bring 8,000 tons down in one tow, and tranship it in one night, then Quebec will assert the position which nature destined her to hold, as the great transshipment port of North America. There is no question but that the more you deepen your waterways and the more railways you build, it will tend to that happy consummation. We are building larger steamers every year. Three or four years ago a steamer of 6,000 tons was thought to be a very large one, but they are now taking steamers to New York of from ten to twelve thousand tons. Do you think that they will attempt to take a 12,000-ton steamer, carrying perhaps 15,000 tons of dead weight, and go 180 miles up the river to Montreal with it, when you can bring the barges drawing 14 feet down without any risk, and put their cargoes rapidly on board the steamers at Quebec. We have in Quebec a harbour capable of

accommodating almost any number of steamers, and they can use it without risk or danger. I never raised my voice against Montreal. I say that the Montreal people are deserving of all credit for the energy and enterprise they have shown in deepening the channel, and I would support a proposition to-day to go on deepening and widening it. I believe, Sir, that we are going to have such immense quantities of grain and other produce sent to Europe by the Canadian route, that it will require not only Montreal, but Three Rivers, Sorel and Quebec to provide the necessary accommodation. All we have to do to-day is to erect elevators so that we can bring the grain our way, instead of allowing it to be shipped out of Buffalo, New York and Philadelphia.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) has been telling us of the advantages of our water route; would he be kind enough to tell us what are its disadvantages. At present we are not getting the trade; why is that so? The hon. gentleman's speech is very interesting and practical, and as a business man, I would like to hear him speak on the question of rates, via Buffalo and New York, as compared with the rates over our route.

Mr. DOBELL. I am thankful to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) for his commendation. In reference to the expense, I am informed on good authority by Capt. McDougall, of Duluth, a gentleman largely interested in the construction of steamers, that as soon as our canals are deepened to 14 feet, he would be prepared to bring a steamer and two consorts to Quebec and deliver the grain on board the ocean-going steamers, at 4 cents per bushel.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). From Duluth?

Mr. DOBELL. From Duluth, Port Arthur or Chicago, he would deliver grain at Quebec for 4 cents a bushel.

Mr. FOSTER. What is the cost at present by the Buffalo and New York route?

Mr. DOBELL. It varies very greatly both from Chicago to Buffalo, and from Buffalo to New York. It depends very much on the demand for grain, but I should say that the average would be about one and one-third or one and a half cents from Chicago to Buffalo, and from Buffalo to New York it would come to 5 or 6 cents a bushel.

Mr. POUPORE. You mean by rail from Buffalo to New York.

Mr. DOBELL. Yes.

Mr. POUPORE. What is the rate by water?

Mr. DOBELL. Very little less; perhaps four cents. Then there is the terminal charges at New York, and I wish to refer

to that. Mention was made yesterday of making Montreal a free port. I have no objections to that, but if Montreal is made a free harbour, Halifax, St. John, Quebec and Three Rivers and all other ports in Canada must be made free. Why should we make these harbours free? There is no such thing to be found in any other commercial country in the world. It is not a natural harbour. Why should the farmers of this country have to pay the whole cost of steamers and wharf accommodation? I believe in free trade and in every industry paying a fair proportion of the cost of providing these accommodations.

Mr. POUPORE. What is the comparative cost of wharfage at New York and at Montreal?

Mr. DOBELL. I will give you an example. I believe the Cunard people pay \$150,000 a year for their wharf, and the White Star people pay \$175,000 a year for their wharf at New York. I may be wrong, but my belief is that the steamship owners in Montreal, such as the Allan Line, the Dominion Line and the Beaver Line, do not pay more than \$1,000 a year. Their wharfs are practically free to them to-day. The charges in Quebec are also very light indeed. Just now the most unfortunate influence against us is the insurance rates, to which I referred yesterday. This is a matter which I do not think can be ventilated too much in this country. We are entirely dependent on the insurance companies and the underwriters of London. Although we do not own the steamers, we may charter them for three or four or five trips, and provision is now always made that after the 1st of September they must not go by the St. Lawrence. This is very damaging to us, so damaging that it behooves every Canadian to support the forming of a Canadian Lloyds. I do not mean to say that we should try to cover all the risks; but we should be prepared to take a portion of the risks on all first-class steamers and a portion of the risks on the freight. If we did this, we should be in a position to bring such influence to bear on the London underwriters that they would gladly take the risks which we were prepared to take ourselves. At present the rates are prohibitory. It was common knowledge last fall that it was very difficult to get steamers to load at Montreal, owing to the very high rates of insurance. We had to pay three per cent additional insurance on each voyage of each steamer, not between Montreal and Quebec, but between Montreal and Great Britain. I will mention a very pertinent case. We had a steamer chartered, and we had to pay three per cent extra insurance upon her to send her to Quebec. We could have sent her to Bangor, Maine, without any extra insurance.

Mr. POUPORE. Does that apply to Quebec, or only to Montreal?

Mr. DOBELL.

Mr. DOBELL. It applies to the St. Lawrence. We are handicapped to the extent of one per cent till the 1st of September, and to the extent of three per cent after the 1st of September. The rates are really prohibitive. At such a rate it would pay better to send grain to New York than to send it by the St. Lawrence. The evil is one for which the remedy rests in our own hands. We should see that our lighthouses are perfected, and I believe that the present Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) is desirous of taking every precaution that is possible. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) informed us yesterday that he intends to have a cable, or at any rate communication by telegraph to Belle Isle this year.

Mr. FOSTER. What will that do for the ships? Will that lessen the insurance?

Mr. DOBELL. Yes, I think it will, in this way. We shall hear of steamers leaving the north of Ireland, and three days and a half afterwards we shall be able to telegraph her arrival at Belle Isle. The man who takes the risk of that steamer will feel that his premium is very easily earned. Again, take the case of the *Scotsman*: It was eight days before we heard of her loss, whereas, if we had had such a telegraph line, we could have heard of it in three hours, and in three days we could have had steamers sent in time to have saved the bulk of the cargo.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman thinks that the facilities for salvage would be so great that they would offset the rates of insurance.

Mr. DOBELL. Not only that, but I believe that it would often be possible to save the steamer. At present there is a good chance of keeping a vessel afloat until she can be saved. We ought to make the ports of our great Dominion as complete as possible, and provide all the facilities possible for saving ships and their cargoes. Last year the Minister of Marine sank a permanent pier in the Traverse, which is of immense advantage to shipping. The hon. leader of the opposition can bear testimony to that fact, because last summer, while on board of a steamer he saw that solid pier set in the river and lighted up by a strong flashlight. That pier is there summer and winter, and steamers coming to Quebec can at all times take their bearings from that light. I remember a steamer coming up there four or five years ago, and when she arrived at the entrance to the Traverse, not knowing where the passage-way was, she waited two days for assistance to come to her, and, not finding it she turned around and went to Halifax. These things impress me with the necessity of our removing the difficulties and dangers to navigation in the Lower St. Lawrence to the greatest extent possible. When this is done, we may rea-

sonably look for lower rates of insurance. The underwriters naturally look at the results of the last three or four years' experience, and they find that instead of receiving a fair return for the risks they have run, they have really lost money, and therefore they put up the rates. That is one reason why we are suffering to such an extent as materially to hamper us in getting steamers in the fall of the year to carry our grain across the Atlantic. I shall not take up the time of the House at any greater length. I think we are all indebted to the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) for having introduced this important subject at this most opportune moment, because now that our canals are just being finished, is the time when we should make every effort to provide accommodation for the great trade of the west. Our American friends will soon have their Erie Canal deepened to eight feet and probably more, and may possibly undertake the project of opening up another waterway by Lake Champlain. To-day we have the opportunity of making the St. Lawrence a great highway, not only of our own western Dominion, but of the far distant western districts of Ohio, Indiana and Minnesota of which the St. Lawrence is the natural outlet. I believe that our government will succeed in accomplishing this, and that in three or four years more we shall have a very different return to make from that which I have presented to the country to-day.

Mr. J. D. REID (South Grenville). I have listened, Mr. Speaker, with a great deal of pleasure to the remarks made by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Dobell). I had not the pleasure of listening to the speech of the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) yesterday; but on reading it in the newspapers, I came to the conclusion that the government had come to a decision to spend a lot of money at Port Colborne, and were unanimous on that point. After listening, however, to the remarks of the hon. gentleman who has just preceded me, I have come to the conclusion that there is still some uncertainty about the matter and that therefore the question is still open for discussion as to what we require to do in the interests of the transportation of grain from the west.

The hon. Minister of Public Works said it was necessary to spend \$5,000,000 at Port Colborne in order that large vessels might discharge their grain in that port and tranship it into 60,000 bushel vessels for Montreal. I do not believe that that is where the trouble lies. I believe that had Montreal been able to take care of the grain, a greater part of the grain from the western provinces would have gone that route long ago. Even now, if Montreal were able to take care of the grain, large vessels can bring it to Buffalo—250,000 bushel vessels—and

tranship into Canadian vessels of 60,000 bushels, which would take the grain through to Montreal without spending a dollar at Port Colborne. The elevators in Buffalo will handle the grain and deliver into Canadian bottoms just as readily as into American barges to be taken to New York.

During the year previous to 1889, the rates of grain from Buffalo to New York were very much more than they have been since, and a great deal more grain has been going through the St. Lawrence canals. And why? Simply because larger Canadian vessels have been built and are carrying the grain to Kingston and Prescott, where it is transhipped. The quantity has increased simply because these large lake carriers are able to bring it much cheaper. The hon. Minister of Public Works said yesterday that the rate of grain from Chicago or Port Arthur to Montreal is eight cents. I know for a fact, however, having had a little experience in the matter, that the rate of grain from Chicago during 1898—I see it here stated in the official report—to Prescott, where it was transhipped, was one and five-eighths cents per bushel, and from Prescott to Montreal one and three-eighths, thus making a total rate from Chicago to Montreal of three cents per bushel. I also know for a fact that during the whole season, from the opening of navigation until the end of the season, the rates of freight averaged, taking one month with another, less than three cents per bushel from Chicago or Duluth to Prescott, where it was transhipped, and from Prescott to Montreal the average rate was less than one and a half cents per bushel, thus making an average during the whole year from those points to Montreal of less than four cents a bushel. But the great trouble is this: If you want to charter a vessel at Chicago or Port Arthur for Prescott or Kingston, the very first question asked is: Can those vessels be discharged promptly? and unless you can guarantee prompt discharge, you cannot charter to those points. I am referring to the years previous to last, because in 1899 that question was not asked. And why? Simply because the Rockefellers and other large iron shippers on the other side chartered all the vessels they could possibly get, and consequently there was no delay at either Prescott or Kingston, owing to the elevators not being worked to their full capacity. But take the years 1897 and 1898, the elevators were worked to their full capacity, and the reason was that in Montreal the grain could not be taken care of and the elevators were compelled to store their grain. If in the city of Montreal the government had provided sufficient elevator capacity, so that vessels could be discharged quickly, the grain could be carried to-day from Port Arthur to Montreal as cheaply, as, and I believe, a great deal cheaper than, from Buffalo to New York. At present ves-

sels carrying 80,000 bushels can come through to Prescott. It is true they have to lighten at Port Colborne to go through the canal. But the great difficulty is that a small railway owned by a private company, running between Port Colborne and Port Dalhousie, about 14 miles, charges them two cents a bushel for carrying the surplus grain. A vessel carrying 80,000 bushels from Port Arthur or Chicago to Prescott, will carry it for two cents or less, but she cannot carry her full cargo, because she would have to pay two cents, or the full amount she would get, for carrying the surplus grain this short distance by rail. This railway company, I understand, is making a great deal of money out of this little enterprise. If that railway were worked at what it would actually cost to handle the grain, if it were operated by the government, so that the vessel owners would get the grain carried for its actual cost, I believe they would ship their full cargoes. If they could make even half a cent a bushel, they would carry full cargoes, and thus increase the total amount of freight by that much more. With reference to the canal system from Prescott to Montreal, I see by some of the papers that a cry is being raised for the purpose of injuring our St. Lawrence route. Now, I would like to see all the grain possible going by the St. Lawrence route, and, therefore, I deplore anything appearing in the newspapers that will be circulated in any way to injure the route. It is true, at least I understand, that vessels can now go through the Soulanges Canal. As to the rest of the route from the Soulanges Canal westward, a vessel can go down or go up to-day, safely drawing fourteen feet of water. I have not the slightest doubt of that. There is one part of the canal system right through the village in which I live, which is called the Cardinal Cut, but which is not completed. The government, I understand, say that it will be completed and ready for the opening of navigation. So far as that is concerned, I do not think the government can get it ready in that time; I believe it will take all of next year before they can complete it. At the same time, I wish to say that that does not interfere with the fourteen-foot navigation from Montreal. A vessel going down to Montreal would not go through this part, even if it were completed. It would enter the head of the canal, go through the locks and out into the river by a route which is now completed, and so on to Montreal. I believe there are one or two places between that point and Dickinson's Landing where boulders have been found, and where, at present, there is only eleven or twelve feet of water. But I know for a fact that at these points a vessel can go around the boulders without the least trouble. These boulders are in the centre of the river, and

Mr. REID.

there is sixty feet of water on either side of them. Therefore, on the first day of May next, a vessel going through from Prescott to Montreal and drawing fourteen feet of water will have not the slightest trouble.

Mr. BERGERON. That is going down?

Mr. REID. Yes, that is going down; nor is there any trouble coming back. A vessel westbound gets through all right until she strikes this Cardinal Cut, which, as I say, is not intended in any way for vessels going down. When the vessel gets to Iroquois, she has the same channel to go up as she had to go down. But the currents are a little stiffer, and if she were drawing fourteen feet of water, it would be necessary to have a large tug to assist her up to this lock, when she can pass on safely to the upper lakes. The only extra expense required will be this large tug to take her from Iroquois up to the head of the canal. But there is one point to be remembered. I do not believe that vessels going westward will want fourteen feet of water for a great many years to come. It is all well enough going down; I believe that a vessel will want every inch of water she can get; but, going up, it is impossible for them to get return cargoes at present. At the present time, vessels carrying to Montreal from Fort William or Chicago generally go up light. The only vessels that go up through the canals loaded are the small vessels trading from Lake Ontario ports.

I regretted very much when I read in the papers last session that the amount was in the estimates for the improvement of Port Colborne harbour. I felt that the government had been doing everything they possibly could to help our St. Lawrence ports, but in entering upon this Port Colborne expenditure, they were spending money foolishly. And when I read of the Minister of Public Works advocating this North Bay route, it appeared to me that he was only frightening people in all parts of Canada from going into the construction of elevators and so on for the purpose of handling the grain from the North-west. I have not the slightest doubt that when Montreal is able to take care of the grain there will be no trouble whatever, in fact that the quantity of grain going through the St. Lawrence route will largely increase. I believe there will be no more trouble with this grain question when the facilities are there to handle the traffic.

Mr. B. M. BRITTON (Kingston). I would like to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Reid) one question. In disapproving of the deepening of the harbour at Port Colborne, has he considered the question of transshipping grain brought in Canadian vessels from Duluth to Buffalo? As I understand, he

proposes that the grain shall be transhipped through elevators at Buffalo for the St. Lawrence route.

Mr. REID. What I mentioned was that at present you can take a cargo of grain from Port Arthur or Duluth to Buffalo. The elevator will take it in there and tranship it into another boat for half a cent a bushel.

Mr. BRITTON. But the difficulty is that that works a discrimination against Canadian bottoms. You cannot bring grain in a Canadian vessel from Duluth to Buffalo and have it transhipped at Buffalo to a Canadian vessel.

Mr. REID. I admit that, in case of grain coming from Duluth, it would have to be brought from a Canadian port. But I am speaking of our grain in Manitoba. You can take it from Fort William or Port Arthur. Also, you can take American grain which is sent to those ports. If you can quote a man a rate from Fort William through to Liverpool or Montreal cheaper than he can get from Duluth to New York, he will send his grain from Fort William or Port Arthur. He can tranship it there in bond just as well as he can ship it from the Duluth elevator.

Mr. GEO. E. CASEY (West Elgin). I am glad to hear from the hon. gentleman (Mr. Reid) who has just sat down a statement which is, on the whole, highly favourable to the exertions of the government in this matter, and approving the condition of the St. Lawrence route as improved by them. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) who brought up this matter for the consideration of the House has not approved of what the government has done. But, on the other hand, that hon. gentleman has not seen fit to give us any indication of what ought to be done. He has done a service to the House and the country in securing the discussion of this question, but his own contribution to the discussion is really nil. He has not been able to advise or recommend or suggest anything, and he has ignored all that has been actually done.

I am sure the government are very glad of the opportunity to have this transportation question discussed. There is no question the discussion of which will redound more to their credit than the question of what has been done for the transportation of grain from our inland territory since they have come into power. This is not a subject in regard to which they are on the defensive. It is a subject in regard to which they are in a position to boast. I, as their follower, feel inclined to boast a little just now and here as to what they have done. We have been told by the hon. member who started the discussion (Mr. Bennett) and by others, many of the reasons why our canals do not pay. I shall consider presently what the government

have done to remedy the difficulty, and to do away with those reasons.

But I must begin by saying that they have evidently conceived a comprehensive scheme of through transportation all the way from the Rocky Mountains to tide-water. Let us begin with one of their earliest achievements, I refer to the building of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, and especially to the bargain with the Canadian Pacific Railway incident upon the building of that road. The Crow's Nest Pass Railway itself is an important avenue of transportation, both into and out of British Columbia, for farm produce going in and for coal and other minerals coming out. But, to the mass of the people, probably the most important feature of that bargain was the reduction in freight rates to and from the North-west, which was imposed upon the Canadian Pacific Railway as a condition of assisting them to build the Crow's Nest extension. Without going into details, we all know that very important reductions were thereby obtained in those freight rates, some to take effect immediately, and others after the completion of the Crow's Nest road, all being in effect at the present time. I leave it to those from the prairie districts to estimate more in detail the amount of money saved to the farmer up there on the transportation of his wheat by these arrangements, but it must amount to an immense sum, equal to a respectable profit to many of those who are concerned in the production of grain on a large scale. But this is not all, even in the way of railway construction. Although the Canadian Pacific Railway is a great national highway, it has been seen that it does not fully serve all the needs of the North-west and of Manitoba. There has been growing up bit by bit, under the fostering care of this government, what may be called an alternative route. The Rainy River Railway has been subsidized, reaching from the head of Lake Superior to the boundaries of Manitoba, that province looking after it the rest of the way. Portions of road are being subsidized opening up the Saskatchewan district, a district which will probably prove to be the greatest grain and cattle producing district yet unsettled in the North-west. Unfortunately, not by the fault of this government, not perhaps by the fault of the Canadian Pacific Railway officers themselves, but unfortunately, at all events, the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway does not run through the best farming district of the North-west. After you leave the boundaries of Manitoba it goes into a district affected by the droughts and dry winds coming from the great American desert to the south, and where the artificial application of water is necessary to produce crops. The Saskatchewan valley does not suffer from these disadvantages. The roads now building, subsidized by this parliament at the instance of the government, will open up a

vast new country of the best quality of soil and of the best climate, to an uncounted number of new settlers. At the same time it will give an alternative route to the seaboard to some of those districts that are already settled and producing grain.

Then, Sir, we come to the other end of the scheme, the bringing of the Intercolonial Railway into Montreal. I think that no more important contribution to the transportation service of Canada was ever inaugurated up to that time than the bringing of the Intercolonial Railway into Montreal. It amounted to turning a non-paying property of this Dominion into a property which will probably in the future fully pay its expenses, as we do not expect and do not wish it to pay dividends. It gives us an alternative route to the sea independent of the Canadian Pacific Railway and other roads. Using that road, not as a dividend payer, but as an outlet for other roads, it is giving us a most complete and perfect check upon the expense of transportation from Montreal eastward. This whole matter has been discussed before, and I am only giving now my own concrete opinion of a past act when I say that this one achievement alone would be sufficient to justify the confidence that has been reposed in this government, and to justify them in asking the approbation of the people to their policy as concerns railways and transportation.

This extension brought into play another connection westward, namely, the Parry Sound road, a road whose merits have been fully stated already in this debate, a first-class road in every respect, capable of carrying a very large quantity of grain furnished at its other extremity, with a first-class harbour, requiring no dredging or any other artificial means to enable it to accommodate ships of the largest capacity on the lakes. Here has been established, as the direct consequence of the government policy, a second through grain route from the waters of the upper great lakes down as far as the Atlantic. These two alternative routes, then, one established from the prairies to the head waters of the great lakes, the other from the lower waters of the great lakes to the Atlantic, have been achievements of the government in respect to transportation up to within a very few weeks. They were sufficient in themselves, as I have already said, to form a subject for boasting and self congratulation on the part of the government and of their supporters. But we all know from experience that the government are not in the habit of boasting, they won't do it. We have tried to get them to boast on this occasion, but as they won't, their supporters have to do it for them, and I consider I am fulfilling a public duty in doing so in this case.

Then, Sir, we come to consider the improvements in the canal system. It is admitted that the canals have not paid. I do not mean merely that the revenues have

not paid a dividend on the cost of the capital expended on them, but the canals have not served the purpose for which they were intended. That purpose was the development of a large trade between the upper lakes and Montreal, Quebec, and other seaport cities, and affording thereby cheap transportation to the farmers. They did not pay, for one reason, because they were not large enough. That has been remedied by deepening them to 14 feet throughout. This, of course, was begun under a previous regime. The present government is entitled, however, to the credit of hastening the work and bringing it, as my hon. friend who last spoke admits, to a practically successful conclusion at an unexpectedly early date.

But it is admitted on all hands that the mere deepening and enlargement of the canals will not enable them to do what our canal system was intended to do for the improvement of the country. A canal system must have terminal facilities at both ends, like a railroad, in order to be of any great use to the country. It is admitted that the Lake Erie terminus at Port Colborne has not terminal facilities, that it has no harbour, that it will take a considerable amount of money to make it a harbour. My hon. friend (Mr. Bennett) who started this discussion, exaggerated the probable amount of the cost by assuming that the government are going to undertake all the works which their engineers had suggested as possible in connection with such a harbour. We have now the statement of the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) himself that he does not think it will cost more, speaking roughly, than \$1,500,000 for the works which he intends to undertake and which he thinks will be necessary. It is clear that to compete with Buffalo at all, we must have a deep water port at Port Colborne so that large vessels will be able to unload into such vessels as can go through our canal system. My hon. friend (Mr. Reid), who spoke last, was very unfortunate, as was shown by my hon. friend from Kingston (Mr. Britton), in suggesting that the grain could come in American bottoms as far as Buffalo, and then be transferred to fourteen-foot craft in which to go through our canal system. It is not at all likely, that, once landed at Buffalo, it would be transferred to such craft and be brought around the end of the lake again and down through our canal system. It would likely be taken on through the United States. Even if this scheme was workable to any extent, we would lose the profit of carrying this grain all the way down from its western origin. The only solution of the problem of how to get traffic for these canals at its western terminus is the one suggested by the hon. Minister of Public Works, the one which he intends to pursue, the one which we have voted money for, and that is to make a deep water harbour of a reasonable size at Port Colborne.

Even with a clear depth of fourteen feet to Montreal, how do we find ourselves situated? We find ourselves in a position to move an immense traffic to Montreal, and to move it there cheaply, but we find ourselves absolutely unable to avail ourselves of the facilities of transshipping it into ocean-going vessels which are usually to be found at a great grain-exporting seaport. The practice at Montreal has been to bring grain down in barges of a small size; I will not say how many thousand bushels of grain they carry, but I think that something like 8,000 bushels would be a fair average. I am told by shippers that the practice has been to bring them down the canal, to take them out in the harbour basin and to leave them there, stowed away in some corner, until the vessel is ready, and then to bring them alongside and transfer their cargo to the ocean craft. There were no elevator facilities in the port, and it was impossible to profitably use large vessels to bring grain down the canals. The late Mr. Ogilvie told me himself, in Montreal, that no matter how deep, or wide, the canals were made, it would not pay to bring down his large craft from the upper lakes to Montreal, because of the lack of facilities for transshipping grain to ocean-going craft. They would have to wait too long to unload that grain and it would cost too much. The cheapest way was to tranship the grain into barges, bring these down the canal, let them lie around in charge of a caretaker and his family until it was possible to tranship the grain and put it into ocean-going vessels. That practice, it is admitted, went on for many years, and the government have been pressed to put up elevators; the railway companies have been pressed to put up elevators, they promised to do so, but they have hitherto not carried out this promise. During the last season, there comes along an enterprising man from Buffalo, and I am proud to say, that he owes some of his enterprise, probably, to the fact that he is an Irishman by race, and that his father was a good Canadian citizen. He made a proposition on behalf of an American syndicate, that they will put up four large elevators at Montreal at a cost of \$1,000,000 each, that they will put on a fleet of steamers to bring grain to these elevators, that they will allow the public to use these elevators at certain rates agreed upon with the government, and embodied in their contract, that they will bind themselves to bring down so many million bushels a year—I think it is 30,000,000 bushels to start with—and that they will allow the public the use of these elevators at fixed and even rates with themselves. They do not ask any subsidy from the government for doing this. They say they can make money out of it and they want to enter into it as a money-making speculation. This scheme, to which I have already alluded, goes further. It perhaps may be ren-

dered suspicious in the eyes of a great many Canadians simply because it is an immense undertaking that does not ask for a government subsidy. We are so accustomed to subsidizing everything of an enterprising character that we naturally look with some doubt on this scheme. However, the Conners Syndicate entered into negotiations with the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal, who control the land and make the regulations of that port. The syndicate satisfied them of their good faith and of their ability to carry out what they undertook, and satisfied them also that existing interests at Montreal would not be injured by what was proposed. I take that for granted, because the Board of Harbour Commissioners of Montreal is composed of men who have large interests there themselves and who know the views and interests of others who are large property owners in the harbour and in the city. The local jealousy of foreign competition seems to have been allayed by the satisfactory representations made by this syndicate. They made a successful bargain with the commissioners and that bargain has been confirmed by the government. The hon. Minister of Public Works yesterday, disclaimed both the responsibility, and in some degree, the credit of the bargain which has been made. But in view of the fact that the government have considerable influence with the board and that the whole bargain was subject to their ratification, I am sure that he and other ministers are entitled to a considerable share of the credit for obtaining this enormous development of our transportation trade without costing the country one cent. All that these people asked was the use of certain sites on the property of the Harbour Commission. That they have been granted. Two elevators, I understand, are to be built on the canal basin, and the other two farther down the harbour, so that both ends of the harbour of Montreal will be accommodated.

Now, what is the result of this whole scheme? In the first place, four or five million dollars, probably nearer \$5,000,000, of United States money will be spent in Canada, spent in the building of the elevators, the material and labour for which are to be Canadian, and spent in the building of ships for this trade, which are to be built in Canada, as far as possible. I am aware that some contracts have already been let in Toronto; and no doubt others will be as much as possible. It may be that, at first, some foreign-built craft will be employed, but as the scheme is fully developed, Canadian-built craft, and Canadian-built elevators will be used. Canadian men will be employed in the carrying out of this great scheme. It is the most hopeful scheme that has yet been presented to develop our canal system, and to divert the trade from the American route, or at least, to secure the transport of our own Canadian grain through

our own country. But, Sir, it will have far-reaching effects outside the scheme itself. The Canadian Pacific Railway, the Grand Trunk Railway and the Canada Atlantic Railway will not be able to stand idly by and see these immense elevators controlling the whole grain trade at Montreal. Each of these companies will have its own elevator or elevators, and their sluggish intention to do something of that kind has been quickened by the enterprise which has so suddenly sprung up. This scheme will not only secure the construction of the four immense elevators belonging to the new syndicate, but it will result in three or four more elevators being built by the different railway companies.

We have the deepest and widest canal system for its length of any on the American continent, and with good terminal facilities at the port of Montreal, and at Port Colborne, our trade is bound to increase. Then, the increased export trade at Montreal must result in increased import trade, and of course the preferential tariff will year by year increase the importations from England. When ships leave Canada, with grain they will naturally seek cargoes of some kind coming back, and so Canadian ocean freights will necessarily be reduced. We have been told that freight rates from Montreal are considerably higher than the rates from New York. That is due to the smaller amount of trade done at our port, and especially to the want of return cargoes. That condition of things will, I believe, disappear during the next few years. If our ocean rates should continue to be somewhat higher than from Montreal to New York, it is all the more necessary that our inland rates should be cheapened as much as possible. The policy of the government is in that direction. But, it is not the port of Montreal alone that will develop, for when our exports have so vastly increased, it is quite impossible to overlook the fact that the old original seaport of Canada, the grand old city of Quebec, will share in this prosperity. A great deal of this freight must be taken to Quebec for shipment on ocean steamers. Although the channel between Montreal and Quebec is an easy waterway for barges and craft of that sort; yet it is not the easiest navigation in the world for large ocean-going vessels. In all that I have said as to the prosperity of Montreal that will arise from the government's policy, and the policy they have encouraged on the part of this new syndicate, I wish to be understood as saying that Quebec will share largely, and I trust more and more in proportion as time goes on.

I should like to consider the Georgian Bay Canal scheme as a feature of this transportation question, and all the more so as the Minister of Public Works has already made suggestions as to the opening up of the French River from Lake Nipissing to its mouth, but discussion on that subject will

Mr. CASEY.

probably be more appropriate later on. I have stated in previous sessions that I view the Georgian Bay Canal project favourably, as one of the many means of bringing the grain production of the west to the head of ocean navigation. Sir, I believe that not all these schemes together will be sufficient to carry the enormous volume of grain trade which in a few years will be offered from the west to the east. That trade is increasing rapidly now, and we can hardly realize how much more rapidly it will increase in the future, when our own North-west begins to boom as did the American North-west. The Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) has given us figures to show the enormous influx of immigration during the past year or two, and each one of these settlers means a new farm occupied and an increased production of grain. I do not believe that existing railways have any reason to fear that they will be seriously injured by anything that can be done to increase the volume of transportation via our waterways from the west to the east. There will be enough trade for all, and the railways themselves must benefit from these increased facilities which it is the policy of the government to afford.

Mr. E. B. OSLER (West Toronto). Mr. Speaker, the transportation question is an all-important one, and one which concerns the people of Canada perhaps more than any other question at present before them. But, Sir, there is a foundation that must be well laid before the government or the people proceed to expend money, and that is the foundation of knowledge, and the foundation of truth in the statements and the facts and figures which are given. I was very much surprised at some of the figures quoted by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) last night. If the figures upon which he bases his schemes for the expenditure of money are as incorrect as some of the figures he gave us last night, then it is a very bad lookout for this country with regard to the proper expenditure of public money. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) gave the cost of carrying grain from Buffalo to New York as somewhere about six cents a bushel. Now, as a matter of fact, the cost of the carriage of grain from Buffalo to the ship's side in New York, at the present time when there is no competition by water, is 2½ cents. If the figures upon which the minister (Mr. Tarte) bases his calculations for his other schemes which he submits to this House, have no better foundation than these figures I have quoted, then it behooves this House to look very closely into any scheme which he proposes. There is no proposition that can be put before this House for the proper expenditure of public money, that I believe will meet with such cordial approval from hon. gentlemen as the proposition to expend money to increase our transportation trade

from our great west to the seaboard and to the market. If one looks back, to the advancement that has been made in railway construction during the past few years, one is forced to the conclusion that the future carrying trade of this country from the eastern part of the Georgian Bay to the point of ocean shipment must be by railways. With their heavy steel rails of from 90 to 100 pounds, their improved gradients, their enlarged cars and freight trains, capable of carrying four or five times as much as they could a few years ago, they can carry grain at rates which would afford practically no profit to vessels making a long and tortuous way down the canals. The amount of grain carried to New York for shipment is about 136,000,000 bushels. Of this amount the canals carried three years ago 4.9 per cent; one year ago they carried 4.8 per cent, and last year they carried slightly less. So that the transportation of grain to New York was almost entirely by rail, and the grain carried to southern ports other than New York was also carried by rail. The City of New York has of late been grumbling that the New York Central Railway has been discriminating against the city, and that the city consequently has not been getting its fair share of the grain business. As a matter of fact, the City of New York has been getting all the grain business it is entitled to, and the railways are carrying grain to that port at lower rates than it could be carried by water. If we can improve our waterways, if we can cheapen our carriage in any shape or way, let us do it; but let us first be quite sure what we are doing. With regard to the proposed expenditure at Port Colborne, I do not believe the Minister of Public Works or this House has anything like a proper estimate of the cost of that work. The hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton) stated very correctly that the lake bottom is all rock. It is a shallow lake, with a rock bottom a long way up. I do not believe it is possible—I am so informed by captains who know the lake—to build breakwaters far enough out in that lake to afford adequate protection to large vessels in stormy weather for even the \$5,000,000 which is suggested as the outside cost. Time is an important element in transportation, and no vessel carrying 200,000 or 300,000 bushels of wheat will go where there is risk of being delayed by storms for two or three days or of being wrecked on the shore. This government, before they commit this House to an expenditure of even \$1,500,000, as now proposed by official authority, should make sure that they can get anything like a safe harbour for such boats. Our railways in Canada are year by year carrying a larger quantity of grain. As their roadbeds are improved, their gradients lessened, their tracks doubled and laid with steel rails, they are becoming able to carry more grain at a much lower cost. Let

us by all manner of means improve our transportation facilities; let us spend what money is necessary for that; but I confidently assert that at this moment this House has not sufficient information to warrant the expenditure of any such sum of money as is proposed at Port Colborne. It would be a disaster if, after work were commenced and a large sum of money spent, it had to be stopped. It would retard the improvement of transportation in this country for many years. I agree most thoroughly with the resolution moved by the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) that the government should adopt a plan and should not begin a large expenditure without making sure that they are moving in the right direction. The general manager of the New York Central Railway, Mr. Callaway—and no abler man, I think, is to be found in the railway world to-day—in discussing the cost of the canal system proposed in the State of New York, the deepening of the Erie Canal, says that on the cost of \$60,000,000, which is proposed, and which is probably very much within the mark, the interest and the cost of maintenance, amounting to say \$500,000 a year, would reach \$3,000,000 a year, or equal to three cents a bushel on every bushel of grain carried to the city of New York. That same grain is carried to New York by railway and delivered on the vessels at two and three-quarter cents a bushel, or one-quarter cent a bushel less than the interest on the proposed cost of enlarging the present Erie Canal. Mr. Callaway winds up his statement, which I think is applicable to the question under discussion, by saying:

I do not oppose the canal; I do not want to enter into a controversy with the commissioners; but I should like to have statistics of the trade and the plain facts as to the cost of these great improvements set out before the charge is made that railways are discriminating against New York, and that it will cheapen transport to build this proposed canal system.

I think that is a warning to us to refrain from any large expenditure without knowing exactly what it means, or without knowing that it is going to accomplish the object in view.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). I desire to say a few words on a point bearing on this question that has not been touched upon so far. I am sure we all feel proud of our great waterway; we have a right to do so; because it has cost the country a great amount of money; and it is our duty to take every step necessary to preserve that magnificent waterway from the lakes down to the sea. Hon. gentlemen who have been in this House for some years are aware that the subject of the Chicago drainage canal has been brought before this House by myself once or twice on previous

occasions, and I wish to touch upon the same subject now. I contend that the construction of that canal is going to be an exceedingly serious matter for the harbours on Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay. Any hon. gentleman who has read the history of that canal, and studied the question of the amount of water that will pass through it, must come to the conclusion that it is going to have a very serious effect on the height of the water in Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay. That canal is now in a finished condition, that is, so far as it is intended to be carried at present. It is only 125 feet wide at present; but the rock excavation is such that it can be made 250 feet wide. It takes a volume of water of 10,000 cubic feet per second, 600,000 per minute, and will run at an average of a little over two miles an hour. The speed of the water through the canal depends to a great extent, on which way the wind is blowing; but any one who will consider what an enormous drain must take place on the waters of Lake Michigan and the very serious decrease that will result to the flow through the Straits of Mackinaw into Lake Huron, can come to no other conclusion than that the depth of water in our harbours on Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay will be very seriously affected.

The Georgian Bay route for grain is developing very rapidly, and is destined, owing to its being a short and direct route, to become the leading avenue for the carriage of grain from the North-west to the seaboard. But if that drainage canal is going to have the effect on the Georgian Bay harbours which I believe it will, it is going to very considerably reduce the depth of water in these harbours. For instance in the Owen Sound harbour, the depth is three feet less than it was twenty years ago, and has not come up in recent years to anything like what it was years ago. We have reason to believe that the cause of that reduction is, in a great measure, the dredging that was done in the St. Clair flats and river, the result of which has been to facilitate the exit of water from Lake Huron into the Detroit River and on into Lake Erie, and consequently lower the water in the harbours in Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay. But if we are to be subjected to the additional drain of the Chicago drainage canal, I contend that that is a matter which requires serious consideration, and which should have had our serious attention before now. The American government should have been appealed to and warned that in the event of this drainage canal affecting harbours in Canada, Canada would undoubtedly claim indemnity and be entitled to indemnity. I admit that the United States have no control over the construction of that canal, simply because it will be built under a charter of the State of Illinois, and therefore will not come under federal control until it is a navigable

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stream. The United States are unquestionably none the less responsible for any injury it may inflict on Canada. I do think that this is a question which should have been considered long ago in the interests of our farmers and which will eventually prove a very serious question.

Again, we find that the State of New York is moving in the direction of improving its waterway from Buffalo to New York. My hon. friend from Toronto (Mr. Osler), who has just addressed the House, has told us that the rates on grain from Buffalo to New York are something like two and a quarter cents per bushel. But my hon. friend knows perfectly well that the rates fluctuate in proportion to the demand. When the markets of Europe are sluggish and the railways are seeking freight, they lower the rates. But when the market jumps suddenly, the freights immediately jump up in sympathy. In that way these railway companies have, to some extent, militated against the trade of New York, and New York has been laying a very large portion of the blame at the door of the New York Central. The New York people blame that company for taking advantage of the market and insisting on a share of the rise in the market by charging increased freights, and only lowering freights when the market falls.

There is another point which we should not lose sight of. The State of New York intends expending \$60,000,000 for the purpose of building a deep canal between Buffalo and New York. What effect will that have on the St. Lawrence route? It is going to take a very large body of water out of what now flows over Niagara Falls and helps to swell the St. Lawrence River. We know that the river at present has not too much water to accommodate boats drawing 14 feet. We know that if you diminish the volume of the St. Lawrence you are going to injure the value of that river and the utilization of our canal system built at enormous cost. The State of New York appointed a commission which has decided unanimously in favour of the construction of that canal, the construction of which cannot fail to injure the water flow through the St. Lawrence. All those questions, when we consider the enormous expenditure which this country has gone to in order to furnish us with our present magnificent canal system, deserve the attention of the government, and I do hope that they will receive the most careful attention of the Minister of Railways and Canals, who, I am sorry, is not present, and that whatever move is necessary to be taken will be taken by the government to bring the United States to understand that we, as a people and as a nation will demand of them damages, if any are sustained by our harbours and our lakes owing to the enormous drain to which our waterways will be subjected by these various schemes I have enumerated. Canada

will certainly be entitled to some consideration, and we will demand and insist on fair-play.

Mr. FOSTER. How are you going to enforce the claim ?

Mr. McMULLEN. I do not know. We have had claims before and asserted them, and had them settled. This is a very serious international question, and we are entitled to some consideration. Another reason why New York is suffering from a depressed condition is this, and why she has become greatly agitated over her loss of trade. That depression is not altogether owing to the course pursued by her own railway system, but largely owing to the diversion of the trade of the western states southward. Mexico to-day is doing an export trade for the south-western states that she never did before. Three lines of railway have been constructed from the Missouri valley, and are carrying two-thirds of the produce of the south-western states down to the Gulf of Mexico, thus avoiding the long line of land travel to New York, Boston and Baltimore. The result is that the rates of grain from the south-western states, of which Kansas City is the centre, to Liverpool, are one-third less than before those roads were built, and the eastern lines have lost the trade to a very considerable extent. This has seriously affected New York, which was the focusing point for this trade.

And you can depend upon this—that New York city is going to fight very determinedly for a portion of the Canadian trade. She has lost her south-western trade and is not going to get it back, for the simple reason that these lines are held by western owners and are operated by them in the interest of the western section, and they are to-day offered more traffic than they can handle. I have it on good authority that there was last year five steamer-loads of freight lying on the wharfs in the Gulf of Mexico, freight that was going to points north and north-west in the United States that had been delivered direct there in place of going by the port of New York. I do not much wonder that New York is getting excited and is talking of the construction of a new canal to control the trade. I am afraid she has reached the zenith of her greatness as an exporting city, and is bound to suffer seriously by the developments that have taken place for the upbuilding of her rivals.

Mr. HAGGART moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 6.00 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, February 16, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

THE COMPANIES CLAUSES ACT.

Mr. GILMOUR moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 32) in further amendment of the Companies Clauses Act. He said : Mr. Speaker, this amendment deals only with mercantile and manufacturing companies incorporated by special Act and subject to the Companies Clauses Act. It does not interfere with mercantile and manufacturing companies incorporated by Dominion Letters Patent. The object of the amendment is to give such companies the liberty to change the locality of their head offices without coming here and getting a special Act for that purpose. The law, as it stands, at present, makes it necessary for them to come here and get a special Act. This is considered to be very inconvenient and expensive.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. DOMVILLE moved for leave to amend the Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons. He said : Mr. Speaker, I may say that the Bill is so satisfactory that it will commend itself to the House of Commons. It has simply one clause, to remove the disability of an officer of the militia serving as a member of parliament. Under the Act to-day he is disqualified, although he is qualified for everything else. and I propose, with the consent of the House and of the government, to place militia officers in the same position as officers of the army of England, namely, by adding three or four words to the Act which will allow them to be members of parliament while they are serving as militia officers in any capacity.

Mr. SPEAKER. The rules of the House forbid the introduction of a Bill in blank form.

Motion withdrawn.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

The House resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding : That the House resolve into Committee of the Whole to consider certain proposed resolutions to provide for the payment of the expenditure incurred, or to be incurred, in sending contingents of Canadian volunteers to South Africa.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to take part in this debate because I thought that the resolution probably called for very little discussion after we had allowed the address to go through pretty well undiscussed, at least, not discussed at any length, but, the spectacle that was presented here on Tuesday evening was one that it was impossible not to take notice of—either from the point of view of the surface issue, still more from the point of view of anybody interested in responsible government. What we witnessed was this, one hon. gentleman of great prominence in this House, who has had a leading position in this House for many years, but who is not a member of the government, acted as a sort of proxy for a certain portion of the ministry and chastised one of its members. Those who were here on that occasion and observed the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) expected to hear from that hon. gentleman. The hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) was in that way that indicates that an hon. gentleman is going to speak, and the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) also had that uneasy air that characterizes an hon. gentleman about to be oratorically delivered. But, while this scene was going on, the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) went down and spoke a whisper to the Treasury bench, and we found, when the time came, that instead of hearing from the hon. Minister of Public Works, or from the hon. member for Labelle, to hear whom was the natural curiosity of the House, or from the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) to hear whom also was a natural anxiety on the part of the House, up rose the hon. member for North Norfolk, and I must say that I listened to that admirable, patriotic speech of his with great interest and almost entire assent—almost entire assent; I repeat with great interest, because the hon. member presented the spectacle, a heretic of long standing reading his recantation. After the manner of converts he passed enthusiastically over from the side with which he used to be identified, to the side to which he had come—let us believe, and I certainly am ready to believe—with the best motives grounded on conviction. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) not only appeared as an enthusiastic Britisher and Imperialist, and as a man interested in sustaining the empire and ready to go to the assistance of that empire, almost as enthusiastically as the Prime Minister of Ontario; but strange to say the hon. gentleman, who is on record as having made at least fifteen or twenty, aye, probably fifty speeches from this side of the House in favour of the proposition that not in England but the United States would Canada find her best market, came forward, and in strong and eloquent terms, and giving statis-

Mr. DAVIN.

tics, declared that Great Britain was the best market for Canada. But, Sir, while that was satisfactory, the most interesting feature was the Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies), the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) and the Prime Minister sitting with satisfaction, contemplating with faces beaming with delight, the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) while he struck hard at the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), struck the blows they themselves had not the courage to inflict. The Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies), who is a lawyer, will not object to my applying the legal maxim to that situation; that what one does by another he himself does; and these gentlemen who put up the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) to strike at the minister (Mr. Tarte) must themselves be held to have struck at him. I never in my life saw the Postmaster General so gratified with anything as he was when sentence after sentence, falling from the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), echoed on the back of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). Subsequently the member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) made a speech, and taking the standpoint of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Monet) as defined by himself, I will not characterize that speech as disloyal from him; but regarding it as a speech from the standpoint of a minister of the Crown it was one of the most disloyal utterances that could be listened to. And yet, Sir, we saw the Minister of Public Works, cheering that speech, and when he cheered the Prime Minister turned round to him and warned him not to cheer. My hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) made his profession of faith in regard to the constitutional question involved in the matter before the House. And what did he declare? He declared, pointing down to the First Minister's seat: There sits the Gamaliel at whose feet I learned these principles. The hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) in the same way, pointed to the Prime Minister and said: It may not be pleasant for you to hear these principles, but I learned them from the gentleman who leads this party, and who leads the government of this country. When I heard these startling statements I went back and recalled how the member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), differing with the last position taken by the Prime Minister, but standing on the base of the first position taken by the Prime Minister, resigned his seat. In other words, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bourassa) backed the Prime Minister of the 3rd of October against the Prime Minister of the 15th of that month. He resigned, and said: I will see whether the country is with me, and after having formally stated to his constituents that what he desired was a vote of want of confidence in the government, his constituents sent him back not merely by a majority but by acclamation. His constituents in fact voted want of con-

confidence in the government. Well, Sir, who introduced the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bourassa) to this House? On one side of the embodied want of confidence in the government of the county of Labelle was the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) and on the other side the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), who made that speech which so astonished us the other night and to which I have referred. There is therefore a deeper question in the situation than the question which appears on the surface, and that question is: Have we at the present time responsible government in operation in this country? I shall read to the House three or four lines by a great hand, stating what is the position of the Cabinet of Great Britain ever since 1693. Says this great writer:

The Cabinet Council, properly so-called, dates from the reign of William III. and from the year 1693, for it was not until some years after the revolution that the king discovered and adopted the two fundamental principles of a constitutional executive government, namely, that a ministry should consist of statesmen holding the same political principles and identified with each other. And if differences of opinion arise, their existence is unknown as long as the cabinet lasts—when publicly manifested, the cabinet is at an end.

And, Sir, are not these differences and dissonances publicly manifested in the case of the present cabinet? Why, you have had the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) declaring in the strongest terms that the second position taken by the Prime Minister was a wrong one, that he would not tolerate it, and you have the same position taken by the member for Laprairie who says to the Prime Minister: There is my mentor and teacher, and you have leading members of the cabinet putting up the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) to chastise the Minister of Public Works for criticising them. Have you a united cabinet here? Have you a cabinet whose disunion has been kept in the dark? Sir, you have not. I do not refer to the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) for he is not in the cabinet.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. He is in the government.

Mr. DAVIN. He is in the government, and he came in for the lash of the Minister of Public Works, and it emphasizes the open disunity that exists in that government which I say has ceased to be responsible.

Mr. McNEILL. Who is the author you quoted from?

Mr. DAVIN. The Encyclopedia Britannica.

Mr. FOSTER. That is an Imperial authority for you.

Mr. DAVIN. The member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) says in the course of his speech:

I cannot understand what kind of statesmanship that is which says: My only justification is that the public demanded it.

And the hon. gentleman (Mr. Monet) in saying that, shows that he has a profound and just grasp of the principles of responsible government. We do not choose—because that is practically what the government is—a committee of this House to carry on affairs merely to take up any opinion or doctrine that comes along if only they are left to enjoy their salaries. That is not the doctrine of responsible government. If you adopted a doctrine like that, you would have one ministry of brigands follow another ministry of brigands. You would have a ministry that would not have the respect or confidence of the country, and that reckless as to political principles would probably be abandoned as regards the ordinary principles of honours and morals. The idea of responsible government is that men holding certain opinions and determined to carry them out are placed in the government to carry out those opinions as long as the people and parliament support them; and when neither the people nor parliament will support them any longer, they say: 'Very well, get another set of men; we cannot serve you any longer.' But, Sir, that is not the position of the present government on this question; even as it is notorious, it has not been their position on other questions since they came into power. Their position is this: they are advocating views and carrying out principles which a short time ago they denounced.

Now, I have here the famous interview of the Prime Minister. It will bear having attention called to it again, because the more it is read, the more light will be thrown on the extraordinary situation with which we are face to face to-day. On the 3rd of October, the Prime Minister gave an interview to the correspondent of the *Globe*, in which he said:

'There exists a great deal of misconception in the country regarding the powers of the government in the present case,' said Sir Wilfrid. 'As I understand the Militia Act, and I may say that I have given it some study of late, our volunteers are enrolled to be used in the defence of the Dominion. They are Canadian troops, to be used to fight for Canada's defence.' In order to bring out the meaning of this you have to emphasize the word 'Canada's'—'they are Canadian troops, to be used to fight for Canada's defence.' He regards the empire as something apart from Canada, certainly when it comes to fighting any battles.

Perhaps the most widespread misapprehension is that they cannot be sent out of Canada. To my mind, it is clear that cases might arise when they might be sent to a foreign land to fight. To postulate a case: Suppose that Spain should declare war upon Great Britain. Spain has, or had, a navy, and that navy might be being got ready to assail Canada as part of the empire. Sometimes the best method of defending oneself is

to attack, and in that case Canadian soldiers might certainly be sent to Spain, and it is quite certain that they legally might be so despatched to the Iberian peninsula. The case of the South African Republic is not analogous. There is no menace to Canada, and, although we may be willing to contribute troops, I do not see how we can do so.

There you have the doctrine stated by the Prime Minister which has offended Canada, the doctrine that has led to all this indignation against the government, the doctrine which shows the right hon. gentleman to be unfit for his position; because he lays it down that a loyal British colony has nothing to do with fighting the battles of the empire unless on its own soil or for its own immediate benefit. That is not the position of a loyal son of the empire in any part of that vast empire. The position of a loyal son of the empire is that the empire is one, that its solidarity is complete, and that if the empire is menaced in any part, it is menaced in every other part, because it is an organic whole. Sir, that empire's prestige or power could not be impaired in any part without the status of every Canadian being injured by that impairment. Again, the right hon. gentleman says:

Then, again, how could we do so without parliament's granting us the money? We simply could not do anything. In other words, we should have to summon parliament.

Well, a fortnight passed when he found that he could do it without having the authority or sanction of parliament, and that there was no necessity for any change of law. This is the first time, Mr. Speaker, I suppose, since the Prime Minister has been the leader of a great party that he was ever known to give a positive opinion on any question, and a little over a week after that positive opinion was given, he himself treated it as it deserved.

The government of Canada is restricted in its powers. It is responsible to parliament, and it can do very little without the permission of parliament. There is no doubt as to the attitude of the government on all questions that mean menace to British interests, but in this present case our limitations are very clearly defined. And so it is that we have not offered a Canadian contingent to the home authorities. The Militia Department duly transmitted individual offers to the Imperial government, and the reply from the War Office, as published in Saturday's 'Globe,' shows their attitude on the question. As to Canada's furnishing a contingent, the government has not discussed the question, for the reasons which I have stated—reasons which, I think, must easily be understood by every one who understands the constitutional law on the question.

It will be observed that he states there that only individual offers at that time had been sent to the Imperial authorities, although he has told us—and the evidence is in a pamphlet that has been laid on the Table—that from the beginning of July our sister colonies had been offering their help. But

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there is more than that, Mr. Speaker. It is incredible; not only had they made no offer, but he says, 'the government have not discussed the question.' Now, that raises some nice inquiries. Up to October 3rd, the government had never discussed this question; it had never been brought up even by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies); it had never been brought up by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright); nobody mentioned it in Council. Our Napoleon, the member for the west, by his silence, showed that there is nothing in the theory of Walter Shandy as to the influence on character of names, because his cognomen proved to be utterly nugatory on that occasion.

Mr. BENNETT. They took all the war out of him in Manitoba.

Mr. DAVIN. I think they did.

The statement in the 'Military Gazette,' published this morning, is a pure invention, far from possessing any foundation in fact; it is wholly imaginative.

It is quite clear from that interview that the Prime Minister at that time shared the opinion of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) and the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) that nothing should be done without calling parliament; and these hon. gentlemen point to him as having taught them that principle. The hon. member for Laprairie again and again asserts that he had learnt the principles he enunciated from the leader of the government; and the hon. member for Labelle said the same. These gentlemen, before they content themselves with the answer that has been given with regard to the first contingent, may very well ask, as I think they do ask, why was it that parliament was not called in regard to the second contingent? The reason given by the Prime Minister for not calling parliament was futile, that it would not have been expedient to call parliament together because there was very little money to be expended on the contingent, and that consequently the government might break the law, and, in fact, the right hon. gentleman in his speech in this House, asserted that he had gone outside the law and the constitution. With regard to the second contingent, there is a most extraordinary statement made by the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) which emphasizes the extraordinary distrust that has entered into the ranks of hon. gentlemen opposite. The hon. gentleman does nothing less than accuse his right hon. leader of treachery.

An hon. MEMBER. What?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes, of treachery. Let me read to you his words, and let me repeat that I would not have spoken in this debate if I had not been impressed by the seriousness

of the situation, as disclosed by the speeches of these hon. gentlemen. When addressing the House the other evening on this question, the hon. member for Laprairie said :

. There has been a little cooling off in public opinion, everybody must admit. 'Le Temps,' referring to the meeting held at Quebec to secure some funds for the relief of the families of the second contingent, said: 'The preparations for enlisting the volunteers in this city for the second contingent are moving very slowly. Up to to-day there are not ten citizens who have given in their names.'

This was in the city of Quebec, of which I believe the right hon. gentleman is one of the members, and this paragraph is headed 'Very little enthusiasm.' Let me still further quote the hon. member for Laprairie, and call the attention of the First Minister to this remark, which probably he has not noticed :

There is, perhaps, one way to explain the change of view of the members and the newspapers on this question. I remember the story of Cuvier, one of the most eminent naturalists of France, who was asked one day, while among a group of very learned naturalists: Do you believe in spontaneous generation? It was in the time of the regime of Napoleon I. Cuvier merely answered: The Emperor does not want it. So I think the only way to explain this change of view is that the leader of the government does not want it.

Why, Mr. Speaker, here we have a follower of the right hon. gentleman, who declares himself one with him on every subject except the sending of these contingents, stating that the right hon. gentleman, while appearing to the public as advocating—not advocating indeed, for he has never gone as far as that—but arranging for a second contingent, had been secretly whispering to his friends and henchmen in Quebec to cool down their enthusiasm, so that no one should go from that city on the second contingent. What an opinion of the character of the right hon. leader of the House does that show to be held by one of his trusted followers! Take the speech of the right hon. gentleman made in this House, which I will not analyse because I might be held to be going back to a previous debate, though no doubt the debate was on the same subject—take that speech, take that interview, take what he said some days afterwards, take what he said about having to go himself to Chicago while Lord Minto went to New York and then take the bold assertion made by the Prime Minister, and while it is a harsh thing to say, I cannot help saying it, nobody can believe him when he said that the moment war had been declared, he took action. Why, the whole of Canada was looking on at what was taking place during those two days in the council chamber. Every one was taking note of the conduct of the Minister of Public Works, the dark figure in this—shall I call it a tragedy? Yes, a moral political

tragedy—while that minister was fighting to prevent any contingent being sent with which the government would have anything to do. We know what happened in those two days? We know that when the Prime Minister was interviewed on the 13th of October by one of the reporters as to what his government was going to do, he said: I cannot tell you anything, but I am going down to Government House to see the Governor General. The Minister of Public Works, however, at last gave in, but he insisted on a rider being added to the Order in Council, namely, that this should not be drawn into a precedent. I do not think that the rider amounts to anything. It is of no importance in operative power, but what is of importance is the animus behind it.

We have heard some talk about loyalty and disloyalty. Let me say what I consider loyalty is. There have been in the past and there are to-day and will be in the future, protestations of loyalty, but I do not suppose that there exists anywhere in the world to-day such loyalty as used to animate the bosom of the royalists in the time of Charles I., when loyalty was almost a religion, nor is it desirable there should be. There is, however, in the breast of every citizen of a free state the feeling that he owes a sacred duty to that state, a duty as strong and sacred as the duty of providing for his family, and that duty is to guard the state against the enemy, to fight for it and, if necessary, to die for it. I think I will be able to convince even my hon. friend from Laprairie that there is no reason why any man of any nationality, born in Canada, or who having settled here, has taken the oath of allegiance and has identified himself with us, should not feel loyal to the empire which throws its protecting mantle over him wherever he goes. One hour after he has taken the oath of allegiance and become a British subject, let him go where he may, the ægis of the greatest empire of the world is over him to guard him against injury and wrong. And in travelling over the world—and I have travelled over a good part of it—I know very well what advantages it is to a man to have behind him a power which makes its influence respected. It makes a great difference whether a man hails from a paltry state or one that puts him into the position of being able to boast: 'I am a Britisher,' as proudly as did the ancient Roman declare: 'I am a Roman citizen,' and which enables him, go where he may, to rely on the protection of the great empire simply on his uttering the magic words: I am a British citizen. I cannot see any ground of self-respect, be a man's nationality what it may, which can make him hesitate in loyalty to such an empire. My hon. friend from Laprairie (Mr. Monet) spoke, however, as if he could not very well feel that senti-

ment, and he asked this question: Do we owe this to England by law or by love? Well, Mr. Speaker, we do not owe it by law in a way. But I suppose he used the word 'love' in the sense in which we would use the word 'loyalty.' I have no hesitation in saying we owe it by loyalty. Does the German citizen who comes and throws in his lot with us, does the Russian who comes here and becomes a Canadian and who has, therefore, all the privileges of the British Empire, who may rise to any height of office, or place or power or to any title the empire has to bestow excepting only the Crown—does that citizen owe the empire such love, to use the language of my hon. friend or, to use my own language does he not owe such loyalty as would lead him to go to the Transvaal or to send his son or brother or friend? Why, Sir, of course he does. And, if I may say so, he actually owes more than a man born in the empire. Take a man whose family has belonged to the empire since remote times, who is one of a line who, as far as he is able to trace back his family, have been working for the empire in various civil walks, and whenever there has been a war have had one or other member of the family fighting its battles and sometimes falling on the field—that man will be ready to fight for the empire, and we would despise him if he were not. But here is a new citizen who, when he comes in finds every place of honour that the empire has to bestow open to him. The empire says to him: All our noble walks of liberty are open to you; every rung of the ladder of promotion is free to you; there is no position you cannot climb to; there is no disability upon you. Why, Sir, surely logically he owes more to the empire, which has done so much for him than a man whose family has already laid the empire under obligation.

And I may say, in passing, that, for my part, I never have been able to understand how some of my own countrymen can feel that it would not be consistent with self-respect for them to work for and be proud of this empire. I think it is perfectly absurd. The empire, properly speaking, is only about 200 years old. If you take those great passages in Shakspeare where his patriotism causes him to speak of the glory of England and to declare that if England is but true to herself:

Come the four corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them;

In these passages Shakspeare is thinking of England. He was, in a sense, a little Englishman. He could not anticipate this mighty empire that has grown up. And who built up this empire? Englishmen, certainly; but not they alone, side by side with them, Scotchmen and Irishmen. There is not a room in that great temple of liberty into which every Scotchman and Irishman has not as good right to go as an Eng-

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lishman. In art, in war, in statesmanship, in commerce, in literature, in exploration, in every field of endeavour, the three races, for these two hundred years, have been working for that empire. They have done the building, Scotchman and Irishman side by side with their English fellows. And, Sir, in that great structure of empire, there is not a stone on which there is not the mark of Irish and Scotch as well as of English chisels. I wonder at the perfect folly of those countrymen of mine trying to exclude themselves from the franchises of this vast empire, which they have done their part in upraising, and some of them thinking that they would do those who are living in Ireland a service if they were to banish them and themselves from all the magnificent opportunities this empire offers. Why, when I entered the Middle Temple, half the judges on the English bench were Irishmen. Go to Westminster to-day and you will find that half the judges are Irishmen. When I entered the Temple, there was Chief Baron Kelly, an Irishman, Baron Martin, Mr. Justice Keating, my friend the late Mr. Justice Willes, and, as I tell you, about half the judges. I never heard an Englishman say: Is it not a dreadful thing to have these Irish fellows coming over and taking our judicial positions? Lord Cairns, one of the greatest chancellors, was an Irishman, and Lord Killowen, the present chief justice. Fancy men to whom all the avenues of this great empire are open saying: Let us cut the painter with the whole empire, coop ourselves up in a little island—an island about the size of my own constituency—and confine ourselves to the small careers which are all that a small country can offer.

My hon. friend from South Leeds (Mr. Taylor) asks me: How about the two Bobs? I do not like to dwell upon that because my object is not to glorify Irishmen, but to express the proposition, that it is perfectly absurd for any Irishman, as it would be for a Scotchman or a Welshman, to say: Self-respect compels me to exclude myself from the empire. And I want to say—and I hope that my words will go wherever there is an Irish ear to hear—that hatred of England on the part of Irishmen is unhistorical. And I will tell you why. Who were the men who oppressed Irishmen? Ireland has been oppressed, but by whom? You will find that the oppressors of Ireland were the very same men who oppressed Englishmen. Englishmen gave us the British constitution as it is to-day, fighting against the men who sought to oppress England. And, as Disraeli once said when he was pointing to the folly of those melancholy walls around the mouldering ruins of the past: Why should men dwell on the fate of having been conquered; all races have been conquered at one time or other; my race has been conquered; England has been con-

quired, more than once. The hatred of England on the part of some Irishmen is unhistorical. And as for cutting themselves off from the empire, they could not if they would, because you could not fire a cannon in London or Liverpool or Manchester without killing as many Irishmen as you would Englishmen.

This in passing. I know that some gentlemen because they speak French and are of French origin, think that somehow or other this loyalty to the empire is more forced on their part than it would be on the part of an English-speaking man. I cannot take that view at all. As has been again and again said, I accept most loyally and frankly the proposition that the French Canadians are loyal to the empire. And I do it for this reason—how foolish it would be of them not to be. If Quebec had remained a French colony, would French Canadians be in as good a position as they are to-day? Would the habitant be the free man he is to-day? Would he be educating his sons for the bar and for political life and living to see them climb to high positions? For those of them who have certain special views, let me ask: If they were within the bounds of the United States, would they be in as satisfactory a condition from their point of view as they are to-day? No, Sir. Every French Canadian will admit that they would not. Why, then, even from the point of view of common gratitude, should not the French Canadian be loyal to the empire? just as loyal as any other man? We know that we have had in this House French Canadians of the highest genius who have been as loyal to the empire as any of those I will not say of another race, but speaking another language, because a little historical analysis would show that there is less diversity of race than is supposed.

Now, Sir, the hon. member asks: Do we owe this to England from love? He stated that if it could be shown that England possessed the right of suzerainty over the Transvaal, all his difficulties would disappear, that he would at once agree to the view that contingent after contingent should be sent to fight England's battles in South Africa. I regret that the hon. gentleman is not here, he came to tell me last night that he would not be able to be here to-day. If he were here I think I could show him that England's suzerainty over the Transvaal is intact, or was intact, up to the time that Mr. Kruger issued his ultimatum. But after all the hon. gentleman is not in a position to question that, and I will tell you why. All these important questions connected with the suzerainty were settled last year by his leader, as you will find if you turn to the 3rd volume of *Hansard*, where we read of when the Prime Minister was proposing a resolution of sympathy with the Uitlanders in the Transvaal, which I will read:

1. Resolved, That this House has viewed with regret the complications which have arisen in the Transvaal Republic, of which Her Majesty is suzerain, from the refusal to accord to Her Majesty's subjects now settled in that region any adequate participation in its government;

2. Resolved, That this House has learned with still greater regret that the condition of things there existing has resulted in intolerable oppression, and has produced great and dangerous excitement among several classes of Her Majesty's subjects in her South African possessions;

3. Resolved, That this House, representing a people which has largely succeeded, by the adoption of the principle of conceding equal political rights to every portion of her population, in harmonizing estrangements and in producing general content with the existing system of government, desires to express its sympathy with the efforts of Her Majesty's Imperial authorities to obtain for the subjects of Her Majesty who have taken up their abode in the Transvaal such measure of justice and political recognition as may be found necessary to secure them in the full possession of equal rights and liberties.

Well, of course, that settles it. I do not suppose at the time that any of his followers objected, because the House rose and sang God Save the Queen. I happened to be in Toronto, but I did not hear that there was a single dissentient from that resolution. Now, Sir, what is to be thought of a man in the position of the right hon. gentleman who, in July, in August, in September, for three long months, when he was aware that our sister colonies were offering help to the mother country, and that the mother country desired their help—did not ask it, but desired it, for reasons that we are all familiar with—what is to be thought of a Prime Minister who can move and pass such a resolution as that, but who was not ready to offer material help, who was not ready to offer soldiers and to offer money? Now, Mr. Speaker, that interview of the Prime Minister, to which I have already referred, and his attitude has a feature about it that has not yet, I think, been commented on. That was really an attempt to suppress the rising opinion of Canada, it was an attempt that failed. The Prime Minister said that the law was against him, he said he had no money, he said he could not do it, he said he was limited. So far as he could, he sought to suppress the rising opinion in Canada. Well, of course, if that be true, Mr. Speaker, he is in such disaccord with Canada, in such disaccord with the mass of the people of Canada, that he is unfit for his high position—I say it with great respect and with great regret. He is completely out of sympathy with Canada; it is demonstrated by that interview, even if it stood alone. In the resolution moved by himself he declares that there is suzerainty, and in regard to this suzerainty one of his most distinguished opponents declares that if he could only be convinced that the suzerainty exists, then he would no longer have any difficulty, notwithstanding his own strong opinions, in sending a con-

tingent to South Africa. If any one will only read the speeches, the speech of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), the speech of the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), and take this resolution passed at the instance of the Prime Minister last year; read his interview, and then listen to these gentlemen declaring that they must go against their leader and against the principles he has taught them—why, Sir, anybody who looks at the whole situation will see that it is one of the most sorrowful and lamentable that has ever been presented by a prominent public man in the history of constitutional government. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville is not here, but, I have no doubt that he will read what I say. I think I will convince him, because he is a lawyer, that suzerainty still exists. I have here in my hand the two treaties, the treaties of 1851 and of 1854. Now, Sir, in regard to these two treaties I believe that it is a complete misconception on the part of those persons in this House and outside of it who have held that the suzerainty of England has been abandoned, by the convention of 1854. Before comparing them, I would like to refer to what took place. My hon. friend, the member for Norfolk, in going over the various points that established that paramountcy of the British Empire in regard to the Transvaal did not, I think, mention what occurred in 1833, 1834 and 1835, when in consequence of the emancipation of the slaves throughout the entire British dominions the slaves were emancipated in South Africa. The Dutch people in Cape Colony trekked. They wanted to have slaves. They went north, and after some time, when they were not able to get on very well, there was some slight trouble, and then we had the Sand River Convention which my hon. friend referred to and which I will not dwell upon. But, in 1860, the revolt of the natives took place, the republic collapsed, and then England had to interfere. Then, in 1877, Cetawayo was about to pounce down upon the republic when England came to her help and delivered the Boers and Cetawayo and his young men were prevented from bathing their spears, as they had intended, in the blood of the Boers. Then England annexed the Transvaal, and sent there a resident. It was declared to be British territory—British territory, according to the words of Lord Wolseley, as long as the sun would shine. What happened? Sir, what did we see? We saw Mr. Gladstone go into Midlothian, having denounced the conduct of Lord Beaconsfield, for, as he said, a free people trying to take the liberties away from a free republic. We saw Gladstone come into power, and after having declared that it was a wrong thing to annex the republic, having become Prime Minister himself, he said that he would do what he had condemned in the case of

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Disraeli, and give casuistical reasons why England must retain the Transvaal, then, after Majuba Hill, while Sir Frederick Roberts was on the sea, sending a telegram offering to make conditions with the Boers. Then came the convention of 1881. When that convention was on the eve of being made, Sir Hercules Robinson asks of Mr. Kruger:

Sir H. Robinson—Before annexation, had British subjects complete freedom of trade throughout the Transvaal; were they on the same footing as citizens?

Mr. Kruger—They were on the same footing as the burghers; there was not the slightest difference, in accordance with the Sand River convention.

Sir H. Robinson—I presume you will not object to that continuing?

Mr. Kruger—No, there will be equal protection for everybody.

Sir E. Wood—And equal privileges?

Mr. Kruger—We make no difference as far as burgher rights are concerned. There may perhaps be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country.

There are no disabilities with regard to trade either?

Mr. Kruger—No.

Dr. Jorissen—At No. 244 the question was: 'Is there any distinction in regard to the privileges or rights of Englishmen in the Transvaal?' And Mr. Kruger answered: 'No, there is no difference'; and then he added, 'there may be some slight difference in the case of a young person just coming into the country.' I wish to say that that might give rise to a wrong impression. What Mr. Kruger intended to convey was this: according to our law a new-comer has not his burgher rights immediately. The words 'young person' do not refer to age, but to the time of residence in the republic. According to Grondwet (constitution) you have to reside a year in the country.

Sir H. de Villiers—Is the oath of allegiance required from a person, not being born in the Transvaal, coming to reside there, who claims burgher rights?

Dr. Jorissen—In the law relating to the franchise there is a stipulation for the oath of allegiance to be taken to the state.

Article twelve of the convention declares:

That all persons holding property in the state on the 8th day of August, 1881, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the annexation. That no person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the recent hostilities shall suffer by reason of his loyalty, and that all persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights and protection for their persons and property.

By that convention you have for the people of the Transvaal:

1. Self-government, with the franchise guaranteed, to all inhabitants under laws then existing.

2. Full liberty to reside in the state, to possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, &c.

3. To carry on commerce, either in person or by agents, and to be subject to no taxation whatever other than might be imposed on Transvaal citizens.

And lastly, no law should be passed inconsistent with or repugnant to the provisions of this convention.

Well, Sir, that was all right. But, three years after, Mr. Kruger having pondered the humanitarian speeches of Mr. Gladstone and measured the character of Gladstonian foreign policy, and when he had gone to England, they sought to have and secured a new convention. That new convention never mentions suzerainty nor by that new convention was suzerainty done away with. It refers to certain articles, for which they wish to substitute other articles, but, as a matter of fact, all the guarantees of 1881 remain intact. You have the suzerainty intact and you have practically all rights intact. Well, what happened? Within two years after 1881, they passed a law which took away some of the rights they professed to give and they passed a law providing that nobody should have a franchise except after fourteen years' residence. After two years he might take the oath of allegiance, abjuring his allegiance to any country that he might come from, but acquiring none of the rights of citizenship, but being able to elect to the second Raad, which is a sort of debating society. To the higher Raad he was allowed to go only after certain conditions, which might happen after fourteen years' residence, so that, for twelve years he is disfranchised after taking the oath of allegiance! Fourteen years out of the life of a settler—it is his whole life. Then, you know what happened. Gold and diamonds were discovered, and then you had oppressive laws robbing the men that brought capital into the country and enriched it, and one has only to go into the history of the Transvaal to be deeply impressed with the fact that the guarantees that had been secured by the conventions of 1881 and 1884 had been swept away, had been trampled upon and that the Uitlanders were reduced, so far as a government of oligarchs at Pretoria could do it to the level of Kaffirs. The white man who had been guaranteed all the rights of British citizenship under the suzerainty that still exists; he was deprived of all the rights that should belong to any citizen in this day in any free country. But the iniquity of the law is of course intensified when we remember that the citizens who were so treated were British citizens whose rights had been guaranteed by the power which had again and again rescued the Boers from destruction at the hands of the savage enemies around them. The plunder of the Uitlander, come from where he might, going to the monopolist on the one hand, and in vast boodle to the local oligarch, and thus striking as fatally at all general Boer prosperity and progress as at the honest gains of miner and settler. Having looked at this question as a lawyer, having consulted with other lawyers, I have no doubt that any one who compares the convention of 1881 with the convention of 1884

will come to the conclusion that the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) was quite right when he asserted in the resolution, which was endorsed by the vote of this House, that the suzerainty of Her Majesty had remained unimpaired after that convention of 1884.

Mr. BOURASSA. Then what becomes of the declaration made by Earl Cadogan in the House of Lords in 1884?

Mr. DAVIN. I do not know whether or not my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) is a lawyer, but he must know that an instrument of that kind is not controlled by the interpretation placed on it by any one in the House of Lords or elsewhere. An instrument like that rests upon what is within the four corners of it, and not upon the interpretation of Earl Cadogan, who, however, was speaking against the convention and condemning it. You have to go to the convention of 1881 and the convention of 1884, and you will find that the suzerainty remains intact, and the guarantees, so far as an instrument of that kind can secure them, remain intact also. Now, Mr. Speaker, I confess that when first this war broke out, I had a natural sympathy with a small republic. I am ready to confess that I had not paid as much attention to South Africa as I have since, and I had at first a good deal of sympathy with this small nation fighting a tremendous power.

Mr. McNEILL. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. But since I came to look closely into the history of the position of the Uitlanders there, since I came to study the legislation of the Volksraad, I cannot conceal from myself that our fellow British subjects have been face to face for a series of years with very great oppression, and if we follow the history of the diplomacy we cannot but conclude that the utmost fairness was shown by the British government and by the British diplomats—in fact, they probably pushed fairness too far. And, Mr. Speaker, the real sin and crime is at the door of Mr. Gladstone. His weakness, his vacillation, his unreadiness to stand by those who were fighting the battles of the empire in outlying portions of that empire; all that has cast a dark shadow over his memory, notwithstanding his great power and extraordinary brilliancy. That fatal weakness is a thing that will qualify the estimate which the historian will make of an otherwise great man.

I thank the House for the attention they have given me. I reiterate, I would not have spoken at all on this resolution, which might well be passed as a matter of course, if I did not feel bound to emphasize the extraordinary position of Her Majesty's government in Canada as revealed by the debate which took place here on Tuesday night. I also felt it necessary to stigmatize the position of the Minister

of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) and I think I have done that a great deal too mildly. While I am ready to accept the statement of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) and of the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) that, taking into account their standpoint, they may be able sincerely to declare that with the qualifications they give us, they are loyal to the empire, yet, taking the leading articles of *La Patrie* from day to day, and taking the interviews and speeches of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), I have no hesitation in saying in this parliament, that the Minister (Mr. Tarte) stands, in my opinion, convicted before all Canada as a disloyal man. And, Sir, the serious thing is that he still retains his hold on this ministry, and, that after the Prime Minister was made aware of public opinion through the press—

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The reptile press.

Mr. DAVIN. Yes, the reptile press, and thereby hangs a tale. Why was it that the Prime Minister did not know public opinion before it was forced upon him through the reptile press? Sir, we had this disloyal man (Mr. Tarte); we had that dark figure dragging back the Prime Minister from obeying—I cannot call it the impulse of loyalty or patriotism—we had that dark figure drawing the Prime Minister back from the impulse of what I will call 'saving his ministerial skin'; we had that dark figure keeping the Prime Minister back for two days. Why, Sir, I can fancy the Prime Minister in a moment of reproach, turning around to his colleague on October 16 or 17, and saying: Ah, Tarte, those two days' hesitation killed us.

Mr. FOSTER. He very likely said it.

Mr. DAVIN. I can imagine it anyway, and I dare say that the Prime Minister can tell us whether he said it or not. Now, Sir, as there has been something said about the reptile press, let me point out that I find in the Auditor General's report (a—45) that the *Montreal Herald* received \$15,000 last year.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is the paper of the Minister of Trade and Commerce.

Mr. DAVIN. Does that paper belong to the Minister of Trade and Commerce?

Mr. BENNETT. It belongs to the Minister of Agriculture.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, the minister looks well after it. Then there is *La Patrie* down for \$1,700.

Mr. GILLIES. Who owns that?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Minister of Public Works.

Mr. DAVIN. Here is the *Regina Leader*, and the *Regina Leader* received \$1,140, ex-

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clusive of some \$10,000 or \$12,000 which it received from the local government for the ordinances.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). It does not revel, as it used to do, in old times.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. gentleman is quite mistaken. I have moved for a return which may enlighten him, for it will show that at the time I was the principal shareholder of the *Leader*, and when the Conservative government was in power, the patronage went to other and hostile papers in Regina, and not to the *Leader*, and I never said one word about it to any minister, and never complained, and never pointed it out until when the company was about to sell paper and plant, leading Conservative politicians wanted me not to sanction it. But a list was published the other day, and any one who looks over those pages, a—43 and 44, will find how heavily subsidized is the Liberal press—and that, I suppose, is what is to be understood by the word 'reptile.' The Conservative press which represents public opinion, the right hon. gentleman has characterized as reptile; but anybody who has made himself acquainted with the sentiment that prevails in Canada from Halifax to Vancouver, will find that loud as that press spoke, it did not fully voice the loyal feeling of the people of this country towards the empire. The views I am uttering here to-day are not views which I imbibed yesterday. When twenty-five or twenty-six years ago there was a movement in this country in favour of that independence which my hon. friend from Laprairie (Mr. Monet) looks forward to, and which I hope will never come, and when there was very little or no talk about Imperialism, a Dr. Tiffany came across to Toronto and delivered a lecture in which he declared that the new civilization was that of the United States which was to teach us all, and he declared that annexation was our manifest destiny. Mr. George Hague—I do not know how he knew anything of me—waited on me with a deputation, and asked me if I would reply to Dr. Tiffany, and I did so. One of the writers on the *Mail* the other day found somewhere a report of that speech, and came to the conclusion that it was the first note of Imperialism that had been heard in Canada. I do not know whether that is true or not, but that is the conclusion of the *Mail* writer. In that lecture I said:

That day will never come when scattered nations of the British race, looking with loyal love from every compass to the little mother isles—

Girt by the dim strait sea,

And multitudinous wall of wandering wave,

and reposing safe and glorious in that sapphire embrace, shall turn round to call on Canada to add her voice to swell the peal of filial gratulation, of proud assurance, of co-operation, and, should need be, of help—and will turn in vain.

The writer in the *Mail* says this has proved to be a prophecy.

It was uttered when certainly I did not know whether anybody had uttered any sentiment of Imperialism before. At that time Goldwin Smith and some young men in Toronto were engaged in a movement in favour of independence. Although I was only a very short time in the country, I saw that independence would mean only ruin and engulfment for Canada; and the more I live in Canada the more I feel that we can have here every blessing of citizenship that a man can crave every resource of material well being; sky-touching mountains which mock Mont Blanc, lakes mirroring unrivalled skies, rivers ampler than the Thames, as beautiful as the Rhine, with wider and more fertile shores:—

The haughtiest breast its wish might bound
Through life to dwell delighted here.

There is no ambition of the most aspiring man which cannot be gratified within the bounds of the empire and in Canada. The true course for colonists here and under other suns and other stars, is to look forward to the ever-increasing expansion of that empire, to make that empire greater—freer it cannot be. No doubt there may be still ampler power for colonists in that empire in the future; but even if they remain as at present—because it is a mere sentimental complaint of my hon. friend from Laprairie that we have not the direct power of making treaties—I hold that no citizen of any country can have better conditions than are enjoyed by the citizens of this great colony of our free, glorious and unrivalled empire.

Mr. J. ROSS ROBERTSON (East Toronto). Mr. Speaker, in speaking for a few moments on this vote in connection with the Canadian South African contingent, I wish to say that I think the hon. the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) is to be highly commended for the manner in which the Canadian troops have been assembled, handled and despatched. With reference to the expenses of the contingent, I believe that Canada was a nation even before the right hon. First Minister visited England on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee; and I rise to express my conviction that Canada should act as a nation in the matter of the British cause in South Africa. There have been nations, or rather monarchies, which have sent out soldiers and allowed their people to pay the cost. The Canadians are not Hessians, and Canada need not hesitate to risk her money in a quarrel in which so many of her sons are risking their lives. This government has in the past been generous with subsidies for the purposes of peace. The government which has built railroads at the public expense for private individuals ought to be willing to pay soldiers at the public expense for fighting the

battles of the empire. I am not condemning the government, for, of course, we all hope that the expense of this war will come out of the Transvaal. When, however, the day of reckoning comes—and it will have to come pretty quickly if it is to be here before the present government goes out of office—I think that the government should get the vouchers for every cent that Britain has spent upon the Canadian soldiers, and send a check for the entire amount to the Imperial treasury. If they will not accept it on that account, let them keep it and with it build a ship and call it 'The Canada.'

Mr. FRANK OLIVER (Alberta). Mr. Speaker, I quite agree with all the loyalty of sentiment that has been expressed so far in this debate. I am sorry that it has not been altogether unanimous; but I am still more sorry that what has been expressed, has not taken a more practical form, and been directed to what seems to me to be the more worthy purpose. Our loyalty to the empire is expressed by the men whom we sent to fight the battles of the empire. I think that while they express their loyalty and ours by their action, it remains for us to express our loyalty to the British Empire by our loyalty to them. That I take it to be the beginning of the matter, and where the responsibility rests directly on this House. I do not want to be the means of any controversy with regard to a matter upon which we ought all to be unanimous, but I do say that if it is right and proper for Canada to pay the whole of the expenses of these contingents in South Africa—and I am perfectly willing to agree that it might be, or would be, or, if you like, is right and proper—I think that in the very beginning those who believe that so strongly, might have gone so far as to have been willing to give a little more remuneration to the men who have gone to the front. It sounds very patriotic to say that we are willing to pay the whole of the expenses of our contingent, but it seems to be that that assertion lacks strength when we are willing to let ourselves out, by paying only one-half of what we admit is the proper pay of these men. I understand very well the contention that can be made on behalf of the last clauses of these resolutions, namely, that if these men get their regular pay, whether from one source or another, they are getting enough. Allow me to say, looking at it from my point of view, that their regular pay is not enough under the circumstances, and that when you say you are giving these men regular pay, you thereby say you are not giving them enough to meet the extraordinary circumstances and conditions under which they are serving. No doubt the pay of the Canadian regular is better than that of the British regular; and in so far as these resolutions provide that instead of the Canadian volunteer in South Africa only getting British pay he is

to get full Canadian pay, they are desirable. But I cannot hold, nor will it be held in this House, without my protest, that the Canadian regular pay is a sufficient consideration for the special services rendered by these men. The difference between a soldier who is one by profession, and a citizen, engaged in the ordinary avocations of life, who only takes up soldiery for the moment, at the call of his country, for the honour of his fellow-citizens, and for the safety of the empire, who drops his particular avocation and sacrifices his future prospects, besides incurring the ordinary risk of loss of life and limb, must be evident. The citizen does not stand on the same level and should not be considered on the same level as the man who goes into soldiering as the business of his life and who only risks life and limb. It may not be possible, and, I am afraid, judging from the debate so far, it will not be possible in this House to secure a sufficient expression of opinion to justify the government in changing these resolutions and offering these men full Canadian pay for their services, outside of the British pay, although it seems to me that would only be a fair and graceful thing to do; but it is my business to draw the attention of the House and the government to the special circumstances of these men, the special conditions under which they are serving, and the special sacrifices they are making, so that if it be possible a change shall be made in these resolutions and that special consideration shall be given in all future financial arrangements that may be made in recognition of their services.

I have been very much astonished at the tone in which the sacrifices made by these volunteers have been alluded to, or rather ignored. Speaking from my own personal knowledge—and I do not suppose I am singular in my knowledge—I know men who have sacrificed every prospect in life for the purpose of serving their country in this war. I know of men, who, inside of six days, have dropped their farms and closed out their business for the purpose of joining the second contingent. You may say that these men were foolish. Certainly, looked at from the material point of view, they were, but if they were foolish at any rate they were enthusiastic and loyal, and they are the men and theirs is the spirit which will be a credit to this country in South Africa, or anywhere else, and this country will do very much less than credit to itself, if it does not recognize very liberally and generously such devotion. It is a mistake altogether to consider that the Canadians who have gone to South Africa are at all in the position of ordinary soldiers. The ordinary soldier is, no doubt, a very good man in his profession, but it is not throwing any discredit upon him, it is merely stating an absolute fact, when I say that the ordinary citizen, engaged in the ordinary avocations of life, does offer to the service of his

country a wider range of observation, a greater knowledge of men and affairs than does the private soldier. By reason of the change in the system of warfare resulting from the improvement in weapons, it is evident that the higher the intelligence, the more valuable the soldier, and that by sending our volunteers to South Africa, by sending the men we are sending, full of the enthusiasm and loyalty that has inspired them to offer their services, we are making a more valuable contribution to the fighting strength of the empire than could be made by an equal number of men from the line regiments of the empire. We are making a more valuable contribution than we would by sending even our own regiments. Therefore, when we consider the recognition of the services of these men, we ought to consider them not only as soldiers, but as volunteers, as our fellow citizens, more worthy as soldiers, because they are citizens, and more worthy as citizens, because they are soldiers. And that in any financial arrangement we have to make in regard to them, it is not so much for their benefit as it is for our credit that we should recognize the services they are rendering to us and to the whole country. It is a poor thing for us to accept the services of these men for little or nothing, because they have offered them that way. Because these men have dropped their avocations, because they have severed their family ties, because they have come simply at the sound of the bugle without asking for pay, pension, or recognition, it is poor business for us to say: They came forward on these terms; we give them all they asked; there is nothing more to be said. The very fact that they came forward under these conditions, that they came forward without haggling, without asking a price, without asking consideration of any kind, without asking if they were to get British pay or any pay, makes it necessary that Canada, if she is to do credit to herself, shall deal with these men in the most open-handed and liberal manner, and that she should not for an instant assume to be controlled by the rules or usages which fix the pay and allowances, and considerations of ordinary soldiers either in the British army or in the Canadian regulars.

Mr. M. T. STENSON (Richmond and Wolfe). Representing a mixed community, as I do, I think it my duty to state here on what grounds I will support the resolution now under consideration before this House. About three-quarters of my electors are French Canadians; and in supporting this resolution to pay the expenses entailed by sending contingents to South Africa, I feel satisfied that I shall have the support of my electors without distinction or nationality. Canada owes a great deal to Great Britain. For the last half century Canada

has been governed in the same manner as a family is treated by a kind mother; and therefore we owe to Great Britain any assistance we can give her in her time of need. The first contingent was asked for, not as a necessity from England, but as an expression of sympathy from Canada for Great Britain in this matter. Some pretend that the government has not been quick enough in acting; but I believe that the government has acted wisely and well. As I have had occasion already to state, I believe that the government has acted even outside of the letter of the constitution, but not beyond the spirit of it. According to the letter of the constitution, I believe, the government was not justified in spending money for this service without the sanction of parliament. But the case was one of urgency. Our sympathies were with the mother country, and I believe that the government made no mistake in relying upon the support of all loyal Canadians in this matter. I feel satisfied that the support of this House will be almost unanimous for this resolution. What my hon. friend from Alberta (Mr. Oliver) has said with regard to the pay of the men I will agree to it to a certain extent; but I think we can safely leave in the hands of the government the rewards to be given to these men after this war is over. I do not think that the government can go any further than they have gone. Great Britain has asked us to give her soldiers who would form a proportion of the British army, and they should be considered as a portion of the British army. We have given what she has asked, and the government has declared, and the purport of these resolutions is to declare, that there will be further pay given to these men, not only during their time of service, but when this war is over. I trust the government will act liberally with the heirs of those who shall have fallen in this war; that it will not be a question of observing the army regulations of Great Britain or any other country. I think the Canadian parliament will deal generously with the orphans and widows of the Canadians who fall fighting for the honour of Canada and the benefit of Great Britain. But this is a question to be considered later on. I, therefore, give my cordial and complete and hearty support to this resolution.

I might not have thought it worth while to occupy the attention of the House, or to give my opinion on this subject, but I was painfully struck with a word which fell from the lips of one of the principal members of this House while debating this question. The hon. gentlemen was speaking of what had taken place in the House of Commons in England. Here in Canada we are far from the base of action; and I do not want to discuss here the merits or demerits, or whatever we may call them, of this war. The mother country has called upon us to

act, and we have acted. In the House of Commons at home, the members have the right to give their opinion. An amendment was proposed to the speech from the Throne, and those who supported that amendment, which is known as the Redmond Amendment, were characterized in this House of Commons as 'cravens.' I protest against the title of 'cravens' being applied to any members of the House of Commons of Great Britain, and particularly when that name is applied to men of my own nationality. I am a Canadian, and am proud of being a Canadian; but I am also proud of having been born on the soil of Ireland. Ireland is my mother country; and I protest against the title 'cravens' being given to any number of Ireland's children. No one has any right to apply that word, nor would any one who knows the history of Great Britain and Ireland think of applying the title 'craven' to any number of the citizens of those countries. But the hon. gentleman did apply that title to those who voted for that amendment, and who were mostly Irishmen, though there were others with them, and men of distinction too, and there was one among them to whom the title was applied, who at one time was a leading light in this House of Commons, and is now a leading light in the House of Commons of Great Britain. That title should not be applied to such men. They have their opinions, and they were discussing this matter in the House of Commons as they had a right to do. They had a right to bring in that amendment and to support it. And, if the hon. gentleman who used the title of 'craven' applied it to those who approved that resolution, had read the history of Great Britain and Ireland as carefully as he appears to have read the history of the United States and its army, he would not have thought of applying that title to any body of the inhabitants of the British Isles. I do not mean to occupy the time of this House by discussing this matter further. I merely enter my protest and will call the hon. member's attention to the fact that the Irish and the English and the Scotch have always been known to be far from 'cravens.' There are now representatives of these countries fighting in the Transvaal, shoulder to shoulder, and if more are required they will be there. I would just call the attention of my hon. friend to these lines of Moore, the Irish poet. Speaking to his countrymen, he says:

Contempt on the minion who calls you disloyal;
Though fierce to your foe, to your friends you
are true,
And a tribute most high to a heart that is
royal,
Is love from a heart that loves liberty too.
While cowards who blight your fame, your right,
Would shrink from the blaze of the battle
array,
The standard of green in front will be seen.

Oh! my life on your faith, were you summoned this minute,

You'd drive every bitter remembrance away,
And show what the arm of old Erin has in it,
When roused by the foe on her Prince's day.

That was addressed to my countrymen years ago, and the same words may be addressed to them to-day, that 'standard of green' is seen in front to-day. Those who have borne that standard forward have been mown down by the fire of the enemy, yet there are others to take their places. No matter what our differences of opinion may be with regard to the way of carrying on this war, or whether we may feel that the war should not have taken place, nevertheless, while this war is on, the Irish people and the Irish members of the House of Commons will, I believe, see it to be their duty to help Great Britain out of this trouble; and not only the 'Standard of Green,' but the Orange mixed with it, and the Thistle, will be there fighting for the cause of Great Britain. Now, was it a mistake on the part of the hon. gentleman when he applied the word 'treason' to the Irish members of parliament, or was it ignorance of the etymology of the word he used? I would call his attention to these facts, and I trust that such an expression will never again fall from his lips, or from the lips of any one else in this House—an expression treating any number of British subjects and particularly Irishmen, as traitors.

Mr. G. V. McINERNEY (Kent, N.B.). I do not rise for the purpose of making a speech on this subject, but there is one argument which has been made by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) which I think ought to be met. The hon. member contended that in the treaty of 1884 and the treaty of 1881 there was no suzerainty or paramountcy written over the South African Republic. In order to sustain the position that he took on that question, he quoted the opinion of Lord Cadogan, and in support of the opinion of Lord Cadogan, he also quoted the opinion of Lord Derby. Well, Mr. Speaker, he would indeed be quoting a splendid authority to destroy any contention for suzerainty in these treaties, if the hon. gentleman were right in the quotations he had made. But what do I find? In turning to the debates in the House of Lords, in 1884, on Monday, the 17th of March—St. Patrick's Day it happened to be—we find that Earl Cadogan made a contention against the treaty which the Gladstone government had a few days before laid upon the Table of the House, the treaty that they had entered into with the South African Republic. Some time before that, the question had been asked in the House of Commons as to whether England had consented to the name of the South African Republic being given, and a debate arose on that occasion. Earl Cadogan, I

Mr. STENSON.

suppose I may be permitted to say for political purposes, to a certain extent, was endeavouring to minimize the treaty which the Gladstone government had made with the Transvaal Republic; he was criticising it on the point that it had not written in it, in specific terms, the suzerainty which he thought England should have had written into the treaty. But he was answered by Earl Derby in a way that I think completely destroyed his contention, and which deprived the hon. member for Labelle of the authority which he quoted in this House. This is what Earl Derby said:

Then the noble Earl said—

Referring to Earl Cadogan.

—that the object of the convention had been to abolish the suzerainty of the British Crown. The word 'suzerainty' is a very vague word, and I do not think it is capable of any precise legal definition. Whatever we may understand by it, I think it is not very easy to define. But I apprehend, whether you call it protectorate, or a suzerainty, or the recognition of England as a paramount power, the fact is that a certain controlling power is retained when the state which exercises this suzerainty has a right to veto any negotiations into which the dependent state may enter with foreign powers. Whatever suzerainty meant in the convention of Pretoria, the condition of things which it implied still remains; although the word is not actually employed, we have the substance. We have abstained from using the word because it was not capable of legal definition, and because it seemed to be a word which was likely to lead to misconception and misunderstanding.

There Earl Derby states that although the word suzerainty was not written into the treaty, though they had omitted the word, they had retained the substance; and so he made the contention that suzerainty was still to be inferred from the treaty of 1884. Now, what has the hon. member for Labelle to say for having come into this House, before an intelligent body of men, and quoted the high authority of Earl Derby in favour of a contention which Earl Derby's argument in fact completely destroys? When the hon. member for West Assinibolia (Mr. Davin) was on his feet, the member for Labelle asked the question across the House: What had he to say against the contention of Earl Derby in the House of Lords that suzerainty was not written into the treaty? Why, Sir, Earl Derby had contended that although suzerainty was not written into the treaty, the power given to England in that treaty to veto any treaty that the South African Republic might make with a foreign power, was practically paramountcy, was practically suzerainty. Is that not giving a right of jurisdiction over the state with which the treaty is made? I think the argument of the hon. member for Labelle is completely destroyed. He is a gentleman of good sense, I think he is a lawyer, and I think his own good sense would have convinced him that

the power of vetoing treaties which was contained in that convention, was sufficient to maintain the right of England to suzerainty over the Transvaal Republic.

Now, Sir, although I did not intend to make a speech upon this question when I rose, I may take advantage of the occasion to differ a little from my hon. friend for Richmond and Wolfe (Mr. Stenson). I take a different view of this subject from what he does. While I have not one word to say against the way in which the Irish party in the English House of Commons manage their affairs, I may be permitted to state here, as a Canadian born, but still as a man of Celtic blood, that I think it would have been the part of wisdom in the Irish delegation in the English House of Commons at this crisis in England's affairs, to have attempted to draw with silken ties the people of England to them. I admit that in the past there has been hatred and there has been bitterness; but the hon. gentleman is aware that a very short time ago a large number of the people of England, and a very large majority of the people of Scotland, and a large majority of the people of Wales, joined Mr. Gladstone in a great endeavour to give a certain measure of home rule to Ireland. And, I believe, that at the present time, home rule is in the interest of the empire. Take myself—of Irish blood, and still an Imperialist. Still an Imperialist, I believe, Sir, that it is the part of wisdom on the part of England to grant a certain measure of home rule to Ireland. I am an Imperialist because I believe that when the unity of the empire is brought about, as it will be some day inaugurated, in fact, I put it upon the same ground as His Grace the Archbishop of Halifax, who is also an Imperialist—I put it upon the same ground that he does, that when the day comes in every part of Her Majesty's great dominions in Canada, in the islands of the sea, in Australia, in India, and in Ireland, too, there will be a house representing the local wishes of the people. I put it upon that ground. I regret exceedingly that the Irish leaders at home, whose judgment I do not wish to criticise—I regret that the leaders of the Irish people in the English House of Commons, have not seen fit, at this time, to uphold the hand of England in this war. This is a war of civilization, this is a war which is not a war of invasion by England, but in which England is on the defensive, striking for the rights of men, striking for the liberties of men, striking for the liberties of our fellow-subjects in Africa. I am only sorry that I did not give sufficient attention to this matter to enable me to have met many of the arguments used on the other side, but I do contend that the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) is in a most illogical position. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) is somewhat logical, but

the hon. member for Labelle stands in a most illogical, and if he will permit me to say so, a most absurd position. He first says that this war is a war of invasion, that England has invaded this country in South Africa.

Mr. BOURASSA. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. McInerney) permit me? I never said anything of the kind.

Mr. McINERNEY. I listened very attentively and with great pleasure—I mean from the literary standpoint—to the speech of the hon. member for Labelle. I think that he struck a great blow at the honourable claim to distinction which his abilities give him. I listened with a great deal of pleasure to the literary style in which that hon. gentleman delivered himself, and I understood the hon. gentleman to say that this was a war of invasion, of spoliation, that it was an unjust war waged by a great nation against a small country.

Mr. BOURASSA. I do not want to interrupt the hon. gentleman, but I cannot allow such an interpretation to be put upon my words.

Mr. McINERNEY. I will ask the hon. gentleman if he did not say that it was a war of spoliation?

Mr. BOURASSA. No.

Mr. McINERNEY. I would ask him if he did not say that it was an unjust war?

Mr. BOURASSA. I did say that it was an unjust war, on account of the means that had been taken to bring it about.

Mr. McINERNEY. I am quite prepared to allow the hon. gentleman to retract part of the assertions that I understood him to have made, but I understood him to have said that it was a war of spoliation, an unjust war, a war of a powerful nation against a very small people; on these grounds he condemned it, and in the next breath he stood prepared to vote \$2,000,000 to help to carry it on—a most absurd position. Now, the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville says that he is for the independence of Canada. Well, I am broad enough, I hope, and I think it is in the best interests of the country, to permit gentlemen to have their own views on these questions, to express them openly, and in the light of day, because, I believe, that if they do so the good sense of the country will, after all, weigh them and sift them and will pass judgment upon them. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville was more logical. He being for independence, not an Imperialist, opposed to the Imperialistic idea, the hon. gentleman was prepared to oppose the government in this plan, and in that he was logical. The other hon. gentleman, the hon. member for Labelle, was perfectly illogical. I believe that this war on the part of England is a war of justice, I

believe it is war for the extension of freedom and truth, and for the rights of men, and in that view I am prepared to sustain the government in the vote they have now brought down to the House. I would have been prepared to have gone much farther; I would have been prepared to have helped to vote through this Canadian parliament, in these growing times, a sufficient amount of money to pay all the expenses of the contingents incurred on the way to South Africa and also while they are there fighting the battles of the empire. There is no question in the hearts of the people to-day, I believe, in this battle, as to whether a man is an Englishman, an Irishman, a Scotchman, a Welshman or a Frenchman. Numbers of Frenchmen have gone from Canada to take up this fight; numbers of Irishmen have gone from Ireland to take up this fight. What was the answer made by Mr. Wyndham, only the other day, in the English House of Commons, to Mr. Redmond, when Mr. Redmond was attacking the government for carrying on this war and saying that the Irish people were opposed to it? As for the Irish people, said Mr. Wyndham, the best answer I can give on the part of Ireland is, that her sons are at this hour shedding their blood in the cause. I do not wish to be more loyal than the Queen or than Englishmen. I do not wish to appear one jot or tittle more loyal than I am, but I believe in my heart of hearts, that when this matter is put plainly, fairly and honestly before the different branches of the great Canadian people, they will support a movement such as has been lately taking place in Canada, and that they will support the government in helping England in this war. May I be permitted to add, that I know a little of the French Canadian history in Canada? I am not surprised at the views which the hon. member for Labelle expressed in this House, I am not surprised at the views which the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville expressed in this House. Sir, as you know, there have been two great schools of thought in French Canada in this matter. There was the great school of thought led by Sir George Cartier, followed up by Chapais, Taché, and such men as DeBoucherville, Masson, Chapleau, Caron, Langevin, and many men of that sort. It was the Conservative school of thought; it was that school of thought that is loyal to British institutions. There has been another school of thought in French Canada, as you know well, men of eminent ability, men of grand ability, taking part in the government of the country, such men as Dorion, Mercier and Honoré Beaugrand, and, might I say, that the right hon. gentleman who now leads the government some years ago was one of the highest and most eloquent exponents of that school of thought? From them such men as the hon. member for Labelle and for Laprairie and Napierville have taken

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their inspirations, and they come to this House and utter the sentiments they drank in from these great leaders of the party, in days gone by, in their own province. I am not going to say that any section of the great Canadian people is disloyal. I am not going to say that, but I do say that it is the duty of the right hon. Prime Minister and the duty of the French Canadian members of this House, and they cannot perform it at too early a day, in my opinion, to go down into their counties and to tell their people that their best interests, that their highest interests, call upon them, at this time, to sustain England in this great struggle in which she is engaged. In what part of the world has a Frenchman greater liberties than in Canada, taking it from the point of view of his religious liberties? There is no part of the civilized globe to-day in which the church to which the great mass of the French Canadians belong, has wider liberty and greater security than in this country of Canada. In what country under the sun, outside of the great country of France, is the French language protected any better than it is in the British ruled province of Quebec? Look at the example of Louisiana, a French state. That country was incorporated into the United States of America, and at once the people lost the official use of the French language in their legislature. Sir, the same thing would inevitably happen to the French people of Canada if they should be drawn into annexation; aye, or if this were declared to be an independent nation.

It cannot be denied, Sir, that the great growth of this country in the future will be to the west. That is inevitable. I am no prophet, but I can conceive the time when millions of people will have taken up their abode on the plains of the west. I maintain, that the greatest guarantee, the greatest protection to French rights in Canada is the protection they receive from the sovereignty of the British Crown, and the protection of the British Imperial parliament having an eye to the maintenance of these rights guaranteed to them by treaty many years ago. The British parliament in its justice will see; the British people will see, that these rights are maintained in their full integrity, and they will allow no despoiling hand to be laid upon them. No fanatical hand can tear away from our French Canadian people the rights which the justice and the wisdom of the British people gave them years and years ago. I believe it is the duty of the French-speaking members of this House at as early a date as possible, to teach such lessons as are necessary to the people of every part of the province of Quebec. I am here to speak for the French people of the province whence I come. I represent a constituency in which there is a large majority of French Acadian votes, and I am not afraid in this free Canadian parliament to express the views I have

expressed. I am not afraid in the face of the people of Irish blood in this Dominion to express my views. And, Sir, I am not afraid that any punishment shall be visited upon me for heartily and sincerely stating to this House the views and sentiments which actuate me at this time.

Mr. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). I wish to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the fact that the War Office has confirmed the news that Kimberley has been relieved. I wish to ask the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) or the Minister of War (Mr. Borden) whether they have ordered the flag to be hoisted on the public buildings in commemoration of this joyful event. The people throughout the country are all ready to cheer for the victory that that Irishman Lord Roberts has achieved in the relief of Kimberley, and I think it would be only fitting that the House of Commons of Canada should be adorned with the Union Jack on this occasion.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). There is, I believe, an officer whose duty it is to look after the hoisting of the flag, and I do not know whether he has done it or not. For my part, it is only within the last few minutes that I have heard the welcome news that Kimberley has been relieved. If it is deemed proper on the part of the House that the flag should be raised, the idea will meet with hearty approval on the part of the government.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). I wish, Mr. Speaker, to call attention to some remarks which have been made in the course of this debate. The hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe (Mr. Stenson) told us a few minutes ago that the mother country had called upon us to act, and that we have done so. Sir, the mother country did not call upon us to act. The mother country might have called upon us to act, but she did not do so, and there was perhaps good reason why she should have called upon us on account of the dilatoriness of the present government, and the conduct of the First Minister. What did happen was that volunteer offers were made to England from certain Canadians, and it was to these volunteer offers that Mr. Chamberlain referred in the official correspondence. The hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe (Mr. Stenson) protested against certain persons being called traitors.

Mr. TAYLOR. Cravens.

Mr. WALLACE. I would like to know what other term but 'traitors' would describe a man who is not loyal to his country, who is not loyal to the institutions under which he lives, who is not loyal to

the country which provides him a very remunerative salary and emoluments. I would like to know what other term but 'traitor' will describe such a man who is doing all he can to injure the reputation of his own country. Such a man is a traitor to his country, and no other term will describe him. Sir, when we consider some of the statements made in this House by certain members, we can only believe that Canada looks with apprehension and alarm at the fact that men occupy seats in this House who so far forget their duty to their country and their allegiance to their Queen, as to be guilty of uttering such language in this British Canadian parliament. The speech of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) was in the first place an attack upon the policy of the government. Where is the reply of the government? Where is the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden)? Where is our gallant friend the major from North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), who is so recently admitted a member of the Cabinet? Where is the Premier? Where is the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) who endorsed the member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) in resigning his seat, as a protest against the course which the government was compelled to take by the force of public opinion? In the case of some members of that government, I believe they took a loyal and patriotic stand, but in the case of others the reverse is decidedly the fact. Where is this Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) who introduced the member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) in company with the member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), who used such disloyal language in this House? Sir, when I saw these three members coming together into the Chamber, I could not help thinking that they were three of a kind, all painted with the same disloyal sentiments to the country and to the empire. They say they are loyal to Canada. Nonsense. They cannot be loyal to Canada and disloyal to the other portions of the empire. We are one and indivisible with the empire, and disloyalty to one part of the empire is disloyalty to all. The whole speech of the member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) was a series of dissimulations. He had nothing in common with the Boers, neither race, language nor religion. His whole conduct, in my mind, is based upon one hypothesis. For eighteen years the Boers have evinced the most bitter hostility against the British Empire. They have been for eighteen years, as we know, planning, contriving, gathering up arms, and doing everything a nation could do to drive the British out of South Africa. We know that to-day. Britain perhaps should have known it better, as events were passing along; but there is no one to-day who does not know it. They were bitterly hostile to Britain's power, and I can only attribute the hostility of the member for Labelle to the same source—not sympathy with

the Boers, but hostility to British power. The member for Laprairie comes out with it flat-footed. What does he say? He says in the letter that he wrote to his constituents:

I am opposed to the expenditure of one cent which has for its object to tighten closer the ties of Canada to Great Britain (except the commercial bonds which unite us to our mother country). We have almost nothing in common with the old continent.

I am a Canadian and my ideal is to see Canada rank among independent nations as soon as the vitality of its people and the immensity of its natural resources will have sufficiently developed our country.

What does that mean? He wants to see Canada an independent nation just as soon as we are strong enough; but he is willing that Canada shall be a sucker on Great Britain. He is willing that we shall enjoy the protection of the greatest navy in the world—and the greatest army in the world too, and the British consular power, and the great moral strength of the empire, with the influences that make Great Britain the dominating power she is in the world to-day. We are to have the full benefit of all this; and this loyal gentleman says we are not to spend one cent for Great Britain's power or strength, nor to bind closer the ties that bind us to the motherland. Why, Sir, a low-down policy, a degrading statement for any man to make, that we will take everything we can get from Great Britain, that we will suck the teats dry, but will not give a single thing in return; and then when we get strong enough to kick the motherland over, we will declare our independence and our hostility to the empire. That is the policy which the member for Laprairie advocates in this House, and the policy which the member for Labelle endorsed, though he had not the courage of the member for Laprairie to speak out his opinion. That is the policy of the government of the day, Mr. Speaker; else why did they, the day before yesterday, as announced in yesterday's *Globe*, make Mr. Bourassa one of the government whips, after he had made this disloyal speech in the House of Commons? Why, Sir, such a thing has never been witnessed before, if we except the fact that the member, who had attempted to bring discredit upon the government of which he was a supporter, was afterwards introduced to the House by a member of the same government. This gentleman, we are told by their official organ, was elected to be a government whip, a position of confidence and responsibility and honour in the ranks of the party to which he belongs. Such a thing, I think, has never been seen or heard of before in any representative parliament. The hon. member for Labelle spent a great portion of his speech in an attempt to show that the war in South Africa was an unjust war on the part of Great Britain. Why, Sir, he had no care nor consideration

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for that question at all. That was not his object. His object was to destroy the influence of Great Britain, to assist in discrediting the power of Great Britain and every one who has gone to the assistance of the motherland. What does he say in another place in his speech? He says:

When the first contingent went from Quebec, I happened to be there, and met several citizens who accused me of disloyalty—

They knew the man, evidently.

—and who told me that I was going there to sneer at the brave men who were starting for South Africa. No, Sir, I never blamed them or sneered at them, but admired them much more than I do the men who are the cause of their departure, but who have not gone themselves. A few days ago I read a despatch stating that at an engagement near Belmont some of our Canadian boys had captured a few prisoners, and that great was their indignation on discovering that these prisoners were British subjects. Poor, brave, straightforward boys. If they only knew the secret motives and reasons that are underlying this war, they would be much more indignant than they are.

I venture to say, Mr. Speaker, that those boys who went out to South Africa were just as independent as the member for Labelle, that they knew the causes of the war just as well as he did, that they are a reading people and as intelligent a portion of the people of Canada as we can find, that they knew, too, what the member for Labelle did not know, or did not care to know, that the empire was in danger, that not only the Boers in South Africa, but the nations of Europe were uniting in hatred and hostility to Great Britain. They knew all these things, and it was for these reasons that they offered their services for the defence of the empire. As the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver) says, it was not for pecuniary considerations. He cited instances of men who had left large properties and great prospects. He said that many of them had jeopardized, if not sacrificed their whole future career in order to go out and fight the battles of the empire. They were stimulated, Sir, by a sentiment that never existed in the breast of the member for Labelle. They had the loyal instinct which recognizes that no country has ever become great and powerful which has not loyal sons ready to defend her empire—that no country will ever amount to anything where this spirit of patriotism and loyalty does not inspire the minds of its people. The hon. gentleman says, 'If these men only knew the secret motives and reasons.' They do not require to know any secret motives and reasons. They knew the great broad fact that England's Empire was threatened. The hon. gentleman as he talks further, opens his mouth a little wider, and says some things which he had not said or which he had denied before. He says:

I am opposed to militarism. I am in favour of a policy which will induce the youth of this

country to go on the farm, to go and work peacefully at intellectual or manual work; but I am opposed to giving the young men of this country too much inducement to go into the army. We are expending millions to bring foreigners into this country. I am in favour of that policy and am opposed to the policy advocated by the Montreal 'Star' of sending our soldiers out of this country.

The preaching of these men has apparently borne fruit. A gentleman from Montreal, whom I do not know very well, has sent me a statement which shows the practical result of the preaching of such men as the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) and the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) and, as they claim, the right hon. the First Minister. I do not know if this statement is correct or not, but it was sent me by a gentleman of repute, and it says :

The officers of the first contingent were forty-two, of which six were French Canadians. The officers unattached seven, French Canadians one; staff-sergeants seven, French Canadians one; non-commissioned officers, rank and file 989, French Canadians 45, and so on.

So that if the French Canadians have not taken the same active part, have not been inspired by the same motives as other citizens of Canada, it is simply due to the preaching of such men as the hon. members for Labelle and Laprairie and the Minister of Public Works and other members of the government of Canada.

I listened with much pleasure to the speech of the hon. member for Kent, N.B., (Mr. McInerney), a loyal citizen of Canada, recognizing his duty to his country, a speech which I am sure every loyal citizen of Canada will read to-morrow with the greatest pleasure. When we read such speeches as that, when we see every class attempting to close up the ranks and show that Canadians are loyal to their country and the empire, it is a most deplorable fact that opposition should come from the ranks of the government and of the supporters of the government. On this side, I venture to say there will be no such expressions of disloyal feeling as we have been compelled to listen to during some days past.

I do not wish to take up the time of the House any further, although I could take up some time criticising statements made by those gentlemen, but the task is so thoroughly distasteful that I do not care to undertake it. When we find men of this stamp giving utterance in this House to disloyal sentiments at a time when all Canada should be united as one man, at a time when there ought not to be a discordant voice in this country, when at such a time we find these men disturbing that harmony which should exist among the various portions of the Dominion, we cannot but deplore the fact. But these men will find that the great heart of the citizens of Canada is not with them. They will find that on this question we are as loyal a portion of the

empire as exists to-day; and if sacrifices are to be made in the future, if the empire is still threatened, as according to Lord Rosebery's speech of to-day, it is, if dangers are imminent, Canada will regard no sacrifice too great to maintain the independence of the empire and its supremacy all over the world.

Mr. A. C. BELL (Pictou). I think that on one ground at least, Mr. Speaker, Canada may be congratulated, and that is on the fact that the discussion which has taken place on the motion of the hon. Finance Minister has resulted in showing that the parliament of Canada is practically unanimous on the subject of voting the money required to send the contingents to Africa. From the government side of the House only two members have given expression to any dissent; from the opposition side it is gratifying to observe that every one, without exception, is in hearty accord with the policy of the government. It was hardly to be expected, owing to the discussion that took place in the press before the first contingent was sent, and the utterances which fell from certain members of the government and certain gentlemen supporting the government, that so happy a state of affairs would have been exhibited, and, therefore, I think that those of us, who are and always have been thoroughly in accord on this subject, have every reason to congratulate the country and the government on the fact that Canada is practically unanimous upon this occasion. I am sure that nothing could be more satisfactory or gratifying to those who hold views favourable to the course taken by the government on this occasion, and for my part I feel as though it were a gracious act on the part of members sitting on the opposition side to find no fault whatever either with the government as a whole or any members of the government for any delay in the taking of any steps to send these contingents to Africa. It was fair and reasonable to expect that the government, holding the views they did, should have hesitated somewhat before deciding to commit Canada to the course we have taken, but I think that the fact that the government so correctly interpreted public opinion and sentiment is creditable to them, as also the fact that they acted as promptly as they did, because we must give them credit for having, once they decided to send the contingents, shown great activity and great efficiency, especially in the Militia Department, and the country has no reason to find fault.

It seems to me scarcely necessary to criticise any statements made on the government side in opposition to the policy adopted, so few have been the utterances in that sense. Such opposition has been limited really to two members, so that I think we might look upon these exceptions as simply proving the rule. The fact that only

two members out of 213 have expressed any dissent whatever to the course taken by the government shows that this House is practically unanimous, as I believe the country is. I really think that I should not have spoken on this occasion, were it not for the fact that this strikes me as a very significant and gratifying event in the history of Canada and the empire. The day on which this House resolves itself into committee in order to pass this vote of \$2,000,000 for the purpose of taking an active part in the wars of the empire will be looked upon in the future as a great and historic occasion, as the day upon which the people of Canada set their seal upon the idea of Imperial federation. I feel as though I should congratulate every member of this House, who has had the opportunity of participating in an event of such importance to us as a parliament. While we need not argue at all the question that our country in this matter is waging war in a just cause, I feel that we ought to congratulate ourselves upon the fact that our cause is so just. In this country, I say, we have every reason to feel that we are not straining our loyalty, not straining our affections to the empire in embarking as representatives of the people on an undertaking that we can look forward to with distrust, but we are taking part in what we must look upon as a duty to the empire. It seems to me important that we should not lose sight of the fact that in this vote, in this practical unanimity in the House as opposed to the opinions expressed either by the hon. member for Labelle or the hon. member for Napierville (Mr. Monet), practically, we in this country all hold the same views as to the relations of Canada to the empire, which have been gradually gaining strength and growing in vitality in this country for the last twenty-five years. I suppose this Imperial federation movement is a very old one, yet I cannot find any trace of it in English opinion much further back than 1874, and at that early date and for some years afterwards there was a strong tendency on the part of those opposed to that idea to laugh at it, to look upon it as a thing that was not at all a practical issue in politics. But to-day, so far as I can read the action of this parliament, so far as I can understand the sentiment of the people, we are all practically of one mind, we are federationists, we have all come to believe that the British Empire, or the country which we used to know as Great Britain and Ireland, with the outlying colonies has now become an empire, only one country. For that reason I think we ought all to be proud and pleased to take part in this vote, which we are going to pass to-day.

I know for my own part that throughout Canada so strong was the sentiment in favour of the action which the government of Canada are here pledging themselves to

take, that even if the government had decided to adhere to the opinion which was freely expressed by the Prime Minister, that it was not competent for the government to muster forces and send them abroad, though the country might loyally submit to the ruling of the government in that matter, still there can be no question whatever that so unanimous was the sentiment in favour of Canada coming forward and taking an active part in the battles in which Greater Britain was engaged, that contingents equal in number, equal in efficiency, would have been sent to Africa at private expense. The very fact that one Canadian citizen alone is equipping at his own expense and sending to Africa a body of men equal to one-fourth of all those whom the country are sending, I think is sufficient proof that there is enough patriotism, enough devotion to the empire, enough enthusiasm in the ranks of the people of Canada to have equipped at least 2,000 men and sent them to the front. But while that, perhaps, would have been as large a service, and perhaps even a higher proof to our fellow-citizens in England of our devotion to the mother country, it would not have been so satisfactory in any respect to us living in Canada as is the course which the government is asked to take. I think they deserve high credit for their acuteness and the readiness with which they bowed to public opinion; and I am proud to see that the course they have taken in this regard is so thoroughly supported by the people of Canada. One of those that have spoken against it, with regret for what he thought the country required, with regret, perhaps, for the course taken by the government, has done everything in his power to assist the government in this matter, and it does him a great deal of credit for he has spoken against the resolution, he is going to vote for it. The other gentleman representing Napierville, even he may not vote against the resolution. He has expressed himself on it with a great deal of sincerity and honesty, and with a considerable amount of logical effect; but I do not know that even he is committed against it. I dare say we may have occasion to congratulate the country and the government, and the House, upon the fact that the resolution submitted by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), pledging this country, not only to-day but for the future, to stand beside the mother country in every great crisis of danger, has passed this House unanimously, without a dissentient voice. If so, I think it will be merely an expression given by the parliament of Canada of the sentiment of the people of Canada as a whole.

Now, Sir, I cannot for my own part feel disposed to admit that there is any disloyalty in Canada. I believe that in Canada to-day there is more unanimity, more heartiness, more loyalty, than ever existed even in the

mother country at times of stress and of danger. We cannot all be expected to think alike. Even in England, even in any country of whose history we have any knowledge, there has never been a time when all were of one mind. In the United States during their great civil war, there were the Copperheads who did not think as the majority did. And when Great Britain was threatened with the Armada, there was not unanimity, there was a large portion of the population who dissented from the views of the majority. I believe to-day that Canada presents the proud spectacle of a united people whose only desire is to contribute to strengthen the arm and encourage the heart of the mother country. In this way everyone can contribute to secure for England and for Canada the safety, welfare and permanence of the British Empire, of which we are proud to form a part.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. CHAUVIN (Terrebonne). (Translation). Mr. Speaker, as the hon. member for Laprairie-Napierville (Mr. Monet) referred, the other day, to a meeting held at St. Jerome, in the county of Terrebonne, I wish to read to the House the resolutions passed by that meeting, on the 21st December, 1899 :

Resolved, that the loyal subjects of Her Majesty, who compose this meeting wish to express, first, their deep gratitude for the benefits conferred on Canada, during her glorious reign, and more especially, for having endowed Canada with political institutions which have so greatly contributed to her development and prosperity.

That, in the conduct of her free and responsible institutions, Canada, as a self-governing colony, always aimed at developing her natural resources, extending her territory, drawing closer the bonds between the provinces and the various elements of the community, and that, while achieving that object at the cost of great sacrifices, Canada has been instrumental in making the empire greater and more powerful.

That they cannot too strongly emphasize the fact that in the protection afforded Canada by the mother country is to be found a safeguard and a guarantee which could be secured through no political change whatever ; that their present political regime commands their respect and most absolute devotion, inasmuch as the British parliament and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have, under all circumstances, given full redress to the grievances of the various classes of the community and secured a faithful observance of such laws, statutes and constitutions as it has been Her Majesty's pleasure to confer upon and extend to Canada.

That the colonial policy of the British government, at the suggestion of Pitt and Durham, has ever resulted in giving this colony such self-governing power as were consistent with the rights and dignity of the British Crown, and that, as a matter of fact, Canada is in the full enjoyment of self-government with the exception of the treaty-making powers, and that of appointing the head of the Executive.

That such policy has contributed to the unification and strengthening of the empire, to a greater degree than could have been brought about by any direct or indirect interference with the public affairs of the Dominion ; and that this meeting are of opinion that such policy ought to be maintained in the future as in the past.

That this meeting earnestly pray for the success of the British arms in the Transvaal, and that their most sincere sympathies go forth towards the heroes who have fallen on the battle fields of Africa, for the honour of the British flag.

That they do not ignore the duty they owe their Sovereign ; but, that for the sake of that harmony which is so necessary to the unification and maintenance of the empire, this meeting deprecates any attempt at causing Canada to take part in any war, without the free consent of her government, under the sanction of parliament and of the electorate.

That they are of opinion that, Canadians, who have enjoyed the benefits of self-government for over half a century, are quite ready to take to their charge, the necessary expenditure for the defence and protection of Canadian territory ; further, that, in cases of emergency, under the sanction of parliament, they are willing to contribute to the defence of other portions of the empire, but that they cannot abdicate the rights of having a voice in the public affairs of the country, either in connection with the fiscal policy, or public works, and especially with regard to the policy of participating in the wars of the empire, a policy as to which the electorate were never consulted.

That this meeting wish to give a repeated assurance of their deep gratitude for the benefits conferred upon the country by Her Majesty, and of their entire loyalty to Great Britain ; and while praying for the success of British arms and for the maintenance of the empire, they say without hesitation that under the ægis and control of the constitution of 1867, which Her Majesty was pleased granting Canada, our country cannot but grow and prosper, provided that constitution be strictly adhered to and fully enforced in the spirit of the men who framed it, so as to be a guarantee of fair play and equal rights for all.

The members of this meeting think it their duty, before closing, to register here their impartial protest against the charges levelled at the French Canadian people by certain newspapers in the country. And look upon as the most dangerous enemies of British connection and of the maintenance of the empire those mischief-makers who do not scruple to provoke men who, through gratitude for the past and for the liberal construction put by the Imperial authorities upon the treaties and the constitution which protected them, and through their admiration for those British institutions which have proved so stable and so powerful, rank among the most loyal subjects of Her Majesty.

Mr. DAVIN. (Translation). What paper is that taken from ?

Mr. L. A. CHAUVIN. (Translation). From a Montreal paper, *La Presse*. By the resolutions now before us we are asked to vote a sum of two million dollars to defray the cost of the Canadian contingents. Now, in my opinion, it would be going against every principle of parliamentary government were we to sanction those resolutions.

It is within the province of parliament to give authority for making expenditures, rather than voting the same, after they are made. The plain duty of the government, under the circumstances, was to call parliament. Prior to making those expenditures, parliament should and could have been summoned.

In fact, hardly had the last steamer which was carrying away the second contingent, weighed anchor, when parliament was called together. Why is it that parliament was not summoned a month earlier, just as the British parliament was called to vote sums of money for this war?

The right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) said that to call parliament in special session would have been more expensive than the cost of the contingents; but this is a puerile excuse, under the circumstances and in this serious crisis of our history; and had he called parliament in special session, I have no hesitation in saying that the government can depend upon it, the members of this House would have been loyal enough to come here and perform without any indemnity the duties they were called upon by the constitution to discharge. I am positive that had the government, after the example of the British government, called parliament, the members of this House would have volunteered their services, without asking for any indemnity, in order to meet here in special session and safeguard the rights of the constitution.

Mr. H. BOURASSA. (Translation). Hear, hear.

Mr. CHAUVIN. (Translation). We are told that the government were not ready with their measures, but even now the hon. gentlemen are not yet ready to proceed with the business of the country, and here we have to sit waiting for them to be ready, and doing half a day's work instead of a full day's work, as we ought to and as we are bound to, in the interest of the country. The government ought to have summoned parliament, and I doubt not that the hon. members of this House would have, out of loyalty, volunteered their services without claiming any indemnity, in favour of a cause which is of the utmost importance to Canada and to the empire at large. The principle at stake would have remained unimpaired, to the great satisfaction of the country in general, and especially, to the satisfaction of the province of Quebec, which is more jealous, than the other provinces are, of the rights guaranteed them by the constitution.

We are told that this is no new departure from the settled policy of the country, but that the government had availed themselves of this opportunity of offering of their own free will material help to the mother country, and to assist in maintaining the supremacy of the British flag in South

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Africa, thus voicing the devotion and loyalty of the people of Canada to Our Gracious Sovereign, whose armies are engaged in this calamitous war. I have no doubt that the government were actuated by such motives, but it is impossible to dissemble the fact that this movement has assumed an imperialistic shape and meaning, which cannot escape the attention of the people of the province of Quebec, in particular. The hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches are responsible for the turn assumed by this movement. Nobody has forgotten, for instance, the statements made by the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) in London, statements which strongly savoured of imperialism, and which were reported at the time by the press, without the right hon. gentleman ever having contradicted them.

Let us take the statements of the commanders of the Canadian militia, who also declared that Canada ought to be ready to mobilize 50,000 men, and even 100,000 men, to take part in the wars of the empire, and to fight England's battles.

Upon the occasion of the departure of the first contingent, the hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) is reported by the *Montreal Gazette* of the 31st of October, 1899, to have thus spoken:

Canada is now taking part in the wars of the empire, without any one being able to tell how it all came about; but we are all pleased that it did come about.

Take the statements made by the Minister of Justice (Mr. Mills) who is reported to have said in the Senate:

No man in his senses would undertake to frame for the British Empire a constitution and say it should be governed by one or two legislative bodies, or a political body, or what its powers should be. It is only by the voluntary action and good sense and co-operation of the government of the United Kingdom and the governments of the different dependencies that you can gradually develop an Imperial constitution suited to the requirements of an empire such as ours.

And further on he added:

No doubt, in time an Imperial constitution will grow up just as the constitution of Great Britain has grown up out of the exigencies of the people and the requirements of the Imperial service, and I have no fault to find with men who perhaps have not reached or do not occupy the same standpoint that we do.

And still further:

... And I say if there are men in Canada who think that before we undertake such responsibility that we ought to have an understanding with the Imperial government and ought to have a sort of Imperial constitution, in skeleton form at the outset, I do not quarrel with them. I differ from them. My opinion is that it is not in that way an Imperial constitution will grow up. I think it will be formed out of the exigencies of the situation and the demands of the public interest of the nation.

Let us also take the statements made on

the floor of this House, this afternoon, by the hon. member for Pictou (Mr. Bell), who told us that we were making rapid strides towards Imperial federation; that we were federationists; that, so far as he read the action of this parliament and understood the sentiment of the people, this was but the first step towards Imperial federation, and that we, in our quality of members of this House, and as representatives of the people of Canada, ought to feel proud to be able to participate in this movement.

And outside this House, let us see what was said by the organs of public opinion in the country, and here is what the *Montreal Gazette* said, on the 10th February, 1900:

The current of Imperial feeling is too strong for his no precedent, and, in case of another crisis arising, it would simply be swept away, as Mr. Tarte's has been.

Here, the editor refers to the proposition of which the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) has given notice:

There can be no purpose in setting up a doctrine that, precedent shows, would be ineffective. The guarantee against a repetition of what has lately happened would be the defeat of the government on a direct vote censuring its conduct. That could not be obtained in the present parliament, and anything less is of no value.

Now, Sir, I say that all those articles, all those speeches, all those statements emanating from the hon. gentlemen opposite and from the influential organs of public opinion in this country clearly show that the people have good reason to believe that this movement means more than a simple offer of help in favour of Great Britain, but that it is a movement, a step of far wider significance, that it is paving the way towards a political change calculated materially to affect and modify the constitution of 1867; and that it constitutes a new departure in our policy, with a view to bringing about Imperial federation, a policy which will alter our political and military relations with the empire.

That policy of Imperial federation, as stated by several hon. gentlemen on the floor of this House, has been a policy of very slow growth, having been looked upon, for the last twenty years, as a thing that was not all a practical issue in politics. It may be said that those appeals in favour of that policy never found a responsive echo in the country. The people were distrustful of the very name of Imperial federation, still more than of the thing itself, and to use the words of the fabulist Lafontaine:

That lump of flour boded no good.

But since this war broke out we have apparently embarked with full sail in Imperial federation. Imperial federation has 'crept into the place' and we are now asked to put our shoulder to the wheel in order to give strength to that movement.

I think, Sir, that the crisis we are going through is not a proper time for attempting to frame a new constitution. Let us wait till this movement of sympathy in favour of Great Britain has cooled off—a movement which is most creditable to our English-speaking colleagues, and which we, French-speaking members, fully share in—and then will be the time for us, if need be, to lay the foundation of a new constitution. The electorate will have first to be appealed to, and parliament will be called upon to sanction it, after fully considering and discussing the matter. But, Sir, as I said, this is not the proper time for parliament to approach the consideration of such a momentous question.

Some hon. gentlemen have expressed surprise at the fact that the people are taking alarm at the present movement; but I may tell them that, if the people are alarmed, it is because the hon. gentlemen themselves have given ground for it by their reckless statements. If the people are alarmed, it is that the government have not been guarded enough in their statements, and that they had led the people to think that they were embarking in a new policy, which we have not yet had time properly to consider.

Let me tell the advocates of Imperial federation that they have no cause to feel elated at the part they are playing in this new movement, because, as things stand now, and as they would have it, Great Britain has the lion's share, the colonies having nothing but duties to perform, while every right is given to England. So long as the question of the representation of colonies in the Imperial parliament is not settled, the problem of Imperial federation will not have advanced a single step.

We have been told that the government had gone outside the letter of the law, but not beyond the spirit of the constitution. In this connection, Sir, allow me to refer to a statement made by the late Sir George Etienne Cartier, when addressing, in 1867, before a French Canadian audience at a meeting held at Ste. Rose, in the province of Quebec. This statesman, as I was told by a gentleman who attended that meeting, in order to induce his hearers to vote in favour of confederation, told them that never should they be called upon to give military aid to Great Britain. If I invoke here that statement, if I appeal to the authority of Cartier, it is in order to show in what spirit our people voted in favour of the constitution under which we now live; it is to emphasize the fact that, if the people of the province of Quebec under the circumstances, object to this new departure in our policy, it is because they are alarmed at the statements made by the hon. gentlemen opposite, or by some members of the cabinet, and by the public press. The people wish to be consulted and to have a voice

in the framing of the new policy, before it is finally adopted.

Since I have mentioned the name of Sir George Etienne Cartier, let me further say that it was he who stated that our Gracious Sovereign had no more devoted, no more loyal subjects than the French Canadians in this country. The hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney) told us, this afternoon, that there were two great schools of thought in the province of Quebec in this matter of loyalty: the Liberal school of thought, and the Conservative school of thought. Let me tell you, Sir, that there is only one single school of thought in the Quebec province in the matter of loyalty, and the best representatives of that school are found in the ranks of the Roman Catholic clergy. The Roman Catholic church is a great school of respect; our clergy respect authority, and under the guidance of our clergy, well might the French Canadians exclaim with the Swiss patriots: 'We have given our souls to God and our bodies to the defence of the mother country.'

England is our mother country and we, French-speaking members need not go the round of our constituencies and take the stump in order to preach to our constituents, as the hon. member for Kent suggested, the gospel of loyalty to the British Crown.

But should Great Britain, without interfering with our constitutional rights and liberties, appeal to our hearts, in her hour of need, gladly would we respond to the call of the mother country, and in no haggling spirit. But if there is one thing more than another that we resent and which alone could estrange us from Great Britain, it is that systematic attempt on the part of some of our English-speaking fellow-countrymen at outraging our feelings and persecuting us in this free country of ours. And in this connection, Sir, I cannot let go unchallenged the statement just fallen from the lips of an hon. member of this House who seems to have made it a specialty to outrage the feelings of the French Canadians. That hon. gentleman stated on the floor of the House that the French Canadians had not taken the same active part as other citizens of Canada, and that the number of the French Canadians gone to South Africa with the two last contingents is not in proportion to the number sent by the other elements in this country. This is not the place for figuring that out; still, it would be interesting to find out the number of English-speaking volunteers of Canadian birth who have left with the two contingents. Should the hon. gentleman take the trouble of looking up the records, perhaps he could tell us what is the proportion of English-speaking volunteers of Canadian birth, compared with that of the French Canadians, who have enlisted to serve in South Africa. The hon. gentleman would perhaps find out that the number of French Canadian volunteers

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is equal to that of English-speaking soldiers of Canadian birth who have gone to the war.

But, Sir, it is upon the return of our soldiers from South Africa that their services will be duly considered, and I have no doubt that the French Canadians enlisted in those two contingents will not come last. Let us, in passing, bow to the sons of two hon. members of the Upper House: the son of the hon. Speaker of the Senate (Sir Alphonse Pelletier) and the son of the hon. Senator Fiset; and may the conduct of these two French Canadians on the battlefields of South Africa be a credit to the Canadian name and to the British flag.

Mr. G. E. CASEY (West Elgin). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, if I take the liberty of addressing the House in French, it is not that my French Canadian friends in this House would not understand me better in English; but because I wish to claim my right, as a Canadian, to use either of the two official languages of the House.

Mr. HENRI BOURASSA (Labelle). (Translation.) Hear, hear.

Mr. CASEY. (Translation.) I do not intend to follow the speech of the hon. gentleman for Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin); but I only wish to remark that he occupies exactly the same position on this question as two of his friends on this side of the House, I mean the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) and the hon. member for Laprairie-Napierville (Mr. Monet).

As to the question of loyalty, I do not accuse the hon. member for Terrebonne of being disloyal—I think he is as loyal as ourselves—but he occupies exactly the same position as those two hon. gentlemen who have been declared disloyal by the hon. gentleman's leader (Sir Charles Tupper) and by his deputy-leader, the hon. member for West York (Mr. Clarke Wallace). If the hon. gentleman bows to the ruling of his deputy-leader, he is bound to consider himself as disloyal.

Sir, the French Canadians are as loyal to the empire as their Anglo-Saxon fellow-countrymen, and, what is still more, as those of Irish origin. I even dare say that they are as British as ourselves. And why not? Are they not, for the most part, descended from the Celtic people of Brittany and from the Normans? The inhabitants of Ireland, of Wales and of Scotland belong to the same race as those of Brittany.

The Celts were the first people to settle down in the British Isles. The ancestors of the French Canadians were Britons, like the Welsh, the Irish and the Scots of our times. A portion of the people of the British Isles spring from people who migrated, a few centuries ago, from the French provinces of Normandy and Brittany. There was in England, nine hundred years ago, a people

which was very nearly related to the Dutch and their descendants, the Boers. The Normans invaded their country and became the dominant race. Nowadays, what is there more British, nay, more English, than those aristocrats who boast of their Norman descent? Could not the French Canadians as well become British?

But, apart from the question of race and origin, I think that our French Canadian fellow-citizens are British in their sympathies and thought, and in the knowledge of the principles of responsible government. So, for instance, they have always claimed the purely British right of grumbling. Never did the French Canadians prove more truly British than when they fought against English bureaucrats, in order to conquer the advantages which the British governmental system procures, by claiming, in 1837, the enforcement of British constitutional principles.

We have been told, Sir, that the present war is not a war waged for the benefit of Great Britain alone. As a matter of fact, it is a war which concerns the closer union of the British people inhabiting the empire, Greater Britain, and I believe that the sympathies of our French Canadian fellow-citizens are as strong in favour of the success of British arms as those of any British citizen in this great Dominion of ours.

Mr. Speaker, having claimed my right to use a language which is not habitual to me, I beg leave to say a few words in one in which I may express myself with greater freedom. I shall avoid, if possible, repeating too much of what I have said already, but I may have to touch on some of the ideas. The discussion, up to this point, has been rather a cool and matter-of-form affair. It has been so, because, as my hon. friend from Pictou (Mr. Bell) has properly acknowledged, there is a practical unanimity in this House and in this country on the question of granting this money for the Canadian contingents. But it is time, perhaps, that warmer words should be said on both sides of the House than have been uttered hitherto. I am afraid that some of the leaders on the other side of the House have mistaken the sentiment of the country, in that they have limited themselves to pointing out what they considered faults in the method of conducting the arrangements for this contingent on the part of the government, and have failed to give due credit to the government and to both sides of the House for the universal spirit which has moved the whole country. I think that, from this period of the debate onward, following still the sound advice of the hon. gentleman from Pictou, we should drop accusations of disloyalty, should drop claims of superior loyalty, and make it evident to the world at large that we are all united on this great question.

There is only one voice of the people in regard to this grant of money, and I do not see why it should be obscured in this House by petty wrangling. That feeling is that we are ready to vote these millions, and more millions, and as many millions as the government of the day may think it necessary to call for in order to give whatever aid is required for the armies of the empire battling in South Africa. That I take to be the voice of English and French, the practically unanimous opinion throughout the country. I do not say it is absolutely unanimous—no public opinion is unanimous. Even in Great Britain itself there is not a unanimous opinion in regard to this war. We have heard gentlemen accused across the floor of being disloyal because they have indulged in the mildest form of criticism on the action of the government. What is the strongest position adverse to the government action that has been taken in this House? It is that this war is due to Mr. Chamberlain's mistake in diplomacy; that if the diplomatic negotiations had been properly carried on this war might not have occurred; that it was all Mr. Chamberlain's fault that there is any war; that when the war broke out it was not proper for this government to send men and spend money without consulting the parliament of this country. That is the strongest position taken in this House, and what does that amount to? It does not amount to one-tenth of the criticism or bitterness that has been given voice to on the floor of the British House of Commons. Only the other day in that House, 125 members, I think it was, voted that it was time for the war now to cease, that it was time to make peace with the Boers in the best way possible. I think that was the drift of the motion proposed, though I do not profess to remember its exact terms—

Mr. WALLACE. That was not it at all.

Mr. CASEY. I bow to the superior knowledge of my hon. friend from West York (Mr. Wallace). Now, Sir, in taking the course some hon. gentlemen in this House, and some outside of this House, have taken, what have they been doing? They have been simply exercising the British right of free speech and free criticism of the government of the day. To say that the most severe criticism of the government's action, to say that the most severe criticism of the conduct of the British government in this matter, carries the least shadow of disloyalty with it, is an absurdity which only requires to be pointed out. Even that mild form of criticism, as has been already remarked, has been extremely rare in this House. The House is practically unanimous.

And why? Is it because we consider that the empire is in danger? No, Sir. I do not think it is. I do not think that anybody considers that the empire is in danger. But there

is one thing quite certain, and that is that the existence of the empire is at stake. The existence of a nation may be at stake in a contest without being in danger. We have no doubt that British arms will eventually succeed. If British arms were to fail, there is no doubt that the victory of the Boers would be the beginning of the dismemberment of the British Empire. If the great Britannic power were unable to protect its colonies in farthest Africa and America, in Australia and the islands of the sea, the crumbling of that empire would begin. It is because the empire is at stake that the people of this country are so unanimous. It is not because we are all English, it is not because we are all British—that is, by race. Why, Sir, those of us who are of Irish race believe that in the past—some of us believe that in the present—there is not a great deal of reason to thank England for her treatment of us and our country. But when it comes to an Imperial question that involves the interest of all the British peoples, who are more loyal than the Irish? One of our poets has said, when replying to the accusation of disloyalty against the Irish soldiers in one of the battles in the Transvaal 'Go ask for the names of the dead.' That is the point. Who were those who gave their lives on that occasion? The list is made up almost entirely of Irish names similar to those that have been associated for generations with rebellion against England, and with discontent in Ireland down even to the present day.

I believe that in the conception of the great Imperial idea the people of Canada are far in advance even of their brethren in the British Isles. It is difficult for an Englishman to conceive of the extent of the empire to which his little island gives the name. It is difficult for him to conceive of the various interests involved in that empire, the different peoples who compose it and who claim to be British subjects, all now justly claiming to be British citizens also. I say that in the comprehension of the Imperial idea we are ahead of our friends at home, and that we are teaching them by many things we are doing, even in this House, perhaps most strongly of all by our conduct on this occasion, that there is a greater Britain infinitely more important as we believe, certainly more extensive than Great Britain herself.

Some people do not like the names of Imperialism, of Imperial federation and of empire. I confess that, although I like the things signified by these names, it seems to me that a better name could be found than the name of 'empire' for the British people, or the name of 'Imperialism' for the policy which has now become so general throughout that nation. The word 'empire,' from the time of its Latin origin, has signified military conquest and the subjection of foreign peoples by the

strong arm. That word properly describes our government in India, but does not properly describe the condition of any British colony. We are not a conquered people; we are not military subjects of Britain; we are not subject to the empire—we are partners in what I think it would be proper to call the great British Commonwealth, the unity of British people all the world over. It is, perhaps, largely due to a certain poet whom I need not name that this great idea of Imperial unity has come home more to the masses lately than before. But the spirit has been growing among the British people the world over that British territory is one and indivisible wherever it may lie, whether in South Africa or in the Yukon, whether in Australia or in the islands of the South Sea; that the British people are one and indivisible and that the British people own the British territory. When I speak of British people, I mean, as I hope I have pointed out, not only those who have had their origin in the British Isles, but all those who live under British institutions, who have shown their appreciation of the British constitution, their adaptability to it, their fitness for self-government, and their ability to take part in great national movements. I mean not only the peoples who live in Canada, but the people who are the farthest possible removed from the common race, who have been brought under British rule and who have imbibed the British spirit. The self-governing colonies under the British flag are inhabited by the British people, and it the duty of any one of these, if the territory of any other such colony is invaded, to come to the rescue. It is all one common heritage and we are all common owners of it.

I do not think that enough has been made of the peculiar origin of the present war in Africa. A great many people, even in Canada, seem to be carried away with the idea that this is really a war of aggression, planned by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and brought about by his diplomacy in order to annex these two little republics in South Africa; that these are really independent, self-governing republics, controlled by people who are civilized in our sense of the word, and that they are doing a good work for civilization and for the world at large. It seems to me that the very reverse is the case. The only fault that I can find with British diplomacy in the matter is that these so-called republics were not brought to their senses sooner. When the negotiations began, they were unduly protracted by British statesmen in the expressed hope—I believe in the real hope—that war would be unnecessary, that these people could be induced by negotiation to act up to the letter of their contract, and to give fair-play to British subjects within their boundaries. They were delayed too long; the Boers were simply protracting the

discussion in order to load themselves up with all manner of quick-firing guns, heavy artillery and the latest kind of rifles, and when they were ready—not when England was ready, but when the Boers were ready—the war began. How did it begin? On twenty-four hours' notice there was an invasion of British territory by the Boers, of territory in which you and I, Mr. Speaker, and every inhabitant in Canada, can claim a share as our heritage, an invasion of the territory of the British Empire. What was the nature of that invasion? Was it an invasion merely for the purpose of protecting their citizenship and getting better terms for their respective countries? No, Sir; it was an invasion for the declared purpose of annexing all that part of South Africa which is now under the British flag, and the first move was to occupy part of that territory. Their next move was to proclaim the annexation of large districts either to the Orange Free State or to the Transvaal. It was a war of aggression for the purpose of stealing territory on the part of the Boers, and not on the part of the British. In a war of that kind I think there is no doubt that all British peoples must sympathize with the people of the South African British colonies, and of the empire which is bound to stand at their backs and help them to defend themselves. This is a war of defence by one of the British peoples, by a member of the family of British nations, and as a member of that family we are ready to go to the front and help them.

I said, speaking in French, that I felt convinced that our fellow Canadians of French origin, would feel as warmly in that direction as anybody else when they fully understood the circumstances of the case. In fact, I have heard a great many of them declare that it was quite enough for them to know that the mother country was at war; they did not require to hear all the details of the case because they were ready to go to the defence of the motherland when it was attacked. I have also said, in what perhaps might better be described as the dual language, that I considered our French Canadian fellow-citizens to be as British in their sympathies and thought—even in their race, descended as they are, from the Celtic people of Brittany and from the Normans of another part of the French coast—as any people inhabiting this Dominion of British birth, and that whenever an attack was made on the empire, whether British in their descent or not, they would be found British in their attitude towards this question.

There is a peculiar characteristic about Canadian loyalty to the mother country and to the Crown, which makes this, I think, by far the most loyal portion of the British Empire. We have been very

well treated by the home government for a long time back, since the time when some of our French Canadian friends assisted us to demand constitutional government. For a generation and a half, or two generations, there has been no cause of difference between us and the British Crown. During that time the Crown has been on the brows of a Queen who has commanded the awe and respect of all nations, and not merely of her own. Joined with these considerations is the fact that we are far enough away from the headquarters of the government to see none of what I might call the stage machinery. We look upon the Crown and government of Great Britain with the sentimental respect which is due to the historical associations of the great past as well as of the great present, and nothing that is petty in connection with the government comes under our notice. Our loyalty is therefore more general, more free from anything small, than you will find in any part of the British Isles themselves. I believe that is the verdict of Canadians who have travelled there, and of British people who have travelled here. It is showing itself, in the present instance to be even more spontaneous than that of the British Islands. This government has been accused of being slow to act, but it has been proven on the floor of this House that this government did all that was suggested to it to do in the first place. The offer which was made subsequently was not accepted for some little time, and when that offer was accepted, the second contingent was ready at the fall of the hammer, so to speak.

Nay, more! We have reason to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the gentleman who is our representative in England, though not a Canadian by birth, but all his life identified with Canada, and who obtained his place in the British peerage on account of the distinction he gained as a Canadian citizen, has performed an act which has not only covered his own name with glory, but which reilounds greatly to the glory of this whole country. One of the youngest of the peers, a man who had made money by his own exertions in the first place, and by his great business intellect afterwards, has done more for the empire in this way, than any of the longest descended and richest peers of the realm. This is a thing of which Canadians are proud. Then, the request for money for the Patriotic Fund, a fund intended for the benefit of the families of soldiers who have gone to the front, and for the soldiers themselves when they come home, if there is anything left over, has met with a response which has been remarkably quick and ample throughout the country. This is not the first instance in which Canadians have shown their loyalty in this particular manner. It has been brought to my recollection, only to-day, by an item which

I saw in the *St. Thomas Journal*, that so long ago as the Crimean war, a patriotic fund was started in Canada for the benefit of the widows and orphans of that war. At that time, 45 years ago, £28,000 sterling were raised for that fund in the old provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, partly by a legislative grant, partly by municipal grant, and partly by private benevolence; and £14,000 were subscribed in the colonies down by the sea, the people of those provinces contributing much more largely in proportion to their numbers than did the people of the other provinces. The sum total contributed then from Canada was considerably over \$200,000. Such a large sum, coming from Canada 45 years ago, proved that the sympathies of our people were aroused on account of a war of a different kind from this one; a war in which the colonies of the empire were not at all concerned. That being true of the Canada of 1855-57, what may be expected from the Canadian nation of to-day, in the way of patriotic contribution and personal and private help? I have detained the House perhaps too long with my double-barrelled remarks, but I hope, Mr. Speaker, that when this debate closes the general impression left on the people of Great Britain, and on the people of foreign nations will be, that the voice of Canada is loud, unbroken, solid, and firm in support of the policy of the Canadian government in this particular respect.

Mr. E. F. CLARKE (West Toronto). With the closing remarks of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casey) I quite agree. I agree with him in the hope that at the close of this terrible war, the feeling left will be, that the voice of Canada is as one voice, and that the action taken by the Canadian people is the action of a united people. I also agree with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casey) in his remark, that there is practical unanimity in the House and in the country as well, as to the question of voting the sum of money asked for in the resolutions under discussion. But, Mr. Speaker, I do not agree with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casey) and with some other gentlemen who have addressed you, as to there being unanimity in the country or in the House either, as to the wisdom of the policy which the government has pursued in this matter. When this parliament last assembled, there could be no reasonable doubt as to the feeling which then permeated its members. The House unanimously passed resolutions in reference to what was then a very grave question, and which has since resulted in this deplorable war; resolutions which did credit to the parliament of Canada, and which fairly reflected the views of the Canadian people. Sir, these resolutions gave no uncertain sound. They were unanimously passed in this parliament. They declared

Mr. CASEY.

that the cause of Britain was the cause of justice; they declared that the Transvaal Republic was perpetrating gross injustices upon the Uitlanders; they declared that Britain as the supreme and paramount power had the right to interfere for the protection of our fellow subjects, who were entitled to all the rights and liberties and privileges which British subjects enjoyed in every other part of the British Empire. Sir, the right hon. the Prime Minister on that occasion announced that the cause for which Great Britain was contending, the cause of the Uitlanders, was a noble cause, a moral cause, and a just cause; and in giving utterance to these sentiments the right hon. gentleman expressed the opinion prevalent throughout the Dominion of Canada.

It is because that in my humble judgment the voice of the Canadian parliament, as it was then expressed, was not given effect to in a more potent manner by the government, since the House was prorogued, that I find fault with the government. It seems to me that the government, instead of acting promptly, and instead of acting with one accord, hesitated, vacillated and oscillated before they did what I believe was their duty to Canada and to the empire. The government did not present a united front to the people of Canada. Members of the government; important members of the government made declarations in the province of Quebec and elsewhere which showed that they were not in accord with the resolutions which were unanimously passed by this House last session. Obstacles were thrown in the way of those who desired to prove their fealty to the empire when offers were made by loyal Canadians to enlist in the service of the Crown and fight side by side with British soldiers in South Africa. It is a lamentable thing to find, when we look at the official report of the correspondence between the colonial and the Imperial authorities—I say it is a lamentable and a deplorable thing to find that Canada lagged in the rear in making an offer of assistance to the empire in its time of need. The action of the Canadian government was not in accord with the action of the Canadian parliament last session. I repeat, that in my humble judgment, it is a matter for regret, a matter for which the government will be held responsible by the people of Canada, that they did not supplement the resolutions which were passed last session, and that when this unfortunate war did break out, and when British territory was unjustly invaded, the Canadian government did not at once offer men and money to assist in maintaining the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa. It is also a matter to be regretted, that more than three months elapsed from the time that the first colonial offer of assistance was made on July 11th by the Governor of Queensland, before even a qualified offer of assistance was made by the government of the Dominion of Canada

to the motherland. In my humble judgment, Sir, Canada did not occupy the position which she should occupy in view of the professions of loyalty which this parliament had given expression to less than three months before the war broke out.

The constituency of which I have the honour of being one of the representatives, would in my humble opinion have been much better pleased with this government, had they asked the Imperial government to be permitted to send a contingent equipped with all the necessary material, and to pay all the expenses of the Canadian soldiers of that contingent during the time they were operating in South Africa. That was the wish of the great majority of the people whom I represent, and, they are not satisfied with the course which the government has so far pursued in this matter. I am pleased that even at the last hour, goaded to it by public opinion—because it was the loyal public sentiment of Canada which goaded the government to action—I am pleased that at last they did agree to send one or two contingents, but I hold, Sir, that what is done quickly is done twice, and that the hesitation of the government, the vacillating policy it pursued, the doctrines and opinions which were enunciated by some of its prominent members; rather put a blot upon the fame of Canada, and rather discounted our loyalty to the motherland, of which we make professions from time to time. It seems to me, Sir, that the course of the government in this matter will not commend itself to the great majority of the people of this country, and that when an appeal is made to the electorate of Canada, the government cannot expect a loyal and hearty support from those who believe that its action was not in accord with its professions. An attempt has been made, in the course of this debate, to prove—I have not had the pleasure of hearing all of the speeches, but I read some of them—that the government of Canada had no right to interfere, and that the British Crown itself had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. But, Sir, the speeches which have already been made—especially the speech made by my hon. friend from Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney)—have completely dissipated any argument such as that. Lord Derby, as the hon. gentleman (Mr. McInerney) has pointed out, in the House of Lords in 1884, ridiculed the idea that Great Britain had abandoned the suzerainty of the Transvaal, and declared that Great Britain continued to be the paramount power in South Africa; and because the cause of Great Britain was a moral cause, a just cause, a noble cause, there should have been no hesitancy on the part of the government to take the earliest and promptest steps to show the loyalty of Canadians by sending a fully-armed and equipped contingent to South Africa to fight side by side with the soldiers of other lands.

Mr. WOOD. Didn't they do it?

Mr. CLARKE. They did it when compelled to do it, but they did it in a half-hearted manner; and in the sister province of Quebec one of the members of the administration apologized for the action of the government, and tried to minimize that action as much as possible.

Mr. WOOD. You wanted to send a contingent before war was declared.

Mr. CLARKE. I am glad to see that my hon. friend has found his voice again—he has been very quiet of late—and I shall be happy to give him an opportunity of addressing the House after I shall have concluded my remarks. But I repeat that the action of the government was taken in a half-hearted manner, and was not taken until the public opinion of Canada forced it; but the people of Canada generally would have been better satisfied with the government if, when they decided to send a contingent to assist in maintaining British supremacy in South Africa, they had not hesitated to bear the expense of that contingent, as other colonies and dependencies of the empire were doing. My hon. friend from Hamilton (Mr. Wood) asks, did they not send a contingent? They permitted a contingent of British subjects to go as British soldiers to fight the battles of England in South Africa. They could not very well refuse to do that; but that was only done three months after the first offer of troops was made by another British colony.

Mr. WOOD. The hon. gentleman does not mean to say that it was three months from the time war was declared by Mr. Kruger before a contingent was sent from here.

Mr. CLARKE. I mean to say that it was more than three months after the first offer of assistance was received from other colonies of the empire before an offer was made by the government of Canada to send assistance. On the 14th of October the organ of the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) made this statement:

The government had to decide between two policies—the official sending of a contingent at the country's expense or the payment of the passages and the clothing of those who have manifested a desire to go and fight in the Transvaal. The absence of the Prime Minister prevented the cabinet from coming to a decision before last evening. The sending of a contingent was put aside, but the government thought it could not refuse to pay the expenses of passage and equipment of volunteers anxious to enroll beneath the colours of the British army. The decision reached by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues does not in any manner pledge the country to any action for the future.

I speak subject to correction, but I have not seen that that statement has ever been withdrawn or repudiated. That was the policy agreed upon by the ministry on the

14th of October, and if the hon. member for Hamilton can take any comfort out of an action such as that, he is quite welcome to take it. But I say that that action was not the action which the great bulk of the Canadian people would have liked to see the government of Canada take. But realizing the privileges and advantages and blessings which obtain in this part of the empire, and feeling that the cause of the Uitlanders was the cause of justice and right, the government should not have hesitated to send a contingent fully equipped, and should have been ready to pay every dollar of the expense of that contingent from the time it left Canadian soil until its return. That was the action the great bulk of the people of Canada desired them to take. Not having taken that action, which was the right and proper and patriotic action, I cannot agree with the statement made by some hon. gentlemen on this side and by many on the other side of the House, that the policy of the government is acceptable to all the members of this House. That policy, for the reasons I have stated is not acceptable to me, although I am in duty bound to support the help measure now before us, and will cordially vote for the resolutions appropriating a certain sum of money to assist in the payment of these contingencies; and, if the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) speaks by the book in saying that the government of Canada are prepared to provide an additional sum of money, I wish to say that if I have a seat in this House when that vote takes place, it shall have my cordial support and approbation. But, in view of the credit which this government has attempted to obtain in this country, because of its so-called preferential tariff and its expressions of loyalty and fealty to the empire, its course in this matter was unworthy—was not such a whole-souled, straightforward course as will commend itself to the great majority of the people of this country. At the beginning, when the government were asked to send a contingent, why should the Prime Minister say that parliament had voted no money for the purpose? Why should he have put any obstacle in the way? If he knew the sentiment that prevailed throughout the Dominion, he must have known that no more patriotic action could have been taken—and in taking it he would have had the full sanction and approval of the leader of the opposition—than without waiting for parliament to be called together, to provide a contingent and equip it and pay its full expenses.

Now, there is just one word more I desire to say before taking my seat. The hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe (Mr. Stenson) referred to the action taken by a section of the members of the Imperial parliament recently, when the question of supporting the policy of the British government

was being discussed. I do not know whether we have any right to make reference at all to any action which any section of the members of the Imperial parliament may choose to take. In days gone by, as an humble citizen of Canada, I stoutly opposed the action of this parliament and the action of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, in interfering in matters connected purely with the internal economy of the British Islands; but as the hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe has referred to the action which certain gentlemen representing Irish constituencies recently took in the British House of Commons, I deem it my duty to say—and I say it as one who believes in Imperial federation, and who, until I can find a better name likes to call himself an Imperialist—that the Irishmen in the Imperial parliament who voted as those gentlemen did, were guilty, in my humble judgment, of a very reprehensible act. They grossly misrepresented the great majority of the people of the Green Isle. They tried to do an injustice to the brave men, from the leader of the Imperial forces in South Africa down to the humblest soldier of Irish extraction in the ranks, who have done and are doing such great things to maintain the supremacy of the Union Jack in that part of the empire; and, as one who believes in Imperial federation, holding as I do that the basic principle of Imperial federation is local autonomy, is home rule, I say that those gentlemen have justified, in some degree at least, the fears that have been expressed from time to time by Irishmen who are just as desirous of seeing their native land prosperous as are those gentlemen themselves. Such men belie the liberties of the people of Ireland and cannot safely be trusted; and until they recognize, as my eloquent friend from Assiniboia did to-day, the noble part in which Irishmen of both creeds have taken in uniting and consolidating the British Empire, and until they recognize that the greatest future of Ireland and her greatest glory can only be secured by that country being closely attached to the empire, they shall never realize the object they have in view. When men make a boast of their desire, to separate the Green Isle from the rest of the empire, they are asking something this generation never will grant to them; and, in pursuing the course they did the other day in the House of Commons, they are driving a nail into the coffin of Home Rule. Such a course is the one best calculated to defeat the object of hundreds of thousands of Irish Canadians who desire to see the same local autonomy given to Ireland that would be given to England and Scotland in a grand scheme of colonial confederation which would unite not only these three countries but the most distant colonies in one federation that will secure for all British subjects the advantages which

follow from the domination of British institutions. I regret having taken so much time in digressing from the subject of this debate. I should with a heart and a half endorse the action of the government, if they had taken the course which duty and patriotism prompted them to take, had they reflected at once the views and desires of the great mass of the people of Canada by sending, not one or two or three, but as many contingents as may be necessary and providing every dollar of the expenses necessary for the sending of the contingents to secure in the Transvaal and every other portion of the British territory of South Africa for the British subjects who reside there the same privileges, liberties and rights that we happily enjoy to-day.

Mr. J. H. BELL (East Prince, P.E.I.). All portions of the Dominion, Mr. Speaker, appear to have been heard from except Prince Edward Island; and lest silence upon the part of the representatives of that province might be misinterpreted, I rise for the purpose of saying that in no part of the Dominion is there greater unanimity and greater enthusiasm manifested with regard to the sending of the contingents to Africa than in the Island province where I have the honour to represent a constituency. In no part of the Dominion are the relations between Canada and the mother country more clearly understood—in no part are the obligations which we are under to do our part in the great struggle in which England is engaged more keenly recognized. I deplore the statements which have been thrown across this House, from time to time, reflecting on the loyalty of a portion of the Canadian people. The loyal sentiment upon this question is practically unanimous, and that being the case certain members of this House might have manifested a little more generosity—aye—a little more justice to those who happen to differ from them with regard to the expediency of sending and paying these contingents. Sir, it has been said that the opposition to the sending of the contingents is confined to one or two members of this House, and to a very few people in the province of Quebec. I remember reading in the *Star* newspaper, when this matter was first prominently brought to the attention of the public. In that newspaper the question of the advisability of sending a contingent was put to prominent public men in different part of Canada. The mayors of three leading towns manifested their disapproval. In the province of Quebec certain newspapers, notably Conservative, were, in the first instance opposed to sending a contingent. Some prominent men in that province—men of both political complexions—hesitated to take a step the consequences of which they had reason to dread. It is but fair to say that the opposition to

the proposition of the government was not confined to the province of Quebec or to the Liberal party of that province. It extended to other provinces and was shared by men of both political parties. But the number who manifested their disapprobation was a very insignificant minority, insignificant in this House and outside. In view therefore of the practical unanimity which prevailed throughout this country we could afford to be just and generous to the few who may have manifested different opinions from those entertained by the vast majority. In what way ought we to deal with people who entertain doubts and fears regarding our changing relations to the empire? Ought we to treat them as the leader of the opposition suggests as a sort of cancer in a body politic, and attack them with the surgeon's knife? Ought we to charge them with disloyalty as being enemies of the empire? That is not the proper course to pursue. The statesmanlike course is rather to demonstrate and emphasize our true relations to the empire and the nature and extent of the obligations which these relations entail, when the present and past and future benefits conferred by Britain upon Canada are fully recognized and felt, then all opposition to sending the contingents and paying the expenses will practically disappear. No honest man will object to pay his debts.

In no part of the world are the blessings and privileges of British rule more strikingly manifested than in the province of Quebec. I remember some years ago being in Europe and visiting Strasbourg, in the province of Alsace-Lorraine. In one of the courts of justice, a young man was brought up before a magistrate charged with a certain offence. He was fined twenty marks and sentenced to two weeks in jail. And for what? For singing a patriotic French song on the street. Another Frenchman in the same province was fined because, contrary to law, he had placed the word 'epicier' upon the sign that represented his trade. I could not help observing the contrast between the freedom that obtains in Quebec under the British flag and the oppression and restraint that prevail in a province of the German Empire. If you add to this the consideration that in Alsace-Lorraine the French language is prohibited, that a child of French parents is obliged to learn the German tongue; if you add the fact that a Frenchman is obliged to do military service, to spend three years in the German army in order to prepare him, perhaps, to fight against his own native country—if you consider all this, you will see what a striking contrast there is in the condition of affairs in that French province under the rule of Germany and that of a French province under the benign regime of British institutions. More than that, I think it must be manifest that even the French-

people of Quebec are far better off under existing conditions than if they had remained colonies of old Mother France. What is the present status of the French colonies? Take Madagascar, or Tonquin, or Algiers—these colonies have no semblance of self-government. Their laws are made in Paris, the men who govern them are sent from Paris. All the institutions are primitive—the privileges of the people restricted. Add the fact that the French colonies are obliged to perform military service, and you will easily see that the condition of the people of Quebec to-day is far better and freer and happier than it would have been if they had remained colonies of France. It was a fortunate day for them when Providence cast their lot under the protecting folds of the British flag. Here they have their civil code and their national language—they have absolute peace—and the utmost civil and political and religious liberty. What more is there for the heart to desire? It is considerations like these that form the strongest argument in favour of sending the contingents. Those who oppose are not disloyal, but they are wanting in gratitude—they do not value at their true worth the great benefits that British institutions have bestowed. What is the cost of the British government of maintaining the British fleet? About \$275,000,000 a year. What does that mean to the English people? It means something like \$4.50 per head of her population. By whom is this heavy tax paid? It is paid by the British people, largely by the artisans and labourers, by men less able to pay it than the people of Canada. For what purpose is this fleet maintained? Is it to guard the shores of England? True, a portion of the fleet is required for that purpose, but only a small portion. It is largely—it is mainly for the benefit of the colonies that this large expenditure is incurred. We are not men, we have not a proper sense of our obligations, if we allow this condition of things to continue by which the people of England shall be compelled for all time to pay for the maintenance of England's fleet for the benefit and protection of Canada and the English colonies. Such a condition of affairs does no credit to honest Canadians. These will rejoice that an opportunity is presented by these resolutions of enabling them to contribute an instalment towards the payment of our national obligations.

Now, Sir, I would like to say a word upon a question which has been referred to in the course of this debate. It has been urged by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) that the cause in which England is engaged is an unjust cause, and that, therefore, the people of Canada ought not to be expected to engage in an unjust war or to make a contribution either of men or money to uphold an unjust cause.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.)

That is his opinion. I would like just here to place side by side with that a statement I read in a newspaper a short time ago. It was to the effect that the Archbishop of Montreal was so convinced of the justice of the British cause, that on the 1st of January last, public prayers were ordered to be offered in Montreal for the success of the British arms in the Transvaal. We are not obliged, however, to inquire into the justice or injustice of the war. Why? Because Kruger himself has cut the Gordian knot of the difficulty. It was he who declared war, who invaded British territory, who destroyed British lives, who tore down the British flag, who annexed British territory. Under these conditions we are not called upon to inquire into the righteousness of the war. I would ask my hon. friend: Suppose the Boers had command of the sea, that they had sent over into this country their armies, that they had invaded Canada, that they had ravaged the province of Quebec, that they had overrun the riding represented by the hon. member for Labelle, that they had desolated the homes of the people, that they had torn down the British flag, how much time or energy would the hon. member expend in reasoning out the causes of the war? He would do, as he would be compelled to do, take up arms in the first instance and repel the invader, and re-conquer the territory. Apply the same considerations to South Africa. We are therefore relieved for the present from all obligation to inquire into the causes of the war.

But to satisfy the curiosity and appease the sensitive conscience of my hon. friend, I have no objection to go deeper into the question and inquire into the causes of the war. Sir, a great deal of stress has been laid by him on the suzerainty, as if it was that which determined England's right to interfere in the Transvaal. To my mind, the right to interfere does not depend on that alone. England is bound to interfere on behalf of the rights of her subjects, whether the Transvaal was a sovereign power or whether suzerainty existed. Further, the right to interfere depends not upon suzerainty, but upon compact. The relations between England and the Transvaal depend upon two conventions, one in 1881, and the other in 1884. What were these? Simply that England gave to the people of the Transvaal a charter, a constitution, not absolutely, but conditionally. If they did not fulfil the conditions they forfeited their charter, they forfeited their constitution, and the English government had a right to intervene and enforce the forfeiture. What were the conditions of this charter? One was that slavery was not to be tolerated; another that the Kaffirs were to be fairly treated. This agreement was violated. But the white people were treated worse than slaves. Now will any one say that under a fair interpretation of the charter the rights

of the Kaffirs were to be respected and that no provision was made or contemplated to safeguard the rights of the white men? More than that, we find on examination of the document that this charter was given, not to a few burghers, not to an oligarchy, but to the whole of the people of the Transvaal. Then, what happened? The very moment the burghers got this charter they determined and attempted to create a monopoly, to form a close corporation, to have the privileges of civil rights confined to a few, and to exclude the great mass of the English people from the privileges of citizenship. This was in flagrant violation of the agreement under which all the inhabitants were to have equal rights. British subjects that were in the territory in the first instance or were invited in afterwards were entitled to the same rights under the constitution as the original burghers. But Kruger and his parliament trampled the constitution under foot. They declared that there should be only one religion in that country, that the Roman Catholics, for instance, should be excluded from the legislature as well as from citizenship. They raised nine-tenths of the taxes from British subjects, but refused them a voice in the disposition of the money. They invited immigrants into their country, they solicited people to come in and work the mines and enrich the country, but insolently refused them the right to vote. When these people complained, what was the answer given? Why, they were told that the money was invested in the purchase of arms, spent in the erection of fortifications, and if they did not mind themselves the guns from the fortifications would be turned upon them, and in that way they would be taught the virtue of silence and submission. In these and in other ways the burghers of the Transvaal state violated the constitution, and because they violated it the British government had the right and were bound to interfere on behalf of their subjects and enforce the provisions of the charter against the burghers.

I desire now to make a few observations upon the necessity of the war. The war was necessary—necessary for the purpose of re-establishing the reputation—the prestige of England in the Transvaal. I say that the war was necessary, it was also inevitable. It had to come; it could not be avoided. It was possible, of course, by diplomacy to postpone the war, but sooner or later the battle of the two races had to be fought to the finish. We can see now there has always existed a pre-determined and fixed intention on the part of the Boers to oust the British from South Africa. The English people have been slow to come to this conclusion. Mr. Chamberlain, however, was wise enough to look behind the scenes and faithfully interpret the signs of the times. But it is not until quite recently that the English people as a whole have

come to the conclusion that the war was absolutely necessary in order to sustain British prestige and save British territory. British prestige in South Africa was on the decline—had been on the decline ever since Majuba Hill. It was on the decline among the Dutch, because, after Majuba Hill, the Boers got the impression that upon the field of battle, one burgher was equal to ten Englishmen. It was on the decline because the burghers had misinterpreted the magnanimity of Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone had acted, as he thought in the best interests of humanity. He had applied the charity and forgiveness and forbearance of the Christian religion. He had been magnanimous, he had been generous, but he was dealing with a people that did not understand his magnanimity or his generosity. He was dealing with a people that regarded his magnanimity as cowardice, and ever since, in the minds of the people of the Transvaal, there has remained the impression that the English were cowards. So, a feeling of insolent race superiority has arisen and been intensified. So the Dutch have formed the idea of becoming masters of South Africa and driving the hated and despised English into the sea. We have ample proof of this. Read the letter written by Sir Bartlett Frere in 1877, when the Transvaal was annexed. He tells the British government that the annexation of the Transvaal had created apprehension and dismay among all sections of the Dutch people in South Africa. Read the letter written by General Joubert to Lobengula, the chief of the Matabele, in which he says that it is the fixed intention on the part of the Transvaal burghers to blow the stink of the English into the sea. Consider the object of the Afrikaner Bund, with its motto of 'Africa for the Afrikaner,' but in reality, Africa for the Boers. Consider the treatment of the English by Kruger—treatment which shows a deliberate design on his part to prevent the English from getting a foothold in South Africa. Take the conduct of President Kruger at the conventions held in London and Bloemfontein, at which he refused to grant the slightest concession unless paid for by the express renunciation of English suzerainty. Look at the purchase of vast stores of modern guns and ammunition sufficient to arm the whole of the Dutch population in South Africa. What was meant by the drilling of troops by European officers and the concealment of modern weapons to evade suspicion? Read certain statements which appeared recently in the Pretoria press, where they complain of the action of the Afrikaner Bund. The Bund had promised 50,000 men and they had only sent 7,000. Look at the declarations of Kruger himself, when, after he declared war, he prophesied that within a certain time he would be in Durban, and another portion

of his army would be at Cape Town. Do not all these circumstances point to a vast conspiracy on the part of the Dutch people of South Africa against British rule? Sooner or later the war had to come. The only regret is that it did not come after Majuba Hill, when it could have been fought on more favourable conditions. But, Sir, the time has come at last, the gauntlet has been thrown down. Britain must accept this insolent challenge and fight out the war to the very end. There must be no more Majuba Hills and no more conventions. No British government could survive for a moment unless it set its teeth and determined that this war shall never end until the British flag shall float in triumph from the Zambezi to the Cape, never again to be lowered in South Africa. Sir, the British people are determined that conditions shall never be again allowed to exist, when a state like the Transvaal shall be tolerated as an arsenal and a standing menace to the peace and prosperity of British subjects in South Africa.

Let me now refer for a moment, Mr. Speaker, to the resolution, notice of which has been given by my hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa). To my mind that resolution is useless and unnecessary. It is useless because even if it were passed, should the same conditions again arise, the government would be obliged to act in conformity with the conditions and in the face of the resolution. The resolution is therefore useless. It is also unnecessary, and why? Because the government have done all that is required to prevent its action being construed into a precedent. What course does the British government take under similar circumstances? It is often obliged to act as the Canadian government has done, and to take the responsibility of spending money which has not been voted by parliament. When an emergency arises, when perhaps a war is declared, when a famine occurs, the British government must needs take action immediately, and not wait for the convening of parliament. That is under the British constitution. Otherwise the constitution would be a menace instead of a blessing. How does the British government act when they have expended money that has not been voted? They take means to draw the special attention of the House to their action, either by mention of it in the Queen's speech, or by message, or by the introduction of a Bill of Indemnity. It is in this way declared and agreed that that which was done shall not be taken as a precedent. Sir, that is the course which this government has taken. They have called special attention to this matter in the speech from the Throne, and, as it were, admitted the irregularity of the procedure. They now

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.)

propose to introduce a Bill the provisions of which are an indemnity to all persons who have in any way acted irregularly. Under these circumstances, the action of this government cannot be taken as a precedent, and consequently the motion of the hon. gentleman from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) is unnecessary.

The hon. member from Toronto (Mr. Clarke) stated that he was in accord with the resolution now before the House, and would support the voting of the money, but he was not in accord with the action of the government which led up to this resolution. What is his objection? He tells us that the Canadian government had not made an offer of a contingent for South Africa until three months after an offer had been made by Queensland. It was surely time enough for us to make the offer after the war was declared, and the necessity had arisen. It was surely more sensible to wait until war was declared and then to make the offer. That is what the government did. But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Clarke) raised another objection. He complains that the government did not act promptly enough, they waited until they were forced by public opinion to act. Suppose the charge were true, is it a political crime? Is it the function of the government to create public opinion? I do not believe that the government, even if it desired to do so, could create public opinion. The government can voice public opinion, but they are not masters so as to create it. They must wait till that public opinion has clearly manifested itself, then follow it and voice it. This is the democratic idea, as contradistinguished from the autocratic and insolent notion of some men who imagine they are born to rule—that they have merely to open their mouth and lo, public sentiment is forthwith created.

I wish to state in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that I am voicing the unanimous sentiment of the people of my constituency in the province of Prince Edward Island when I say, that they are all in accord, heartily in accord, enthusiastically in accord, with the policy of the government in sending a Canadian contingent to the Transvaal and paying the expenses.

Mr. PRIOR moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, February 19, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 33) respecting the British Columbia Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. Prior.)

Bill (No. 34) respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.—(Mr. Macdonell, Selkirk.)

Bill (No. 35) to incorporate the Comox and Cape Scott Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

Bill (No. 36) respecting the Arrowhead and Kootenay Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

Bill (No. 37) respecting the Dominion Oil Pipe Line and Manufacturing Company.—(Mr. Fraser, Guysborough.)

TRANSIT OF GRAIN IN MANITOBA AND THE N.W.T.

Mr. DAVIN moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 38) to regulate the trade in grain in Manitoba and the North-west Territories. He said: Mr. Speaker, I put the notice of this Bill on the paper for the same reason that I have put a similar notice on the paper in previous years, namely, for the purpose of being certain that this matter would be dealt with. In 1898, my hon. friend from Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) had a Bill on the paper and I had a Bill on the paper in connection with this, and we thought that the legislation might be dealt with more successfully if it were left in the hands of one member from the North-west Territories, and so my hon. friend from East Assiniboia (Mr. Douglas) took charge of it. That Bill came to misfortune in 1898. Again in 1899, we left the Bill in the hands of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Douglas), and again the Bill came to grief. Well, Sir, I put this notice on the paper waiting to see if my hon. friend (Mr. Douglas) would put a notice on, and I find he did, and I have his Bill now before me. I have no desire to take this matter out of the hands of the hon. member for East Assiniboia (Mr. Douglas), because my desire—and I believe it is the desire of other hon. gentlemen from the Territories who sit on that side of the House—our desire is to see legislation effected. The Bill of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Douglas) is before me, and if I move the first reading of this Bill, it is because his Bill is not quite satisfactory. It does not make the provisions that are necessary to meet the grievances, that are proved to exist by the commission which was appointed last year. Accordingly, I have drafted a Bill that has practically nearly all the provi-

sions—not all, but nearly all—of the Bill of last year, and in addition to these provisions there are these clauses. First:

There shall be an officer, to be styled the General Inspector of the Grain Trade for Manitoba and the North-west Territories, whose duty it shall be to oversee the weights and scales used by grain buyers, and to investigate charges that false weights or scales, or defective weights or scales, have been or are being used, and who, on discovering that false weights or defective scales have been or are being used, shall report forthwith to the Attorney General for Canada.

The other clause which is new reads as follows:

Elevators built after the passage of this Act, used for the purpose of storing and handling grain for hire, shall be provided with machinery to enable the grain as hauled to be weighed and cleaned, and the resultant grain and cleanings severally weighed. The managers of all elevators having such facilities shall hand the farmer or other who has hauled the grain a certificate or wheat ticket showing the weight in each case, and stating the percentage of dirt. In a case where one of the existing elevators does not possess such facilities, then the buyer shall hand the seller a wheat ticket showing the estimated percentage of dirt. In testing for the purpose of arriving at the amount of damage a No. 10 tester shall be used.

Clause 10 reads as follows:

The grain buyer who stores the grain shall either give the seller a written contract that he will give him wheat of a given grade or else that he will put it in a separate bin, subject to his order.

Again:

No grain buyer shall deduct anything for shrinkage.

I think these clauses added to the Bill which met with general approval last year, will provide for any grievances that have been found to exist by the inquiry which went forward last year and in January of this year.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Mr. Speaker, I have no intention whatever of discussing at the present stage the Bill which the hon. gentleman has introduced; but it may be desirable, for the information of the members of the House who have not had an opportunity of following the progress of this matter, to state that in consequence of the Bills which were introduced by the hon. member for East Assiniboia (Mr. Douglas), and which, as the hon. member says did not in any case become law, the government became convinced that this important subject required careful investigation; and during the recess a commission was appointed for the purpose of making an investigation. The late Judge Senkler of St. Catharines was appointed chairman of that commission, and the commission went to Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and made, I believe, a complete and thorough investigation of the

whole subject. The untoward death of Judge Senkler, owing to a cold contracted in the prosecution of the work of the commission, has to some extent delayed the report of the commission; but another chairman has been appointed in the person of Mr. Justice Richards, of the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba, and we expect that the commission will report before a great while, and that we shall be able to lay upon the Table of the House the report of the commission, with the evidence taken. It is the intention of the government, in the light of the evidence and the report, to deal with this subject, and in that view of the case, of course, every member of the House will see that it is impossible for the government to express any opinion in regard to the matter at this stage.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

SENATE AND HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. DOMVILLE moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 39) to amend the Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Explain, explain.

Mr. DOMVILLE. I explained it the other day.

The PRIME MINISTER. I did not hear it.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY LAND GRANT.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 40) respecting the land grant of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Explain.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, when the charter of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company passed the Dominion parliament in the year 1881, there was in it a clause, which still exists, exempting from taxation in perpetuity the company's property, including the rolling stock, right of way, capital, stations, station grounds, etc. That clause also exempts the land grant from taxation for twenty years from the date of the grant thereof by the Crown. I have gone carefully over the debates of the House which occurred when that charter went through, and there seems to have been no doubt whatever in the minds of any members of the House who participated in that debate that the twenty years' period dated at least from the time the land grant was

Mr. SIFTON.

earned if not from the time the charter was passed. It has come to my notice that some doubt exists in regard to the time when that exemption expires, and I have been informed that the late government took the view that it was a question which might be decided by the courts. I myself put a question on the Order paper a few days ago asking the government as to what their view was on that point, and the answer given on behalf of the government was that it was a question which would have to be decided by the courts. Now, I think, it was made so abundantly clear when the charter went through the House that the exemption should only be for a period of twenty years from the time the land grant was set aside for the use of the company, that the question should not in any way be referred to the courts, but should be settled by parliament at the present session, and it is for that purpose that I introduce the Bill now in your hands. The House will understand the desirability of having this question settled, and settled as quickly as possible, because the twenty years period will elapse in 1901, and inasmuch as there is a vast quantity of lands held by the company at the present time, it is particularly desirable that the question should be decided now, and not be dragged through the courts for four or five or six years.

These lands being located in the Northwest and the north-west now being rapidly filled up with settlers, it is particularly desirable that the lands in question should be taxable for the purpose of building roads, and for school and other purposes. When a settler gets a quarter section he has to pay his taxes, and I do not see why the Canadian Pacific Railway should not be held to the same liability. It is quite true that when the Canadian Pacific Railway, or any other company owning lands, sell a quarter or a half or a whole section to a private individual, the lands then become taxable; but should they revert to the Canadian Pacific Railway, they become non-taxable again, because that company, not having applied for a patent, assumes that until the patent is granted the lands are not taxable. Under the extraordinary interpretation which they place on this clause, namely, that until the patent is granted, the exemption period does not begin, the House will see that the exemption from taxation is probably in perpetuity. I am quite sure, from perusal of the debates, that the parliament of Canada never intended to indorse any such monstrous proposition, and I think it very desirable that the question should be determined by the highest court in the land by the parliament of Canada, which ratified the contract. For that reason I now introduce this Bill.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

Mr. GEO. E. CASEY (West Elgin). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to call attention to a matter, the importance of which justifies me, I think, in taking up the time of the House. It is one which involves, not only the interests of Canada, but of the whole British Imperial Commonwealth. I read in the *Globe*, on Saturday, the following special, copied from the *London Times* :

Melbourne, February 15.

The Victorian and the New South Wales governments have agreed to accept the Eastern Extension Company's proposals to lay a direct cable between the Cape and Australia. No contract has been signed, but the following terms are practically accepted: Australian military authorities to be consulted as to landing sites and shore ends; cable company, having reduced charges, cannot again raise them; company to be allowed to open local offices as soon as the Pacific cable or any other competing cable, is laid; meantime the reduced charges are to take effect three weeks after the contract is signed. In the Victorian Legislative Assembly Duffy and Gillies challenged the arrangements on the ground that they would injuriously affect the Pacific cable, which the colony is pledged to support. Mr. Watt, Postmaster General, replied that the government intended to adhere fully to the obligations of Victoria to support the Pacific cable, but wished in the meantime to give the public the advantage of cheaper cable rates.

It seems to me that this proposal of the Eastern Extension Company is an insidious attempt to get hold of privileges which may injuriously affect the building of the Pacific cable, and to get hold of such privileges from one of the Australian colonies, before federation is finally concluded in that great country, probably under the impression that they could make better terms with a single colony than with the whole federation. The bait of cheaper rates has apparently been used, and although the Postmaster General of the province has declared his loyalty to the understanding already arrived at concerning the Pacific cable, it is highly probable that if these cheaper rates are once established and this new cable laid, it will be very hard to get the general Pacific cable scheme carried out.

I therefore think I am justified in calling the attention of this House and the government to this report, and I shall conclude with the usual motion in order that the government and anybody else in the House may have the opportunity of expressing their views. I am sure that the hon. leader of the opposition, who has shown such a sincere interest in the matter all along, will be willing to assist in strengthening the hands of the government in any action they may take in this matter, a matter unanimously agreed upon by the whole House. I need hardly dilate upon the Imperial advantages of the Pacific cable scheme, as accepted by this House and by some of the Australian colonies and New Zealand. The present war

and the exigencies which have arisen since it began, are proofs of the necessity of having around the world a cable entirely under British control. The home government should feel deeply interested in it, the colonies are no less interested individually, and Canada needs this cable, not only to ensure rapid communication with the mother country in case of trouble, in order to increase the protection which the mother country could give her—but also for commercial reasons, which have already been explained in this House. We are in a position to do an immense trade with the Australian and New Zealand colonies, if we only had direct cable communication, but until we have that, we cannot do that trade. Regular lines of steamships will not run where there is not regular and direct telegraphic communications, to enable them to stop at places on the route and obtain further orders as to their destination. We have a line of steamers subsidized by this government running to the Australian colonies. That line has not been the success it should have been, just for want of this cable communication. It is clear, therefore, that Canada has a very direct interest in carrying out the arrangements, which all the parties agreed to some short time ago. It appears now, as if this vast wealthy and influential corporation (the Eastern Extension Company) were trying to steal a march upon us, and cut away the probabilities of our carrying that scheme into effect. We all know the enormous influence which rich corporations have with governments. We need not go outside the boundaries of this country to point that out. We can easily imagine that that immensely rich cable corporation should be as influential with colonial governments, and perhaps the Imperial government, as other large corporations have been, pleading vested rights, and I do not know what else, and offering all sorts of baits like this one of reduced cable rates.

In view of all these considerations, I would like to ask the government whether they know anything more about this alleged proposal stated in the despatch I have read from the *London Times*. I would like to ask whether, if so, the case is correctly stated in that despatch; whether they have made any protest to either the colonial governments interested or the Imperial government in connection with the matter; whether the assent of the Imperial government to these proposed arrangements is necessary, and if so, do they know whether it has been asked for or obtained; have they protested against that consent being given, in case it has been asked for? Finally, I would urge them, if they have any correspondence on the general question of this cable construction since the date of the last return last session, to lay it on the Table of the House without the delay of putting a motion on the Notice paper and waiting for

it to come up in the regular course. I think it is important that all the information the government have on that subject should be before the House and the country and the Imperial government, and that it should be known in England as well as in the other colonies, that we are inclined to take a stand in this matter, and that we object to having the bargain infringed upon or impaired by the action of anybody outside of Canada. I think that, under the present circumstances, Canada is entitled to have her wishes consulted and her interests considered in a matter of this kind. I have no doubt that the government are able to make the strongest representation of Canada's desires in the matter, and have done so, or will do so in the immediate future. I move that this House do now adjourn.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If I rise for a moment before the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), it is not because I am not anxious to hear what the government may have to say, but because I want to give my hon. friend the Postmaster General an opportunity of seeing the importance which I attach to the present position. I may say that I had a motion on the paper bearing on this question to a certain extent, asking that all the papers and correspondence be laid on the Table, because I was anxious at the earliest possible moment to draw the attention of the government to what I consider a grave and very important matter. The House will remember the unanimity in which we agreed to the proposals made by the Postmaster General last session in reference to this question. Now, after a considerable delay, which I do not intend to specially refer to at this moment, after the difficulties that at one time threatened this important question appear to be overcome, after the Imperial government, Australasia—or that portion of it which has taken an interest in this subject—and Canada had agreed practically upon the terms as originally devised as a matter in which all three of these parties were interested, and whilst the necessary time was being occupied in preparing that arrangement, it transpires that the Eastern Extension Company has made an application to New South Wales for the grant of very important concessions with reference to land lines and with reference to having collecting offices in certain portions of Australia. It appeared to me—and I wish to draw the attention of my hon. friend the Postmaster General, who has been especially dealing with this subject, to the point—that the moment an agreement was entered into between Her Majesty's government, Canada and Australia, to take this matter up jointly, it being a commercial undertaking of great magnitude, though involving, as I hold, no material liabilities, from that moment it was not legitimate, to use the mildest term, for any of the parties con-

Mr. CASEY.

cerned to change the status quo by any concessions to the Eastern Extension Company that would militate against the financial success of the undertaking. Holding that opinion very strongly, I saw with very grave concern the statement that not only had the Eastern Extension Company made proposals to New South Wales and to parties who are interested in the matter in Australia to grant these concessions, but that Her Majesty's government had expressed concurrence in that being done. I could hardly believe that to be the case, because it seemed so at variance with anything like a business arrangement which had become absolutely one of partnership. It appears from the communication referred to by the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) that Mr. Gillies, a leading and important public man in Victoria, Australia, has taken the ground that the proposal that is now under consideration would militate seriously against the Canadian Pacific cable project. Under these circumstances, I think the case calls for the prompt attention of the government and all concerned, so that no action may be taken by Great Britain, by Canada or by Australia that will militate against the success of the project or interfere with the arrangement entered into between the three parties. I hope that the Postmaster General or the leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) will be able to reassure us on that point, and to say that Canada will not consent to, and not only will not consent to, but will urge the strongest possible remonstrances against, anything being done either in Australia or with the consent of Her Majesty's government that would strengthen the hands of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, which has been the deadliest enemy of this Canadian Pacific cable project from the outset. That company has thrown the project back, it has interposed every conceivable objection. And, without passing upon the question of the laying of a cable from the Cape to Australia, I feel sure that the government will remonstrate in the strongest possible way to prevent any interference with the commercial prospects of this undertaking by concessions being granted to a company that has shown from the first that it was prepared to adopt any possible means by which it could obstruct and defeat the great policy undertaken by Her Majesty's government, Canada and Australia, to establish a Canadian Pacific cable.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). My hon. friend from West Elgin (Mr. Casey) has brought to the attention of the House a question of very far-reaching consequence, not merely for Canada or Australia, but for the empire. Although I cannot to-day lay the papers upon the Table, it may be reassuring to the House and to the country if at least I informed the House, in a brief way, what action the government

has taken, and the views of the government with respect to the concessions which have been pressed for by the Eastern Extension Cable Company. I shall have much pleasure, with the consent of the House, in having copies of all the papers that may now be laid before the House, produced and submitted to-morrow. I am informed just now by the Premier that the leader of the opposition has a motion for these papers, and perhaps he could make his motion to-day so as to lay the foundation for my producing these papers to-morrow. In the meantime, I would state the situation of the matter, and the views of the government. It is correct that about the month of July last the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company made application to some of the Australasian colonies for certain concessions. The text of those concessions asked for has never been fully communicated to this government, but the substance of them has been communicated. This government put themselves in communication with the representatives of Canada on the Pacific Cable Commission Board in London, carefully studied the question, and has come to a definite conclusion upon the subject. These desired concessions, as the leader of the opposition states, practically mean that the Eastern Extension Company proposes to establish itself and to secure a foothold in Australia, where it may advantageously carry on competition with the Pacific cable, and compete with us in securing what may be legitimate traffic of the Pacific cable, and practically to set up a rival system in Australasia. The proposition, as I remember the details, is as follows:—The Eastern Extension Company propose to reduce the cable rates immediately between Australia and Great Britain from 4s. 9d. to 4s., and to secure a cable from Cape Colony to Australia at once. I believe that cable is now under construction. They propose to adopt a sliding scale which might or might not lead to a further reduction from time to time, to be dependent upon the financial results of the cable business, and to be ascertained at periods of three years. In return for these advantages the Australian governments were to grant concessions to the Eastern Extension Cable Company. The concessions were to allow them to establish collecting offices and otherwise to acquire facilities for gathering business in Australia. Now, it appeared to the government that action of that kind practically endangered the construction of the cable itself. It might be pointed out here that the land lines in Australia differ from those in Canada, in that they are under government control, and the governments that control the land lines or telegraph companies practically control the cable business. Now, it appears that if this Eastern Extension cable acquires the right from

these Australasian colonies to establish offices, it will immediately develop interests in Australia, and will acquire a degree of public influence that will enable it to affect public opinion there. It will seek the influence of its patrons, and will be able to exert political influence with the community. It will doubtless make use of the press of the colonies, and gradually produce, perhaps, such a change in public opinion in Australia as may cause the governments, for the moment at least, if they are not prepared to abandon the Pacific cable policy, at least to consider the wisdom of delay. It is only a wise view to take, I think, that if the Eastern Extension Company is at the same time establishing itself in connection with the cable business in Australia, delay practically means defeat to the whole scheme. We have taken that view of it, and we take the further view of my hon. friend the leader of the opposition, that the various governments that join in this scheme are partners, and the best of faith is due from one to the other, and none of the governments partners in this scheme should in the slightest degree alter the conditions without the consent of their co-partners. My hon. friend the leader of the opposition intimated that the Imperial government had given its consent to such a change. I do not know if that is correct, I trust there is no foundation for that fear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. It was so rumoured.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I am aware that it has been so rumoured, but it would come as a surprise. I think, and a shock to us here if we learned that any of these governments had really altered the conditions under which we came together, without the consent of the others. When the government came to this conclusion that I have mentioned, active steps were adopted with a view to prevent the granting of such concessions. It communicated by cable to the government's representative on the Board of Commissioners in London. The Eastern Extension Company, with a degree of astuteness that does it credit, desired if possible, to have this question dealt with by the commission in London. Our view is that that commission is not created for the purpose of aiding in the destruction of the Pacific cable. It was the intention of the statute we passed, that they should confine their whole efforts to the work of securing the construction of a Pacific cable at the earliest possible moment. Therefore, whilst pressing that view, we have informed our commissioner that we have a distinct objection to the granting of any of these concessions.

With reference to a later despatch read by my hon. friend as to what may have recently occurred in the legislature of Victoria, the government has received an inti-

mation from the commissioner for Canada to a somewhat similar effect, and the government promptly cabled back to the commissioner our strong opposition to any such concessions. In like manner cables were sent to the Premiers of Victoria and New South Wales, pressing very much upon their attention the views that the leader of the opposition has advanced, namely, that we are partners in this enterprise, and we trust that no partner will in any way alter the conditions without the consent of the co-partners. That is substantially the position of the matter to-day. Within the last 48 hours those views have been sent by this government to all quarters where they are likely to be of effect, and whether they may be effective or not, the future alone can tell. The government take this view, further, that if the Eastern Extension Company should succeed in producing the withdrawal of one of these co-partners to this scheme, inasmuch as it would alter the whole basis upon which the present financial scheme is built, it would involve commencing practically de novo. We cannot conceive that any government, after carefully considering the situation, will take so retrograde a step.

Mr. WALLACE. Were the cablegrams sent on Saturday?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. They were sent on Saturday, or this morning; I do not know which. I think it was on Saturday night that we got our despatches.

Motion (Mr. Casey) to adjourn, withdrawn.

PRIVILEGE—GOVERNMENT WHIP.

Mr. BOURASSA. Mr. Speaker, I want to rise to a personal explanation. I see that in the speech made by the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) on Friday night, he said:

That is the policy of the government of the day, Mr. Speaker; else why did they, the day before yesterday, as announced in yesterday's 'Globe,' make Mr. Bourassa one of the government whips after he had made this disloyal speech in the House of Commons.

I simply wish to tell the hon. gentleman that I do not accept that statement in whole or in part. As far as a disloyal speech is concerned this, I suppose, is not to be treated at this time, but I have my own opinion and other people will have their opinion. As to the question of fact, I wish to say that I have not been chosen as a government whip. Three years ago I was chosen as one of the Quebec government whips, but I have not exercised the function. I am of such a temperament that I never feel like being a whip; I have trouble enough in keeping myself in line; I have no desire to try to keep others in line.

Mr. MULOCK.

Mr. WALLACE. The *Globe* newspaper announced that at the caucus held on that day the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) was appointed a whip.

Mr. BOURASSA. This proves that the Liberals are discreet when they come out from their caucuses.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The *Globe* correspondent was not at the caucus, but the hon. member for Labelle was present.

Mr. WALLACE. That explains the whole thing. The hon. member for Labelle was at the caucus and he was proposed—

The PRIME MINISTER. No.

Mr. WALLACE. The *Globe* must be becoming a very unreliable medium of communicating news. We have never had any refutation of this report, although it has been published for some days that the hon. member for Labelle was reappointed one of the government whips.

PRIVILEGE—PARAGRAPH IN TORONTO DAILY STAR.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege. The *Toronto Star* reports the hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe (Mr. Stenson) as speaking as follows:

Mr. Stenson took exception to Mr. Davin's remark that certain Irishmen in the British House of Commons were cravens.

Mr. Speaker, in the first place, I have read the speech of the hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe in the *Hansard*, and he makes no reference to Mr. Davin at all, nor could he make any reference to me as reported, because I made no reference whatever to any Irishman in the House of Commons.

THE BUBONIC PLAGUE.

Mr. PRIGR. Mr. Speaker before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw the attention of the government to the fact that the bubonic plague has committed great ravages in the Hawaiian Islands, and I would like to ask the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), whether the greatest precautions are being taken at the quarantine station in British Columbia? This matter has been referred to in another place by one of the senators, but in view of the fact that British Columbia is within a few days' sail of these islands, that San Francisco is in daily communication, almost, with these islands and that a large number of people travel from California to British Columbia, it behooves this government to keep a very strict eye on the quarantine arrangements to see that

this frightful plague does not get into Canada. There have been over 50 cases of it in Honolulu, many of them fatal, and we hear that some white people have died from it. I know that they have a very fine quarantine station in British Columbia; I believe that every precaution is being taken, but I thought it my duty to call the attention of the government to this matter.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that I cannot give to my hon. friend (Mr. Prior) any information upon this subject. The hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) is detained by illness at this moment, but I will call his attention to the matter, and I am quite sure that the question will receive a satisfactory answer.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—GARRISON AT HALIFAX.

Mr. McNEILL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), whether any reply has been received from the Imperial government in answer to the offer made by this government to garrison Halifax?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I cannot inform my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) to-day; I will tell him to-morrow.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 20) respecting the British Yukon Mining, Trading and Transportation Company, and to change its name to 'The British Yukon Railway Company.'—(Mr. Fraser Guysborough.)

Bill (No. 21) respecting the Hereford Railway Company.—(Mr. McIntosh.)

Bill (No. 22) respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 23) to incorporate the Alaska-Yukon Railway Company.—(Mr. Logan.)

Bill (No. 24) respecting the Nova Scotia Steel Company (Limited).—(Mr. Fraser, Guysborough.)

Bill (No. 25) respecting the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

Bill (No. 26) respecting the Kaslo and Lardo-Duncan Railway Company.—(Mr. Bostock.)

IMMIGRATION OF CHINESE.

Mr. McINNES asked:

1. Why did the government not introduce a Bill last session to increase the entry tax on Chinese?

2. How many Chinese have entered Canada and paid the head tax during the years ending June 30, 1897, 1898 and 1899, and from June 30, 1899, to the present time?

3. Is the government going to introduce a Bill this session to increase the entry tax on Chinese? If so, to what amount is the tax to be increased?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). 1. The

government on consideration, did not consider it advisable to introduce a Bill last session. 2. I shall give such statistics as the department possesses. They are perhaps not to be entirely relied upon, as there appears to be pretty good evidence that a large number of the persons who enter Canada do not remain there, but pass through Canada, en route to the United States. So far as the figures go, they are as follows:—

During the year ended 30th June, 1897....	2,447
Less 25 afterwards found to have been exempt and 'capitation tax' refunded, leaving net	2,422

During the year ended 30th June, 1898...	2,175
Less 25 afterwards found to have been exempt, and 'capitation tax' refunded, leaving net	2,150

During the year ended 30th June, 1899...	4,385
Less 19 afterwards found to have been exempt, and 'capitation' tax refunded, leaving net	4,366

For the six months ended 31st December, 1899	947
Less 46 refunds, leaving net	901

3. The matter is now engaging the attention of the government and they probably will be able to introduce a Bill on the subject within a short time.

LAND GRANTS TO COMPANIES IN MANITOBA AND NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

Mr. DAVIS (by Mr. Oliver) asked:

What is the name of the different railroad companies in Manitoba and the North-west Territories that have received land grants by way of subsidies? What amount did each company receive per mile of road to be constructed? What is the total amount of land reserved for each company, how much has been earned by each company, and how much patented? What is the total amount of lands granted to all companies in Manitoba and the Territories?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). The answer to this question involves a lengthy statement of figures and I would ask the hon. gentleman to move for a return.

JUDICIAL BUSINESS IN THE YUKON.

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER (by Sir Charles Tupper) asked:

1. Has the government any information as to the condition of the docket of the court of Mr. Justice Dugas, in the Yukon district?

(a) If so, what was the condition when the vacation of two months was taken in June last?

(b) Is there difficulty of obtaining a hearing of civil cases in this district, owing to the congestion of court work? If so, how long has such a state of things existed?

(c) Was an additional judge not appointed since the provision therefor at the last session of parliament? If not, why not?

(d) It is proposed to appoint another judge for this court?

(e) Has the name of the member for Guysborough been before the government or any department or minister thereof, in connection with this appointment?

(f) Has the government, or any department or minister thereof, been advised that, owing to the congested condition of the docket in the court of the Yukon district, it has become practically impossible to collect accounts, and that litigants and merchants suffer accordingly? If not, has the government heard anything to this effect?

(g) Is the government aware that, under the ordinance, the Christmas vacation in the court in the Yukon district ended on January 4, and that Mr. Justice Dugas extended it a week, leaving Dawson for the Creeks?

(h) Has the government been advised that the population in Dawson City is decreasing rapidly?

(i) Is the government aware that the new mining regulations are causing dissatisfaction?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). The answer to subsection (a) and (b) is: The government have no official information on the subject. The answer to subsection (c) is: An additional judge was not appointed. The answer to subsection (d) is: The matter is under the consideration of the government.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. You omitted to give the reason. Question (c) says: If not, why not?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). That is under consideration:

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). The answer to subsection (f) is: That the government has no official information on this subject. The answer to subsection (g) is the same. The answers to subsections (h) and (i) are: (h) the government has no official advice that the population of Dawson City is decreasing rapidly; but members of the government have seen statements in the public press to the effect that an exodus is expected in the spring. (i) The government is not aware that the new mining regulations are causing dissatisfaction, but, on the contrary, has information to the effect that the new mining regulations are giving satisfaction.

THE YUKON—PRESENT POPULATION OF DAWSON CITY.

Mr. FOSTER (by Mr. Bergeron) asked:

What is the estimated present population of Dawson City?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). The last estimate which the government had of the population of Dawson City, is 4,445. It was made up to about two months ago.

MOUNTED POLICE IN YUKON.

Mr. FOSTER (by Mr. Bergeron) asked:

What is the number of Mounted Police now in the Yukon, and how are they distributed?

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Dawson District:

Dawson	65
Dominion Creek	4
Hunker Creek	5
Forks	6
Indian River	3
Ogilvie ..	4
Stewart River	3
Halfway.. ..	2
Selwyn	2
Selkirk....	2
Hootchiku	2
Forty Mile	2
Town Patrol.....	11
On Command.....	13

124

Tagish District.

Tagish	32
Stikine.....	2
Dalton Trail	2
Dalton House	2
White Pass	5
Lindermann ..	1
Bennett ..	5
Caribou	1
White Horse	2
Upper Labarge	3
Lower Labarge	3
Hootalinqua ..	3
Big Salmon	4
Little Salmon	3
Tantalus ..	3
Five Fingers	4
Timber Camp	3
Camp 16, W. P. & Y. Railway.....	1
Railway Camp, Caribou.....	2
White Horse Rapids	1
McClintock ...	1
On Command	13

Total Tagnish District..... 103

Total Tagish District..... 103

Grand Total

227

THE YUKON—MR. J. D. MCGREGOR.

Mr. ROCHE (by Mr. Bell, Pictou) asked:

1. Is Mr. J. D. McGregor now in the employ of the government in the Yukon district?

2. If so, where was Mr. McGregor between November 15, 1899, and December 15, 1899?

3. Had he received leave of absence and is the government aware he took an active part in the recent Manitoba elections?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). 1. Yes. 2. The government has no knowledge of Mr. McGregor's whereabouts, between the dates stated, except that he was seen in Manitoba. 3. He had leave of absence, but the government has no knowledge that he took any part in the Manitoba elections.

REGINA LEADER—AMOUNTS PAID BY GOVERNMENT, 1898-9.

Mr. DAVIN asked:

Whether the amount of \$1,142.39, shown by the Auditor General's Report to have been paid to the Regina 'Leader' in the year 1898-9, was exclusive of the amount paid by the Territorial government to that paper?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). The Auditor-General states that the sum mentioned in the question includes the amount paid by the Lieutenant-Governor out of the appropriation for 'expenditure connected with the Lieutenant-Governor's office' and for incidental justice, but does not include any sums that may have been paid by the Territorial government out of the grant of \$282,979 for schools, clerical assistance, printing, etc.

CONSOLIDATION OF DOMINION STATUTES.

Mr. MILLS (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

Has the government appointed a commission to revise and consolidate the Dominion statutes ?

If so, who are the gentlemen selected for this important duty ?

If not, when is it proposed to provide for such revision and consolidation ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). No commission has been appointed ?

Mr. BERGERON. When do you propose to appoint one ?

The PRIME MINISTER. No provision has been made yet for a commission.

PRINTING OF ELECTORAL LISTS.

Mr. INGRAM asked :

1. From what electoral districts in Ontario have the electoral lists, revised in the year 1899, been received by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery ?

2. What number of them are printed and for what electoral districts ?

3. When will the balance of them be printed ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. The lists have been received for all the electoral districts in Ontario, with the exception of the following : Algoma, Brant South, Kingston, Lincoln and Niagara, London City, Middlesex East, Middlesex North, Middlesex South, Middlesex West, Muskoka and Parry Sound, Nipissing, North Wentworth, South Wentworth. 2. Ninety copies is the regular number printed. The printing is going on now. Lists of the following Ontario electoral districts have been printed : Durham West, Hamilton, Hastings East, Northumberland West, Ontario South, Ontario West, Ottawa, Peel. It is expected that the printing will be completed probably in May.

A RAILWAY FOR ISLE MADAM.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

Is it the intention of the government, during the present session, to provide a subsidy towards the construction of a railway to the town of Arichat upon Isle Madam, in the county of Richmond ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Announcements with

respect to specific applications for railway subsidies will have to be deferred until the government brings down, if it should bring down, any railway proposals which it may have to submit for the consideration of parliament.

LICENSING OF FISH WEIRS.

Mr. GANONG (by Mr. Bell, Pictou) asked :

Have the following named fish weirs, 'The Scott,' 'The Yankee Doodle,' 'The Wild Man,' and 'The Phelps,' which have been built and operated for several years on the Canadian shore of the passage between the Island of Campobello, N. B., and Lubec, in the State of Maine, been licensed by the Canadian government ?

If not, why not ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Fishery Inspector Pratt wires saying that these weirs have never received any licenses from the Dominion government, but the information is that they are located in certain middle grounds in Lubec Narrows near the international boundary line, where it has not been deemed desirable hitherto to grant licenses.

LIFE-SAVING STATION AT SEAL COVE.

Mr. GANONG (by Mr. Bell, Pictou) asked :

1. What equipment has been supplied to the life-saving station at Seal Cove, Grand Manan, N.B. ?

2. Is it the intention of the government to provide a steam launch or other steam vessel, capable of steaming from this station to the Ledges, where nearly all the disasters of recent years have occurred ?

3. Who is at present in charge of this station ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. A new boat-house, new lifeboat and the usual equipment. Launch ways to be laid with iron rails fitted with a trawley and hand-winch for hauling boat out. 2. It is not intended to provide a steam launch. 3. Coxswain Frank Benson is in charge.

MAJOR-GENERAL HUTTON.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Has any Order in Council been passed dismissing Major-General Hutton or calling on him to resign his position of Major-General Commanding the Canadian Militia ? If so, what was the date of same ? Was said Order in Council signed by His Excellency the Governor General ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). No Order in Council has been passed dismissing Major-General Hutton or calling on him to resign his position of Major-General Commanding the Militia ; and, therefore, His Excellency the Governor General was not asked to sign any such order. I may add that a communication has been

sent to the Imperial authorities concerning General Hutton, but I have not authority to-day to disclose it to the House.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Has the attention of the government been called to the following words made use of by Major-General Hutton in a speech delivered by him at a farewell dinner tendered to him on the 14th inst. by the officers of the Ottawa Brigade: 'I have used my utmost endeavour to create a national militia army worthy of the responsibilities which are peculiarly its own, and which, to ensure success, must be placed upon a plane above all possibility of party political interference as regards its discipline, its personnel and its military machinery. . . . I should, however, feel more hopeful of the future of Canada if the government had even shown active interest in our recent efforts, for a higher efficiency, or indicated their approval of the principles upon which our efforts are based. . . . I would ask you, however, in all due seriousness not to suppose that the severance of my ties with you is due to petty misunderstandings with the Minister of Militia upon minor issues of appointments or disciplinary matters, but that it is due to broader, wider and vastly more important issues.'

Is it true that the government have not approved of the policy of the Major-General Commanding, as set forth above? Can the government inform this House what was the cause of the disagreement between them and the Major-General?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Yes, the attention of the government has been drawn to that portion of Major-General Hutton's speech mentioned in the question, and to other portions also, equally reprehensible. There have been differences of opinion between the government and General Hutton. The government were disposed, now that he has been recalled for service in Africa, to let these differences pass without any comment. The government had reason to believe that this was in accordance with General Hutton's views, and therefore when the subject was brought up in the House a few days ago, the government refrained from making any statement on the subject. There is now no reason to follow that course any further. General Hutton in his speech has insinuated that his differences with the government are due to a desire on the part of the latter to exercise improper political influence on the militia organization of the country. I desire, on the part of the government, to say that there is absolutely no foundation for such a statement. The causes of difference between the government and General Hutton were not over any broad questions of general policy; the causes of difference were that General Hutton was insubordinate and indiscreet, and deliberately ignored the authority of the minister in the administration of the department. The government desire to state that while they will, at all times, be prepared to give the most careful consideration to any representations which

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

may be made by the officer commanding the militia, it must be distinctly understood that any such officer, on accepting the position in question becomes from that time, an officer in the employment of and subject in all respects to the government of Canada, and that he is to be regarded as the adviser but not as entitled to control the Department of Militia. The government are responsible to the parliament and people of Canada for the due administration of each and every branch of the public service, and they would be derelict to their duty, if they were to permit any subordinate official, under any circumstances, to take upon himself to disregard the instructions he may receive from the constitutional head of his department.

JAMES GLASS, FISHERY GUARDIAN.

Mr. GANONG (by Mr. Bell, Pictou) asked :

1. Is James Glass, whose name appears in part K of the Auditor General's Report for 1898-9 as having been paid \$418.50 as special fishery guardian, still in the employ of the Fisheries Department?

2. If not, when was he dismissed and for what reason?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. No. 2. He never was dismissed. His term of service for season expired 31st October last as usual.

GRAND MANAN STEAMSHIP SERVICE.

Mr. GANONG (by Mr. Bell, Pictou) asked:

Who are the contractors for steam service between the Island of Grand Manan, N.B., and the mainland? What are the terms of the contract? From information received, is the government satisfied the service is being performed according to terms of contract? If not, has any action been taken to improve the service? If so, what action?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). The contractors for the service between Grand Manan and the mainland are Hugh Cann & Son. The contract calls for a regular weekly service between Grand Manan and St. John, calling both going and returning at Campobello, in the province of New Brunswick, and Eastport, in the State of Maine; also a regular weekly service between Grand Manan and St. Stephen, in the province of New Brunswick, calling both going and returning at Campobello aforesaid, Eastport aforesaid, and St. Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick; also, during the month of September of the current year, as well as during the month of June, 1900, a regular weekly service between Grand Manan and Eastport aforesaid, going and returning the same day and touching each way at Campobello aforesaid. The service is to be performed either by the *Percy Cann* or the *Latour*. From information

received it is evident that up to the 31st December last the service was performed according to the terms of the contract. The service, however, is not exactly what is desired by the government, but was the best that could be obtained for the money. It was only after a great deal of difficulty that the present service was secured. The Deer Island and Campobello Steamboat Company offered to run three trips per week from St. Stephen to Grand Manan for a subsidy of \$100 per trip. This would have taken \$6,000 for the service without any trips to St. John. The Grand Manan Steamboat Company offered to continue the service for a subsidy of \$9,000. It is the intention of the government to immediately call for tenders for this service for the current year.

THE ALIEN LABOUR ACT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. McINNES asked :

1. Was the government requested to enforce the Alien Labour Act, 1897, in the Slocan district, B.C.? If so, by whom and when?
2. Did the government enforce the said Act as so requested? If not, why not?
3. Has Commissioner Clute made his report on the Slocan labour troubles? If so, when will it be laid on the Table of the House?
4. Is the government aware that larger numbers of aliens are now being imported to work in the Slocan mines than before or during Commissioner Clute's investigation?
5. Does the government intend to enforce the said Act in the said district?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government received complaints from certain miners' associations of the Slocan district. The complaints came, I believe, either in December or January. On receiving these complaints, the government appointed a special commissioner, Mr. Clute, to investigate them. Mr. Clute has not yet made his report. The government intend to have his report and to consider it before taking any action in the matter.

MINES ON INDIAN RESERVES.

Mr. McINNES asked :

1. Has the government come to any understanding with the provinces regarding the development of mines on Indian reserves?
2. What steps have been taken to that end, and what, if any, is the difficulty in the way of settling the matter?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). 1. No. 2. No steps have recently been taken further than to have the questions in dispute gone carefully into with a view to preparing the ground for an arrangement which would admit of the development of minerals which may be found upon Indian reserves. The matter is so complicated that it is not possible to state categorically in reply to a question the difficulties in the way.

COUNTRY POSTMASTERS' ALLOWANCES.

Mr. RICHARDSON asked :

1. Did the recent reduction of the postal rate on letters from 3 to 2 cents cause any appreciable decline in the revenue derived by postmasters from their office, especially in country districts? If so, to what an average or approximate extent were the allowances of country postmasters curtailed?

2. If the extremely low income which outlying postmasters have in the past derived from their offices, has been curtailed by the reduction of postage rates, notwithstanding the fact that their work has to some extent been increased, will the government propose any measure for the relief of such postmasters and to give them some more adequate return for their work than they receive?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). I beg to reply: The department has in no case reduced the salary of any postmaster on account of a reduction in revenue consequent upon the reduction of Canadian domestic postage from three cents to two cents per ounce, but where the revenue of an office has fallen in consequence of such reduction in rate of postage, the salary of the postmaster has been computed on the basis of the revenue of the office prior to such reduction in postage rate.

WAGES ON ST. ANDREW'S LOCK CONTRACT.

Mr. PUTTEE asked :

In any provision to be made, in awarding contracts for the construction of the St. Andrew's Locks, to ensure that the minimum or union rate of wages shall be paid on such works, or other precautions to be taken to safeguard the interests of the men who will be employed?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). As to the first point raised, which is a very interesting and important one, it is now engaging the attention of the government. As to the second point, all the ordinary precautions will be inserted in the contract.

THE GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING AND LIEUT.-COLONEL HUGHES.

Mr. JAMES DOMVILLE (King's, N.B.) moved :

That as the following appears in 'The Mail and Empire' newspaper, February 3, 1900:—

Gen. Hutton and Col. Hughes.

A few days ago 'The Mail and Empire' published an interview with General Hutton, in which the General stated that Col. Sam. Hughes, while patriotic and enthusiastic, was utterly lacking in a proper comprehension of military discipline. The following two letters on the subject of this interview have been received :

To the Editor of 'The Mail and Empire':

Sir,—In your issue of the 30th ult., I notice the report of an interview with General Hutton, in which he comments very freely upon the con-

duct of Col. Sam. Hughes, in connection with the volunteer service in South Africa.

I have read very carefully the report of the interview, and the only meaning which I can extract from it is a deliberate accusation of madness; or at best, of temporary insanity. Surely, if such be the fact, nothing could justify either General Hutton or the government in allowing Colonel Hughes to retain his commission and proceed to South Africa as an active officer in the Canadian militia. The doing so under such circumstances would, it seems to me, institute a grave offence against the country.

If, on the other hand, the facts do not warrant the assertion so unequivocally made by the General, the accusation is a cruel and cowardly one, and demands a very strict accounting to the one so foully slandered.

Yours, &c.

FAIR PLAY.

Toronto, February 1.

To the Editor of 'The Mail and Empire':

Sir,—I desire to thank the people of Canada for the almost universal condemnation of the petty action of General Hutton towards my brother. The recent action of General Hutton in giving a statement regarding the correspondence between Col. Hughes and himself is on a par with his past conduct. A British gentleman of true breeding would have waited till the correspondence was laid before parliament before making remarks about it for publication. The friends of Colonel Hughes are willing to wait. Several charges have been officially made against General Hutton, and they will be investigated in due time. I know that the other officers and members of parliament whom General Hutton has insulted since he came to Canada are grateful to Col. Hughes for having the courage to ask that the recall of General Hutton be demanded.

Personally I hope that General Hutton may be the last officer sent to Canada to irritate Canadians and put Canadian loyalty to unnecessary strain by arrogance and red tape. There are plenty of wise and experienced officers in Canada who, in my opinion, could organize and train our volunteers better than General Hutton. If the colonies are to do their true work as parts of our empire, they must develop their own individuality in military matters, as well as in other departments of national life.

Col. Hughes deserves better treatment than he received from General Hutton. He has been an enthusiastic patriot and soldier since his boyhood. Since he went to Africa his family received his medal for services at the time of the Fenian raid, when he was only a youth of eighteen. He has been an officer for a quarter of a century. He organized the most active Imperial federation movement in Ontario outside of the large cities. He was the first man in Canada to propose to aid the mother country in the Transvaal. But he indignantly resented the insinuation of General Hutton against Canadian officers, and had the manliness to refuse to allow General Hutton to control his actions as a Canadian and as a member of parliament, so the temporary tyrant tried to rob him of his right to fight for the empire. Canadians will have little difficulty in deciding between Hughes and Hutton.

Yours, &c.,

JAMES L. HUGHES.

Toronto, January 31.

An Order of this House do issue for copies of all correspondence, telegrams and cablegrams that may have passed between Major-General Hutton

Mr. DOMVILLE.

and Lieut.-Col. Samuel Hughes, M.P., or between these officers and any members of the government of Canada, or others, touching the conduct of Lieut.-Col. Hughes, M.P., in connection with his volunteering for active service in South Africa; these papers to include all letters, cablegrams and telegrams sent to South Africa, England or elsewhere, and replies received. Also any report or reports made by Major-General Hutton on the conduct of Lieut.-Col. Samuel Hughes, M.P., in connection with such offer or offers for active service.

He said: Before this motion is carried I propose to say a few words. I should have taken this matter up when I first gave notice, but as there seemed to be a disposition at that moment to allow the general officer in command, now Col. Hutton of the Imperial service, to do what we might call 'creep out easy,' I allowed the matter to remain in abeyance. I was sure, from his erratic actions when he first came to this country, that he would not be judicious enough to allow militia matters to go along easily, and that he would leave the country in a hurry without the public or the authorities on the other side of the water being made aware of all that happened in connection with his administration here. These papers, when brought down, will permit us to make some kind of investigation for ourselves and show the people of Canada what has been going on for the last seventeen months. We have other cases to quote besides Col. Hutton's. There is the case of Major Griffith of the 75th Regiment. There is the case of Major Ryan of the King's County, N.S., Hussars, and the case of Col. Van Wagner. There are many other cases I could name all of which go to prove that the work of General Hutton was done in the most arbitrary way. He seemed to think from the moment he came to this country that he was superior to all authority. And to-day we have the very generous reply of the leader of the government, in which, while not going so far as he might, he clearly tells the House and the country that General Hutton did not go on account of political difficulties, but because of insubordination. There is no greater crime in a soldier than to be insubordinate; for it is a well recognized fact in military life that he who cannot obey is not fit to command. Therefore, he failed on that one point, and so could not longer remain here with benefit either to Canada or to the Imperial service. Had Col. Hutton been permitted to round out the course he was adopting, I do not hesitate to say, it would not have been eighteen months more before every militia regiment in Canada would have been demoralized. The force has been free from any such demoralization hitherto. It is true that there has been friction here and there, but, on the whole, the militia has been able to do good service. When volunteers are called for to go to South Africa to do work which their brothers in arms of the Imperial service find

difficulty in doing, and we are able to pick up at a moment's notice equal to three corps, we can see that the militia has not been badly handled in the past. The officers must have known something, they must have been able to train their men, or the men would have been unfit to go. I make this statement to prevent Col. Hutton from taking to himself all the credit for the position of the militia of Canada to-day. There was another cruel statement made by him. I asked a question the other day. It referred to the following, which appeared in a public newspaper :

Denies the Report.

Major General Hutton Explains 'Mysterious Influence' Rumours.

Ottawa, January 29 (Special).—So many rumours of 'mysterious influences' being at work to prevent Lieut.-Col. Sam. Hughes from obtaining military employment in South Africa have been afloat that Major General Hutton has found it necessary to deny that he is in any way responsible for this condition of affairs. In conversation about the matter, the Major General said: The 'mysterious influence' is simply that Col. Hughes went to South Africa unrecommend—

Who was to recommend Col. Hughes? He was in the same position as many volunteers in this country. He was luckily within the age so that he could not be debarred from service on that ground. Long ago, before the authorities on either side made any move, Col. Hughes offered his services to fight for his country in any capacity. Was there any great crime in that? Col. Hutton says he was not recommended. Evidently Col. Hutton would not recommend him, because what he had said about Col. Hughes placed it beyond his power to do so.

—and it is not customary for the British military authorities to employ officers who are unrecommended. I should like the public to know that nothing has transpired during my tenure of office that has touched me so keenly as to deal with Col. Hughes in the manner that became necessary. The Colonel has many estimable qualities, but unfortunately these are over-weighted with others not quite so commendable. He has enthusiasm and patriotism in large degree, qualities which I possess myself—

He does not even ask the public to judge him. He tells the press that he himself possesses these estimable qualities.

—and which I like to see in others.

At least he seems to be willing to see them in others.

But the strictest discipline is essential if the effectiveness of the volunteer force is to be maintained unimpaired.

Colonel Hughes seemingly lacked the smallest perception of discipline; it was to him apparently an unknown quantity. I liked the Colonel personally, and associated him with myself in the staff ride in the hope that he would gain some knowledge of what discipline in military matters really means.

It was a piece of condescension for him to associate Col. Hughes with him because when he went to the county I have the honour to represent, he ordered posts to be put up and an inch rope stretched around the brigade staff tents, so that the public could not get with a 'ten-foot pole' of him. I had the pleasure of witnessing the rope, but I did not go into the ring with him. I am sorry he is not here now to go into the ring with me on this occasion.

But the lesson was altogether lost. The public so far has only become possessed of one side of the story. The other side is disclosed in the correspondence between the Colonel and myself.

That is the correspondence we want to get before we can form an opinion. So far, anything we have heard is in favour of Col. Hughes. He offered his services and even went to South Africa in order to have an opportunity to serve. He was not recommended, but was willing to go in any capacity.

But I do trust—as I said in my speech on the occasion of the banquet to 'D' Battery just before its departure—that no misguided friends of Colonel Hughes would call for the correspondence, as it cannot fail to place the Colonel in a most unenviable light. Those who have seen the correspondence so far—and all the letters are now before the government—are of the opinion that Colonel Hughes could not have been exactly in his right mind when he wrote in the manner in which he did. The incident possesses most unfortunate features—features that I trust will not again be repeated.

He cannot appear in a more unenviable light than Col. Hutton appears in to-day. He is going home to England and even if they want to let him down lightly they cannot close their eyes to his record. He went to Australia and gave a great deal of trouble there. I read four or five volumes of their *Hansard* and they are filled with the rows that they had. He arrested a brother officer almost as soon as he got there, and then he got the Attorney General of New South Wales to defend him without the consent of the government—he instructed the Attorney General to defend him. But it is not worth while to go over the fight there. That will be before the Adjutant General of the Horse Guards, where Col. Hutton has to report on his arrival. The Adjutant General will see that there has been the same difficulty with Col. Hutton in Canada as there was in Australia. If they think of sending him elsewhere as an organizer of volunteers the question will arise whether they are to have the same row with another colony and have the same request for his withdrawal. It is not the custom of the Imperial authorities to have their officers requested to withdraw—and Col. Hutton must have been asked to withdraw, because he would not have willingly withdrawn himself, having made all preparations to fight the campaign here.

Having quoted the correspondence, I asked if the government had taken any active steps to ascertain if it was correct, if so, what steps had been taken. And the answer of the government was that they had questioned Colonel Hutton and that he had replied that this was substantially correct, but was not intended for publication. Now, does any gentleman allow the press to interview him, does he open his heart to the reporter and tell him everything, and expect that the member of the press to whom he is speaking, is not going to use it? If he did think so, what right had he to give any gentleman in the press or anybody else such an opinion about an officer commanding a regiment, a brother officer in the service, and a member of parliament? It involves the dignity of Colonel Hughes's position in this House as a member of parliament, it involves his position in the militia of Canada; and I think it devolves upon us in this House, irrespective of politics, to defend the character of a brother member, who is in Africa, trying to do something for the empire, and who is at the same time a member of the militia. Had the general not gone away, when these papers came down—of course I cannot tell what is in them now—I should certainly have moved for a committee of this House to try Colonel Hutton, then General Hutton, in this matter. If I found that he had used Colonel Hughes badly, or if, on the other hand, I found that Colonel Hughes had so far forgotten himself as to be deserving of censure, then I think the House would have visited upon him such censure as it thought proper. Now, while this matter may appear unimportant to a great many, I propose to get on the Journals of the House the exact position of Colonel Hughes and of Colonel Hutton, and I hope the government will give us every facility of doing so, by bringing down the papers at an early day. Possibly we may get a committee of the House to look into these papers, and make a report upon them, so that in the future, whenever this case is referred to, it can be found clearly threshed out on its merits, and every one can see how the matter stood. Colonel Hughes is not the only gentleman who has suffered by Colonel Hutton. I have in my desk here, a lot of correspondence in connection with Major Ryan losing the command of his corps, in Kentville, Nova Scotia, but they are too long for me to read now. The case of Major Ryan was a very simple case. There was this point about it. There was an official general order sent down from the department, commending Major Ryan for his work, and saying how good an officer he was. Within two or three days, Colonel Hutton sent another despatch, another official letter, saying that the commanding officer could not ride and did not know his drill, and was unfitted for command. One despatch followed the other with three days'

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interval. He went on to say that an officer that he named, was a poor horseman, and was not fit to be in a corps. As a matter of fact, when General Hutton inspected that corps, the officer in question was not present. But he had some reason for driving away an officer here and an officer there. Perhaps he wished to make an example, but in doing so, he showed that he was not at all judicious. I think it is not wise to say very much more on this subject.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DOMVILLE. I am sure my hon. friends opposite will say, 'hear,' because the other day they were all howling for Colonel Hughes, and a little while afterwards there was not a man stood up for him. They have removed his picture out of the House. Perhaps, when Colonel Hughes comes back here he will find that he has some good friends on this side of the House who will say a good word for him. The present position is one that should be a warning to us, and for my part I hope that we shall never see another Imperial officer here unless he comes with the determination to do as the Premier said, in reply to the hon. member for Victoria, B. C. (Mr. Prior), the other day, that is, with the determination to do what Canada desires him to do, and to obey all orders from the department. I think we have got in Canada the men that can do the work, and I trust that when we get through the session, we will have the Militia Act so amended that an officer of our own can take command of the Canadian forces if necessary. I also hope that the Bill I introduced will be passed, so that the commanding officer shall not be prevented from having a seat on the floor of this House, where he may explain matters and guide the House with his military knowledge. Therefore, I trust that the government will bring these papers down at a very early day, and not wait until it is too late in the session to deal with them. As I said before, some of the loyal gentlemen on the other side of the House have been making a great deal of noise. It appears they have been establishing loyalty clubs. To hear them talk, you would imagine that nobody on this side of the House was loyal at all. Therefore, I hope that some of my loyal friends on the other side will back up this motion that I have on the Table. There is nothing partisan in it, nothing but a desire to do justice to an officer who has gone to South Africa, and to call to account an officer who has left Canada, certainly under a cloud, to use mild language, and a very serious cloud. My object, also, is to remove from Colonel Hughes any possible stigma that may have been cast upon him by Colonel Hutton.

Mr. WM. McCLEARY (Welland). I am in hearty accord with the resolution moved by the hon. gentleman who has taken his seat (Mr. Domville). I do not know anything

about the merits of the dispute between Colonel Hughes and Colonel Hutton, who has recently withdrawn from service in this country. But I want to say this, and I think I am speaking the mind of all unprejudiced men who know Colonel Sam Hughes, that he has been very unfairly and ungentlemanly dealt with by General Hutton. Every one knows him to be a thorough Canadian, a patriot, and a splendid soldier, a man who was willing to go to South Africa, and to serve for the flag under which he lives. All Canadians who know him regret very much that Colonel Hutton should see fit in any way to interfere with the appointment that I believe would have been given Colonel Hughes by the government of the day. Of course, we cannot speak authoritatively of the merits of the case, until the papers come down. I hope the government will see fit to lay them on the Table at an early day. I am in entire accord with a great deal that the hon. gentleman just said. I want to say here that Colonel Hughes had on this side of the House just as many loyal friends who are ready to speak for him, as can be found on the other side.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). There is no objection at all to the motion passing. On the contrary, there are many good reasons why, I believe, in the judgment of the House, this motion should pass and that the papers should be brought down as early as possible. They will be brought down in obedience to the motion, and they will do justice to a colleague of ours. As to the quarrel which is involved in the production of these papers, it is certainly preferable to suspend judgment until they are before the House.

Motion agreed to.

THE YUKON—MR. COSTE'S REPORT RESPECTING TESLIN LAKE ROUTE.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to see the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) in his place. On the 17th of May last an order was made in this House for a return of certain correspondence and papers, including the report of Mr. Coste, respecting the Teslin Lake railway route. The correspondence and bills and accounts came down, but the report is not down, and no report has been brought down, as far as I know. I have inquired at the office and no report has been brought down from Mr. Coste. Before I say a word on this subject, probably, I might ask the hon. Minister of Public Works whether he is going to bring down that report.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I really do not know whether there is such a report or not. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) will kindly remember that I have been away since June, and I have lost track of these papers. If

there is such a report there is no objection whatever to bringing it down, but, I cannot remember whether there is such a report or not at the present time. I will look into the question to-morrow, and will certainly bring it down if it is there.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) is no doubt aware that whether there is a report or not, Mr. Coste condemns the Stikine route most emphatically. It is a matter of public notoriety, and I suppose that, on such an important question, the hon. Minister of Public Works, having sent Mr. Coste at the public expense into that country, I can hardly believe that he would allow him to resign his office and sever his connection with the department without giving the department the benefit of the information that he had discovered, as the engineer of the department, sent for that particular purpose.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I never sent Mr. Coste to make a report respecting the Teslin Lake railway. He was not sent out for that purpose by my department, which has no business with railways, and that is the reason why I do not remember whether there is such a report or not. The hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) is evidently better informed than I am, because I do not know that Mr. Coste has made such a report.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I think it was stated to the House that he went at the public expense. He certainly was an officer of the Public Works Department when he went there, and it was stated that he went at the public expense. It is an extraordinary thing for the hon. Minister of Public Works not to know what took him there and not to be able to furnish the House with the information that he was sent to obtain.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. leader of the opposition cannot possibly forget that the Public Works Department does not manage railways. Mr. Coste was sent out for other purposes altogether, and he knows it.

Mr. DAVIN. I will now move—I did not move; I just asked the question.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). You have spoken if you have not moved.

Mr. DAVIN. I think it is a usual thing in this House, when one is speaking, to ask of a minister whether a certain fact is so or not.

The PRIME MINISTER. There is no objection.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. There is no objection; if the report is there it will be brought down.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia) moved for :

Copy of the report of Mr. Coste, the engineer lately in the employ of the Department of Public Works, respecting the Teslin Lake railway route.

He said : My hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) is quite mistaken about the position Mr. Coste occupied on the occasion of his visit to the Yukon. He went there officially, paid by the Department of Public Works, and not only that, but his accounts and papers have been brought down and are in existence, but this report has not been brought down. In regard to that report my hon. friend says that he never meant Mr. Coste to make a report on the route. I do not think, considering all the agitation that there was in regard to the route, that it was an extraordinary thing for the hon. Minister of Public Works to ask the engineer, whom he was sending up there, and by that route, to report on the nature and feasibility of it. I do not think it would be foreign to the functions of the engineer of the Department of Public Works. Well, what happened? Mr. Coste made a report; I know he made it, and there are other gentlemen in this House who know that a report was made and was presented to the hon. Minister of Public Works. We can prove that that report was presented to the hon. Minister of Public Works, and yet we have the hon. Minister of Public Works standing up here, playing the role of a simple innocent and telling us that he knows nothing whatever about it, which, contrary to the order of the House, he is keeping from the hands of this parliament, a sort of thing, certainly, this House will not tolerate. Now, the hon. Minister of Public Works, said—I understood him to say, a moment ago, Mr. Coste was not sent up there officially.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No.

Mr. DAVIN. Probably I did not catch exactly what he said, but, the impression made upon myself and some other hon. gentlemen around me was that he said that Mr. Coste was not sent up there officially.

Mr. BERGERON. What was he sent up there for, then?

Mr. DAVIN. If he was sent up there by the Railway Department instead of by the hon. Minister of Public Works, and if he made a report we ought to have the report all the same. An order of the House was made on the 17th of May last for the accounts and report, and here are the accounts of Mr. Coste, but there is not a report on the Stikine route. That report on the Stikine route was in existence; it was handed by Mr. Coste to the minister who sent him, and that report of Mr. Coste condemned, in the strongest possible manner, the Stikine route. Therefore, there was a

Mr. TARTE.

motive. I do not say that it was acted on. We will suppose it was a mistake; we will suppose it was owing to the illness of the Minister of Public Works, but we have to say that there was a motive that would influence the hon. Minister of Public Works and the government in keeping back that report, condemning a route that these hon. gentlemen had been going to use for the purpose of a one-horse, wheelbarrow, narrow-gauge railway of a few miles, and for which they were going to give 4,000,000 acres of land which, on the surface, not saying anything as to what is beneath, is valued by the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) at \$10 an acre. I move, seconded by the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) for the report, and have the report, we must. It may be very unpleasant to the hon. Minister of Public Works and to those who want to hold up his hands, to those who want to play bottle holders to him, but the order of this House cannot be gainsaid, and that report must be forthcoming, because it will not do to tell us that it is destroyed, that it has disappeared, to extemporise a stove and send it up in smoke like the ballots which are required for a certain inquiry. We want that report and we must have it.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Mr. Speaker, the bard from the western prairies is a very hard man to please. I have just told him that I will be very glad indeed to bring down such a report if such a report is in existence. I reminded him of what he knows very well, that I left this House in the month of June last year, and since then—

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I just wish to say that I hope the hon. gentleman will refer to me in a parliamentary manner.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I really thought that calling him a 'Bard from the western prairies' was a parliamentary expression.

Mr. DAVIN. No, it is not.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, I meant well.

Mr. DAVIN. You should address me as the hon. member for West Assiniboia.

Mr. WALLACE. He thought you called him a 'pard' and he objected to that.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. If my hon. friend (Mr. Davin) does not want to be called a poet, I shall not call him a poet.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, what I object to is the familiarity—I draw the line.

Mr. SPEAKER. If I were asked to rule, I should be obliged to rule both hon. gentlemen out of order.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not object to your ruling, how far he is out of order.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I bow to your decision, Mr. Speaker. I was about to say that if any such report is in our possession it will be brought down. I do not see any objection to bringing it down if we have it. I am surprised that my hon. friend (Mr. Davin) thinks we can burn reports. There is nobody on this side of the House, nor among the officers of my department, who would burn ballots or burn public documents.

Mr. DAVIN. I hope not.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. These insinuations are unwarranted, and I beg to protest strongly against them. I can inform my hon. friend of the fact that Mr. Coste was never instructed by me or by any officer of my department, as far as my memory goes, to make a report as to that route. He may have made a report, and if the report is in our possession, it will be brought down with pleasure.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. And if there is a report which is not in your possession?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. If it is in our possession it will be brought down.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If it is not in your possession. Suppose this report was made to the Railway Department? Would it be brought down?

The PRIME MINISTER. Mr. Coste was sent by the Public Works Department and the report, if there is any, is in the archives of the Public Works Department. The Railway Department has nothing at all to do with it.

Mr. HAGGART. The Minister of Public Works says Mr. Coste was sent there on railway work.

The PRIME MINISTER. Mr. Coste was sent as a civil engineer. He is not a railway engineer. He had nothing to do with making a report on the railway. If he did, it was out of his way to do so. Moreover, I do not know that his opinion would be valuable on the subject, because he is not a technical man in that capacity. He was sent up there as a civil engineer and not as a railway engineer.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. We sent him to report on the harbours and rivers.

Mr. BERGERON. The same demand as this was made on the 14th of June, 1899, and it was promised then by the Minister of Public Works that there was a report and it would be brought down, and it was not.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I do not remember what I said then. Will the hon. gentleman read exactly what I said. If there is a report it will be brought down.

Mr. BERGERON. The demand was made by Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, and I read from *Hansard* :

Sir CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER. Before the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) goes away—I am glad to see him able to be in the House again—I would like to remind him that an Order was passed on the 17th of May regarding the production of Mr. Coste's report, and his special trip to the Yukon district.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I remember very well that all the documents were ready, and I do not understand why they are not already before the House. There is no objection whatever to having all these papers brought down.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Where is there any reference to a railway report there?

Mr. BERGERON. You say 'all the papers.'

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Yes, but I did not say there was a railway report.

Mr. BERGERON. I know as a matter of fact, that there is a report made by Mr. Coste on that Teslin route.

Mr. LANDERKIN. How do you know?

Mr. BERGERON. He told me himself.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. LANDERKIN. He reported to you before he reported to his department.

Mr. BERGERON. There was a report made on the Teslin Lake Railway route. Mr. Coste in a casual way told me he made a report. There was no secrecy about it. He told me he could not give the details, because it was still in the hands of his minister, but he said: The report will be brought down before parliament, and you will see it, and you will be astonished when you see it.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The leader of the opposition will remember that I placed in his hands a report of Mr. Coste. I was glad to be able to do it at the time. I do not know whether it is the same report or not. I gave him a copy of it. I had nothing to hide, and I showed him the report myself. I do not know if the papers have been brought down or not, but I remember distinctly I sent across the floor of the House a report on the works of the Yukon, and I do not know whether there was an allusion in it to the Teslin Lake route or not. I remember very distinctly having sent the report of Mr. Coste across the floor of the House to the leader of the opposition.

Mr. HAGGART. I am very glad the memory of the Minister of Public Works is refreshed. A few moments ago he did not know there was a report.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I did not know there was a report on railways, and I do not know it now. There is no use in putting in my mouth something I have not said.

Mr. CASEY. The motion is for a report about a railway.

Mr. HAGGART. There was a report about the railway last year, because I remember perfectly that there were two notices of motion put upon the paper. There was a motion put on the paper by Mr. Davin and another by myself, and we have the promise that that report would be down last session. Every one of us knew what was in the report. It was common talk all through the House.

Mr. LANDERKIN. How did you know ?

Mr. HAGGART. We got it from the officers of the department and we heard it. I heard about it and several others heard about it, and the government admitted there was a report last session and promised to bring it down.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. minister says that this officer was acting in a double capacity—that he was loaned part of the time to the Minister of Railways.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No, I never said that anywhere.

Mr. HAGGART. Yes.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I never said that anywhere.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) said that there was a report to his department, and that there might be another report to the Railway Department.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No, I did not say it. The Prime Minister said it.

The PRIME MINISTER. No ; I did not say that.

Mr. SPEAKER. I understand that the order is passed by the House, and the papers, whatever they are, will be brought down.

Mr. HAGGART. We are discussing the order.

Mr. SPEAKER. The discussion arose after the order was passed. I am obliged to rule that this is out of order.

TAXATION OF NORTH-WEST LANDS EARNED BY RAILWAY COMPANIES.

Mr. FRANK OLIVER (Alberta) moved :

That certain railways in the North-west Territories have earned certain lands in those terri-

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tries by way of subsidy granted in aid of their construction;

That a large part of these lands have been allotted but are not yet patented to such railways ;

That by reason of such allotment the railways concerned are enabled to exercise the right of ownership to their own advantage;

That until the lands granted such railways are patented to them, it is impossible to collect school and local improvement taxes from them;

That, in the opinion of this House, all lands earned by railway companies in the North-west should be allotted and patented to them forthwith, so that they may begin as soon as possible to bear their fair share of taxation necessary for the support of schools and the making of road improvements in the North-west Territories.

He said : In support of this motion, Mr. Speaker, it is probably desirable that the House should be informed at some length in regard to the necessity for its being made. It is in connection with the land subsidy granted in aid of the construction of certain railways in the North-west Territories. In order that there may be no confusion of ideas as between the different classes of railways there, I may say that these land grants do not carry with them any exemption from taxation as do the land grants made to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. It was not thought by the parliament of Canada, when these lands were granted, that it was necessary for the construction of the railways nor in the public interest of the Territories nor of the country as a whole, that they should be granted any exemption from taxation. The amount of land affected is about as follows : For the Calgary and Edmonton Railway, 1,898,447 acres ; for the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Railway, approximately 1,500,000 acres ; for the Manitoba and North-western Railway, 1,501,375 acres ; and for the Alberta Railway and Coal Company, 1,113,000 acres ; a total of about 6,000,000 acres of land granted to these railway companies without any exemption from taxation ; but by reason of the lands not having been patented to the companies, the school districts and local improvement districts find themselves unable to collect taxes from them. This has been going on for a number of years. It is from eight to sixteen years since these lands were earned, and for that length of time they have been running without the possibility of levying taxation upon them. The whole grant of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company is situated within the district of Alberta, and a large proportion of it in the northern part of Alberta. That part occupies a belt of land about forty miles in width lying along the line of railway for a distance of about thirty miles, from Didsbury station to beyond Innisfail station. I understand that it is believed by many members of this House that there is no local taxation in the Territories, but that the schools of the Territories are supported by the grant given by the North-west gov-

ernment, and that the roads and bridges are built by the same agency. That is a mistake, and I want to point out to the House just how much of a mistake it is. In the district in which this part of the Calgary and Edmonton land grant lies, there are about ten school districts in operation. These districts are about five miles square, and, therefore, contain about twenty-five sections, or twenty-five square miles of land. The railway company owns each alternate section, except the so-called school lands. Therefore, on the average, the railway company owns eleven sections of land, or forty-four quarter sections in each of these ten school districts, and enjoys exemption from taxation to that extent. To show the House that I am not talking merely theoretically, but am speaking of a subject which is of present moment, I will read a letter which I have just received from the secretary of one of the school districts affected—Berrydale public school district No. 409 :

The list of Calgary and Edmonton Railway sections in the Berrydale school district are as follows:—Township 33, range 2, west of the 5th meridian—sections 27, 31, 33 and 35; in township 34, range 2, west of the 5th meridian—sections 3, 5, 7, 9, 13, 15 and 17.

The secretary says :

We have not assessed any part of the above railway land.

So that there may be no mistake about this matter, and in proof that it is not the remissness of the school districts in failing to assess that leaves these lands exempt, I read a letter from the secretary of Hainstock school district No. 310, in which he says :

The railway land has been assessed in our school district for the last five years, and we have been unable so far to collect any tax from the company. We have always notified them of the sitting of the court of revision, also of the tax due for each year. I have inclosed a letter from the company, which is a sample of the letters they send us whenever they are notified of the court of revision.

The letter referred to is as follows :—

Winnipeg, Man., April 18, 1898.

Dear Sir,—Your notice with reference to certain lands in your school district proposed to be assessed to the Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company has been received by Messrs. Osler, Hammond & Nanton.

We have been instructed to look into the matter, and now beg to notify you that the lands are not liable to taxation, and should not be on the assessment roll.

Yours truly,
MUNSON & ALLAN.

These lands are listed by the railway company and appear on the maps issued by them as their lands; and yet this is their reply to the notification of the assessment, namely, that they are not taxable, although there was no exemption from taxation given

by parliament in respect to these lands. As to just how this exemption affects the settlers in these several school districts, I propose to give the House a short statement of the expenses of running a school district in the North-west Territories. The great expense is of course the teacher's salary, which we will place at \$600 per year. Of this amount seventy per cent, or \$420, is paid by the North-west government, and thirty per cent, or \$180, paid by the district out of the taxation of the district. The interest on the cost of the school, say \$800, at eight per cent, is, say, \$64. Fuel, say, \$75, cost of assessment, say, \$20. Repairs to school and supplies, say \$11. Total expenses to be paid out of the taxation of the district, \$250 per year.

There are, on an average, about 44 homestead quarter sections in each school district of full size. If 42 of these are occupied, the taxation would amount to about \$6 per homestead. As there are 44 quarter sections available for homestead, so there are also 44 quarter sections of railway land. If this railway land were taxable, the \$250 to be raised would be divided between 86 quarter sections instead of 42, and the result would be practically that the homesteader would pay \$3 per quarter instead of \$6 as he does at present.

By reason of this exemption enjoyed by the company in those ten school districts, the settlers are paying not less than \$3 per year per quarter section more than they would, if the intent of parliament were given effect to.

But it is not usual to have 42 quarter sections in each school district occupied. In the early stages of settlement, a school district is frequently organized where there are only say 10 to 20 quarter sections occupied. Supposing there are only 22 of the 44 available quarter sections occupied, then the tax is \$12 per year for each homesteader. That, you will agree, is a very considerable burden to be borne by the settlers in a new country. The burden is the greater as the inability to bear it is the greater, because when the first few settlers go into a district, and before they have succeeded in making their lands productive, is when settlers are fewest, and so the burden of taxation is heaviest. Therefore it means a great deal to them, and to the country in protecting pioneer settlement, that this unjust exemption should not be longer continued.

In the case of school districts where 22 quarter sections are occupied, where the people have at present to pay \$12 per quarter section per year, if the railway quarter sections were available, the total taxation per quarter section then would be \$3.75, a difference of \$8.25 per quarter section in favour of the homesteader.

In the ten school districts in this particular part of the district that I represent, the

exemption from taxation enjoyed by the railway company at present, on the scale I have given to the House, amounts to \$1,320 per year. Or to put it in another way, the people whom I represent in this House, in that particular part of the country, have to pay \$1,320 per year out of their pockets for the advantage of gentlemen to whom this House never intended to give that advantage.

But there is taxation in the North-west besides that necessary for the support of schools. There is in place of a general municipal system what is called the local improvement system, whereby each township, when it has a certain number of settlers, is set apart as such district, and a tax is levied upon the land occupied within it for the purpose of improving the roads within its limits. The local improvement tax is fixed on a flat basis of \$2.50 per quarter section. In each township, which is six miles square, there are 36 sections, of which 16 are railway sections. An exemption of \$2.50 per quarter section is \$10 per section, or \$160 per township, or statute labour district. Therefore, in each statute labour district set apart in that section of country, the railway company enjoys a benefit of \$160 per year by reason of its illegal exemption, and in 10 statute labour districts in operation in that part of the country, the exemption in favour of the company amounts to \$1,600 per year. And this exemption, again I say, it was never intended by this House to grant.

In that particular section of country, in 30 miles length along the railway, where there are, to the best of my knowledge, ten schools and ten statute labour districts in operation, the Calgary and Edmonton road is now yearly profiting to the extent of \$2,920 by reason of these unintended exemptions from taxation; and a burden of that amount is placed upon the settlers. This is a matter of very great importance, and of direct financial interest, to a very important part of the community that I represent. The value of these exemptions increases as the settlement of the country increases. What we have to-day, as I have said, amounts to an exemption of about \$3,000 per year, where only ten school districts and ten statute labour districts are in operation, but will amount to more and more every year as more school and statute labour districts are formed. To put the matter in a very few words, so that the House will understand the magnitude of these illegal exemptions, let me give the total figures. At present the exemption is \$10 per square mile of statute labour tax, and \$12 per square mile of school tax, or \$22 in all. At the same rate, on the total grant to the Calgary and Edmonton of two million acres, the exemption would amount to \$700,000 per year, and on the total grant to all the companies mentioned, that is to say, on a total of six million acres of land, the exemp-

Mr. OLIVER.

tion would amount to \$2,000,000 per year. In view of these facts, I ask the favourable consideration of the House for the resolution which I have the honour to present. Although, in its larger sense, we are not compelled to deal with it; in its more restricted sense, in relation to the school and statute labour districts already organized, we are compelled to deal with it, and move this burden of \$3,000 a year which is unjustly and without authority of law laid upon the particular section of the country which I have mentioned; and which is not all, but only half the district affected by the Calgary and Edmonton land grant.

On the point of this Calgary and Edmonton land grant, let me say, that a part of it is located not along the railroad line. Some of it is more than fifty miles from railroad communication. The company assumes to own that land, assumes even the right to put settlers off, whose occupation began before survey; and yet, they refuse to pay taxes on it.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan). I quite agree with my hon. friend from Alberta (Mr. Oliver) with reference to this matter. In Manitoba and the North-west, 64,000,000 acres of land have been granted to railway corporations, and these lands, as has been stated by my hon. friend, are exempt from taxation. It will easily be understood that the people are suffering great hardships through not being able to tax the land for the purposes of maintaining schools and other public purposes. There is, for instance, the road running into the Saskatchewan, the Regina and Long Lake road. It received a grant of 6,400 acres a mile. The lands have been located chiefly along the line of road, but they are where the land is fertile and good, and settlers have come in in consequence of the road having been built; and when people want to form school districts and statute labour districts, they find they cannot realize any taxes from these lands, because the company claims that they are exempt. As the hon. member for Alberta has said, I do not think it was the intention of this House when this Act was passed, to grant exemption to this corporation. In the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway, there certainly was exemption for 20 years; but I do not think a similar clause can be found in any other statute. Therefore, I think something should be done in the near future to let the people of the North-west know what condition they are in, in regard to these lands. Another point is that we are now getting in considerable immigration from different parts of the world. When people come in for the purpose of looking up a location, either for themselves or their friends, one of the first things they ask about is the law respecting schools. They get the desired information, and then they come to look up the question of taxation. That is a point regarded as very im-

portant by people coming from the other side of the line, because in the United States they are greatly troubled by heavy taxes, and, in changing to a new country, they want to get some place where the taxes are not so heavy. If they go into a township and find so many of the odd-numbered sections held by a railway company, it comes to this, that there are no lands that they can assess for the maintenance of schools except their own. As my hon. friend from Alberta has said, the cost of maintaining schools in the North-west Territories is greater than in the older provinces, for several reasons. We cannot employ teachers for salaries as low as are paid in the east. The expense of repairs is considerable, and fuel is a thing that costs the people of the North-west Territories a great deal of money. Figuring the whole thing up, it seems almost impossible for the people to maintain schools there, unless they are put in a position to tax all the lands in a school district. When people looking for locations find that these lands are exempt, ten to one they leave the country and will not come back, and will not recommend their friends to settle. Perhaps a party of people come in and find it a desirable location in a corner of a township. Under our school legislation, where there are six children, they can start a school district. But poor settlers coming in are not in a position to pay taxes for three or four years, and realizing that difficulty, the people decide not to come into the country.

Another question is the statute labour districts. That is a new thing with us. Up to two years ago, we had nothing of that kind. We have no municipalities in the North-west, except a few of the larger towns. But we have a system of what we call statute labour districts. We appoint an officer, and he has to tax the land in the statute labour district for the purpose of maintaining the roads and bridges. When he comes to the lands held by railroad corporations, it is impossible for him to tax them, and so the burden of taxation has to fall on the settlers in that locality. The position the farmers are in is this—by their labour they are increasing the value of all the land in the township. Every acre of land they cultivate, every rod of fencing they put up, increases the value, not only of their own lands, but of the lands held by the railroad corporations. Every dollar they pay to make roads and bridges, has a similar effect. So, year by year, the value of these lands is increased by the labour of the settlers, who get no return that they do not work for. I think something should be done in the near future to improve that state of affairs. The Hudson's Bay Company and all other such companies pay their taxes, and I do not see why the railroad corporations should not be called on to pay taxes as well. They claim that the lands are not granted until the patents are taken out. But they hypothecate

these lands by issuing land grant bonds. We know also, as a matter of fact, that they lease the lands. Any person who wants to lease lands from a railway corporation has only to make application and send his money and he can lease the lands for a very small sum. These things show that these companies consider themselves the owners of the land. But when it comes to taxation, they say the land is vested in the Crown. But if they can mortgage the land and lease it, the land must, as a matter of fact, belong to them, and by right, it should be subject to taxation, as much as any other land in the North-west Territories. I hope the government will take this question into consideration, and will do something for the relief of the settlers in the way of forcing these people, if necessary, to take out patents, and if that is not necessary, then to give a decision, so that we may know where we are on this question.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). Coming from a section of country that suffered from a somewhat similar cause, I can readily understand the importance this matter is to the pioneer of the North-west Territories. The operations of the Canada Company in Ontario are well known in my section of the country. They held large tracts of land, and the pioneer who came in there was obliged to make roads, and build schoolhouses, and bear all alone the expense of increasing the value of the country around him, and the result was that the company got the benefit of the increased value to their lands as well as the settler. Now, it is very much the same with the settler in the North-west Territories. I do not think it was ever contemplated that the railway company should exercise the right to hold these lands until such times as, in their discretion, they took out a deed. I think an intimation was given to this House that the question was a matter for the courts to decide. If that be the case, and the government knew that the settlers of that country are suffering from that cause, why did they not state a case and let the courts decide it. The government are derelict in their duty in not doing so, because it is highly desirable that the company should know whether they are or are not entitled to take out a patent for that land as soon as they are located, as soon as they have been claimed, and when the government is willing to give it to them. If the patent is taken out then the land becomes taxable, and the settler in that country would receive a benefit from it. But that is not the only injustice that is done to the pioneer who goes into that country; he is not only deprived of the moneys which would go to the community from the taxes, but he is deprived of the money that he would be entitled to draw from the Education Department if these lands were settled on, and if children from those lands were attending school in that locality. So there is

a double injury done to the settler in that country by reason of the railway company refusing to take out a patent on the lands they have located themselves, and that they are prepared to rent to others, or to sell to others. But until they take out a patent they hold they cannot be taxed for those lands. I think it is a great injury to the settler and a great injustice to the pioneer of that country, and the sooner it is remedied the better. Any one who knows what was the result in Ontario of the Canada Company's operations, and who goes up into that country and finds almost the same condition existing there, would be very chary of settling in any locality where that evil existed, knowing from experience the effects of it in the province of Ontario. Not only does it retard settlement, but it must injure immigration, and the country will suffer from that cause. Therefore, I say it is the bounden duty of the government to attend to this matter at once. I am in favour of this resolution for the reason that I know the injury that was done to the settlers of Ontario, and I think the injury done to the North-west settler is a great deal worse. As it is now six o'clock, I will not continue this debate, but will say once more that I am strongly in favour of this resolution, and I think the government are derelict in their duty in not having settled it before.

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

AFTER RECESS.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Mr. Speaker, the question which has been brought before the House by the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver) is a question that is fraught with very great importance to the people of the North-west Territories, and also, to some extent, to the people of the province of Manitoba. I do not think that the hon. member for Alberta at all exaggerated the importance of the question, because, the facts which he has placed before the House, are quite sufficient to show every hon. member of this House the extreme hardships under which the settlers in the North-west Territories labour in respect to their municipal or statute labour taxes and their school taxes when they are settled in the midst of lands that are owned by the railway companies to which the hon. gentleman refers. The figures show that the incidence of taxation is rendered almost unbearably heavy by the fact that all these lands are owned by the railway companies and have not been subject to taxation. This is a very large subject and a very complicated one. The difficulties which attend the settlement of this question cannot be comprehended except

Mr. SPROULE.

by one who has been called upon to give some attention to the details of the subject. My hon. friends in the North-west Territories are quite justified in seeking for an early settlement of this question, and if the government had, in any respect, been derelict in its duty, as was suggested by the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), I think the importance of the subject would justify the censuring of the government. The statements made by the hon. member for Alberta show that the effect of these exemptions from taxation is to render the taxation so heavy that in the case of school districts, where there is a very small number of heads of families, it is quite impossible to keep such districts alive and there have been many cases where settlers have gone in, have formed school districts, have gone to the trouble and expense of getting their schoolhouses built, and have been compelled to close up their schoolhouses because there was not a sufficient number of taxpayers in the district to keep the school going. That has been one of the difficulties that we have had to contend with in connection with the subject of immigration into the North-west Territories, because, we can very readily understand, that, particularly in the case of settlers from the Western States, or from England, the first question that is asked by an intending settler is as to what is the position in respect to educational facilities. I may say that, in my judgment, the government has not been derelict in its duty in respect to dealing with this question. The difficulties that have taken place have not taken place because attention has not been given to the subject by the government and particularly by the department of which I have charge and which is particularly charged with the dealing with this subject. The difficulty, in fact, has arisen from the history of the question, and from this fact in connection with it, that land grants were given by our friends of the late government under conditions which they were not in a position to fulfil at that time and which it is very difficult to fulfil at the present time. Land grants were given without due consideration and without taking into account the resources of the government in respect to these lands, the quantity of land which the government had at its disposal and the quality of the land, and the result of this is that we are called upon, now, to fulfil these contracts. We have a man travelling all over the North-west Territories to find land that will enable us to fulfil these contracts. There is one particular company, the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Railway Company, one of the companies to which my hon. friend from Alberta referred, and the great portion—I may say three-quarters of the land which was scheduled to that company has been rejected by that company as being altogether unfit for settlement, and not in accordance with the

contracts they had with the government. At the present time it looks as if the question as to the fulfilment of that contract by the government will have to be settled in the courts. I have not yet been able to get from the officers of my department a definite report as to the particular lands that we are in a position to offer to that company for the purpose of placing the government in a position to say that we had tendered the fulfilment of the contract, although I have had in special charge of this work for the last year and a half, under special instructions to close up this matter as rapidly as possible, one of the oldest, most capable and most experienced officers in my department. I refer to Mr. Pearce, who has been employed by the department for over twenty years, and who is better acquainted with this subject than any other man in Canada. This gentleman has been under special instructions to facilitate and hasten the settlement of this question for the last year and a half, but he has not made such progress as will enable us to issue patents for the land up to this time. This question has received constant attention at my hands and at the hands of my department. Difficulties have arisen, not only in connection with the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Railway, but also in connection with the Calgary and Edmonton Railway. In the case of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway I came to the conclusion, a few months ago, that there was a large portion of that grant that could then, immediately, be patented, but, just about the time that I had arrived at that conclusion and was about to issue instructions to have the patents issued a question arose in connection with a very large portion of that land in the shape of a dispute raised by the company as to whether the land fulfilled the terms of the contract. It was claimed by the company that an enormous portion of the land which had been allotted to the company and which had been, as I understood, and as the officers of the department understood, accepted by the company, had not been finally accepted, and could only be accepted on terms which I was not, at the time, and am not now prepared to definitely accede to. It was claimed that this land was of an arid character, that it had not sufficient moisture to make it fit for settlement, and that is the question which, more than anything else, retards the solution of the difficulty. A very large portion of the land grant of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company is situated in a territory where there is a considerable number of water courses and a considerable number of springs which, taken with the land and evenly distributed, render the land fairly valuable. The department has for some years past, pursued the policy of reserving these water courses for public use so that certain persons could not secure

control of the water courses and thus deprive all the rest of the land of value. The object, of course, in doing that was to render the land which was comprised within the even-numbered sections fit for settlement, so that persons taking up homesteads would have access to the water courses and the land would not be worthless as it would if a few settlers were permitted to monopolize the water. A difficulty arises between them and the government in connection with that question. Only some two weeks ago a deputation from the company waited upon me on that subject, and we were not able to arrive at an understanding because I was not able to accede to the view which the company presented, and the company refused to accede to the views which I presented. My hon. friend will see that it is not a question of simply taking a map and saying: A certain amount of land belongs to the company, and we will issue the patents for that to-day. There are complications and difficulties in this question which have been receiving my attention ever since I took charge of the department. There are certain elements in connection with this which I might suggest to the House as indicating further the difficulties in the way. There is this, for instance: The Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Company have been notified that there is land away to the far north far out of the reach of their railway, and far out of the reach of present settlement, which is fairly fit for settlement, and from which they could make their selection. The company dispute the right of the government to say that they must take their land there. They contend that the contract under which they are entitled to the land grant, properly construed, means that the land must be within reasonable distance of the railway, of the market, and that otherwise the land is not fairly fit for settlement. All these questions arise and, while I am quite prepared to accede to what my hon. friend (Mr. Oliver) says in his motion: that the lands which have been allotted and in respect to which we can agree to fulfil the terms of the contract, should be patented at once, I must point out that there are serious difficulties which we will have to settle and serious questions which will have to be solved before this matter is finally disposed of.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Oliver) will see that so far as I am concerned, and so far as this government is concerned, we are charged with the duty of carrying out certain transactions which must be carried out in the terms of contracts made with our predecessors in office. We cannot alter the contracts, we cannot even say what was meant by the contracts. That would not make any difference even if we could, because the contracts must speak for themselves, and if the courts were appealed to for interpretation, we would have to do

what the courts say the government is bound to do for the purpose of carrying these contracts out.

Mr. SPROULE. Then why not state a case and submit it to the courts so as to get their opinion, and then you would know where you are ?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. That seems all very simple, but if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) were called upon to frame a case and ask the courts to settle in an academic way the question as to whether certain lands were fairly fit for settlement, and as to whether they fulfilled the terms of the contract, he would see that it is not so simple after all.

Mr. SPROULE. That is not the question I refer to ; but the question as to whether they would not be compelled to take their deeds after the lands were selected, so that the land would be taxable.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. There is no question about that at all. There is not the slightest question raised on that score.

Mr. SPROULE. I understood there was.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) is mistaken. He has in his mind the question of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which, necessarily, of course, affects a large portion of the North-west Territories, but that question arises in this way : The Canadian Pacific Railway charter provided that the land grant of the company shall be free from taxation for twenty years after the grant thereof from the Crown. The charter was granted, I think, in 1881. An immense portion of the land is not patented yet, and the contention of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is that the exemption runs for a period of twenty years from the time that the Crown grant is issued. I need not enter into a discussion of that, nor need I show the difficulty of scheduling and patenting these lands, because the motion does not touch that. The motion of my hon. friend (Mr. Oliver) refers simply to those companies which have no exemption by statute and whose exemption simply exists until the land is scheduled and patented. That is the case of the Calgary and Edmonton, of the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake, and of, I think, the Alberta Railway and Coal Company. In pointing out the variety of difficulties which have arisen in connection with the scheduling of these lands, I desire to assure my hon. friend (Mr. Oliver) and the House, that I appreciate the fact that it was not the intention of parliament in granting these lands to grant exemption from taxation. If parliament intended that, it would be so

Mr. SIFTON.

provided in the charter or in the Act which provided for the land grant. But recognizing that fact, it does not remove the difficulties which exist in a departmental way of arriving at a settlement of the question. If we had an amount of land admitted to be fairly fit for settlement which was in excess of the amount, or equal to the amount which we are bound under the contracts to give, it would be a simple matter to schedule and patent those lands. But disputes arise all along the line in connection with these lands and only a comparatively small amount has been readily accepted by the companies without dispute. I think what I have said will indicate to the House the view I take of the matter, the difficulties which have prevented a complete settlement of the question, and nothing further need be said on that point. In so far as the principle of the motion of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Oliver) is concerned, I have no objection whatever to it, and I readily agree that it is the duty of the government to see that the patents are issued just as rapidly as possible.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, I do not think that the House will hear—or the country either—with satisfaction, the speech of the minister (Mr. Sifton), because what it amounts to is this : that he endorsed the position taken up by these companies, namely, that unless they get the cream of the land, they are not bound to take it. It seems to me that the proposition made by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sifton) is shown in its flagrant fallaciousness, if we consider the last excuse he gave. That excuse is this : That the companies can actually say to the minister : We will not have this land ; it is fairly good land, it is A-1 land, and it will produce Red Fife, 60 pounds to the bushel, but it is some distance from a railway and we will not take it. Why, Sir, the idea of reading such a condition as that into the agreement made by these people, shows a desire to lean to the railways that I do not think is very creditable to the government or very creditable to the minister. It seems to me that the speech we have heard from the Minister of the Interior does away with all hope of expecting a near settlement of this most pressing question. It is a pressing question, Mr. Speaker, because it affects closely and dearly the settlers new and old in the North-west Territories. The Minister of the Interior understands it. He is himself a North-west man, but for some reason or other, although he is at the head of the department that should settle it, he says : Non possumus ; we cannot settle it. Why cannot it be settled ? Here are railway companies to whom land has been given under certain conditions. They are told they are to get so many acres of land and they are fit for settlement. I suppose what that means

is that it shall be ordinarily fit for settlement. It could not mean—no court in the world would read it as meaning the cream of the land—the paragon acres of the North-west Territories; and the suggestion made by my hon. friend from East Grey (Mr. Sproule) is pertinent, because, although I think my hon. friend had in his mind the Canadian Pacific Railway agreement, nevertheless, his suggestion will apply to this.

Mr. McCARTHY. Will my hon. friend allow me? Has he the clause of the agreement to which he refers as not having the meaning which he said the minister had read into it?

Mr. DAVIN. I haven't it here, but I suppose the minister can produce it in a moment. Why did not the hon. gentleman ask him?

Mr. McCARTHY. Because I did not hear what the minister said, and I wanted to know what that clause was.

Mr. DAVIN. From memory, the clause runs this way—and I suppose the minister has read it more recently than I—that the land shall be fit for settlement. Is that so?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. Fairly fit for settlement.

Mr. DAVIN. The very qualification! If it read fit for settlement, it would be stronger; but being qualified by the word fairly, it cannot mean the cream of the land, and must mean the average land fit for settlement. Every word of my hon. friend from Alberta (Mr. Oliver) I can endorse. The people of the North-west have to meet school taxes and taxes accruing from the local government, while we have these rich corporations exempt, and the Department of the Interior working with them to prevent them being forced to take possession of these lands and become liable to bear their proper burdens. When we consider the pioneer settler who has gone into the North-west with his muscle, his sweat and his strong will, to struggle with his wife and his children, to make his way, and then go to Montreal, to Toronto, to London or to New York, and enter the palaces of the magnates behind these railways, who are shirking the school taxation and the local improvement taxation that properly belongs to them, and then find the Minister of the Interior coming forward and explaining to us in the tenderest manner how difficult it is to secure that these gentlemen shall be forced to bear their proper burdens, I hope, Sir, that the House will pass this resolution, not as a formal matter, not in the sense in which the Minister of the Interior says he has no objection to it, but I hope the House will pass it in a mandatory manner to indicate to the government of the day that they must do their duty in the premises. Mr. Speaker, I will even go further than this motion suggests. I say, even

in regard to the Canadian Pacific Railway lands, that there is now at the head of the railway, as there has always been since Sir William Van Horne was placed there, a man of the highest intelligence and statesmanlike capacity. We have at present Mr. Shaughnessy, a man fit worthily to follow Sir William Van Horne, and he is too enlightened a man not to see that the extreme view taken by those who suppose they are acting in the interest of the railway, is contrary to a large and enlightened view of what is best for the corporation itself; because if you so act that the lands of the North-west which are thus bound up shall be more quickly brought into settlement, not sparse but congested, so that the traffic will be greatly increased, you will add to the earnings of the railway and to its general prosperity. Mr. Speaker, I am very much surprised and disappointed at the speech of my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior, who has held out no hope whatever to my hon. friend from Alberta. He has shown my hon. friend from Alberta that there are a lot of lions in the way, that it is a complicated question, a difficult thing to deal with, and under these circumstances the Greek kalends would come before these railways will have their lands subjected to taxation. I heartily support the motion of my hon. friend.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Lisgar). Mr. Speaker, I had intended before six o'clock to have said a few words with regard to this matter; but in view of the statement made on behalf of the government by the Minister of the Interior that the resolution is accepted and will be carried out, I presume it will probably be unnecessary for me to emphasize the importance of the question. However, while on my feet I wish to say I believe this is a question of the very gravest importance to the people of the North-west. The statement of the Minister of the Interior emphasizes that point. He tells us that the government has the very greatest difficulty discovering sufficient lands fairly fit for settlement to fulfil the contracts with these different railway companies. If that is so, Sir, the absolute necessity of bringing these lands under taxation, will be apparent to the House, because if sufficiently good lands cannot be obtained to fulfil the contracts with these companies—

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. If my hon. friend will permit me, least I might be misunderstood, it is of course understood that the grants are taken from the odd-numbered sections. I of course meant that it was difficult to select land from these, not from the even-numbered sections.

Mr. RICHARDSON. That puts a different face on the matter. I assumed that if it was extremely difficult to get lands for the railways, it would be difficult to get

them for settlers, and therefore it would be extremely difficult to raise the municipal taxation of the country and to aid the schools. I have a good deal of sympathy with one of the statements made by my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), that is, that the time has come when the people of the North-west ought to have an innings. These magnates who have made their millions out of land grants and out of the construction of these railways, and who are living in their mansions in eastern cities, should not monopolize the special care of this House. I think we ought to devote some attention at least to the care of the settlers of that country who bear the burden and the heat of the day. I myself this afternoon introduced a Bill with reference to the taxation of the Canadian Pacific Railway lands. I was impressed with the statement which the Minister of the Interior has just made with reference to that question. I think I made a correct note of what he did say; if not he will correct me; that was that the government interprets the twenty years exemption clause to mean that the exemption period shall extend from the date on which the lands were allotted to the company. Is that a correct interpretation?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. I did not make any statement on that point. What I said was that the company pretend that the period of exemption runs from the patent of the land.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The company makes the remarkable contention that the twenty years' exemption dates from the issuing of the patent for these lands. It will be twenty years in 1901 since that contract passed this parliament. I have gone over the debates very carefully, and it is perfectly clear to me, and it must be to every unbiased man who chooses to read those debates, that the House, without any apparent exception, understood that the exemption period, if it did not date from the passing of the contract, would at least date from the period at which the lands were earned by the company and set aside for the uses of the company. Hon. gentlemen will see that when the government sets aside lands for the uses of the company and the company issues land grant bonds on the strength of its land grant, it owns the land, has it for sale, and surely that would constitute a transfer by the government to the company. But we have the remarkable statement that the company actually interprets that clause to mean that the twenty year period shall date from the time the patent for these lands is issued. Let me tell the House that the Canadian Pacific Railway, although the twenty years' period is almost elapsed, has not up to the present applied for a patent for a single acre of its land grant of 25,000,000 acres; and unless this House takes the thing into its own hands and declares

Mr. RICHARDSON.

what the clause means, we shall have apparently an exemption in perpetuity, of that vast land grant in the North-west, in favour of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Surely no one will pretend that that is a fair interpretation of the clause, and I hope there will not be an hon. member who will refuse, when the Bill I have introduced, comes before the House for its second reading, to define what that clause actually means.

I could quote from speeches of the members of the government of that day and leading members on both sides of the House to show it was the clear understanding, when the clause was passed, that that exemption period should date at least, if not from the passage of the contract, from the date on which these lands were handed over and made available for the uses of the company. It is provided in one of the clauses that when the company has built twenty miles of railway and puts that section in condition for successful operation, the proportion of the cash subsidy and the land subsidy earned by the completion of such twenty miles will become available for that particular section. Clearly, therefore, it was the intention that the exemption period should then begin. Unless we take steps to enforce the idea brought forward by the hon. member for Alberta, and bring all the lands in the North-west under taxation, it will be extremely difficult to go on with the successful settlement of that country. Unless we have a proper school system, efficiently carried out, unless roads and bridges are provided, settlers will not come in and locate in that country, and, therefore, it is highly important that these lands should be brought under taxation at the earliest possible date.

Mr. J. M. DOUGLAS (East Assiniboia). I rise briefly, Mr. Speaker, to endorse what has been said by other members of the North-west Territories in relation to this vexed question. But I wish further to state that the principle we have discussed this afternoon and evening is capable of further extension, and should be made to apply to colonization companies, as well as to the railway companies. The same difficulty exists with regard to these colonization companies, of locking up large portions of land, thus seriously affecting the maintenance of public schools and the carrying out of local improvements in the shape of roads and bridges, and thereby preventing the settlement of the country. In my constituency, while the settlers are affected by the land grant to railways being exempt from taxation, they are also largely affected by the fact that 80,000 acres of land are to-day locked up by these colonization companies, and debarred, we may say, from settlement. These colonization companies received their land grant from the late government and have long since ceased to colonize, yet many of them hold large portions of land for which

they paid a very petty sum. Then the moneys they advanced to settlers years ago are still registered against the quarter sections, so that when new comers wish to settle on these homesteads they find certain charges registered against these particular quarter sections, and in consequence they prefer to move further on, where they will find land that is unencumbered. The result is that in the neighbourhood of Saltcoats, Yorkton and White Sand River, large tracts of land, to the extent of 80,000 acres, are locked up in this way. These colonization companies appear to play the same game with the school boards when pressed for the payment of the school tax, as do the railway companies, and the letter read by the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver), as a sample of the efforts made to avoid the payment of taxation, is just a fair illustration of the replies received from the colonization companies when called on to pay the school or municipal taxes. I hope, therefore, that when discussing this matter in connection with the railway land grants, we will not lose sight of the fact that the same difficulty exists with regard to the colonization company grants. There is, however, this difference, that by the law, as it now stands, I am given to understand, these colonization companies are bound to have settlers upon their lands within two years, failing which the land reverts back to the Crown. I brought this matter under the notice of the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) and his department last session, and he very kindly gave me his promise in writing, that the department would go as far as the law would permit in the issuing of patents to these companies, so that at an early date the people entitled to receive patents should get them and become liable to taxation. How far the department has travelled in this matter, I am not prepared to say, but I believe an honest effort is being made to overtake and remove this difficulty.

I fully agree in what has been said by other members from the west on this important subject, and hope that at no distant date these parties will be compelled to take out their patents, where they are entitled to them, and be forced to assist in the improvement of the country, and thus remove an excessive burden from the shoulders of the early settlers.

Mr. N. C. WALLACE (West York). The hon. member who has just taken his seat (Mr. Douglas) has made some extraordinary statements which I think should not go without some further reference being made to them. While he does not say anything very much about the question immediately before the House as to the position of the railway companies and the lands that these companies have earned and upon which they pay no taxes whatever, he says that the colonization companies are in the same position. I am connected with one colon-

ization company that has performed every obligation it entered into with the government, that has asked no favour from the government, that has acquired its lands; and I can tell the hon. member for East Assiniboia (Mr. Douglas) that they pay their taxes and pay a pretty heavy rate, do not do it grudgingly, but do it willingly, because it is right that they should pay their taxes as well as the owners of any other land in the community. The hon. gentleman says that they have ceased to colonize. Where does he get his information? If he says that about Yorkton, I deny it, because the York Farmers' Company are the most active colonizers that can be found. But I can say that they do not get much encouragement or assistance from the Minister of the Interior. He seems to have another scheme in his mind, to send the settlers to the Dauphin country, and make that the great colonization ground. He might fairly be asked to give every portion of the country a chance, more particularly as the Manitoba and North-western Railway opens up the section to which I refer, where the settlers can have railroad facilities without travelling many miles. This part of the country, I may say, is well adapted for settlement.

Mr. DAVIN. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. There is no more prosperous settlement in the North-west, as the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) knows, if he has visited that part of the country, and, he will know that there is no more prosperous town in Canada to-day than Yorkton.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question.

Mr. WALLACE. Certainly.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The statement I made is that 80,000 acres of land are locked up in that way. A list of the lands has been prepared and submitted to me by the land agent at Yorkton.

Mr. WALLACE. I have not referred to that feature of the question yet, but I am going to. The hon. gentleman says that 80,000 acres of land are locked up. In what way? Acquired by the colonization companies in accordance with the regulations laid down by the government of the day—wise and judicial regulations I must say. The colonization companies can advance money to a settler, and take a lien upon his homestead and charge him not more than six per cent interest. At a time when money in the North-west under such circumstances was worth eight or ten or twelve per cent, the government tied down the colonization companies to six per cent. And, say, one of these companies has advanced \$100 to a farmer on his homestead, would the hon. member for East Assiniboia (Mr. Douglas) say that that claim should

be cancelled and the lender should no longer have the security that the government has provided he should have? Does he propose to despoil the creditor of the right he has secured under the regulation? If not, I do not see what sense there is in his objection unless he proposes that the government should pay off that indebtedness.

Then he says that the colonization companies are trying to play the same game with the school boards and municipalities. I suppose he means the same game as the railway companies, although he does not say so. I can tell him that the company around Yorkton has paid every dollar of their taxes, municipal, school, statute labour and every other, and does not owe a dollar for taxation up to the year 1900. Therefore, the point that the hon. member for East Assiniboia has endeavoured to make against them, I can tell him, is utterly without foundation. He says they are going to make a regulation that there must be settlers on the land within two years. Why, even when settlers are placed on the land, they cannot always be held there. Men will wander away.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Why do they wander? Because they cannot live under the regulations.

Mr. WALLACE. Because they like to wander. The hon. member for East Assiniboia himself must have wandered, or he would not have found his way up to East Assiniboia. Perhaps, when he is better known, he will have to wander to some other constituency to get a foothold, because they tell us up there that he cannot be re-elected to his present seat. Now, we come to the main question. The Minister of the Interior told this House with regard to this question on the 7th of March, 1898:

The view taken by the government is that exemption dated from the issue of the patent. It has been usual to allow long intervals to elapse between the selection of the land and the issue of the patents.

He says, further on:

The question is one that involves the interpretation of the statute by legal authority. When any practical necessity arises for determining the question, it will be referred to the law officer of the government, but up to the present time such representation has not been made.

What does that mean? Two years ago the Minister of the Interior indicated that the question should be referred to the law courts. But what did he tell the hon. member for Alberta to-night? Why, that it would be improper or childish to think of such a thing.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) will read the motion he will see that it has nothing to do with the question of the Canadian Pacific Railway lands.

Mr. WALLACE.

Mr. WALLACE. But the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) referred to the payment of the taxes, not to the matter that the minister—

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. The hon. member for East Grey referred, by mistake, not understanding exactly the point to which I was referring, to matters relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway land grant. I was not discussing it. No question was raised about that in the motion. My hon. friend for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) joined with me in saying that the hon. member for East Grey was mistaken. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) is travelling beyond the record and dealing with a matter that has nothing to do with the motion before the House.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. member for East Grey was referring to the question of taxes on railroad lands.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. On Canadian Pacific Railway lands.

Mr. WALLACE. The case of the Canadian Pacific Railway is still weaker, because the exemption in that case had a twenty year limit.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. It is not referred to in the motion before the House.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sifton) may try to obscure the question but we will hardly allow him. The hon. member for East Grey was referring to the demand for the taxation of railway land. The Minister of the Interior was trying to get off with some other questions, which he was dealing with very elaborately.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. Oh, oh.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. minister thinks it is a matter to be laughed off, but it is not a laughing matter, but a serious and important question. He says that he has been dealing with it ever since he came into office, about three and a half years ago, and he has to acknowledge that he is no nearer a solution of the question than he was then—not so near it, as, according to this quotation, he was two and a half years ago. He thinks it of no consequence, but to me it seems a very important matter, whether a railroad, having acquired lands, and mortgaged them by issuing land grant bonds, should not have to pay taxes on those lands. The thing looks to me to be preposterous, and every one of the railway companies should be brought to time on this matter, and be compelled to pay the taxes which are justly their due to pay. But the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), when asked by these gentlemen behind him to inquire into this matter says: It is beset with difficulties. Well, what is the Minister of the

Interior, what is any member of the government, there for? It is for the solution of difficulties, I should suppose, and the settlement of these questions. After three years and a half, all that he can tell us is, not that any conclusion had been arrived at, not that any settlement is made, but that it is a question beset with difficulties.' Mr. Speaker, I think we ought to have these difficulties removed, or the Minister of the Interior removed, and somebody put in his place who can settle these difficulties, and the time does not seem to be far distant when that will occur. Now, what does the minister propose to do? Nothing, he does not propose to give any relief to the settlers in the North-west who are building up the country, who are spending their time, their industry, their energies in making the country great,—and it is becoming a great one, and every one should bear their share of the responsibilities, and every one is apparently doing so except these railroad companies that are under the protection of the Minister of the Interior. I would again call the attention of the Minister of the Interior to the fact that the people are watching the manoeuvres going on up there, they are looking to see why it is that the tide of population is sent away in advance of a railroad into a country that is more than one hundred miles further north, that has disadvantages, perhaps advantages also; and that the whole aim of the government seems to be to send settlers in along the Mackenzie and Mann line of railroad. The people are suspicious to-day, they know they have reason to be suspicious of the intimacy between Mackenzie and Mann and the Minister of the Interior. They know that there are good grounds for suspicion. They look over the country and what do they see? I shall not spread out on that, because it would be going away from the question, and I desire to stick straight to that one question. But I shall take another occasion of referring to these facts, and to show that the Minister of the Interior is bound in his duty to the House to give every portion of the North-west a fair chance, to give every portion an opportunity, and not be using the machinery of the government, of the Department of Immigration, to push these settlers into places where there will be dissatisfaction, where there will be unrest, when there are plenty of portions of the North-west that only ask for a fair show. That is all I have to say about this at present, but I hope that the government will come to the conclusion that it is their duty to move in this matter, and to make these railroad companies that have acquired lands, that have issued bonds on the strength of these lands, and have mortgaged their lands, to pay taxes as other people have to do on their property.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. I do not desire to violate the rule by speaking

again on this question, but as the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) has made a statement which constitutes a departure altogether from the first question that we were discussing, and as I can hardly allow that to go without remark, I desire to be pardoned for one moment for recurring to the subject. I desire to say that there is not a particle of foundation for the statement made by the member for West York that the government has attempted to divert the settlement of the North-west into any particular place. The statement he has made that it is the policy of the government to place settlers principally along the line of Mackenzie and Mann's railway, is altogether incorrect. No such effort whatever is made by the government. The instructions given to officers of the government are to furnish information generally in regard to every portion of the North-west, and there is no favouritism whatever shown. So far as the particular district to which the hon. gentleman refers, the district of Yorkton, perhaps there is a larger settlement around that particular place than around any place which has benefited by the immigration efforts of the government.

Mr. WALLACE. I could quote a speech made by the minister in this House during the present session in order to justify the statement that I have made.

Mr. SPROULE. I would like to say in reference to something that I said, which I apprehend was misunderstood, that I understood the hon. member who introduced this subject to say that the railway companies, although they have selected their lands, neglected or refused to take their deed from the government because when they got their deed the land would become taxable. I said then that it would be in order for the government to do what the First Minister intimated when he said it was a matter for the courts to decide as to whether it should be compulsory upon the companies to take their deed, when their land would become taxable. I said it was the duty of the government to state a case and submit it to the Supreme Court to ascertain whether they could be compelled to take their deeds and make their lands taxable. I was not referring to the Canadian Pacific Railway land at all.

Motion agreed to.

DISMISSAL OF A. MARCOTTE.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan) moved for :

Return of all correspondence, letters, telegrams or other communications relating to the dismissal of A. Marcotte from the employment of the Department of Agriculture at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan.

He said: I may explain that Mr. Marcotte was employed in Duck Lake, Saskatche-

wan, by the Department of Agriculture, having been placed in charge of the creamery station there. After he had been there for two seasons in charge of the creamery station, of which he had made a success by his energetic work, Professor Robertson, who is in charge of that branch, came up over the line last year on a tour of inspection. He passed the station at Duck Lake about two o'clock in the morning; Mr. Marcotte heard that he was passing on the train and went there to see him. He called on Professor Robertson and talked to him for a short time, and went back to his work. Two days afterwards, when the first mail arrived at Duck Lake, Mr. Marcotte got a letter which he found to be a dismissal from the office he occupied. He wrote to the department asking for an explanation, but he got no explanation as to why he was dismissed. This thing went all over and the citizens of Duck Lake have written letters, and in other ways, by representations to the department, have asked to be put in possession of the reason why this man was dismissed. At last they got word that he was dismissed on account of his intemperate habits. Mr. Marcotte is a very temperate man, and, of course, he does not feel like lying under a charge of that kind. He is not seeking to get back in the government employ, because he has a better situation, but he feels, and the citizens of Duck Lake feel, that some steps should be taken to clear his character of that charge, because a respectable man does not want to be dismissed from the employ of the government on account of being of intemperate habits when such is not the case. For that reason, I beg to move for these papers, so as to find what correspondence has taken place in connection with this matter.

Motion agreed to.

NORTH-WEST REBELLION, 1885—CLAIM OF HENRY HALCRO FOR COMPENSATION.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan) moved for :

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams and papers in any way relating to the claim of Henry Halcro, of Prince Albert, N.W.T., for compensation for losses incurred during the North-west rebellion of 1885.

He said: Mr. Speaker, this is a question that I have had occasion to bring up in this House for the last three or four years that I have had the honour of having a seat in this House—the question of rebellion claims in the Saskatchewan district. I will ask the indulgence of the House, because I may have to speak at some length, as this is a subject that affects a great many of my constituents. As hon. gentlemen are aware, in the rebellion of 1885 there were a number of settlers who lost all the property they had in consequence of that uprising. A

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great many of these settlers took up arms during the rebellion in order to assist in maintaining law and order in the district of Saskatchewan, and, of course, they were unable to be at their homes during that time that they were in the service of the Dominion. Later on, when the rebellion got under full headway, the officers in charge of the troops enrolled quite a number of farmers in that portion of the country and took them in Prince Albert. This was some time in the early part of the rebellion. These volunteers were in Prince Albert, and as spring came on a great many of the settlers, some of them half-breed settlers, wanted to return to their homes to look after their crops. The officers refused point blank to allow them to leave the town, as they had, so they said, to keep them there until they were relieved by Major-General Middleton. They had to stay there; there was no way out of it. But, when the trouble was over, in the latter part of May, they were allowed to go back to their homes. When they returned to their homes they found that their property had been destroyed, their stock driven away, and as it was about the month of June, they were unable to put in a crop to keep themselves and their families for the next year. They made representations to the government of the day, and the government took the matter up. I understand they proposed to settle all just claims in that district, and for that purpose they appointed a commission. The commission went up into the district of Saskatchewan and held sittings there for several months; they spent nearly the whole summer taking evidence in reference to these claims. The commission, of course, in order to make a show of fairness, had among its members a gentleman by the name of McKay, belonging to our part of the country, to see that the settlers were properly treated, and that they got fair-play at the hands of the government. We found that after the commission had travelled over a large portion of the district and taken a lot of evidence in connection with a great number of these claims, they started to pay claims, but they selected a party here and there to receive payment, while the great majority of the people were not paid at all. It was not a question of who had been in the rebellion and who had not been in the rebellion. A great many people might say that on account of the half-breeds being connected with the rebellion, they had no right to receive compensation at the hands of the government. Such was not the case. There were very few of the half-breeds connected with the rebellion, and the majority of them that were connected with it were forced into it against their desires. Very few half-breeds, in the first place, went into the rebellion of their own accord, but when it started, there was no protection for them, and of course, they were simply forced to join in. A few half-breeds got together and they forced them

into the ranks. The major part of the property that was destroyed in that portion of the country by the troops was destroyed after the rebellion was over. The houses of a lot of people who lived on the South Saskatchewan River were burned two or three days after the rebellion was over at Batoche, and the half-breeds had given up their arms. A lot of houses were looted two or three days after the rebellion was over and a lot of horses and cattle, belonging to half-breeds, were driven off when hostilities had ceased. Outside of the half-breeds in the rebellion there was a great number of other parties not in the rebellion who took up arms when they were called upon by the government, and these people thought it was nothing but fair that they should receive reasonable compensation for what they had lost, because they claimed that they had lost their property through the action of the government in refusing to allow them to go home and look after it. They were unable to do this as they wanted to do it, because they were kept cooped up in Prince Albert and not allowed to go to their homes. Therefore, they think that the government should have compensated them for the property they lost during the rebellion. When this commission sat they seemed to select certain parties here and there, and their consideration was not confined to parties who were loyal and who had taken up arms when they were called upon by the government. We find that rebels who were on the other side were paid their claims. In one instance there was a gentleman by the name of Boyer, the chief councillor for Riel, who received between \$7,000 and \$8,000 in satisfaction of his claim. We find that Riel's high priest was paid a certain sum of money for the property that he lost. We find that another gentleman by the name of Batoche, who supplied arms and ammunition, and who was paid \$20,000. Then, when we come down amongst other classes of the people, we find that, in some cases, men who had lost very little received compensation. In fact, we know that in one case a gentleman got \$13,000, when he only lost about \$1,000 worth of property. And so on all along the line. Some parties got paid three times the value of the stuff they lost, while others did not get paid anything at all. These people have got up an agitation for the settlement of these claims, and I think it is pretty nearly time for the government to take this matter up, to appoint a commission to investigate this question, to ascertain who have the right to be paid and to pay them. There is no doubt that a great many of them are entitled to be paid. The particular case I have brought before the House is that of a man named Halcro, a very deserving, honest Scotch half-breed, a hard workingman, who lives near the town of Prince Albert, and who has a family of eight or nine children. He was turned out of the town of Prince

Albert in June, and when he got home his horses and cattle were stolen, his fences broken down, his house wrecked, and he and his family of eight or nine children were left without a cent. He made his claim, but the commission threw it out. Again, here is the case of a gentleman named Mackenzie, who sent his son out to fight for his country, the poor boy being killed in the engagement at Duck Lake. Mr. Mackenzie comes from Prince Edward Island, and is one of the most respected settlers we have in the district. Although he put in a small claim for \$25, it was thrown out, notwithstanding that the claim was just and fair. On the other hand, gentlemen who had lost scarcely anything, got well compensated. In one case, a man who lost \$1,000 got \$13,000. Yet poor Mr. Mackenzie, whose son was killed at Duck Lake, got nothing. A gentleman at Battleford was paid \$23,000 and every one knows in that part of the country that he never was possessed of half of that. J. D. McKay was a relative of one of the commissioners. As every person knows, he never was possessed of very large property, and probably \$1,000 would cover all the property he had lying loose, but he got somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$7,000. Several other of the relatives of the same commissioner were paid in the same way. If we look through the list of the parties who were paid, and the parties who were not paid, we find that those whose claims were paid, were all, or pretty nearly all Conservatives, and those whose claims were not paid, were Liberals. We all know how a gentleman named Batoche, was paid, and how another gentleman named Boyer, one of the councillors of Riel, was paid. We can all tell how that occurred. Shortly after the rebellion, this parliament gave a representative to the district of Saskatchewan, and the election was to be held in March, and the government of the day wanted to carry a supporter in that district no matter what the cost, so that they could tell the people down east that they were not responsible for the rebellion. The claims were still unsettled when the election was held and the agents of the government went around amongst the electors and told them, no matter whether they were rebels or not rebels, that if they would support the government candidate, their claims would be allowed, and if, on the contrary, they supported the opposition candidate, their claims would not be allowed. Take the case of Mr. Champagne. He was a man of great influence among the half-breed population, and he was told by the political friends of the hon. gentlemen opposite, that if he would support the Conservative candidate, his claim would be paid because they were going to pay the claim of Mr. Batoche. Mr. Champagne conscientiously told them that he could not support the government of the day, because of the way they treated the half-breed population, and if they were going

to bribe him, by paying this claim, he would have to do without it. He told them he had a just claim and that he should be paid no matter whether he supported the government or not. As a matter of fact, Mr. Champagne never got a cent of compensation, while Mr. Batoche, who did support the Conservative party was paid \$20,000. The satellites appointed by the Conservative candidate travelled from one district to another telling the voters that unless they supported the Conservative candidate, they would not get paid. There was a Mr. McLease, who is now dead, and who acted as solicitor for the half-breeds before the claims commission. He was a leading member of the Conservative committee and he sent a letter to the half-breeds all over the country, a letter, which I have in my possession, telling them that if they wanted to get their claims paid, they had better support the Conservative candidate. A few of them were drummed into supporting the Conservatives, and I must do the hon. gentlemen opposite the credit of saying, that when a man did vote for the Conservative candidate, they delivered the goods, and paid his claim. I had occasion to bring the case of Mr. Bremner before the House last year, and that was a case in point, but that is now settled. In the district of Battleford, it was the same way. There is a family at Bresaylor, named Sayers and another named Bremner, who were scouts for the government, and who lost their property, and their all, but the commissioners threw out their claims, because they were not Conservatives. If gentlemen like Batoche and Boyer, and gentlemen like Mr. Boucher, the high priest of Riel, got their claims paid, these poor people think they should have their claims paid, too. Ever since I have had the honour of a seat in this House, I have brought this question up, and so long as I continue to be a member of this parliament, I shall bring it up again and again, until it is settled, because these people have been unfairly treated, and no matter what government is in power, they should make restitution to them. If the late government wanted to do what was right, they would have done it, but I suppose their political friends did not tell them what was going on in the west. If the Conservative government were told by their friends the state of affairs there, we never would have had a rebellion, because there is no doubt that the rebellion was caused by the incompetent officials appointed by the Conservatives, when they opened up the west. The half-breeds brought their grievances to the attention of these officials, but the officials took no notice of them, and so the half-breeds were forced into rebellion. The half-breeds asked to have their scrip the same as their friends in Manitoba. They asked for their lands on the South Saskatchewan River, in the Two-mile belt, the same as their forefathers and relatives had in the

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province of Manitoba. But the government sent surveyors in there to survey the property in blocks, so that they would have three or four houses on one section, and the just claims of the half-breeds were not recognized. The half-breeds sent petition after petition to the government of the day, but these petitions were merely pigeon holed. If there was a rebellion there, the government was to blame for it, and not the half-breeds. The people lost their homes and their property through the rebellion, and I hold, Sir, that the government are in duty bound, to pay the people for the losses they sustained. There is the very small claim of Mr. Halero, which is mostly for his cattle, and the government should pay him immediately. I trust that when the papers are brought down the government will look into the claims remaining unpaid, and to these claims which I have brought to the attention of the House, and render prompt justice to the poor people concerned. I may say I do not intend to drop this matter. If these claims are not settled, I intend to keep the agitation up, and my people are not going to let it drop, because they think, as I do, that they have not been properly treated. I think it is time that their claims should be settled.

Motion agreed to.

SCRIP FOR HALF-BREED CHILDREN.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan) moved :

That in the opinion of this House scrip should be granted to all half-breed children born in the North-west Territories prior to 1885.

He said: Mr. Speaker, this question was taken up in the House a year ago, and legislation was passed giving the government power to settle this very important question in the North-west Territories. A commission was appointed early in the summer and proceeded to Athabasca and settled with the people in that portion of the Territories. Another commission at the same time settled with all the Indian claims in that part of the country. So that matter is all cleaned up. In 1870 the government, in taking over the province of Manitoba, treated with the Indians and half-breeds of that province, by giving scrip to the heads of families and also to all children born prior to the date of the treaty. After that they treated with the Indians of the North-west Territories, placing them on reserves, giving them annuities, furnishing them with schools, building industrial schools for the children, giving them cattle, and appointing instructors to teach them farming and teachers to instruct their children. All this was done for the Indian population; but up to that time the half-breeds of the North-west Territories were not recognized by the government at all until the rebellion of 1885 took place. After that event the

government sent a commission to the North-west to treat with the half-breeds and give them scrip. When the commission went there, they wanted to settle with the half-breeds on the same basis as the half-breeds of Manitoba, that is, to give scrip to all who were born before 1870, saying that the treaty with Manitoba was a final treaty, and that the half-breeds should have come there to get their scrip. Well, it appears to me that the half-breeds of the North-west Territories, some in Athabasca, some as far away as York Factory, without any mail service or telegraph lines, did not know that any treaty was being made with the half-breeds of Manitoba in 1870. Even if they did know, I do not think it was right for the government to ask those people to go a thousand miles, or two thousand miles in some cases, to get this small amount of scrip. The half-breeds of the North-west claim, and claim rightly, that the first treaty made with them was made in 1885, and that they had never sold their interest in the country previous to that date. But the government of that day would not give them their scrip, and the agitation went on until my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior took up the matter, got the legislation of last session passed, and sent out the commission. There are a large number of half-breeds in the district of Saskatchewan which I represent. That district is 700 miles long and 600 miles wide, and the half-breeds are scattered all over it, so that it will take a considerable time, if a commission is appointed, to get all these half-breeds together and the question settled. I read in a paper the other day that the statement that I had placed this motion on the Order paper after my hon. friend from Western Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) had taken the matter up. I did not place this motion on the paper for the purpose of dealing at all with the matter that has already been practically settled by the Minister of the Interior, but for the purpose of dealing with another matter which my hon. friend from Western Assiniboia did not, I suppose, know anything about. Its purpose is to have scrip given to all half-breeds born in the Territories prior to 1885. There is a class of half-breeds born before that date whose parents came from Manitoba into the Territories after 1870, and settled there and raised families. They claim, rightly or wrongly, that they were in the Territories before that country was ceded to the Dominion government, and therefore they claim that their children are as much entitled to scrip as the people dealt with by the legislation passed last year. Whether that is a legal claim or not, I will not say; but, as a matter of public policy, I think it would be wise for the government to give scrip to these people, who do not exceed 150 or 200 in number. If the government do not give them scrip, they will keep up the agitation,

because they believe they are entitled to it. I am not going to say that they have as good a claim as the half-breeds with whom the Minister of the Interior has arranged a settlement; but they have a certain claim from having been in the territory before it was ceded, and they are entitled to consideration at the hands of the government. Moreover, I think the government should deal liberally with all the half-breeds of the North-west Territories. There is no doubt that those people did a great deal for this country. They were the pioneers who stood between the white men and the Indians, and if we have been able to settle up that territory, we have largely the half-breeds to thank. Look at the amount of blood and treasure expended on the other side of the line in settling with the Indians, because the United States government had not the same class of half-breeds to assist in civilizing the Indians that we have had on this side. A great many of those half-breeds are descendants of old Hudson Bay officers, fine respectable people, and have invariably used their influence for good with the Indians; and one of the reasons why the Indians have been so peaceful all through the North-west Territories is the influence exercised over them by the half-breeds. Therefore, I say that the government should deal generously with those people in the matter of scrip. This agitation has been going on ever since the country was opened up, and if this settlement is made now, if these 150 or 200 children of half-breeds, who moved from Manitoba in 1870, are paid with the rest, we will never hear any more about the half-breed question in the Territories.

I hope the government will appoint a commission very soon. The sooner the scrip is paid out in that part of the country, the better for all concerned. We have had a very bad harvest this year, owing to the wet, and it will be a good thing for the half-breeds if they can get the scrip at this time. With regard to the statement that the half-breeds are giving their scrip away, there is nothing in it. Let me tell those hon. gentlemen who make statements of that kind, that the half-breeds are just as able to look after their own interests as any one in this House. They are upright and intelligent and are citizens, and if they want to sell their scrip, they have as good a right to sell it as any white man would. Whatever is given to them should be given without any restriction, and they will see that they get the highest price for it. I have not known any of them to give away their scrip for nothing yet, and I do not think that they are going to begin doing so now. Then there is the question of the land scrip. The government has been in the habit of giving scrip in two different ways—money scrip and land scrip. If the half-breed desires, he can get land scrip, repre-

senting 240 acres, but not transferable to anybody else, and many people think that the land scrip should be made transferable, for in that case the half-breeds would be able to get so much more money for it. But not being transferable, these people are forced to take the money scrip instead, which they have to sell at a discount of something like 50 or 60 per cent. A great many consider that that is a very small price, but when you take into consideration the fact that this scrip has to be held for years by bankers and brokers and the others who purchase it until some one requires the land, you will find that the price is a fairly good one. I know of a firm in Winnipeg that purchased a lot in 1885, and has some on hand yet, so that when people have to keep scrip for fourteen or fifteen years and pay 50 cents on the dollar for it, I think they are paying for it all that it is worth.

I hope that when considering the question of sending out a commission, the government will take up this matter of the half-breeds I have mentioned, who came to the Territories, and whose parents were settled with in Manitoba, and put an end to this agitation once and for all.

Mr. DOUGLAS. As some of these people are located in my constituency, I have much pleasure in seconding the motion of the hon. member for Saskatchewan.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). This question, which has been brought to the attention of the House by my hon. friend from Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis), is one which has already engaged the attention of the House more than once. It has been the cause of much concern to the present government and was, as we all know, a cause of much concern to the preceding government, and when settled, I think, we shall have removed with complete success all the causes of complaint which the half-breeds' population have had in the past. Whether or not the half-breeds of the Saskatchewan district should be given scrip to the year 1885 or whether, as at one time contended, only to the year 1870, is a question which after all ought to be settled on broad and generous lines. The half-breed population, as stated by my hon. friend from Saskatchewan, have a large claim upon our gratitude. On more than one occasion they have stood between the Indian and mischief, and on the whole their influence has been exercised for the better condition of the country. Perhaps, if we were to look at the claim strictly, we should hold the view that they should be settled with on similar terms to those of Red River and not given scrip after 1870. On the other hand, it may well be said that as the half-breeds of the Red River were settled with in 1870, and as no settlement was ever attempted to be made with the half-breeds of the North-west Territories

until 1885, and as the title which the latter have in the land was not attempted to be extinguished before that date, it might be only fair, just and reasonable that the settlement should date from that time and that all the advantages which have accrued to them should be calculated up to that moment. I am not prepared to say that the government have come to a definite policy on the question. I only give my individual opinion, but do not pretend to speak on the matter with the knowledge of the Minister of the Interior, and as he could speak on it were he in his place. I can assure my hon. friend that this question is engaging the attention of the government at present, and would ask him to leave it in the hands of the government and withdraw his motion.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). The right hon. gentleman was in the House the other evening, when the Minister of the Interior spoke on that question. I had called his attention to the fact that this motion was in the nature of a truism, that it was affirming what had been already affirmed by the government, and the Minister of the Interior twice rose in his place and said that I need not emphasize that point because it was not disputed. I was quoting what he had said in a previous session, when he laid down the settled policy of the government, that scrip was to be given to children born before 1885, and therefore the concluding remarks of my right hon. friend that the subject is one the government would have to consider, are quite as amusing as the motion. Of course, the motion is amusing. It is like asserting that white is white. It asks the House to assert what is already the declared policy of the government. I had turned over two or three pages of *Hansard* and was quoting what the Minister of the Interior said, when up rose the hon. minister and said that I need not continue because there was no dispute, it was the settled policy of the government. And the other day, I had a motion on the subject which was carried, the right hon. gentleman himself voting for it, and my motion was that as this was the settled policy of the government, there should be no further delay. I contended that what should have been done was to have carried out the announcements published in October last, that the half-breeds would be settled with. Then, Sir, if they had been settled with gentlemen, whether in or out of this House, who are ready to prey on these half-breeds, could not speculate in the interests of these poor people. The hon. gentleman makes an excuse for the small amount that is given to these half-breeds and says that the scrip is bought at fifty per cent discount. Why, he himself pleaded guilty the other night to a charge made in a letter I read here that \$70 or \$80 was given for scrip representing

240 acres. That land is worth to-day \$3 an acre; so that scrip representing a value of \$700 is taken for \$70 or \$80. And this sort of thing has been going on ever since these people should have been settled with. That is the reason why I urged so strongly the other day that these people should be settled with at once, instead of following the policy adopted by the Minister of the Interior—part and parcel of all his policy. But I may say that his overweening cunning has outwitted itself, because that overweening cunning is repelling the people of the North-west and Manitoba; is proving a boomerang to destroy the government. Consider what a chance the Minister of the Interior had. What a chance! If he had only risen to the occasion and conducted that department with a single eye to the advantage of the country, what results he might have achieved. I admit that he has been energetic; I admit that he is clever—he is too clever by half. But there has been running all through his policy the carefully sinister view, the narrowest view as to what would be in the interest of electioneering politics, and, as a consequence, from one end to the other of the territory he was given to deal with, the people are ready to spew him out of their mouth. And why not? Take these half-breeds on the Saskatchewan. They have been kept since October, almost six months, from a settlement that would have been of great advantage when their crops had failed, and for no reason except that the Minister of the Interior wanted to have this money paid to them just before an election. The object was that certain gentlemen of the reptile school of politicians could say to these people: See what the government are doing for you; see, I caused the House to pass a resolution that white was white and black was black; I got the House to stultify itself, to make a fool of itself, by declaring that that should be done which the government had decided twelve months before should be done. And see what a sweet speech Sir Wilfrid Laurier made—sweeter than honey and the honey comb. See what a friend he is of the half-breeds. Friend of the half-breeds! At the head of the government that, to a certain extent, has robbed every half-breed out of the difference between what they got for the scrip and what they could have got for it, which means all the way from \$10 to \$50, aye or \$70 apiece. If you multiply this \$10 to \$50 by the number of half-breeds, you get the amount that this interesting class of the community has been deprived of by the tactics, the sinister tactics, of the Minister of the Interior. I would be the very last man to complain of any minister having a proper regard for the interests of his party. But, Mr. Speaker, I will always set my face, so long as I have any position in public life, against a government or a member of a government or a member of a party who allows party inter-

ests and party proclivities to overshadow duty, honour, loyalty to the people—and that is the charge that we can successfully bring against the Minister of the Interior. In everything it is the same, and nothing is more cruel. Why, take an illustration from the elevator commission, that we have had up in the North-west Territories. I represented the farmers, and I examined one man, whose evidence I may give as an illustration. He swore that he found that one of these elevator men had a bushel weight attached to the scales to his own advantage, and asked him: What do you mean by that? And the answer of the man was: I have been buying some grain from an Indian. Asked what he meant by that, the answer that he made was that he felt that he could with impunity rob these poor creatures. And I say, indignant as I am with the Minister of the Interior for his machinations in other directions, I feel more indignation after he, in the interest—as I believe, in the mistaken interest, but as he conceived, in the interest—of party tactics, should have allowed himself to give the lie to the advertisement of his own commissioners, delay the settlement promised these people in October last, and thus give an advantage to these brigands of scrip-scalping such as are dear to the hearts of the hon. gentleman who has just sat down.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan). The hon. gentleman has waxed very wroth in this discussion about scrip for the half-breeds. I am pleased that he is taking an interest in the half-breeds; he never did it before. Of course, he cannot be accused of seeking to make any party capital. He says that I have moved a resolution that means nothing, that I want to affirm that black is white.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. DAVIS. That black is black. Well, that just shows what the hon. gentleman knows about the half-breed's scrip. I do not mean to deal with the question settled by the government. I have brought this resolution before the House to deal with that question, because that question was settled, as I have already said, a year ago. I am dealing with a different question entirely. This resolution deals with 'half-breed children born in the North-west Territories prior to 1885.' I may tell the hon. gentleman, as he does not seem to know it, that there is a class of half-breeds that the government have not made up their mind to settle with—children born in the Territories prior to 1885. There are about 200 children born prior to 1885 of parents who were settled with in 1870 in the province of Manitoba. Whether rightly or wrongly, these people have got the idea that they are entitled to this scrip because they are born in the territory before it was ceded in 1885. They think they are as much entitled to the

scrip as the half-breeds the government have arranged to pay. They have asked me to bring the matter before the House and I have done so. I hope the government will see their way clear, not, as I say, on the ground of legal right, but on the ground of public policy, and in view of the good service that the half-breeds have rendered this country, to grant scrip to the half-breeds born in the Territories prior to 1885, of parents settled within Manitoba. Now, with reference to the value of the scrip. Again the hon. gentleman shows his knowledge of the business. If he had known anything at all about the business he would have known that the statement that he made here about people scalping—some person, I am sure it would not be the hon. gentleman, as that would be a very difficult matter—was all nonsense. Now the bank in Prince Albert and in every other town where there are half-breeds are buying this scrip. The banks have notices up in all the stores and other places telling the half-breeds what they will pay for the scrip. Any merchant or any other person who wants to buy scrip, has to pay the very same price for the scrip as the bank, if they do not they wouldn't be able to get scrip at all. As a matter of fact, when any person buys scrip from the half-breeds he has got to take the half-breed's word for it, and if the half-breed is honest he will give the scrip, and if not, he will go and sell it to some other person. So the hon. gentleman does not know anything at all what he is talking about. Again, he accused the Minister of the Interior of holding over this question of appointing a commission, for political purposes. Again the hon. gentleman does not know what he is talking about, because I will tell the hon. gentleman it was held over at the request of a majority of the half-breeds in the district of Saskatchewan. If he wants to know why it was held over, I will tell him that it was because the government had not adopted the principle that they were going to pay the children who have died and who were alive in 1885. I believe they did not intend to do that. The half-breeds claim that the late government had paid the children who had died, and therefore they considered it was a precedent for this government to do the same thing. Through petitions and otherwise they asked the government to postpone action on this question until they had decided on that. Then again there was a majority of half-breeds in the district of Saskatchewan who made another claim. The heads of families were settled with in Manitoba, and the half-breeds in Saskatchewan thought they were entitled to the same. Those people petitioned the government and asked if the government would hold this question over till the House met and had decided whether they would be paid or not. So that scrip

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question has been kept up to the present time. If the hon. gentleman was well informed on this question he would know that the half-breeds themselves have asked to have the thing postponed until these different points were decided. Now, as the right hon. leader of the House has intimated that the government intend to deal in a generous spirit with the half-breeds in making this settlement, I beg leave to withdraw the motion.

Motion withdrawn.

MILITARY PARADE GROUND AT ST. THOMAS.

Mr. INGRAM moved for :

Copies of all telegrams, letters, reports and documents of every description between the Department of Militia and Defence, or any member of the government, and J. H. Wilson, M.D., ex-M.P., or any person or persons on his behalf, regarding the military parade ground at St. Thomas, Ont., and for which a large sum of money was placed in the Estimates of last year to pay the said J. H. Wilson as owner of the above property.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) called my attention to an error in this motion. My hon. friend will remember that there were no parties mentioned to whom the appropriation was to be made. The appropriation was taken, but it was not to be paid to Dr. Wilson nor to anybody else.

Mr. INGRAM. Dr. Wilson owns the property, and it is from him the government intend buying it, and to whom they will pay the money.

The PRIME MINISTER. But the concluding part of his motion is the statement of an error, and I would ask him to eliminate all the words after the word 'year' in the last line but one.

Motion as amended agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. FOSTER. Before the House adjourns I would like to inquire from the minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) when we may expect the estimates.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The estimates are in a very advanced state, but I cannot now name a definite day. The information will be furnished at a very early day.

RETURN ORDERED.

Copies of all correspondence, reports, telegrams or papers which have passed between the government, or any member thereof, and the president of the Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, or any member of the missionary committee of that church, who was approached to investigate the grievances of the Methodist Fox Bay settlers of the Island of Anticosti.—(Mr. Taylor.)

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 10.15 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, February 20, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.**OFFICIAL DEBATES OF THE HOUSE**

Mr. CHAMPAGNE presented the first report of the Select Committee appointed to supervise the Official Report of the Debates, as follows :—

Your Committee recommend that their quorum be reduced from eight to five members.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 41) respecting the River St. Clair Railway Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Montague.)

Bill (No. 42) to incorporate the Alaska and North-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Gillies.)

Bill (No. 43) respecting the Grand Valley Railway Company, and to change its name to the Port Dover, Brantford, Berlin and Goderich Railway Company.—(Mr. Charlton, by Mr. Landerkin.)

Bill (No. 44) respecting the Canada Southern Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 45) respecting the Pontiac Pacific Junction Railway Company.—(Mr. Poupore, by Mr. Henderson.)

Bill (No. 46) respecting the Canada and Michigan Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Cowan, by Mr. Fraser, East Lambton.)

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—GARRISON AT HALIFAX.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to answer the question that

was put to me yesterday by my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) concerning the offer the government has made to replace the Leinster Regiment at Halifax by a Canadian regiment. The offer has been sent by the government to the Colonial Office, and by the Colonial Office referred to the War Office, which has not yet sent its answer.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—POSTAGE ON LETTERS.

Mr. THOS. BEATTIE (London). Before the Orders of the Day are called, there is a matter to which I wish to call the attention of the government, and more particularly the attention of the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock). I find that all the letters coming from our soldiers in South Africa, if not stamped, are charged double postage. I have here a letter from a boy to his mother on which eight cents has been paid. I think that is a mistake. It is impossible to obtain postage stamps on the field of battle. I believe that all British soldiers on the field have their letters forwarded free of charge, and I think the same privilege should be granted to our Canadian soldiers. I have no doubt the Postmaster General will see the reasonableness of my request.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). The matter which my hon. friend has brought to the attention of the House has already been dealt with by the department and by the government. The rule that has caused postmasters to impose a rate double of the shortage is not of the making of Canada, but is part of the Postal Convention. There is a postal union of all countries that contain post offices, and one of the conditions of that postal union is that each country of delivery shall charge on any letter not sufficiently prepaid double the amount of short postage. The object of that agreement was, I presume, to compel correspondents, to fully prepay their letters in the country of their origin; for whilst at one time the different countries kept accounts with each other, and settled up postage collected on letters coming from other countries, that plan was changed some years ago, and now the country of origin retains all the postage it collects on outgoing letters; and in order to compel correspondents to fully prepay, that penalty was adopted by all the nations of the earth that took any part whatever in postal arrangements. This matter, I may say, has been dealt with in the following manner: The government think that the convention could scarcely have contemplated such a condition of affairs as exists to-day, namely, the troops of one colony being in another colony, although, for the purposes of the postage invention, South Africa, Cape Colony, is a separate country. The various parts of the empire have their

representation in the convention, are subject to the same stipulations, and are bound by the same regulations as if politically separate; and according to the rules of the convention, we are obliged to proceed in that way. But the convention could hardly have contemplated such a condition of affairs as exists now, and I have arranged for instructions to be sent to the postmasters that they shall only collect whatever is really short. More than that, we could not do without the consent of Cape Colony. The rate of postage being so small, only a penny, the shortage at the most can only be a penny on a half ounce letter, and therefore, I trust that arrangement will meet with approval.

Mr. BEATTIE. The amount is so small, I think the government could well afford to meet it.

Mr. FOSTER. Is this a matter of regulation or of law?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is a matter of postal law. It is a provision in the Postal Union, and an agreement made among all the countries that are members of that union.

Mr. FOSTER. A matter of penalty?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Each country has agreed to be governed by these regulations.

Mr. FOSTER. My question is this: Is it a matter of postage penalty in Canada, and in this connection a matter of regulating, or is it a matter of law?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I do not understand the hon. gentleman. It is not a matter of statute law, because there is no statute upon the subject.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a matter of regulation then.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is a matter of international treaty, under which the various countries are parties to that convention; and if Canada disregarded the provisions of that convention, then the union would have to consider whether Canada would be permitted to remain within it.

Mr. SPROULE. Your instructions are for the postmasters only, to collect the shortage, and not the double postage, but under the treaty stipulations, you are bound to collect the double.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I admit that the action taken is hardly logical, but communication is being sent to Cape Colony on the subject, and we have gone as

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far as we felt warranted in going, without previous consent.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Are you asking for consent to have the letters absolutely free?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Perhaps I had better bring down anything that may pass on the subject.

Mr. McNEILL. The hon. gentleman said something about the course pursued by the United Kingdom, with reference to letters of the United Kingdom, but I did not catch exactly what he said. Do letters from the United Kingdom go free to the soldiers at the front?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. No. At one time, when the rate of postage was 2½ pence, the rate charged to soldiers was a penny, but since the rate has been reduced to a penny, there has been no other change made, and, therefore, the rate to-day between the citizens of Great Britain and the soldiers of the empire, is a penny, and the return rate is a penny.

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

Mr. GEO. E. CASEY (West Elgin). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I am compelled to again call your attention to the same subject which I brought up yesterday. If I call your attention to this subject two days in succession, it is because it seems to me the matter is one involving the necessity of immediate action, on the part of this government, and the Imperial government as well. Our experience for the last few years with the Colonial Office on this question has forced us to think that there is a deliberate attempt at obstruction of this great scheme of uniting the empire by a cable, to be controlled by the colonies and the mother country, and not in the hands of speculators—a cable which could be built without costing the country a dollar, and which would afford cheap and efficient accommodation to all the communities concerned. There was a totally unnecessary delay in publishing the report of the commission on this subject, which sat in England in 1896, a delay, I think, of two years, at the instance of the Colonial Office; and when that report did appear, there was nothing in it that, to an ordinary mind, could demand its suppression for that length of time. There was no reason why the report should not have been published at once and the steps suggested by that commission taken long ago. Then again, last summer, the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) went to the old country, accompanied by Sir Sandford Fleming, one of the greatest cable experts in the world, partly, no doubt, to consult with the Imperial government

and the Colonial Office on this question. It is a matter within everybody's knowledge, that just a day or two before they arrived in England, the arrangements for the cable commission, as far as the Imperial government was concerned, had been settled, without waiting for the arrival of this delegation from Canada, who might have given most useful advice in connection with the matter, more especially as one member of that deputation was a cabinet minister, empowered to speak with all the responsibility of office. All these indications have led us to suspect that there was some unseen cause for the delays that have apparently been purposely opposed to the progress of this great scheme. But nobody in this country has spoken out so frankly on this subject, as that well known and influential English journal, *The Outlook*. In its issue of January 6th, in its column entitled 'A Week of Empire,' appears the following article headed, 'Impatience':

Canadians are clearly growing impatient at the lethargy of the Pacific Cable Board and the permanent official who is its chief support. The Toronto 'Globe' is the chief organ of the Dominion government in the Canadian press, and in an evidently inspired article it expresses in very straight words the Canadian disappointment at a delay which 'is all the more annoying because it is but a chapter in a history that consists chiefly of delays.'

'So far,' it says, 'as the general public can see, we are no further forward to-day than we were on July 6 last, when our representatives were told that the Imperial government had come over to the colonial view, and had determined to construct the work along with the colonies, on the principle of partnership.' Turning to a leading organ of the opposition—the Ottawa "Citizen"—we read:

'Verily, this masterly inactivity and delay is amazing, but it may have its serious side if carried too far. It may, indeed, be discovered, when too late, to be unwise and worse, to trifle with the whole colonial people in the interests of a huge and influential monopoly in London.'

These authoritative Canadian journals talk of 'mysterious influences' at work, and a Canadian of high position and authority, writing from Ottawa to the 'Canadian Gazette,' declares, truly enough, that 'this is not the time to trifle with the colonial people, when they are sending successive contingents to South Africa.'

A sentiment which, I think, will meet with the approval of this House.

Now, for these complainings the Pacific Cable Board and the Colonial Office have only themselves to blame. Here is a vital Imperial matter—how vital has been proved once again in this South African crisis by the imminent peril of a total breakdown in cable communication with the seat of war. In this vital Imperial matter the colonies, more alert than we to Imperial needs, have led the way with splendid persistence and even generosity. Yet all Downing Street can do is to act as a heavy drag on the coach. It is the more unfortunate that this should be the official attitude, because it hap-

pens that at this moment one of the temporary heads of the Colonial Office is himself a director of the Cable Group. A mere coincidence it may be—we do not suppose that Sir Robert Herbert is in any way responsible for the delay—but no one can measure the bad impression such a coincidence must create in Canada and Australasia, coming as it does on the top of a long series of delays difficult to explain, except on the assumption that the great cable monopoly, which Sir James Pender spent his life to create and preserve, has far more influence in English public life than is good for the empire.

Now, Sir, these are very plain words. There is a book called 'The Directory of Directors,' which shows me who Sir Robert Herbert is. He is chairman of the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, one of the syndicate or ring of cable companies, which form the great monopoly alluded to by the *Outlook* as the 'cable group,' and is doubtless directly interested, as chairman of that company, in preventing the success of this Pacific cable scheme. It is impossible for any one to say that he has influenced the Colonial Office in this matter; but the coincidence remains, that here is this man, the chairman of a competing company and acting under secretary of the Colonial Office when this particular transaction occurs. The peculiar transaction to which I refer was alluded to in some newspaper quotations to which I called the attention of the government some days ago in the form of a question; and I may say that I got no satisfactory reply to that question. These cuttings allege that the Colonial Office had written to the Victoria government approving of and authorizing the bargain they were about to make with the Eastern Extension Company. The only answer I got from the government was that their attention had been called to these statements in the papers. Perhaps to-day the hon. minister who mostly takes charge of this subject will be able to give some further information in regard to these questions that I got on a former occasion. I will only say, to enforce the urgency of this matter, that the emergency referred to by the Ottawa *Citizen* in that quotation I have read has already arrived:

It may, indeed, be discovered, when too late, to be unwise, and worse, to trifle with the whole colonial people in the interests of a huge and influential monopoly in London.

The impression that such is the case has gone abroad throughout Canada. I think the impression must have gone abroad in England too that stock jobbing is at the root of the apparently intentional delays in this matter. The Colonial Office has been trifling with Canada and the other colonies in connection with this great scheme, and what reason had they to trifle with them, unless some such reason as that suggested by the facts of the case themselves? If

the Colonial Office wishes to clear itself of the imputation of trifling with Greater Britain—for Greater Britain is practically unanimous in this matter—and the responsibility for the ill-feeling that must follow that trifling, it must take prompt action to dispel the suspicion that rests upon it. For that purpose, I have a second time called the attention of the government to this matter, and must, for a second time, move the adjournment of the House, in order to allow some debate.

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS** (Mr. Tarte). I had very little to do with this question. My able and energetic colleague, the Postmaster General (Mr. Mullock), was charged with this matter a year or two ago. He had to be in London for the Postal Convention, and he was instructed to look into this question, to which he has given since then all the attention it deserves. Last year, as I had to go to England and France, my colleagues were good enough to appoint me commissioner and give me as adviser Sir Sandford Fleming. The House knows that there is no man in Canada, or anywhere else, I believe, who has given more attention to this important question than Sir Sandford Fleming has done. I think he knows more about it than any other man. When we reached London, we reported immediately to the High Commissioner's Office. To my great surprise we found that the meeting which we were instructed to attend had taken place. I had not much to say; I had not much to do. Lord Strathcona told me, pure and simple, that the meeting had taken place. Later on, I had the privilege of an interview with Mr. Chamberlain, and, from the conversation that we had I concluded that our interests were safe. I spent about three weeks in London in full expectation that, perhaps, the Australians would appoint their representatives and we might have a meeting. But these appointments were not made before I left London. I spent a couple of months in France, and when I came back to England things were not very much more advanced than they were when I left London, as I thought my presence had not been considered necessary for the first meeting, I made up my mind that I should not wait much longer in London, and I came back home. I wanted to make that statement yesterday, but I was out of the House when the discussion took place. I may say that I am very anxious to wash my hands of the whole thing. I do not know why the meeting took place before a member of this government had reached London; I cannot explain satisfactorily to myself the reason why the meeting took place before I reached London. Sir Sandford Fleming has been the pioneer in this matter, and I think perhaps it would have been just as well if Sir Sandford

Mr. CASEY.

Fleming and myself had been present at this meeting, unworthy as I may have been to be there. If we had been present we would have done our level best to defend the interests of Canada.

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mullock). I have nothing to add to what I stated yesterday. My hon. friend from West Elgin (Mr. Casey) intimated in his remarks that perhaps the Colonial Office or the Imperial government was trifling with the Pacific cable scheme. This government has nothing to lead them to that conclusion.

Mr. CASEY. Could the minister say anything as to when the papers will come down?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL**. I hoped to be able to lay the papers upon the Table to-day, but I find it is impossible to get them copied in time. They are all in the hands of the copyists.

Mr. McNEILL. I would like to ask my hon. friend the Postmaster General whether any steps have recently been taken by the government of which he is a member to impress upon the Imperial authorities the absolute necessity of proceeding in this matter without further delay.

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL**. I would ask my hon. friend to wait a few days, or until the papers are down, because they will doubtless answer the question he has put to me. The hon. gentleman is doubtless aware that permission must be obtained; at least I have not sufficient experience in these matters to know how far, even in a conversation in the House, I am at liberty to allude to anything without the production of the papers. I would therefore ask him to believe that we are doing everything that can be done in the proper quarters. We have nothing to withhold from the House, but will only be too glad to place everything upon the Table when the necessary permission is obtained.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not wish for a moment to suggest that my hon. friend has not done all that he could do in this matter; I am quite satisfied that he has been very desirous of pressing the matter through as rapidly and as energetically as possible. But there have been some matters coming to light within the last day or two, which perhaps have not been included in the papers which are about to be laid on the Table. I hope when my hon. friend does lay the papers on the Table they will show whether any action has been taken with reference to this last matter which has transpired, and to which my hon. friend referred yesterday.

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL**. I think it will appear that we have followed events up closely, even until and including to-day.

Mr. **CLARKE**. May I ask the minister if there has been any report forwarded to the Canadian government of the meetings which took place in London before the arrival of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte).

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS**. That I do not know. My colleague perhaps knows something about it. So far as I am concerned, I do not know what took place there except what I read in the newspapers.

Mr. **CLARKE**. Perhaps the Postmaster General could answer the question.

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). There have been several reports of the meetings which took place by the commissioners, and they will be included in the papers to be brought down.

Mr. **CLARKE**. Will there be a report of the meeting to which the Minister of Public Works was delegated, but to which he did not arrive in time?

The **PRIME MINISTER**. I cannot say as to that at this moment.

Motion (Mr. Casey) to adjourn, negatived.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

The House resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding: That the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider certain proposed resolutions to provide for the payment of the expenditure incurred, or to be incurred, in sending contingents of Canadian volunteers to South Africa.

Mr. **E. G. PRIOR** (Victoria, B.C.). Mr. Speaker, as I moved the adjournment of the debate on Friday night I wish to say a few words on this question on the present occasion, and my remarks will be brief, as physically, I am not able to speak long to-day. I think it is almost unnecessary for me to say how heartily in accord I am with the main features of the resolution now before the House, being, as it is, one asking a vote of money to pay the gallant men who have gone to the front to represent Canada and the whole empire in the struggle that is now going on in South Africa. It may, perhaps, not be out of place for me to mention here, if I may be permitted to do so, that within the last few minutes a telegram has come stating that the Boers are retreating from Ladysmith. Now, Sir, the stand taken by the government in regard to sending the contingents has been most ably dealt with by the leader of the opposition and by other

gentlemen, and they have shown, I think, the government to be in anything but an enviable position in this regard.

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Oh, oh.

Mr. **PRIOR**. That is my opinion, whether gentlemen opposite agree with me or not. I must say that the stand taken by the right hon. gentleman who leads the government, and by his colleagues, in delaying so long before they offered assistance to the mother country, is, in my opinion, quite incomprehensible. As to the vagaries of the hon. Minister of Public Works, I think they are known from one end of the country to the other. I can only say that if the hon. gentleman thinks he is loyal to the British Empire, it is certainly not loyalty such as I understand it and as understood by the large majority of Canadians.

Mr. **LANDERKIN**. I am very glad indeed that it is not the kind of loyalty that you are talking about now.

Mr. **PRIOR**. Will the hon. gentleman stand up and tell the House what he says?

Mr. **LANDERKIN**. I just say I am glad he is not possessed of the same kind of loyalty you are talking about just now. We want no firebrands now.

Mr. **PRIOR**. Notwithstanding the adverse opinion of the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin), I contend that the loyalty that I am talking about is of the right material, of the very best kind, but that of the Minister of Public Works is at the best, only a milk and water loyalty. Now, we saw that the hon. gentlemen were very loath to take any action whatever until they were forced to do so by public opinion in this country. I should have thought that hon. gentlemen holding the position that they do, especially that the right hon. gentleman who leads the government, would have had his finger on the pulse of the people, and would have known that the great heart of Canada was pulsating with patriotism and with loyalty, and that there were thousands and thousands of our best men only too anxious to be sent to the front to uphold the flag. I say, Mr. Speaker, that it was not necessary for the government to wait until they were taught by the Conservative press from one end of the country to the other what their duty was.

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Oh, oh.

Mr. **PRIOR**. Mr. Speaker, hon. gentlemen opposite do not like to hear this sort of thing; they know it will go out in the newspapers and will injure them. They do not like to be told it, but if they think that they are going to stop

me from saying what I consider is the truth, they are very much mistaken. Why, Mr. Speaker, I believe that if it had not been for the pressure brought to bear they would have been a great deal later in sending our men to the front than they were. The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), who was in London at the time, I believe, was kept busy cabling word of the strong feeling that there was there and urging his colleagues to take action at once. I think I am right when I say so, and I am pretty certain that the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) had to put his utmost strength forward and use his greatest influence in bringing his colleagues to see what was the right thing to do in such a crisis. This resolution calls for money to pay the contingents the full Canadian pay, less what they are paid by the Imperial government. I go farther than this. I agree with the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver) when he said that he thought that Canada should pay the whole thing; should pay the full Canadian pay over and above what our men get from the Imperial government. We know that there are hundreds of these young men who have gone to the front, who have given up good positions, and who, under the most favourable circumstances, when they come back, covered with glory, as I believe nearly all of them will be, will not be able to obtain these positions again, and are perfectly certain to make a large financial loss. Canada can well afford in a crisis like this to be generous. And I know the people of Canada will uphold any government that will take such action. I say, let them not only pay the transport for these men to South Africa and back again, but also let them pay the full Canadian pay for the whole time, from the time they leave this land until they come back again. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that on all hands, it is acknowledged that the men we have sent to the front are as fine a body of men as you could possibly find anywhere. I think the House will not be sorry if I read a letter I received the other day from a British officer, one of those gentlemen that the hon. member for King's (Mr. Domville) seems to despise so much. He is an officer of high rank in the British army, who was out in Halifax the other day, a gentleman that I happened to meet. I will read a few words of what he writes in regard to the Canadian contingents:

I am greatly struck with the magnificent physique and smart appearance of the mounted contingents mobilizing here. I know our officers and 'Tommys' across the water will be struck when they see what Canada can produce. I never saw anything like the North-west Mounted Police—they are simply wonderful on a horse. What impressed me so deeply was the intense enthusiasm of the whole contingent. Every officer and man is fired to the utmost and considers it an honour of the highest degree to

Mr. PRIOR.

have been selected to go out to uphold the honour of the flag. Then, it is astonishing to think of men leaving comfortable homes and lucrative positions to serve as privates and troopers. If this is not loyalty and love for the mother country, I wonder what is. Well may we devoutly thank Providence for this magnificent colony of Canada. I saw the field batteries and was quite impressed with them. They were a very powerful-looking lot and meant business. I made the acquaintance of several of the officers. The horses were very fine animals, many of them much larger than the Imperial battery horses.

I have just read that to show that a British officer, who has had large experience, thinks that no better men could have been sent anywhere from the British Empire than Canada is sending to-day. I might also read a letter that I have received from the United States, just to show that there are some men anyway in the United States who are thoroughly in accord with the British Empire at the present time and are willing to go forward and take part in the present fight. Here is a letter addressed to myself, which says:

Col. E. G. Prior.
Victoria, B.C.

Dear Sir.—I would inquire if the offer of a battalion of American volunteers to go to South Africa would be accepted by your government—

Evidently not meaning my government, but the Canadian government.

—I hold a commission as lieutenant-colonel, have seen fourteen years' service as guardsman in various states, and can tender to your government a full battalion of Americans more than half of whom are veterans who saw service in the Philippines during our late war, and the balance to be National Guardsmen all well drilled. Of course, I understand that, as an organization, we would not be permitted to leave the States, but there is no law prohibiting us going to Canada as an unarmed body where arrangements can be completed. If this matter interests you I should be pleased to have a reply.

(Signed)

I think that will meet with the hearty approval of this House. We are not, I am glad to say, in need of any more men than we can get in our own country, but this is an evidence of the good feeling which is extant in some parts of the American continent for Canada and the British Empire in the present trouble. Before I sit down I wish, also, to call the attention of the House to a resolution that was passed in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia. It shows very fully the strikingly patriotic feeling that has extended from one end of the country to the other. At a meeting held in Vancouver on February 2, a resolution was passed, the end of which is as follows:—

Be it therefore resolved, that we respectfully but earnestly urge His Excellency the Governor in Council to tender to the British War Department for service in South Africa a force of at

least 10,000 mounted infantry, the terms of such service to be mutually agreed on to the satisfaction of the Imperial government.

That resolution was passed unanimously ; all the other municipalities in British Columbia were invited to pass similar ones, and I am glad to say that similar ones have been passed in Victoria, in New Westminster, and in other municipalities in British Columbia. There is a strong feeling abroad that, although we may not, perhaps, need to send any more men at present, the government should have them ready to send out at any time, and I thoroughly agree with this resolution that it will be good policy for the government to put 10,000 men in training at once and have them thoroughly equipped, thoroughly drilled and ready to be sent at a moment's notice if they are needed by the mother country. I shall have other opportunities to discuss this matter, and, therefore, I will not say anything more in regard to this except that I am heartily in accord with the vote.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). This debate, Mr. Speaker, has served two purposes, at all events. In the first place, it has established beyond the possibility of a doubt that loyalty is a very cheap commodity at the present time. It has further served to establish this, that there are hon. gentlemen in this House who are prepared to trade upon that sentiment of loyalty for political and partisan purposes. Some days ago my hon. friend from Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney) addressed this House, and in the course of his remarks he sought to create the impression that a large portion of the province of Quebec were not loyal. In order that there should be no doubt—

Mr. McINERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to deny that I sought to create any such impression. I stated, at the outset, that I made no charge of disloyalty against any portion of the population of this country.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. I was about to say that in order that there may be no doubt as to the accuracy of my statement. I beg leave to give to the House the remarks used by the hon. member. In the course of his remarks he said :

May I be permitted to add that I know a little of the French Canadian history in Canada? I am not surprised at the views which the hon. member for Labelle expressed in this House, I am not surprised at the views which the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville expressed in this House. Sir, as you know, there have been two great schools of thought in French Canada in this matter. There was the great school of thought led by Sir George Cartier, followed up by Chapais, Taché, and such men as DeBoucherville, Masson, Chapleau, Caron, Langevin, and many men of that sort. It was the Conservative school of thought; it was that school of thought that is loyal to British institutions. There has been another school of

thought in French Canada, as you know well, men of eminent ability, men of grand ability, taking part in the government of the country, such men as Dorion, Mercier and Honoré Beaugard, and, might I say, that the right hon. gentleman who now leads the government some years ago was one of the highest and most eloquent exponents of that school of thought.

Then my hon. friend (Mr. McInerney) goes on to say, that it was from the Liberals, the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) whom he accused of disloyalty—

Mr. McINERNEY. I did not.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McInerney) goes on to say :

From them such men as the hon. member for Labelle and for Laprairie and Napierville have taken their inspirations, and they come to this House and utter the sentiments they drank in from these great leaders of the party, in days gone by, in their own province. I am not going to say that any section of the great Canadian people is disloyal.

There is the corrective. But what is the meaning of what follows ?

Mr. McINERNEY. The poison is the hon. gentleman's bad spirit ; that is the poison.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. I will have occasion to discuss the question of spirit in a moment or two. Here is what the hon. gentleman (Mr. McInerney) said then :

I am not going to say that, but I do say that it is the duty of the right hon. Prime Minister and the duty of the French Canadian members of this House, and they cannot perform it at too early a day, in my opinion, to go down into their counties and to tell their people that their best interests, that their highest interests, call upon them, at this time, to sustain England in this great struggle in which she is engaged.

Sir, I leave to the consideration of any impartial mind in this House the question as to whether or not, by imputation, an attempt is not made there to create the impression that the great Liberal party in the province of Quebec is disloyal. If that is not the intention, why is it said that there are two schools of thought in the province of Quebec ? Why is it sought to point out that the Conservative school of thought is that which is loyal to British institutions ? Why is it sought to create the impression that it is from the Liberal school of thought that these two members of the House (Mr. Monet and Mr. Bourassa) who have been branded as disloyal men, have learned their disloyalty.

Mr. BERGERON. They said it themselves.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Why is it, that we are told to go down into the province of Quebec, to teach the people of the province of Quebec that they should support England ?

Mr. McINERNEY. To counteract *La Patrie*.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). *La Patrie* is not as bad as you think.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Why if they are loyal in the province of Quebec should we be asked to go down there and engage in this missionary work which the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney) asks us to undertake? Sir, I shall have occasion to point out to him cases where he may exercise his missionary genius for the benefit of his country, and for the benefit of his party. When he (Mr. McInerney) made that statement, what evidence had he to support it? What evidence had the hon. gentleman upon which he could possibly base the inference which he sought to draw? Had he been in the city of Quebec at the time the first contingent left for South Africa? Had he witnessed the enthusiasm of the French Canadian people in the city of Quebec at that time? Had he read the speech made by the French mayor of the French city of Quebec, when standing within a stone-throw of the Plains of Abraham, upon which was fought the last—thank God the last—great battle between England and France in this country; the mayor of Quebec said:

The people of various origin and different religious creeds that go to make up the population of this country are represented in your regiment, and now that we are for the time being assembled within the walls of the most French city of the new world, let us claim for the French Canadian element a large share of the warm and spontaneous outburst of sentiments of loyalty to England which marked your triumphant passage from your homes to Quebec.

And on the same occasion the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), addressing the same regiment, and speaking in the hearing of the inhabitants of the most French-speaking city of the French province of Quebec, used these words:

This is a unique occasion in the history of the world; it is a spectacle which ought to make every Canadian feel proud of his country. Who could have believed a few years ago that from this city, which has been the theatre of a bitter conflict between the two proudest races in the world, their descendants, who to-day were a happily united people, would go forth to help carry the blessings of their own institutions to a far distant land? Who could have believed, thirty-two years ago, that the scattered provinces of British North America would have reached such a point of development to-day that they would be able and willing, and cheerfully willing, to cement with their blood the unity of the empire in its most distant part? Men of the Canadian contingent, I have no recommendation or request to make to you, but if I had it would simply be to do your duty. More than this we cannot ask; more than this you cannot do.

Mr. FITZPATRICK.

Sir, these are the expressions used on that historical occasion, by the mayor of Quebec, and by the leader of the Liberal party in Canada. But we have more than that. Down in the French section of Quebec; down in the centre and in the heart of Liberalism in the province of Quebec, down in St. Rochs, at a meeting of the Mercier Club on the 28th of October last, this resolution was passed:

Proposed by M. J. H. Patry, C. Vézina, Elzéar Savard, E. Martineau, J. Beauchamp, N. Lachance, O. Ouellet, T. Savard, J. Laroche, seconded by M. P. Décourcy, J. A. G. Latulippe, J. T. Martineau, F. Cloutier: That in the presence of the crisis that has arisen and without being willing to pronounce on the political position of the Imperial authorities, we approve of the conduct of the Canadian government in sending troops to the Transvaal

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Is it on such evidence that the hon. gentleman (Mr. McInerney) relled when he made a charge against the loyalty of the French Canadians in the province of Quebec? But, no doubt, if he had not read these speeches, he would refer, as the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster) did, to the speeches made by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), and by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and by the hon. member for Napierville and Laprairie (Mr. Monet). He (Mr. McInerney) would no doubt speak to us in the first instance of the hon. member for Napierville (Mr. Monet). And what is the position which the hon. member (Mr. Monet), takes? As I understand it, the position taken by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Monet) is that it was not right and not proper to send Canadian troops from Canada to fight the battles of the Empire in South Africa. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Monet) reasoned, that we should keep our troops at home to defend the British flag if it were attacked within the limits of Canada. Upon that ground, Mr. Speaker, the charge of treason, that you have heard so frequently repeated in this House has been hurled against the hon. member for Laprairie. I do not want to pretend that I agree with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Monet), but let me explain his position as I understand it. He is charged with disloyalty because he said that the military forces in Canada should not be sent abroad to fight the battles of the empire. Let me answer hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House by simply referring them to one of their own colleagues. Let me quote the words used in this House by the Conservative member for Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin), and no man who has spoken on this subject has shown that he has given it more serious attention than has the hon. gentleman. Addressing this House the other night, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Chauvin) said: (I quote from p. 554 of the *Hansard*).

In this connection, Sir, allow me to refer to a statement made by the late Sir George Etienne Cartier, when addressing, in 1867, before a French Canadian audience at a meeting held at Ste. Rose, in the province of Quebec. This statesman, as I was told by a gentleman who attended that meeting, in order to induce his hearers to vote in favour of confederation, told them that never should they be called upon to give military aid to Great Britain.

My hon. friend, the member for Terrebonne, speaking carefully, as he must necessarily have done at the time, said that he was told by a gentleman living at Ste. Rose, that Sir George Cartier, the high priest of the Tory party in Quebec, the head of that school upon the existence of which the hon. member for Kent insisted so much, told the French Canadians of the province of Quebec in order to induce them to accept the Confederation Act, that they would never be called upon to contribute to the military defence of the empire, beyond the confines of Canada. If it be the case, that at the time the Confederation Act was passed, the right arm of Sir John Macdonald, the man who was his confidential friend and adviser, the man who was, at that time, as his memory has continued to be since, the high priest of Toryism in the province of Quebec, made that representation to the people of that province, and that the confederation contract was entered into on the faith of that representation, what blame is it to the people of the province of Quebec, if they now say, 'If you change that important feature of the representation that was made to us, we want to know what all this is going to lead to.' What more just, more logical, or sounder position could the people of the province of Quebec take, if they did take it? I would like to know now what my hon. friend, the member for Kent, N.B., (Mr. McInerney) thinks of the leader of his school of thought.

Mr. McINERNEY. Will the hon. Solicitor General, allow me to ask him a question? Does he think as a lawyer, that that is very good evidence on which to convict Sir George Cartier—that some old man down in Terrebonne happened to tell something to the hon. member for Terrebonne? Is that not hearsay evidence?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. I am not going to discuss the question whether that is good evidence or not. That is a matter for the hon. member for Kent, N.B., to settle with his colleague, the hon. member for Terrebonne; and I will say to the hon. member for Kent, N.B., in regard to this little family quarrel, in which I am not concerned, that there is no man in this House who knows the hon. member for Terrebonne who will doubt, for one instant, that he told what he knew to be true.

Mr. McINERNEY. The other man might not have told what he knew to be true.

That is why hearsay evidence is not allowed.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. I was going to say that the objection might be reserved, but I like these interruptions, and I will now say to my hon. friend from Kent, that my hon. friend from Terrebonne would not have made that statement on this historic occasion, as the hon. member for Pictou (Mr. Bell) called it, if he did not know it to be true. But if the hon. member for Kent is anxious for further light on the subject, let me ask him to read from *Le Monde Canadien*, the Tory organ of Montreal, of the 2nd of November last, page 2, and I see my hon. friend, the member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) laughing at the trap into which the hon. member for Kent has fallen—and he will find in that paper, not only the text of a speech made by Sir George Cartier, but the text of other speeches made by other leaders of that school of thought to which he referred, including Sir Adolphe Chapleau and Sir Hector Langevin, all denouncing Imperialism as a danger to the constitution.

I have dealt with the position taken by the hon. member for Napierville (Mr. Monet). I will now deal with the position of my hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa). That hon. member, as I understood his speech, takes this position. He says, in the first place, this war is an unjustifiable war, it is a war upon which England should not have entered, and then he goes on to say that the sending of this contingent is a new departure, is a departure from the settled lines on which the government of this country has been carried on for the last fifty years, it will entail on the people of this country an expenditure amounting, as subsequent events have proved, to several millions of dollars, and it is unfair that this new departure should occur and this expenditure should be incurred without the people of Canada having had an opportunity previously to sanction the expenditure. That is his position.

Now, when the hon. member for Labelle talks about the war being unjustifiable and indefensible, I do not agree with him. Hon. gentleman read, no doubt, the speeches made in the British House of Commons by Mr. Morley; they read the articles published by Bryce; they read the speech delivered by Sir Edward Clarke; they saw that these gentlemen denounced the English government in far stronger terms than the hon. member for Labelle has ever used; and I have yet to learn that these gentlemen have been charged with disloyalty to the empire. Is it because in that great arena of the British House of Commons, men have broader minds and are willing to adopt more liberal views as to the opinions expressed by their colleagues? Then, the hon. member speaks of the expenditure. So far as I am concerned, I will

say this, and say it at once—that I am on this subject wide as the poles asunder from my hon. friend from Labelle. I do not see eye to eye with him on any branch of his case; but a large expenditure was incurred without the sanction of the people of Canada, if it were not for what has since happened, if it were not for the unanimous approbation shown by the people of Canada of the action of the government, what position would the government of Canada be in to-day? At the most, we can claim for this government that they correctly interpreted the combined thought of the people of Canada and correctly gave expression to that which was in the minds of all on this subject at the time. I may, perhaps, be permitted to quote, Sir, the words of Professor Austin:

But whatever may be the distinctive power, privilege or prerogative of Queen, Lords or Commons, they all are, and under responsible government of necessity must be, subordinate to the great controlling power over all, the tribunal of the last resort—public opinion.

And I say, in so far as my light leads me, that public opinion was correctly interpreted by the government of Canada, because we now have the seal of the unanimous approbation put upon their act by those who represent the public opinion of Canada, the Dominion parliament.

Dealing with the question of the war, the position to my mind, is just this. I say that the Uitlanders, who were within the confines of the Transvaal in 1881, when the South African republic came into existence for the last time, were British subjects, and as such were entitled to the protection of the British flag, and the British government. I say further that those British subjects, who since the South African Republic has been created, have gone into the Transvaal, brought with them, in all that is right, the power and might of the British Empire. It has been said that the South African Republic is an independent country and that England had absolutely no power or authority to interfere in its internal affairs. My answer is this, that no man can read that convention between the South African Republic and England without feeling that in every line England insists upon the protection of her subjects. In every line you can read the spirit conveyed by the words 'sovereignty and protection,' if not the words themselves. It is expressly stipulated that in every respect those in possession of property must be maintained in that possession in all its integrity. And I would ask, of what avail would it be to a man to be possessed of property in a country if the government of the country can impose taxes upon him to such an extent as practically to despoil him of his property, and he is allowed to have no say whatever in the matter. Of what avail is it that in this convention it is provided that slavery shall

be abolished within the confines of the South African Republic, if the Britisher is to be subjected to a condition that is little better than slavery? If he is to see his property taken from him and himself deprived of every right which a free man prizes, where is the difference in fact between the Britisher in that position and the slave? But you have more than that. You have in terms in this convention the provision that no treaty shall be made with any country, except the Orange Free State, without the approval of England. In other words, the South African Republic is not free to make even a treaty of commerce, for instance, with any other country except subject to the approval of England, and notwithstanding the fact that it cannot make such a treaty without the sanction of England, we are to be told that it has the right to destroy the property of British subjects within the republic. No, Sir, in every line of that treaty, in every phrase, is embodied the idea of a protectorate, and British subjects had the right to expect that the British government would see that that treaty was enforced.

But, what do we find? We find that notwithstanding this convention, the Britishers in that country were deprived of every right. Then we find that these men feeling, to borrow the expression of my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), that proudly as the old Roman declared 'civis romanus sum' they could declare to the world, 'we are British citizens,' appealed to the motherland to see that their rights were respected. The motherland endeavoured to make President Kruger understand that British subjects in the South African Republic had to be treated as British subjects elsewhere. And in reply President Kruger sent the insolent ultimatum to England, which was practically a notice to her to quit. That ultimatum made a conflict inevitable. What took place? The domains of Her Majesty were invaded by the Boers, and then we are asked to consider whether or not it was our duty to go to the defence of that flag which guarantees to us in Canada every liberty which free men prize and hope to enjoy.

I say that the time had come, not only because of what was going on in South Africa—and subsequent events have shown that the issue there was whether South Africa was to be British or Boer—not only because of what was going on in South Africa, but because of mutterings on the continent, for British subjects the world over to prove once and for all that the British Empire is no mere geographical expression for a number of sundered and disunited provinces—the time had come when it was necessary for the whelps of the lion to rally to the defence of the old land. The time had come when every man must be made to understand whether on the European continent

or in South Africa, that blow for blow whencesoever the blow might come, must be struck back by the British, and would be struck as freely from Australasia and Canada as from the heart of the empire itself.

I want now to say a word about the missionary duty that was pointed out to us by my hon. friend from Kent (Mr. McInerney), who told us that we ought to go down into the province of Quebec and teach our French people that it was their interest to be loyal to the British Empire. My answer to him is that I can find a much more profitable field for my hon. friend from Kent, and I think I will be able to show to any impartial man in this House that there is a much broader field to be found for missionary work on this subject of loyalty than in the province of Quebec. Let me ask him to read the daily *Free Press* of London, Ontario, of January 18.

An hon. MEMBER. Tory ?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Tory, of course. Let me ask him to bear with me while I read this extract from that paper. On page 13, under the heading 'Orangemen in London district,' I find this stated :

In many ways we have reason to feel ashamed of the Federal government at Ottawa, headed as it is by a French Papist and dictated by another French Papist by the name of Tarte.

Does my hon. friend think for a moment that his missionary work among those gentlemen would not be useful in order to make them understand that neither in the province of Quebec or elsewhere are the avenues that lead to place and power barred by any man's religion or nationality. If my hon. friend is anxious for missionary work he has among these people an excellent opportunity of accomplishing it. More than that, he may, for instance, in case he should avail himself of my suggestion, inform these people to whom this appeal of the *Free Press* is made, that among those who betrayed the Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the past grand master of the Orangemen, were neither French nor Irish Papists, and you may be quite sure that neither French nor Irish Papist, either in the province of Quebec or elsewhere, would seek to betray his country any more than he would betray his leader.

Reference has been made also to the small number of French Canadians in the contingent. It is a matter of opinion and argument as to whether the number is small or large, and I do not wish to discuss the reasons which may have brought about this condition of affairs. But let me draw attention to this fact, that among the officers now serving under the British flag in South Africa, I find a French Canadian by the name of Girouard and he is not the least distinguished among those who are upholding British institutions and British honour and supremacy in that country. There are also among them two other French Cana-

dian officers of the name of Pelletier, who are neither considered the least distinguished. You find a Fiset, you find a Parent, a De Lotbinière, and you will also find a Casgrain, who, though he is not now engaged in South Africa, is doing good service for the empire elsewhere.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Do you find a Foster there, or a Tupper ?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. My answer to that, Mr. Speaker, is that good men may serve their country elsewhere than on the field of battle. Some time ago, reference was made on this side of the House to something that I think might better have been left out of the discussion. Reference was made to the resolution introduced in the British House of Commons by the Irish Home Rulers, and my hon. friend from North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) was pleased to call these Home Rulers 'cravens.' I am not going to judge the actions of these men—I am not called upon to do so. They are too far away, it seems to me, to require to be attacked. They cannot talk back across 3,000 miles. But I will say this—that it is very much to be regretted that at the close of the nineteenth century England's difficulty should still continue to be Ireland's opportunity, and no man regrets that condition of things more than I do. We in Canada can afford to be loyal. We have here no legal injuries to redress; we have here no legal wrongs to remember. The English flag stands to us for self-government, for civil and religious liberty, for everything that liberty-loving men can prize. But when we sit in judgment on these men who represent the Home Rule cause in Westminster, let us bear in mind the terrible provocation they have received, and let us remember the many wrongs that have been inflicted on them and their forefathers during centuries of oppression. I will say no more on that subject now, except that misdirected they may have been, but, 'craven,' Mr. Speaker, they were not.

In conclusion, let me ask your permission, Mr. Speaker, to repeat here what I have said elsewhere. France and England have been rivals in many fields and through many ages, but, taken together their story of achievement entitles them to a place in the vanguard of the human race, and entitles them to be hailed among the nations as the twin leaders of the thought and worth of the world, and both have given of their best and richest heart's blood to cement the nationhood of Canada. It seems to me also that he does no patriotic work who seeks to create the impression that the descendants of those men who saved Canada to England in 1775 and 1812, are not prepared to do the same to-day. French Canada continues to stand in the ancient ways, and French Canadians, remembering that this country was opened up to civilization by their forefathers, ask

but one thing—the right to work out their national destiny on this continent under the protection of the flag that, for a thousand years, has braved the battle and the breeze.

Mr. T. CHASE CASGRAIN (Montmorency). Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to follow my hon. friend the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) in his defence of his colleague the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet). I think the hon. gentleman, holding a brief for his friend behind him tried to correct the bad impression he created the other day when he interrupted the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville. My hon. friend from Kent, N.B., (Mr. McInerney) is charged with having accused different gentlemen in this House and a section of the province of Quebec with being disloyal. But let me remind the House what was said the other night when the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville was speaking. That hon. gentleman said :

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have said at the beginning of my remarks that I have been charged with disloyalty.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). It is true.

So, if anybody in this House accused the hon. member of disloyalty, it was not the hon. member for Kent, but the hon. and learned Solicitor General. Now, I intend to follow the Solicitor General only for a short distance. My hon. friend from Kent, quoting names and giving historical reminiscences said there had been two schools of thought in the province of Quebec—one school led by the late Sir George Etienne Cartier, and the other led by different gentlemen whose names he mentioned, including the late Sir Antoine Aimé Dorion. It is a well known fact that, for years, and, even in the time of Sir George Etienne Cartier, the Conservative party, having Cartier at its head, was looked upon by French Canadian Liberals as sold to the English, and this expression was used against them time and again in the public press and on public platforms. I remember when Sir George Cartier, having been knighted for the services he had rendered to the empire, was accused of being the valet of England and being sold to the English. This was the school that the hon. member for Kent referred to; and the hon. Solicitor General knows that if anybody in the province of Quebec suffered from this cry, it was the Conservative party. I would not recall these things but for the provocation given by the Solicitor General. Is it not true that from 1886 to 1890, there was such a reign of French sentiment in Quebec, due to the Liberal party, that it was almost impossible for a man calling himself a British subject to have any position in the conduct of public affairs. Why, when Mr. Mercier came to form his first

cabinet, he could not get a single English-speaking member of any standing to accept a portfolio. And, if we come to 1896, what do we see? During the first session I had the honour of a seat in this House. I called attention to the circular that has been mentioned in this House, a circular issued from the office of *L'Electeur*, a circular which was spread broadcast through the province of Quebec calling on the French Canadians to vote against Tupper—as they called him, le vieux Tupper—because Tupper was said to be in favour of Imperial federation. Part of that circular was quoted here the other day by the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville in condemnation of the conduct of his own party :

Do you want war? Three million dollars for rifles, guns and bayonets. A near danger for your farmers.

One of the conditions of this alliance would be that in time of war, Canada would be called for to pay her share in money and blood.

Why all these armaments, if we are not going to get war? And why would we fight for England?

'Why should we fight for England?' asks the organ of the Liberal party in Quebec. This same paper continues :

Your sons will be sent out to Africa and to Asia wherefrom they will never return.

Sir, this circular was distributed, as I have said, all through the province of Quebec. It was distributed in the county of Montmorency. But not only, was it distributed surreptitiously a few days before the day of voting, but it was published in the Liberal organ, *L'Electeur*, two or three days before the voting took place so that it could not be translated into English and scattered through the English provinces. That was the way the Liberal party appealed to prejudices against England and against any help being afforded her by Canada. That is the way they tried to create prejudice after we in this House had carried a resolution, nobody daring to vote against it, appropriating \$3,000,000 to rearm the militia with modern guns and serviceable weapons. That is the way we were treated. Nobody has suffered more, probably, from this kind of warfare than I did in the county of Montmorency, because, Sir, people went from door to door, minions of the Liberal party went from door to door, saying: 'Look at Casgrain, he speaks better English than French, he is an Englishman. Vote for Langelier and vote against Casgrain.' Those were the appeals to prejudice that we had to fight against; and still my hon. friend the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) gets up and says that there are not, or at least were not, two schools of thought in the province of Quebec. I say, Sir, if some French Conservative papers are still imbued with those ideas, it is because such sentiments were preached by these gentlemen.

from 1880 down to the present time, and it is not surprising if some vestiges of that sentiment should remain even in a few Conservative papers.

Now, Sir, I am not going to discuss the justice or injustice of this war, I am not going to look at it from that standpoint, because I think this is not the proper arena in which such a discussion should take place. For my part, with the little reading that I have done, with the little study that I have given to this question, I have no doubt in my own mind whatever that this is, as my right hon. friend the Prime Minister has stated, a most righteous war, a war for the advancement of civilization and progress, for equal rights to every man in any part of the world, wherever he may be. But, Sir, there is no doubt that it is a serious war. I am now addressing myself particularly to those who are my own fellow-countrymen who may have any doubts upon the subject, or who may have any doubts as to the propriety of the resolutions which are now before the House. I think it is the bounden duty of representative men, of whatever class or nationality they may be, to stand up in this House and to give their fellow-countrymen the result of the study which they have made of this question, and the result of their experience, be it ever so small. Sir, we are here representing not only our counties, but we are here to represent and to give a proper direction to the ideas and to the opinions which prevail in this country and in the provinces from which we come. I am going to try to speak of this question as a practical man. Sir, we are face to face with one of the most serious wars in which the British Empire has ever been engaged; it is certainly the most serious war which the empire has had upon its hands within the last half of the present century—not that I doubt for an instant that England will be successful, not that I doubt for an instant that the English generals will carry this war to a successful conclusion; but I say it is a serious war from the circumstances which surround it. The theatre of the war is far removed from England, it is thousands of miles away. Then, again, the country in which it is going on is full of natural fastnesses where every hill, every mound, seems to be a fortress. Then, again, the Boers are fighting for their own homes, they know every part of the country, and are able to fortify it so as to keep the English forces at bay.

Now, Sir, is it true that this war was forced upon the Boers simply because England wanted to aggrandize its colonial possessions in South Africa? Sir, I believe that this war has been forced upon England, and the Boers have been preparing for it for a long time. I find my proof, among other sources, in a report which was brought down to the Volksraad in the Transvaal, which proved

beyond doubt that long before the Jameson raid they were arming themselves to decide the question who would be the paramount power in South Africa, the Afrikaner power or the British power. Let me quote the following from this report:

A private return which was presented by the members of the Transvaal government to the Volksraad just before the outbreak of the war has been forwarded from Pretoria to Durban, and given to the public. This shows that during the two years preceding the Jameson raid the Boers spent between one and two million dollars on heavy guns and small arms. In 1894—long before the Jameson raid was even contemplated—the Boers spent half a million dollars with Krupp, of Germany, on heavy guns, and another half million with an Austrian firm on small arms. The Krupp guns were delivered in 1895 and included two of what was then the largest pattern for a gun in the world. These guns are 48 feet in length, weigh 120 tons, throw a shell weighing 2,300 pounds, and require 904 pounds of powder for each discharge. Both are amply provided with ammunition, which, in addition to steel and iron shells, consists of shrapnel, holding 3,000 balls, weighing 3½ oz. each. Its bore is 13·38 inches. In 1895, another half million was expended with Krupp, and a number of field guns of long range were obtained, as were also several mountain and bush guns, these being especially adapted to the hilly country and the hot climate of the Transvaal.

Now, Sir, this war, I say, was provoked by the Boers, and the question to be solved was whether the Afrikaner race or the British race was to be preponderant in South Africa. The Afrikaners had long been preparing to oust the English from South Africa. That was the cause of the war. Now, on this question I have the testimony of that great churchman, Cardinal Vaughan, to support me in saying that the war was forced upon the English nation, that war was declared upon them in the first place, and that the question to be solved was the supremacy of the English race in South Africa. Now, Sir, Cape Colony is a most important colony to the British Empire, I may say that it is essential to the greatness and solidity of the British Empire that the colonies in South Africa should remain under British rule. Now, I ask myself what would be the consequences of the loss of Cape Colony to Great Britain as regards Canada. It is true that for almost a hundred years we have enjoyed in this country the greatest peace, prosperity and progress; we have enjoyed a happy state of things. But what may happen to-morrow, nobody can foretell. Look at what is happening in Europe to-day. The continent of Europe is getting too small for the great nations there, it is getting too small for their ambitions, and they are spreading out all over the world. Nations which have lived in security for hundreds and thousands of years are now seeing their territories divided up between the great nations of Europe. Of course on this continent we have been secure up to the present, but our security has lain principally in the

fact that we are protected by the British flag. Supposing that a conflict broke out amongst the great European nations, supposing that England became involved in a war with any of the European nations, do you think for an instant that our shores would be free from a hostile attack? Who then would defend our shores? If war broke out, how long would we be at peace with our neighbours to the south of us? Because, although they now express great respect for us, a great deal of esteem, I do not know how long they could resist the temptation that is afforded them by our great mines, our great forests and our valuable fisheries which they have looked upon so long with envy.

Now, this, it seems to me, is the position in which we are placed if we look at Canada as a whole. But there is another question more interesting to us, who come from the province of Quebec, and it is the question of the protection which we have enjoyed for so long together with all the liberties which we possess and which we have enjoyed for over half a century. The Treaty of Paris guaranteed the exercise of the Catholic religion. In 1774, the Quebec Act, while introducing into Lower Canada, into that part of Canada which is now called the province of Quebec, the public law of England, preserved the French laws which had been handed down to the people by their forefathers. It is true that the time came when we had to agitate for constitutional freedom and the constitutional liberties which we enjoy now; it is true that some of our people even went further, Sir, that they bled and died upon the battlefield for the vindication of those liberties, but I would ask any impartial observer, who has studied the history of this country for the last fifty years, if it is not true, that, in the province of Quebec the French Canadian Catholic enjoys more liberty, civil, religious and political, than do Catholics in any other part of the world. I will ask you, Mr. Speaker, to point to any country in the wide world, whether it be monarchical or republican, whether it be a country which is a so-called Catholic country or a Protestant country,—I ask you, Mr. Speaker, if there is any country in the wide world where we have as much religious liberty as we have in the province of Quebec? Sir, it is said that Christianity is a part and parcel of the law of England. It may be said with the same truth that Catholicism is a part and parcel of the law of the province of Quebec. Tithes, in our province, constitute, not only a religious obligation, which is an obligation upon the Catholic inhabitants, but, the payment of tithes is a legal obligation which can be enforced before the courts. The assessments for building churches and for building the residences of priests are regulated by statute, and they are not merely a moral and conscientious obligation imposed upon Catholics, but they are also a legal obligation which

can be enforced by the courts. Then, take our religious processions which walk through the streets, guarded by the strong arm of the law, and, again, I ask you, Mr. Speaker, if you can point out any country in the whole world where such religious liberty is enjoyed. Where is there more liberty of speech, or more liberty of the press than in the province of Quebec? Where is that liberty enjoyed more, where is it more protected, where is it more surrounded by safeguards, where can we speak and write with as much freedom as we do in the province of Quebec, this right being only forbidden to fall into license? We do not want these rights which we enjoy to be regarded as privileges or favours that can be as easily taken away as they have been enjoyed. No, they are not privileges and they are not favours. They are rights. We have earned them and history tells us that our forefathers were the men who discovered this country, that our missionaries were the first to implant upon its shores the cross, that great symbol of civilization, and that later on, our clergy, our bishops and our priests, when the time came to tell the French Canadian people what their duty was to Great Britain and the Crown of England, our bishops and priests led the people on and our ancestors afterwards fought in defence of the British Crown, as the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) said this afternoon. These are some of the special rights which the French Canadians enjoy in the province of Quebec. My hon. friend from Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) talked about the right of making treaties, and he said that one thing he would like to have for Canada would be the right to make treaties. The hon. gentleman is cruel to his own friends, because, it has been a standing boast for the last two years that, now, treaties between Canada and other countries are made, not by Great Britain and these other countries interested, but by the great men who sit on the Treasury benches to-day. Does the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) forget already—I am sure that the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) does not forget—that there was a commission which was called the Quebec Conference, which sat at Quebec and at Washington, on which the hon. member for Labelle was the worthy secretary, and in which four Canadians represented the British interests while only one Englishman was present. If success has not crowned their efforts it is not because we were not represented there by enough diplomats—I call them diplomats because I am speaking diplomatically now. The reason remains still to be announced, which, I suppose, later on we will know. To go back to the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville, our commerce is protected in every part of the world by the British flag, and when we travel, even to the confines of the earth, we are protected by the simple fact

that we are British subjects. With all these benefits what would we be willing to take in exchange? The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville mentioned that he was ready to accept independence, or, if not immediately ready, that he was in the near future when we would be ripe for independence.

Mr. MONET. I did not say 'in the near future.'

Mr. CASGRAIN. I am glad to hear my hon. friend (Mr. Monet) say that he did not say 'in the near future.' Then, I would like to know why mention independence here? To my mind, when we become an independent nation the time is so far off that none of us, not even the young member for Laprairie and Napierville will see the day. Let him consider the vastness of our territory, the length of our inland frontiers, the extent of our coast line, and let him tell me where he is going to get an army and navy to protect this great nation. The integrity of our territory is protected now.

Mr. MONET. If we are to achieve that result it will not be by sending our men and money to England.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I am coming to that in a minute. I have foreseen that objection. The integrity of our territory is protected by the certainty that if one of our farms, be it ever so small, or bays, be it ever so shallow, is ever invaded by a foreign foe, it would have to be restored even if the whole force of Great Britain had to be called out. Our commercial interests throughout the world are protected by the diplomacy of England, and I would like to know where we would find diplomacy on the other side of the House which would protect our commercial interests as England is protecting them to-day. I do not say that independence may never come, but the prospect of independence is so far away that no man living to-day will see it. At all events, it is so far away that its conception cannot be used as a factor in the discussion of this subject. My hon. friend says that the best way for us to become an independent nation is not to spend our money by sending our troops away to fight the battles of England. It seems to me that the best way for us to do is as long as we can, at least, to remain part of the British Empire so as to go on with the progress and prosperity of the country which our connection with the British Empire has brought us up to now. Of course, my hon. friend did not mention annexation, but if anybody did mention annexation as an alternative for the position which we occupy to-day, I, as a French Canadian, and I think my statement will be borne out by the French Canadian members of this House, would never be willing to exchange the

liberties and the rights which we enjoy, for the problematical freedom which we might enjoy were we part and parcel of the United States.

Can we enjoy these rights and benefits without having any reciprocal obligations to perform? This, it seems to me, is a question which must be studied by anybody who has any hesitation in voting for the resolutions which are now before the House.

If it were possible that we could not find in our hearts enough of gratitude for the benefits conferred on us and which we prize so highly, then our actions and our policy should at least be directed by the simple instinct of self-defence and self-protection. As I have said, this is a most serious war, and the consequences may be most serious for us. It is a crisis in the history of England. Russia, Germany and France are all striving to attain the first place in the world, and is it to be wondered at that they all should be as hostile as they dare to England, which is the greatest of them all, in maritime power, in the number and extent of her colonies, and in the greatness and richness of her commerce. All these countries are simply waiting for an opportunity of humiliating England, waiting to take advantage of her reverses, waiting to wrest from her that power and that supremacy which she holds to-day. To all the combinations, to all the machinations, to all the alliances of the nations of the European continent, we must oppose the compact union and solidarity which exists among the different members of the British Empire throughout the world. It must be known once and for all, that if British influence and British prestige, that if the integrity of the British Empire is attacked in any one part of the world, then Greater Britain shall arise in its might to meet the assault and to repel it. It seems to me, Sir, that is the idea which prompted the sending of the contingents. It was an evidence that all the colonies were uniting with each other to prove not only their patriotism and their loyalty towards the British Crown, but to prove that the empire cannot be attacked in any one of its parts without all the other parts coming to its rescue.

Sir, the people of all the provinces of the Dominion are carried away by this patriotic conception of their duties, and I as a French Canadian will not stand aloof, and remain an indifferent spectator of the tremendous struggle which the British Empire is engaged in at this time.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. CASGRAIN. It may be said: But this is Imperialism. That word 'Imperialism' is raised as a bugbear in some parts of this country. Does the word imply that we will have to keep up a standing army? Does the word imply that we will have to take

part in every war into which England is drawn either against the savage tribes of Africa or the yellow races of Asia? Does it imply that we must assume all these obligations and duties and have no right of control? Sir, I do not look upon it in that light, nor do I think that any man in this country who reflects will look upon it in that light either. That is not the true meaning of Imperialism as I understand it to-day. Sir, if Imperialism means that in a crisis like the present which I have described, we are called upon to defend the prestige, the influence, the integrity of the empire, surely we are all willing and ready to do our duty as British subjects, and surely nobody will be found so attached to abstract principles, so near-sighted or so weak, as to stand aloof. Surely no one will be so blind to the teachings of our own history as to refuse to do his share in this truly patriotic work. Mr. Speaker, to take the opposite view would be to array ourselves against the teachings of the history of Canada. Let us make a retrospect; let us go back to confederation, and let me ask this parliament: What was the chief idea which presided at the bringing together of all these colonies in British North America. Was it simply to make what would be called a confederation; was it simply to have the pleasure of putting on the statute-book the British North America Act? No, Sir, there was a higher conception in the minds of the fathers of confederation. Their object was to strengthen the bonds between this country and the motherland, and that sentiment was expressed on many an occasion, by the late Sir John A. Macdonald. And when our late chieftain died, a monument was erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral—erected, not to the memory of the colonial statesman, but to the memory of the Imperial statesman. We have heard a great deal this afternoon about the late Sir George Etienne Cartier. Who was the greatest help the late Sir John Macdonald had in this bringing about of this grand confederation? Who was there amongst the English Canadian confreres of Sir John Macdonald who worked more faithfully with him than did Sir George Etienne Cartier? Who more eloquently than Sir George Cartier, on every occasion most eloquently endeavoured to convince French Canadians of the necessity for confederation? During his lifetime, Sir George Cartier was honoured by his Queen; created a baronet of the empire, not so much because he was a colonial statesman as that he was truly an Imperial statesman. I have no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that could Sir George Cartier come back to this House to-day and read this resolution, could he have seen our contingents depart for these distant lands to fight the battles of that flag which he loved so well, he would have been the last man to say that Canada should not take part in the contests for the defence of the British Empire in its hour of trial.

Mr. CASGRAIN.

Not only was confederation a step in the closer union of Canada with the motherland, but all the great projects which have been matured and carried out since confederation by one government or by another, by one party or by another, have been carried out with the object of binding us more closely with the motherland. That was the argument used in this House when we were asked to support these projects. Take, for instance, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. When the people of Canada were asked to tax themselves to an enormous extent for this work, what was the principal argument used to induce them to do so? Sir, the argument used was that the Canadian Pacific Railway was a great continental route which would bridge the distance from one ocean to the other, and would enable English troops to go from Halifax to Vancouver in eight days. Then, we have in the Pacific cable another Imperial project which has been taken in hand by the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. Not a protest came from the Liberal benches when the Pacific cable resolutions were submitted, and that is an Imperial work. Then, again, we have the establishment, or rather what was to be the establishment of a fast line of steamers, for which this House voted an annual subsidy of \$750,000, and we were told that we should tax ourselves for this, because it would lessen the distance between the mother country and Canada, and would make stronger the ties which unite us. Let us come to contemporaneous history. I remember quite well that when hon. gentlemen opposite introduced their so-called preferential tariff, they announced that they did so because they were loyal to the empire, and they declared they were doing something great to strengthen the ties between Canada and England. You remember that when these resolutions were carried, these gentlemen opposite all rose to sing God Save the Queen, and not one of them raised a dissentient voice against this Imperialistic idea. But that is not all. When our gracious Sovereign celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of her reign, we sent over to represent us—and worthily did he represent us—the right hon. gentleman who leads this House. What was the meaning of the presence of the Prime Minister of Canada in that royal and Imperial procession? Did he go simply to assure our gracious Sovereign that in times of triumphal processions he would be glad to support her? Accompanied as he was by a representative of every arm of the Canadian militia, was the presence of the Prime Minister of Canada there simply to signify that we had fine uniforms and could make a fine appearance? Not at all; that was not the object of the great Jubilee. The object of gathering together representatives of the British Empire within the city of London, and the object of this parade before Her Ma-

jesty, was to teach the world that the British Empire, from north to south, from east to west, was a united empire. When the hon. gentleman, called upon to speak on different occasions during those great celebrations, got up and said: 'When the beacons are lit upon the hills, and when the bugle-call is sounded, you will find Canada doing its duty to the empire,' he was expressing Imperial ideas, he was showing himself to be an Imperialist, and there was not a protest from anybody on his side of the House; and I say it is too late for anybody now, on one side of the House or the other, to say that we are not going to join hands with the other colonies of the empire to defend its supremacy and its integrity. But, Sir, here is another evidence of the hon. gentleman's real sentiments. When the first contingent left Quebec, a speech was made by His Excellency the Governor General, and I have no doubt whatever, that in it, he expressed the views and opinions of his ministry; for I have too much respect for my right hon. friend, the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) and for the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) to believe that if these were not their sentiments they would remain one day or one hour in the council over which His Excellency the Governor General presides. They Liberals, belonging to the Liberal school of thought—why, of course, if there they were not in perfect accord, every one of them, with the opinions expressed on that occasion by the Governor General, they would have simply said, 'Your Excellency, from this day we cease to be your advisers.' Here are the sentiments that were expressed by His Excellency:

This force has been gathered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and represents the best men of the Dominion. Canada has freely made her offering of this military contingent to the old country, and in so doing has accepted the difficulties which she knows must follow.

I cannot see the 'no precedent' clause in this.

The people of Canada have no desire to consider the quibbles of colonial responsibility. What they have done is to insist that their loyal offers should be made known, and they heartily rejoiced when they were graciously accepted.

When my hon. friend, the Minister of Public Works, heard that speech, he was converted instantly. Mr. Speaker, I have expressed freely, the views which I hold on this question. I have expressed them without any fear whatever, because I am convinced, whatever may be said, that the population of Canada, in every part of the country, is a loyal population, a population, which, while guarding the rights which it has under the constitution, will ever be ready in a crisis like the one in which we now find ourselves, to assist in maintaining the world over the greatness and the supremacy of the British Empire.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Mr. Speaker, I have been assailed so bitterly during the last three or four months, that at times the wicked thought comes to my mind that kind Providence has disappointed somebody. My death, however, would have been a great calamity indeed for my hon. friends opposite. What could they do without me? I am their daily bread; I am their only programme. Well, I made up my mind that there was no hurry in going up to heaven, and I have managed to pull through to the best of my ability, as usual.

Mr. BENNETT. No danger.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No danger at the present time, anyhow. May I hope, Sir, that judgment will not be pronounced upon me either by this House or by the country, from the vituperations that have been hurled at me in the clippings of newspapers.

Some hon. MEMBERS. *La Patrie*.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Often quoted and oftener misquoted. My strongest opponents on the other side of the House, will, I believe, give me the credit of not having always displayed much inclination to show the white feather. During my twenty-five years and more of newspaper work, I generally signed my articles, after the French fashion, which is so distasteful to the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) that he believed my colleagues had put me down and silenced me. Having signed thousands of articles, I know quite well, that I may have laid myself open to the accusation of having been inconsistent. Well, if I may be allowed to compare a very small man like myself, to bigger men, let me quote only a few words from a splendid biography of Mr. Gladstone, written by Justin McCarthy—in fact, one of the most interesting books I have ever read. Speaking of Mr. Gladstone, to whom, of course, I do not mean to compare myself, he says:

He may be charged with inconsistency, a charge which has naturally to be made against any statesman, for the essence of statesmanship consists in the recognition of imminent tendencies and actual facts. Nobody can possibly be called a statesman who starts in life with a pack of political nostrums which he proposes to apply indifferently to the cure of every constitutional malady in the state.

I am prepared to stand by what my political opponents would think fit to call inconsistency; but I altogether decline to be condemned, or to be damned politically, for inconsistencies of others, and for newspaper articles which I have never written, and which I have never read. I will give you a sample of the opinions that have been attributed to me through the press of this country, to prove that I am unworthy to be a minister of the Crown. In an article al-

leged to have been written by me, and circulated throughout the country, there occurred these words: 'Not a man, not a dollar.' There is not one member of this parliament who has not read that article, circulated in the Tory press, attributing these words to me. Well, Sir, I never wrote, I never uttered these words, and I beg to add, that up to this moment, I have not read the article in which these words appeared. What then? *La Patrie* has been quoted and misquoted against me on many occasions. Even the eminent baronet who leads the opposition has thought proper to have recourse to newspaper clippings. The hon. gentleman himself does not know one solitary word of the French language, but he has quoted, as other gentlemen from this side of the House have done, articles from *La Patrie*, translated by Tory newspaper men, who, I say it without any hesitation, have nearly in every instance distorted the articles that have appeared in that paper. I am very sorry that so very few of our English friends in the English provinces can read the French language. Would you permit me, Mr. Speaker, to say that in that respect we are better situated, and, I say it in all deference, better educated than our English friends. We read the English newspapers. Thousands of English newspapers are read by French Canadians. If French newspapers, if French books were similarly read by our English friends, accusations like those which are heralded every day against us, could not have any possible effect. I do not deny that I have some relations with *La Patrie*. My sons are something of the old block. I have been a newspaper man and they are newspaper men. I have no intention of killing them. They have started in life as newspaper men, and I hope that they will be successful.

But when the hon. gentleman who leads the opposition, with his fifty years' experience, tells me that I am the censor of *La Patrie*, that not a single line is published in that paper without my first seeing it, he cannot surely be serious. He is exaggerating as usual. I never feel any inclination to retaliate against the hon. gentleman, so well do I know him. I know that when he says a thing, there is always, in the best part of his heart, a discount of 75 per cent. He does not mean wrong. Well, in order that I may not forget altogether the good old way of roasting a goose, I am quite prepared to admit that occasionally I put the pan on the fire. I write some articles here and there, but I am sorry to say that I have not much time to spend in that healthy exercise, which has been the joy of my younger days and which, I fondly hope, will be the consolation of my older age.

Even the headings that appear in *La Patrie* are quoted against me as an evidence of my disloyalty to the British Crown. I think it was the hon. gentleman from Bruce

Mr TARTE.

(Mr. McNeill) who went to that extent. I would make a bet, Sir, I would take the *Star* newspaper and *La Patrie*, on the same topic mind you, on the same day, and I would bet my head that the headings of the *Star* are bigger than those of *La Patrie*. If my friends in the newspaper offices would permit me, I would say that I am sorry that such sensational methods have taken hold of the newspaper world, and it is to be regretted that the smallest news cannot be published nowadays without big headings. When the English armies were unfortunately defeated, surely *La Patrie* could not be asked to say that they were victorious, and its headings are just as big to-day when the English arms are victorious.

Mr. McNEILL. Would the hon. gentleman allow me to explain, as he has mentioned my name, that I was referring to the heading which declared that General McDonald was defeated when he had been victorious?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman will permit me not to answer that. News, as he knows very well, were changing from hour to hour at times. Now, Sir, I do not believe that in this controversy I have been guilty of any constitutional heresy, and I may say immediately that I do believe that if the same views had been propounded by a public man of any other origin, they would have been interpreted as mine have been. But I am a French Canadian, and there is a school in this country, it is evident, that has made up their minds to impress upon the English public that the French Canadians are disloyal. The ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), if I may be allowed to refer for a moment to a former debate, threatened me that he would not allow me to leave this House before I made good the accusation which I made outside this parliament, that there was in the Tory ranks a concerted organization to try and impress upon the English provinces that the French Canadians are disloyal. I shall not leave the House without settling my accounts with him on that point, but I am not going to do it to-day because it would take up too much time and this is not the proper occasion.

Mr. FOSTER. This is a respite.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I believe that the House will do me the credit of admitting that I have never wasted hours and hours in speaking as some hon. gentlemen have done.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). You ought to say thanks.

Mr. FOSTER. Thanks. One is about as valuable as the other.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. How are the French Canadian public men treated by some of the friends of hon. gentlemen opposite? For instance, when that contingent affairs was discussed, there was a reverend gentleman who spoke in this city. This is what he said:

And what is the outcome of the grave deliberations of our loyal representatives? They have actually given the Queen of England permission to hire our soldiers and pay for them out of her own purse, and this is the loyalty of our French Canadians. Our Premier did not object to go to England to assist in the great Jubilee pageant; he did not refuse to occupy the place of honour accorded almost spontaneously in that great procession because it was felt that he represented the foremost colony of the empire, he did not object to the homage rendered by the cheering multitudes which lined the route; and he did not fail either to express in glowing language the loyalty and devotion of the Canadian people to England's throne. And yet it is this French gentlemen, supported by followers even more French than himself, who dares to insult a loyal and devoted people by pretending to represent their views by the action to which the government has finally committed itself. . . . These Frenchmen, who control our country to-day, whose opinions are blazed abroad, are not our representatives. We repudiate them, and the sooner England knows it the better. The question of French Roman Catholic supremacy was settled once and for all upon the Plains of Abraham, and let them never forget it. If they enjoy privileges equal, nay, superior to the Protestants of this country, let them not forget that they were granted to them on the basis of English, not French citizenship. . . . Let it go abroad then that here, in the centre of commerce and intelligence, the disloyal act of the French Roman Catholic representatives of the government is repudiated and scorned.

Mr. SPROULE. Name.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The Rev. Mr. Gorman, a gentleman who is very well known for his devotion to and activity in the cause of the Conservative party in this city. At the same time, a newspaper which is one of the most important organs of the Tory party in Ontario, in fact, the evening edition of the *Mail and Empire* was writing in this strain. I quote from the *Toronto Evening News*.

AL hon. MEMBER. What date?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. October.

We can tell Honourable Mr. Tarte and his French compatriots that the people of this province are thinking hard just now. They are opening their eyes to the true character of their French neighbours, and they are forming convictions that will have their fruition sooner or later in depriving the French Canadians of the special privileges that were granted to them by the Treaty of Paris.

Unless the British Canadians of this province are cravens, they will not tolerate a condition of subjection to the French Canadians, and if through the ballot boxes there is no redress, they will find other means of emancipating themselves from the dominance of an inferior people

that peculiar circumstances have placed in authority in the Dominion.

About the same time the paid organizer of the Tory party in New Brunswick, Mr. Hetherington, was making speeches in meetings small and large, in some of which he threatened to invade the province of Quebec some of these fine days. Affidavits were published to that effect by respectable citizens.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) allow me a word?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Most certainly.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not wish to take away from the hon. gentleman's time, except with reference to the matter he has just spoken of. I give it a full and frank denial so far as my information goes, and I have looked into it. I have the affidavits of eight gentlemen who were in the audience at the time referred to, and they have sworn that such statements as alleged were never made by Mr. Hetherington.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I have in my desk affidavits which I will take the first opportunity of reading, and we can then compare notes. The hon. leader of the opposition verily believes that I have imported from France what he has been good enough to call my disloyal utterances. The hon. gentleman has been good enough to say that, coming from France, a country that is so hostile to England that the people rejoice over every defeat of the British arms, I have imported ideas unfriendly to the empire. Would my hon. friend allow me to say that I did not hear in any authorized circles in France, in any official circles the ideas that he attributes to the French nation? During all these controversies has not France maintained a strictly correct attitude? When Mr. Chamberlain uttered those unfortunate words that even his colleagues repudiated, in what manner did the French Foreign Minister answer? Did he answer with threats? He answered by advising moderation, friendly feeling, a peaceful attitude.

I am glad to state from my place in parliament to-day that Mr. Delcasse, with whom I had the privilege of an interview, told me almost in these very words that not only would a war between England and France be a terrible calamity, but it would be a stupid thing. I have imported from France the idea of love for my ancestors, if I had not it in my heart before. But I have not received from any public man in France disloyal ideas. Far from it. All the important men in France that I met and whom I told of our happiness, our peace, our prosperity, gave me the advice to remain as we are. When the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) quoted, or rather misquoted—not wittingly, but mis-

quoted—from a speech that I made at a banquet given to M. Herbetto, a distinguished Frenchman, who came to the city of Montreal and whom I had met in France. Here are the words I used on that occasion, only a part of which the hon. gentleman quoted :

I would not be a loyal subject to the Queen if I were not allowed to remain French.

The hon. gentleman stopped there. I went on saying :

There are but a few people in this country, there are but a few fanatics, who think of denying us the right to be French. If Sir Charles Dilke had been in London when I passed recently through that great city, I would have gone and thanked him for the words he has written about us in a book lately published under the title, 'The British Empire.' Do you know what Sir Charles Dilke has said in his book ?

'There probably are few of my readers who need to be reassured upon the subject of the loyalty to British connection of the French Canadian people. We conquered the French Canadians at the end of a terrific struggle for mastery in the new world between Great Britain and France, a struggle which raged over Europe, India and America, as well as the high seas. A great number of years after the conquest of Canada, we had so little understood how good relations which had been brought about for a time should be preserved, that our French Canadian subjects actually rose in arms for their liberties, their tongue and their religion, at the beginning of the Queen's reign. They are now, under the admirable institutions which in our late-born wisdom we have conferred upon them, perhaps the most loyal of all the peoples under the British Crown—and they are so in spite of the fact that they have remained intensely French, proud of their race and of its history, and deeply attached to their tongue and to its literature. . . . The double allegiance of the French Canadians, at the present day, on the one hand to the British Crown and to the liberties which they enjoy under it, and on the other hand, not to a foreign power which they regard as foreign, but to their own race and literature, is one of the most interesting spectacles that the world affords. The desire of the French Canadians to remain French in spirit kept them on our side during our wars with our American colonists, who were their old enemies, and it is highly probable that the provinces of Quebec and the French element in the Canadian North-west will always remain rather British than American in sympathy.'

It is just what I said there, it is just what I say here now—intensely French and intensely British. This is the position we take, this is the position we intend to keep. I have unbounded confidence in the future development of my race under the sun of Canada. We have developed under British institutions in the past in a way that I may be allowed to call marvellous. We are not English, we have no intention of becoming English. We are French, and the reason is obvious : Our fathers and our mothers were French, and we have no reason to be ashamed of them. Sir, my judgment has not been influenced by what I heard in France ; but I am not quite sure

Mr. TARTE.

that my political attitude in the last few months has not been inspired by my former Conservative training. I was a devoted follower of Sir John A. Macdonald, and I may add of the hon. gentleman who leads the opposition. What is the past history of the Conservative party since confederation ? My hon. friend from Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) has reminded the House of the fact that since confederation England has been engaged in twenty-three wars. The hon. gentleman who leads the opposition has been, during all that time, either a minister of the Crown in Canada, or has been standing very near the government. Has he ever offered any assistance to England in any of those twenty-three wars ? Not one government in the past has ever offered any military assistance to England.

Mr. CASGRAIN. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question ? Among all those twenty-three wars, is there one which can be at all compared to the war which is now going on ?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. There were some much more important than this.

Mr. CASGRAIN. Which one, and where ?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman must not forget that the Boer population of the Transvaal is only 80,000 souls all told—I do not speak of the Uitlanders. It is no use denying facts, there are only 80,000 Boers, as Mr. Bryce states in his book, which is at the disposal of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. CASGRAIN. State where, please.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The names of the wars have been read in the House, when my hon. friend was away arguing some big case in Montreal. I do not think I was unfair to the leader of the opposition when I stated outside this parliament that he himself had always expressed the view that Canada should not contribute to Imperial wars. He has tried to shield himself from the effects of his position—but I want to ask him and those who follow him to point to one utterance of his in which he has offered any help to England. So far from doing that, he has stated over and over again that we had already rendered most important contributions to England, and that is eminently true. Important factors in the defence of the empire, for instance, are the two magnificent naval stations we have in our waters at Halifax, and at Esquimalt, on the Pacific Ocean the Canadian Pacific Railway connecting those two great stations.

We have done important things for England and ourselves, because, England and ourselves are bound together. I was just going to ask the hon. leader of the opposition if he does not remember distinctly,

that, in 1885, General Laurie, and the late lamented Col. Williams proposed to raise two regiments. They wanted this country to pay something for these regiments. Sir John A. Macdonald was then consulted by Lord Lansdowne, and he wrote, as his deliberate opinion, that Canada should not contribute to Imperial wars. Well, then, having been brought up in that school it is no great mystery to understand why, perhaps, I hesitated a little before plunging into a new state of affairs.

Mr. McNEILL. Will the hon. gentleman allow me?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I would like to go on with my little speech quietly.

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

AFTER RECESS.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Mr. Speaker, I have been accused of having failed in my duty as a minister of the Crown during this controversy. Todd, vol. 2, page 402 and 403, states as follows on the subject of the responsibility of ministers of the Crown:

In tracing the origin and development of the rule which requires political unanimity amongst the ministers of the Crown, we have seen that it has become an acknowledged principle that, so long as a minister continues to form part of a government, he shares with his colleagues an equal responsibility for everything that is done or agreed upon by them. Except in the case of an admitted 'open question,' it must be taken for granted that the whole cabinet have assented to the ministerial policy as officially transacted or propounded by any minister acting or speaking on their behalf. It is not therefore allowable for a cabinet minister to oppose the measures of the government—to shrink from an unqualified responsibility in respect to the same—to refrain from assisting his colleagues in the advocacy of their particular measures in parliament—or to omit the performance of any administrative act which may be necessary to carry out a decision of the government—even though he may not have been a consenting party thereto—or to withhold his support from the ministry when attacked by their political opponents. A minister who infringes any one of these rules is bound to tender his immediate resignation of office.

This is the rule, as stated by Todd, and all other constitutional authorities. Mr. Gladstone, speaking in 1873 on that point, said:

However, a question arises which all members of all governments have to put to themselves in the inner forum of conscience from time to time. If they are men of sense, as they sometimes are, they are occasionally obliged to forego their individual opinion on particular questions for the sake of avoiding greater evils, or for realizing less benefit than they personally deserve or think obtainable. I apprehend that happens to all members of the government.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman followed up that adverb there.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, I remember a government, the members of which differed publicly in this House. I remember seven of the ministers of that day standing aloof from their leader for one whole week, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) stood by them.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Which wing did he stand by?

Mr. SOMERVILLE. He was waiting to get in.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Have I controverted the rule laid down by the authorities, and as explained by so great a man as Mr. Gladstone? When the war broke out between England and the Transvaal, I will readily admit that I did not feel much inclination towards Canada taking part in that war, without mature consideration. I was in England when the negotiations were going on, and I remember very well that nearly all of the public men whom I met, and they were on both sides of politics, were then very strongly opposed to war. Public opinion in England then was that war should be avoided, and could be avoided. I do not intend to enter very deeply into the causes of this unfortunate conflict, but I must be allowed to say that there are two sides to the question. When such eminent thinkers as Mr. Bryce, as Mr. Courtney, as Sir Edward Clarke, as Mr. Herbert Gladstone, as Mr. John Morley and others have expressed, in stronger terms than will be used here, their disapproval of that war; we must certainly be allowed the right of thinking over the causes of that war. That right I claim the liberty to exercise to its fullest extent. In this free country of Canada, I hope that the right of free speech is not going to be abolished, even for a French Canadian public man. However, Sir, war has been declared and the government of this country was invited, as well as the governments of other colonies, to send troops to South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain's circular was addressed not only to this colony but to all the English colonies. It was published in the English newspapers before it reached this country. I do not wish to blame any one for that, but it is a fact that cannot be disputed, that the circular was published in the London newspapers before it became known to this government. As the Prime Minister has explained, when those events were going on, he was performing a public duty in the United States. As soon as he came back the question was taken up and the government decided by an Order in Council, which has been placed on the Table of the House, to comply with the request of the Colonial Minister and with the conditions that the Imperial authorities had themselves settled. I felt no great fascination, and I do not feel it now, for Canada going to war by Order in Council. I shall not hide my views on this point no more than I shall hide my views

on any other point. There is nothing that I hate more thoroughly than political hypocrisy, and if I am to go down to history in disgrace for the views I hold, I am prepared for that result. The views that I tried to make prevail then were, that parliament should be called immediately to ratify the action taken by the government. Whether I was right or wrong, these are the views that I entertained. Canada had never taken part in any Imperial wars. Since confederation there have been many wars, several of them more important to England than this war then seemed to be, and Conservative governments headed by such strong Imperialists as Sir John Macdonald had stated as their policy, that this country should not take part in Imperial wars. I thought, and I still believe for I have not changed my views, that it would have been a good thing to call parliament immediately. From those who are able to judge on both sides of the House, I have not heard a single dissentient voice on that point. However, the majority of my colleagues; the government thought that, all things being considered and weighed, we might dispense with the immediate calling of parliament. Holding the view that I held, was it my duty to resign or not? Sir, I realize, as much as any other man the great responsibility that rests upon a minister of the Crown, and I may perhaps add immediately, on a French Canadian minister of the Crown, on such an occasion. Suppose I had resigned then, what would have been the result? The French Canadians would have been denounced more bitterly than ever; their loyalty would have been assailed all over this broad Dominion. I have not the slightest idea that by seceding from my colleagues, I would have weakened them. I am a very humble member of this government. However, I thought it was my duty not to resign. The Order in Council has been placed on the Table of the House, and it contains words which I am very glad to see in that historic document. It says that that action of the government must not be interpreted as a precedent. I see by the intelligent smile of the hon. member for Champlain (Mr. Marcotte) that he understands fully the question.

Mr. MARCOTTE. (Translation). I was looking at Mr. Monet.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I know I may be at once told that these words did not mean much; because a few weeks afterwards a second contingent was sent under the very same conditions. I was very glad to hear from the lips of the Prime Minister in the debate on the address that this country cannot be expected to take part in all the secondary wars of England.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Would the hon. gentleman permit us to ask him a question, without interrupting him?

Mr. TARTE.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Most certainly.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I understood the hon. gentleman to say that the first contingent was sent at the request of Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that the second contingent was sent under the same conditions.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I was speaking for myself, and I have a right to interpret that document. I said that the circular of Mr. Chamberlain was sent, not only to this colony, but to all the other colonies, which is true.

Mr. MONTAGUE. But the hon. gentleman used the word 'invitation.'

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I believe it was an invitation, which the Colonial Minister had a perfect right to send; I do not blame him for having sent it. Whether it was an invitation or not, history and further developments will show; but we must take the historical fact as it is: that the Colonial Minister sent a circular to all the colonies, and that that circular found its way into the London press before it reached Ottawa.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Was that circular sent—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. MONTAGUE. This matter is important to the House, if it is not to the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock). I am asking the question by the courtesy of the hon. Minister of Public Works, was that circular sent previous to any intention having been sent by the colonial governments, offering services?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. As to that the hon. gentleman will have to look himself; he knows just as well as I do. The leaders of the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, organized a great clamour for sending troops. The chief organ of that clamour was the *Montreal Star*. We all know the *Montreal Star*. It is a very well conducted paper—a sensational paper. It has become the chief organ of the eminent baronet who leads the opposition. Each has promised the other the realm of the world. The *Star* has promised the eminent baronet this place of Prime Minister which he came from the other side of the Atlantic to occupy, to the relief of his then leader, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, but which he could not occupy very long; and the eminent baronet has undoubtedly promised Mr. Graham, that if he succeeds in putting him back here, very nice things will be done for Mr. Graham. He might be knighted; he might be made a big man; he might have social precedence. The *Star* then went on organizing that

campaign of ultra-loyalty for the purpose of sending an army or several armies to the rescue of England. Well, at the time, who was the public man, either in this country or in Europe, who thought that war against the small republic of the Transvaal would be anything of a war? Only think what the English generals said? Sir Redvers Buller went so far as to say that as soon as he reached Cape Colony, he would cut the wires behind him, so as to be given full liberty to dispose very quickly indeed of the Boers. Everybody then thought that there would be no war. If there was going to be no war, or less than a secondary war, why should Canada, which had never taken part in British wars, be required to send troops, on this occasion? That was my point. Whether it was right or wrong, that was my point, and I was fully entitled to take that position. Circumstances changed. The English generals and all of us discovered later on that it was a war—a serious war. In spite of the fact that the Boer population of the Transvaal is only 80,000 souls, and in spite of the fact that the population of the Orange Free State is only about 150,000, we found that this was a war, and then the question arose whether we should not send another body of troops. I may say at once that to that second contingent I did not raise the slightest objection; my colleagues will bear me out in that—not the slightest objection under the same conditions. When the first contingent was sent, or rather when the Colonial Minister issued that circular, I thought with all other public men, that there would be no war, and then I thought we had no right to consecrate the principle of the intervention of this country in Imperial wars. When the second contingent was sent, I say it again, and I beg to be understood, circumstances had changed. There was undoubtedly a very strong feeling in the English provinces, especially in the cities, in favour of this government sending troops to South Africa. I think it will be an unfortunate day when governments will be obliged to yield to popular clamour and where popular clamour is substituted for the authority of parliament. However, we are living in a peculiar country, perhaps in the most difficult country in the world to govern, and public men who do not take note of our peculiar position are not worthy of the confidence of the people. Such public men do not understand where they are.

Our English friends in the English provinces, especially in the cities, were very strong in favour of this government sending the troops to South Africa. I will not hide from you, Mr. Speaker, the fact that in the province of Quebec there was no such feeling. I said a moment ago that I hate political hypocrisy. I verily believe that it is one of the most detestable and dangerous things that can be practised. We must un-

derstand each other and be frank towards each other. If parliament had been called—and I say it within the sound and hearing of the English and French representatives of the people—and if the majority had decided to send the troops, there would not have been a dissenting voice in the province of Quebec. I echo what my hon. friend from Napierville (Mr. Monet) said. However, by-gones are by-gones. Parliament was not summoned; and like the loyal province that we are, we are not going to raise trouble. We understand that in this country the majority must govern, but all the same our feelings are there, and you must not be surprised at that. Minorities have the right to be touchy; they have the right to insist on the written constitution being observed; and I hope that our English friends will understand the position that we are in. Constitutional government has cost us much in the province of Quebec. It has cost us blood, it has cost us long years of fighting, and you must not be surprised if we stick to the rights we have acquired as they are stated in our written constitution. Is a man disloyal because he would hold the view that Canada was not bound to take part in this Imperial war? I claim that there is no disloyalty in holding this view. Have we the right to differ in this country on political questions of this magnitude? If we have not that right, there is no liberty in this country, liberty is a vain word. But only jingoes will uphold the unholy doctrine that public men have no right to differ on questions like this. And if the Prime Minister of this country had not been a French Canadian, that cry would not have been raised any more than it was raised against the late Sir John Macdonald in 1885, when he distinctly refused to pay a cent towards sending a man to help England in a more costly war than the present one. He was not then accused of disloyalty, but the noble baronet who leads the opposition, who leads a hopeless opposition—

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS—thought that he had at last found a policy. He thought that he could raise the cry of races and excite the hatred of races. Sir, he made for the second time a mistake, as far as the province of Quebec is concerned. In 1896, he thought that he could coerce that province but did not succeed, and this time he thought he could oppress it, but he will not succeed this time either. French Canadians have not always agreed with their English compatriots, but they have managed in such a way as to go on in a most successful manner. When the union was imposed upon them, they were not consulted. They were then 585,000 of a population in this country. The Imperial government forced the union on

them without consulting them in any way, at the request of their English friends of Upper Canada, whose numbers were then a little over 300,000. But the French Canadians did not lose courage, nor did they lose their heads. They made up their minds to work out the problem, and they worked it out, as I have said, in a most successful manner. Their language was then abolished. Several speakers in this House have alluded to the Uitlanders; they have said that the Uitlanders had no rights, that they were not treated in a very decent way, and that I quite grant. But do not be surprised, Sir, if the French Canadians stick to the written constitution which protects their rights. They cannot forget their past history; they cannot forget that on two different occasions, although they were in a majority, their language was abolished. They cannot forget that they were treated as Uitlanders never have been and never will be in the Transvaal. Do not then be surprised if the feeling in the province of Quebec is a conservative feeling; the constitution is there, and we want it to be preserved, and that is the reason why many of my colleagues and myself have insisted, and will insist, on the constitution of this country being respected. Our voices, our opinions may not prevail all the time, but we will stick to them, and our English friends will help us. Surely the union between the English and French at the time of Lafontaine and Baldwin still holds good. We must stand by each other.

I was alluding a minute ago to the cause of the war. I will not say much on this question except to show that there are two sides to it, and that those who have studied the question had some little right to pause before plunging into war. The Cape, as we all know, was finally taken possession of by England in 1814. The white population of the Cape was then exclusively Dutch. Mr. Bryce, writing on that point, says:

If the English government had been wise in its measures, if it had understood the country better and been careful to send out only sensible and sympathetic men as Governors, the Dutch of South Africa, who had no attachment to Holland, might soon have become attached to England, and would, at any rate have been, though they are naturally of an independent spirit, quiet and peaceful subjects. England, however, managed things ill. She altered the system of courts and local government, reducing the rights which the people had enjoyed. She insisted on the use of the English language to the exclusion of Dutch.

I might go on to quote—

Mr. CRAIG. Read the whole book.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, it might be useful to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Craig), because when I read his speech the other night I was surprised that he knew so little about the question. He knows nothing about it, though he knows many other things. I have made the quo-

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tation to show the reason why the Transvaal exists to-day. Things have gone on badly, and in 1835-6, there was a great emigration—the 'great trek.' Ten thousand of these Dutchmen started for the Transvaal, which was then a wilderness, a land that did not belong to anybody. They settled there, established their own customs and made laws for themselves. Unfortunately, perhaps, for them gold was discovered. To make a long story short, the Uitlanders, that is to say the foreigners, came from all parts of the world; and, when the war was declared they numbered about 160,000, and insisted on having certain rights. I am not here to say that President Kruger and his council acted wisely in refusing equal rights to these Uitlanders, but let us take the facts as they are. These Dutchmen had emigrated to evade English rule, they had settled in a land that, certainly, did not belong to England then. As Mr. Bryce puts it very well in his book, giving equal rights to these persons was simply transferring the government of their land to foreigners. Well, they would not do it, and war was declared.

Mr. McNEILL. By whom?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. By whom?

Mr. McNEILL. Yes.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, if the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) will read Mr. Bryce's opinion, which I have not time to quote, he will find out; and if he will be good enough to read the debates of the short session of the British House after war was declared, he will find out still better. I wish to refer to what Mr. Bryce says as to the result of the war. Mr. Bryce is not a French Canadian; he is a very important member of parliament, and is one of the greatest writers of England. He is not sanguine, as some of my hon. friends are, as to the result and consequences of that war. I will only quote a very brief extract:

To some of us it appears a calamity for England also, since it is likely to alienate, perhaps for generations to come, the bulk of the white population in one of her most important self-governing colonies. It may, indeed, possibly mean for her the ultimate loss of South Africa.

Whether these views are right or not I am not here to say. When Mr. Chamberlain issued that circular, I do not believe that I am very far from the truth in saying that the war was an unpopular war in England. I would call on any man who was in England at that time to contradict me. Mr. Chamberlain is a very able man, I think is one of the ablest men of England to-day. One may not approve of everything he does or of everything he says; but he is an energetic man and an advocate of the Im-

perialistic idea. I believe I am not far from the mark in saying that during nearly all the negotiations many of his important colleagues had some doubts as to the result of those negotiations. Mr. Chamberlain thought he was right from his standpoint, that to make England strong and to strengthen his hands, it was a good thing for him to have the support of the colonies. In point of fact, I think that the last speech he made in the House, he made that point—that the war is just, the colonies had approved it. He wanted to have the approval of the colonies. Well, from his standpoint he may be right. Now, whether this is a war of redress, or whether this is a war of conquest, history will say. If it is a war of conquest, as it appears to be—

Mr. DAVIN. No! Perfect stuff!

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
As it appears to be—

Mr. DAVIN. Perfect stuff.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) is not a high authority on such an important point. If it is a war of conquest, England may have strong reason for having entered upon it. Those who have studied the history of recent years know very well that Germany has been intriguing on a large scale in the Transvaal and in South Africa. Does the hon. gentleman know that or does he not? At any rate it is a well known historical fact. We all know that South Africa, and especially the Cape is on the highway to India, and England may have the strongest possible reasons for taking final possession of South Africa. Let us not hide the facts, which I have stated as they are. The point I wish to emphasize is this: whether—I say it again—this is a war of redress or war of conquest, it is the right of every British citizen, whether he is English or French, to judge the causes of the war, and to say what he thinks to be the truth. Those who accuse the French Canadians of being disloyal because they felt and still feel that we should not take part in all the wars of England without knowing better where we are, are doing a very poor service to England and to this country—a very poor service indeed. The French Canadians are to-day two millions of people. They are in a minority, there is no doubt of that. They have no desire to change their political allegiance or condition. They live very happily. They could not desire any better political position than the one they enjoy to-day. I have no hesitation in saying that, in spite of their love for their ancestors, they would not on any consideration go back under the rule of France. I am expressing, I believe, the unanimous feelings of my countrymen in making that statement. We are French, but we are Britishers, and we intend to remain Bri-

tishers because we are happy here, and we do not know if we would be happy elsewhere.

Sir, I have been assailed on this question on two different grounds. I have been assailed in the English provinces because I am a French Canadian, and because I hold the view that I have placed before you. It appears I had no right to insist upon the immediate calling of parliament; it appears it was a disloyal act for me to ask this country to do what England did immediately after the declaration of war. Well, I will remain under that accusation. I have also been accused to a certain extent by my French Canadian countrymen of being an Imperialist. I do not deny that I am an Imperialist. I have said elsewhere, and I now remind the House of what I said, that I am the first French Canadian who became a member of the Imperial Federation League. Why did I become a member of the league then, and why do I hold my present view to-day? Just because I do not desire any change in our political position. We have to choose between independence, annexation, and our present political position. I believe that not only this country, but other English colonies will very soon kick if they are obliged to send men and to pay money on behalf of the empire without having a word to say in Imperial affairs. I may be mistaken, but that is my view. I have good reason to believe that the Imperial authorities understand that, because this very morning the cable brought to this country the statement of Mr. Wyndham in the English House of Commons yesterday, that the colonies would be consulted about the reorganization of the Imperial forces. Sir, I claim that if the self-governing colonies of England had been represented in a certain way at the Imperial Privy Council table, this Transvaal war might never have taken place. What objection could there have been, for instance, to the Prime Minister of this great colony having a right to sit in the Imperial Council? Where is the harm? My French Canadian countrymen will, perhaps, say to me: You are going very far, you are going to tighten the bonds that unite us to England. Sir, we are a part of this great empire, and neither the French Canadians nor the English Canadians have any other destiny than to remain a part of the British Empire. Then it will not increase our responsibility, it will not decrease our liberties. Suppose the Prime Minister of this country had a right to sit in the Imperial Council, what harm could result to this country? Would not his voice have a great deal of influence and importance?

Mr. CASGRAIN. No.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
The hon. gentleman is not serious.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I am perfectly.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. If the hon. gentleman is serious in saying that, he has not given his attention to that important question.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I have.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, the hon. gentleman is not infallible. Now, I say this, that Lord Strathcona, although he is not a member of the Imperial Council, has a vast influence in England.

Mr. LANDERKIN. He is away ahead of the old one.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Of course, I only mention that to illustrate my own opinion. I say again, it will not increase our responsibility in any way, and it will not decrease by one iota our liberty. Now, let us look at the situation. Are we going to take part in Imperial wars and Imperial affairs or not? If we are not going to take part in Imperial wars, I will not insist on the idea. But if the colonies are going to take their share in Imperial wars in future, where is the British citizen understanding his rights, who will say that we should not have a voice when those questions come up? Is not the right of consultation the first right of a British citizen? We have not a word to say at the present time on the causes of the war, we cannot say anything. Suppose we believed that Mr. Chamberlain is wrong, that the present government is wrong, we could not say so; suppose we believed they are right, we could not say so either. I may be mistaken, but my own opinion is that the colonies cannot possibly be asked to take part in Imperial affairs without having a voice in Imperial councils. I do not suppose that this idea will prevail immediately; but I will say this, that those who believe in this idea should not be accused of disloyalty.

Now, Sir, a campaign against the French province of Quebec has been going on in nearly all the Tory papers of the English provinces. If you will go into the library and consult the files of all the Tory papers in the English provinces, I think you will not find three of them in which a strong campaign has not been carried on, and is not now being carried on, against the province of Quebec. That campaign is not new. The *Mail and Empire*, that is to say a faction of the Conservative party, started that war years ago. The *Mail* was then the organ of that crusade. Sir John A. Macdonald, who was a broad-minded man, would not stand that, and he established the *Empire* in opposition to the *Mail*. When Sir John died, the *Empire* was removed from the scene and the *Mail* was put on top. The difference between the present leader of the Conservative party and Sir John Macdonald is that Sir John Macdonald positively declined to countenance such a crusade against the province of Quebec, while

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the eminent baronet encourages it. That is the whole difference. Sir John had no great reason to encourage a crusade against Quebec because that province was then giving him a solid French vote. Circumstances have changed; the province of Quebec is giving a strong vote to a French Canadian Prime Minister, and French Canadians who were loyal then have become disloyal and thoroughly bad.

Mr. FOSTER. Your assertion goes further than any assertion I have ever heard.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. It does not go further than the hon. gentleman is going through his own organizer and his own friends. I have, in my desk, dozens and dozens of quotations from the *News* and other Tory papers, which are simply saying every day that the French province of Quebec must be subjugated.

Mr. FOSTER. This is not a very good way of coming to the point, making your assertions and saying that months afterwards you will give us the proof. When you have to leave the proof of your assertion until later on, I think that you should leave your assertion until you bring your proof. If the hon. gentleman chooses to make his assertion and his proof coterminous with each other he has time now.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I generally follow the course I intend following. The hon. gentleman makes his speech in the way he likes, and I do mine in the way I like. Now, Sir, I have been accused of creating a political scandal—

Mr. FOSTER. Then, the hon. gentleman does not propose to prove his assertions.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I do propose to prove them to the hilt. The hon. gentleman will get more of it than he will like.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a very nice time now.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I am not going to weary the House with a seven-hour speech this evening. The record that I will place at the disposal of my hon. friend is ready, and I will take the first chance to make it very complete before this parliament.

Mr. FOSTER. You have a very nice chance just now.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman who wants immediate evidence—

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.—perhaps will give the House the evidence in support of the accusations that have been made several times in this House against me, that I have prompted the action of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bou-

rassa), and the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet). They are both in the House this evening, and I give the most flat denial to these statements.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman has done worse than prompt them.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. What did I do ?

Mr. FOSTER. You condoned what they had done and supported them afterwards.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I had no right to hang them, and no great desire either.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman was very discreet.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I will have to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) not to interrupt.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I do not object to being interrupted. I give a flat denial to these statements. There is not a solitary word of truth in them. The hon. member for Labelle consulted me ; I gave him, as my advice, which he did not follow, not to resign his seat. I told him that he would have just the same right of speaking his mind if he did not resign his seat. But the hon. gentleman, who has strong views of his own, thought that he would be stronger in his position if he had the endorsement of his electors, and he resigned. It was his own undoubted right. Other members of parliament have followed the same course in the past. He resigned, and he came back here. The hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House did not make any opposition to him. They tried it, but they did not find anybody. Our side of the House did not oppose him.

Mr. LANDERKIN. The other side dare not.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville wrote a letter in which he stated his views. I do not see what means I had of preventing him from writing such a letter, but, it appears that my great crime is that I introduced the hon. member for Labelle. I do not regret it. It was an act of courtesy, and in my case, it was an act of friendship which I did with pleasure. I recognize that the hon. gentleman had the right to take the course he has taken ; I recognize that the views which he has propounded are more than respectable views. I am a strong upholder of the authority of parliament, and the hon. gentleman had a perfect right to do what he has done. There is no slavery in his political party, I hope. The right of free thought and free speech is not abolished amongst us. I do not approve of the course that the hon. member for Labelle has taken ; I think he would

have achieved his end just the same, but he has thought proper to do otherwise, which was his right. I think that a good many people have lost their heads on this question. What have we seen ? In Montreal, for instance, we have seen an eminent Queen's Counsel reading to His Excellency the Canadian law on the calling out of the militia—telling His Excellency that he had a perfect right to call out the militia of Canada without the consent of his government in this free country. He was a Tory leader, of course, because no Liberal leader would have given such advice as that.

An hon. MEMBER. Name him, name him.

Mr. LEMIEUX. Mr. McMaster.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. We have seen in several Tory papers that this country was very fortunate in having a Governor General here strong enough to take his ministers by the throat. Is it possible to insult the representative of the Crown in such a way ? Is it possible, that, in this free country, there are public men who would go so far as to advise the representative of Her Majesty to dismiss his ministers ? Still, in the Tory party this doctrine has been circulated and upheld. I protest against this. In the name of everything that stands for liberty and freedom, I assert the right of this country and of this parliament to be a free country and a free parliament. I was reading, a few days ago, from correspondence in the *Globe*, the following words :

We have other indications that a portion of our people, at least, are drifting dangerously near the whirlpool of political fanaticism, which soon becomes one of the most merciless of tyrannies. The violent abuse heaped in some quarters on French Canadian members of parliament who took a perfectly constitutional objection to sending our troops out of the country without parliamentary sanction was an instance of this tendency, for which the only excuse was the excited state of the public mind over a crisis in our history. But when we hear from our west coast that our foreign settlers are branded as traitors for even so natural an exercise of race sympathy as that of desiring to send aid to the families of the fallen Boers, for whose sorrows the kind heart of our own Queen can spare some sympathy—when we hear approvingly of 'knock-down' arguments, which are usually a confession of bad temper and weakness rather than of strength of rational conviction, we feel that the worst foes of freedom are not infrequently those who 'protest too much' in her favour, and when, even in Ontario, we hear of men whose education and calling should guarantee wiser counsels boasting that 'people sympathizing with the Boers dare not open their mouths in the streets, but have to keep silence,' or even expressing a bloodthirsty desire for the slaughter of those whom we make a point of calling our 'fellow-subjects,' though 'rebels,' one cannot help wondering whether the people who express and applaud such sentiments have quite for-

gotten the most essential principles of that constitutional liberty which our fathers have bought so dearly, on many a hard fought field. 'Ah, what a pity' writes, in a similar connection, 'Looker-On' in our Tory 'Blackwood,' that patriotism can be so atrociously mouthed and parodied and marketed as it often is.'

Those sentiments, Sir, are worthy sentiments. The question is: Whether we are forgetting our British principles. That is to say, are we forgetting that we are free to speak our own minds.

Sir, some of the Liberal papers have been quoted, and misquoted. I have no desire to quote all the French papers of the province of Quebec which have written on the question, but I hope some one will do it. In point of fact, if you start from Ottawa to the extreme limits of the province of Quebec, you will not find one single paper with the exception of *Le Soleil* which has not expressed the view that we must not take part in Imperial wars, without expecting opposition, papers of both political parties in the province of Quebec have taken that stand. Whether it is right or wrong, it is the stand that has been taken. Now, Mr. Speaker, the province of Quebec is a loyal province, essentially a loyal province; and no truer words were ever put in His Excellency's speech than these words:

Hostilities having unfortunately broken out during recess between Great Britain and the South African Republic, it appeared to my ministers expedient to anticipate the action of parliament by equipping and forwarding two contingents of volunteers to the seat of war as a practical evidence of the profound devotion and loyalty of the entire people of Canada to the Sovereign and institutions of the British Empire.

I call attention to the words 'as a practical evidence of the profound devotion of the people of Canada to the Sovereign and the institutions of the British Empire.' Although the vast majority of the French Canadians felt and believed that it would have been better to call parliament, they consented, and their representatives in the government consented to the sending of these troops in order to give a practical evidence of our devotion and loyalty to the Sovereign and to the institutions of the British Empire. In a country of different races like this, we cannot always carry our views. It is out of the question. You must give and take. It is only on this very condition that we may hope to establish a nation here. It is not by accusing each other of disloyalty that we will make of Canada a great nation. The French Canadians will not lose patience and will not be driven into disloyalty by the accusations hurled against them. They know too much about past history, and they understand too well the future that they have before them. They will stand by their British rights. They will stand by the constitution that has been established with their consent, with their participation and with their approval. Can-

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ada is our home. It is the home of French Canadians perhaps more than the home of our English friends. When an Englishman starts for England, he says: I am going home, but when a French Canadian like myself starts for France, I do not say I am going home; I say: I am going to France; because France is not my home; Canada is my home. Many of our English friends when they have gained large fortunes settle in England and become practically Englishmen. They live in England; they like to live in England, but the greatest ambition of a French Canadian who has emigrated to another land is to come and live and die on this Canadian soil of ours.

The eminent leader of the opposition thought fit to say that I opposed very strenuously the sending of troops, but that when I saw that my portfolio was in danger, I surrendered my views in order to keep my position. Mr. Speaker, that is not accurate. I like political life; I do enjoy a political fight, but in my present state of mind and of health, the Prime Minister would have no trouble at all in getting rid of me; not the slightest trouble. But, Sir, I would not go back upon my colleagues in this crisis.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No, not by any means. I would rather give up my own personal views for the sake of keeping my country in peace and harmony, and for the purpose of preventing the possibility of hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House raising a crusade against my race. A man is not a very big thing after all. My services could be dispensed with. I could be replaced. There are in the Liberal party many men who would fill my position better than I. But, Sir, I say it again, I have not the slightest temptation to create embarrassment and trouble in the midst of this important crisis. I am sure that my course has not been detrimental to the public interest. The office which I hold—and in saying this I shall be borne out by those who have preceded me in it—is not always a sinecure. I do not know many men who have gained peace, pleasure and fortune in this position. I see on the opposition benches men who have spent twenty or twenty-five years in public life. Let them tell me how they stand to-day. Let them tell me if they are much better off than they were twenty-five years ago. I know of only one man who is perhaps better off, and that is the eminent baronet who leads the opposition.

One last word. The hon. member for Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney) thought proper to give some friendly advice to the French Canadian race. I thank him for his good offices; but at the same time I beg him to believe that we can take care of ourselves pretty well. When I see an Englishman loyal to England, I quite understand that;

when I meet a French Canadian loyal to England, I quite understand that; we have our liberties and we enjoy our liberties; but when I hear an Irishman assert himself as more loyal than the Queen, I say there is something very wrong in his heart.

Mr. BEATTIE. You see one right here now.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Stand up; let us have a look at you.

Mr. CASGRAIN. What about the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick)?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to detain the House any longer, and I thank it for the kind consideration with which it has listened to me.

Mr. J. G. H. BERGERON (Beauharnois). Mr. Speaker, I believe you will admit with me that we have listened to a most extraordinary speech; we have been the witnesses of a most extraordinary spectacle—a minister of the Crown (Mr. Tarte) who has been obliged for an hour and a half or two hours to excuse the position he has taken against his colleagues. I want to say immediately that if I am rising to follow the hon. gentleman, I do not want the House or anybody to be under the impression that I make it my special duty to answer him. It just happens so. I intended to answer the speech made by the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) this afternoon, but lost my opportunity. To show that I have nothing personal against the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), the hon. gentleman commenced his speech by saying that the Conservative party, or gentlemen on this side of the House, were sorry that his death had not happened so as to keep him out of parliament. He said he was our only programme, and he thought that if he had not come here we would be at a loss. Let me tell the hon. gentleman, for his family first of all, for himself secondarily, and for his friends afterwards, and particularly for every Conservative in the Dominion of Canada, we pray that he may not die now. He has not done his work yet; he must do it to the end, and the party with which he is associated must feel its effects before he is called on to go and enjoy that place which he spoke of a few moments ago. The hon. gentleman has been accused by the honoured chief of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), and afterwards by my hon. friend on my right (Mr. Foster), of many things which I thought he would have been happy to answer to; but he has not done so. He has promised to do so on another occasion. But he has denied a great many of the things which he has said at public meetings or which he has published in his newspaper. We are accustomed to that. The hon. gentleman can say anything or write anything, and if it does not

do, he can say afterwards that he did not say so or did not write so; and if we try to force him, he says he signs all his articles. We all know that he has signed some of his articles, but a great many of them have never been signed; and it is no answer in such a serious discussion as we are having on this occasion, for the hon. gentleman to say that he is not responsible for articles that are not signed with his name. But, Sir, this is not new. It is impossible—and I call on his colleagues to say whether I am speaking the truth or not—to catch the hon. gentleman. It is impossible to put your hand upon him; he is too quick for his colleagues or anybody else; he is away a long time before the others are struck with the consequences of his acts, and nobody knows that better than the gentlemen who sit with him around the Council board. He has told us that he is not the proprietor of *La Patrie* of Montreal, but that his sons are; and he says he hopes they will be successful in the line of business which they have chosen. He says he thinks there is a chip of the old block in them. If there is, it is not a good omen, for every newspaper the hon. gentleman has edited in the last thirty years has gone to ruin, and I hope these young men will not suffer the same fate. The hon. gentleman has killed not only the papers with which he has been connected, but the political friends he has had, and he is doing that today on a mighty scale. I heard my hon. friend say, 'I am a French Canadian.' He has said so in his papers and in public meetings, and he repeated the same thing here. If I wanted to read from newspapers, I would read from the *Le Soleil* of Quebec, which criticised the hon. gentleman for uttering such words. What is the use of a man saying, I am a French Canadian, I am an Irish Canadian, I am an English Canadian, or I am a Scotch Canadian? It is by the use of such expressions that you prevent the unification of this country. Why not call ourselves all Canadians? We have a great example in this respect in the people of the republic to the south. How is it they have come to be as they are? They include people from every nation in the world; but they all call themselves simply Americans, and they have made a great republic. We should do the same thing here, and if we did we would avoid many evils, instead of following the example of the hon. gentleman who has just spoken. The hon. gentleman referred to the time when he was in Paris and had a meeting with Mr. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to the most extraordinary answer which that gentleman gave him. Mr. Delcassé said to him, 'No, no, you had better stay as you are.' Is it possible that the hon. gentleman was trying to make some arrangement with Mr. Delcassé to transfer the province of Quebec to the French nation? We would infer that from his answer, for Mr. Del-

cassé said, 'No, no, remain as you are.' The hon. gentleman's speech was extraordinary in another respect. He has seen fit to answer most of the things he said at the beginning. He read here what was said by a Protestant minister in some church in Ottawa, and which was republished in *La Patrie*, following its policy of publishing everything said in any part of Canada, not against the province of Quebec, not against French Canadians, but in reply to what was published in his own paper in the city of Montreal. What is the sense of publishing those things? Why, we know that in every province in this Dominion there are jingoes, people who lack what I would call the essential quality of patriotism. But what should we do with those? Why, we should purely and simply ignore them as much as possible. We should not reproduce in the province of Quebec what the jingoes of Ontario or any other province are saying, and in the other provinces what the jingoes of Quebec are saying, but purely and simply ignore those people altogether, if we want ever to make a united nation out of this Dominion of ours.

We have, I am happy to say, no fanaticism in the province of Quebec. If there is any fanaticism shown at times, it is shown by men like the hon. gentleman: occupying high positions and writing articles like those which were published in *La Patrie* at the beginning of October, 1899. As an evidence of what little fanaticism there is in the province of Quebec, I might give an example of what has taken place in my own county. In the town of Beauharnois, where there are not more than 200 English-speaking Protestants, we have had a Protestant mayor, and he would be still in office if he wished to continue holding it. In Valleyfield, a city of 10,000 people, where there are certainly not more than 500 Protestants, for five years they have had an English Protestant mayor; and if you had dared put the question: How is it that you have a Protestant for mayor? our people would have laughed at you, and said: What do we care, so long as he is a good mayor and fills the office well. I say it is a crime for a man occupying the position of the Minister of Public Works to be stirring up those people, and striving to do away with the happy state of things which we now enjoy in that province.

Mr. WALLACE. It is his whole stock in trade.

Mr. BERGERON. Yes, it is the stock in trade of the Minister of Public Works unfortunately. The hon. gentleman—and in a few moments I am going to give, according to my own views, the whole of that case of the Transvaal as it happens to be looked upon in our province—said that there had been twenty-three wars of England since

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confederation, and that we had never been called upon to take part in any one of them. Let me tell the hon. gentleman that he then happened to be a follower of the late Sir John Macdonald and of Sir Charles Tupper, the present leader of the opposition. The hon. gentleman says that we were not called upon to do anything towards helping the British Empire in those twenty-three wars, and he added that he had been taught in that school. But a few moments later he said that none of those wars had been as disastrous as the present one in the Transvaal. But there is one thing he forgot to say, and that is that we had not until 1897 a Prime Minister who had the honour, which our present Prime Minister enjoyed, of taking part in the great festivities of the Jubilee in London. And when later on, the hon. gentleman spoke of the circular sent round the different colonies by Mr. Chamberlain, let me ask him was that to be wondered at after the speeches delivered by the right hon. Premier and the Premiers of the other colonies at the Jubilee in 1897. That was the first time when a Canadian Prime Minister—and I am not blaming him for that, but am saying, simply, what happened—declared before all the Premiers of the different colonies in the British Empire, at the heart of the British Empire, that whenever anything would happen to that British Empire, that whenever the British flag would be threatened, if they would light the fires on the hills and sound the trumpets, men and money would come from Canada to help that British flag and empire. That brings me to one point, and it is this, that it was a blessing these troubles happened in the Transvaal under the regime of the Liberals in this Dominion. It was a blessing that they have occurred when a Premier from the province of Quebec, a Liberal Premier, had the helm, because if a Conservative had been at the head of public affairs in this country and had found himself in the same position as that in which the right hon. gentleman stood after his declaration at London, the Liberal party in Quebec, which is not as loyal as the Solicitor General says this afternoon it is, would have raised such a row in that province that it might have excited bitter racial feelings which would have lasted for years to come.

Has the hon. gentleman forgotten that the Liberal organ of the city of Quebec, *Le Soleil*, which was opposed to the sending of the contingent, had issued in 1896 that famous circular, of which the hon. Minister of Public Works must have been well aware, because it was spoken of in my county, calling on the people to vote against old Tupper and in favour of Laurier, if they did not want their sons to be sent to fight in Africa and Asia for the British flag. That circular was issued by *Le Soleil*, which has done everything in its power to excite

racial hostilities and raise racial cries and jealousies in the province of Quebec, because such has been the stock in trade of the Liberal party in that province for years past. They never had any other policy. I heard the hon. member for the division of St. James, Montreal (Mr. Desmarais) denounce in most eloquent terms the purchase of rifles by the late government. He depicted what a terrible thing it was for the late government to have spent \$3,000,000—the amount was \$1,300,000, but a million or two does not make any difference when on the hustings—in buying rifles. What a calamity it was, he exclaimed, in thrilling tones, for Canada to have spent so much money in buying rifles. And buying them for what purpose? There were ladies at that meeting, and when he told them it was for the purpose of putting those rifles into the hands of their sons and sending them off to Asia and South Africa to shed their blood for the empire, in wars in which they had no interest, those tender-hearted people imagined that they saw their sons leaving and were naturally very much affected. But, he told them, the remedy was in their own hands. If you want, he said, to avoid that calamity, vote for Laurier, a French Canadian Premier and your children will not be sent to Asia or South Africa, but do not vote for Tupper. I am sure that the hon. Minister of Public Works remembered that appeal when he advised the First Minister to study the constitution, as he did in that famous interview given in the *Toronto Globe*.

I repeat that no Canadian Premier had ever done what was done by the present First Minister during the Jubilee of 1897, and it was no wonder then that we should not have been called on before that year to send any contingent from Canada to take part in any of those twenty-three wars which occurred before that period. The hon. Minister of Public Works admitted himself in the course of his speech that this is a dreadful war. He did not go so far as the First Minister, who said it was a righteous war. The hon. gentleman admitted that it is a bloody war, probably the worst the British Empire has had to face during the present century; and, therefore, it is not to be wondered at that the different colonies, after the promises made at the Jubilee, should be called on to give value to those promises, and do what they then promised. The hon. minister said he was never known to show the white feather. I have heard that before at public meetings, and I have seen it in his paper, and we have heard it two or three times here. He wants people to believe he is brave. I have never looked upon him as a brave, but as a bold man—and there is a great deal of difference between the two. If he were a brave man, he would not be in the position he occupies in relation to two hon. gentlemen who spoke before him. When the

vote is taken, we shall see the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) voting on one side and the hon. Minister of Public Works, voting on the other, yet they have been on the same side in this question. They have studied the same literature. We had all three of them reading out of the same book. Now, it is hard to keep track of the varied utterances of these gentlemen on the platform and in the press, and it is a good thing we have parliament, where these matters can be discussed. For instance *La Patrie* said on the 11th or 12th of October—in those days there was an article on the subject nearly every day—that there was no offer of a contingent, that volunteers were going to support the British flag, and we could not prevent them. I think the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) said at Sherbrooke, that England had not asked for any men from Canada, and would not dare to do such a thing, but the contingent was a spontaneous offer from Canada. One of these statements must be wrong. *Le Soleil*, which so strongly denounced the purchase of the rifles, has not had so much to say since these rifles were paid for by the present government, and the government spent \$100,000 besides for guns. They denounced these dangers of sending our children to fight in Africa or Asia. But they now turn around and say that, after all, we cannot help it; that the Premier is a French Canadian, and if he had not sent the contingent, the Governor General would have called upon Tupper, a Protestant Premier, to lead the country; and, to have the honour of having a French Canadian Premier, we had better acquiesce and send the contingent. And then, after all, it says, look at the quantities of potatoes we shall sell; look at the quantity of hay we shall sell; look at all the money that will come into Canada to pay for the blood of a few young men, who, if they will sacrifice their lives, cannot be prevented. My right honourable friend when he spoke on a previous occasion, spoke of the reptile press. What did he mean? As I understand it the reptile press, is that which feeds at the trough of the government. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville, also said something about that. I wish to congratulate the hon. gentleman on his speech. I may not agree with him, and the House may not share his opinion, but he has spoken out in a manly way. I like a man who says what he feels, and I think that such a man carries more weight with the public and wins more of the public respect than one who expresses one opinion to-day and another to-morrow. We had a case of that in Montreal, a day or two after the government took their position on this question. Gentlemen who thought that *La Patrie* would lead them straight and carry its point against the government, declared that the government

would not send a contingent, that it would not dare to do so, and if it did it would lose their support—and two days afterwards they were signing a paper congratulating the Premier on having sent that contingent. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville did nothing of that kind, and deserves to be congratulated. But he spoke of the newspapers that changed their opinion. Now, I find a list in the Auditor General's report, which gives some information with regard to certain newspapers as to the amount received by them from the government for advertising:

Montreal 'Herald'	\$15,008
St. John 'Telegraph'	7,005
Moncton 'Transcript'	6,701
Halifax 'Chronicle'	5,373
Halifax 'Recorder'	3,118
Toronto 'Globe'	2,529
St. John 'Globe'	2,237
St. John 'Gazette'	2,205
Quebec 'Telegraph'	2,075
Montreal 'Patrie'	1,678
Regina 'Leader'	1,141
Quebec 'Soleil'	1,032
Hamilton 'Times'	991
Ottawa 'Free Press'	800
Montreal 'Witness'	694
London 'Advertiser'	638

Now, when the right hon. gentleman talks of the reptile press, surely he does not wish to throw odium on the people who support him. But, if there is a reptile press in this country, it seems to me, it must be made up of those newspapers that feed at the government crib. Surely they are not reptile newspapers that express their own opinions and live by their own honesty and industry. The hon. Minister of Public Works mentioned the *Montreal Star*. That newspaper does not get anything from the government, and its opinion is a perfectly independent opinion. The hon. gentleman made a gratuitous accusation against Mr. Graham that his motives were interested. It will be hard for him to prove such a thing. But the hon. gentleman wants to crawl out from the hole in which he has put himself. Before I leave this subject I wish to say that we have witnessed a sad spectacle—that of General Hutton leaving under a cloud, so to speak. Hon. gentlemen here looked to find what was the cause of the general's departure. Had they consulted *La Patrie*, of the 6th of October, at which time the Minister of Public Works was still a master of the administration, they would have found this:

The article published in the 'Military Gazette,' which says that the government considers it a criminal act to entrust to Canadian officers the command of a Canadian contingent, is severely condemned in ministerial circles. The government has too much respect for the Canadian Militia to give utterance to such an opinion.

I regret to learn—

'I' regret

—that the inspiration of this insulting article is attributed here to Gen. Hutton. I hope he will repudiate it. Gen. Hutton is in the pay of

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the government of this country. I think if he intends to remain in Canada, he would do well to remember that he is not the master of our destinies. Gen. Hutton wants to go to Africa himself, I am told.

We know now what was done—that the authorities in England were simply called upon to invite General Hutton to go to the Transvaal or somewhere else, and he has gone. Now, the Minister of Public Works made a statement, which I have heard before in this House, and have never heard denied, that in 1885 a demand was made by the home authorities on the Canadian government, through General Laurie, for troops to help the home government in some war in which they were engaged, and that there was no answer. Let me remind the House that in 1885 our troops were kept in Canada for a purpose, they were very much needed, because my right hon. friend was going to give them some hard work in the North-west.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I think I had the help of my hon. friend too.

Mr. BERGERON. But I never threatened to shoot anybody. Now the Minister of Public Works said, after speaking of the *Montreal Star* and other papers which do not share his opinions, and of course he does not approve of them—he said the government should not yield to popular clamour. Now, where does he find himself? I believe myself that the government should not yield to popular clamour, but the right hon. gentleman said they had yielded to popular clamour. He gave an interview to a paper in which he said that they could not send troops, that they had no right to send troops, that they could not get any money without the authority of parliament. What made the right hon. gentleman go back upon that opinion? That was the time for the Minister of Public Works, if, as he says, he had never shown the white feather, to exert his pressure upon the Premier, and prevent him from yielding to popular clamour. Perhaps the Minister of Public Works would have had to abandon his friends. I do not believe there would have been many Liberals going into mourning in the province of Quebec if the hon. gentleman had abandoned his friends. I think there were two or three ready to jump into his boots the next morning, and would have been happy to agree to anything the government asked of them, and the hon. gentleman knows it. But he preferred to come out to-day in the most extraordinary way and excuse himself. We have a proverb in French which says *qui s'excuse s'accuse*. That is to say, he who excuses himself condemns himself, and I think the hon. gentleman has been doing that for the last hour and a half. Now, the hon. gentleman said there was no enthusiasm in Quebec. Why does he say

that, after the speeches of the Premier having been published through the province of Quebec without a dissenting voice having been raised? Nobody said the right hon. gentleman should not have made the offer to England. When he said that whenever anything happened to the British flag Canada could be relied upon to help her, nobody said anything against that. When there was a motion carried unanimously in this House supporting England against the Transvaal, nobody in Quebec said a word against it. The hon. gentleman wound up his speech by saying that Quebec was loyal. Nobody says the contrary, both sides of the House are in perfect accord in declaring that the province of Quebec and the French Canadians are loyal, so there is no use saying anything more about that. If there is anybody in Quebec who is not loyal, it is the man who edits *La Patrie*. That is the man who began to scatter among the French Canadians ideas that he should have kept to himself. *Le Journal* of Montreal is a French paper, and what a row there would have been if the Conservative press or the Conservative members of parliament had raised the cry which has been raised by *La Patrie* and the Minister of Public Works. But we did nothing of the sort, and there was no occasion to do so. When the hon. gentleman says that there is no enthusiasm in Quebec, I want to give him an example to the contrary. In the month of October, after having gone down into the maritime provinces with my hon. friend on my right (Mr. Foster), and having uttered there my sentiments upon the current events, *La Patrie*, the organ of the hon. gentleman, challenged me to repeat in Montreal what I had said in the maritime provinces. A large meeting was called in the Monument National by a Conservative club, and I went there and repeated what I had said in New Brunswick; and these people, all French Canadians of Montreal, most of them working men, men who could be easily inflamed by the utterances of *La Patrie*, when they heard the reasons that were given to them justifying the action of the government in sending troops to the Transvaal to help the mother country, when they were told that these men who were going were all volunteers, and that the government would assist them to go to defend the British flag under which they had been living happily for 150 years, a unanimous cheer went up in that hall from the 2,000 French Canadians present, and there was unanimous approval of the position taken by the government and sanctioned by the Conservative party. But the hon. gentleman, a minister of the Crown, a man called upon to direct public opinion, says that there is no enthusiasm in Quebec! That is his own opinion, an opinion which he has written in his paper, and that is the opin-

ion which he opposed to the opinions of his colleagues. But to-day—I do not know if it is really true that in a few days he is going to leave for Paris—to-day he has crawled out and tried to make the people believe on the eve of his departure that Quebec is loyal; and the only conclusion that can be drawn from his own words is that if there is any disloyal person in Quebec it is himself.

Now, the hon. gentleman said a very indelicate thing on the hustings at St. Vincent de Paul, and committed an indelicate action when he showed to the people a copy of an Order in Council—like what he did here when he made the public judges of the difficulties which have been going on in the Privy Council. I have been here for a good many years, and this is the first time that I have ever heard of what happened in council. When the government come out of the Council Chamber they are as one man. The public should not know what has transpired within the walls of the Red Chamber. The hon. gentleman went to St. Vincent de Paul, and showed a document which he said was an Order in Council containing the words that the action of the government in sending the first contingent should not be a precedent. In Sherbrooke he said that Sir Charles Tupper, the leader of the opposition, was the cause of all the trouble; and he also said what he has just repeated in this House, that the Conservatives were raising the cry that we had a French Canadian Premier. Mr. Speaker, let me tell you that I have been in the maritime provinces, and I have been in Toronto and other places in Ontario, and nowhere did I hear a single word said against the right hon. gentleman because he is a French Canadian. I have heard people opposing his policy, but I never heard one man say that he was opposed to the right hon. gentleman because he is a French Canadian. If the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), who comes from Toronto had taken the position which was first taken by the Premier, he would have been criticised in Ontario and everywhere else. I must say that the position taken by Canada on that occasion was a most humiliating one. I have personally a great deal of esteem for the Premier, but I am sorry to say that after the position he had taken at the jubilee, after the position he had taken in asking parliament to vote unanimously an address of sympathy for the British government, I was sorry to see that, although he was first at the jubilee, he was last in offering the services of Canada to the mother country. The Minister of Public Works says that the leader of the opposition is the real cause of all that has taken place. But is it surprising? I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that the Minister of Public Works has been defending the Boers in this House with the book he had in his

hand, saying they were right, saying that he agreed with Mr. Bryce, and Mr. Morley, and two or three other English gentlemen, who do not count for much, because they were overwhelmingly defeated in the English parliament. He forgets that these men he mentions were not members of the British government, they are only members of parliament. The member for Napierville (Mr. Monet) and the member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) can take that position, but no minister of the Crown in England has taken the position that the Minister of Public Works has taken in this House. Now the hon. gentleman has expressed a very extraordinary opinion. I said a few moments ago that we could not put our hands upon the hon. gentleman. He changes his opinions so suddenly that we cannot catch him. In Quebec he was opposed to the sending of a Canadian contingent; in Quebec he thought it was ridiculous to see the Canadian government doing anything of the sort, but when it was proposed he sought to crawl out of the hole in which he had placed himself by saying that he was opposed to doing such a thing without calling parliament together. We afterwards witnessed him passing censure on his colleagues for not calling parliament together before sending the second contingent. Now, he says that he does not want to have anything decided by Great Britain unless we are consulted, and he would like to see the right hon. Prime Minister of this country sitting at the Council Board of England. I do not want to hurt the feelings of the hon. gentleman, but I think this is childish, particularly after what we have heard this afternoon. The hon. Minister of Public Works, who is known all over the world as the master of this administration, left this country, accompanied by Sir Sandford Fleming, and went to England to decide a question that was decided before they went there. It was announced that he was going to settle the Pacific cable question, but everything was settled when he arrived there. Yet, he would like to see the right hon. Prime Minister sitting at the Council Board of Great Britain. Does he think that the right hon. gentleman would rule the whole British Empire by sitting at the Council Board, or that he would, like the hon. Minister of Public Works, rule the Council Board or get out of it? I say once more that the hon. gentleman is purely and simply saying something which is childish. Now, the hon. gentleman says that the English press all over the country is hostile to Quebec. I deny it. It is a sad thing to be obliged to discuss these matters on the floor of parliament. It is true that there are people of narrow ideas in every province, but surely we do not expect these people to rule. We cannot do away with them; we have to allow them to live, but we can ignore them in the English provinces as well

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as in the French provinces, and if such articles were not published by *La Patrie* in Montreal in answer to these papers in the English provinces such discussions would not arise. If the hon. Minister of Public Works is sincere in his remarks in wishing that an end should be put to controversies of this nature in this country, let him put a stop to the publication of his own articles in *La Patrie*, and let him cease from reprinting such articles published in the English press. The hon. gentleman has pursued this course both upon the hustings and in his paper. I do not want to refer to his paper, but I am very much surprised, and I may tell the hon. gentleman why I am surprised. I heard the hon. gentleman not very long ago, use the most eulogistic language in regard to the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper). I know that the hon. Minister of Public Works used to be an admirer of the hon. leader of the opposition, and he has written many eulogistic articles and good articles, too, in regard to him. But look at *La Patrie* to-day and see how bitterly it attacks the hon. leader of the opposition, a man in his seventy-ninth year, who has been for forty-five years in public life, who has been exposed to the criticisms of his opponents and of the press of this country, yet who is a public man who stands high to-day in the estimation of the people of this country, a man who is respected even by his opponents. I only wish that my hon. friends opposite who are in the government to-day will live to be as old, and that they will enjoy the same degree of popularity and of public respect that the hon. leader of the opposition enjoys to-day in the Dominion of Canada. Now, I may be permitted to read an article published by an independent paper in the province of Quebec, which has been provoked by the articles of *La Patrie* and by some of the speeches delivered in the House of Commons. It is entitled 'The Loyalty of the French Canadians.' I hope the House will bear with me for a few moments: it is not very long, but I think it is worth being put on *Hansard*, so that it will be available in future in case that such a discussion arises again. It is from *La Presse*, and is as follows:—

The Loyalty of the French Canadians.

The loyalty of the French Canadians and Cæsar's wife will soon become synonymous, both must be above reproach. The pages which Conservative leaders and Liberal leaders alike have just added to the columns of 'Hansard,' belong henceforth to history, and our nationality has attained in the great book an unassailable position; and thus, in truth, does the logic of events utilize to good purpose in the interest of truth, the schemes of designing knaves. Supreme efforts were put forth in order to belittle us; and lo! we have gained in stature. The foul charges flung broadcast by the 'News' have simply served to nourish the roots of that precious plant, 'the truth,' and cause it to flourish and bear fruit. Sir Charles Tupper,

Sir Richard Cartwright and Hon. G. E. Foster spoke with deep and heartfelt conviction in generous language which we can never forget; and if we dwell specially upon one of them it is not that we set less store upon the declarations of the others; but the venerable Conservative chief has been assailed directly, and made the subject of the vilest insinuations, to which, however, we are indebted for his most eloquent profession of faith. We feel justified in assuring him on behalf of our people that it was not at all needed; but it did not fail to touch them deeply nevertheless.

Sir Charles Tupper has completed forty-five years of active service in political life. Never has the faintest tinge of fanaticism darkened his long and brilliant career. It was left to the infamous 'Free Press,' the unflinching advocate of all the persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Manitoba, to hold up the venerable statesman to the hatred of the French Canadians. The scheme has not succeeded; for the whole world knows the breadth of view, the magnanimity, the unfailing impartiality with which Sir Charles has ever treated the several races in the different medley which constitutes the Dominion of Canada. We have never been able to discern in him a difference of sentiment, a shade of preference, in favour of his own people to the detriment of ours; and so marked has this delicacy ever been in his bearing, that he invariably takes as much pleasure in the society of French Canadians as in that of his own countrymen. We gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to record these facts.

Sir Charles was justified in alluding to the several periods of his life when his bearing towards our people was most strikingly manifested. He recalled, for instance, the Cartier incident in 1867, when the Queen made Mr. John A. Macdonald a Knight, and Mr. George E. Cartier a simple Companion of the Bath. This unfortunate distinction had too much the appearance of a plot at Rideau Hall. The writer of these lines was beside Mr. Cartier when drafting his protest, in company with Mr. A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance. Some of the documents in this matter are to-day embodied in the blue-books; but the private file, of far greater interest than the part submitted to the public, has remained with the private papers of Sir George. We remember seeing, amongst others, on Sir George's desk, two remarkable letters, one from Mr. Archibald (afterwards Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, and at the time Secretary of State), and the other from Sir Charles Tupper. The latter showed genuine feeling, emphatically protesting against the injustice committed, and placing the writer's services at Cartier's disposal in securing redress.

It was the expression of the sentiments of a sincere and magnanimous mind. And the event proved that it was not a mere expression of conventional courtesy and superficial proffer of service, for Cartier very soon was made a Baronet. Mr. Tupper, who had refrained from even accepting a portfolio in order to promote the confederation of the provinces, from the very first, by stepping aside in favour of a certain active, turbulent and dangerous element, was for all of us, comparatively unknown as a political man. The high expression of confidence in him, the testimony borne to his true and genuine friendship, in the most earnest conversation which took place between Cartier and Galt, left on our mind an impression which nothing which has since occurred has had the effect of diminishing. It is manifest that if Mr. Tupper had

then been acting from interested motives he would have paid court to the Prime Minister, Sir J. A. Macdonald, for he himself was then but a simple member, and without a following in the House.

We are also in a position to bear witness to his sincerity when, in or about the year 1883, Sir John A. Macdonald, on being called to the Privy Council of Great Britain, thought of surrendering the reins of government—we hold it from a colleague of Sir Charles Tupper, who was then Mons. J. A. Chapleau, that at a quasi-official meeting he had just left, Sir Charles had emphatically declared his unwillingness to accept the succession so long as Sir Hector Langevin remained in active political life. 'Sir Hector is my senior in the politics of Canada,' he said, 'and the position belongs to him.'

We shall add a third instance derived from personal recollection, showing the deep interest Sir Charles takes in the French Canadian people. It may be quite positively asserted that the treaty of commerce between Canada and France was simply an act of courtesy towards the French Canadians; for the other provinces and nationalities were quite indifferent about it. Year after year, with unflinching persistence and energy did Sir Charles labour at this work, which failed in 1880 and 1881, and again in 1883. We were then with him in Paris, and perforce are witness of his efforts, for it was our task to translate English into French and French into English, and especially to translate conversations of still greater importance than documents. The difficulties were innumerable for the English Ambassador, Lord Lyons, put every possible obstacle in the way—doing it most diplomatically, of course, while the French government, hampered by the everlasting most-favoured-nation clause did not feel themselves in a position to make the smallest concession to Canada. Sir Charles would then, with a heavy heart, set out once more for London, where, though a Canadian minister, he was acting as High Commissioner, but the following week would see him back again in Paris armed with fresh arguments; if ever tenacity of purpose was entitled to admiration that was surely earned by him in this most desperate struggle, during which he had to cross and recross the channel six times in one month's time. One day, when the prospect was more gloomy than ever before, turning towards us, he exclaimed, 'Tell those gentlemen that what I am asking of them is for Frenchmen like themselves.'

These words, burning as they fell with fervour and enthusiasm, carried the day, and then and there the broad outlines of the treaty were adopted. But, unfortunately, on the very next day, Sir John Macdonald cabled to Sir Charles to return to Canada forthwith. The question of giving the Canadian Pacific Railway Company the government guarantee of thirty million dollars had to be dealt with, for the very existence of that great undertaking was at stake. Governments changed rapidly in France. The opportunity was lost, and it took Sir Charles, who had gone away greatly disappointed and grieved—the further unceasing labour of ten additional years to attain, at last, the end he so ardently and so disinterestedly sought to accomplish. For he it was who in the end brought to a close all the negotiations of 1893-94-95.

Whenever it is asserted in any quarter that Sir Charles Tupper has spoken ill of the French Canadian people it may be taken for granted that the very opposite is the truth.

The discussion in parliament last week was marked by another incident which we also desire to mention. Sir Adolphe Caron availed himself of the opportunity when he was leading the opposition to make in behalf of his Conservative fellow-countrymen, an eloquent and manly profession of sincere and enlightened loyalty. We heartily congratulate him not merely on his personal success, which for a politician is a matter of most legitimate and most enviable satisfaction, but more especially on the genuine applause with which both sides of the House greeted his patriotic address. We owe thanks to Sir Adolphe Caron for having succeeded in getting into 'Hansard' the lengthy and valuable letter of Mr. Begin to Mgr. Bruchesi, on French Canadian loyalty. Hereafter, racial difficulties and national friction may arise in one part or another of our great country, and should it so happen, our children will find in the report of the debates of February, 1900, a store of serviceable arms wherewith to avenge their honour, as we have avenged ours. French Canadian loyalty will never change, so long as it shall be controlled by religion; for the Catholic Church does not vary, where justice and duty are involved.

That it may be shown, once and for all, that the loyalty of the French Canadian clergy is no mere lip loyalty, we here give the prayer read daily by every priest, aloud before the people at the conclusion of Mass; we first give the Latin text :

Oremus.

Quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut famula tua, Nostra Regina, quae tua miseratione, suscepit regni gubernacula virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa quibus decenter ornata, et vitiarum monstra devitare et ad te, quivia, veritas et vita es, gratiosa valeat pervenire. Per Christum Dominum Nostrum. Amen.

Let us Pray.

We beseech Thee, Almighty God, that Thy servant, our Queen, who through Thy goodness hath taken charge of this Kingdom, may receive the reward of all the virtues wherewith she is adorned, avoid the foulness of vice, of being loaded with Thy favours, attain unto Thee, who art the way, the truth and the life. Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

In justice to the leader of the opposition I thought it necessary to place this on *Hansard* as Sir Charles Tupper's defence against the speeches of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), and his writings in his organ. The latter part of that able article shows that the Catholic clergy of Canada are not only lip loyal as it has been asserted, but that they entertain feelings of profound loyalty to the British Empire.

I now come to deal with the remarks of the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick), and with the loyalty of the Liberal party. I do not want to say that all the loyalty in Canada belongs to the Conservative party.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BERGERON. I might say so, but I want to give them the benefit of the doubt, and so I will not place that assertion on record. I might remind the House of the speech of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) and although I do not put my

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hon. friend from Napierville (Mr. Monet) on the same footing, yet it is also true that he has spoken adversely to the policy of the government on this matter. But, Sir, let me remind the House that for the last twenty years the Liberal party in the province of Quebec have done nothing but to raise race and religious questions in order to retain power. The Minister of Public Works spoke about the school question this afternoon, but we on this side do not want to raise that question before the House. We have had enough of it. We all know the position taken by the Liberal party on that question in the province of Quebec. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) seems to forget some things, but as has been said the whole stock in trade is to use that question whenever he thinks it will help him. Does the minister (Mr. Tarte) know that *La Patrie* is asking every now and then: Will Mr. Hugh John Macdonald settle the Manitoba school question?

Mr. LEMIEUX. Because you said it was not settled.

Mr. BERGERON. *La Patrie* seems to keep that heading standing in type and they say: Let the people of Quebec ask Hugh John Macdonald to settle the school question. What does the Minister of Public Works think of that, when *La Patrie* said three years ago that the school question was settled? And what about the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux)? He not only said it was settled, but if he is reported correctly he told the people in the Pelletier Hall at Sherbrooke, that not only was the Manitoba school question settled, but that His Holiness the Pope, had written a letter of congratulation to the Prime Minister for settling it in the manner he had.

Mr. LEMIEUX. Will the hon. gentleman allow me? I shall have to correct him by stating that I never said such a thing. I never bring the name of the Pope into any public discussion.

Mr. CASGRAIN. We will have to get a stenographer next time.

Mr. BERGERON. Of course under the rules of the House I will have to take the answer of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Lemieux). When the Conservatives have their meetings alone, as they had in Sherbrooke, we had the press present of both political parties, and the meetings were public. But when the Liberals had their meetings, they did not allow the Conservative press to be present, and as they control the Liberal press, we could not find out what they said, unless we sent some one specially there for that purpose. I had some of my friends attend the meeting which was addressed by the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux), because I know that at any meeting where he is uncontrolled he unscrews his tongue and lets it go free.

Now, the hon. gentleman says that he never said so, and according to the rules of the House, I am obliged to accept his denial; but I am very glad that I brought the subject up, because outsiders who listened to the hon. gentleman, will be able to judge for themselves. The hon. Minister of Public Works in his paper, as well as in this House, speaks of the Conservative party as a party of fanatics. Not a day passes without *La Patrie* bringing out an article on the fanaticism of the Conservative party. It is not for the Minister of Public Works to talk of fanaticism—a man who has been a firebrand all his life, both in our party and out of it. In that party he did the same kind of work he is doing to-day; he contributed largely to the injury of the party, and it was a good thing when he accepted our invitation to pass to the other side. The hon. gentleman is to-day bringing against the Conservative party the same charge that he brought against the Liberal party in the old times.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
(Mr. Tarte). May God bless you.

Mr. BERGERON. I am afraid that prayer will not find its way above. The hon. gentleman says that the Conservative party is a party of fanatics. The hon. gentleman must remember what happened in 1896. The hon. gentleman has spoken of Orangemen, and *La Patrie* writes every other day of the Orangemen of Ontario. This is the way the hon. gentleman brings harmony into this country. Does he not know that the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) declared, when sitting on this side of the House, that there were Orangemen on both sides of politics? There are Liberal Orangemen and Conservative Orangemen. I may say that there are good Orangemen and bad Orangemen. There are some who voted with us in 1896, to give justice to the minority in Manitoba, and there are some who voted against us, and with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Public Works. This is the kind of politics we have to meet in the province of Quebec. When we see a man occupying the position of a minister of the Crown, having recourse to such means to keep his party in power, is it surprising that the Liberal party never had any platform, but have had to throw themselves into the hands of that gentleman, and now find themselves in the position they are in on the eve of being driven out of power by public opinion as soon as a chance is given? The hon. gentleman spoke of the chief of the Opposition being at the head of a powerless minority. The hon. gentleman should know that it was the fear of public opinion which prevented his party going to the country last fall. Everything was prepared, after the \$69,000,000 session which we had last year, for an appeal to the country. We could see evidences of it even in the weekly papers of the party, which were clamouring for

the expenditure of some of the money we had voted, so as to be prepared for the elections. Why did the government not go to the country? I am not a prophet nor a son of a prophet, but I venture to say that they will not go to the country at the end of this session either. They dare not do it. They will continue to the end of their term. They will then receive due chastisement for the way they obtained office in 1896. The hon. gentleman speaks of fanatics. I could refer to *Le Canadien* of years ago, and show that all these men whom he accuses to-day of fanaticism were defended and very well defended by him then. I could show you the good words he then said of Sir Mackenzie Bowell and of the present leader of the opposition. The hon. gentleman has seen fit to change his views, but that does not change the facts. The gentlemen who were complimented by him at that time, are the same men, and deserve the very same compliments to-day.

Now, what is the cause of all the trouble we have in this country—of all these newspaper articles and reports of speeches made by one gentleman in one place, and by another in another place? The cause lies in the honesty of the speaker or the writer. If gentlemen would say the same thing in every province of the Dominion, and not have one speech for one province and another for another province, we would not be the witnesses of this state of things. Hon. gentlemen opposite, should follow the example given them by the chief of the Opposition upon that question, which the hon. gentleman has inflamed so much, the school question. The chief of the Opposition has said the very same thing in every province of the Dominion. He went to the city of Winnipeg, and he said there things which the hon. Minister of Public Works would not have dared to say in any part of the country outside of the province of Quebec; and I believe it was because of the bravery and the manliness of the chief of the Opposition in 1896, that he carried the city of Winnipeg for his party.

Now, Sir, the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) this afternoon answered my hon. friend from Kent, N. B., (Mr. McInerney), and I think he simply emphasized what that hon. gentleman said. I am here to say that every word uttered by the hon. member for Kent, was perfectly true—there were two schools in the province of Quebec.

Mr. LEMIEUX. Liberals and Conservatives.

Mr. BERGERON. There was a school of Lafontaine and Baldwin, and the school of Morin and Cartier. My hon. friend from Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) said that Cartier was accused of being an Englishman, because he was the friend of Sir John Macdonald in Ontario, and of Sir Charles Tupper in the maritime provinces. Nothing can be accomplished in this country unless

our political parties are composed of people speaking different languages and of different creeds. You cannot have a government composed of people of one race or of one province; such a government would not be a stable government. Now, who were the teachers of the other school in the province of Quebec? Papineau was one.

Mr. LEMIEUX. An honourable man and a great patriot.

Mr. BERGERON. He preached annexation before 1840.

Mr. LEMIEUX. He did not sign the manifesto.

Mr. BERGERON. Who was another? Sir Antoine Dorion.

Mr. LEMIEUX. A great man.

Mr. BERGERON. He did everything he could to prevent the confederation of these provinces. Who was another? Mr. Mercier.

Mr. LEMIEUX. You followed him.

Mr. BERGERON. He went to the United States and preached annexation. These are the fathers of the school followed by my hon. friend from Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux). They were the founders of a disloyal school, and they would have done anything at all to obtain power. That is the reason why they do not retain power long—it is not 'pro bono publico.'

Mr. LEMIEUX. They do not turn their coats.

Mr. BERGERON. I need not speak of the utterance of the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) at Boston, when he said he would rather have an American dollar than an English shilling.

Mr. FOSTER. Most any one would.

Mr. BERGERON. But that was not the sense in which he said it. Is it necessary to refer to the position taken by the Liberal party in 1891, to show which school is followed by the hon. gentlemen opposite? Mr. Speaker, I said a few moments ago that it was a good thing that the present government are in power under the circumstances. These men are obliged to do like the hon. member from Gaspé—to stand up against their own will to support the present government.

Mr. LEMIEUX. We do not bolt.

Mr. BERGERON. No, you cannot afford to do it. It takes a very clever man to bolt.

Mr. LEMIEUX. To turn his coat.

Mr. BERGERON. My hon. friends from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) and Napierville and Laprairie (Mr. Monet) may do that because they are strong men, but the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux) cannot, because he has to attach himself to the

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skirts of the hon. Minister of Public Works in order to hold himself in public life.

I repeat it is a good thing that this has happened under this party and government. It will be a lesson for the future. Let us cry a halt to this sort of thing. Hon. gentlemen opposite are in power. They are at the height of their ambition. We on this side are trying to do our duty to the people. Let us put a stop to these old tactics, let us start afresh and be more patriotic than we have been in the past, and I am now speaking for Liberals as well as for Conservatives.

We may talk about independence, but how can we have independence? An hon. gentleman has said that what has happened will be the best that ever could have happened to help our attaining that goal of the ambition of some Canadians, and I say, standing here, that it should be the goal of every nation to attain its majority and independence. But it will be impossible for us ever to attain that goal unless we change our ways. I have more confidence in the English people living on the shores of the Thames than in the Liberal party of this Dominion. I say we must be in greater harmony. We want to obtain not only independence, but peace and happiness in this country. We have the finest country in the world. There is no reason why we should not be the happiest people in the world. And we have been thrown here together, whether French or English speaking, whether we adore the Almighty in one way or another, by Providence, and we are bound to live together and should live together in peace and harmony, and it should be our aim to do our level best, to use the expression of the hon. Minister of Public Works, to achieve that end and to stand by the British flag and empire and by this country, whenever the occasion presents itself, such as the one which presented itself in October last; and when dangers menace the British Empire, we should be prepared to do our part without having all those discussions, such as we have had carried on in the newspapers and on the hustings and in this parliament.

This resolution of the Minister of Finance should have been presented to the House, as he has done it, with a few words, and have been carried unanimously without lengthy debate, to show the British Empire and the people of the motherland that this colony is not only loyal for political purposes, but thoroughly loyal in every core to the British flag and empire.

I am sure that I have occupied the attention of this House too long, and having done so, I shall only say, like the hon. Minister of Public Works, that I shall take another opportunity to continue my remarks.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). As I am only going to ask the attention of the House for a very few moments, Mr.

Speaker, I shall ask your permission to make my remarks to-night, although the hour is somewhat late. The hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) this afternoon, when he was pleased to address the House, gave utterance to the remark that he was sure many of us were sorry to see him here. He even went so far as to say that some members of the opposition almost wished that he were dead. I may say to the hon. gentleman that that is not the sort of party warfare that he will meet with from hon. members on this side; and I think that in the history of Canadian politics it will only be found once that a leading public man looked pleasantly to the helping hand of death to aid his party struggles, and that was a colleague of the hon. gentleman, the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright, who, when he went up to Toronto to prove that the Liberal government were an economical administration, and when he was asked what about the Senate, answered to his interrogator: Let Divine Providence take care of the Senate, which it will do soon enough.

We are not sorry, but, on the contrary, are glad to see the hon. Minister of Public Works here. I am sorry, from a Canadian standpoint, that he was here to make the address he did this afternoon. I am sorry that any member of this parliament should have made a speech so full of haltings and excuses, not only for himself, but for a people who, one of his own colleagues declared, were in open rebellion against their properly constituted British authority. I am sorry that any hon. member should have made a speech so full of halting excuses for a people in open rebellion and yet retain his place as a member of Her Majesty's government, and as one of the advisers of His Excellency in this Dominion. I am glad, as a Conservative, that that speech was made, if you can separate the fact of one being a party man and at the same time desiring to see unity and good feeling prevail in every portion of the Dominion. No speech could have been made in this House. I venture to say, that will do more good to the cause of hon. gentlemen on this side, except, perhaps, the speeches of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), than that which the Minister of Public Works gave us this afternoon. He did not receive his old time cheers when he made that speech. Usually, when the hon. gentleman raises that small fist of his, and with his peculiar pugnacious look turns round to his followers, it is a signal for an outburst of cheering. But I watched in vain to hear that outburst of cheering this afternoon. On the contrary, I saw pretty long faces among hon. gentlemen opposite when the hon. minister took a position decidedly in opposition, I venture to say, to that taken by ninety-five per cent, and perhaps a great deal more than that.

of hon. gentlemen opposite, at least from the province from which I have the honour to come.

I rise, however, for the purpose of saying that I am in very hearty accord with the resolution which has been moved by the hon. Minister of Finance, namely, for the expenditure of this money in connection with the sending of our contingents to South Africa, and I am only sorry, as I am sure every hon. member on this side is, that the money was not voted with absolute unanimity, without a single word of fault-finding, so that the vote would have gone out to the world as expressive of the sentiment of the Canadian people and as typical of Canadian national feeling, solid in its unity in the support of the empire in this hour of her struggle and her trouble.

Let me say to the right hon. gentleman who leads the government, that as between this side of the House and his, there is very little difference of opinion really in so far as the substance of these resolutions is concerned. Dealing with the broader subject as to how the government has dealt generally with the matter of sending assistance to the mother country, there is a difference of opinion. We regret that Canada was not the very first to send her offer of assistance to the mother country. It was her right to occupy that place. She is the most important colony of the motherland. She has occupied a position in the British eye that no colony has occupied for a number of years past. As my hon. friend from Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) has said, in those celebrated jubilee festivities in which the right hon. gentleman took a leading part, our representatives occupied a most prominent place indeed; instead of seeing Queensland first telegraphing her offers of assistance, instead of seeing Victoria following up with her offers of assistance, instead of seeing New South Wales and even little Hong Kong, telegraphing to the Imperial authorities their offers of assistance. I may say, as a Canadian and a Conservative—and I believe that there is a majority of hon. gentlemen upon the other side of the House who will agree with me—that as Canadians we would have been pleased and happy to have seen Canada heading the list with her offer of patriotic assistance to the motherland, and then let the other colonies follow up in succession, occupying the places they occupy in relative importance, namely, places much inferior to that occupied by the Canadian Dominion. Then, Sir, we regret that Canada's offer was not pressed to pay the whole expenses of this contingent; but we are very glad, and I express my sentiments of approval coming from the province of Ontario, most heartily to the Prime Minister who at least in some way offered his assistance for not having left Canada to lag out of the race entirely. If she does not occupy the first

place in making her offer, at least Canada has offered assistance to the motherland, and that that offer has been accepted. There is unanimity of opinion practically as between this side and the other, so far as the conduct of the Prime Minister and the majority of his government goes—because we are informed this afternoon by one of his important colleagues that the matter was decided in Council, that a majority went with the Prime Minister or against the Minister of Public Works, and the majority must rule. There seems to exist great division among the members of the right hon. gentleman's own party. There seems to be one division represented by the hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) and the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden). I read an interview with the hon. member for North Oxford, who is a member of the cabinet without portfolio, and who occupies a very prominent place in the ranks of his party, which expressed the sentiments of the province of Ontario exactly. I have no doubt that other hon. gentlemen also have read that interview. That interview was British and Canadian to the core. It declared that Canada would take a leading place in her assistance to the motherland. I read also a speech of the Minister of Militia and Defence, in which he said that the time had come when Canada must make her decision as to whether in the future she shall stand by and close to the empire in its time of trouble, and, so far as I am concerned personally, said he, I have no hesitation in expressing my opinion about what that judgment and decision should be. Then there was the Prime Minister himself, who represented another school of thought, not aggressive like that represented by the minister without portfolio or the Minister of Militia and Defence, but waiting for the pushing of public opinion before he was willing to express himself and before he was willing to take any steps in regard to this contingent. Then, representing another school of thought, there was the Minister of Public Works, the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet), the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), who, outvoted and outfought, expressed still their objections to the course which the government took in regard to sending that contingent. Now, all seemed to regret that political feeling has come into this question at all; but I am here to say that political feeling has been imported into this matter by the division among the right hon. gentleman's own party. Had it not been for the action of the Minister of Public Works, had it not been for the speeches of the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville, and the hon. member for Labelle, this motion, I venture to say, would have been passed without any discussion, and we should be in the position of unanimously voting this amount for the assistance of

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the motherland in her time of trouble. Then, what did we see this afternoon? I appeal to the judgment of the House whether in this debate, or in almost any other debate, a member of the government has risen with such evident political feeling and political hostility as that which actuated the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick), who occupies a place, if not in the cabinet, at least in the government. The Solicitor General does not usually show the feeling he showed this afternoon. I am glad to say that I heartily agree with a great deal of his speech, but the first part of his speech was politics pure and simple. He endeavoured to show that the members of the Conservative party have been sowing the seeds of disunion in Canada, the very work in which some gentlemen not far from him, and occupying very responsible positions in this country, have been doing themselves, and which Sir Charles Tupper and his followers have not been doing. And what further did we find this afternoon? The Minister of Public Works, even at this date, after Canada has taken her stand and sent her contingent, when indeed her sons are falling in the fight, rises here and declares that there are two sides to the question of the Boer war—two sides to the question whether the Boers are right or the British are right. I call his attention to the speech of the Solicitor General, who held up before us the argument made after the battle of Majuba Hill. He declared that in every line that agreement looked to the maintenance of the rights and liberties of British subjects in the Transvaal, and looked to the maintenance of British suzerainty over the Transvaal Republic. If that statement of the Solicitor General be true—and I have no doubt it is, for I have read the document myself, the position of Paul Kruger and his forces is one of open, illegal and dishonest rebellion against properly constituted authority; and I say that in matters of that kind there are no two sides, but that the side is right that has the power and is exercising it properly, and the side is wrong that is rebelling against that properly constituted authority, the exercise of which they agreed to after the unanimous act of England in 1881, in withdrawing her forces when, in a few hours, she could have wiped the Transvaal forces and the Transvaal government out of existence. We find another gentleman discussing this question, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) a supporter of the Minister of Public Works—well, at least a supporter of the government of the right hon. gentleman. I venture to say the hon. member for North Norfolk does not support the government with any more pleasure because of the presence of the Minister of Public Works, especially since he has expressed his opinions on this subject. What do we hear the member for North Norfolk saying? He gave his arguments clearly

and forcibly to the House. He never made a better speech in the House; and we on this side were glad to hear it instead of the speech of the sixty-million market to which we listened to so often in the days between 1887 and 1896. What did the hon. member for North Norfolk say? He said this: Talk about the rights of British subjects in the Transvaal, there are 70,000 British subjects there, and only 63,000 Boers. Talk about the rights of the British subjects in the city of Johannesburg, where out of 100,000 people, the Boers have allowed only 250 people to vote. He said that when they invited immigration they had a rule that one year's residence would give enfranchisement, but immediately the foreigners or Uitlanders began to come, they changed it to fourteen years. He called the attention of the Minister of Public Works to this fact that whereas the revenue of the whole Transvaal Republic was three-quarters of a million in 1887—and he was speaking by the book—they raised no less than twenty-two million by a tax upon the miners, and by a tax upon the output of the mines owned by the Uitlanders, the total output being only fifty-seven millions, so the tax of these unjust Boers was at the rate of 38 per cent, and not a cent of it was spent for anything save armament and munitions of war. Now, I put these figures again to the Minister of Public Works, and ask him whether there are two sides to the claim of British subjects in the Transvaal, that they were being trodden upon, that their interests were being ruthlessly trodden upon by the government of the Transvaal Republic. I ask him to accept the figures of his own supporter, and I venture to say that if one-tenth, aye, one-hundredth, yes, I will go still further and say one-thousandth of the injustice done to British subjects in the Transvaal by Paul Kruger and his government, were done to the hon. gentleman's compatriots in the province of Quebec, his loyalty would be more shaky even than it is to-night.

Now, Sir, this matter was under discussion last year, and last year the government took a position upon it. What do we find? The resolution has already been presented to the House, and it comes very apropos in the light of what I may term the argument I am making. The Prime Minister proposed a resolution to this House, and what was his opinion as to the conduct of the Transvaal government with regard to the Uitlanders:

Resolved, that this House has learned with still greater regret that the condition of things there existing has resulted in intolerable oppression, and has produced great and dangerous excitement among several classes of Her Majesty's subjects in her South African possessions.

Is 'intolerable oppression' ever right? Are there two sides to intolerable oppression? Then, Sir, either the hon. Minister of Public Works cannot find two sides to this ques-

tion, or, if he can, then it was a meaningless collection of words which the Prime Minister asked this House to pass, and which it did pass, with the vote of the member for Labelle and the vote of the member for Laprairie last year, and which this House, I am glad to say, passed unanimously. But, Sir, is this the time to inquire whether England is right or whether England is wrong? England is in a struggle now which has proved to be a severe struggle; our duty is to stand by her in that struggle and to utter no word of discouragement. Sir, I like the sound of that old speech of Stephen Decatur uttered years ago at a great public gathering in the United States, when he said: 'In all her dealings with foreign countries may my country be always right; but right or wrong, she is my country still.' We know, Sir, that Britain is right; but right or wrong in this particular struggle, we know that Great Britain is the great civilizing and humanizing force of the century, we know that we are her sons, and we have other work to do than to express doubt and discouragement in this hour of her struggle, of her trouble and of her toil.

Now, Sir, what was the cause of the war? We need not discuss that. I am here, however, to say this, that the real cause of the war—and the hon. gentleman knows it as well as I do, he knows it as well as any other member of this House—the real cause of the war is not a quarrel over who should be enfranchised or who should not be enfranchised, so far as mere value of that franchise is concerned; the real cause of the war is the question whether there should be a British confederacy in South Africa or a Dutch confederacy; and this House and this country has expressed its opinion in no mistakeable terms on that particular question. The Minister of Public Works declared that when he was in England even the colleagues of Mr. Chamberlain had doubts. Well, Sir, I venture to say that the colleagues of Mr. Chamberlain did not express their doubts to the Minister of Public Works. I venture also to say that if they did hold any doubts, those doubts disappeared like dew before the morning sunshine when that ultimatum of Paul Kruger's reached England, demanding that she land not another soldier in South Africa, even for the protection of her own possessions. As that doubt disappeared in Great Britain, so it has disappeared in Canada, if it ever existed. I cannot speak for the province of Quebec, but I can speak for the province of Ontario. I know something of its people, having mingled with them during that time since this subject has been under discussion, and I am able to say that Grit and Tory, Catholic and Protestant, are little less than a solid unit in support of the action of Canada in sending these contingents, and in their sympathy for England in the struggle in which she is engaged.

Now, Sir, the Minister of Public Works sought to make an impression on this House by making a statement which I do not think should be allowed to go out for one moment without an answer, even though it be a feeble one from myself. The hon. gentleman made a statement that a circular was issued by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the hon. gentleman wanted it to be understood by this House that an invitation had been sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies asking the colonies for aid on behalf of the motherland. Sir, the hon. gentleman knows that that is absolutely incorrect. England has not asked for aid from a single one of her colonies, and I think that is the most unfair thing which has been said in this debate, advertising even a shadow of the impression abroad that England was driven to the necessity of calling upon her colonies for assistance in any struggle in which she was engaged. Sir, as the hon. gentleman has read the correspondence, let me also refer to it, as it has been laid upon the Table of this House. What is the first line? A circular from Mr. Chamberlain? No, Sir, but a loyal message from Queensland.

Should hostilities against Transvaal break out, Queensland offers services 250 mounted infantry, with machine guns.

What is the next communication? It is a communication from Victoria:

Offers have been received from volunteers for service in South Africa.

What is the next one?

Legislative council, Lagos, unanimously offers services 300 Hausas for campaign in South Africa.

What is the next one? From New South Wales:

I understand from my Premier that offers to volunteer for service in South Africa, if required, have been received from about 1,860 officers and men of the New South Wales forces.

Mr. CLARKE. What are the dates?

Mr. MONTAGUE. That from Queensland is dated July 11; Victoria offers on July 12, long before hostilities had broken out. The next one, from Lagos, is dated July 18; from New South Wales, July 21; Hong Kong offers on Sept. 21. Even little Hong Kong had sent their anxious request to be permitted to engage in a contest, in which Great Britain might be engaged. Now, after all these, Canada had not sent any public communication, but evidently a private communication had been sent.

Mr. MONET. Was not parliament in session at the time?

Mr. MONTAGUE. That has nothing to do with the point. It is far wide of it, and the minister without portfolio should not

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have put that suggestion into the mind of the member for Napierville because it has nothing in God's world to do with the argument at all. What I am combatting is the statement, or rather the impression—because the Minister of Public Works dare not make the statement—I am combatting the impression that he sought to leave upon the country that a circular had been sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies asking for assistance. Now, what do we find? After private individuals from Canada had evidently made offers, then we find a circular sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Lord Minto, on October 3, months after the other offers had been made, no circular having been sent out in the meantime. Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, goes on to say:

Secretary of State for War and Commander-in-Chief desire to express high appreciation of signal exhibition of patriotic spirit of people of Canada shown by offers to serve in South Africa, and to furnish following information to assist in organization of force offered into units suitable for military requirements.

And the same to the other colonies. This is the only circular that was sent out by Mr. Chamberlain. It is a circular of instructions and thanks for offers made by the colonies. God forbid that in this empire we should ever allow the impression to go abroad that was intended to be left by the hon. Minister of Public Works this afternoon, and who really left such an impression that a circular had been sent by Mr. Chamberlain asking for assistance in these times of trouble. What does the hon. Minister of Public Works say? He charges Mr. Chamberlain with issuing this circular in order to get the sympathy of the colonies. Now, he did not leave an impression there; he did not use the innuendo there: he stated it broadly, squarely and emphatically that Mr. Chamberlain had sent this circular to get an expression of sympathy from the colonies. Was ever greater trash talked in the Canadian parliament or any other parliament? What authority had the hon. Minister of Public Works for any such statement? Here is the correspondence; not a word of it bears out any such statement. This is the circular. Does it ask for sympathy? It expresses its thanks and the thanks of the empire for the practical sympathy on the part of the colonies, with the exception of Canada, whose government left it to private individuals to offer their expressions of sympathy and their support. Well, Sir, not only that; I might ask the right hon. Prime Minister: Does he look on this as an invitation? I am sure that the Prime Minister does not. But, we have another word; we are told, Sir, that the Conservative press and the Tory politicians have been saying that the government were taken by the

throat by the Governor General. I have not heard it stated; I do not know where the hon. gentleman got it from unless it might have been from a speech made by a very high dignitary at the time of the departure of the first contingent for South Africa, in which that high dignitary used these words:

Canada has freely made her offerings—

Not in response to a circular—

Canada has freely made her offerings of a military contingent to the old country, and in so doing has accepted the difficulties which she knows must follow. The people of Canada have no desire to consider the quibbles of colonial responsibility.

I wonder what that refers to, 'the quibbles of colonial responsibility.' I wonder what these words refer to, coming from this high dignitary.

What they have done is to insist that their loyal offers should be made known, and they heartily rejoiced when they were graciously accepted.

I never said, and the members on this side of the House never said, that the Governor General took the ministry by the throat, but the Governor General made that speech which I have just quoted, in which he said that the people of this country 'have insisted.' If there was no opposition there could be no insistence, and whom could they insist upon except the government? They had insisted that their patriotic offers should be made known, and here, I am sorry to say is the announcement of the chief executive officer of the Dominion of Canada, whose name has been dragged into this debate, not by me, but by one of the advisers of His Excellency, who says that this government had to be insisted upon to forward the patriotic offers of Canada to people on the other side of the water.

I am not here to-night to say one word about the loyalty of the province of Quebec. I have read the speeches made on this side of the House in connection with this subject, I have read the speeches made by the hon. leader of the opposition, the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), and the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), and the others, I have listened to a number of other speeches and I have not heard one word impugning the loyalty of the French Canadian people of the province of Quebec. The whole row and the whole dispute over that loyalty has been between the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick), the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet), and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and these hon. gentlemen, when they talk of their own row, shout to the country: Our loyalty has been aspersed by the Tory press and the country should therefore vote against the Tory party and support

the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues on this question. Instead of charging the people of the province of Quebec with disloyalty, I hope, that, dear as has been the price paid, in addition to uniting the empire closer and closer together, because that undoubtedly will be the result of this great war, knitting the colonies to the motherland, advertising to the world that they who attack Great Britain must attack Greater Britain—I hope that in addition, and it is the hope of every one who is anxious for the prosperity of Canada, it will unite us here all the more solidly and more firmly together, and that hereafter we shall not be Catholic or Protestant, but one people, not French or English, but Canadians all, and British all.

Mr. THOMAS BEATTIE (London). Mr. Speaker, I do not rise at this late hour to make any lengthened remarks, but I could not allow this House to adjourn without resenting the insult thrown out by the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) to the Irishmen of Canada. I am an Irishman, and I would not feel myself worthy of the name if I did not rise in my place and resent the insult offered to the Irishmen of Canada by the hon. gentleman. Referring to my hon. friend the member for Kent, N.B., (Mr. McInerney), he said:

When you see an Irishman more loyal than the Queen there is something wrong.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). Hear, hear.

Mr. BEATTIE. I will come to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fitzpatrick) after a while. I consider myself as loyal as any man who lives under the British flag, and I do not think that there is anything wrong with me. If there is, I would be obliged to the hon. Minister of Public Works if he would point it out. If it were not for the good fat office that the hon. gentleman has in the government, I doubt very much if we would have heard him speak in this House as he has done to-night. Evidently, for Irishmen to be loyal is a crime in his eyes. I would like to know what right he (Mr. Tarte) has to make that remark. If we are to judge his loyalty by the estimation he puts on the loyalty of the Irish people, I would give very little for his loyalty. Let me now refer for a moment to a certain portion of the speech delivered by the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) for whom, I may say, I have a very high regard. He made a statement in this House and when he made it, he must have known that it was a misstatement. He referred to the *Free Press* as the Conservative organ in London. Well, Sir, the *Free Press* is a most respectable organ of public opinion, none more so in the country. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fitzpatrick) read two lines of a speech made by Mr. Mark Roberts, a gentleman living in the township of Nissouri, in

the county of East Middlesex, and a gentleman whom I know very well. The Solicitor General read the two lines from the speech of Mr. Roberts, and he stated that it was an article written by the editor of the *Free Press*.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). No.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Yes, you did.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. I said nothing of the sort.

Mr. FOSTER. That is what every one understood you to say.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. I said nothing of the sort, and the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster) did not understand it so.

Mr. DAVIN. The whole House understood it in that way. You said it.

Mr. FOSTER. You said it. Apologize now.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Will my hon. friend permit me. As the House thoroughly understood, this was an appeal made by a Master of the Orangemen in the heat of an election.

Mr. BEATTIE. You said it was an article in the *Free Press*.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. It was a Tory appeal made by a Tory Orangeman in a Tory newspaper on the eve of an election.

Mr. BEATTIE. The Tory organ has nothing at all to do with it. It is simply the report of a speech delivered by Mr. Mark Roberts, a gentleman whom I know very well, and any paper might report it as well as the London *Free Press*.

Mr. FOSTER. It was a bad break for the Solicitor General.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Not at all.

Mr. BEATTIE. I will read a portion of that speech.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Read it all.

Mr. BEATTIE. I will read the portion which you left out and which you should have read:

The most interesting event of the past and present year is the war now going on against the Boers in South Africa. It is scarcely necessary for me to say anything of that matter, as our papers are daily full of it, but there is one point I want you to notice, that is the loyal and patriotic spirit generally shown, more especially by the brave young Canadians who have volunteered and gone into service for their Queen and empire. We earnestly wish them a victorious and speedy return, not before, however, full and free liberty, as enjoyed by all British subjects, is insured to every Uitlander in the dominions now ruled by President Kruger.

Mr. BEATTIE.

Now, these are the few lines which the Solicitor General read, but he should have read the whole speech:

In many ways we have reason to feel ashamed of our Federal government at Ottawa, headed as it is by a French Papist and dominated by another, by name Tarte, both of whom are, I believe, rebels in their hearts,—

Here is the concluding portion of Mr. Roberts's address, which was also not read by the Solicitor General:

—but I am glad to say, however, that I do not believe they represent the feelings of the people, any more than the Fenians in the American cities represent the true feelings of the American people for us Canadians.

If the Solicitor General denies that he attributed that to the editor of the *Free Press*, I will accept the statement, but I understood him to do so.

Mr. DAVIN. We all understood it that way.

Mr. BEATTIE. I have no hesitation in saying that a more honourable journal, Conservative or Liberal, does not exist in Canada than the London *Free Press*. I am quite sure that nothing detrimental to any race or religion would be written in it. I may add that I see the name Dawson written across this copy of the paper which the Solicitor General read from. I do not know how it came there, but I presume that Mr. Dawson called his attention to it, and Mr. Dawson is the Liberal organizer which the Solicitor General and Mr. Tarte have in Ontario, and it may, perhaps, be that the remarks of Mr. Roberts were inspired by his brother Orangeman, Mr. Dawson.

Mr. DESMARAIS moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11.25 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, February 21, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

SELECT STANDING COMMITTEES.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved that the name of Mr. Puttee be added to the following committees: Railways and Canals, Banking and Commerce, Private Bills and Standing Orders.

Motion agreed to.

LABOUR IN MINES.

Mr. McINNES moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 47) respecting labour in mines. He said : The object of this Bill is to secure a greater measure of safety to those engaged in underground coal and metalliferous mines by excluding from this work Chinese and Japanese. Every one who has any knowledge about mining is aware that even under most advantageous conditions, underground mining is always a very dangerous business. In British Columbia it has been found that the dangerous nature of that employment has been increased to an alarming extent by the employment of Chinese and Japanese. This is due to the fact that these people are not sufficiently acquainted with the English language, are not able to receive instructions in that language, are not able to read the warnings and notices posted up from time to time, and have an entirely inadequate knowledge of the nature of gases and explosives, and it is further due to their peculiar superstition with regard to things which they cannot understand and over which they have no control. For these reasons the people of British Columbia years ago came to the conclusion that it would be in the interests of life and property to exclude the employment of Chinese and Japanese underground in coal and metalliferous mines, and accordingly a number of years ago legislation was put on the statutes of British Columbia to that effect. At the time that legislation was passed, its constitutionality was doubted. It was claimed that inasmuch as it specified certain nationalities, it was unconstitutional, because it dealt with the subject of aliens which, under the British North America Act, is under the charge of this parliament. That doubt remained unsettled until last summer when a decision was given by the Privy Council that such legislation was unconstitutional, and inasmuch as the province has not the power to pass it, it is clearly within the jurisdiction of this parliament, and, therefore, I ask leave to introduce this Bill into this House.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—CASUALTIES IN CANADIAN REGIMENT.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). It may not be out of place that we should interrupt at this moment the regular course of business to give a moment's attention to the news from Africa to-day. The news we have received is of a character at once to cheer and sadden our hearts. It is cheering in this respect, that it brings the announcement that our Canadian troops in the field have received their baptism of fire, and have endured the ordeal in a manner

creditable to themselves and their country. The telegraphic message gives no details whatever of the engagement, still we know by the number of casualties which have taken place that our men have died at their post and that their courage has been equal to what was expected of them. But this is the saddening part of it. Such is the awful character of war, that its triumphs are always mixed with tears, and however much we can rejoice at the victories achieved by the British arms, victories in which our own fellow-countrymen are taking their part, still the announcement is saddened by the fact that twenty of our countrymen have lost their lives, and sixty-nine are now lying between life and death. The announcement is such as to, if that were possible, still more confirm us in our resolve of doing our full duty in the present emergency. We can do nothing at present to solace those families which are bereaved, but we can assure them—and this I am sure we do with all our hearts—that their loss is not their own exclusively, but is also ours and our country's.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I desire to associate myself in the warmest manner with the extremely appropriate words that have just fallen from the right hon. leader of the House. He has truly said that the triumphs of war can only be achieved in connection with that sadder fate that involves men's lives and carries pain and suffering into the households of a great many of our people. The Canadian contingent, who have realized on the field that which Canada expected from them, who have discharged their duty nobly and faithfully, who have fallen in a cause we believe to be a righteous one, have conferred not only undying fame and honour upon themselves, but that same honour and fame upon our country which sent them there. I am sure that every member of this House will extend his most heartfelt sympathy to the relatives and friends of those who have fallen, and to those, who, still living, are in a situation calling for our sympathy. The joy over the great news that has gladdened every portion of the empire, the news of the success attending British arms in the relief of Kimberley, and the relief of Ladysmith, together with the prospect of more decisive measures, calculated to bring this war to an end at no distant day, will be accompanied with a feeling of the deepest sympathy and commiseration for the friends of those who have fallen and those who have suffered on the field of battle in the glorious struggle they have made on behalf of their country. I would only suggest to my right hon. friend, that a message reflecting the universal sympathy of this House and the people of this country whom we represent, should be sent to Colonel Otter as a solace to the wounded who are now suffering.

The PRIME MINISTER. I shall have much pleasure in preparing a telegram of the tenor suggested, which I shall show to my hon. friend.

GRAIN CARRIED BETWEEN CANADIAN PORTS IN AMERICAN VESSELS.

Mr. BENNETT asked :

Under the permission given by the government of Canada to that end how many bushels of grain, if any, were carried between Canadian ports by American registered vessels during the year 1899? What were the names of the vessels carrying such grain, if any? What were the points between which said vessels sailed, and the number of bushels carried by each of said vessels?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). There were carried between Canadian ports, by American registered vessels, during the year 1899, 708,000 bushels of grain. The names of the vessels carrying such grain, were steamers *Niagara*, *Roman*, *Yuma*, *Briton*, *Arthur Orr*, and *Elphicke*. All the said vessels sailed from Fort William. The *Niagara* and the *Yuma* sailed to Midland, the *Elphicke* to Owen Sound, and the *Roman*, *Briton*, and *Arthur Orr*, to Depot Harbour. The number of bushels of grain carried by each vessel was as follows :

	Bushels.
Niagara	105,000
Yuma	140,000
Elphicke	98,000
Roman	110,000
Briton	110,000
Arthur Orr	145,000
	708,000

FOURTEEN-FOOT NAVIGATION.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

Will the condition of the canals and River St. Lawrence system permit of navigation at the opening of the season by vessels having a draught of fourteen feet? If not, what is the earliest period at which such navigation will be possible, and what is the estimated expenditure necessary to complete the system from present date?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). The answer is : Yes.

YUKON TERRITORY ACT—COURT RULES.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax), (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. Have the judges (or any three of them) of the Supreme Court of British Columbia made any general rules under the provisions of the 12th section of the Act 62-63 Victoria, chapter 11, 'An Act to amend the Yukon Territory Act'?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

2. Has the legislature of British Columbia passed any Act auxiliary to or in aid of the 7th section of the said Act?

3. If not, is it intended to ask the said legislature to pass any such legislation?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). The Department of Justice has no information as to this subject.

THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND THE PARIS EXPOSITION OF 1900.

Mr. BELL (Pictou) asked :

Has the Minister of Public Works been appointed to any official position in connection with the Paris Exposition of 1900? If such appointment is not yet made, is it the intention of the government of Canada to make such appointment?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has not been appointed to any official position in connection with the Paris Exposition of 1900. As to the second portion of the question, my hon. friend (Mr. Bell) will have to wait until the Minister of Agriculture makes announcements of the appointments made.

MR. A. J. FRASER.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

1. Whether Mr. A. J. Fraser has been removed from the Land Office, Regina? 2. What is his new position? 3. Who succeeds him at Regina? 4. What is the reason for the course taken?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). The answers to the hon. gentleman's questions are as follows: 1. Yes. 2. Acting agent of Dominion lands, Lethbridge. 3. E. W. Burley. 4. The change was made in conjunction with some others to promote efficiency in the service.

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND THE NEW BRUNSWICK LOCAL ELECTION.

Mr. GANONG (by Mr. Corby) asked :

Did the Minister of Railways write any letters to any person or persons in the polling division of Wilson's Beach, Charlotte County, N.B., prior to the election for members to the legislative assembly of New Brunswick in 1899, intimating or suggesting that a strong support of the government candidates in that election would strengthen his hands in obtaining a grant from the Federal government for repairing the breakwater at Wilson's Beach?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). The answer to the questions is : No.

RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS, JANUARY, 1896.

Mr. GEORGE E. CASEY (West Elgin) moved for :

Copies of all letters, papers, telegrams and other communications between the Governor General, the Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell and the Hon. Messrs. Foster, Haggart, Montague and Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, in connection with their resignation as ministers in the month of January, 1896.

He said : The opposition have been studiously, earnestly and eloquently attempting to prove, for some time back, that there is a difference of opinion between members of the present cabinet on important questions of public policy. I do not think they have been able to show that there is any such important differences in the present cabinet. If there has been any trifling variety of opinions shown, it has been in connection with questions of public policy only. Now, the gentlemen who are making these insinuations, are before the people of this country as rival candidates for positions on the Treasury benches. They are asking the House and the people to put them in the places of those who now so worthily occupy those benches.

It is, perhaps, time, since the public memory is very short of matters that have happened in previous sessions, to remind the public of the state of things that existed within the Conservative cabinet when that party last formed a cabinet. It is time to point out that something more than a difference of opinion on public questions existed between those gentlemen, that they differed on such personal grounds as made it really impossible for them to work together with even a semblance of harmony. I do not know exactly the degree of fault to apportion to the members of that cabinet. We did not make the accusation ; the accusations were made mutually among themselves. All that is necessary to say is that if they were the sort of people that they declared each other to be, it was not only impossible for them to work together in harmony at that time, but it would be impossible for them to form a cabinet now that could work together in harmony. More than that, if we are to believe what they said about each other, there are no men amongst them fit to be cabinet ministers, that is, amongst the leading men who were in the cabinet before. We know a few of the things that they said about each other at that time ; we do not know with what degree of justice, with what solidity of backing, they said these things. It is for the object of getting further information on these points that I am asking for the papers called for by this motion. I shall have to remind the House briefly of what passed four years ago last month when the Bowell cabinet was still in power, what mutual recriminations passed, what mutual accu-

sations were made ; and then ask the House to call for such correspondence as it may be possible to get at to see whether these statements were justified by facts.

Let us begin at the beginning of things. In November, 1895, the High Commissioner in London, the present leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), entered into communication with his former Premier (Sir Mackenzie Bowell) and sent him the following telegram :

(Sir Charles Tupper to Sir Mackenzie Bowell.)
Confidential. London, Nov. 14, 1895.

Long interview Colonial Minister last night. Imperial government will support fast Atlantic service extent £75,000, vessels similar 'Teutonic,' but will require Canadian government to invite new tenders. Agents General and self meet Colonial Minister Tuesday re cable. Have no doubt government will support proposal and appoint commission at once arrange details pending declaration policy Imperial government. Will advise you result of meeting.

Now we come to the pith of the whole telegram. What has been read hitherto refers to matters that were then in discussion between this government and the Imperial government ; but here is the pith of the whole telegram :

Shall I come out to consult with you about these two matters ? Think could render you material assistance. Do not make contents this message public till further advised.

(Signed) TUPPER.

When dissension subsequently arose in the cabinet and the question was asked Sir Mackenzie Bowell how it came that the High Commissioner obtained leave of absence and came out to Canada, he was generous enough to say that he sent for him to consult with him about the cable and the Fast Atlantic service. Now, Sir, we see where the suggestion of that invitation to come out, arose. The High Commissioner, telegraphing from London to Sir Mackenzie Bowell, suggested to him that he should invite him out to see him about those matters. That was on the 14th of November, and on the 2nd of December, Sir Mackenzie Bowell answered as follows :

(Sir Mackenzie Bowell to Sir Charles Tupper.)
Ottawa, Dec. 2, 1895.

Re Fast Line : Come out to consult. Get all information possible.

The High Commissioner in London suggested to the Premier in Canada that he should come out and advise him about those matters, and the Premier invited him thereupon to come out and consult, and was afterwards generous enough to overlook the fact that this invitation to come out was suggested by the High Commissioner himself and did not originate with Sir Mackenzie Bowell. These telegrams, I may say, were brought down in answer to a return moved for by myself during the first session of 1896.

What followed the arrival of the High Commissioner thus arranged for? He must have left very soon after receiving that telegram in December from the Premier, because he was here, if I mistake not, early in the January following. I do not remember the date of his arrival in Canada, but at all events, by the early days of January we find a very pretty little plot brewing within the ranks of the cabinet itself here in Canada. Whether it had any connection with the advent of the then High Commissioner, is for every one to decide according to his own lights, and according to his own reason. At all events, the High Commissioner was sent for and came out, and the plot in the cabinet thickened. Seven members of the cabinet apparently had put their heads together and had made up their minds what they were going to do, but they said nothing about it until the House met in the first week in January.

The House met on the 2nd of January, and was immediately adjourned for a few days. The address was brought down, stating the policy of the government on the great question then before the country, that of intervention in Manitoba to avert the abolition of separate schools. After the address was presented to the House, after the policy of the government was declared, a leading member of that government, then the Minister of Finance, now the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster), got up and read a typewritten statement to this House as to the reasons which had induced him and six of his colleagues to resign from the cabinet. Instead of characterizing that step myself, perhaps it will be better just to remind the House what Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the then Premier, said about the matter himself. He set out, in his statement to the Senate on January 9th, with a comparison of our constitution with that of the United States, remarking that we were not hampered by a written constitution as to the methods of procedure. He went on to say:

In this country we are not hampered. We have had an illustration of it since the opening of parliament. We have had a government meet parliament with an avowed policy, and in a few days afterwards a majority of that cabinet retire for reasons which were given to the public in a statement made by my late colleague, the Hon. Mr. Foster, ex-Minister of Finance, speaking as he did for those of his colleagues with whom he was acting. Those reasons had no relation, strange to say, to state policy. They were not reasons which would justify members of the government in retiring from the cabinet unless there was something in the character or reputation of its head which would warrant their leaving and refusing in future to associate with him. Whether such a state of things exists I leave to the judgment, not only of this House, but of the country in which I have lived for the last sixty-two years.

I might say here that I think the opinion of the country since then has been very

Mr. CASEY.

strongly to the effect that if the government of that day had retained their former head, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, if they had not made the mistake of trading horses while they were crossing the stream, the result of the elections of 1896 would have been somewhat more favourable to the present opposition. I do not believe that the government would have retained power, but I believe that they would have retained the support of a large number of people in the country who were disgusted and alienated by the extraordinary course which was actually pursued. Sir Mackenzie continues:

These gentlemen in their statement make one important admission, which I shall read, because I am desirous of having it placed upon the records of the Senate, though some portions of it reflect upon himself—not upon my moral character, not upon my political character, &c.

Then he goes on to enumerate his services to the party. The substance of what he says is that the objections taken to him were not to the policy of the government, or of a political or moral character, but to his ability to successfully lead the party. He contends that the government could have got along very well if he had been properly supported. He says:

Even in the present trying circumstances I hesitate not to say, and to say it boldly—I would not have stated it had not such reasons been given to the House as the cause which induced these gentlemen to leave the government—that had I had that loyal support which every Premier ought to receive in the arduous duties incident to the governing of a country, such support as was given most loyally to my late chiefs, Sir John Macdonald and Sir John Thompson, we would have been just as successful in carrying on the affairs of the government as my predecessors, though not possessed of their measure of ability or political tact.

Sir Mackenzie continues:

Had not jealousy and the determination to destroy the usefulness of the head of the government been firmly rooted in the breast of those with whom I was associated, I flatter myself that we should have been successful in carrying on the affairs of this country. Now, for the purpose of placing it on record, I shall read what Mr. Foster stated in the House of Commons. He started out with this declaration:

'I may say, in the first place, there is no disagreement between ourselves and the Premier upon any question of public policy, trade or constitutional, with regard to which action has been already taken, or in respect to which an attitude has been assumed by the government under the present Premier. I also beg to say that we retain our firm belief in the principles and policy of the Liberal-Conservative party, with which we are in entire accord, and of which, in common with others, we have been and will remain the exponents, in so far as our ability admits. We have lost none of our confidence in the sound and healthy condition of the Liberal-Conservative party of Canada, or of our belief that it embodies a policy which the majority of the electorate considers essential to the continued welfare and progress of the country, or of our faith that under firm and prudent leader-

ship it will come back triumphant from the polls.'

In that respect, in sentiment and in feeling, I am fully in accord with my late colleague. He states that there has been no difference of opinion between us. That being the case, can any of you conceive why, after the opening of the session, after the speech from the Throne has been given not only to parliament, but to the whole country, you should find seven members of the cabinet sending in their resignations simply because they did not like the gentleman with whom they had been so long associating, some of them for eight or ten years, and whose ability and character they knew just as well as they do to-day. I readily admit that I never assumed to possess that gigantic intellect with which these gentlemen who have retired from the cabinet have been endowed.

I am sure the hon. ex-Minister of Finance will take that remark especially to himself. Possibly the hon. member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper), who was one of the revolting members of that government, will consider that he was also alluded to. My hon. friend the member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), then the Minister of Agriculture, also, will probably suppose that he was alluded to as one of the possessors of a gigantic intellect. The hon. ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) may also have been one of those who was alluded to.

Mr. GIBSON. He has a big head.

Mr. CASEY. My hon. friend (Mr. Gibson) says that he has a big head. I need not go around the whole seven; they all doubtless felt flattered by the remark made about them by Sir Mackenzie, their ex-leader and colleague of long standing.

Not at all. All I claim for myself is moral honesty, a firm conviction of what is right, and determination, under all circumstances, whether it accords to the prejudices of one party or another, to endeavour to carry out what I believe to be for the best interests of the country.

He passes then to the main part of the explanation, quoting again from the memorandum of the hon. ex-Minister of Finance:

'Though with many misgivings we agreed to enter the government under Mr. Bowell, in succession to Sir John Thompson,—

The title of the Premier was forgotten apparently for the moment.

—'we have nevertheless unitedly and loyally striven, to the best of our ability, to make it strong and efficient, and it has been with growing regret that we have seen our efforts in a measure of success less than that for which we had hoped and striven for. We are of the opinion that the Liberal-Conservative party ought to be represented by the strongest government possible to be secured from its ranks.'

I suppose these hon. gentlemen meant that the strongest government to be secured would be composed of their seven selves and seven others like unto them that they would select. Continuing:

'That the necessity therefor was never greater than under existing circumstances, and we believe that such a government can be formed without delay.'

They knew just where to put their hands on men like-minded.

'This we have repeatedly urged upon the Premier, with the result that we found ourselves face to face with parliament having a government with its numbers incomplete, and with no assurance that the present Premier could satisfactorily complete it. Under these circumstances, we thought it our duty to retire, and in this manner to pave the way, if possible, for the formation of a government whose Premier could command the confidence of all his colleagues, could satisfy the Liberal-Conservative party that its strongest elements were at its head and impress the country that it had a government which was united and had power to govern.

Well, now, there are some very beautiful points in these remarks of the hon. ex-Minister of Finance. He admitted, in the first place, that the government had not power to govern, that it did not represent the Liberal-Conservative party as it should be represented, that its strongest elements were not at its head, and in order to strengthen the government they proposed first to wreck it by withdrawing the majority of the government therefrom. This business of strengthening the government by first wrecking it leads us to consider what may have been the meaning of the High Commissioner when he telegraphed to Sir Mackenzie Bowell:

I think I can render you material assistance. Perhaps this was the way in which the hon. leader of the opposition intended to render material assistance to Sir Mackenzie Bowell when he suggested that he should come out to this country. At all events he did come out. This scheme, with which one of his family was intimately concerned, was carried out. The government for the time being was wrecked, and Sir Mackenzie Bowell received material assistance by being relegated, practically to private life, although he had rendered faithful service to his country and to his party. The then Finance Minister evidently had the same idea of how to help Sir Mackenzie and how to help the government and the party of which he was a member. His idea of strengthening them was that seven of them should resign and do their best to wreck that Cabinet.

Mr. LANDERKIN. He had the proper idea.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Foster continued:

We affirm with the utmost sincerity that the action we have taken has sprung from no feeling of personal dislike or personal ambition, but has been solely dictated by our wish to sink all minor considerations in the presence of our great desire that the best interests of our country should be duly conserved.

Well, Sir, the action of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) was followed by the result he stated he had in view, because the best interests of the country have been duly conserved by the relegation of that hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) and his fellow bolters to the cold shades of opposition. I doubt very much that that was his object at the time, for I think he intended to serve the best interests of Canada by replacing the existing leaders with himself and his immediate associates, who would become the controllers of the destinies of the country and the party.

Without any sarcasm, but looking coolly at this statement do members on either side of this House think that a gentleman who could in cold blood bring down such a carefully prepared statement to this House and announce it as a reasonable explanation of his views and intentions; can we think that a man who is capable of that has a scintilla of political sense in his disposition? I cannot for one. The man who could make such a statement of his own treachery and disloyalty, such a confession of plotting against the leader whom he had undertaken to support; the man who could think that the House could take in earnest that statement as a serious explanation of how the country and party were best to be served, is not only lacking in political honesty—that goes without saying for his own confession is a confirmation of it—but lacking in the sense which would lead him to understand what other people considered to be meant by political honesty. Sir, if he had the power of perceiving what other people would think of such a statement as that, he never would have made it. And, Mr. Speaker, in spite of all his efforts, his long speeches and his short speeches and his clever remarks across the floor, he remains a wreck upon the reef which he himself caused to be placed in the way of the ship of state then controlled by his own party. It is quite impossible that a man who conducted himself thus towards his leader can ever become the leader of other men. It is quite impossible that he can ever become even the trusted lieutenant of any other Prime Minister.

The leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) was, of course, not in the House when this statement was made, and his connection with it can consequently only be inferred. We cannot, of course, deal with inferences in this House, but nevertheless every one will have his own opinion as to what that connection may have been. It is sufficient for him to know that this gentleman, now his lieutenant, in apparent co-operation with a member of the hon. member's (Sir Charles Tupper's) own family, perpetrated this act of party perfidy; and it is for the leader of the opposition to consider how safe his own position is now as the leader of the Conservative party. The late

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Sir John Thompson in a humorous mood at a dinner in Toronto, alluded to the then Finance Minister (Mr. Foster) as 'Cassius.' Sir John Thompson did not give the whole quotation as to 'the lean and hungry Cassius,' but every one is sufficiently familiar with it to fill it in from memory, and to remember how that individual is spoken of in the play and what acts were imputed to him. It is perhaps worth one's while to look it up in Shakspeare and see what a nice character Sir John Thompson gave to his colleague (Mr. Foster) who was sitting beside him. It was no doubt said in joke, and Sir John Thompson only meant to emphasize the difference in personal appearance between himself and his colleague whose food did not apparently do him so much good. But the thought was started in the public mind, and has gained by fructifying, and the public opinion of the ex-Finance Minister can never be disassociated from the character of that not overly fat Cassius whom Shakspeare has immortalized.

But let me return to what Sir Mackenzie Bowell said. Speaking in the Senate he used these words:

What occurred between the writing of that speech, the placing of it in His Excellency's hands, the meeting of parliament, and the delivery of that speech by His Excellency? What, I ask, could possibly have occurred, or what have you been told occurred, during those two or three days to lead them to the conclusion which impelled them to take so important a step as they have done? Had they come to me previously to the meeting of parliament, had they met me in council and said, 'We disagree with the policy which you have laid down'; had they said that there was, in any single particular, a difference of opinion upon the great issues that were agitating the people of the country, and they could not, by any possibility, be a party to it; or had they gone further and said, 'After one year and a quarter's experience of you as head of the government, we have lost confidence in your ability to continue to direct the affairs of the country,' then I could have understood it. Then I could have said, 'Take the reins of government; I will not stand in the way.' And I never shall stand in the way of the future success of that great party to which I have had the honour of belonging from boyhood up, and towards which I have done something for its prosperity and continuance in governing.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell showed the honesty of his intentions in that respect, by finally vacating the Premiership for the gentleman who now holds the proud position of leader of the opposition, and who was Premier of Canada for six weeks or so. It is, you will notice, a matter for doubt as to whether Sir Mackenzie Bowell by resigning, did anything to contribute to the continuance of the Conservative party in power. However that be, it is to the credit of Sir Mackenzie Bowell that he sacrificed himself for what he thought were the best interests of his party. Sir Mackenzie continued to say:

You will note, however, one sentence in this explanation which might leave a false impression upon the minds of the readers in the country. I refer to this paragraph: 'This we have repeatedly urged upon the Premier, with the result that we found ourselves face to face with parliament having a government with its numbers incomplete, and with no assurance that the present Premier could satisfactorily complete it.' He says, 'nevertheless we have unitedly and loyally striven to the best of our ability to make it strong and efficient.' That is referring to the government. I shall not comment upon that statement. I could, however, characterize it in other language than that in which the sentence is couched, and more than that, with no less degree of truth.

I have no doubt that the poor old gentleman could have truthfully characterized that statement in language which would not be considered parliamentary.

Then they state that they waited upon me repeatedly, in order to insist upon the government being strengthened in its personnel. That is quite true, but is there a single word in any of those sentences which would lead you or might lead others, after what has been whispered about the country, to conclude that it was the head of the government they were striking at instead of the other members of the government?

He admits that these conspirators had come to him with the statement that the government ought be reconstructed, but they never dropped him the least hint that they wanted to reconstruct the government by cutting off his head, which was their real intention:

It is true that they waited upon me and pointed out the necessity of strengthening the government, as all governments ought to be strengthened, and according to my own views, I should acquiesce in any proposition of that kind, and there were intimations at those interviews pointing to certain members of the government who, in their opinion, ought to go out.

It would be interesting to know who these were. They seem not only to have quarrelled with their head, but among themselves. They had forgotten that birds in their little nests should agree, and so these little ministerial birds were quarrelling amongst each other, and trying to oust each other from their comfortable nest. In these remarks Sir Mackenzie, I think, intended to make a serious statement; but, whether consciously or unconsciously, he has presented us with one of the finest bits of humour that have ever been got off in the Senate or in this body.

A little further on in his remarks he refers to another trouble that had arisen in his Cabinet. Two of the junior members, hardly yet fledged, had been disagreeing with each other, and certainly doing something other than preening one another's feathers, and keeping each other neat and pretty:

A debate took place in the other Chamber yesterday in reference to an unfortunate dis-

agreement arising from anonymous letters which were received by me charging one of my colleagues with misconduct. It has been so put by some people as to lead to the conclusion that I had something to do with the nefarious transaction. The facts are simply these, and after stating them I shall leave it to the House and the country to judge how far I was justified in the course that I pursued. We were sworn into office, after the death of the Right Hon. Sir John Thompson, on the 21st day of December, 1894, in the city of Montreal. I received an anonymous letter from Montreal, dated 18th December, 1894, just three days before the government had been sworn into office, charging Sir Adolphe Caron with certain dereliction of duty, which if proved to be true would end his political life. That letter was not sent to His Excellency as has been stated in the newspapers, nor were any of them sent to the Governor General. They were sent to me as the head of the government. I at once placed that letter in the hands of Sir Adolphe Caron, as it was my duty to do. He produced affidavits and evidence to show that the charges which had been laid against him were untrue, and to the satisfaction of other parties whose names need not be introduced in a debate of this kind. During the summer, Sir Adolphe informed me that he had some suspicions as to the writer. He said that he had sent the letters to an expert and a detective in New York in order to ascertain whether the anonymous letter bore any of the characteristics of the letters which accompanied them. A report came back which he showed to me. I read it carefully. I confess it was rather an ingenious report, and my remark to Sir Adolphe Caron was this, 'I know very little about expert testimony of this kind, but I do not conceive it possible that a minister of the Crown would write a letter of that kind to another colleague, and I would suggest to you the propriety of disabusing your mind upon a question of that kind.' He asked for the envelope, but I had thrown it into the waste basket and lost it. I suppose most men in my position receive anonymous letters continually, I often receive them, finding fault with my colleagues and giving information. As a rule they go into the waste basket or into the fire. On the 9th November, 1895, I received another letter purporting to come from the same party who had sent the first one. That I handed to Sir Adolphe Caron. Comparing it with the first he said that they were written by the same hand, and again he expressed his opinion as to the writer. I dealt with the matter then as I had done before. I did not consider it of sufficient importance, on my part, to insult a colleague by asking him for an explanation or laying it before him. Indeed I should have very little else to do if I were to continue carrying the tales which are brought to me, either anonymously or otherwise about one colleague or another. The matter remained in the position which I have described until the day of the opening of parliament. After the opening a gentleman belonging to the other House followed me along the corridor to the Senate and asked me about those letters. I gave him no information whatever, but asked him what he knew about them. He then said he knew that certain letters had passed and that Sir Adolphe Caron had accused one of his colleagues of writing them.

Such mutual confidence existed within the limits of that government that Sir Adolphe Caron accused one of his colleagues of having written a slanderous anonymous letter

about him. We do not know whether that colleague did so or not ; but the fact that one member of a cabinet made such an accusation against another member of the same cabinet is certainly instructive. Sir Mackenzie goes on to refer to the common talk in the Albany club in Toronto about the affair, and says further :

I said at the same time, in fact on both occasions, and I repeat now, that I could not conceive it possible that any man having the slightest regard for his own reputation, or having regard for the solemn oath which he had taken as a privy councillor, could by any possibility be guilty of writing anonymous letters, and therefore I treated it in the manner that I have indicated to this House until I heard that it had become the common talk of the city of Toronto, and then I deemed it my duty to inform my colleague of what had been said.

Although Sr Mackenzie Bowell did not believe that one of his colleagues was guilty of such a thing, the colleagues believed it of each other, because those of us who sat in this House at that time remember the scimmages that occurred between Sir Adolphe Caron, then Postmaster General, the member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), then Minister of Agriculture, and the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), then Controller of Customs, as to who had written the slanderous letter. Sir Adolphe Caron thought the hon. member for Haldimand was the author of it ; the hon. member for Haldimand insinuated that the hon. member for West York was the author ; and the hon. member for West York, doing credit to the Irish blood which I suppose he possesses, insinuated, or asserted very clearly, I am not sure which, that the hon. member for Haldimand was the guilty party. I remember very well the phrase he used—that the Minister of Agriculture had forged an anonymous letter in his name. To forge a letter in a man's name is bad enough, but to forge an anonymous letter in another man's name is something that very few villains are capable of. Various other matters were discussed, and one of the hon. gentlemen threatened to sue another in the courts, but we have heard no more of that. Either the difficulty was straightened out, or it was given up as a bad job, for fear something too nasty would be brought to light. Considering that the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), the hon. member for South Lanark (Mr. Haggart), the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), and the hon. member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper), who are still sitting in this House, thought all the rest of the cabinet unworthy of being their associates, and that the other part of the cabinet felt about in the same way towards them, there is reason to believe that they must have thought each other a very queer collection of statesmen indeed. Perhaps what the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) once called them across the floor

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of the House, was not misapplied : ' A cabinet ? Yes, a cabinet, but a cabinet of antiques.' Perhaps they were not all antique ; but they were a little rococo, at all events.

That was the position of things early in the session ; but what followed ? Those gentlemen who left the government stood out for a certain time—nine days ; the exact length of time is not very important ; and then they came back to the same leader they had denounced as incapable, and to colleagues who, they had declared, were incapable of constituting a strong government. They came back to those they had betrayed and insulted ; and why did they come back ? I can only answer in the excellent phrase which my hon. friend from South Grey (Mr. Landerkin) uttered at the time : They came back for seven reasons, and those seven reasons were ' five loaves and two small fishes.' It was one of the cleverest things that hon. gentleman ever said. Which of them got the minnows and which the cake I do not know. That was the sort of happy family that ruled Canada in the last year of Conservative domination. If they were called upon to form a cabinet, I do not think they could form one without calling on the list of those concerned in that little embroglio ; and I think, taking their own statements about each other on that occasion, the country will consider that not one of those seven, at all events, are fit to be taken into a cabinet the members of which could rely upon and be loyal to each other. I therefore move for the papers connected with this interesting and half-forgotten episode.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am not aware that there is any correspondence upon this subject, at any rate, anything at all official, but if there is it will be brought down.

Motion agreed to.

BOARD OF RAILWAY COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. T. O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan) moved :

That this House is of opinion that the public interest demands that the railway companies of Canada should, at the earliest possible moment, be brought under the control of a board of railway commissioners, clothed with full power to enforce the provisions of the Railway Act, and to prescribe and enforce the observance of such regulations as may be necessary in the public interest.

He said : This question was already discussed in this House during the last two sessions. In the first session of 1897, it was brought before the House by the late member for Winnipeg (Mr. Jameson) and then discussed at length ; and during the next session it was again brought up by the hon. member for Macdonald (Mr. Rutherford) and also discussed at some length. At that time I think the statement was made on behalf of the government that the matter

would receive consideration in the near future, and I am happy to say that some mention is made of it in the address.

The question of the appointment of a railway commission is one which largely affects the people, not only of the North-west Territories, but of the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The railway companies in this country have been given large subsidies in lands and moneys by the late government, and I am sorry to say that the late government did not keep proper control over the freight rates or tolls on these railways. In the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway, I believe that even the appointment of a railway commission would not afford any relief because of the ten per cent clause in the agreement between that company and the government, unless the government does something in the way of buying off the Canadian Pacific Railway in the same manner as they did in connection with the contract for building the Crow's Nest Pass road. But there are other railways in this country. There are the branch lines that have been subsidized by large grants of public lands, and in some cases by cash subsidies from the public treasury, which have no clause of that kind in their charter and are therefore subject to be dealt with by the government. Of course we have the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, which is supposed to deal with matters of that kind when brought to its attention, but it is composed of a very busy body of men, and the business of the country is growing too rapidly for them to deal with that matter in a way satisfactory to the people. New transportation companies are being created from year to year and the trade of the country is growing by leaps and bounds, and it is high time something was done by the government to obtain some proper control over the railway corporations of this country and their freight rates in order to prevent discrimination.

In the North-west Territories we are certainly in a very bad position in that respect. Let me give a few figures of the rates on some of the lines up there, for instance, from Winnipeg to further west in the territories. The freight on coal oil from Petrolia to Winnipeg, a distance of 1,400 miles, is something like 62 cents, and from the city of Winnipeg to the town of Prince Albert, some 600 miles, it is two cents more, or, I think, 66 cents. Now, I consider it is hardly fair that the people of the North-west Territories should have to pay more than double for the hauling of the commodities we have to consume than the people in the eastern parts of the country where the freight rates are regulated by competition. Take the branch lines, the rates on wheat and every other commodity are excessive, and if we are to fill that western country up with population, if we are to build up that country, the government will have to take control of the rates,

through a board of railway commissioners, and force the railway companies to treat the people in a proper spirit. Take the rate on wheat from Winnipeg to Port Arthur, a distance of 435 miles in round figures. It is 14 cents per hundred. It used to be 17 cents per hundred until the bargain made by the government with the Canadian Pacific Railway in connection with the Crow's Nest Pass line, under which they got a reduction of three cents per hundred on the wheat going to Port Arthur; and when I tell the House that that three cents reduction alone has been the means of placing close on \$1,000,000 of money into the pockets of the farmers of the North-west Territories, I think the House will agree with me that if we had a proper supervision over the railway companies in all parts of this country, a great deal more would go into the pockets of our farmers than does at present. Contrast the 14 cents per hundred rate from Winnipeg to Port Arthur with that charged from Chicago to Buffalo, a thousand miles by water, and then from Buffalo to New York, some 448 miles, we find that the shipper from Chicago to New York has to pay some eight cents over that distance of 1,450 miles as compared with 14 cents charged the shipper from Winnipeg to Port Arthur over a distance of only 435 miles. The House will see at once, therefore, the difficulties under which the people of the North-west are labouring.

I was amused the other day, when the discussion on the transportation problem was before this House, to hear the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Osler) get up and correct the hon. Minister of Public Works with reference to the freight on grain between Buffalo and New York. I think the Minister of Public Works made the statement that the price for hauling grain—I suppose, on the average, because it fluctuates—was six cents. The hon. member for West Toronto got up in his place and said the Minister of Public Works was wrong, that the rate was only 2½ cents. I suppose he meant 2½ cents a bushel, but he did not make it clear whether this was the rate per bushel or the rate per hundred pounds. In the former case it would mean somewhere in the neighbourhood of four cents per hundred pounds. The hon. member, who is a director of the Canadian Pacific Railway, should have considered the meaning of this statement of his, for his company charges the people of Manitoba and the North-west Territories fourteen cents for the service the New York Central performs for four cents—a difference of ten cents per hundred pounds. There could hardly be more striking evidence that the freight rates that the people of the North-west have to pay are excessive.

Look at the bearing of this question on the future of the country. I think it is acknowledged by every person that the future prosperity and greatness of Canada

depends on the opening of the great North-west. We have spent a great deal of money in developing that country; but I am sorry to say that, up to the present time, we have not gained the results we should have gained, considering the large expenditure of public money that has been made. What is the reason? In my opinion, the principal reason is to be found in the exorbitant freight rates that the settler has had to pay to the railways of the country. It is a common saying in that country that the farmer is farming on shares with the railway companies. Supposing a farmer had a hundred steers to ship to market, when he got them to the railway station, he would have to divide them, fifty for the railway company and fifty for himself. And then, when he got them to market, he would have to divide them again, and give twenty-five of them to the railway company to pay for bringing back the commodities that he needs in carrying on his operations as a farmer. So, the farmer gets only one-quarter of what he raises. We know that we are in a peculiar position—two thousand miles from the head of navigation at the port of Montreal and three thousand miles from the seaboard; and so we do not expect and cannot expect to get freight rates as low as are given to the people of Ontario. At the same time, we do expect that the government will step in and see that we are not discriminated against by the railway companies. Take, for instance, the question of coal oil. It is stated in the press representing hon. gentlemen opposite that it is because of the Standard Oil Company coming in here and acquiring refineries that the present situation as regards coal oil has arisen; and it is contended that the government should step in and prevent that sort of thing. But that is a peculiar position. If a man owned an oil refinery in Pretrolea, and wished to sell it, and an American corporation offered to buy it, is it reasonable to expect the government to step in and prevent the sale? If any person in Ottawa wanted to sell property and an American corporation were willing to give more for it than any one else, would he not think it a very strange thing for the government to step in and prevent him selling? It seems to me that there is nothing in that argument. The whole question is one of freight rates. With proper freight rates and no discrimination, the coal oil trouble would not exist as it does to-day.

As I said, this question has an intimate bearing on the future of the North-west, and so of the whole country. We have been trying to get immigration, and if we have not been as successful as we should have been, it is because of these excessive freight rates. For if people wish to emigrate from Europe or any other place, they look up this question of freight rates and all others affecting their residence in the country. They find that in Australia and New Zea-

land the government owns the railroads; they find in the United States there is proper control; while in this country they find there is no government ownership, nor is there any proper government control. They find that the Canadian Pacific Railway is allowed ten per cent on the capital invested—well, I can hardly say the capital invested, for, with the way they have been watering the stock, I do not think we need look for relief through that condition for a long time to come. There is no railroad commission to regulate the rates as there is in other countries that are more progressive than we are. And intending immigrants, finding this, go to some other place. They find that the Argentine Republic and other countries are opening up and coming into competition with us; and the cream of the emigration from England, Ireland, Scotland and elsewhere is going to these countries. Complaint is made sometimes of the class of immigrants we receive, and it is said we are not getting our share of immigrants from the British Isles. One reason why we are not getting as good a class of people as we should is that intelligent people, acquainted with the condition of the country as to railroads, go to some other countries where they are not tied up by monopolies as we are, and so we do not get the class of people into the North-west that we would get if we had proper supervision over the roads.

Not only would the appointment of a railway commission be beneficial in the way of regulating freight rates and preventing discrimination, but it would be advantageous in other ways. We have a network of railways over a large part of the older provinces, and they are increasing in the west; and it is only proper that there should be somebody that would have jurisdiction over them. Suppose, for instance, a poor farmer in the west or in any part of the country has a cow, horse or other animal that gets on the track and is killed. The farmer makes a demand on the railroad corporation, and the railroad corporation will write him a letter—a very nice letter, no doubt. They will sympathize with him; but sympathy will not get him another animal. They will put him off from day to day; and even if he puts the case in the hands of a solicitor they will tell him that they will not pay him at all. An ordinary man cannot afford to go to law with a rich corporation like the Grand Trunk Railway or the Canadian Pacific Railway. If he does, the corporation will carry the case from court to court until the poor man is ruined and cannot go on with it. The result is that he loses his money and does not get paid for his animal. If we had a railroad commission, the farmer could send in his claim to them, for the commission would be supposed to stand between the common people and the railroad cor-

porations. In such a case as I have spoken of, the commission would investigate the claims, and, if they found that the claimant had justice on his side, they would see to it that the railway company would have to pay for the animal. In that case the railroad corporations would not be dealing with the individual but they would be dealing with the state. And so on all along the line. If a railway corporation refused to give proper accommodation to a farmer for crossing the track, there again a railroad commission would step in and see that the farmer or any other person would get relief in that respect. Again, in the building of bridges, the railroad commission would be able to step in again.

I have here, Mr. Speaker, the report of the Railroad Commission of the State of Ohio for 1897, containing a full account of all the transactions of that commission. We find they give all the correspondence between the commissioners and the different railroad corporations that they have had dealings with. We find in this report that they have dealt with a large range of subjects. We find they have settled questions about killing animals on the track, about crossings over the track, about the construction of bridges, about giving increased facilities around stations for the people to handle their stuff. We find they have settled overcharges where some man went into a ticket office and was overcharged for a ticket between two places; he applied to the railroad commission, and that was settled to the satisfaction of the complainant. We find again, where an overcharge has been made on carloads of freight, that the railroad commission stepped in and settled it to the advantage of the party complaining. We find again in other places that they have dealt with the question of elevators and storehouses. That is one of the greatest questions in this country, it was brought up by the hon. member for Eastern Assiniboia last session, and he has it again on the Order paper to-day. We find that this railroad commission in the State of Ohio dealt with this question. We find that in some place where there were not sufficient facilities for shipping grain around certain stations, the residents of that part of the country made a complaint to the railroad commission, who took it up and found out the amount of grain that was to be shipped from there, found out the facilities there were for handling it, and ordered the railroad corporation to give certain lands to parties who wished to build not only elevators but flat warehouses, and to afford conveniences for the people to ship their commodities. We find again that in respect to putting up warehouses for handling other commodities besides grain, putting up cattle yards, giving facilities to cattle shippers, the railroad commission have stepped in and settled all those disputes to the satisfaction of the people.

There was another question that came up in this House last year, and I am sorry to say the Bill dealing with it did not go through the House, that is the question of allowing a railroad corporation, subsidized by public money, to go into any part of the country and to shunt a town already built up by the industry of the people, to put it to one side and build another town of their own. That fact was brought up in this House last year, and I am sorry to say that the Bill affording relief was opposed by the leader of the opposition in this House, or in the committee, and for that reason it did not pass the House. We have suffered in that respect in the North-west Territories, and we know whereof we speak. There was a case occurred in my own town. After the people of this country had subsidized the Regina, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway Company to the extent of 6,400 acres of land per mile, and \$80,000 a year in cash for twenty years, for running that road, will you believe, Mr. Speaker, that at every town that had been established, built up by the industry and labour of the settlers in that country before the railway came in there, this railroad corporation actually shunted every one of those towns? They came in the first place to the town of Saskatoon, a very thriving little village, they crossed the river, cut it out, and surveyed another town of their own. Again they went down to the town of Duck Lake, another thriving village, where the people had built a mill and several stores; they shunted that town, and surveyed another town of their own. When they came to Prince Albert, the largest town in the district of Saskatchewan, will you believe it, Mr. Speaker, they actually stood outside the town and came in and held, so to speak, a pistol to the heads of the people and said: If you don't give us the half of your property in this town we won't come into it. Here was a corporation that had been given by this country, according to the value that they were selling the lands for, and the cash they had got from the public treasury in one way and another, not less than \$20,000 a mile for the construction of a road that did not cost more than \$10,000 a mile; they were allowed to come up and hold the pistol to the heads of the people and demand the half of their property before they would agree to build a station, threatening to build another town of their own. That is not a proper thing to be allowed. This railroad commission in Ohio had taken up questions like that and settled them to the satisfaction of the people. I find a case where the railroad commission took a similar question up, a case where the railroad corporation had entered into an agreement with an individual to acquire a certain amount of land. This gentleman who had a farm in the locality where they proposed

to put a station, offered to give them five or six acres of very valuable land at the corner of his farm if they would establish their station and keep a station agent in it. They got a deed of the land, registered it, and put a station there, and placed an agent in it, they kept him there for one year, and then they took the station agent away, closed up the station and went off and built another one. This gentleman applied to the railroad commission,—the whole of the correspondence is in this report—and they settled that question to the satisfaction of the complainant who had the grievance. So I claim that if the government were to take this question up now and appoint this railroad commission, it would be one of the best pieces of legislation that could be passed in the House this year.

Now, people talk about the transportation problem, but there is no use talking about the transportation problem until you have some means of regulating the gentlemen who are doing the transporting of our products. Of course there is a provision in the Railway Act, and you will say that the Railway Committee of the Privy Council should deal with them. But we know, as a matter of fact, that the Canadian Pacific Railway in the North-west Territories on one occasion violated the provisions of the Railway Act of this country, when they refused to take, as common carriers, the produce of the farmers and draw it out of the country. They entered into an agreement with the elevator men that they would take no produce from any parties unless it came through their elevators. As common carriers they were bound to take the produce from the farmers or any one else when it was offered to them: but in this case they violated the provisions of that Act. This had been going on for several years until the member for Eastern Assiniboia brought in his Bill to this House for the regulation of the grain trade in the North-west Territories. At that time it was found that they had been thus breaking the provisions of the Act, and of course, as soon as the member for Eastern Assiniboia brought in his Bill, the coon came down, they acknowledged that they had been breaking the law. Now, if we had a proper railroad commission to look after these things it would be impossible for them to break the law in that way. If they are breaking it in one instance, they must be breaking it all over the Dominion of Canada in different ways that have not yet been brought to the attention of the House or of the country.

As I said before, there is no use talking about the transportation problem until something of this kind is done. The transportation problem is a great one. We have heard an hon. gentleman discuss it in this

House in a way that I am sure leads one to believe that he had given it a good deal of thought. But at the same time the first thing to do is to have a properly organized railroad commission who will be able to force these railway corporations to live up to the spirit and the letter of the Act, and who will also see that there is no discrimination in freight rates. I myself have had some experience in connection with freight rates. I wrote to the railroad corporation asking them why the rate was higher between my town and the town of Winnipeg than it was between Winnipeg and the east. I pointed out that the distance was only one-half, still they charged me more for bringing stuff 600 miles than they did other people for taking it 1,400 miles. They acknowledged the corn, and they said it was because there was competition and they could not afford to carry it cheaper. That is exactly the reason they charge these high freight rates, it is because they can discriminate as they please, and the people have no way of getting relief except through the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. That is a proper body, no doubt, if they are applied to, to take the question up at the time and to deal with it. Every man in the Dominion of Canada cannot come to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, in order to get them to take up a question of this kind. Now, the next question is, Mr. Speaker, providing that the government did anything in the matter of the appointment of a railway commission, is to consider how many commissioners should be appointed, and the kind of men to be appointed on that commission. In the first place, in order to have an efficient commission, the government of the day would have to be very particular about the selection of the parties to compose this commission, because, if you allowed politics to enter into it—I do not care what government is in power—the commission would be practically useless to all intents and purposes, as far as the public is concerned. The commission should be appointed in such a way that it could not be dismissed without a two-third vote of the House of Commons, or in some way like the Auditor General, so that it would not be under the control of any political party at all. Then if you appointed good men to the commission, and if they were appointed in that way, the people would get great benefit from the work of such a commission. The government would have to be very careful about the kind of men they selected. In the first place it would be necessary that you should have a man who understands all about freight rates and railway management, so that he would be able to go into railway questions and questions of freight rates, either with the managers of railways, or the presidents of railway corporations, so that he would

be enabled to hold his own, because the moment a man, not so qualified, undertakes to discuss freight rates with a man in the railway business, with the president of a road or the manager of the freight department, he is certainly working at a disadvantage, as it is almost impossible for any man to understand the mass of figures they will place before him. They will juggle these figures backward and forward and tell you about rates and so on, and you will go out knowing as much about rates as you did when you went in. The government should secure a man who is thoroughly competent to hold his own when confronted by experts, and who would not be hoodwinked or blindfolded by these railway men. Such a man can be secured in this country. I do not think there will be any difficulty; they get them in the United States, in England and in other countries, where they have railway commissions, and I do not see why we cannot get them here. If we want a man of that kind, we must be prepared to pay him, because the services of a man of that kind are valuable. Look at the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway corporation. That corporation pays its president \$50,000 a year. I suppose that when the freight rate between Port Arthur and Winnipeg is cut down from 14 cents to 6 cents a hundred, it will probably have to reduce the salary of the president of the road, but in the meantime, he is getting \$50,000 a year. I understand that the president of the Grand Trunk Railway Company is getting a very large salary, and when you come down to the smaller corporations all over the country, you find that these little tuppenny-ha'penny roads that do not amount to a hill of beans, are actually paying their presidents more than the Prime Minister of this country is getting. If we want a good man, we must be prepared to pay him well. If we had three members of a railway commission getting \$10,000 a year each, they would not be getting any too much, because we have to put them in an independent position, so that they will be independent of the public in every way and so that they will be able to see, the same as our judges do, that justice is meted out to all classes of the community. If you get men like that, you cannot get them for less than \$10,000 each. Suppose you get your man who understands freight rates, you will have to pay him as much as that. The next thing we have to do is to put a first-class lawyer on the commission. You cannot get the services of a first-class lawyer for anything less than \$10,000 a year, because any first-class lawyer in the country, any man who has a reputation, such as the government would be justified in putting on that commission, would certainly be able to make \$10,000 a year out of his profession. Therefore, a man of that kind would not go on the commission unless he was getting as much as he was making out of his prac-

tice. If we are going to appoint any one at all, we must have a first-class legal man on the commission. Some years ago, in discussing the subject of a commission in this House, an hon. gentleman said that what was wanted was a business man, a lawyer and a man of common sense. He must have assumed that lawyers and business men were not men of common sense, when he made that statement. We want besides a lawyer and a railway man, a man of common sense. We want a first-class business man, and if we are going to get a first-class business man, we must give him first-class pay, because, a business man, such as the government would be justified in appointing on a commission of that kind, could make \$10,000 a year out of his business. Take some of the larger firms in Montreal, in Toronto, and in the different large mercantile centres, and there is no doubt that some of the members of these firms are making \$10,000 a year. Such a man would not leave a business of that kind to be placed on a commission unless he was going to get just as much as he was getting before. It may look to be quite a proposition to say that if we secure three such men, we must pay them \$30,000 a year, but, what is \$30,000 a year to the people of this great Dominion? As I pointed out, on the three cents a bushel reduction that the government got out of the Crow's Nest Pass bargain, on the crop of Manitoba and the North-west Territories last year, it amounted to something near \$1,000,000 saved to the people of Manitoba and the North-west Territories, because every cent saved on the export of a bushel of wheat goes directly into the pocket of the producer of that bushel of wheat. Every cent that is saved on the transport of any other commodity in this country, goes directly into the pocket of the consumer of that commodity. With five millions of people, what is \$30,000 a year to pay a railway commission to control the vast railway and transportation interests in this country of ours? The government, in appointing a railway commission should see that we get the very best men that can be obtained in any portion of this country, even if they cost us \$40,000 a year, the money would be well spent, because it would be returned to the people a hundredfold. It would not be well spent for the railway corporations, because a first-class railway commission would see that these corporations did what was right. The hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), in that beautiful language of his, spoke the other day about these millionaires, who are making their money out of this country, and who are living in their palatial residences in New York and other places. They would not be able to keep as large a staff around them if we had a railway commission to see that they did not take any more than their pound of flesh from the people of this country. Mr. Speaker, I have dealt with

this question at length : I hope it will bring forth a good discussion from the members of this House, because it is one of the most important questions that we can deal with to-day. The transportation problem is to-day the greatest problem we have to deal with in Canada. The largest fertile portion of our country lies 3,000 miles from the seaboard and 2,000 miles from Montreal, the head of ocean navigation. The great question that the people, not only of the west but of the east, have to deal with, is to solve the problem of how we are to get our products from the far interior to the markets of the world, cheaply and quickly. It is time for us to solve that question. Mr. Speaker. The government has dealt with it in deepening our canals to 14 feet, and they are to spend money at Port Colborne and so on, but there is no use spending \$80,000,000 on canals when a great railway corporation is allowed to charge as much for carrying grain 400 miles, as the water transportation companies charge for carrying it 2,000 miles. So long as that state of things exists the people can get no relief. We require to have some control over these railway corporations, and until we have, we will be at their mercy. In the east, water competition to some extent does regulate the freight rate, but in the west we have no great water stretches and the difficulties we labour under are all the greater. It is for that reason that I say that this is the most important question that can occupy the attention of parliament this year. I beg, Mr. Speaker, to move the resolution.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). I want, Mr. Speaker, to call attention to an extraordinary state of things. Here is a most important resolution, and while the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) was discussing it, and discussing it at considerable length, the Treasury benches were empty, with the exception of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) and the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), and the Minister of Customs was engaged in an interesting conversation with the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Wood), and the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) was in cloudland respecting his future budget. Sixteen ministers of the Crown ! Three more than these gentlemen opposite declared was a monstrous superfluity, and when the most important question that this House can consider was being discussed, during the whole time that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) was discussing it—and I must say that his speech showed he had paid some attention to the question—not a minister connected with any department that would have to deal with this matter was in his place. The Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair), apparently of malice prepense absented himself, and for that there might be several reasons. He might want to show disrespect to the member for Saskatche-

wan (Mr. Davis), and what occurred would seem to favour that view, because the moment the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) had taken his seat ; as though the secretary had been posted and sentinel stationed to inform him when that desirable event had taken place ; that moment in walked the Minister of Railways, with that solemn and impressive air which characterizes him. The Prime Minister was not in his place, and the Young Napoleon whose henchman—not even second to the member that hails from Portage la Prairie (Mr. Rutherford)—the Young Napoleon, whose henchman the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis) is ; the Young Napoleon lay hidden away in the deep recesses of his office or offices in his building. Where was the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) while this question was being discussed ?

Mr. TAYLOR. Taking dancing lessons.

Mr. DAVIN. Ah no, not taking a dancing lesson now. My information is that he is long proficient, and that he can give lessons in that interesting science in which he was once a mere pupil and acolyte. I say, Sir, that the hon. member for Saskatchewan has a grievance against the ministry and a special grievance against the Minister of Railways, and the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), because a snub has been placed upon him. The moment he rises up, the Treasury benches pretty well filled become deserted, and for three-quarters of an hour by the clock he dilates upon the necessity of having a railway commission. He brings forward arguments that he deemed worthy of the attention of the Minister of Railways, and the Minister of Railways was conspicuous by his absence, and the Minister of the Interior was conspicuous by his absence, and the chair which is usually attentively occupied by the Prime Minister ; that chair was vacant. There may have been another reason. The Minister of Railways may have thought, and the ministry generally may have thought, that if they behaved in this manner the question would not be discussed ; that it would be treated with the same contempt with which they treated the mover (Mr. Davis) and that thus they would be spared the disagreeable necessity of giving their opinions upon it. Sir, when this question was brought up in the House before, by one of our colleagues (Mr. Jameson) who has passed away, it was quite clear from the manner in which the Minister of Railways discussed it, and from the manner in which the Minister of the Interior treated it, that it was a subject that they considered required very delicate handling from the standpoint of this government. There were influences, shadowy, unseen to the ordinary eye, but real in their effectiveness over these gentlemen the moment they came to deal with the proposal

Mr. DAVIS.

to have a railway commission. Now that a distinguished supporter of the minister has brought this matter before the House, we certainly are entitled to hear from the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) what is the intention of the government. This matter has engaged our attention in this House again and again, and the time has passed to make of this Chamber a mere debating society in regard to a question like this. The gentleman (Mr. Davis) who introduced the motion, concluded as though he did not mean business, for he said: All I want is discussion. In view of the fact that this matter has been already frequently discussed, what is the object of bringing it forward in this way if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) does not mean business? Is it to throw dust in the eyes of those persons in the Saskatchewan who are interested in matters of this kind? Sir, I entirely decline to take an interest in a non-committal motion like this. It is introduced merely for the purpose of debating society rhetoric, and that is a thing we should not countenance in this House. But, since the hon. member (Mr. Davis) has brought it before the House, and at such length, we certainly are entitled to the opinion of the Minister of Railways as to the policy of the government on this important question which has agitated the country for so long. We ought to know from him what is his policy—what he intends to do; whether he intends to bring down a Bill to give us a strong railway commission such as will be able to deal with the varied question that arises as between the travelling public and those corporations who have had such extensive franchises granted to them from time to time by this parliament. For myself, I have no doubt whatever that a railway commission, with the condition which I think I was the first to propose in this House, that the persons composing it should be responsible, not to the government of the day, but to the parliament of Canada—should be appointed as judges are appointed, and removable as judges are removable—could not fail to be useful in the premises; and any measure like that coming from the government will have my hearty support. A railway commission appointed by the government of the day would not have my support, because it would only really be a buffer to the action of the minister, and instead of minimizing the abuses and evils that we wish to get rid of, would really aggravate them. I regret that a more definite motion was not brought forward by the hon. member. I regret still more what we witnessed while he brought it before the House; I regret it for the sake of the great constituency the hon. gentleman represents: empty Treasury benches, the ministry paying no attention to him whatever, but showing ostentatious disrespect to himself and his constituency. But

as the subject must be familiar to the Minister of Railways, and as one of his supporters has brought the matter to the attention of the House even in his absence, and as he is here now, I suppose we may expect to hear from him what the policy of the government is.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). Mr. Speaker, the transportation problem is today one of the most difficult problems that either the parliament or the people of this country have to solve. There are evils cropping up from time to time, no matter what laws are made or what regulations control the railway companies as common carriers, and these evils call for some methods of adjustment. We have only two means of conveying the products of the people from where they are produced to the markets of the world—the railways and the canals; and the government of the country has seen fit from time to time to expend very large sums of money for the purpose of perfecting these highways of commerce in the interest of the people who use them; yet up to the present they have been unable in my judgment properly to protect the interests of those people. A comparison between the two highways might fairly be made. While we spend large sums of money to build railways, we do it for the purpose of bringing the conveniences of life within the reach of all. For the same reason we spend large sums of money for the improvement of our canals. But when you go that far there is a divergence. In the one case the government uses the money for making a public highway which is open to all on equal terms. Every one can use the canals, which are, comparatively speaking, free for the purpose of transporting the products of the farm, the field, the workshop, the mine or the forest to the markets of the world. But in the other case, when your product is laid down at the railway, you are met with a very exorbitant tax, which is taken off the product for transporting it to the market where it is sold. Now, how much money have we spent for the purpose of providing these conveniences for the people? On the railways of Canada we have spent, up to the end of the financial year 1897, no less than \$139,335,405, as subsidies; and yet we have at the same time given over into the hands of soulless corporations the power to control these great highways of commerce, and to tax the people of the country to an extent only limited by the avarice of these corporations themselves. On the other hand, we have expended for the building of our canals \$70,750,000. But, as I have said, there is this distinction between the two, that the canals are practically free to every man in the country to use to the fullest extent possible, whereas the railways become the property of soul-

less corporations to whom we have given power to tax the people to almost any extent they see fit, and they exact from the people who use the railways for the transportation of the products of the country, every dollar which the product will bear, and it goes into the insatiable maw of these corporations. Yet we do not pretend to control them in any way. Is this in the interest of the people of the country, either the producers or the consumers? In my judgment it is not. Although parliament has not yet solved this great problem, it is in my judgment capable of solution, and it is the duty of the government to take it up and grapple with it at the earliest possible moment. It is for that purpose the government is in existence and controlling the various interests of the country. Those who have invested their money in railways have the right to expect that, under proper management, their operations will yield a reasonable interest, upon the actual money they have put into them. Instead, however, of a reasonable interest on the money invested, these parties demand an interest likewise upon the money that the government has put into the construction of these lines. I never could understand why we should allow that to continue. For what purpose were these \$139,000,000 given in the way of subsidies? It was for the purpose of cheapening the transportation of the products of the people from one part of the country to another. But I say the railway corporations expect more than they ought to get. Not only do they expect a reasonable interest on every dollar invested by them, but likewise an interest on every dollar of subsidy given by the country. That should not be allowed, and until parliament or some authority in the country deals with that question, the people will never enjoy those advantages which they have a right to expect from the expenditure by the country of this large amount of money given as subsidies for the building of railway lines. No effort has been made to control these companies, and what is the result? We find that in many parts of the country, exorbitant rates are charged. Take my own section of country, where I know what is going on better than I do what is going on elsewhere. We produce a large quantity of good firewood, which has to be sold in the cities. As firewood becomes scarcer and the demand becomes greater, the price goes up in the cities, but just as soon as the price goes up, up goes the railway rates, and the people who get out the firewood derive little or no benefit from the increase in price. The men who derive the benefit are not the men who get out the wood, but the railway companies, who are not willing even to give the producers a share of the enhanced price, but take the full benefit, or almost the full benefit, to themselves.

Mr. SPROULE.

In the section from which I come, we contributed a subsidy of \$300,000 towards the building of a railway, and the first condition of the by-law granting that money, was that the railway should charge us not more than a certain tariff, for a certain number of years, but the company devised means to evade that tariff and the contract entered into, and they charge much higher rates than under that agreement they would be entitled to charge. What is the plea they put forth? They plead that the contract, which was for twenty years, has expired by the lapse of time, and that consequently, they are now in a position to charge what freight rates they please, and the result is that every cent of the increased value of that firewood to-day, goes into the insatiable maw of that company, and the poor farmer gets none of the benefit. I only give that as an illustration of what the railway companies do when we make no attempt to control them. What we require is a railway commission or some other authority in the country, which will exercise some control. While I am deeply impressed with the view that a railway commission may not be able to grapple with the difficulties that exist in connection with this transportation problem, still I believe, that the creation of a strong railway commission, acting under the countenance of the government, could not fail to have a beneficial effect. It would have the effect, at any rate, of bringing to light many of the anomalies which are carefully kept in the dark to-day, such as the advantages given by railway corporations to the Standard Oil Company, in the transportation of their oil, as against private corporations, engaged in the same business. It would have the effect of bringing to light the discrimination which is constantly made against the small shipper in favour of the large, against the single individual or private corporation, in favour of the corporations that become a great power in the shape of trusts and monopolies. A commission would bring these things to light to such an extent that at least the attention of the country would be directed towards them and public opinion become so strong that parliament would be compelled to grapple with this problem in the interests of the people. One result would be the devising of some means to determine exactly on what capital the railway corporations have a right to expect a return from the traffic which they carry over their lines. We want that better defined. In my opinion, what we require, is a law which will determine that every dollar that the country puts into these railways, is invested in the interests of the people, and not in the interests of these corporations, and that no railway company shall be allowed to earn interest on the investment of public money, but be compelled to carry traffic at cheaper rates, based on the proportion of public money thus invested.

When the Bill incorporating the Canadian Pacific Railway was before this House, I brought that question to the attention of parliament, but failed to get any response from the government of the day. I failed to obtain from the government of the day any declaration as to the principle on what the calculation of profit to the company should be based. At different times, the same question has been brought up by other hon. members, but up to the present no government has declared upon what basis that calculation should be made; and so far as we know, the railway companies that control transportation to-day, are earning an interest in many cases on the money which this country has put into their construction as well as on the money invested by private individuals. What is the result? The result is that by this expenditure, which was intended solely to be made in the interests of the people, we have created millionaires, we have enabled the men who control these railway corporations to live in palaces in the old country and in Canada, to luxuriate in wealth and splendour, and to grind down the people who are obliged to use these railways for the transportation of their goods. That sort of thing should not be allowed to continue; and although a railway commission could not perhaps control it, at least it would be brought to the attention of the government and the country, and we would then have more intelligent information which we could use in order to induce parliament to take control of this matter, as in my opinion, it should. Now, as I said before, the canals, upon which we have spent so much money are practically free, but the railways are not free. We have discrimination on freight rates, we have exorbitant charges to the injury of the people. We have many such instances as have been cited here of railways charging as much for the transport of freight as it costs to take it by team. The old Hudson's Bay freighters, a few years ago, took goods from Calgary away up to the Red Deer country for ten cents less per hundred pounds less than is charged by the railroads that we subsidized to the tune of thousands. That instance was cited in this House. The charge made by the Hudson's Bay freighters was 65 cents a hundred, while the railway corporations refused to take it for less than 75 cents a hundred, though we had given them large assistance to build that railway. We are told: Oh, that is in a portion of the country where the population is sparse and the freight to be transported is but a small quantity. But we find the same thing in Ontario, where the railways are taxed to their utmost capacity to transport the freight. Now, can we say that we are doing our duty to the country, that we are doing our duty to the people who sent us here, if we allow such a state of things to

continue? We want a railway commission or something else to control these rates.

I have thought for some time past that we have reached that stage in the history of this country and of railway building when we should refuse to give subsidies to corporations to build railways. But, if we do give assistance toward the building of railways, every dollar we advance should be paid back to the people with a reasonable interest. In exceptional cases, whose special character has been well established, we might be justified in loaning money to promote railway extension without expecting any return in the shape of interest for a number of years; but we should at least expect the repayment of the principal sum that is advanced. Railway corporations have become very much like those people who go through the country looking for a bonus to settle in this town or in that and establish some enterprise there. Railway construction has produced a body of professionals in this line, who are working the parliament of the country, working political parties, and are bleeding the country to the extent of millions of dollars. They should pay back every dollar of the money that is advanced to them by the country. In addition to that, wherever we give a dollar of assistance to a railway, we should accompany it with a law which gives us control to prevent the company exacting exorbitant rates. The government should be empowered to examine and determine whether the freight rates they charge are exorbitant, and if they find them to be more than is reasonable, more than will pay a reasonable interest on the money invested in the railway, and keep the railway in repair, they should have the right to demand that the freight rates shall be lowered in the interest of the users of the railway. We shall only reach the position we ought to occupy when we see such a provision made. Parliament should not vote another dollar in subsidy or assistance to the construction of railways without having it accompanied with these conditions. We want a railway commission, if for no other reason than to arouse the government and make them alive to the necessities of the situation; the interest of the people and their own duty to exercise power to protect the public interest in this matter. It will at least call public attention to the matter and will assist in educating public sentiment in the country and making it so strong that no government can resist it. It will put the government in the same condition in relation to this matter that the present government was in with regard to sending contingents to South Africa. What did the First Minister say on that subject? He said, in effect: I did not intend, I did not think it was advisable, to send these contingents, but I found that public sentiment was so strong that we were obliged to act;

no government could refrain from acting. We want a public sentiment on this subject of railway corporations so strong that if the government refuse to obey they will be relegated to oblivion at the first opportunity the people have of pronouncing upon their conduct. If a railway commission will do this, we should hail the day, and the earlier it comes the better for the people. Even if it will not do this, it may assist in preventing the railway corporations from practising the great injustices that they do on private individuals who must use these lines. It will assist in preventing the railways from favouring such great monopolies and trusts as the Standard Oil Company, the Sugar Trust and other trusts that are bleeding the country of every drop of blood it can spare. It will prevent discrimination between individuals and companies that use these railways. It will arouse attention to these anomalies, anomalies which must cease as soon as they receive the publicity they should receive. For these reasons, I stand to-day where I always stood on this question. I am prepared to support any government which will establish a proper tribunal to deal with this question. I believe that, in the interest of the people, it ought to be done. I believe that any government is doing less than its duty that does not deal with the question. It is said that it is a great problem. It is a great problem, but what is a government for if not to grapple with and solve such problems as this. This is what the government of the people expect of them.

I entertained great hopes of the present Minister of Railways and Canals, who gave us the intimation some years ago—and from year to year he has repeated it—of his intention to deal with this question. I will give him at least the credit of saying, that in my judgment, he has attempted in some ways to control the railways, not to the extent I should like, but at least to some extent. He raised our hopes in this regard when he intimated that the government had these things under consideration and would, in all probability, deal with them at an early day. But the early day has passed, and time is going on, and soon they will be called upon to go to the people again. But they have not yet grappled with this great problem. I will support them or any other who will grapple with it in the interests of the people; I will support the proposal to appoint a railway commission or any other tribunal that will have authority, if not wholly at least partially, to control railway corporations in the thousand and one injustices which they are doing to the people of this country who must use these lines of transportation, these highways of commerce that we have paid so much to bring within the reach of the people for their advantage and for their needs.

Mr. A. CAMPBELL (Kent, O.). I think the House owes its thanks to the

Mr. SPROULE.

hon. member for bringing forward this very important question. He has presented it to the House so fully and so exhaustively that scarcely anything more can be said in favour of it. The points and arguments which he has advanced show that he has given the matter a great deal of attention and a great deal of study, and I doubt if any other member in the House could make such a strong case and present such an array of strong arguments in support of the question he has brought forward so ably, as the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis). I have listened with a great deal of attention to the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Sproule), and I am glad to know that even at this late date he is a convert to this proposal.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman is mistaken. He must remember that I have spoken nearly a dozen times in this House, in the same way, in support of the same principle.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, Mr. Speaker, I think that last year, and possibly the year before, I heard his melodious voice in support of this question. But you will remember, Mr. Speaker, that although \$139,000,000 of the people's money have been given by the Tory government to aid railways in this country, not a solitary word fell from him or from the government that he supported, in favour of this scheme. Why did they not bring it up in days gone by?

Mr. SPROULE. I do not think the hon. gentleman wishes intentionally to misrepresent me, but he certainly cannot know what took place in the House, or he would know that I have spoken of it often, even before he ever sat in this House.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Not until a change of government took place, and suddenly he wakes up to the great importance of the railway commission. He sat here and voted \$139,000,000 of the people's money to aid railways all over this country, and he never insisted that the government of the day should control the rates and tariffs on those roads; or if he did, he had very little influence with the government which he supported. I know that the government of the day did not take any of those precautions that are so freely contended for by the present opposition. Suddenly, after a change of government has taken place, they change their tune, after this government has wisely guarded the interests of the people in the subsidies which they have voted to railways by inaugurating a new scheme that was never thought of by the old government. In the subsidies that were voted last year a provision was made that these railways should pay back to the people in the carriage of mails and freight to be sent over the roads, to the extent of every dollar that was given them by way of bonuses. This was a new provision, this was a new contention, this was a new era inaugurated, I

am glad to say, by the Liberal government for the first time in the history of Canada. We know that the Minister of Railways and Canals has been looking into this matter, he has promised to give it his best consideration, and I have no doubt that in due course he will bring forward the legislation which I think ought to be granted. It is a matter that cannot be dealt with in a day. For eighteen long years the Conservative party ruled over this country, and during all that time they never gave the matter one bit of attention. This government have only been in power for three years and a half, but they have met and dealt with great and important questions, questions that the old government never had to contend with, questions that demanded the highest statesmanship, questions that deserved the most careful consideration of this parliament, and this government have met and handled these questions in a way that has secured for themselves the commendation of the people of this country, and that has shown the wisdom of the people of this country, when, in 1896, they changed their rulers. I believe that the wise course that they have pursued in relation to those questions shows statesmanship of the very highest order. It is no wonder that some of these questions have been delayed for a little while. It was impossible in that short time to deal with them in a way that their importance deserved. But I have no doubt from the statement of the Minister of Railways and Canals that this question will receive and has already received his earnest consideration.

To my mind there is no question, except perhaps the transportation question, which is so important as that of the railway commission, and these two questions may be considered as twin questions. They both interest the people of this country to a very great extent. I believe that the beneficial effects likely to flow from the establishment of a railway commission have been overestimated in the minds of many people. I do not believe that we may expect to receive the great benefits from a railway commission that some gentlemen think we would receive. I think that some means should be adopted by which rates granted on our various lines of railway should be controlled to a certain extent. But in reading the history of railway commissions in the United States, we find that there are still great grievances there, and many complaints, that the greatest trusts and monopolies to be found in the wide world are flourishing in the United States. Hence, I come to the conclusion that possibly a railway commission would not be a panacea for all the ills we have to bear. But I think the government will in due course look into this matter, and possibly devise some way by which the arbitrary, unjust and unfair rates that are given to Canadians should be terminated. I have had

occasion at different times to look into this matter considerably, and consequently I listened with a great deal of attention and pleasure to the arguments that were advanced by the hon. gentleman who moved this resolution. While I know nothing of the unjust discrimination that he spoke of in the North-west, I do know that in the province of Ontario, from which I come, there are great discriminations in the rates of freight charged to the Canadian people. I have in my mind rates of freight from points in Ontario as compared with points in the United States, and it is a lamentable fact, a fact that does not do credit to the people of this country, that they have submitted to such unjust discriminations for so long a time. As many hon. members know, I am engaged in the milling business, and, therefore, know what the rates are on flour from points in Ontario to the maritime provinces. I know that in the city of Toronto, last year, the rates on flour to the city of Montreal for export, a distance of 334 miles, were 14½ cents per hundred pounds. Go five hundred miles farther west to the city of Chicago, and there you find that our Canadian railways are carrying flour for the Americans, right past our own doors, over our own railways, to the city of Montreal, for 15 cents a hundred pounds. In other words, they carry that flour from 500 miles farther west, for half a cent per hundred pounds more than they charge the millers of Ontario. If you go to Guelph or Galt, or Stratford, or Listowel, or to any of these milling points in Ontario, you will find that the millers there are charged half a cent a hundred pounds more to carry their flour from these points to Montreal, for export, than the Americans are from Chicago. If you went to Detroit, 280 miles west of Toronto, last year, you would have found that it was a fact, that the Americans could send their flour from Detroit to Montreal for 11½ cents a hundred, while the millers of Ontario were charged 14½ cents a hundred to send their flour to Montreal for export, thus discriminating against the people of Ontario. Although this rate is given on our produce for export, we have to compete against the wide world. Our flour goes into Newfoundland, or into the old country, on the same terms as the American flour, or that of any other manufacturer in the wide world, and while the discrimination on flour going into the maritime provinces for consumption does not affect us so much because the duty protects us to that extent, when we come to export flour, or apples, or pork, or cheese, or butter, or anything of this kind, we have to compete against the whole world. Therefore, I say that the discrimination that our railways are making against the people of Ontario is injuring very much the interests of the people of Ontario and of the Dominion of Canada. It does seem to me a peculiar state of affairs that when the government are wisely and

intelligently developing, by all the means in their power, our foreign trade, by establishing fast steamship lines, by establishing a cold storage system that is the pride and glory of this Dominion, that has brought an enormous amount of wealth to the farmers of this country, that has increased and advanced the price of the produce of the farmers of this country enormously, that while the government are, in all the ways they can, stimulating the prosperity of the Dominion, establishing fast steamship lines to carry this produce to distant lands, establishing this system of cold storage by which it can be placed on the English market in the very best possible condition, that while all this is going on, the railways of this country, which, as my hon. friend said, have received \$130,000,000 of the people's money, are thwarting the government, are preventing the results that would flow from the wise policy of the government, and are putting obstructions in the way by which the efforts of the government would be nullified and overruled. Therefore, I say that it becomes a question that demands the serious attention of the House. If we had the same rates of freight from points in Ontario that our American competitors have, it would enormously increase exportation and advance the prosperity of the people of this country, because it is a fact, that every cent by which you reduce the cost of transporting goods from one point to another is added to the price received by the producer. It does not make much difference to the manufacturers what rate of freight they pay, because they are all on the same level, but it does make a difference to the men who raise these commodities that I have named. If the rates on our butter, cheese, pork, apples, bacon, wheat and flour were the same as the rates charged to our American competitors, the consequence would be that the farmers of Ontario would receive that much more for their produce and it would enormously increase and advance the interest of the farmers of Ontario. Therefore, I say that it becomes a matter of importance, and I am glad to know that the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) has already given his attention to it. I hope that he will continue to give attention to this subject, and that the matter will not be allowed to rest until some means are devised by which this unjust, this unfair, this unpatriotic course adopted by our railways shall be overcome. I see no reason why such a course should be pursued. You say to the railways: Why do you carry stuff for the Americans at a half a cent a hundred less than what you will carry it from Ontario? The reason is: We must do it; if we did not do it they have lines of steamships running up there, and American roads running in competition with us, and if we did not carry produce at that rate, we simply would not get the business. That is quite true, but it is no reason why

they should carry stuff from Chicago for export, for 15 cents a hundred, and charge 15½ cents, from Guelph, Galt, Stratford, and Listowel to Montreal for export. The same rule should be applied to the Canadians at these points, to a certain extent. Probably our railways cannot afford to carry freight from these points at exactly the same rates as they can from Chicago, because trains will go into Chicago, they will get forty or fifty cars of produce, and all they have to do is to hitch on an engine and draw them through, while, in Canada, they have to gather up the produce from different places. Therefore, it costs a little more, but there is no reason why they should charge twice as much from a point in Ontario, as they do for double the distance for our competitors. This action is unfair to Canadians for the reason that if we do anything of an export trade, as I stated before, we must compete against the wide world. It does not matter particularly, so far as the consumption of flour, cheese and butter is in Canada alone, because the duty on these articles coming in, gives us a protection which prevents American produce from coming in. But, we do not want to do a little one-horse business all the time, we are not going to trade jack-knives together with ourselves; we want to grow, to expand, to become a nation and to extend our industries. How are we going to do that? How are we going to compete against men who have their produce carried double the distance at half the rate we must pay? While the government are doing their level best to expand the industries of this country, while it is desirable, from a party standpoint, as well as from a Canadian standpoint, that every means should be adopted by which the development of this country can be encouraged, while we hope that Canada will grow and expand to a greater and greater degree, one of the greatest obstacles in the way that we find is the transportation question. And, while not having an unbounded confidence in a railway commission, I believe that some steps should be adopted, either in the form of control by the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals, over the rates charged by all railways, or by granting power to the Governor in Council, by which some check may be provided, or some provision made with that end in view; I believe that some provision should be adopted so that the rates charged to Canadians shall be in accordance with the rates charged to foreigners, I think this might be done, especially on those roads that we have granted such liberal bonuses to. The evil is there; it is a crying evil, an evil which makes against the best interests of this country, and surely, Mr. Speaker, the united wisdom of the government of the people of Canada will be sufficient to provide a remedy for it. If proper provisions are taken to insure that the Canadian producer can have his products carried to the seaboard, at all events for the same rate

Mr. CAMPBELL.

of freight as his American neighbour, it would tend to an enormous development of the industries of this country. We can hardly conceive the enormous resources which we possess. Why should Canadians every year send millions of bushels of wheat across the ocean when that wheat should be manufactured into flour here, and forwarded as a finished product to the consumers? Why should we be sending our raw material, our grain, our barley, our oats and peas away in the raw state, when we could make more money here by sending them out as a finished product? Sir, that is because of this unfair discrimination. I have pointed out the extent of the evil so far as manufactured goods are concerned, but it does not apply to the same extent to the raw material. The discrimination in freight rates against wheat is not nearly so great as it is on manufactured goods. There is no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that this is a grave question, and the House owes a debt of gratitude to the hon. member (Mr. Davis) who brought it before us. I trust that the result of this discussion will be to so strengthen the hands of the government and of the Minister of Railways, that they will be able to overcome the great difficulties which they have to contend with in this matter.

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

AFTER RECESS.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 33) respecting the British Columbia Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. Prior.)

Bill (No. 34) respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.—(Mr. Macdonell.)

Bill (No. 36) respecting the Arrowhead and Kootenay Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 8.10 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, February 22, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 48) respecting the Montreal and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Monk.)

BINDER TWINE MANUFACTURED AT KINGSTON PENITENTIARY.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

Whether it is the intention of the government to allow farmers to purchase binder twine, manufactured at the Kingston Penitentiary, at or about cost price? If so, up to what date can purchases be made?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). It is the intention of the government to allow farmers to purchase binder twine manufactured at the Kingston Penitentiary until the 1st of March. I may say that it has been the practice, when the contract season is over, to sell binder twine to farmers or other parties requiring it until a new contract is made.

DORCHESTER PENITENTIARY INVESTIGATION.

Mr. BELL (Pictou) asked :

1. Have any payments been made by the Department of Justice since June 30, 1899, in connection with the Dorchester Penitentiary investigation?

2. If so, what sums have been paid, and to whom?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). All payments which have been made in connection with the Dorchester Penitentiary investigation are included in the accounts of last fiscal year, and are shown in the Auditor General's Report, part I, page 42.

MR. EDGAR CHAPELE.

Mr. DAVIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Whether Mr. Edgar Chapele is employed in the immigration service of the Department of the Interior? Where is he working? Where was he working during the Manitoba provincial elections in November and December, 1899? Was he engaged in electioneering work? Was he arrested for bribery? Did he arrive in Winnipeg with letters from Mr. J. G. Turriff, Dominion Lands Commissioner, instructing him to report to Mr. J. Obed Smith and Mr. McCreary, the Immigration Commissioner? Was he supplied with transportation by McCreary? Is he still in the employ of the Department of the Interior?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). Mr. Edgar Chapele is not, and never has been, in the employ of the immigration branch of the Department of the Interior. The government has no knowledge of the matters referred to in the other portions of the question.

STATEMENTS OF MR. COPELAND.

Mr. DAVIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. Whether the attention of the Minister of the Interior has been called to the following statement, made on November 8, by Arthur Copeland, of Kingston, Ont., and Bennett, Yukon:

'There is no doubt but that there has been, and still is, plenty of truth in the various reports, and an extensive practice of bribery and corruption predominates all through the country. If a man requires any courtesies or assistance at the hands of a government official he has to pay for it before he can get it. They are all looking for what is commonly called 'grafts,' and the applicant has on more than one occasion been politely informed by the one from whom he is seeking assistance, 'I am not here for my health.' The same condition of affairs also applies to the registration of mining claims; you can get justice only by paying for it.'

2. Whether the minister has taken any action in the premises?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). 1. The attention of the Minister of the Interior had not previously been called to the statement quoted in the question. 2. No action has been taken, or is it proposed to take any action upon a statement which contains nothing but a general slander against all public officials in the district.

NEW BRUNSWICK ELECTORAL LISTS.

Mr. **DOMVILLE** asked :

Has the government received the electoral lists of the province of New Brunswick as revised for the year 1899 last November, and on which the next federal elections will be run? If so, when will they be printed for the use of members and others? If not received, what reasons are assignable?

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. The lists received are the following: Carleton, Charlotte, Kent, Northumberland, Restigouche, city of Saint John, county of Saint John, Sunbury and Queen's and Westmoreland. 2. They are being printed. 3. No other reason can be assigned but that they have not yet been forwarded by the proper provincial officers.

THE FRANKING PRIVILEGE AT OTTAWA.

Mr. **TAYLOR** asked :

Is the Order in Council which was passed February 25, 1892, in reference to the franking privilege at Ottawa, which reads as follows:

Franking Privilege at Ottawa.

Order in Council, February 25, 1892.—By an Order in Council, dated February 25, 1892, the following regulations governing the franking privilege were approved:

Regulations.

1. In each department there may be used one franking stamp, such stamp being a facsimile of the usual signature of the deputy head, and to be kept in the custody of some officer or confidential clerk specially intrusted by the deputy head with that duty, and to be affixed by him upon official correspondence only.

2. When envelopes with a printed official address thereon are used, the name of the deputy head may be printed on such envelopes.

3. In addition to the printed stamp or printed signature as above provided, the head of the

Mr. **DAVIN**.

department and the private secretary of the head of the department, in the name of his minister, and the deputy head, may frank by a written signature or initials; but no other method of franking except as above enumerated will be permitted.

4. No blank or unaddressed envelope shall in any case be franked.

5. The deputy head of each department shall furnish the Postmaster General with an impression of the facsimile stamp which it is proposed to use in his department.

6. The General Officer Commanding the Militia of Canada, the Adjutant General of Militia, the Auditor General and the Superintendent of Insurance shall, for the purposes of these rules, be respectively considered as deputy heads of departments.

7. All the official correspondence of the several departments, except that of the heads of departments, the deputy heads and the private secretaries of ministers, shall be transmitted in envelopes having printed or written thereon the words 'On Her Majesty's Service'; and no envelope bearing the superscription shall be used for any private correspondence.

8. From and after the 15th day of March, 1892, no private correspondence whatsoever shall be transmitted from any department of the government at Ottawa or elsewhere, or any branch thereof, under frank, nor shall the postage due thereon be charged against the government.

9. All private correspondence addressed to any member of the civil service at Ottawa, or to the care of any civil servant, shall be liable to the same rates of postage as apply to the public generally.

10. Should any letter addressed to any civil servant at Ottawa upon which postage has been paid on delivery prove when open to be on public business, the amount so paid may be refunded on the certificate of the deputy head of the department to which the addressee belongs.

11. Any employee offending against any of these regulations shall be liable to suspension or such other punishment as the Governor General in Council may determine.

JOHN J. MCGEE, C.P.C.

still in force?

Were there large quantities of sealed envelopes sent through the mails during the months of November and December, 1899, addressed to the electors of Ontario, containing the pamphlet entitled 'Political Pointers, No. 1,' and franked by a stamp 'R. J. C., M. T. & C.'? If so, will the Postmaster General explain by what legal authority said letters were carried free of postage?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mullock). Such Order in Council is yet in force. The department has no knowledge of the contents of sealed envelopes passing through the mails, and is, therefore, not in a position to express an opinion as to whether or not such envelopes and contents were or were not properly entitled to pass free. The following is, however, a case of illegal franking: During the general election of 1896 a very large quantity of mail matter, in the interests of the late Conservative government, was sent free from Ottawa, through the mails, to electors of Canada, containing campaign literature in favour of the Conservative party. Such lit-

erature was printed on sheets which included other literature devoted to the advocacy of the merits of a certain patent medicine known as 'Kootenay Cure.' This matter was franked by various members of the late Conservative administration. There being nothing in the law to entitle ministers to frank patent medicine advertisements, even when combined with political literature, the granting of free transmission in that case was clearly illegal.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I must raise a question of order. I think it is lowering to the character and the position of this House for ministers of the Crown to adopt a course just adopted by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), and adopted a few days ago by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright). It is, I believe, an established rule of the House that questions should be answered succinctly, that no argument shall be founded upon the question, and for the very obvious reason that there is no means of answering a statement, however erroneous, when the hon. gentlemen choose to violate the rules of the House by making an address in answering a question, as they would not dare to attempt if they did not know that the other members of the House are precluded from replying. I think, Sir, you will have to deal with that question, or we shall become a very disorderly assembly. My right hon. friend is more responsible than any other member of this House for maintaining order and an observance of the rules, and he should be the first to rise when he finds a gross violation of the established rules of debate is made, giving an unfair opportunity to an hon. gentleman to make an ex-parte statement at a time when no reply can be put before the country. I am quite sure that no one will suffer more from such a course, if persisted in, than the government themselves, because it will involve dealing with a number of these questions, and taking up the time of the House in introducing a separate and independent debate in consequence of these violations of the rules. I appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, to check the attempt which is now being made by hon. gentlemen opposite, when they are unable to defend themselves in any other way, by making speeches and going into arguments that are entirely beside the question.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). The hon. gentleman was distinctly out of order in these remarks in answer to a question; but as he has alluded to me, I may say that I am disposed on the whole to agree with him that any reference to the practice and the acts of the late government is likely to be distinctly lowering to the dignity of the House.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I have only this remark to make

to the hon. gentleman. I will always be willing on my part to maintain the dignity of the House, in the full hope that he will do his part likewise to maintain it on his side of the House. If he has sometimes to complain of the answers given to him, he may remember that these answers are always made to questions which are equally offensive. If the hon. gentleman will see that the rules of the House are properly preserved on his side of the House, we will be only too glad to do our share. As to the question of order, I will be willing to leave it entirely in the hands of the Speaker.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I may say that so far as this question is concerned—do I understand my right hon. friend to say that there is anything offensive, or any violation of the rules of order in the attention of the House and of the government being drawn to the illegality of a practice in the Post Office Department? I do not think there is any violation of the rules of the House in that.

The PRIME MINISTER. That is not a violation of the rule, nor is the answer. My hon. friend asked what is the legal authority. He knows that legal authority may sometimes be a precedent as well as a statute.

Mr. CASEY. Referring to the question of order—

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. G. E. CASEY (West Elgin). I beg to say a word as one of the very oldest members of the House. It is within the recollection of the older members of the House that the undoubted privilege of a government to give even more information than is asked in a question, has uniformly been exercised by government in this House for the last 27 years. There have been constant instances of a government stating a little more than they were asked, in answering a question put upon the paper. Whether that is strictly and technically correct, I am not prepared to say. I have not consulted the authorities; but the practice has been universal. I do not think the minister who answered this question is departing from Canadian parliamentary usage in giving some unwelcome information in reply to a question that has been asked. If the leader of the opposition wishes to prevent this unpleasant information from being brought out, and he evidently does object to its being brought out, his remedy is easy. Let him prevent his followers from putting on the paper any questions that will bring out that sort of information. I do not think his remedy lies in the point of order.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) The remark made by the Prime Minister is certainly a very extraordinary one. I think

he will agree with me that the question which is put here is a very proper one to be asked for information, if it is put in a gentlemanly way, and there is nothing offensive in the manner in which it is couched. Neither can the Premier, although he was very ready to style it offensive, point out one single line or word in that question which is offensive, or which ought to be offensive to any person. If he can do so, I would like to see him do it. Neither myself or any other member of this House would like to see the practice introduced of putting offensive and unnecessary questions on the paper. Now, then, can the Prime Minister point out anything offensive in that question? Is it not the right of any member of this House to ask for the information which is therein asked for? The hon. gentleman has properly enough read the Order in Council, but the Order in Council is one which was passed in my time, in 1892, when I was Minister of Finance. That Order in Council is absolutely prohibitive of the practice which has been introduced this last summer by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, of all people in this world.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. 'Introduced?'

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, introduced. What the hon. gentleman has done is this: He, knowing what he was doing, made a speech during the interval between the sessions of this House when, he, as a minister, had no more right to the franking privilege than had any lay member of this House, outside of departmental and official correspondence simply and solely.

Mr. CASEY. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. FOSTER. I ask my hon. friend—

Mr. CASEY. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. SPEAKER. Let the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) finish the statement.

Mr. CASEY. My point is—I have a right—

Mr. SPEAKER. I must ask the hon. gentleman to resume his seat for once.

Mr. CASEY. I have a right to raise a point of order. The hon. gentleman is discussing a question—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Chair, chair.

Mr. SPEAKER. I must ask the hon. gentleman to resume his seat.

Mr. FOSTER. I was going on to say, when this unseemly interruption took place, I was going on to challenge the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) to rise in this House and, as master of his own department, answer the question as to whether he as minister, or any of his colleagues as ministers have any rights in franking over and above any lay member of the House out-

Mr. FOSTER.

side of the merely departmental and official work of their department. Now, Sir, what does the question contemplate? The question contemplates a breach of law. The allegation, if there is any allegation in the question, is that the law and the plain Order in Council by which every minister is bound, has been flagrantly violated by not one only, but more ministers of the Crown during the interval. It is all very well for the hon. gentleman to get on his dignity and call it impertinence and say that it is offensive, but as long as this House lasts, and as long as this opposition is in it, these pertinent questions will be asked whether they offend his high mightiness or whether they do not. There is an allegation in the question; it is that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, during the interim when parliament was not in session—

Some hon. MEMBERS Order, order.

Mr. FOSTER—made a speech in Toronto.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. FOSTER. This is a matter, Mr. Speaker, which has been brought up; it has been debated by three hon. members on the other side of the House, and I have the right to reply. They were allowed to put their statements, and I claim the right to put mine, that is all, and I have the permission of Mr. Speaker to do it. Now, the allegation is simply this, that in the interim when this parliament was not in session, when the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce had no more rights to the franking privilege for such matter than any private member of this House, made a partisan speech in the city of Toronto. No one would ever think of accusing the hon. gentleman of making anything but a partisan speech. He had that speech published by the hundreds of thousands and scattered broadcast all over the country. I have the envelopes directed from the hon. gentleman's own department, franked by the hon. gentleman's own handwriting, or some one who simulated it, and these pamphlets have been distributed all over the country.

Mr. DOMVILLE. Just as you sent out pamphlets through King's County last election.

Mr. FOSTER. There is another irrepressible, Mr. Speaker, that I must ask you to keep as mild as you can while I make my statement. These have been franked by the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce and sent out in sealed envelopes, and if the law had been complied with there would have been to pay four cents of the Queen's postage on each one of these letters. They were sent out without it. The hon. gentleman admitted that probably hundreds of thousands of them had been scattered through the country. How many of them went in this

way there is no way of determining; I do not know, but I do say that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce has no moral or legal right to take a campaign speech, made when this House is not in session, and distribute it when this House is not in session, and I say that he or the government should pay the bill, pay the postage—

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Order, order.

Mr. FOSTER. Pay the postage, and it should be charged up to him. This is the very thing that this question asks. My hon. friend (Mr. Taylor) who put the question—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. FOSTER. I know, Mr. Speaker, we have a very hard time, but I think that the Speaker, aided by my own efforts, will be able to put this right. My hon. friend the Whip of this side of the House—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend the Whip of this House—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentlemen can show their fair-mindedness and the respect they have for their own Speaker by doing this if they wish.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) should speak to the point of order.

Mr. FOSTER. The Prime Minister shows his respect as well. My hon. friend the Whip of this side of the House has a question on the paper asking the hon. Postmaster General, or the government, if the Order in Council, which he quotes, is still an Order in Council, and then he asks him whether he has any knowledge that:

Large quantities of sealed envelopes were sent through the mails during the months of November and December, 1899, addressed to the electors of Ontario, containing the pamphlet entitled 'Political Pointers, No. 1,' and franked by a stamp 'R. J. C., M. T. & C.' If so, will the Postmaster General explain by what legal authority said letters were carried free of postage.

Is it a proper thing for a member of the House of Commons to know whether the country has been mulcted for a large amount of postage for party purposes in an illegal way and clearly against the Order in Council that the hon. minister has declared is still an Order in Council? Is that a wrong thing for an hon. gentleman to do? It is his right; he demanded an answer; a fair answer should have been given. The point of order is whether it was answered as the hon. minister tries to answer it, fairly or not in doing it as he wished to do it. He then brings in things which have no more bearing on the question than the Crimean war has upon the Transvaal war to-day.

I thank you very kindly, Mr. Speaker, for your fairness in allowing me to put my statement before the House.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER. I do not think it is necessary to prolong this debate.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Will you allow me, Mr. Speaker, a moment?

Mr. FOSTER. Then, we will have to have a speech in reply from this side of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER. It is all out of order.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I desire to say what my construction is of the question and the answer. I think it will be shown to be a fair answer to the fair intendment of the question. The question indicates the desire to ascertain whether certain envelopes, alleged to have certain contents, were or were not illegally franked. It is impossible to answer that question in reference to these particular envelopes, because, as the question says, they were sealed, and it was impossible, therefore, for the government, or for the officers of the Post Office Department, to know the contents of these. It was not possible, therefore, to answer that question in reference to the hypothetical case set forth in the question. But it was possible to answer—

Mr. FOSTER. Answer it.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. To answer the point of the inquiry, to give a legal opinion, by the illustration of what the hon. gentlemen had done themselves after the dissolution of parliament in 1896.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. How do you know that? They must have been sealed, too.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Owing to receiving some myself during my campaign. I received some campaign literature myself, franked from Ottawa, a very short time before the voting day, some of it franked with the frank of the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), if I remember rightly, and I saw the franks of other ministers on other similar literature received during the campaign. I saw the contents taken out of these envelopes, and these contents I saw, consisted of the campaign sheet which is well known in the political history of Canada, as the 'Kootenay Cure Campaign Sheet.' On one side of it was set forth the merits of that very potent medicine, and on the other the nostrums of the Conservative party, supposed to be for the Canadian public to swallow. That was clearly illegal; I do not know the number, but I was informed that the number franked went up into the hundreds of thousands. I am not defending any illegality on one side or the other, but I was pointing out to the

ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) that if he could be so virtuously indignant to-day he should remember that he did these things himself. Under the circumstances, then, if I had to give this illustration by referring to the Kootenay Cure, I think the hon. leader of the opposition would have been much wiser if he had been quietly satisfied to accept the medicine very properly administered on this occasion.

Mr. DOMVILLE. Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. HAGGART. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. gentleman had better allow this debate to close.

Mr. HAGGART. In reference to the remarks of the hon. Postmaster General, I just wish to make a few words of explanation.

Mr. SPEAKER. As a matter of fact, I admit that we are all out of order, and I would simply say to the House that when we have reached this stage, perhaps we can confine ourselves to the succinct statement that I understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Haggart) has to make, and then close the debate.

Mr. HAGGART. It is simply an explanation.

Mr. SPEAKER. The whole thing is out of order.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. Postmaster General, in defence of the conduct of the government, makes reference to the circulation of campaign literature when the last government was in power. He is perfectly right in reference to that distribution. He states that the campaign literature consisted of two things—Tory nostrums in one part, and medical advertisements in the other. If the hon. gentleman will look at the campaign literature published in the United States, he will find that all campaign literature has advertisements in it.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. We do not look to the United States.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman says that we transgressed the law in distributing the literature. We did not transgress the law. The Order in Council of 1892 gave every member of parliament the right to frank during the session, and for fifteen days afterwards. The hon. Postmaster General says that the frank was used at a time when the law did not allow it to be used.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I received campaign literature myself as late, I think, as within a few days of the 23rd of June. If it comes to interpreting the meaning of the frank, it does not cover campaign literature; it only covers official busi-

Mr. MULOCK.

ness, if you read the Order in Council. I have not read it carefully.

Mr. HAGGART. Not at all. I do not know when the hon. gentleman received the literature which was sent to him; but the instructions I gave to my staff was that the frank was to be used during the session of parliament, and for fifteen days afterwards.

Mr. DOMVILLE. Mr. Speaker, as I do not want to be out of order, I move the adjournment of the House. My hon. friend from York, N. B., (Mr. Foster) was very indignant about the use of this franking privilege; but let me assure this House—

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. Speaker, I believe a point of order was submitted to you, and we want a decision.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member has a right to move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. DOMVILLE. As a member of this House, and the representative of King's County, which my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) represented for a time, I state from my place, that the county of King's was flooded with campaign literature, initialled 'G. E. F., M. F.' Furthermore, the hon. gentleman did me the honour to send copies of his speeches to my residence. I think it comes with ill grace from him to get up and make the speech he made this afternoon.

Mr. TAYLOR. I second the motion of my hon. friend (Mr. Domville) that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. SPEAKER. Allow me to put the motion. Mr. Domville moves, seconded by Mr. Taylor, that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). I will occupy but a moment or two in trying to put the hon. Postmaster General right. I understood him to say, in answering the question that is on the paper in my name, that the government were not in a position to know what those envelopes contained. Then, the hon. Postmaster General must deny the truth of the allegation made by the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce here the other day, that large numbers of his speeches had been sent out in envelopes from his department. That information was certainly in the hands of the Postmaster General. Therefore, he should have answered my question properly and respectfully from the knowledge he had. Here is one of the envelopes which were sent out by the Minister of Trade and Commerce. It was sealed when I got it, was addressed to myself, was mailed at Ottawa on the 28th day of November, and contained 'Political Pointers No. 1.' The minister did not do as the Order in Council says he has a right to do in the case of an official document—sign his own name, but he had the envelope stamped with

a rubber stamp, 'R. J. C., M. T. & C.' I am satisfied that six or seven thousand of these came into my constituency, and from information I have received, I believe that every elector in the province of Ontario received one of them.

Mr. CASEY. It did lots of good.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. Postmaster General has admitted that this was illegal. Then, why should this government be committing illegal acts? He says the Order in Council prevents anything of that kind being done by a minister or anybody else. Then, why did he permit it to be done after having been informed by the Minister of Trade and Commerce that the envelopes contained those speeches? He tries to make out that the late government established a precedent in 1896. The only excuse this government have for all their wrong-doings is to point to something in the same direction that was done by the late Conservative government; but the fact is, that the late Conservative government did what they had a right to do by law; they franked during the session and for fifteen days afterwards.

Mr. COWAN. They franked after the session of parliament.

Mr. TAYLOR. This was done all through 1899, by the Minister of Agriculture, and the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and the country has been robbed of thousands of dollars of postage that ought to have been paid by those ministers.

Mr. G. E. CASEY (West Elgin). This motion for the adjournment is of course made for the purpose of enabling us to discuss the burning question that has come up. I regret that for a long time this discussion went along on lines utterly contrary to the rules of this House, and I regret that the uproar which occurred, when I rose to protest against that proceeding, prevented you, Mr. Speaker, from hearing my point of order, which was, that the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) was in the most flagrant manner violating the rules of this House in discussing an answer which had just been given to a question. I rose to point that out, and I regret that you did not hear my protest, or you would have ruled the hon. gentleman out of order, and have ordered him to take his seat. The discussion being now in order, we can do what the hon. member for York broke the rules of the House in the most flagrant manner in order to do, when he availed himself of the tumult raised by his followers to drown the protest which I attempted to make against his disorderly proceeding. Now, Sir, we have the chance to tell him what we think of his conduct. The whip of the party raised the ingenious quibble that the franking of campaign literature done by the late government was done during the session, and that the minister franked it as members. We all know that we were con-

stantly getting matter stamped with the frank of the department, and that clerks were kept in the departments for months after the session closed, to frank it with the stamp of the departments. I myself received many books stamped with the stamp of the departments, long after the House had ceased to sit, and long after the franking privilege had expired. The notable Kootenay Cure circular has been referred to, and it will bear a second reference. I think nothing was more appropriate than sending out to the people of Canada, a circular containing quackery on one side, and quackery on the other side. I do not mean to slander the Kootenay Cure. I have a personal acquaintance with Mr. Kootenay, who was then a member of this House under his other name, and I have a personal acquaintance with the cure, which I believe is a very good medicine. If the electors had all believed the Kootenay Cure side of the circular and rejected the other, it would have been better for their health and their character. It would appear to me that a good number of them bought the Kootenay Cure and rejected the political quackery on the other side of the bill, as was shown by the result of the election. The leader of the opposition has seen fit to stir up a hornet's nest by raising a point of order as to the manner in which this question was answered. As I have said before, the minister (Mr. Mulock) only availed himself of the usual latitude allowed a minister in answering such a question. According to our usage the minister has the right to give information that the asker of the question may not like to have brought out. The leader of the opposition did not like the answer and so with his usual aplomb he has succeeded in having the whole question ventilated to the detriment of his own side of the case. I rose, Mr. Speaker, not so much to go into the question of campaign literature as to invite you to rule now, once and for all, that a discussion as to the nature of an answer to a question is not permissible in the manner in which the leader and sub-leader of the opposition have brought it up to-day; without a motion, and without the least shadow of justification under the rules of the House. I trust, Sir, that such a glaring breach of the ordinary parliamentary rule will not be attempted in the future.

Mr. T. DIXON CRAIG (East Durham). It seems to me that this is a most important discussion, and I trust that when the Speaker's ruling is given it shall be one by which both the government and the opposition will abide. I was rather surprised at the statement made by the leader of the government that some of these questions were offensive, and his argument that if a question was offensive the answer might be made equally offensive, or perhaps defensive. When these gentlemen opposite were on this side of the House it was claimed by

them that the putting of questions was an important weapon in the hands of the opposition in attacking the government, and they used that weapon very freely in compelling the government of the day to answer these questions. The present government has frequently shown—and I suppose all governments are alike in that respect—that if they do not wish to answer a question directly, they can answer it in such an indefinite way that the answer is worth nothing to the opposition.

Mr. CASEY. We remember that well.

Mr. CRAIG. Even if the question should be of a party nature, that is no excuse for a member of the government answering it by a speech criticising the conduct of the opposition, and defending the policy of his party.

Mr. COWAN. What about the opposition speeches criticising the government?

Mr. CRAIG. If the question is offensive and out of order, the minister who answers the question should say so, and the Speaker will give his ruling as to that. I maintain that if a question is not directly offensive the member of the government who answers it has no business to import into his answer any extraneous matter. His duty is to answer the question in any way he pleases, but he must not found on the question a speech in defence of his party, nor must he bring in outside matter. There is one feature of this which is humiliating to the House and to the government. The Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) admitted the other day that hundreds of thousands of copies of this speech were franked and circulated throughout the country without any postage being paid on them. In fact the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) rather gloried in that. That a member of the government should go to Toronto and make a campaign speech in Massey Hall, and afterwards have that speech printed and circulated all over the country without paying one cent postage is a humiliating thing to be acknowledged by the government. I hold, Sir, that it is an infringement of the law, and that the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) is bound to prosecute any one who commits such an offence. In view of the admission made by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, I hold that the Postmaster General is bound to see that the postal law is carried out. I call on him now to take such measures as will enforce the penalties provided for the violation of that law. It is admitted by the government that the law was broken, and it is the duty of the Postmaster General to see that the law-breakers are punished. In conclusion, Sir, I believe, and I think we all believe, that the dignity of the House would be better conserved by ministers of the Crown not importing out-

Mr. CRAIG.

side matter into their answers, and not infringing the rules of the House in this respect.

Mr. PETER MACDONALD (East Huron). Mr. Speaker, I have been quite a number of years in this House and it is refreshing to observe that these hon. gentlemen opposite are having their consciences awakened in regard to this matter. They have to-day shown a virtuous indignation which has never characterized them before. I believe that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Craig) has used the franking privilege just as much as any one else. I can look back to a few years ago when the Conservative Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Montague) spent most of the session of parliament preparing Conservative campaign literature, and such was the abundance of it, that they could not send it all out during the session and so a large quantity was posted months after the session closed. What do these gentlemen opposite mean? If the law is violated in this respect, then they were up to their necks and nearly smothered in violations of the law. Does the hon. gentleman from East Durham (Mr. Craig) know that he has used that privilege as widely as it was possible for him to do in sending campaign documents, and other literature to his constituents.

Mr. CRAIG. I wish to say that I never did so.

Mr. MACDONALD. These gentlemen opposite put questions on the Order paper to try and fish out whether or not we are breaking the law, but they know in their hearts that during the last twenty years they have been in power every man of them violated the law in this respect, if violation it be. They ask these questions for political effect, expecting, of course, that the minister will be so circumscribed in his answer as to be unable to refute these insinuations. Anyway, for eighteen years the members of the opposition who have now suddenly become so virtuous, were doing much worse in this respect than ever a Liberal member dreamt of.

Mr. GEORGE E. FOSTER (York, N.B.). This is a question which I am glad we have an opportunity of discussing, and I do not propose to discuss it in any partisan and heated way.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh no.

Mr. FOSTER. Of course hon. gentlemen opposite can hardly conceive of a person treating a subject in that kind of way, and so they express something very like consternation in these tones we have just heard. The law, I suppose, is the foundation of the Order in Council. I want, however, before I enter the discussion to put one question. Sir Richard Cartwright, if I may refer to him by name, addressed during the recess

a party speech, in what was supposed to be the beginning of the campaign, giving in Massey Hall, the government's answer to all charges, and the government's justification of the positions and policy it had taken. That was done after parliament had risen. It was done during the recess. Sir Richard Cartwright took that speech which he had delivered, a campaign speech, made when the House was not in session, and when he had no franking privilege beyond what any other hon. member has whilst the House is not in session at the seat of government. He took that campaign speech, brought it to Ottawa, had hundreds of thousands of it addressed in envelopes, had the envelopes sealed and distributed by the hundreds of thousands through the mails all over the country. These envelopes would have borne, if they had been properly stamped, at least four cents postage each. And no doubt at all, upwards of half a million of those were distributed, and the postage which would have been paid at four cents per letter on the sealed envelopes would have amounted to the sum of \$20,000. It makes the case no better or no worse whether the number was 500,000 or 100,000. But I wish to lay stress on the probable quantity which was distributed, in order to show that this is not simply a picayune matter which we are discussing.

I ask you, Sir, if a certain state of things had arisen, what would have been done? I went to Toronto and made a speech in answer to my hon. friend, I tried to make just as good an answer as I could for the Liberal-Conservative party, and I proposed, and the party proposed, that that answer should be distributed as widely as Sir Richard Cartwright's speech. Well, suppose I had gone to the hon. Postmaster General and had said to him: 'Our party is not a rich party, and I want you to send out to the citizens of this country 500,000 of my reply to Sir Richard Cartwright's speech at the public expense, just as you have done with Sir Richard Cartwright's speech. He sent hundreds of thousands of copies of it out to the country at the public expense, and the Liberals and Conservatives of this country alike have had to foot the bill, and I ask you to be just as generous with me, and to send out free through the mails 500,000 copies of my speech, which I delivered in reply to that of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce.' Now, if I had done this, what would have been the reply of the Postmaster General? That puts the matter in a nutshell, both on the point of fairness and legality. I have just as much right to free postage as Sir Richard Cartwright has--no more and no less. As a member he stands no higher than I do in that respect. As a minister, he has no more rights to free franking of such matter than I have as a private member of parliament. That puts

the question in a concrete shape. No doubt the hon. Postmaster General would have replied: No, sir, if you want to send out 500,000 copies of your speech, put them into the post office properly stamped, and they will go, or otherwise they will be sent to the dead letter office.

Mr. DOMVILLE. Why did you not do that?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman who has interrupted me does not seem to have grasped the question, but if he will only wait a little he will perhaps see that there is some ground in the matter which he does not see at present.

In 1892 there was passed an Order in Council in order to limit the abuses of the franking system. Up to that time it had come to be the habit in different departments for every civil servant to frank his private correspondence and receive that correspondence free of postage, and I am not saying anything which hon. gentlemen do not know, when I say that a very large proportion of the correspondence of this city went through the mails under the franking privilege one way or the other, so that the revenue of the country was being defrauded. It was in order to do away with that abuse and limit the franking privilege to what was intended by the law to be its limits, that this Order in Council was passed in 1892, and it has been the rule ever since. If it has been violated at any time, one violation is not an excuse for another. The question is now as to whether the present government have violated this law or allowed it to be violated. If they have, then they ought to acknowledge their wrong; and when it is brought to their attention they ought to shut down upon it and inform the House whether or not they are going to favour one party in the country as against the other. These are the regulations, and it will be well for the House to pay a little attention to them:

1. In each department there may be used one franking stamp, such stamp being a facsimile of the usual signature of the deputy head, and to be kept in the custody of some officer or confidential clerk, specially intrusted by the deputy head with that duty, and to be affixed by him upon official correspondence only.

Upon official correspondence only. That is the very basis of the Order in Council because that is the basis of the law, namely, that the deputy minister who holds that frank is to place it upon official correspondence and official correspondence only.

2. When envelopes with a printed official address thereon are used, the name of the deputy head may be printed on such envelopes.

That is apart from the franking privilege, but it was put there as a precaution.

3. In addition to the printed stamp or printed signature, as above provided, the head of the department and the private secretary of the head of the department, in the name of his

minister, and the deputy head, may frank by a written signature or initials; but no other method of franking as above enumerated will be permitted.

It was by means of this written signature or these initials that these envelopes were sent, as the envelope I have testified, and only three persons had the power to frank by their written signature or initials, and these were the head of the department, and his private secretary, in the name of his minister, and the deputy head, and no other method of franking was permitted. What is the next provision:

No blank or unaddressed envelope shall in any case be franked.

That is to prevent a minister or some one acting for him, franking a lot of envelopes in blank, and handing them over to somebody to address and put into the mails. I am not going to say that this was done, but I will wager a pretty large sum that these signatures of the minister were attached to the envelopes before the envelopes were addressed. It would be interesting to have the hon. minister's statement upon that point.

The deputy head of each department shall furnish the Postmaster General with an impression of the facsimile stamp which it is proposed to use in his department.

There is where the Postmaster General is put at the head of the business. He requires to have the facsimile of the frank, and he or his officials must make use of that means to see that the mails are not being used against the law and against the Order in Council based upon the law. I have no doubt that the facsimiles were sent to the hon. Postmaster General and are in his possession. If so, he and his officials have been lax if they have allowed these to go through by the hundreds of thousands when they had a means right at hand to prevent them.

6. The General Officer Commanding the Militia of Canada, the Adjutant General of Militia, the Auditor General and the Superintendent of Insurance shall, for the purposes of these rules, be respectively considered as deputy heads of departments.

That enlarges it to that extent alone.

7. All the official correspondence of the several departments, except that of the heads of departments, the deputy heads and the private secretaries of ministers, shall be transmitted in envelopes having printed or written thereon the words 'On Her Majesty's Service'; and no envelope bearing the superscription shall be used for any private correspondence.

That immediately cuts out that which has been distributed. It is not in officially-headed envelopes, and consequently is out of that category.

Now, then—

8. From and after the 15th day of March, 1892, no private correspondence whatsoever shall

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be transmitted from any department of the government at Ottawa or elsewhere, or any branch thereof, under frank, nor shall the postage due thereon be charged against the government.

9. All private correspondence addressed to any member of the civil service at Ottawa or to the care of any civil servant, shall be liable to the same rates of postage as apply to the public generally.

10. Should any letter addressed to any civil servant at Ottawa upon which postage has been paid on delivery prove when open to be on public business, the amount so paid may be refunded on the certificate of the deputy head of the department to which the addressee belongs.

11. Any employee offending against any of these regulations shall be liable to suspension or such other punishment as the Governor General in Council may determine.

My contention is simply this—that the minister as an individual minister, and with reference to the speeches under consideration has just the same, and no other, franking rights than any one of the 213 members of this House. And what rights have these members? One gentleman rose and said that in King's County campaign literature was sent out marked 'G.E.F.'—my frank. Supposing it was, it does not touch the question—

Mr. DOMVILLE. It was your own speech.

Mr. FOSTER. Quite so, my hon. friend (Mr. Domville) does not see the point yet.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Why did you send it?

Mr. FOSTER. I had a right to send it. The Postmaster General does not see the point either.

Mr. DOMVILLE. It was not your speech made in parliament, but outside of it.

Mr. FOSTER. That remains to be proved. If it was a speech made out of parliament it must not be forgotten that there is one period during which any hon. member can send any mailable matter he likes under the franking privilege given to him under the law, and that is while the House is in session and for certain days before. Now, here is the law:

Letters and other mailable matter—

That is broad enough and includes anything that the post office will carry, no matter what it is—speeches, parcels, or anything within the category of things which can be sent by post.

Letters and other mailable matter addressed to or sent by the Speaker or Clerk of the Senate or of the House of Commons at the seat of government, shall be free of Canada postage, and letters and other mailable matter addressed to or by any member of either House at the seat of government during any session of parliament, or to any of the members at the seat of government as aforesaid, during the ten days next

before the meeting of parliament, shall be free of Canada postage.

Now, does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Domville) see why I and every member have a right, under the franking law—you may say that it is too wide or that it is not wide enough, but it is the law—to send out matter under frank during the session? Every member of parliament has a right, while this parliament is in session, to send free any letter or any mailable matter, whatever it may be, if it comes within the category allowed by the Post Office Department.

Mr. DOMVILLE. That was not the statement I made. It was after parliament—that was the statement.

Mr. FOSTER. That is a statement that has not been substantiated. Now, the point is just this—and I do not want to be diverted from it, and I do not think the intelligent members of this House can fail to catch it—Sir Richard Cartwright, if I may be allowed to name him, had a perfect right to make this party speech and to get half a million of them printed, and he had a perfect right, after the House had been called and while it was in session, to send out these half million speeches under his own frank from the seat of government. But he had no right in the world to take a speech delivered outside of parliament—though that makes no matter—and put it in envelopes and distribute it when the House was not in session—he had no more right to do that than has any washerwoman in Ottawa.

Mr. MCGREGOR. You did it.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not do it. My hon. friend (Mr. McGregor) has spoken—let him prove what he has asserted. I have a right, and I exercise it as does every member of the House under the law, while the House is in session, to send out any mailable matter under frank. But, after the House prorogues, I have no right to do it. If I ever did it, I did what I had no right to do.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. FOSTER. If I ever did it, I did what I had no right to do. But I have this much to say—that I have never done it so far as I can recollect, and I think my knowledge and recollection are good. I did not do it while I was a member of the government.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). Or any of your colleagues?

Mr. FOSTER. I can speak only for myself. I delivered, whilst I was a member of the government, as many extra sessional speeches, I believe, as any other person who was in the government during that time; and never yet did I believe that I had the right to take a speech delivered outside the session of parliament and use the government frank to distribute it when parliament was not in session. That I have not the

right to do. I wish the government to take this into consideration. If what I say is right, then wrong has been done in sending out these documents when the House was not in session. If what I say is wrong, let us know what the law is. No matter whom it hits—that makes no difference—let the law be understood.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) made one little mistake. He assumes the Order in Council which he read and commented upon at such length was the basis of legislation on this subject.

Mr. FOSTER. No, if my hon. friend (Sir Louis Davies) will allow me, I do know enough to know that an Order in Council can only be based on the law, and I said that the law was the basis of this Order in Council. I am not one of those who think that you can have a law and destroy it by an Order in Council, as the hon. gentleman did in regard to the coasting laws.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I can accept the hon. gentleman's statement of intention, but I think he was unfortunate in his method of expression. Let us see what this construction of the law amounts to. He quotes the section providing that mailable matter addressed to or by members of parliament may be franked during the session. This, he contended, included far more than letters and printed matter. In days gone by, some hon. gentlemen contended, that their washing was mailable matter. I do not know whether the hon. gentleman would go so far as that. But, whether he does or not, his contention is plain, and he insists upon it with great vigour, that letters and mailable matter embraces all kinds of correspondence and published matter. He will permit no limitation upon his rights, and these rights are given under the words I have quoted. Well, if his construction is correct he must put the same construction on the same words when they are used in reference to the departments. If he will look at the section immediately preceding this he will see that letters or other mailable matter addressed to or sent by any department of the government shall go free. So, we see that the same words are used with reference to the departments during recess as are used with regard to members during the session. So, if all printed matter may be sent or received by a member of parliament during the session, it follows that all similar matters may be sent or received by the department during the recess. So, if you consider the law strictly, as the hon. gentleman has done, the department would be limited only by the taste of the head of the department himself. But, it is perfectly clear, if the hon. gentleman is correct in his construction, that it does not

apply to some of the things that have been done; and if the advice of the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig) is to be taken, I would suggest to the Postmaster General that when he begins with his prosecution he should begin with the first culprit. Who was the first culprit? My hon. friend from South Lanark (Mr. Haggart) or the Postmaster General in the administration of which he was a member. He allowed to go through the department some 400,000 envelopes during the election campaign of 1896, when the ex-Postmaster General attempted to screen himself by an assumption that there was a provision in the law permitting him fifteen days before parliament met and after it rose, to do this, but there is not such provision.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). He admitted he did it.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). There is no such provision in the law whatever. It was just as illegal for the hon. member for Lanark (Mr. Haggart) to send out these 400,000 envelopes, fifteen days, or ten days, or two days, after parliament rose, as it was for a minister of the Crown to do it thirty days afterwards. Now, the hon. gentleman confesses his crime. If he is indicted by the Postmaster General, he must plead guilty, and he must get his punishment; and my hon. friend from Durham will be the prosecutor, because he invites the Postmaster General to make the prosecution. It may be right or it may be wrong, but the Order in Council cannot limit the statutory power which is given to a minister under the statute. You may define the manner in which he shall exercise the power, but you cannot limit the statutory power itself. If the construction which my hon. friend puts upon the words 'all letters and other mailable matter' is correct, a minister may, if he choose, legally send out any printed matter he likes under his own frank.

Mr. FOSTER. Read the Order in Council.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am arguing that the hon. gentleman cannot take away a statutory right by an Order in Council, and if his construction of these words is correct, a statutory right is given to the minister, and my hon. friend is perfectly right in sending out these speeches of his. A great many gentlemen think he was not only legally right, but that he exercised remarkably good taste and judgment; the only complaint against him is that he did not send more of these speeches out. Now, the hon. gentleman, even if he would dare to argue that an Order in Council could override the statute, if he reads his Order in Council correctly, will find that there was no attempt made by the Governor in Council to override the statute. A broad distinction is made be-

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tween departmental matter sent out by the department itself, and matter sent out by the head of the department, or his private secretary. They can put their initials upon it and frank it, and private letters sent by the minister. I suppose, come within the rule. The hon. gentleman attempts to argue that it is illegal matter, if a man writes a letter to his wife, if she is absent from him. I think every minister who has occupied the position, has franked such letters. I never knew of such a construction being placed upon the law, as that a letter written by a minister to his wife, did not come within the franking privilege.

Mr. DOMVILLE. How about another man's wife?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I leave my hon. friend to settle that with the hon. gentlemen opposite. But I want to lay down two propositions: That under the statute, and the construction put upon the statute by the minister, the expression, 'all letters and other mailable matter,' may embrace the matter about which he complains; therefore, this matter was not illegally sent. But when the Order in Council was passed it was not to take away the statutory right, but to define the manner in which that right should be exercised; and it did define it by prescribing that private letters, sent by the minister, not departmental, should be franked by himself, but that official letters should have O. H. M. S. on them, showing that they were official. I think it would be unjust to assume that the Governor in Council intended to pass an Order in Council which would limit and take away the statutory right conferred by section 62.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am satisfied that my hon. friend would make an extremely good counsel for a man in a police court, caught in very unfortunate circumstances. But I do not think he has at all met the statement of my hon. friend, the ex-Minister of Finance, that there has been a plain and clear violation of the law. I draw my hon. friend's attention to these words:

That from and after the 15th day of March, 1892, no private correspondence whatsoever shall be transmitted from any department of the government at Ottawa or elsewhere, or any branch thereof, under frank, nor shall postage due thereon be charged against the government.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I attempted to draw a distinction—perhaps he did not catch it—between private correspondence issuing from the department, and franked with the departmental frank, and correspondence sent by the minister and his private secretary, which is limited and regulated by a different section altogether.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. It appears to me the distinction is too fine. It appears

to me these words clearly limit the franking privilege to official correspondence exclusively. I draw the attention of the Postmaster General to the very serious position in which this matter stands, because I assume that the Postmaster General intends to discharge his duty impartially, and to maintain and carry out the law of the country governing his department. If that is not his position, then I can only say that he fails altogether to realize what the duties are that fall upon him as a departmental officer. Now, I ask him whether, if he had absolute evidence from the culprit himself, that he had availed himself of an opportunity of taking \$8,000 worth of stamps out of the Post Office Department—I want to know whether he will prosecute him or not; I want to know whether, if he had positive evidence out of the mouth of the criminal, that he had defrauded the revenue, that he had got possession illegally, in plain violation of the statutory law of the country, of \$8,000 worth of public property, the hon. gentleman would take means to recover that from him, assuming that he was able to do so, and whether he would punish the culprit as the law requires him to do. I do not think there can be any two questions as to his duty under these circumstances. Now, Sir, he has got the culprit before him, he has got the Minister of Trade and Commerce standing up in this House, in his hearing, and saying that he was happy to say that he had sent out hundreds of thousands of that document.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. No, no.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, that is exactly the position, those are his words. I think if he had said half a million, he would have been within the mark. But I am not going to put upon the Postmaster General the onus of charging him with more than he can prove out of the mouth of the criminal himself, namely, that the revenue of this country has been defrauded to that extent, by sending out hundreds of thousands of this document.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I must correct my hon. friend, he must not put words into my mouth that I did not use. I said I was unable to state how many, that I had been informed that a very large number had gone out, not half as many as ought to have gone—but I had been informed that a very large number had gone out, though I was not able to give the figures.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I heard the hon. gentleman's words. If the Postmaster General wants a witness to put on the stand to prove his case, I am at his service. The Minister of Trade and Commerce said:

I am inclined to believe, however, Sir, that though not nearly as many as ought to have been

issued have been issued, some hundreds of thousands have been issued.

I am going to give him the benefit of the doubt; I am not going to extend it to half a million as I might, but I will put it at 200,000, because you cannot have hundreds of thousands unless you have 200,000. The revenue of this country was defrauded by \$8,000.

Mr. GIBSON. How do you make that out?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. On that 200,000 copies of the hon. gentleman's speech that he sent out on that occasion for campaign purposes. Therefore, I must call upon the hon. Postmaster General, who ought to be no respecter of persons, in the discharge of the high duties of his office, and who should impartially administer justice, whether it fall to the right or the left of him, to accept the admission, putting it at the lowest figure of the hon. gentleman, to call upon the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce to refund to the treasury of this country \$8,000. It is only a year's salary of the hon. gentleman, and I am happy to know that he is very well able to discharge the liability. While I am on my feet I want to draw attention for a single moment to this document, because my curiosity is a good deal excited in relation to it. I hold in my hand this pamphlet entitled 'Political Pointers No. 1,' and I want to ask the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, as a personal favour to me, to tell me who the artist is that made that portraiture of him. I want him to tell me who it was that drew this flattering portrait, not of Sir Richard Hyde, but of Sir Richard Jekyll. Here is a gentleman appearing under two different guises. Here we have him the honest, frank, pleasant-looking Sir Richard Jekyll; what would be the attitude if we had him depicted as the criminal stealing into the vaults of the hon. Postmaster General and filching out \$8,000? I want to do him justice; I want to have Sir Richard Hyde. Fortunately there is a blank space on the back which has been left for his portrait as Richard Hyde filching \$8,000 out of the public treasury of this country. I think we have a right to know who this charming artist is who has given us the illustration that we have. Here is a magnificent head of hair covering the clever, astute head of the hon. gentleman. I, myself, find no fault with the sending out of this publication. I read it with amazement for two reasons.

The hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce had been treated by his colleagues and by the right hon. leader of the government as no man, entitled to respect and confidence, ever was treated in this country before, he had been degraded by his own party, by the right hon. Prime Minister when he formed his government, he was

given a back seat, a man who stood here proclaiming to the world that he was the great financial life of the Liberal party in this country—that hon. gentleman was tied, manacled, shut up in a cage during the general elections because his party found that they had no chance of obtaining power if he was permitted to get abroad. They tied him up, they gagged him, they bound him and they would not permit him to go out in the general elections. They went about in this country and by the mouths of their ablest supporters gave a solemn pledge right and left to the people that if they obtained power the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce never should be the Minister of Finance of this country. If they had not done so they would never have got power. They did that in self-defence. Yet, in doing that, they inflicted an indignity upon the hon. gentleman such as no man in this House has ever suffered at anybody's hands before. When I heard that he was going to speak at Massey Hall I was very much astonished, because I said: Is it possible that a man degraded and pushed into a back seat, and charged with the administration of a department where there is nothing to do but one little thing, and that he proved himself utterly incapable of doing, can have sufficient magnanimity to go there and support the cause of the men who had degraded him in the estimation of the people of this country? But, when I read his speech I came to a different conclusion. When I read the weak, inane platitudes that the hon. gentleman had talked for an hour and a half or two hours to the people, I said: Well, he has got his revenge at last. When they took Samson and put his eyes out, when they sheared his locks, and when they sent him to go and grind in the mill, he said: I will topple down the whole fabric upon their heads.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) speaking to the question?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am speaking to the motion of adjournment. When you read the masterly exposition and the dissection of that speech by the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) you could have no doubt as to the malevolent intentions of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce. He was merely putting up a man of straw that he knew the hon. ex-Minister of Finance would tear to pieces and scatter to the winds as he did. I am not finding fault with the speech, but I am putting it as a matter of straightforward justice, that in the discharge of the duties of his high office the hon. Postmaster General should call upon the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce to refund to the coffers of this country the \$8,000 that, by his own admission—I will not go beyond his own admission—he has filched

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from the public treasury for party purposes.

Mr. D. C. FRASER (Guysborough). Mr. Speaker, I have only a few words to say on this question, and what I wish to address myself to is the construction of the Act. I think the construction given by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) is the correct one, and if so, it enables us to understand just exactly what the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) did. Now, one of the best ways to construe a statute is to ask: How has it been understood by those that passed it, and how has it been acted upon by those who were first called upon to put it into operation? I would like to have the attention of the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) to this fact. I can understand that there may be a difference of opinion; I can understand how men honestly differ as to whether or not the right claimed by the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce is a right to which he is entitled. There is no doubt now, after the admission of the hon. ex-Minister of Railway and Canals (Mr. Haggart) that his construction was that mail matter could be sent out from the department, although the law did not permit it. I know that he shielded himself behind the fifteen days which did not exist, and I know the hon. ex-minister is clever enough to do something else, that he wanted to shield himself behind the construction put upon that statute by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries. There may be a difference of opinion about that, but I call the attention of the hon. leader of the opposition to the fact that this was the construction that he believed in, and a much larger one. He was not content with that construction, but he said that it went farther, and I will give him the proof. Speeches delivered by the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) himself and several other members of the late government in 1896, were sent to Halifax in many large bundles.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. After the session.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Yes, after the session. Thousands and thousands of copies of these were sent out from Halifax bearing the frank of the present leader of the opposition. Was not that monstrous? Why, if the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) was compelled to pay up the postage on all these he would be bankrupt in five minutes. If there has been a violation of the law, I do not object to the prosecutions going on, but the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) must understand that he is the prime culprit.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Oh, do not stop his speeches; we want them circulated.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). When the leader of the opposition was in Ottawa he so construed the law that from whatever point in Canada he was, he could frank the speeches of members of parliament and circulate them through the mail. I do not say he did it himself, but anyway his frank was on the pamphlets.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Does not the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fraser, Guysborough) draw a distinction between party speeches made during the recess, and that which is really an official document of this House, a *Hansard* speech?

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Not as to a violation of the law.

Mr. FOSTER. You had better read the law.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). As has been said before, the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) could not defend a criminal in the police court if he drew such a distinction as that.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The *Hansard* speech is a document of this House and the official report of a speech made in the House.

Mr. LANDERKIN. The Kootenay Cure is not a speech made in the House.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). The leader of the opposition says he can frank the report of a speech made in the House. But how can he say it was the official report of a speech made in the House when it had such head lines as this: 'The wretched condition of the opposition, how they failed,' 'Mr. Laurier has eaten himself,' 'Sir Richard, the tame old man grinding at the mill,' and all that sort of thing. Does the leader of the opposition think that even if a speech were made in the House, and it were got up in such style as that, it is an official document which could be or should be circulated in thousands without postage through the Dominion of Canada?

An hon. MEMBER. It was a budget speech.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I can understand it all. The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) fears that there is going to be a prosecution, and he is now getting up his defence. The ministers of the late government, having construed the law in that way, I submit that their construction of the law is entitled to some consideration in this House. If they thought that was the law they were justified in doing what they did; but they are not justified in making such an attack upon the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright). If the ministers of the late Conservative government knowingly put a wrong construction on the law, then they are criminals and should be prosecuted.

Mr. LANDERKIN. They are turning Queen's evidence.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I believe that the construction put upon the law by the Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) is the right one, and, at all events, it has in its favour the fact that the Conservative ministers did the same when they were in power. If hon. gentlemen opposite think that this is wrong, and if they want it remedied, then they have not taken the proper method. They should say: Well, we have sinned and you are sinning, and as both parties have sinned, let us both come to the conclusion henceforth not to sin again. That is the only way this thing can be remedied if it is wrong. Even, taking the statement of the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) as correct, the present ministers have not perpetrated anything like the violation of the law that the late ministers did. To my mind the attitude adopted by the leader of the opposition against Sir Richard Cartwright is one of the most laughable things that has ever occurred in this House. There are certain matters which we may not speak freely about, but if the statement of the friends of the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) be true he should be very careful about talking of a man being set aside, and his position being usurped by another. I am not saying that hon. gentlemen opposite when in power did violate the Act, but I do say that it was a very strained construction of the Act for them to make, that from every post office in Nova Scotia, and I believe in New Brunswick too, they could frank this campaign document. I know of one case where a postmaster felt he was doing wrong in allowing the stuff to go without postage, but he happened to be a Liberal, and in such terror was he that he thought it was better for him to recognize the frank of the leader of the government. Sometimes there might be a violation of the law, as in the case mentioned where a member sent home his washing, and, perhaps, there was a violation of the law when a man used his frank to send plugs of tobacco all around the country, but these after all are small matters, and I believe they are not done by any of the members with a desire to steal anything from the treasury. Bearing all the circumstances in mind, and remembering that the present ministers have not dared to use their frank to the same extent as the late ministers, the members of the opposition must be hard up for something to talk about when they delay the business of the House for such a thing as this.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, I am very sorry to hear the speech to which we have just listened, from my hon. friend from Guysborough (Mr. Fraser), because if it indicates the kind of justice that he is to dispense in the Yukon, I am afraid that in that prosperous part of Can-

ada, we shall have deadwood justice of a very peculiar type.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). The hon. gentleman is right. If he were arrested in a travelling coach, he would find out.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. gentleman is evidently afraid of being arrested in a travelling coach, for when he came up to Regina as the light comedian in heavy disguise of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), having to speak twenty miles from Regina such was the style they put on, that they chartered a special train for him, although we have the best livery stables on the continent, three of them; and the excuse given was a libel on those livery stables, for it was declared that there was not a cart nor a wagon nor a carriage, nor cutter, in the place with springs strong enough to carry him. The argument of the hon. and learned gentleman and judge in embryo, was that the self-confessed criminal should not be punished, because he alleges, though we have no proof of it, that other persons were guilty of a similar breach of the Order in Council.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I did not say so. I started out by arguing that the position taken by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) was correct, and I just mentioned that what was done, was exactly in accordance with the construction put upon the statute by hon. gentlemen opposite, and consequently the Minister of Trade and Commerce was only following in the footsteps of that construction.

Mr. DAVIN. I think the House heard the argument of the hon. and learned gentleman, which in short, was this: That as others had done wrong, the Minister of Trade and Commerce should go free. Now, Mr. Speaker, so far as my knowledge goes of what was done in the past, it was this: The speeches of members of the government and the speeches of members of the opposition were within the legal time posted at the post office here, and they were sent out to be forwarded. Such was the glut of matter, however, that many of them could not be forwarded, but they had been stamped with the stamp of the post office here, before the fifteen days were out, as I found on looking at some of the matter that came to me months afterwards; so that the mail matter came within the law, though it could only pass through the mail long after the House had risen. Now, I will ask the attention of the House for one moment to the regulations of hon. gentlemen opposite. I have here the Official Postal Guide of Canada for 1899, which will throw light on the situation:

Franking and Free Mail Matter.

All letters and other mailable matter posted from the public departments at Ottawa and franked as being of an official character, all

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correspondence addressed to the ministers in charge of the said departments or to their private secretaries, or to the deputy heads or secretaries of the same, or to any recognized branch or division of a department (see list on next page), or to the officer at the head thereof in his official capacity and under his official title.

All letters and other mailable matter addressed to or sent by the Speaker or Chief Clerk of the Senate or of the House of Commons, to or by the Librarian of Parliament, as well as all mail matter directed to the Senate, to the House of Commons, or to the Library of Parliament, at Ottawa.

Letters and other mail matter sent from Ottawa under the above exemptions will be franked or certified as entitled to pass free in accordance with such regulations as may from time to time be made for the guidance of the public departments and of the local post office on this head.

So that the House will see why the ministerial side have found it necessary to put up a defence. They feel the strong indictment that has been made against the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and their only defence is to misrepresent the regulations and misrepresent the conduct of the opposition. They cannot get an acquittal for the hon. gentleman who sits there as Minister of Trade and Commerce, and who acknowledges that he violated their own regulations, that he violated the law, and that he did it in more than 200,000 cases. The conduct of these gentlemen in this case is an aggravated expression of what has been their consistent inconsistency of conduct since they came into power. Sometimes they have tried to imitate the good deeds and the good policy of the opposition. They have not proposed a single new measure for the welfare of the country. They have not proposed anything off their own bat. Now, when one of their distinguished members has been guilty of a criminal act, they defend themselves laughingly and jeeringly before the country, by asserting that something similar was done by gentlemen on this side of the House. There is not a word of truth in that; and then we have the extraordinary spectacle of my hon. friend from Guysborough, an embryo judge, a man who is at this moment violating the Independence of Parliament Act, with the promise of a judgeship in his pocket—

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. There are no words that I could use in parliament strong enough, but I tell the hon. gentleman that it is not true, and if he comes out I will settle it with him.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I am not sitting with a promise of any kind in my pocket, and if he comes out I will settle it by explaining it to him.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker. I rise to a question of order. The grossest vio-

lation of the rules of this House is for an hon. member to threaten personal violence to another. That is what the hon. gentleman has done.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I never did it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman did it in the most distinct terms.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, there will not be any duel, for the hon. gentleman has not denied that he is to be a judge.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). The hon. gentleman said I had the promise of a judgeship in my pocket.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the rules of the House clearly forbid the statement made by the hon. member.

Mr. DAVIN. I withdraw the statement, and I am very glad, for the sake of the judiciary of the Yukon; and I may tell you, Mr. Speaker, that if we had a duel, I would be more chivalrous—

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. gentleman had better confine himself to the question. I appeal to the House, that if we purpose to maintain the dignity of this House, hon. members must confine themselves to the question before the Chair.

Mr. DAVIN. I am speaking to the question of adjournment, and with great respect, Mr. Speaker, I will continue my sentence, because it is wholly parliamentary. I was saying that if there was to be a duel between the hon. gentleman and myself, I would act on the hint of Curran, and would have the figure of myself drawn on the figure of my hon. friend, and I would declare that any shot outside of that would not count. You will observe, Mr. Speaker, how entirely generous I am in all my feelings and in my contemplated action in regard to the hon. gentleman. And now, Sir, to come to the serious part—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. You see, Mr. Speaker, you asked me to come to the question, and the moment I come to the question, a henchman of the party, who is used for the purpose of diverting the darts that are hurled across the floor of the House at the government, groans in spirit over the trouble which his party find themselves in. Here is a grave charge, a criminal charge, met by the plea of guilty, accompanied by an appeal for clemency on the ground that the very men who made the law are those who have violated it. Why, Mr. Speaker, that only enhances immeasurably the criminality, and adds to the numberless reasons which exist why the people of this country should not have confidence any longer in this government. The fact that here we have a minister of the Crown rising in his place and pleading guilty to criminal conduct and then laugh-

ing at the charge, and that we have further a distinguished and learned member of the party and of the bar rising up to defend him and pleading, as his sole defence, that as others have been guilty of the same offence we should allow the one who admits his guilt to escape, shows in what a predicament these hon. gentlemen find themselves. It was an *ad misericordiam* appeal which the hon. gentleman made, one which would touch the hearts of a sentimental jury, but I hope that this great consult of the nation is not a mere sentimental jury and will not allow itself to be influenced by such tear-drawing appeals as fell from my hon. friend—appeals which are calculated only to have effect on a soft-hearted jury, especially if they had just lunched and had been well treated. But such appeals should not have any influence on a parliament like this and on the country; and whatever hon. gentlemen opposite may do they may feel assured that this criminal conduct of theirs which has been brought to light to-day will have its influence on the country, because it illustrates, as so much that has occurred of late has illustrated, the utter insincerity, the utter want of dignity, the utter inconsistency and hypocrisy of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. F. McCLURE (Colchester). It has been asserted here to-day that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce has been guilty of a criminal offence against the law of the country in the action he has taken. Well, Mr. Speaker, in the month of June, 1896, I received through a post office in Nova Scotia, addressed to myself, an envelope bearing no postage stamp but bearing the frank of the present leader of the opposition. Inside of that envelope there was a number of papers. One of them was a distorted and garbled report of the decision of the Privy Council on the school question, another consisted of extracts from certain Conservative newspapers, with reference to the Tory policy and the Liberal policy at that time. That envelope was franked when parliament was not in session. It came through the post office, franked by the hon. leader of the opposition. I have it still in my possession, and if the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce is to go into the criminal dock, I think that he will have to place the hon. leader of the opposition alongside him. Somebody may have improperly used his frank, but, strange to say, I can find any number of electors of mine throughout the county of Colchester who received envelopes unstamped and franked in the same way.

I am not going to discuss the legal aspect of the question at all, but I say it ill-becomes the hon. leader of the opposition, and it is not becoming to the dignity of this parliament, that a man who himself, at least as far as the *prima facie* evidence can be accepted has been guilty of the very same

act, should stand up here and abuse anybody else of being a criminal for having done the very same thing which he has done himself.

Motion to adjourn lost.

Mr. SPEAKER. With reference to the general question raised let me quote from Sir John Bourinot's book on parliamentary procedure, pages 384 and 385. I will only quote the lines which bear immediately upon the point raised :

The answer to a question should be brief and distinct, and limited to such explanations as are absolutely necessary to make the reply intelligible, but some latitude is allowed to ministers of the Crown, whenever they may find it necessary to extend their remarks with the view of clearly explaining the matter in question.

That leaves the matter, to my mind, in the judgment of the minister who answers the question.

Will the House allow me to say a word further as to the time at which this question was raised. After these discussions are all over, I think you will agree with me when I say that to discharge my duty properly as Speaker and to preserve decorum in our discussions, it will be necessary for me to enforce strictly our rules which limits discussion upon an answer to a question. While the discussion upon the motion to adjourn covered perfectly legitimate ground, I own at once as Speaker, that I was wrong in allowing the previous discussion to take place. But it is so difficult, unless I stop the first speaker who raises the question, to do this, that I would ask the House to sustain me in future in taking that stand, and I ask hon. gentlemen on both sides to recall the rules of the House and thus relieve me of the necessity of drawing their attention to them.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. May I be permitted, Mr. Speaker, to ask you, for the purpose of removing all possible misapprehension, if your ruling then is that it is in the discretion of any minister to say anything he pleases, however irrelevant, in answer to a question.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think that when an hon. gentleman reads my ruling he will find his question answered ; but if I were allowed to express an opinion, not as the Speaker of this House, but as a private individual, I would say that it might be debatable how far a minister had a right to elaborate his position by referring to the practice which had obtained in previous years under the Order in Council, but there he must use his own judgment, and on this I do not enter.

THE CASCA TRADING AND TRANSPORTATION COMPANY.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Has the Minister of the Interior received a statement of claim against the department, made
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by the Casca Trading and Transportation Company, for assistance given and goods supplied to miners in distress in the Cassiar and Stikine districts ? If so, is the minister giving the same his consideration and attention ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I beg to reply : 1. Yes. 2. The minister has given the claim attention and consideration, and has directed Mr. E. F. Stephenson, an officer of the department, to make an investigation and to report thereon.

TIME FOR PRESENTING PRIVATE BILLS.

Mr. LANDERKIN moved :

That the time for receiving petitions for private Bills be extended to Friday, the 16th March next, in accordance with the recommendation of the Select Standing Committee on Standing Orders, as contained in their third report.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I do not intend to offer any objection to the motion made by my hon. friend in accordance with the report of the Select Committee on Standing Orders, but I must call attention to this point, and hope I shall have the support of both sides of the House in this—that it is most desirable that we should adhere to the rules, and not extend from time to time, as we have done in the past, the privilege of presenting petitions for private Bills.

Motion agreed to.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—CANADIAN CONTINGENT.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Before the Orders of the Day are called, may I be permitted to ask my right hon. friend a question. I ask it because there are a number of gentlemen who desire the information, and also with the hope of shortening the debate on the resolution of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding). I desire to know whether, when we get into committee on the subject, the same latitude in dealing with the matter will be allowed as is usually allowed in similar cases. If this latitude is allowed, I think it will facilitate the passing of the resolution and enable us to get into committee.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am not sure I understand the purport of my hon. friend's (Sir Charles Tupper's) question.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If the debate at this stage and in committee is considered one debate, it will lessen very materially the time occupied in passing the resolution, because members to whom it would be a convenience not to be present to-morrow would feel that when the resolutions came up in committee they would still have an opportunity to discuss the matter fully. I think, it is usual in such

cases, to allow the freedom of debate I have suggested.

The PRIME MINISTER. I think my hon. friend on reflection, will agree with me that it is far preferable to adhere to the rules of the House. They embody the experience of ages, and, for my part, I think it would be better to adhere to the rules.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I fear that my right hon. friend does not understand the point that I make. What I am asking is not that the rules may be departed from, but that the usual practice of the House, as I understand it to be, should be followed. If it were distinctly understood that when we went into committee the fullest latitude would be allowed, instead of confining members to the particular clause of the resolution which might happen to be under consideration, I think it would materially shorten the debate.

CANADIANS IN BATTLE—LORD ROBERTS'S TELEGRAM.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to make a statement. His Excellency the Governor General has received from Lord Roberts, commander of the forces in South Africa, a telegram, which, by authority of His Excellency, I communicate to the House :

Pzardesberg, Orange Free State,
February 22, 1900.

Canadian regiment has done admirable service since arrival South Africa. I deeply regret heavy loss it suffered during fighting 18th instant, and beg you will assure people how much we all admire conspicuous gallantry displayed by our Canadian comrades on that occasion.

(Signed) ROBERTS.

STRATHCONA HORSE—TELEGRAMS FROM RELATIVES.

Mr. INGRAM. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I have a matter to refer to briefly. This morning the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) received this telegram :

Orillia, Feb. 21, 1900.

Ascertain if my son _____ is in Ottawa with Strathcona Horse. Answer quick.

This is a 'rush' telegram. As the hon. member (Mr. Bennett) had to leave, he turned the telegram over to me to ascertain this information from the officers of the Strathcona Horse at the exhibition grounds. I entrusted a letter to the officers of the Strathcona Horse by messenger. He went out at ten o'clock and after several attempts told me that he had handed the letter to the officers, and, after considerable red tape, and after consulting several of the Strathcona Horse, he returned without the information. While these gentlemen

may be very busy preparing to leave for South Africa, it does strike me as important that they should furnish parents of those connected with them, with the information they are asking for. I am unable still to answer this telegram. I have sent to the department for information. I think that something should be done by which telegrams of this kind can be answered as soon as possible.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Ingram) is aware that we have no authority over the officers of the Strathcona regiment. If the hon. gentleman will apply to the Minister of Militia—

Mr. INGRAM. He is not here.

The PRIME MINISTER—or to any other officer of the department, I am sure he will receive an answer.

Mr. INGRAM. I have written the deputy and received this reply :

Dear Sir,—I cannot tell if—is with the Strathcona Horse. The service rolls of this force have not yet been forwarded to this department.

Yours truly,
L. D. PINAULT.

FRENCH EDITION OF THE DEBATES AND OTHER OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Mr. T. C. CASGRAIN (Montmorency). (Translation). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to call the attention of the government and of the House to what I consider as an abuse which has existed for a long time, and which affects the privilege enjoyed by the French-speaking members of this House. I accuse neither the government nor the committee that supervises the translation of the Debates into French ; but it seems to me that the abuse I repeatedly complained of last session should be remedied.

I refer to the delay in the translation not only of the debates of this House, but of all official papers as well. Now, if you refer to *Hansard*, you will find that the French edition is as far behind as February 9. We have not yet before us the translation of the report of the Auditor General. The same remark applies to the correspondence between the Dominion government and the Imperial authorities, in connection with the sending of the contingents. In short, there is scarcely any official paper printed in French.

It will easily be understood that those among us whose constituents do not read English, absolutely require those translations. The French-speaking voters who do not understand English are entitled to get information about public affairs as soon as the other voters in this country.

I do not blame the government or the committee, but I think that the system which

now obtains should be changed, and those who supervise the translation of those papers should take the means of expediting the work, so as to have them before us as soon as possible.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I have but one word of explanation to give to my hon. friend on the matter. The Debates Committee is now considering—so at least I have reason to believe—exactly the question of delay in the translation. There is certainly a grievance, and a very serious grievance. I am glad that the hon. gentleman has called my attention to that point. But he knows that the government have no control over the matter. However, I may tell him that the *Hansard* Committee and the chief of the translating staff are now having the matter under their special consideration.

PACIFIC CABLE.

Mr. ALEXANDER McNEILL (North Bruce). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to call the attention of the government to a short item in the morning paper of yesterday with reference to the Pacific cable:

London, Feb. 20.—In the House of Commons to-day Sir Edward Albert Sassoon asked a question in regard to the construction of the Pacific cable. He drew attention to the rising price of metal required for the purpose, and also the anxiety that exists in Canada in regard to the project.

Hon. Joseph Chamberlain said that the deliberations of the committee would soon be completed. This committee, he stated, was aware of the state of the market as regarded cable material.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to occupy more than a moment, and I will not make any motion unless you insist upon it. I just wish to say that the gentleman who asked this question, Sir Edward Sassoon, is a very warm friend of the Pacific cable project, and certainly I think that the question and the answer are such as to cause those who are interested in the subject some degree of anxiety. It is quite evident that this question would not have been asked had there not been a fear in the mind of the gentleman putting the question that things are not going just as well as he would like them to go. Now, it is an open secret, I think, that the Eastern Extension Company have for years past been a powerful, persistent and tireless enemy of the Pacific cable undertaking. I think it is very doubtful whether the people of Canada as a whole have any adequate conception of the extent to which that opposition has been carried by that company. The Pacific cable is a great beneficent Imperial undertaking, and I venture to say it would be little short of intolerable that any pri-

Mr. CASGRAIN.

vate company or monopoly should be in a position to interfere with the carrying out of such an undertaking. The Pacific cable is a great link in Imperial unity, and it seems almost inconceivable that at this time of all times, at this moment of all moments, the Eastern Extension Company, or any other private enterprise, should endeavour to interfere with it. As we have just heard a moment ago, Canada is offering up the splendid young lives of her sons on the altar of Imperial unity at this moment; and I venture to say, Sir, that the Dominion will view with indignation any attempt from any quarter to impair the usefulness of the great sacrifice we are making and have made. I would urge the government in the strongest way to press this matter upon the Imperial authorities, and to leave no stone unturned to frustrate the efforts of any corporation or any monopoly that may endeavour to interfere with so great an Imperial project as the Pacific cable.

The PRIME MINISTER. I can only say to my hon. friend that when the papers are brought down, as they will be brought down in a few days, they will include the correspondence exchanged between the Imperial government and the Australian governments, and he will see that, as he suggests, no stone has been left unturned in order to baffle the efforts of the Eastern Extension Company.

Mr. McNEILL. I did not wish to imply at all that the government had been negligent.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS, ARICHAT.

Mr. GILLIES. Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to inquire of the government, through the Minister of Finance, within whose knowledge the information will particularly be, as to whether any person has been appointed collector of customs at the port of Arichat, Cape Breton, the position having been rendered vacant some weeks ago by the death of the late incumbent. If the position has not yet been filled, I desire to know what is the cause of the delay, and I want to know when the vacancy will be filled. If it has not been filled, then I desire to know from the government who has been discharging the duties of the office since the vacancy arose?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). I think my hon. friend will find that the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) has attended to the matter. But in his absence, I would suggest that due notice be given.

THE TRADE REPORTS.

Mr. FOSTER. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask my hon. friend the Minister of Finance if he would

inquire from his colleagues, the Minister of Trade and Commerce and the Minister of Customs, when the Trade and Navigation Report and the Trade and Commerce Report will be brought down. They are very important reports, as my hon. friend knows, and we are looking for them with great anxiety. I also might ask the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) if he can tell us when the Auditor General's report as regards the Railway Department—the only one remaining to be brought down—will be ready.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). I will inquire and let the hon. gentleman know. My impression is that they are ready now.

Mr. **WALLACE**. I want to call the attention of the proper minister to the necessity of having the Trade and Navigation Returns here. We have now completed nearly eight months of the financial year for which those returns should be made, and as time goes on they are becoming less valuable. If we are to discuss the budget speech and other matters, we must certainly have, not only the reports of those eight months, which the ministers have, but we must have the reports of the year which finished eight months ago.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. I entirely agree with my hon. friend that both those documents should be ready. I was told a little while ago that it was a question whether the Auditor General's Report or the Trade and Navigation Returns should first be brought down, and I think the House will agree with me when I said that the Auditor General's Report should have priority, and next to that the Trade and Navigation Report. I was told at the time that one or the other must have precedence, and I am responsible for advising that the Auditor General's Report should be first considered.

GRAIN TRANSPORTATION TO THE SEABOARD.

House resumed consideration of the proposed motion of Mr. Bennett :

That in the opinion of this House, it is advisable to take a definite line of action with regard to the question of transportation of the grain and other commodities of the North-west Territories, Manitoba and the United States, with a view of centring the same to the greatest possible extent in Canadian channels.

Mr. **J. G. HAGGART** (South Lanark). In rising to make a few remarks upon the motion submitted to the House by my hon. friend from East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), I wish to compliment him on the clearness of his statement and the amount of industry displayed by him in studying up this question. His object seems to be to obtain a declaration of the policy of the government

in reference to the question of transportation, notably from our great lakes to the seaboard. I think that in considering this question the inquiry should be limited to the transportation facilities from the head waters of Lake Superior to the sea-coast. I understand that transportation from the North-west to Lake Superior does not enter into the scope of this inquiry which the House is now engaged in. We all know the excellent navigation of Lake Superior. The first difficulty met with is at Sault Ste. Marie, and that has been overcome by two magnificent structures, one on the American side and one upon our own side. I see by a report to the Minister of Railways and Canals of the officer in charge of that magnificent lock, for the construction of which I take some credit to myself and on account of which I received a good deal of adverse criticism, that the lock is doing splendid work, and the report shows how much superior it is to the American lock, and how much more rapidly boats can be taken through it. The next difficulty in navigation after passing that canal is met with at the point where St. Mary's River empties into the head of Lake Huron, or near the junction between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. The Americans, by the expenditure of a large amount of money, have diverted a portion of the waters of St. Mary's River through what is called Hayes Island, by which they have shortened navigation, if I remember rightly, by thirteen or fourteen miles. In order that our ship-owners may compete with the Americans, I ask the government to remember that they must have an equal right with the Americans to utilize that channel which is made through Hayes Island. I think that under the treaty of Washington we have a right to do that ; because, according to the principles of international law, when a waterway is diverted through American soil and debouches again into the general channel, we have a right to navigate that channel under the Washington treaty. If we have not that right, we would be obliged to follow the river, which is of a less depth than this channel, because it is silting up, and it would require a large expenditure so to improve the navigation as to enable us to compete with the Americans on the route which they have established from St. Mary's River into Lake Michigan.

Then we come down to Lake Michigan, and the main question is the transporting through our territories of the immense products of the cities bordering on Lake Huron, Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, the facilities for the purpose of transporting the same, and what, particularly, is the policy of the government in reference to the works constructed and to be constructed for the purpose of carrying these products to the seaboard. We had two announcements of policy, one by the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), and

one by the hon. member for Quebec West (Mr. Dobell), in reference to this matter. The hon. member of the government from Quebec West argues that the proper way of transporting produce from the lakes to the seaboard is by ships having a draught of water of 14 feet, having steam power, and each having two consorts attached, having a carrying power in all of 8,000 tons. If that is the case, what becomes of the project of the hon. Minister of Public Works, who stated that it was absolutely necessary, in order to utilize the magnificent waterways which we have constructed from Port Colborne down to the seaboard, to deepen the harbour of Port Colborne? The hon. member for Quebec West also stated that a necessity arose for deepening Port Colborne harbour, because, although there was 14 feet of navigation in the Welland Canal, there was only a depth of 12 feet at Port Colborne.

Mr. DOBELL. Mr. Speaker, I said there was a necessity of deepening the entrance to Port Colborne harbour because of the high seas that often roll in. I said that these would make it necessary to deepen it probably to 17 feet. I think I made that quite clear.

Mr. HAGGART. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) will just look at the report of his speech he will find the accuracy of the statement which I have made, in which he stated that on account of the winds that prevail at particular times at Port Colborne harbour there is no greater depth than 12 feet outside of Port Colborne harbour, which necessitates the deepening of it. However, we all know about that; we know all about the difference in the depth of water at Port Colborne. We know, that, sometimes, when the wind is blowing from the west to the east, the water rises on the gates at Port Colborne to 14 feet, and that when the wind is in the other direction it decreases in depth by three or four feet. I perhaps should have been accurate by looking at the difference in the gauges between the two extremes, but there is a difference between high and low water on the gates going into the Welland Canal of nearly 7 feet. However, the hon. gentleman is perfectly right in his statement that in order to utilize the full depth of the Welland Canal, when at certain times the depth is only 12 feet it will be necessary to have a depth of about 15 feet, because we will need a foot or two more. Here are the words used by the hon. gentleman, and it will show whether I am correct or not:

There is no question that we shall have to spend a large sum of money even to provide for fourteen feet of water at Port Colborne, because I believe that to-day the depth of water there is only about twelve feet.

The depth of water will have to be increased,

Mr. HAGGART.

ed, to enable us to utilize the Welland Canal to 15 feet, in order to utilize the vessels which the hon. gentleman talks about, so that they may be able to get into the Welland Canal. I think the statement is correct, that if there is only 12 feet of water at the entrance, it will have to be deepened to about 15 feet. The hon. Minister of Public Works proposes an entirely different plan. His plan is to utilize vessels which the hon. member for Quebec West says are going out of date altogether. He says that they are abandoning these large carrying vessels on the upper lakes; he says it is impossible for them to get into the port of Buffalo, that they have to utilize tugs to take them in, that they have to take them in backwards, and that the vessels of the future are the vessels which are proposed by the hon. gentleman. To show that his statement was a correct one, he said that the parties who have entered into a contract to build elevators at Montreal have given orders in Scotland for vessels of the type that the hon. member for Quebec West proposes. Now, the proposal of the hon. Minister of Public Works is to deepen the harbour of Port Colborne so as to utilize the vessels which are at present used in the transport trade between Lake Superior, Chicago and the port of Buffalo, or, in other words, to give accommodation at Port Colborne, such as they have at the port of Buffalo, to have a depth of from 18 to 20 feet at the entrance of the harbour of Port Colborne, to make an expenditure so that this harbour can be utilized in all weathers by vessels of that class entering it. These are the two policies of the government in reference to this matter. This is the policy of the hon. Minister of Public Works as stated last year in this House, so as to bring vessels of large draught which are at present being utilized on the western lakes to Port Colborne, where elevators are to be erected, to facilitate the unloading of these large vessels into lighter crafts of 14 feet draught to take the produce to Montreal. I wish the ministers would agree as to which is the proper policy or as to which is the policy that they intend to adopt, whether they are going to take the policy of the hon. Minister of Public Works, or the policy of the hon. member for Quebec West.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Take both of them.

Mr. HAGGART. These are the two different policies propounded by these two hon. gentlemen. To show that the hon. Minister of Public Works, perhaps, has a greater pull in the cabinet than the hon. minister without portfolio, I notice that in the arrangements made with the Connors Syndicate in Montreal, one of the conditions insisted upon was that before the syndicate were required to bring down to Mont-

real the promised 25,000,000 bushels of wheat, the government of the country have to complete the harbour of Port Colborne, and have to provide a depth of from 18 to 20 feet.

Mr. CLARKE. Is that one of the conditions of the bargain with the Conners Syndicate?

Mr. HAGGART. That is one of the conditions with the Conners Syndicate. Not only do they give them half the amount, or 80,000 square feet of the three piers, at present being erected in Montreal, but they approved of a contract entered into by the Montreal Harbour Commissioners with the Conners Syndicate, one of the conditions of which is that the Conners Syndicate is not obliged, or the parties composing it are not obliged to bring down 25,000,000 bushels of wheat to Montreal until the Port Colborne harbour is deepened. I will read the clause:

The allottees covenant that in the first season after the depth of water is provided at Port Colborne, such depth to be eighteen or twenty feet on a sufficient area to allow large lake vessels to tranship their cargo, there will be transported to Montreal and handled through the elevators and facilities of the allottees at least twenty-five million bushels of wheat, or the equivalent in weight of other freight, subject to the breakage of canals, act of God and public enemies, and causes beyond the control of the allottees or their successors, and to the extent prevented thereby.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Does my hon. friend (Mr. Haggart) know that there are only about 50,000 cubic yards to be dredged at Port Colborne, in order to give 20 feet of water in a certain area?

Mr. HAGGART. I do not know what the minister knows, but I know the information his department furnished to the House. I know that his department stated that it would cost \$5,800,000 to carry out the plan.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The whole plan?

Mr. HAGGART. Yes, the whole plan.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Which is not necessary at all.

Mr. HAGGART. I do not know that.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, I do.

Mr. HAGGART. I do not know what the minister thinks is necessary to do, but I know that his department thought it necessary to spend \$5,800,000 to carry out the plan.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman is quite inaccurate. There was never anything of the kind. What was done is this: Plans were brought down to the House, which, if carried out in toto,

would have cost a large amount of money. But never the department, nor any minister pledged themselves to anything of the kind. There is no use misrepresenting the facts.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) says he was not prepared to carry out in toto the plans made by his department, and that he would only carry them out in part. Let him tell us what part he intends to carry out, and what it would cost? It is pretty sure that Mr. Conners, the head of the syndicate, will take the report of the Department of Public Works on the necessities of Port Colborne, and will not pay any penalties for contravening this contract, unless that report is carried out.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I say no, and I know it.

Mr. HAGGART. We discussed the matter in this House when the minister (Mr. Tarte) was ill. Mr. Mulock, the acting minister, stated that he only asked a certain sum, on account, and that perhaps it would not be necessary to carry out the whole plan. Any one who knows anything about the matter, knows that from a mile from Port Colborne, into Lake Erie, an immense amount of money will have to be expended to carry out the idea of the minister. We would like to have from the minister, a statement as to what the policy of the government is after the canals are completed, and in what manner they intend to utilize them. At present we have one statement from the minister without portfolio (Mr. Dobell), and another from the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), and I am inclined to think that the former (Mr. Dobell) is correct. The system of steam vessel towing two consort, has been in existence for years and has been found to be a bad system, as some times the consorts break away and run ashore. The modern idea is that each vessel shall have steam power within itself, and if the ministers will inquire, they will find that this is the best system of navigation, especially in Lakes Superior, Huron and Michigan. I understand that the Minister of Public Works has advocated the building of three sets of locks on French River, in order to enable boats drawing 18 feet to get into North Bay, from the Upper Lakes. I should like to hear from him (Mr. Tarte) and the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) what sized locks he proposes to build. I have also heard it rumoured that negotiations are pending for the purpose of providing navigation from Lake Nipissing to Montreal. It is stated that the locks are to be of the same size as those in the St. Lawrence, and that the government are negotiating with parties with a view to guaranteeing a certain sum for a number of years, for the purpose of carrying out that undertaking. If that rumour be true, and as the House is now in session, I presume that the

government will not do anything without taking parliament into its confidence. I was always in favour of navigation by the Ottawa River to the city of Montreal. I believed, and do believe, that it is the shortest and cheapest route. I believe that a moderate sum of money expended in that direction, or the promise of the government of a moderate expenditure, would receive the hearty support of this House.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). What does the hon. gentleman mean by a moderate sum?

Mr. HAGGART. I cannot tell you. The idea of Sir John Macdonald's government was to do the work themselves, and some contracts were let for the purpose of improving the Chats Canal. The idea of that government was to do the work themselves, and to spread the expenditure over a number of years, to the extent of a million, or a million and a quarter a year, so as to accomplish the work in 12 or 15 years.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). What depth of water for navigation?

Mr. HAGGART. The depth of the water, if I remember rightly, is similar to that of the Carillon, Grenville and Ste. Anne's locks, nine feet; and it is very easy to change the works so as to give a depth of fourteen feet. Of course, the locks would have to be lengthened and broadened. I think the normal depth of water on the mitre sills is eleven or twelve feet. The lock where the principal excavation would have to be made would be at Ste. Anne's, and it was the intention of the government to do that work. The first inquiry into the subject of a Ottawa ship canal was by the Imperial authorities when the Rideau Canal was built. They sent engineers to Lake Nipissing and the Georgian Bay, who reported as to the feasibility of the scheme. There is no doubt as to its feasibility. You have as a summit level Lake Nipissing, one of the finest sheets of water in the west, which would furnish a supply of water far beyond the requirements; and I would urge upon the government that in any arrangements they may enter into looking to the construction of that work, they should insist as a *sine qua non* that Lake Nipissing shall be the summit level of that canal. The depth of water should be fourteen feet; and though the length of the locks in the Welland and St. Lawrence canals is 270 feet, I would have the locks at least 325 or 340 feet long. That is the only feature which would involve an extra expenditure to afford navigation for a largely increased tonnage. You would then have a system of navigation superior to any other from the great lakes of the west to the seaboard. The Ottawa Canal route is, I think, 580 miles shorter from Chicago

Mr. HAGGART.

to Montreal than the route by the Welland Canal; and nowadays the saving of a cent a bushel on wheat determines the route of transportation.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. A quarter of a cent a bushel will do it.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. HAGGART. Mr. Speaker, before dinner I was discussing that part of the transportation question which relates to the proposed Ottawa Ship Canal. I stated that I was in favour of an expenditure to open up that route. I have always been an advocate of it. As we know, Canada enters as a wedge between Lakes Michigan, Huron and Superior and the ocean, so that the traffic from those lakes to the ocean must pass over Canada or through the St. Lawrence route. Government engineers made an investigation into the subject of an Ottawa Ship Canal as early, I think, as 1826 or 1827. It was before Colonel By's day; but the smaller project of the Rideau Canal was adopted. But if Canada is to remain a nation to the north of the St. Lawrence, one of the primary things to be done for the defence or the protection of this country is the construction of a canal from Montreal via Lake Nipissing to the Georgian Bay. I do not know how far hon. gentlemen opposite are committed to that scheme. All I know is that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), in a speech or an interview, and in the debate which we had the other day in the House, stated that he was in favour of the construction of a deep waterway between the mouth of the French River and Lake Nipissing. I understood the hon. gentleman to say that he expected that could be opened up by the construction of three locks. I have not looked into the details of the scheme lately, but my idea is that it is impossible to do it with less than five locks. However, that is a minor consideration. I have always been an advocate of the scheme and I hope the ministry will see their way to assist it. I am not committed to any method. I am not in favour of its construction by private parties. I am and always have been an advocate of its construction by the government of the country. With regard to the details of the scheme, I will express an opinion when it comes before us.

In reference to the transport question, there is one thing certain, that that question depends entirely upon the port of Montreal. If there are no facilities for carrying grain from that port, it is useless to build any more canals or railways. All the freight that can be handled at the port of Montreal at the present moment is being

brought there, and there is no use of increasing the transport facilities to that port unless we increase the facilities of transport from that port to the ocean. Now, what are the facts of the case? Over the Canada Atlantic Railway last year there was carried about 12,000,000 bushels of grain, and it could have carried a great deal more. You can go on the Exchange in Chicago and make arrangements to transport any amount of material from Chicago to Liverpool at certain rates. They do not care whether it is carried via Montreal or Portland or New York. The simple question is whether we can carry at a quarter of a cent cheaper by the St. Lawrence route than to Portland or anywhere else. The Canada Atlantic Railway carried from Chicago to Montreal nearly ten million bushels last year at three and a half cents per bushel. Their freight was only limited by the extent of the facilities for handling it in Montreal. And I have again and again urged upon my colleagues that the real question of transportation in this country is the furnishing of facilities at the ocean termini for handling it and transporting it thence to the places of consumption. The terminus for Canada is the port of Montreal, and there are no facilities in that port for handling over 25,000,000 bushels of grain.

Let us look for a moment at the figures of the trade. About 273,000,000 bushels of grain go to the port of Buffalo each year. What proportion of that grain can we contend for in order to transport it to the other side? You must look at what proportion of that 273,000,000 bushels that go to the port of Buffalo is exported from the seaboard to Great Britain. You will find that only a moiety of that is exported to the other side. If you look at the export from the port of New York, you will find that only 19,000,000 bushels of wheat are sent from New York to all foreign countries, and that includes the amount that reaches New York via the Erie Canal.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). How many bushels?

Mr. HAGGART. About 19,000,000 bushels of wheat.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). The New York Central alone, I think, carried over 30,000,000 bushels last year.

Mr. HAGGART. The export from New York to foreign countries of wheat, corn, barley, oats and flour only amounts to \$37,800,000 worth. I have not got the number of bushels yet, but I remember well that on looking over the figures, what staggered me was the enormous amount that went to the port of Buffalo, compared with what was shipped from the seaboard to other countries. It shows that the bulk of the immense amount of western grain that

has moved from west to east is consumed in the New England states, or New York state, and that only a moiety of it is exported from New York and other Atlantic ports. The inference I draw is this, that of the 273,000,000 bushels which go to Buffalo, I think 75,000,000 bushels would be excessive as an estimate of what is exported to foreign countries, and which would be a subject of legitimate contest between our ports and the American ports. You must not imagine that you can at all enter into competition for the whole of that 273,000,000 bushels. The only quantity for which you can compete is about 75,000,000 bushels of the quantity that enters the port of Buffalo. The hon. Minister of Public Works shakes his head, but if he will look at the figures, if he will look at the exports of New York, which is the traffic that we desire to divert from the western states to Montreal, he will find that it is only the surplus which is exported from New York to foreign countries that we can compete for.

The Minister of Public Works or the hon. minister from Quebec (Mr. Dobell) spoke the other day of the enormous amount of our western grain which enters Buffalo for the purpose of export to foreign countries. Well, the whole amount that entered into Buffalo from Port Arthur and Fort William 4,200,000 bushels.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Where did the balance go?

Mr. HAGGART. By the St. Lawrence route, by our own railways and canals.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. And to Portland, how much?

Mr. HAGGART. The total amount is 42,000,000 bushels.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. To New York?

Mr. HAGGART. No, to Buffalo. I am not talking about New York or Portland, or the amount carried over the Grand Trunk to Portland, or by the Canada Atlantic to Boston, or by the Canadian Pacific Railway to St John. What I am talking about is the statement of the Minister of Public Works that the great majority of the grain shipped from Fort William and Port Arthur went to Buffalo. Only 4,200,000 bushels went to Buffalo. Now, how can they compete with the Canada Atlantic carrying from Chicago to Montreal? How can they compete by the Erie Canal route if we can carry that grain at 3½ cents per bushel or very little more from Chicago to Montreal? The rate of freight regulates this traffic. The carrying trade of this country is dependent entirely upon the facilities in the port of Montreal for receiving and handling it. The railways of this country, the Canada Atlantic Railway, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Grand Trunk Railway, can go on to the Board of Trade in Chicago

and contend for freights to any of the sea-boards within their control, and as I have said, one-sixteenth of a cent per bushel would bring it our way. But they are compelled to pass by Montreal and go to Portland and Boston because the facilities in Montreal are not sufficient.

The proposed plan of the hon. Minister of Public Works for the erection of works in that harbour will not offer the facilities to which that port is entitled. The hon. minister ought to have stuck to his first proposition, which I fully endorse, that of forming a basin or port somewhere in the eastern portion of the harbour for the purpose of erecting warehouses and other facilities to accommodate the freight, so that the railways might go alongside of these warehouses and discharge their freight into them. This it is impossible to get by the plan he now proposes.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The Canadian Pacific Railway, which is one of the great factors in the port of Montreal, has agreed to the new plans that we are carrying out now.

Mr. HAGGART. I beg the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Tarte's) pardon; I am afraid I did not catch the effect of his remarks.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I was saying the Canadian Pacific Railway, which, as my hon. friend (Mr. Haggart) knows, is located in the eastern portion of the harbour, so far as freight purposes are concerned, have agreed to the plans, the beginning of which I am starting now.

Mr. HAGGART. We have not heard of them.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I think I may say that these inland basins that my hon. friend is talking about, would undoubtedly offer very fine facilities indeed.

Mr. HAGGART. There is no doubt about it. What is necessary is to have the facilities in Montreal. There is no trouble in getting grain to the port—no trouble in getting all that can be carried from the port. The hon. member for Quebec West (Mr. Dobell) says that there is a differential of about 3 per cent against the St. Lawrence route. Surely he must be mistaken. On an £80,000 vessel, that would be £2,400, or about \$12,000. That would be equivalent to cutting down the life of the vessel to two or two and a half years. The hon. gentleman must be mistaken; the differential rate against the St. Lawrence route cannot be more than one per cent.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. That is on the hull. You mean the annual insurance.

Mr. HAGGART. No, on the voyage. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) stated that on a single voyage he had to pay 3 per cent

Mr. HAGGART.

differential, against what it would have been in Portland, or Boston.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. He has told me the same thing.

Mr. ELLIS. That is after September.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) should know something about it.

Mr. HAGGART. It is certainly a mistake. Putting it into figures, what would be the result? Why, as I say, if it were possible to navigate the St. Lawrence year in and year out, it would amount only to a life of two and a half years on a vessel. The differential cannot be more than one per cent, and even that is an extraordinary differential rate. From my information, the difference of carrying the grain, including the insurance from Montreal to Liverpool, against New York and Boston, is only one cent per bushel, and I contend you can deliver the grain at Montreal for nearly one cent a bushel cheaper than it can be delivered for in Boston or New York. The fact that any grain at all is shipped from the western states to Liverpool via Montreal, shows that the transport is at least as cheap by that route. I have now before me the statement of receipts and shipments of grain from Fort William, of the crop of 1899, September 6th to December 5th, the close of navigation. The receipts were 8,727,892 bushels, and the shipments 9,185,944 bushels—excess of shipments over receipts 456,000 bushels. Shipments to Buffalo and other American ports, only 2,606,667. This shows conclusively that the preferred route for our own grain, is the Canadian route.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). That is not Sir Wm. Van Horne's story.

Mr. HAGGART. I never had the pleasure of hearing Sir Wm. Van Horne on the subject, nor would it alter my opinion as to the correctness of an argument, whether Sir Wm. Van Horne agreed with me as to the terminal facilities in Montreal, or not. I am arguing the question entirely upon its merits. I suppose the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fitzpatrick) is in favour of having Quebec as the ocean terminus.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. The only natural terminus, as you will see by-and-by.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman is correct. There is no reason why Quebec should not be the natural terminus. It was the terminus, and would have remained so, and would have received the shipments of grain of this country, and all the export business, had it not been for—what shall I call it?—the crassness of the people of Quebec. They had the trade in their hands, and when they had it in their own hands,

they had not the mercantile enterprise among them to keep it.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Not with all the public money spent on the ship channel.

Mr. HAGGART. There is no place that has fed more at the government crib than this same city of Quebec. In Montreal, all the expenditure for harbour developments and to make the port what it is, the great port of the Dominion, was made by the people of Montreal.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. And the interest is paid by them—every cent of it.

Mr. HAGGART. I am glad that the Minister of Public Works agrees with me, even though he has to differ with the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick). We will allow them to settle these little differences. What this resolution proposes is that we should have a statement of the policy of the government on this subject. We have had two statements, one by the minister from Quebec, without portfolio (Mr. Dobell), and another from the Minister of Public Works, and I hope we are to have another, and, I venture to say, a more sensible one from the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair). I hope that, as my successor in that office, he will form an opinion coincident with mine as to the proper means to be adopted for the navigation of the St. Lawrence. As I explained, my idea was, a single vessel propelled in the best possible manner, with quadruple expansion engines, using the smallest quantity of coal and carrying the smallest crew, consistent with good work, to carry its own freight, having no consorts. These vessels should go through to points on the great lakes and ply eastward to Montreal. I came to the conclusion that it was impossible, in view of the intricacies of the channel, especially at Lake St. Louis, to use to advantage any vessels but those having steam power. I thought and ventured to suggest to the Minister of Railways and Canals, that there was not much necessity for building the locks at Cardinal or Rapide Plat; that for the purpose of the barges now using them, the locks were ample, and that these vessels would be able to make the westward trip when we had built a lock immediately below the Galops, to enter into the channel. We could then utilize the channel with vessels drawing fourteen feet of water, vessels 270 feet long, the breadth of the locks, and having a tonnage of nearly 2,000 tons. The tugs were out of existence, and we did not build canals for the purpose of accommodating them at all. We built the canals, and enlarged them on an entirely different system. The system I proposed is the right one, it is more in accordance with the opinions of the member for West Quebec (Mr. Dobell) than with the opinions of the Minister of Public Works.

The Minister of Railways and Canals stated to-day, that navigation would be open next spring. Does he mean to say that he will be able to use the Cardinal Canal?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). They can go down the rapids.

Mr. HAGGART. The minister, then, has come to the opinion that I did, and which I stated last session, that there was no necessity for building these locks whatever. How can you utilize them if your canal is not built? You can go down but you cannot come up. The minister knows that the current on that particular section of the river is only about five or six miles per hour, and most of these vessels that I am talking about will have a propelling power equal to 12 miles per hour. They can go up that very easily, and they will never utilize the locks in the world except the one that is built at the foot of the Galops Canal. I built that for the purpose of escaping the Galops rapids, and getting into the river and going down to Montreal. If you had the requisite power to come back, you do not need to go into those canals at all. However, I suppose that is one of the things which are done and for which there is no remedy. I do not blame the minister, he took the advice of the engineers of his department, and I suppose he was perfectly right. But I have an opinion of my own in reference to that, and I venture to say that unless those particular vessels that I have described are used, the 14-foot navigation from Lake Ontario to Montreal will be entirely useless. If you want to enter into competition with the Erie Canal you must adopt the modern system. The modern system is to double your propelling power with the smallest possible consumption of coal, the vessel itself having the least possible number of hands, no yards, no rigging, nor anything else in the nature of an incumbrance. Then you can compete with the railways, then you can compete with the Erie Canal in carrying trade to the port of New York. But even then look what the canals have to compete with, look at what your Ottawa Ship Canal has to compete with. It will have to compete with lines of vessels from Chicago and Duluth, to Midland and to Parry Sound, which carried grain, as I stated, all last season, for three and a half cents from the city of Chicago to Montreal. I am one of those who are firmly of the opinion that all the facilities which have been offered for transportation from the east to the sea will be utilized in the near future.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. How much did you say the rate was?

Mr. HAGGART. Three and a half cents. Yesterday I asked Mr. Chamberlin, of the Canada Atlantic Railway, what was the rate

he received last year for carrying grain from the city of Chicago to the city of Montreal, and he said that the average rate they received last year was three and a half cents a bushel. But he added that fortunately rates were higher this year, they were up to five cents a bushel.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. They would certainly go behind on such a rate.

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS** (Mr. Tarte). Did Mr. Chamberlin tell you they had made any money out of three and a half cents?

Mr. **HAGGART**. I did not say anything about that.

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS**. Because I know something about that.

Mr. **HAGGART**. I know what they are getting this year, it is about five cents a bushel, or about one cent less than the hon. gentleman stated the rate was from Buffalo to New York. I am sure he made a mistake, because he knows the rate he stated then was more than double the railroad rate or the canal rate. If he will look into the matter he will find that two and a half cents a bushel is not large.

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS**. I believe I was within the mark in saying that the average rate on the New York Central from Buffalo to New York the year before last was about four cents.

Mr. **HAGGART**. Even that is in excess of the rate stated.

Mr. **POUPORE**. By rail.

Mr. **HAGGART**. Even that is two cents less than the hon. gentleman stated was the rate the other day.

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS**. From Chicago to New York.

Mr. **HAGGART**. The highest rate this season, a season in which the rates are pretty high all over, is about seven and one-eighth per cent from Chicago to New York.

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS**. I was right then. I said between seven and eight cents.

Mr. **OSLER**. You said from Buffalo to New York.

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS**. No, I knew better than that.

Mr. **HAGGART**. The hon. gentleman may have intended to convey a different impression, but the impression he did convey was that it was six cents a bushel. However, that does not matter. There are three important lines of communication with the west: There is the canal route by way of the Welland Canal; there is the route by Owen Sound which the Canadian Pacific Railway have

Mr. **HAGGART**.

and are utilizing for the purpose of carrying their western trade to the city of Montreal; and there is one by Midland which the Grand Trunk Railway have. Then there is the Parry Sound route of the Canada Atlantic Railway, and there is this Ottawa Canal scheme which I see is advocated by the Minister of Public Works. There is the double line of railway with low gradients from Collingwood to Toronto for the purpose of enabling the Grand Trunk Railway to compete on equal terms with the others.

In reference to the navigation of the upper lakes, I listened to the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) when he warned the government of the efforts that were being made to divert part of the waters of Lake Michigan into another channel. It is an old principle of law that all riparian proprietors on a stream have a right to the free use of the water from its source and of its free flow to the ocean. Canada, of course, has a right to see that no diversion is made of the water from its natural channel without her consent. That matter was fully considered a while ago. The amount of water which the hon. gentleman states is diverted by the Chicago Drainage Canal is certainly enormous. We inquired into that subject fully. The American government have inquired into that subject, and there are more large cities in the United States that would feel the effect of the decreasing of the volume of the water than there are in Canada. There is Erie, Buffalo, Cleveland, Milwaukee and a dozen more cities which would be affected by the decrease of the water. There was an inquiry made by the United States engineering department in reference to that matter. It struck me at the time that there was a very simple remedy, and I have no doubt that the remedy is a very simple one. We need not be alarmed at all about it, we have the right to the user of the water, the right to the flow of the water to the upper lakes down past our country, because, I suppose, international law would be interpreted the same as a property right. But, there is a simple remedy as to the regulation of the amount of water which may be diverted from the western lakes through the Chicago Drainage Canal to the Ohio River. It could be counterbalanced by erecting, where the water of the lakes makes its exit into the rivers, an obstruction which would be equal to the amount of water taken out of the lakes. I have always contended that we should put up an embankment in the river for the purpose of keeping the normal height of the different lakes, Lake Superior, Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. I contend that it would be a very easy thing to do, that there might be gates erected upon this embankment, which, when the water was high, would allow the flowing of it off, and so keep the water of the different lakes at a

normal level for the working of the canals under a perfect and economical system.

Mr. McMULLEN. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Haggart) will allow me; he will admit that there is a certain fall out of Lake Huron into Lake Erie at the St. Clair Flats. He admitted that when he made the statement he has made in regard to erecting an obstruction there to keep the levels of the lakes at a certain point. Out of Lake Michigan the water runs through the Straits of Mackinaw into Lake Huron. The construction of the Chicago Canal will not affect Lake Erie owing to the fact that the fall out of Lake Huron into Lake Erie will always maintain the level of Lake Erie, but the fall out of Lake Michigan through the Straits of Mackinaw will be diminished by the amount of water that is taken away by the Chicago Drainage Canal, and that will affect Lake Huron.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) is mistaken. There is no difference of level between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. Where Lake Huron has its exit into the river through which it flows into Lake Erie, it is very easy to place an obstruction in that river which would counterbalance, or keep the waters in Lake Huron and Lake Michigan up to the normal level, notwithstanding the flow from Lake Michigan into the other lake. The amount of water coming into Lake Erie would also be decreased. That can be remedied by placing an obstruction in the Niagara River, and if the hon. gentleman has kept posted, as no doubt he has, on current events, he will have seen that it is recommended by the engineering department of the United States that such an obstruction shall be placed there, and he will also have noticed that there has been a protest from the people of Buffalo and other inhabitants of that section of the country against the placing of an obstruction in that particular part of the river, because they contend that it would detract from the beauties of Niagara Falls. We can also, in Lake Erie, as there will be a lesser flow into it, obviate the lessening of the water by placing obstructions near the head of the Galops Rapids which would counterbalance the decrease of the water level. There is no engineering difficulty about it at all. The taking away of the waters of Lake Michigan to the Ohio River can be counteracted by the means that I have suggested. Then, I was arguing in reference to the style of transportation that ought to be used. I contend that the single boat is the proper and the only one with suitable facilities for propelling it from the upper lakes to Montreal. When you get to Montreal, then commences the main difficulty. I contend that the provisions made by the hon. Minister of Public Works, while progressive, are entirely short of the

requirements of the port of Montreal. I can assure the hon. gentleman that he will have my support, and I am sure the support of this side of the House in making proper provisions for the development of the port of Montreal. Port Colborne is a secondary consideration. As the hon. member for Grenville (Mr. Reid) asks: What is the advantage suppose you had elevators there, and suppose you had a depth of 20 feet of water? If you want to tranship the grain that comes to that section of the country, what is the difference in going 20 miles further to the port of Buffalo. It is true that a sentimental consideration comes in as to whether we might not have a port of our own. Our own vessels can carry the produce from Port Arthur to Buffalo, they can go and load into the elevators at Buffalo and the produce can be taken down by our system of canals. For the purpose of carrying out the proposition of the hon. member for Quebec West, it will be necessary to provide a sufficient depth of water at the entrance of Port Colborne harbour for the purpose of utilizing vessels drawing 14 feet of water; it will be necessary to deepen the entrance to 15 or 16 feet.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Haggart) knows, if he permits me, that at this very moment, there are between 18 and 20 feet of water at the entrance of the canal, not over any large area, but at the entrance itself. There are only a few spots where there are about 16 or 17 feet. There are over 18 feet at the entrance, and even 20 feet. I have the plans here, and I will be glad to send them across to my hon. friend when he is through.

Mr. HAGGART. I have taken the statement of one of the hon. gentleman's colleagues, the hon. member for Quebec West, in which he stated that the depth is only 12 feet.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. He has not been out there, and I have been often.

Mr. HAGGART. My argument is founded on the statement of the hon. gentleman's colleague, who represents Quebec West, in which he states that there are only 12 feet of navigation at that particular port. I think that the navigation ought to be improved, and that the entrance to the harbour ought to be deepened to the extent that we can utilize it in connection with the Welland Canal. I am with him in reference to that, but I thought the hon. gentleman was speaking by the book. I heard him correcting the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) the other day when he stated that navigation would be opened from Kingston to Montreal by the spring. The hon. Minister of Railways and

Canals interjected: 'Except the Cardinal Canal.' 'No,' said the hon. member for Quebec West, 'I have been to see your department and I find that you are not informed upon the subject; navigation, even at Cardinal, will be opened by the spring.'

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The canal at Cardinal will not be completed.

Mr. HAGGART. I know that. When the minister (Mr. Blair) answered this afternoon that there would be fourteen feet navigation from Kingston to Montreal open in the spring, he knew very well that it was his intention not to use the Cardinal Canal, but to utilize the rapids.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Haggart) need not be surprised at that, because I stated at a very early period of last session that it was not expected that the Cardinal Canal would be completed this year, but that we had arranged with the contractor to furnish at their own cost the necessary tugs for carrying vessels up the rapids on their return.

Mr. HAGGART. It was a condition in the contract that the contractors should have the canal finished and open for navigation last spring and the minister was insisting on it, and the contractors compromised with the minister by offering to tow up any vessels that require to go up there. The Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair) told us long ago that he would have that canal open this summer and not next spring. The Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) went from one end of the country to the other telling the people that on account of the energy displayed by the Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair) and through his cancelling contracts, he was able to have the canal system completed a couple of years before the dilatory Conservative government would have had it completed.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Just about ten years.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman knows that that statement is entirely incorrect. The only contracts he has cancelled were those of Goodwin and Archibald Stewart on the Soulanges Canal, and if he had left the work with those parties they could have completed it in at least as good time as those to whom he gave the contracts. It is easy enough for the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) to make a lip statement in this House that he will have the canals completed ten years sooner than would the Conservatives, but he has not a tittle of evidence in support of that. I suppose he played upon his colleagues and upon the Postmaster General in particular in making that statement.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I would like the hon. gentleman

Mr. HAGGART.

(Mr. Haggart) to tell the House in what time would the Soulanges Canal have been completed at the rate at which the work on section 12 was prosecuted between 1893 and 1896?

Mr. HAGGART. With the material on hand and the facilities which the contractor had, he would have it finished in less time than the contractors to which the hon. gentleman gave it.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I would ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Haggart) whether from the year 1893 to 1896 inclusive, there was one dollar's worth of work done or one blow struck on section 12 of the Soulanges Canal.

Mr. HAGGART. If I understand it aright, section 12 was all earthwork, and there was a little rock to be erected in the centre of it, and the work could be done by any contractor in four or five months. There was complaint made by the officer in charge that Mr. Goodwin had done the easiest portion of the work and did not do the most difficult part. I may have mistaken which of the sections No. 12 is. Is it Mr. Goodwin's or Mr. Stewart's?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Mr. Goodwin's, I think.

Mr. HAGGART. Goodwin had a section at the upper end and another section at the lower end. On one of these sections, the engineer alleged that he did the easiest part of the work and left undone the building of the lock in the centre and did not provide the stone. That was a comparatively small section of the work. The upper portion I think he did not put a pick in, if that is No. 12. You could enter into a contract with another contractor to do that work in three or four months. The statement I make now is: That with the exception of Mr. Goodwin, whose contract I intended to cancel myself as he refused to proceed; the other contractors would have done the work just as quickly as any contractors the hon. gentleman could secure. The statement put in the mouth of the Postmaster General that the Conservative government lagged in the construction of that work, is totally unfounded. What has the minister (Mr. Blair) to say in reference to the Sheik's Island portion of the Cornwall Canal? It was I who inaugurated that work, and I am proud of it. Does not every man connected with the transportation trade from Kingston to Montreal approve of that scheme, notwithstanding that the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) when in opposition took it upon himself to make a motion condemning that project?

That is one of the things which were placarded from one end of the country to the other in 1896, as the infamous Sheik's Island Dam. I will ask the Minister of Railways, now that the work is completed,

whether it is not a work in the interest of Canada, and one of the best improvements made along the line of the canal. We have, as I have stated, two or three lines of communication. The Midland Railway, that is part of the Grand Trunk, carries twelve or thirteen million bushels of grain to Montreal, and the Canada Atlantic Railway carries nearly twenty million bushels. Our facilities for carrying from the west are perfect. These are of no advantage to any section of the Dominion except the ports on the seaboard and the mercantile marine of the country. The through transportation is not of any benefit to the people of the country. On the contrary, it is a disadvantage to the majority, because it brings the products of the west, especially agricultural products, into competition with the products of our own people. The question of transportation from the west to the east has been solved : we can carry grain cheaper than any other country in the world, and we do it. We can land agricultural products from Western Ontario into the city of London cheaper than the people of Wales or the people of Scotland.

The hon. member for Quebec West (Mr. Dobell) stated further his plan for the navigation of the St. Lawrence in all seasons of the year. The one thing necessary to the accomplishment of that plan was the building of a bridge at Quebec. He says a channel is always open from Quebec to the ocean, and there is no reason why we should not take advantage of that fact. I suppose this is a scheme sequent to the celebrated bottle-neck steamers. He says there is no doubt about it—all you have to do is to build an ice bridge at Quebec, and the building of the bridge would facilitate the formation of an ice bridge at Quebec. I must say I have a feeling in favour of the old city of Quebec as the terminal point of the Dominion. My early recollections are all in that direction. In my early days, I used to go down there, and I thought Quebec was the centre of the universe. I am sorry to see its decay, but I think it is the natural head of navigation of the St. Lawrence, and I hope to see it some day retrieve its commercial importance ; I think it ought to do so. There is no reason in the world, when those steamers are built which my hon. friend from Quebec West speaks of, why Quebec should not be the terminus. If the people of Quebec had a little more enterprise, and would depend a little less on the amount of money they can induce the government to expend for the purpose of building up that port, Quebec might, as it will some day, retrieve its commercial importance. I must say that the scheme of the hon. member for utilizing the harbour of Quebec is a magnificent scheme. Long ago it was stated that there were only three or four months of navigation in the St. Lawrence in the year. That was after-

wards extended to six months, and now the hon. gentleman says there is no trouble whatever in having navigation all the year round. By all means let us give him a chance ; let us have that bridge at Quebec erected, although there are 400 or 500 feet between the piers. I cannot possibly understand how that will facilitate the formation of an ice bridge, although I suppose the hon. gentleman has thought it out.

Another thing the hon. gentleman dilated upon was the great advantage to the country there would be in the making of the extensive improvements proposed in the city of St. John. We are going to make St. John a terminus of the Intercolonial Railway for the freight from the west. I could never understand it. I know the Minister of Railways intends to expend a couple of millions of dollars for that purpose. I never could get it into my head where he was to get the freight from. What railway was going to hand him over the necessary freight for the purpose of filling up that elevator which he is going to build on the north shore of the harbour ? Even if he could get it, how is he going to enter into competition with the Canadian Pacific Railway which has a direct line to the port of St. John ? It is a most useless expenditure, and by a party which rung the changes against the late government for the expenditure on the Harris expropriation for which they said there was no necessity. But now they propose to go further and to expend a couple of millions of dollars on as useless an expenditure as was ever made in the country. There are curious stories going about that expenditure. It is said that the government paid \$120,000 for the wharf, which had been offered again and again for about \$25,000 three or four months previous. I may be mistaken, but that is the statement made to me, and I would be very sorry to repeat it in the House unless I believed it. I understand that the property passed into the hands of a syndicate, of which Mr. Pugsley, of St. John, is one of the members. The government decided to expropriate the wharf, and paid, I understand, \$120,000 for it. The party contending against the excessive price to be paid against it was, I understand, a son of the Minister of Railways and Canals.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I did not understand that.

Mr. HAGGART. I understood so, but I will correct the statement at once if I am wrong, for I would be sorry to make a statement which is not correct.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to say that his statement, from beginning to end, with regard to the property known as the long wharf, is inaccurate. Such statements have been made in this House before. They were made,

I think by the hon. gentleman himself last year, and were then disproved, and are not one wit more accurate to-day than they were then.

Mr. HAGGART. What part is inaccurate?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The whole statement, but especially that in which he associates my son's name with the transaction. He had nothing whatever to do with it, so far as I have any knowledge.

Mr. HAGGART. I am very glad to have that statement corrected, because I thought it was a most extraordinary thing. As I was informed, a property only worth \$25,000, the government purchased for \$100,000. But as to the principal statement we have the estimates of the Railway Department last year showing what they intend to expend on it. Am I wrong when I say that the amount is \$1,500,000?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Just as far astray as you can possibly be.

Mr. HAGGART. What is the amount?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The hon. gentleman can find it out.

Mr. HAGGART. I am taking the estimate of the hon. gentleman's department last year of the amount that was to be expended on this work. I am adding the amount for the purpose of expropriation, and my calculation was that the total amount necessary to be expended for carrying out the plans which the hon. gentleman proposed was in the neighbourhood of \$2,000,000. That is for the purpose of erecting an elevator, for the expropriation of land, for the deepening of the harbour by dredges, for piles, and the other improvements. I may be mistaken, but I firmly believe that what I say is correct; and I say that it is about as useless an expenditure as was ever made in this country. There is no necessity for it whatever. You cannot carry one bushel of grain profitably or anything like profitable, and land it in your elevator at the city of Montreal, and compete successfully with the Canadian Pacific Railway elevator in the port of St. John.

The hon. gentleman has got an expenditure for the purpose of transportation in order to carry out the idea that we ought to have a winter port, which the whole of the people of this country are in favour of. They are all in favour of having our exports done from our own towns and cities, but the hon. gentleman is asking for an enormous expenditure for which there is no justification.

I perhaps have been dealing with a subject which would be more properly dealt with on another occasion, but I wish to

Mr. HAGGART.

correct, as quickly as possible, the statement, especially of the hon. Postmaster General with reference to the management of my department, and also the statement of the hon. Minister of Railways, that this government in going on with the completion of our waterways with lightning speed, and that they would not have been completed in anything like the same time by the late government. Sir, if there is any prestige due for the completion of these canals, it is the late government that is entitled to it. It is to a Conservative government that the whole conception is due. It was opposed again and again by Mr. Mackenzie's party, and his only justification for completing the contracts on the Welland Canal, when his government was in power, was that the immense expenditure had been entered into by the government which preceded them, and he therefore felt justified in completing the work. Anything for the advantage of the country, anything for the development of this country, I am proud to say, was due to the initiation of a Conservative government. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the building of our waterways, which, I believe, will develop the country to an enormous extent, was due to the Conservative policy. I do not say that in a few years we will realize any amount directly from the building of the Ottawa Ship Canal, but my belief is that through the development of the water powers along that canal, the whole country will be benefited. The whole of the manufactures of this country will be driven by it, our cities will be lighted by it, and through the present means of transmitting electricity from one city to another, I believe that not only will all the cities of this country be lighted by it, but that all our railways, those in Ontario, at any rate, will be driven by these water powers. And I think that the day will come when some economical way will be devised of using that power for the purposes of heat, and that the whole country will be heated by it. I believe that Providence has given us in this country, in the shape of our immense waterways from one end of the country to the other, a counterpoise for the advantages which our neighbours to the south possess in the shape of coal, and that we will enjoy a more economical and better system for everything, even smelting materials, than by using coal. I am in favour of the development of the country to the fullest extent, and I would say to the hon. Minister of Public Works, who, I know, to a certain extent any way, is with me in this direction, that the key of the whole situation is in the building up of proper facilities at the different ports of the Dominion which are contact with the ocean. Even though he is wrong in some respects, he ought to have his full way, and give us a chance to enjoy facilities for transporting our products in the

cheapest manner possible to the seaboard, and thence to the places of consumption. To that extent I am heartily in agreement with him, but I am afraid I have trespassed upon your time, Sir, to a greater extent than I intended, and thanking you and the House for your kind consideration and attentive hearing, I will resume my seat.

Mr. W. J. POUPORE (Pontiac). The motion which has been introduced, Mr. Speaker, by the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) has given rise to a very important debate in this House, a debate upon a subject in which I think the future of Canada is very largely involved. The substance of the motion is simply asking the government to arrive at some fixed policy or plan whereby the transportation question of Canada could be dealt with in the most satisfactory manner. This, I am sure, Sir, you will agree with me is a very grave question, not only to Canada, but to the rest of the world, namely, the ascertaining of the best means of bringing about a solution of the transportation question by reducing to the minimum figure the cost of transportation from the points of production to the places of consumption. I was very much pleased to hear the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) the other day, in his speech on this question, announce at the outset that in order to facilitate the utilization of our canals, upon which we have spent some \$80,000,000, to the fullest extent, it was necessary to make certain improvements at our terminal points. This is, without a single doubt, the correct idea, as applied to Montreal, as well as to Port Colborne. My own opinion, and I profess to have some little practical idea of the question, is simply this. My own opinion is, that the port of Montreal is the first place that should be improved, not Port Colborne, or any other. The port of Montreal should be improved to afford facilities for handling the traffic which is already taken there by our railways and canals. Better facilities should be provided for loading steamers, which now go to the port of Montreal. I must say that I consider certain improvements at Port Colborne necessary, but the crucial point is the improvement of the facilities at Montreal. It is very easy to arrive at that conclusion. Why, we cannot accommodate the vessels that now go to Montreal. I know whereof I speak. In connection with my business as a contractor, I have to send tugs and barges to Montreal for supplies, such as coal, cement, and so on; and I have had them held there for three or four days at a loss of \$100 a day, simply because of the congested condition of the port of Montreal. You need no better evidence than that small fact—small as compared with the great traffic of Montreal—of the congested

condition of that harbour and the necessity for providing means to accommodate the traffic that goes there now. I believe, with the Minister of Public Works, when he says it is necessary to make improvements at Port Colborne. What is the object of those improvements? To enable the great lake carriers to bring their cargoes there, and either to transport them to other bottoms, or bring them through to Montreal. I have formed my opinions as to the best method of using our waterways, after reading and hearing the opinions of very great authorities on transportation questions, notably the ideas given by Mr. Thompson, two years ago on the question of the Georgian Bay Canal. It is well worth the while of any public man in Canada, to read that evidence. Mr. Thompson is regarded, by the people of the United States, as one of the best living authorities on the waterways question on this continent. Mr. Thompson points out that the cheapest method to handle the trade where we are dealing with canals, is to construct large tug boats, each tug boat to have two consorts. These three vessels together, will carry as many bushels as the great lake-going vessels of the west. The hon. member for South Grenville (Mr. Reid) who has a knowledge of the transport question, in discussing this matter with me, agrees with me, in this theory. It is better to carry the same cargo in three bottoms, including a powerful tug. You can land the cargo in Montreal, with vessels drawing fourteen feet of water, while, if you bring it in large lake vessels to Port Colborne, you have to change bottoms there, which means another handling of the grain, and so additional expenses is incurred.

It is well known to hon. members of this House, that, in the past, Canada has not been taking her fair share of the western traffic. And, why is it? Is it because we have not spent sufficient money on our railways, or on the St. Lawrence canals? No. One of the reasons is, that our facilities for accommodating traffic in Montreal have been so imperfect. In contradistinction to that, we find that the people of Buffalo in the last few years have spent millions of dollars to extend their harbours and their wharfs and to construct elevators for the accommodation of the great grain traffic. Consequently when shippers wish to have prompt delivery, they say: Why go to Montreal where we may have to wait a week before we can get the barges unloaded and put into the elevator; go to Buffalo, which costs a little more, it is true, but we can get our grain through promptly, and landed in Europe perhaps ten days sooner than by Montreal. Buffalo, having the accommodation I spoke of, took the whole of the traffic of the west. I do not think that it is an exaggeration to say that Buffalo took it all. I have the figures for 1898 here, and they show that Canada, with all her facilities—boasted faci-

lities, if you like—after all the money expended on railways and on our canals, only got 7 per cent of the whole western traffic, 93 per cent going by way of Buffalo. And of this western traffic, a large percentage was raised in Canada—crops that should have found export through our Canadian seaports. By reason of the facilities offered by Buffalo, even traffic originating in Canada, was diverted to Buffalo, and sent out by American seaports, to expand their seaports and to cripple ours. This is a brief expression of my views, backed up, of course, by some very practical men who have discussed this question. I think the history of our country for the last ten years proves conclusively, the truth of what I have said. Mr. Speaker, we must be convinced that the position is that we have not proper accommodation for the traffic of the west, and consequently the traffic goes elsewhere.

There is one way in which we can get what belongs to Canada for Canadian seaports. To the Divine Being we owe this means; it is to Providence we should be thankful for having provided it. I refer to the Ottawa River as a waterway from the great lakes to the ocean. It is not the first time you have heard my views on this question in this House, but I think it is an opportune moment for me to say to my colleagues in this House, that the time has arrived when we should assist nature to shorten the way from the western lakes to Liverpool, the point of consumption. The means are placed within our reach. We are not asking the government of Canada to go into the coffers of the country and spend money to construct this waterway. These are the means that have been employed in the past, to provide the subsidies granted to the different railway companies. The enlargement of the St. Lawrence canals has been done year after year, out of the coffers of the government; the taxes collected from the people going to the construction of the works on the St. Lawrence Canal and to subsidizing our railways. We do not come here and ask the House for anything similar to that. We come here saying to the parliament of Canada: We have got the men who have got the money to construct this waterway, and shorten the distance between Liverpool and Chicago by 1,000 miles over any other route that you can find in the United States—certainly 500 or 600 miles shorter than by any other Canadian route between these two points. And if that be a fact, and every one admits it to be so, is it not our duty to assist in opening up a natural waterway which will shorten the distance and attract to Canadian seaports the grain which arises in Canada at all events, and much of the grain that arises in the United States and goes by Buffalo? I ask you if it is not our duty as Canadians to take advantage of this route as we find it? It is not a matter

of sentiment, it is not a matter new to the people of Canada; it has been before the Canadian public for the last forty or fifty years. But as I remarked to this House on a former occasion, the engagements of the government year after year were such that they were unable to take it up as a government work. Two or three years ago, when the present government were approached with the view of getting a subsidy to aid in opening up this canal, the reply which was then received by a large deputation was that Canada could not at the present time disburse so large a sum of money as was necessary to go on with this work. It became necessary then to adopt other means. Mr. Stewart, who had the project in hand, went to Europe and came in contact with men of financial standing; and the upshot of it all is that now, at this very moment, we have in the city of Ottawa capitalists from Europe who can put their fingers upon twenty or thirty million dollars, if need be, for the construction of this canal; and all that we ask of the government of Canada is to show to the world their own faith in this great project which is going to do more to develop this Canada of ours than any other scheme which has ever been brought before the Canadian public. That is the exact position of the waterway known as the Ottawa River waterway, or the Georgian Bay Canal. We are asking that the government should merely assist the company to the extent of guaranteeing interest upon its bonds.

Mr. SPROULE. How many millions?

Mr. POUPORE. I am glad you asked the question. You remember what the demand was last session. I am not in a position just now to make any statement about it, because the gentlemen who propose to undertake the work themselves are here now, and they are in communication with the government, and I do not know exactly what conditions they propose. But I am just alluding to the matter en passant as relating to the general question of transportation. Mind you, Mr. Speaker, I do not wish it to be supposed that I am opposed to other routes? I am in favour of all Canadian routes. I am in favour of the St. Lawrence route, I am in favour of the Trent Valley route, I am in favour of all the routes that we have in Canada to-day, and as many more as we can get, because we will want them all if we are going to take the western traffic to our Canadian seaports. It is not with any desire of offering rivalry to any existing route that I have in the past advocated this canal scheme, nor is it my desire, either now nor in anything I have said in the past, to throw any discredit upon any route which exists in Canada to-day. I am one of those who take an optimistic view. I think we want every route we have got; we want the St. Lawrence River route and all the enlargements that are put

upon it; we want the Ottawa River route with all the improvements we can put upon that; and even then we will not be able to accommodate the traffic that is sure to arise in the great region lying west of the lakes. These things must be evident to men who have studied the question. The great difficulty that I find where any objection is offered to the Ottawa River Canal, is because gentlemen have not taken the trouble to study the question, they did not feel they had time to do it. But if they were living in the Ottawa valley as I have been since I was born, if they were representing a constituency as I do now in the Ottawa valley, which from time immemorial has contributed largely to the revenues of this country, provincial and federal, they would look upon this question differently. When we remember that we have not received one dollar in return for all we have contributed, we ask ourselves: Why should we pay our taxes for the enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canal? Why should we be called upon to pay our money to help build railways that run along the St. Lawrence River? Why should we be asked to do it? We have a right to say: Help us now. We have helped you first, you have got all you wanted, now give us a hand and open up a new waterway in the Ottawa valley. Is that an unreasonable request to make? Is it not the most reasonable thing to expect? When Canada has expended so much money in the past, and has now completed one of the finest waterways on the continent of America, is it not proper and just that we should expect that this short waterway to the great lakes should be opened up so as to shorten the distance between the producing point and the consuming point by 1,000 miles? All that can be done without imposing one single cent of taxes upon the ratepayers of Canada, not one single cent until the whole canal shall have been completed, and then the government is asked to pay interest upon the bonds for a period of twenty years. There is the proposition which we have been making to the government of Canada, and which I do hope will receive the kind consideration of the government before many moons have passed. Those are the opinions which I wished to express in regard to the Georgian Bay Canal.

I would like now to refer to a remark made by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Osler), when speaking the other evening upon the same question. The deduction I drew from his remarks was, that canals, after all, did not amount to a great deal, that railways carry the great bulk of the traffic at the present time. If that hon. gentleman were in the House I would like to ask him this question: Are we not trying to solve the question of cheap transportation? The ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) stated a little while ago that he was told by Mr. Chamberlain, of

the Parry Sound Railway, that they handled wheat from Chicago to Montreal last year for 3½ cents a bushel. No living man in Canada can be made to believe that the men who handled that wheat for three and a half cents a bushel made any money out of it, but I think they lost money. Now, the cost of transporting a bushel of grain from Chicago to Montreal must be in the vicinity of five cents a bushel. If you shorten up the distance, as we propose by water, you are going to save a difference of two cents per bushel at the very least, you are going to handle grain from Chicago to Montreal at about one-half its present cost, say five cents. I may give you the figures on another occasion, but it will take too long to give them to-night—I can show you that the grain can be handled from Chicago to Montreal by water for two and a half cents a bushel, and put aboard steamers in Montreal. I see the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) shakes his head; perhaps he thinks that incredible.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). A bushel of grain can be taken from Port Colborne to Montreal for about two or two and a half cents. I quite grant that.

Mr. POUPORE. My statement is—of course there is a great deal of prediction about it, but I can show figures that will satisfy any practical man who understands the transportation question—

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. At what rate.

Mr. POUPORE. I can show accurately by evidence that you can save at least one cent per bushel over the cheapest rates that have ever been obtained via New York. In New York, we find that some grain has been handled between Chicago and New York for three and a half cents per bushel via the Erie Canal.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. From Buffalo to New York, not from Chicago.

Mr. POUPORE. Yes, from Buffalo to New York. From Chicago to New York I think it costs somewhere about five and a half or six cents per bushel.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Via the Erie Canal.

Mr. POUPORE. It depends entirely on circumstances. In recent years you could get freights from one to one and a half cents a bushel less, but this year freights are a good deal higher.

Mr. WALLACE. Did I understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Poupore) to say that the distance from Chicago to Montreal is 2,600 miles?

Mr. POUPORE. The distance between Chicago and Montreal via the Ottawa River

route is 980 miles. The figures in the report made by the Senate Committee in 1898 show that via the St. Lawrence route, the distance between Chicago and Montreal is 1,348 miles, and via the Ottawa River 980 miles. I must beg my hon. friend's pardon for saying that the distance via the St. Lawrence route was 2,600 miles. I did not just understand his question and I thought he referred to something else. It is very strange, Mr. Speaker, with the advantages that we enjoy already for handling the trade of the west, which are the same that we have had for some years past, that we find the people of New York have become very much excited over something. We have found that by reference to several of their newspapers for the last year, and quite recently they appear to be thinking that they had better be getting a move on in regard to their waterways, otherwise, they will wake up shortly and find that the traffic which now goes to Buffalo will be going down by the northern waterway, via the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence Rivers. To prove this I do not think that I have to go very far. Here is a dispatch bearing upon the subject :

Erie Canal Improvement.

New York, Feb. 14.—Canal legislation was the principal topic of discussion at the monthly meeting of the directors and members of the board of trade and transportation held to-day. C. Waldo Smith, chairman of the canal committee, presented a report endorsing the proposed Erie Canal improvements outlined in the report of the commission. Congressman George B. McClellan's Bill to sell the canal to the general government was condemned.

Here is another report which I think is very significant and should have some weight with our Canadian public men. It is headed 'Need Larger Canal,' and is as follows :

Albany, N.Y., Jan. 25.—The representatives of the committee appointed by the legislature to consider the causes of the decline of commerce at the port of New York, and the condition and prospect of the New York State canals, were presented to the legislature to-day by Governor Roosevelt, accompanied by a lengthy message, reviewing the reports, and recommending action on them.

The commerce committee gives as the main cause of the decline in the commerce of the port of New York discrimination by the railroads against the port in the interest of competing ports. The commission shows that this discrimination is made so as to overcome the advantage which New York would have under natural conditions as the cheapest route to the foreign markets for the products of the west and comments with this special severity upon the New York railroads, which have received benefits from the state, and yet participated in the discrimination, to the serious injury of New York. Regarding this discrimination the commission makes no recommendation as to legislative action, seeking simply through its report to give widespread publicity to the facts, holding that evil can be remedied by improving the canals, canal terminals, &c.

Mr. POUPORE.

Taking up the report of the canal commission, the Governor points out that the committee is agreed that, in the first place, the canals cannot be abandoned; that, in the second place, a ship canal ought not to be built by the state; and that, in the third place, the present canal must be enlarged. Continuing, the Governor says:—

Now, they go farther. This is what Governor Roosevelt says :

'Neither New York nor New York State can afford to rest supine while their eager business rivals strive every nerve to snatch away the commerce which has been so large a part of their life-blood. New York is the only state through which, because of its topography, it is possible to transport freight by water from the the great basin of the Mississippi to the Atlantic. The Dominion of Canada on the north—

Mark you, Mr. Speaker—

—has similar advantages, and how well the Canadians have availed themselves of them the final opening of their great canal system last fall conclusively proves. If we do not improve our own canals, we shall have nothing wherewith to meet the advantages conferred upon Canadian commerce by her canals on the north, while we deprive ourselves of a great aid in the struggle with our business rivals in our own country, leaving ourselves at the mercy of a combination made by railroads for the benefit of our localities.'

The Governor strongly recommends the plan proposed by the committee for a larger canal, capable of carrying boats of a thousand tons capacity, to build which would involve an expenditure of \$60,000,000, and says : 'There is every reason after the most patient investigation, to believe that the large canal will result in a transportation cost across the State of New York as low as that on the St. Lawrence canals, and far less than any rate that is possible by railroads at any time within the immediate future, if ever, the difference in favour of the canals over the railroads being more than three-fold, that is, the freight rate on the canals being less than a third than that by railroad.'

There is evidence to show the error of the argument of my hon. friend from West Toronto (Mr. Osler) who made the general statement that now canals were going out of use and that the traffic of the west could be handled with so much cheapness, that the railways carried the great bulk of the freight. This applies entirely to freight that cannot be accommodated by water transport. Wherever you have facilities for water carriage of freight, you find that the freight will follow the cheaper course, and as Governor Roosevelt has pointed out, freight can be carried by water at one-fourth the cost that it can be carried by rail. The great question before us at the present moment is the development of our waterways. I do not know the extent of the improvements necessary at Port Colborne, but I do know that very great improvements are necessary in the matter of enlarging the accommodation at the port at Montreal. A good deal of money has been expended there year by year for the

past few years, but it has not been sufficient to enable that port to keep pace with the growing trade. To show the utter inadequacy of the port of Montreal, I may mention that Mr. Smith, the general freight manager of the Ottawa and Parry Sound Railway, told me that on one occasion last year, they had boats and barges lying around the port of Montreal for a whole week, and were unable to get their grain into an elevator.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. There were hundreds of boats in the same condition.

Mr. POUPORE. The attention of the government should be immediately directed to extending the facilities at Montreal, so as to prevent the recurrence of such a state of things as that. I find that the Prescott elevator was in the same position. The conclusion is forced upon us that the facilities at the port of Montreal are not sufficient to accommodate one-quarter of the trade that could be done there.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Hear, hear.

Mr. POUPORE. We should extend the wharfs at Montreal, erect elevators and deepen the water in the harbour, so as to afford the best possible accommodation for steamers that seek that port. I do not wish to conclude, Sir, without making some allusion to the port of Quebec. I quite endorse the statement made by the ex-Minister of Railways (Mr. Haggart) as to that port. Nature has given us a harbour there, capable of accommodating the largest steamers that float, and there is ample room to erect as many elevators as the trade will demand. The larger class of vessels will naturally come to Quebec, rather than to Montreal. There is a good deal of force in the statement made by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) that the rates of insurance to Montreal are excessive, and particularly so after the month of September.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The rates are the same for Quebec as for Montreal.

Mr. POUPORE. That seems very peculiar.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, they are about the same thing.

Mr. POUPORE. I was under the impression that steamers continuing to Montreal would have to pay more insurance.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. There have been a great many more accidents below the city of Quebec than between Quebec and Montreal.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick) Oh.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The figures are there. Two and two make four; they cannot make five.

Mr. POUPORE. I do not suppose that the minister (Mr. Tarte) disputes my statement that the port of Quebec will accommodate the largest vessels afloat.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. It is a magnificent port.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Quebec is a port for steamers, and Montreal for barges.

Mr. POUPORE. I cannot consent to that assertion.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Montreal is a great national harbour and Quebec is a great port indeed.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. A greater one than Montreal.

Mr. POUPORE. I trust that my hon. friends who represent western constituencies will be generous in their aid to the development of all Canadian avenues of trade. I shall support, so far as it lies in my power, any project which will bring the traffic of the west to our Canadian seaports, whether Montreal, Quebec, St. John or Halifax. As a Canadian, I shall give my support to any well devised scheme either of railway or canal extension, which will tend to develop these ports. I ask my hon. friends from all over the Dominion to look at this question from a national standpoint, and to join with us in increasing our present facilities. For my part, Sir, I shall support any scheme calculated to bring the trade from our great western country to Montreal and other Canadian ports.

Mr. PETER MACDONALD (Huron). Mr. Speaker, I look upon the transportation question as one of the most important which we can be called upon to discuss in this House. I trust, Sir, that it will not be regarded as a party question, nor even as a local question. We have a great many routes in this country, along which will go a larger or smaller proportion of the trade, no matter what the government may do to put our waterways in proper condition. I shall not speak in favour of any particular route, but I shall speak in favour of the policy the government has been laying down with regard to the improving of what are called our waterways. Every man who has made a study of the transportation question knows that these waterways always have a strong and powerful influence in reducing railway rates, and the more efficient these waterways, the greater will be the influence they exert in that direction. The hon. member from Toronto (Mr. Osler) told us the other night that only 4 or 5 per cent of the trade going to New York was carried

on the Erie Canal, and he therefore concluded that it had little effect in modifying railway rates. The opinion of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Osler) in that respect is entirely different from the opinion of those who have given this question the greatest consideration. It is quite plain that if there is an alternative water route for freight, it will limit to a very large extent the high rates charged by the railways, and in my opinion the development of our water routes must result in such a healthy competition as will control the railways to some extent. That is a matter we cannot overlook in considering the transportation question. We in Canada have been doing a considerable amount to develop our transportation facilities, but our trade is increasing by leaps and bounds and we have not been going fast enough to accommodate it. If we measure the trade of Lake Superior by the amount of traffic that passes through the Sault Canal, it will give us an idea of the trade that is converging to that one lake alone. In 1887, the number of vessels that passed through that canal was 9,000; their average tonnage was 600 tons each; the tonnage of the freight they carried was 5,495,000, having a value of \$79,000,000. That was a very large trade; but let us look at what it amounted to ten years afterwards. In 1897, the last year for which the figures are at my disposal, the number of vessels passing through the Sault Canal had increased to 18,000, the average tonnage of the vessels had increased to 1,000 tons each, and the tonnage of the freight increased to 18,900,000 tons, having a value of \$218,500,000.

I give you these figures to show you the importance of making provision to handle a portion of that trade, by means of our waterways and our railways. Have we been making that provision as rapidly as the trade has been increasing? I think not. Therefore, we have to bestir ourselves, if we expect to handle our share of that trade, and put our transportation routes into first-class order. It is said by some that the railways could carry a greater part of the trade, as they do in all countries which have railways; but, as I said before, the waterways will so control the rates upon the railways, as to insure to the producers a large reduction in the cost of transportation. I understand that is the object we have in view. If we cannot increase the price of the products of the farmers, the miners, the millers, the lumbermen, and all other producers, we can seek to have them brought to the markets of the world, as cheaply as possible, and in that way put money into the pockets of the hard working people of this country.

Therefore, speaking as a representative of a farming community, I feel specially in favour of the expenditure of large sums of money, if necessary, to put our transporta-

tion routes into proper shape. There are no railways in the world that carry wheat cheaper than the railways running from Chicago to New York. The reason of that is, that there is no waterway in the world that carries wheat cheaper than the waterway from Chicago to New York. For the same reason the improvements that have been made on the railways from Chicago to New York during the last twenty years have been greater than the improvements that have been made in the same time on any other railways on the continent of America. They were forced to make these improvements. They were forced to increase the size of their cars, to straighten their curves, and to increase the power of their locomotives, in order to compete with the waterways running almost parallel with them. Therefore, if we have a low rate between these two points, on the railways, it is due to the competition of the waterways.

We sometimes hear it said—I have heard it in this House—that the little Erie Canal, only six or seven feet deep, only capable of floating a cargo of 200 tons, with boats moving at the rate of two miles an hour, drawn by mules or horses, taking about twelve days to go from Buffalo to New York, and twelve days to return, and only making one trip a month, cannot have such an effect on the railway rates as is alleged. I want to give the testimony of men who are known all over the country, and who have given the transportation question thorough consideration, both as respects railways and waterways. I want first to show you that we have a better waterway than any other country in the world. When I say that, I say it advisedly, for I have looked up the history of waterways, both in the old country and in the new. We have a waterway which extends from the Atlantic 2,700 miles into the very centre of our continent, and which gathers up from all sides, the trade which the energy and industry of our people are producing. When we consider that our canals are much deeper and the open waterway much greater in proportion to the mileage between Chicago and Montreal, than between Chicago and New York, we shall see the advantage which our waterway must possess. There are 1,419 miles between Chicago and New York, and only 1,261 miles between Chicago and Montreal, a difference of 158 miles in favour of our waterway. From Chicago to New York, they have 350 miles of canal, while from Chicago to Montreal, we have only 70 miles of canal. In other words, they have one mile of canal for every 4 miles of open water, whereas we have only one mile of canal for every 17½ miles of open water. So that you see the great advantage we have in this respect. As the result of observations extending over 25 or 30 years, we find that the Welland Canal is open on the aver-

age, 19 days longer than the Erie Canal, so that it will control the rates that much longer. Even the Lachine Canal, is five or six days later in closing in the fall of the year, than the Erie Canal; and a few days' competition of the canals in the fall of the year, has a tremendous influence on the railways in the way of preventing them pooling their rates, as they do during the period of closed navigation. The total earnings of all the railways in the United States, in 1891, averaged 941 cents per ton mile, whereas, the earnings of all the railways in the United States running parallel with waterways only averaged 692 cents per ton mile, or over 25 per cent lower than the average earnings of all the railways of the United States. The earnings of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, which were beyond the influence of waterways, averaged 1.03 cents and 1.06 cents per ton mile, respectively, or over 50 per cent higher than the average of all the railways in the United States. I give you these figures to show the wide and permanent influence the waterway has upon the railway rates. Let me give you the opinion of a very eminent man on this question, which will answer the objection that my hon. friend from Toronto made, namely, that the waterways only carry a very small percentage of the freight, and therefore, have no influence on the railway rates at all. Mr. Emery R. Johnson, Doctor of Philosophy, and instructor in political and social science of Hartford, in a brochure written on the water routes, and railway tariffs, says:

The waterway, however, can regulate rates by carrying only a fraction as much as the competing railway, and it by no means proves the inability of waterway to fix rates to show that the volume of freight passing over the railroads is several times that on the competing routes of navigation. The rates charged by the water sets a limit beyond which the railway cannot go without surrendering its traffic to the waterway.

You can see, Mr. Speaker, the soundness of that argument by a simple illustration. Supposing that two stages are running, one a first class and another a fourth class, between two points. A passenger wishing to go from one point to the other will go first to the first class stage, and supposing he were told that the fare was \$4, he would then go to the fourth class stage and find out that the fare was \$2. He would then say to the first-class stage owner: If you do not come down in your price, I will simply take the other stage, and in this way he would compel the first-class stage owner to come down in his price, no matter how inferior the other stage might be. In like manner the shipper will say to the railways: If you take my freight to the city of Montreal for a certain price I will give you the preference, because yours is probably a more direct and rapid route, and I

will have reason to pay you a little more; but if you will not take my freight at a reduced price, there is a water route which will take it much cheaper.

There is another factor which we must bear in mind, when comparing the influence of waterways upon railways. It is estimated by Mr. Thomson, of Duluth, a large exporter, that when it costs \$1 to carry a ton a certain distance by water, it will cost \$10 to carry that ton the same distance by rail. I thought that a little too high and investigated the question more fully, and I found in a speech delivered by one of the delegates at the Deep Waterway Convention in 1895, that he put the proportion as one to eight. Where it costs \$1 to carry a ton a certain distance by water, it would cost \$8 to carry it that distance by rail. I was under the impression that also was a little too high, and examined several blue books, and finally came across a blue book entitled 'American Shipping,' and I found that the experience of the United States, taking three years, and comparing the cost of transport by water and rail, was that it was in the proportion of one to four. Where it cost \$1 to carry a ton a certain distance by water, it cost \$4 to carry it by rail. That is a very strong argument in favour of establishing a first-class water route, because even if it be longer, we can carry freight four times the same distance for the same price as by rail, and therefore the argument of distance is not always a convincing argument.

Again, we are told by some parties that a mixed route is the best, that is, partly by water and partly by rail. Well, that has not been the experience of shippers and others who have given their consideration to this question. Let me show you how the Erie Canal controls the rates from Buffalo to New York. The figures show the wisdom of the present government in seeking to establish an all-water route. Here are the rates charged in 1891. I do not give you those figures as being the ones charged today, but simply to show you the relation between the two systems. From Buffalo to New York the rates charged in 1891 were as follows:

	Per Bushel.
	Cts.
In May	2.51
In June	2.53
In July	2.68
In August	3.94
In September	4.19
In October	4.44
In November	4.13

Those were the charges by the Erie Canal during the season of 1891. Immediately after the closing of navigation and previous to its opening in the spring, the railway freight in that year was 7.8 cents per bushel. The average charge during the season of navigation by the boats was 3.49, and the

average charge during the close season by the railways was 7·8 cents per bushel, which shows the influence of the canal upon the railways.

The MINISTER OF MARINE. Does that include terminal charges ?

Mr. MACDONALD (East Huron). No, that is the freight. During the open season, the influence of the canal forced the railways to bring down their rates from 7·8 cents to the following :

	Per Bushel.
	Cts.
June, July and August.....	4
September	4½
October	5

From Buffalo to New York, and when the navigation closed, the railways went back to the full rate of 7·8 cents. Does not that show plainly the tremendous influence that a little canal has upon the railway rates, over three cents a bushel ? And if that little canal were removed by any means, the railways would have the power of charging that 7·8 cents during the whole year ; and, in deed, Sir, after the close of navigation in this country this year, it is evident to all that the railways put up their rates to a very considerable extent.

I want to give you another fact in connection with those I have already mentioned. The Board of Trade of the city of Buffalo, composed of men who are largely interested in the shipment of wheat, when the ordinary period of closing the canals during the year was reached, petitioned the Minister of Public Works of the State of New York to keep the canal open five days longer, and he did so, and the rates continued during these five days as they were before, but immediately afterwards the railway companies put up their rates again.

There are some other facts that I wish to give upon the authority of other people. You can understand, Sir, that the business in which I am engaged does not enable me to obtain any personal experience on this question, and therefore I am forced to seek out men who are known as deeply interested in the transportation business and give them as authority on the question we are now discussing. Mr. Albert Fink shows the economic value of deep waterways and the great lakes. He has been frequently spoken of as one of the best authorities on the subject in the United States. He was commissioner of the Trunk Line Pool, therefore he knows all about the railway. Mr. Fink says :

The Erie Canal and lakes exercise their influence over the southern country until it reaches a line where low ocean rates from New York to the gulf states—Mobile, New Orleans, Galveston—exercise their influence upon the rates to the interior adjacent points so that it may be said the all-rail rates are kept in check by water transportation.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

With reference to the Erie Canal, Mr. Win- dom says :

The wide sweep of competitive influence exerted by the Erie Canal is not generally understood or appreciated. You would doubtless be surprised, Mr. President, if I told you that the little ditch which runs through your state holds in check and regulates nearly every leading railroad east of the Mississippi River, and that it exerts a marked influence upon the cost of transportation over all parts of the country, and yet such is the fact.

I want to give you the opinion of a still better authority of the regulating power of waterways. You remember that in 1884, the United States people were exercised very largely over this particular question, and the Senate, a committee of which came to be known as the Collum Committee, because Senator Collum was chairman. When they had assembled, they formulated several questions which they wished to place before men who understood the transportation question. They sent out this question to ninety-three persons :

In making provision for securing cheap transportation is it, or is it not, important that the government should develop and maintain a system of water routes ?

The answers to the questions, the evidence before the committee embody the views of ninety men, most of whom were eminent in railway and transportation circles. Seventy-three out of the ninety gave it as their opinion that a national system of water communication is the most certain and effective method of regulating railway rates and securing to the people the advantages of cheap transportation. That they put in their report, in which I find the following :

The evidence before the committee accords with the experience of all nations in recognizing the water routes as the most efficient cheapeners and regulators of railway charges.

Their influence is not confined within the limits of the territory immediately accessible to water communication, but extends further, and controls railroad rates in such remote and interior points as have competing lines reaching means of transport by water.

Competition between railways sooner or later leads to combination or consolidation, but neither can prevail to secure unreasonable rates in the face of direct competition with free natural or artificial water routes.

The conclusion of the commission, therefore, that natural or artificial channels of communication by water, when favourably located—

Bear in mind 'favourably located.' I have shown that ours is favourably located.

--adequately improved--

I have not shown that most of them are adequately improved.

—and properly maintained, afford the cheapest method of long distance transportation now known, and that these must conduce to exercise in the future as they have invariably exercised in the past—

Now, note.

--an absolutely controlling and beneficially regulating influence upon the charges made upon any and all means of transit.

These facts show conclusively that it would be a wise policy on the part of the Dominion parliament to spend large sums of money to put ours in the most efficient and proper condition. The question arises, is our waterway in that condition? It is far from it. We need our canals fourteen feet deep and with the necessary locks between them. We need terminal facilities and intermediate facilities which will meet the necessities of the traffic carried by our lakes and canals. We have our canals finished, we have our lakes, the finest in the world. Have we facilities in Montreal to handle the trade we are getting? I think I shall be able to show by the figures I shall give. Have we facilities in Port Colborne to handle the traffic that we are going to get there? We have no protecting pier to protect the ships when they come into the harbour; we have no wharfs, docks or other facilities. And would you, in the face of these conditions, expect to get the trade which now goes to Buffalo? Let us be reasonable. But if we do expect to get it, is it not wise on the part of the government to put their hands in the public exchequer and spend a million or five million dollars if it is necessary. We have spent about \$80,000,000 on our canals, and our canals are not worth one-half the amount they would be if we had proper terminal facilities. If we do not put these carrying facilities in perfect order, we might as well quit, we might as well take down our sign and try to do something else. It is said that all this costs money. Every good thing costs money. I have discussed this matter before the farmers, and I have pointed out that, if there is anything coming to them of an advantageous character, it must come through the improvement of our facilities to handle their products, and that it would be better for them to spend the necessary sums than to find this competition too much for us. Now, the port of Buffalo has no less than twenty-one elevators, with a capacity of 20,000,000 bushels. They will elevate the wheat for the small sum of one-eighth cent per bushel; they elevate wheat at the rate of 1,100 bushels a minute.

I will tell you later how rapidly they elevate wheat in the city of Montreal. Only two years ago they loaded the steamship *Superior City*, in Chicago, with 266,500 bushels of wheat in the short space of seven hours, or over 38,000 bushels every hour. Now, that was facility. People exporting their wheat knew they could have it handled with rapidity, and the consequence was that a great deal goes there. But they do better than that in Duluth. They loaded a ship there last year with 185,000 bushels in three hours, and another with 195,000 bushels in 153 minutes, or over 1,200 bushels per minute.

That is the kind of work that we want. We want to handle our freight rapidly, and when we handle it rapidly we handle it cheaply. You will find that freight goes in the line of cheapness, other things being at all equal. Even the shadow of a cent in favour of one route over another will send the trade that way, providing other things are equal.

Now, I want to show you that we are not prepared to meet the trade that we now have in the city of Montreal. Take, for instance, the way we handle cattle in the city of Montreal. Cattle are taken down there, say, on the Canadian Pacific Railway. They land down at Hochelaga, they are fed and watered, and are cared for all right enough. Then, after that is over they are run up opposite the ship that is waiting for them. The railway does not run along the edge of the dock, but about 150 yards back. The cattle are rushed down steep gangways from the doors of the cars to the wharfs. Then they are urged across the wharfs and then through the sheds and finally up steep gangways on to the ship. The result to the cattle is that they are excited, heated and bruised, and in this condition they commence the voyage. Cattle exporters say that they lose from \$2 to \$5 in value on every animal on account of the way in which they are handled. Now, take \$3 as the average, as they export about 100,000 cattle, there is a loss of \$300,000, the interest on 10 millions of money. It would have paid us to borrow ten millions if necessary, and to expend that on shipping facilities, and the interest would be saved in the export of cattle alone. What is the consequence? A large number of our cattle go to Boston. How do they do there? They run the cars with the cattle right down to the middle of the shed, right on the very edge of the dock. Then they land them, not on steep gangways, but on level gangways from the door of the car on to the ship, and they go on in perfect condition. The result is that Boston is the greatest cattle shipping port in America, and more than one-third of all the cattle going to England goes from the port of Boston; and our trade goes to Boston instead of remaining in the city of Montreal as it should remain.

Then take the way they handle lumber. There are no piling docks in the port of Montreal at all, and when a ship is expected to land to-morrow, or the day after, the agent of the shipping company sends away up the line that the ship is coming in. The barges come down the river loaded with lumber, and when the barges get there in many cases the ship is delayed one day, two days, three days, and because there is no piling place, the barge has to lie there holding its lumber. Then when the ship goes they charge the ship owner \$10 a day for demurrage, and this in the

end all comes out of the lumber, it finds its way back finally to the producer of the lumber. In my opinion there should be large piling docks at Montreal, so that when barges come down they could unload and go back again.

Now, there are some other points that I want to bring before you even more astonishing. I want to deal pretty closely with Montreal, because I think it should be considered by the government as a national harbour. I think that would be better policy even than the Comers Syndicate. I think the government should take it over and make improvements upon it upon some national plan; and if they could not carry out that plan in one or two years, let them proceed in such a manner that in the end the scheme would be completed.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
We are beginning now.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I may state here that the government has never spent a dollar on the port of Montreal. Not many people know that. It is true the government loaned about three million dollars to the Harbour Commissioners, for which the Commissioners pay interest at 3 per cent, and they collect that 3 per cent, and all the other expenses of the port from the shippers. The charges for elevating grain in the port of Montreal are so much higher than the charges in Boston, New York and other places, that the result is that our trade is diverted, as I said before, along the cheaper lines. The Canadian Pacific Railway two years ago had 26 cars loaded with lumber on the sidings in Montreal, without having a ship to place that lumber upon. Those 26 cars were held there for several days before the ship arrived, and they charged demurrage of \$2 a car per day; or in other words \$52 a day was charged on account of there being no piling place so as to allow the cars to unload and return to other work. Then again we have not sufficient warehouses there. When a ship comes in from foreign countries it wants to unload, but there are no warehouses, or not sufficiently large to contain the merchandise they have on board. A large portion of the merchandise sometimes has to be piled upon the wharfs outside, and it has been known that a large proportion of those goods have been destroyed by wet weather. True, they cover the goods in many cases with tarpaulins, but still tinware, and wire, and cement, and such articles as those have been known to be destroyed to a large extent. The result is that parties who used to import from the old country these particular articles by way of Montreal, have ceased to do so; and by that means we are losing the trade that we should command.

There is another point. Let me give you a few figures here which I have gone to

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

considerable trouble to verify. In the season of 1897, on October 10, there were 447 cars tied up in the port of Montreal for want of accommodation to unload. On November 2, 1897, there were 437 cars tied up that had no accommodation; on November 9, there were 451 cars; on November 10, there were 438 cars that could not be unloaded on account of want of accommodation; on November 15, there were 427 cars, or an average in those two months of 461 cars standing loaded on the sidings all the way from the port of Montreal up as far as Point St. Charles, and even farther than that, standing there for days without accommodation to take off their loads. If they were charged demurrage it would be \$2 a day, or about \$1,000 a day of a waste on account of want of accommodation for this trade that was going to Montreal. Let me give you another point. Taking the coal season through—

Mr. REID. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question? Has he any idea how many barges or vessels were lying at the same time in Montreal waiting for ocean vessels, besides the cars that were waiting? I would ask the hon. gentleman if he has the number of cars. I know, for a fact, that at the same time there were a great many barges laden with grain from Kingston and Prescott and vessels direct.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I have not the number of vessels or barges, but there was a large number of barges and vessels. Some wheat goes down in the barges, and I am sorry to say they were in the same position as the cars bringing wheat and other produce from the west.

Mr. REID. The result was that these vessels were delayed at Prescott and Kingston because the barges could not be returned to get the grain.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). There were cars at every siding, at St. Charles, Prescott, Brockville and elsewhere, because there was no room on the sidings at Montreal to hold the cars, because the sidings there were filled with cars waiting for accommodation. During the season of 1898, cars were tied up to the following extent:

Month.	Cars.
May 17	331
May 18	349
May 30	358
June 14	385
June 15	223

Or an average during these months of 315 cars tied up during these months. In May and June of 1898, note this, the Grand Trunk had more than 1,000 cars upon the tracks waiting accommodation, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, during that time, had over 500 cars. The statement I have given you, Mr. Speaker, was of the number

of cars loaded with merchandise waiting for accommodation. Here is a statement of the number of cars loaded with wheat waiting to have their wheat elevated in the elevators so that they might go back again :

Month.	Cars.
May 12, 1898	439
May 18	314
May 30	532
June 15	446
*June 17	181
||June 17	427

*At Point St. Charles.

||At elevators.

Filled to their utmost capacity waiting to have accommodation at the elevators. Surely if the people of this country, from the far west to the far east, understood this condition they would be willing to put their hands in their pockets and to pay a sufficient sum to put the port of Montreal in proper shape. My hon. friend the Minister of Public Works stated that he was sorry that the Grand Trunk were trying to build up Portland. The Grand Trunk are simply doing what he and I would. When they cannot get accommodation at Montreal they will certainly run through to Portland. Two years ago, the Grand Trunk Railway asked the Hamburg-American Steamboat Company to send a large steamer into Portland so that they might ship grain upon her. At first the company did not wish to send a large steamer into so small a port, but, finally, they were persuaded to send the steamer *Alesia* into Portland. The steamer *Alesia* came into that small port, unloaded her large cargo and loaded 335,000 bushels of wheat and ten carloads of merchandise, and from the hour she came in to the hour she went out there was an interval of only three days. Need you wonder that the Grand Trunk would seek the place where they can handle their grain with despatch? I have given you the time that it took to load vessels at Duluth, Chicago and Portland. The best work they ever did in the port of Montreal was to load the *Montcalm* with 100,000 bushels of wheat in twenty-six hours.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
With floating elevators.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). With the same kind of elevators that they had twenty-five years ago, enabling them to load at the rate of 4,000 bushels an hour, and I have shown that they can load at the rate of 1,200 bushels a minute in other places. Do we suppose that we can compete at the port of Montreal with other ports when our equipment is of such a character? Let us see what the Grand Trunk say? They say: We have to go to Portland with our flour because we cannot handle it at the port of Montreal, and the reason is this. They say that their railway line is several hundred yards back from the docks, that they have to employ cartage to load their flour, and

that it costs them from \$2 to \$5 a car to get it on the steamboat, whereas, when they run down to the city of Portland the cars run right along the edge of the dock, and the flour is put into the vessel without cartage at all. Need you wonder that business men look to their own interests rather than to the interest of the country, and that they leave Montreal to build up business in a foreign country? I am astonished that the late government did not look into this matter. Our friends are looking into it, they are seeking to improve these conditions as rapidly as they can, and I am perfectly satisfied that the hon. gentleman who is at the head of the Public Works Department and the government who stand behind him will spend millions, shall I say?—yes, if it is necessary, upon the port of Montreal for the purpose of putting it in a proper state. Then, instead of 273,000,000 bushels going via Buffalo, we will have large ships coming down, turing into the port of Port Colborne, and then coming down through the lakes and canals and being unloaded with dispatch and energy at the port of Montreal, handling the produce in the way in which it should be handled. They seem to be different from us on the other side of the line. The federal government of the United States regard New York largely as a federal port, because at this port, the trade of the west converges, and they have given towards the construction of that port over \$9,000,000. The federal government of the United States regard Boston as a federal port, and they have contributed towards its construction over \$2,600,000. They regard Galveston in the south as a federal port, and they have assisted that port to the extent of \$4,368,000. They regard Mobile, Savannah, and other ports as federal ports, and they have subsidized them very largely in order to help them to establish proper ports to handle the business that comes to them. The House must remember that even in Liverpool, in the old country, they have spent nearly a million a year for one hundred years in the improvement of their port. What is the result? Liverpool, one hundred years ago, had a tonnage of 450,000 tons of trade in her port, and to-day she has over 11,000,000 tons of trade, largely owing to the proper equipment of this great harbour. I might point out what they are doing in Manchester, and a hundred and one other places where large sums of money are being spent. If we are wise, and I think we are, I think the policy foreshadowed by the government is the proper policy for us to pursue, to spend \$5,000,000, if necessary, in the port of Montreal, yes, \$10,000,000, if necessary, to put it in a proper condition, so that we can handle the trade, so that shippers will know that we can handle it as cheaply as in New York, and if we provide elevators with which to handle wheat expeditiously we can compete, and more than compete with any other route in the world.

There is one thing more that I wish to say and then I will be done. I want to urge upon the government that they should pay particular attention to this route first, and if they have money, as I suppose they have—and I know the country is willing to spend it in such a good purpose—all the upper ports should be put in good order at once.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Hear, hear.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). They should be deepened to 18 or 20 feet. I believe that the upper ports should be deeper than the ports on Lake Ontario, because steamers of the larger class ply upon the upper lakes and cannot come to the lower lakes on account of our canals. Therefore, all the ports, Owen Sound, Collingwood, Meaford, Midland, Parry Sound, and we must not forget Goderich.

Mr. McCARTHY. And Collingwood.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I said Collingwood, I would not forget that. All these ports should be deepened. Then there is the French River project if we have the money.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). As to the building of the Georgian Bay Canal that is a matter for the future. A great deal can be said in its favour, but the amount of money required for the project is almost beyond our grasp at the present time. Whatever the future may bring, we should now put our existing waterways in the best possible state of efficiency. That being done we can rest assured that we can more than compete with any foreign country. Our own ships, our own railways, our own men will be employed, and the country will prosper. When I go before the farmers and tell them that we may spend six or seven millions for this purpose, they recognize that it is in their interests that we should do so; and they say: We have no objection to the expenditure so long as it is for fruitful public works from which the whole country would derive benefit. Therefore, the government need not be afraid of spending money to put our waterways in a proper condition.

Mr. SPROULE moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies) moved the adjournment of the House.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. What business will be taken up to-morrow?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. We will resume the debate on the motion with reference to the expenses of the contingents.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11.10 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, February 23, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

THE DOMINION ELECTIONS ACT.

Mr. PUTTEE moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 49) to amend the Dominion Elections Act. He said: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this Bill is to amend the Dominion Elections Act in several particulars. In the first place, it seeks to amend that clause of the Act specifying the time at which the poll shall be opened and closed on election day. At the present time the law provides that the poll shall be opened at nine o'clock in the forenoon and closed at five o'clock in the afternoon. It does not state by whose clock it should be done. It is left to the returning officers, and sometimes the returning officers construe the Act as providing for the application of solar time, with the result that we have some polls opened at twenty-eight minutes past nine in the morning and closed at twenty-eight minutes past five o'clock in the afternoon, or other fractions of the hour. The amendment seeks to insert the words 'standard time' in the Act so as to do away with the present absurdity. The Bill further seeks to extend the time that the poll shall remain opened until eight o'clock in the evening in electoral districts, being part of, or containing any city of upwards of 10,000 inhabitants. This is a very important matter, and it is absolutely necessary in order to secure a full expression of the popular will that the poll shall be opened until eight o'clock in the evening. It is still unfortunately true that a great many of our working people have to work ten hours a day, which means that they are twelve hours away from their homes, from half-past six in the morning until half-past six in the evening. As the whole aim of our Election Act is to get the opinion of the people, I believe that this amendment will increase the opportunity and insure the recording of popular opinion. The Bill further seeks to abolish the present ballot, known as the Durocher ballot, as it is contained in the Act here. In this connection, I wish to refute some statements which have been made by a certain portion of the press reflecting on the intelligence of the electorate of Winnipeg because, in the recent election in that city, as many as 900 ballots were improperly marked.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to suggest to the hon. member (Mr. Puttee) that it might be well if he would come down a little further, as he is not very distinctly heard here.

Mr. PUTTEE. If these newspapers had taken the trouble to ascertain the facts and reasons for these improperly marked ballots, I think they would not have offered this gratuitous insult to the citizens of Winnipeg. The ballot, as provided for in the Act, is an imperfect one, and it must be remembered that in the provincial elections six weeks previously, a simple ballot was used. In the Dominion election, when the people entered the polling booth, they were confronted with a strange ballot, with a counterfoil on one side, and what looked like a counterfoil on the other, and not being used to this particular form of ballot, to make sure that their intention in voting would not be misunderstood, they put the cross near the name of the candidate that they desired to vote for, a very sensible thing, too, I believe. The amendment is to abolish this ballot paper, and to replace it by a simple ballot with no vertical lines marking off the voting space. I admit that the ballot paper which is proposed has one defect; it is not fire-proof. The ballot paper, as it is now provided for in the law, is a very defective thing. These black grounds are what printers call blocks, and these blocks are not supplied by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, and have to be obtained by returning officers in the different constituencies, and exact copies are not often obtained. There are no instructions given to the printer in regard to the copying of the matter, and the names of candidates can be put far to the left, leaving a large white space in front of the disc. I understand that it is good policy to adopt a good ballot and educate the people up to it. But we should adopt a good ballot first. I do not think there is any reason why we should try to educate the people up to such a ballot as the one which is now provided for in the Act. The Bill further proposes to abolish that clause of the statute which makes it necessary for a deposit of \$200 to be made by candidates on nomination day.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

PACIFIC CABLE—INQUIRY FOR PAPERS.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask the government if the papers in connection with the Pacific cable, which the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) said would soon be ready for presentation to the House, have been copied and are ready to be presented, or, if not, when they will probably be ready?

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The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I could not give a precise answer to the hon. member (Mr. Casey), but these papers are being copied. Probably they will be here at the next sitting.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—INSURANCE OF CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw the attention of the House for a moment to a subject which is now of very considerable importance. The *Ottawa Free Press* of yesterday, in its editorial column, says:

No more opportune moment than the present can arise for the consideration of the very important question of the insurance to be placed on the lives and limbs of the Canadians now in Africa and proceeding there. Much has been said of the wonderful scheme of Sir Charles Tupper's 'friend,' and some have ventured the opinion that the proposition was only part of an advertising dodge, on a par with the stolen jewels of the actress, and kindred sensations. But the public knows nothing of the conditions connected with the arrangement, assuming it to be bona fide.

I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, that the *Free Press* does not pay a compliment to its own journalistic enterprise and intelligence when it makes a statement of that kind. They ought to know, if they do not, that there was published a correspondence between myself and the right hon. the Prime Minister, dated Montreal, October 23, 1899, and which correspondence was as follows:

Montreal, October 23, 1899.

Dear Sir Wilfrid Laurier:--

Not having received any intimation of intended acceptance of the offer to insure the lives and limbs of the Canadian contingent, as per my letter of the 14th inst., delivered to you, and seeing by the press to-day that the government is not disposed to incur the risk, on the ground that it has no parliamentary vote for the purpose, I beg to advise you that I have personally arranged on behalf of a friend, for the insurance up to the limit of one million dollars, being an insurance of one thousand dollars on each man, of all ranks, in case of being killed in battle, or having lost both feet, or both hands, or both eyes, and five hundred dollars for the loss of one hand, or one foot, or one eye.

I am told many of the men are not in circumstances to effect this insurance themselves, while many leave behind relatives to some extent dependent upon them.

The insurance is with the Ocean Accident and Guarantee Company, of London, Eng., whose capital is \$10,500,000.

As the time is very short before the date fixed for embarkation of the troops, I have to ask the government to furnish immediately to the company the names and home addresses of the officers and men of which the contingent is composed, that they may be recorded in the company's books.

All arrangements are completed as per inclosed certificate from the company.

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES TUPPER.

That inclosed certificate is the certificate that was published on the 23rd of October, and is as follows :

Montreal, October 23, 1899.

To the officers and men of the Canadian contingent for the Transvaal:

As a result of negotiations for some time pending with this company, we have this day concluded an arrangement with Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., whereby he effects insurance to a limit of one million dollars upon the men of all ranks in the Canadian contingent going to Africa. To each officer and to each man, or to their heirs, the sum of one thousand dollars is to be paid by this company upon receiving satisfactory proof of death while engaged with the enemy in Africa, or death within thirty days of engagement, or for loss of both feet, or both hands, or both eyes. In case of loss of one hand, or one foot, or one eye, five hundred dollars will be paid.

It is desired, as far as practicable, before embarkation, that the names and home addresses of the officers and men be forwarded to the office of this company, 185 St. James Street, Montreal, by letter or wire, that they may be recorded in the company's books.

The Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation, Limited.

ROLLAND, LYMAN & BURNETT,
General Managers.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that this official communication which was made by the representatives of the Ocean Accident and Insurance Company to all the members of the contingent, is the best evidence that the transaction was a bona fide transaction and I entertain no doubt that to the heirs of the twenty unfortunate Canadian soldiers who fell in battle, the \$1,000 each will be promptly paid, and the other portions of the contract will be faithfully carried out with those who are wounded. For fear that some delay might be occasioned by the absence of the right hon. the Prime Minister, I sent a copy of my letter to the Minister of Militia, and I believe he promptly furnished the company with the names of the volunteers, and the company communicated this formal statement to every member of the contingent as to the fact of that insurance having been effected.

Mr. INGRAM. That would not include those who died of natural causes?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No, this is an accident insurance company, and not a life insurance company.

DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish to ask when the report of the Department of Trade and Commerce and the Trade and Navigation Returns will be brought down? They are important and we are waiting for them.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). I quite recognize that. My department has forwarded the reports to the printer, quite a considerable time ago, and I have been worrying him to get them out. I hope in a few days to be able to lay them on the Table.

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) is not able to do that in that time, would he get the Minister of Public Works at it.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I think the Secretary of State has more to do with it than the Minister of Public Works.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, nothing is too good for Tarte.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. My hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) is not here to answer for himself; he generally is very well able to do that.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). A similar inquiry was made about the railway portion of the Auditor General's report.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding: 'That the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider certain proposed resolutions to provide for the payment of the expenditure incurred, or to be incurred, in sending contingents of Canadian volunteers to South Africa.'

Mr. O. DESMARAIS (St. James, Montreal). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, as owing to my imperfect knowledge of the English language, I am precluded from expressing my views with sufficient correctness—in the language of the majority of this House, I abstain, as a rule, from taking part in the debates, considering also that I have frequent opportunities of communicating my views, on public questions to my constituents and my fellow-countrymen of the province of Quebec. But upon certain important occasions, like this, I think it proper, at the risk of taxing the forbearance of the hon. members of this House who do not understand French, to exercise my right of using my mother tongue, chiefly when speaking on so important a matter as the one now under consideration. A few months ago when the storm which had long been brewing, burst forth over our heads, I happened, at that time, to be represented as a very dangerous man, and they even went to the length of threatening to expel me from the British possessions. I think it now my duty to give those hon. gentlemen who do

not reside in the province of Quebec, and are not well informed as to what transpires in that province, a few words of explanation.

For some time past, rumours of war had been floating in the air, in connection with the differences then pending between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic; but nobody thought that there was any serious danger threatening, and no one fancied that a mere handful of farmers would dare take up arms and face the British lion on the battle-field. However, from some British colonies there came offers of assistance to the motherland, in the event of war breaking out. Such offers were, no doubt, a praiseworthy expression of the feelings of those colonies towards the mother country; still nobody at the time thought that there was any necessity for making such offers, which were merely looked upon as an expression of sympathy.

But all of a sudden certain newspapers in the country, and chiefly the *Montreal Star*, started a movement in favour of sending a contingent of Canadian volunteers to the Transvaal, in order to take part in the impending war.

When the *Montreal Star* started that agitation, matters had not yet assumed the threatening character they took later on. On the 3rd October, the *Star* published despatches from London, upbraiding the British government for their inaction.

Now, Sir, if the Imperial authorities whose duty it was to look after the interests of the empire, thought it proper at that time to remain inactive, no wonder that our cabinet ministers who had nothing to do with British interests, did not think it their duty to take action in the matter.

From the way the question was treated by the *Star*, many came to the conclusion that that agitation was merely a political move, and not at all the outcome of such a respectable feeling as was later on given expression to. Many thought that by so doing, the *Star* was making political capital, and that it was improving the occasion, by appealing to popular prejudices, in order to embarrass the government, and create an impression in the country against the people in the province of Quebec who have French blood in their veins.

As all the hon. gentlemen know, Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies, declared that in the event of things coming to the worst, and if they had to resort to the arbitrament of war, in order to settle the differences between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic, it would take only 40,000 men and a campaign of a few weeks' duration to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

One need not go back to the lessons of history to learn that whenever Great Britain was engaged in a little war, she never asked the assistance of her colonies to main-

tain the supremacy of the British flag. Great Britain, Sir, ever felt equal to any emergency, and was ever fully able to fight, unaided, and with glory to herself, her own battles.

As I said, we were then under the impression that it was only a political move. People might be led into believing that an attempt was being made to drag us into Imperial federation. There was certainly room for a difference of opinion as to the opportunity of such a measure, and as to whether it was fair to bring about that contemplated change in our constitution without our being consulted on the matter. Apart from the merits of the question, I say that our right to take advantage of the privileges and liberties guaranteed to us by the constitution cannot be called in question. For my part, for over twenty-six years that I have taken part in political struggles, I never hesitated to express my views above board, irrespective of consequences. Previously, again and again I had opposed Imperial federation, a scheme for which the Conservative party is responsible, as it was that party which first took action upon it. That such is the case, I have shown from the writings and speeches of the Conservative leaders. And I then thought it my duty—and I have not changed my opinion on that point—to oppose such a policy as, in my opinion, would be inimical to the best interests of the country.

But, will say the hon. gentlemen: 'This is not a movement intended to foster Imperial federation or to bring about, in a more or less remote future, such a political evolution. I dream of other destinies for my country. I cherish the hope that sooner or later, it will be given to Canada to take rank in the concert of nations. Never, in the past, did I hold the view, nor do I believe now, that our manifest destiny is to be engulfed in Imperial federation such as understood nowadays.

At that time, the war did not seem to be such as to call for outside assistance. The province of Quebec and every voter in the country, were perfectly right in not allowing themselves to be carried away in that direction.

President Kruger's ultimatum appeared on October 10, in the *Montreal press*. It occurred to no one, at that time, to institute a comparison between the belligerent nations as to their respective forces.

On October 11, in the division which I have the honour of representing here, a political meeting was held, under the auspices of a club, in which several politicians were invited to participate. I availed myself of the opportunity to expose my views on the campaign started by the *Montreal Star*, and on the attempts made to carry us away into a movement which I disapproved of. The speech which I delivered at that meeting, was not correctly reported. I said

I was opposed to Canada being compelled to participate in the wars of the empire, such as interpreted at the time.

In order well to understand the purport of my speech, it is necessary to refer to what transpired previously and to what transpired later on.

I was reported to have said that 'the Laurier government would be called to a very strict account by the electorate, should they approve of such a scheme as the sending of a Canadian contingent to the Transvaal, and that, for my part, I would rise in my place, in the House of Commons, in my quality of representative of the St. James division, in order to denounce such a policy, were it proposed to parliament to pass and sanction the same.'

Here is, in a nutshell, what I said: that I was opposed to Imperial federation, and that, were the sending of a contingent of our Canadian militia to be construed into an advocacy of that scheme, I would oppose it; and further, if such a policy were adopted as an evidence of our desire to draw closer the ties between the colonies and the mother country, from a political and constitutional standpoint I would also oppose it. I also declared that, should a proposition involving the endorsement of such a policy, be brought down in parliament, I would rise in my seat and vote against it.

I have not changed my mind, and, should it be clearly stated here that the sending of the contingents is tantamount to an expression of opinion in favour of a political transformation, resulting in Imperial federation, I say without hesitation that, in spite of all the admiration and respect I entertain for the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches, I would vote against the proposition now before the House.

But, owing to circumstances which I shall refer to later on, I have to consider the question from another standpoint, and therein my views coincide with those of some other hon. gentlemen on this side of the House and of some journalists.

Before I give my authorities to show that those views are shared in by a number of men belonging to both political parties throughout the province of Quebec, I may say at once that our opponents have ever tried, whenever they had to deal with the statements either of Liberals or of French Canadians, to deny them the right of having an opinion on the matter and giving expression to the same. As a matter of fact, a certain class of leading politicians in this country never miss an opportunity of denouncing as disloyal those who give expression to such views.

That was exactly what happened under the circumstances I refer to. The very next day after I had made the statement in question before my constituents, the *Star* published an article wherein my name was coupled with that of the Hon. Mr. Tarte,

Mr. DESMARAIS.

who, they said, had expressed similar views in opposition to the contemplated expedition; and here is what it said:

They should be bundled out of any British possession.

And again:

Those two gentlemen plainly say that they do not want to be British citizens.

Such was the construction put upon the statement I had made.

So, Sir, because I had happened to say that I was opposed to Imperial federation, and that, if that scheme were carried out, I should feel it my duty to condemn it, I was to be expelled from Canada!

Now, subsequent events showed that had those gentlemen resorted to such extreme measures against me, they would have been constrained to use the same severity towards several friends of mine in the province of Quebec, who repeatedly made similar statements, as I will show later on.

But why, I ask, these repeated appeals to our loyalty? Wherefore should we ever be looked upon as men anxious to act illegally and against the constitution? Is there anything in the history of this country that warrants such a claim under the circumstances?

If you refer to the records of the past, Sir, you will find out in what position we are placed and that nothing can be changed in it. Facts are stubborn, they say, and they do not warrant the charges levelled at us.

Need I recall here, Sir, the fact that the first inhabitants of this country were children of old Armorica, of old France, who came over here, to settle and develop this continent. After long-protracted struggles on various battle-fields, they at last succumbed, and the flag adorned with the fleur-de-lis, which had been planted alongside the cross on the heights of Stadacona as a first token of civilization in the wilds of Canada was hauled down to be replaced by the Union Jack, and had to disappear from those vast regions, still moist with the blood of so many martyrs and heroes, that France had sent over here. I do not wish to enter into details, but to draw attention to certain facts and certain acts which may explain the position we occupy in Canada. After the conquest, a large number of the leading men in the colony went back to France. A treaty was entered into between Great Britain and France. Some people are of opinion that this treaty amounts to little or nothing, but all the same, it was passed. The Frenchmen in Canada were guaranteed the free exercise of certain rights and of the French language, and they were allowed to preserve their laws and customs. Under that treaty, they were allowed to remain French, while being British subjects.

As I just said, a large majority of the leading Frenchmen of the colony chose to

go back to France. There was left but a small group of Frenchmen who retired on their farms and became tillers of the soil. They have ever remained loyal to the British Crown. Those Frenchmen, as British subjects, always respected their new allegiance.

But, Sir, scarcely had the French flag been hauled down from the heights of Quebec, and scarcely had the ship which carried away the leaders of the colony disappeared below the horizon, when a revolution broke out among the British colonists of the neighbouring country. Had the French inhabitants of Quebec been treated with justice at least, from the outset, under British rule in Canada? I say no, Sir; and still, let us see how they acted under the circumstances.

The British inhabitants of the American colonies rose up in arms, as I said, against British rule and appealed to the French in Canada. The latter, who had perhaps still preserved, hidden from the view of the conquerors, the French flag adorned with fleur-de-lis, were asked by the British colonists to assist in shaking off the yoke of England. The French Canadians turned a deaf ear to those appeals. They had sworn fidelity to England, and they refused to shake off their allegiance. Their loyalty was put to the test on various battle-fields, and they ever stood by the flag of Great Britain.

A few years later, political organization was given to Canada and the British statesmen, who were then at the head of affairs, thought it proper to divide the province into two distinct sections. And why so? Was it with a view to drowning opposition to the British rule on the part of the French colonists? No, Sir. The celebrated Pitt, when introducing in the British Parliament the Bill respecting the new constitution, said:

Dividing the province, he considered to be the most likely means to effect this purpose, since by so doing, the French subjects would be sensible that the British government had no intention of forcing the English laws upon them, and therefore, they would with more facility, look at the operation and effect of these laws, compared with the operation and effect of their own, and probably in time adopt them from conviction. Experience would teach them that the English laws were the best; and he admitted that the Canadians ought to be governed to their satisfaction.

On the other hand, another great British statesman, Fox, said:

By dividing the province into two parts, he conceived the existing causes of controversy would be removed; and, as far as circumstances would admit, the inhabitants would have all the benefits of the British constitution. In the Lower Canada, as the residents would be chiefly Canadians, their assembly, &c., would be adapted to their habits and prejudices. The Upper Canada being almost entirely peopled by emigrants from Great Britain or from America, the Protestant religion would be the establishment and they

would have the benefit of the English tenure law.

Thus it was that the British government sanctioned the treaty passed between France and Great Britain, under the shape of a constitution granted to Canada. British statesmen, like Pitt and Fox, as well as all those politicians who know how to soar above prejudices, have ever endeavoured to turn to the best account those constitutional provisions.

When they gave them that constitution, the British authorities told them implicitly: 'We give you such a position as will enable you to preserve everything that you hold dear and sacred, and you shall form a separate nationality, while remaining British subjects.'

This goes to show how truly great and broad-minded were the statesmen, who, constitutionally made Great Britain what she is to-day, an empire we are proud to belong to; an empire, I say, composed of men of different races who know how to respect the British flag, and why? Because the British flag symbolizes the principles and traditions of all the races that live within the empire. Such was the principle consecrated by these men; but from the very outset, some men who were displeased with the fact that Great Britain had granted liberties to a group of Frenchmen, sought to nullify the good results that were anticipated from that policy. I do not wish to go beyond certain bounds, but the records show that repeated attempts were then made to prevent the French colonists, who had become British subjects, benefiting fully from that constitution.

Later on, another change took place. It was proposed to unite the two provinces. But there had been critical times before that, and an event of some magnitude had transpired. I may be told that the French colonists rebelled against Great Britain. It would not be fair to say that they were rebels. It may rather be asserted that British subjects, exasperated by the tyranny which some men wanted to impose upon them, asked for the redress of their grievances, and went perhaps a little too far in that direction; but do you pretend to say that the men of 1837, who protested against the acts of those who then misgoverned the country, wished to shake off British connection and were disloyal to Great Britain, in the true acceptation of the word? I say no. It was against the petty tyrants who represented the metropolis in the country that these men rose up in arms, and not against the British flag. Now, Sir, were the French Canadians alone to rebel? Who was the commanding officer at St. Denis? The hon. gentlemen know that it was Nelson.

The PRIME MINISTER. (Translation.)
Hear, hear.

Mr. DESMARAIS. (Translation.) And who was the commanding officer at St. Charles? Sir, I know well those two historic battle fields, as I had the honour to represent in the Quebec legislature down to 1892 the county wherein they are inclosed. The people of those two parishes are all French Canadians; and yet, those who led them against the British troops were Englishmen.

In Upper Canada it was an Englishman, William Lyon Mackenzie, who led the movement, just as Nelson and Brown were the leaders of the movement in Lower Canada. And when peace had been restored, Great Britain recognized the fact that these people had real grievances. Although some of our fellow-countrymen died on a political scaffold, and although others were sent into exile, the British government granted self-government and a constitution to our country.

Some people object that by the very fact that the French Canadians are true to their national traditions, they are disloyal to England. Allow me, Sir, to draw your attention to the conclusion of Lord Durham's report. He says:

Indeed, throughout the whole of the North American provinces there prevails among the British population an affection for the mother country, and a preference for its institutions, which a wise and firm policy, on the part of the Imperial government, may make the foundation of a safe, honourable and enduring connection. But even this feeling may be impaired, and I must warn those in whose hands the disposal of their destinies rests, that a blind reliance on the all-enduring loyalty of our countrymen may be carried too far.

At that time, a distinction was sought to be created between the people of French origin and those of English blood, and some people were of the opinion that the latter ought to be dealt with in a generous and broad spirit, because, as was said, 'it would be a mistake to place a blind reliance on the all-enduring loyalty of these men.'

Through the new constitution which was then given to Canada, the two provinces were reunited. But the wrangles between the different elements went on as previously, and it was deemed wise, in order to obviate those difficulties, to create a new political régime. Then it was that the confederation of the British North American provinces was decided upon. Under the new régime, the differences and the troubles which had brought public affairs to a deadlock, would be obviated, while the province of Quebec, where the French Canadians were in an overwhelming majority, was greatly to benefit by the new constitution.

One need only refer to the debates on confederation to satisfy himself that such was the case. The French Canadians were invited to vote in favour of the new constitution on the ground that the province of Quebec would have the right of framing its own laws. They were told that they would have a French Canadian lieutenant-governor and

that, owing to the great privileges secured under the new régime, their dearest institutions would be respected, as it was out of the question to do away with the French Canadians, as a race and as a separate nationality in that great confederation of the British North American provinces. From a careful perusal of the debates on confederation, such is the spirit by which the framers of the constitution seem to have been actuated. Such was the standpoint from which the statesmen who were then at the head of affairs, debated the question; and, in order to emphasize that point, I need only refer to one of the speeches then delivered by one of the most gifted speakers who were ever heard in Canada, the Hon. D'Arcy McGee.

At page 140 of the Debates, reference is made to the position of the different races in Canada; but he first states, page 130, that England had warned us, by several matters of fact, that the colonies had entered upon a new era of existence, and that we should provide for our own defence.

But let us hear what that great orator says about the attachment of our fellow-countrymen to our traditions:

In the eyes of the law, we admit no disparity between natives and immigrants in this country; but it is to be considered that, where men are born in the presence of the graves of their fathers, for even a few generations, the influence of that fact is great in enhancing their attachment to that soil. I admit, for my part, as an immigrant, of no divided allegiance to Canada and her interests; but it would be untrue and paltry to deny a divided affection between the old country and the new. Kept within just bounds, such an affection is reasonable, is right, and creditable to those who cherish it.

And referring further to the Canadians, he said:

'They can nearly all, of every origin, use that proud phrase when they look daily from their doors: "This is my own, my native land."'

For us, Canada is the land of our birth; it is our fatherland; but I quite readily understand that those who come from the old countries of Europe do not share in that feeling. The Britisher who comes over here enjoys in their fulness the rights pertaining to British subjects, but as Mr. McGee said, his affection is divided between the old country and the new. As for us, Canadians, it is quite different. After several generations here, where is our fatherland? We are sometimes upbraided with our attachment to our traditions, and with our worship of the past. But, for us, is not Canada our fatherland? Is France our mother country? No, she is the country we never forget, the home of our ancestors, and we would be renegade were we to blot out from our hearts those recollections. Is it to be inferred therefrom that we wish to become again French subjects, from a political and constitutional standpoint? Certainly not.

We do not aspire after such a position, however honourable it may be. We wish to remain British subjects. We are happy for the present ; but all we ask is to be allowed to cherish the hope that, some day, our country may take rank among the other nations of the world. We were born here in the presence of the graves of our fathers, and our most earnest wish is that when we join the great majority, we may be laid to rest by the side of our ancestors. Are they who come from the old countries of Europe in a similar position ? I say no.

Being given the particular position we occupy here, can it be said that we are disloyal ? Why, Sir, is not the first requirement of loyalty to aspire after the grandeur and prosperity of this country of ours, and can anything more be required of us ?

The other day, the hon. leader of this House was denounced here for having stated at Sherbrooke that he had been actuated by two different feelings in sending the contingent to South Africa. The right hon. gentleman stated that our fellow-countrymen of British birth had asked for the sending of a contingent, because their brothers were shedding their blood on the battlefields of South Africa ; while the French Canadians did so, through gratitude. I heard the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) denouncing such utterances. Perhaps the hon. gentleman does not understand such lofty sentiments ; but I think, for my part, that gratitude, a still nobler feeling than any appeal to the voice of blood ; for, while the latter sentiment is grounded upon nature itself, gratitude springs from the promptings of the human heart. That is a lofty feeling, but, unfortunately, it is little understood by those demagogues who are trying to make political capital out of it.

Under confederation, the provinces are, so to say, independent ; but, I ask, have all the pledges given to the people been redeemed ? Men of British descent have joined hands with men of French origin, and they have spared no efforts to develop the resources of the country. They have no doubt succeeded, so far as circumstances allowed them to do so. But, at any rate, nobody can deny that the efforts of our public men have been successful, in spite of all the obstacles they have had to contend with.

Now, Sir, before going any further, there is one point I wish to touch upon. Prior to confederation, there was a movement that originated in the disaffection which prevailed in the country, the same as that which existed in 1791.

There were some people who denounced at that time the British government and wished to sever the colonial tie. Who were they ? Were the promoters of that agitation men with French blood in their veins ? No, Sir, they were not French Canadian.

Who were they who signed the annexationist manifesto of 1849 ?

In passing, allow me to point out that, for the most part, the gentlemen who signed that manifesto had not, later on, to suffer too severely from their disloyal conduct towards the mother country, as a number of them received from the British Crown most flattering testimonials.

There are to be found among those who signed that manifesto the names of men in high repute in the eyes of the hon. gentlemen opposite. I find on that list the names of John Rose, John Monk, a name which I think is not altogether unknown to the member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk). I find there the name of J. J. C. Abbott, who was the leader of the hon. gentlemen now at the head of Her Majesty's loyal opposition. Later on, he was made a baronet of the empire whose allegiance he had tried to shake off, when signing the manifesto in question.

Another name to be found there is that of Sir A. T. Galt, who filled afterwards the office of High Commissioner of Canada in London, who ran his race in a most honourable way and won the respect of all. There was also Mr. James Ferrier, one of the leaders of the Conservative party, a man who has occupied a high position. I see also the name of Joseph Coursol, who sat for a number of years on the opposite side in this House. There was also Mr. N. Bétournay, a former partner of Sir George Etienne Cartier, and who was appointed by the latter to the bench in Manitoba. I find also the name of Charles Doherty, who became one of the judges of the land. Then comes an English Liberal, Edward Goff Penny, the father of my hon. friend from the St. Lawrence division of Montreal. William McDougall, and Molson are also among the signers of that manifesto, not to mention a number of other less important individuals.

Those gentlemen, I say, signed the manifesto of 1849, and yet these disloyal men were not expelled from the country, while I was threatened with such a fate. Our opponents take precious good care not to mention the names of these men, who were once the recognized leaders of the Conservative party.

Prior to confederation, what took place in Montreal ? When parliament was sitting in that city, British citizens were seen rising up in rebellion, and why ? Because intelligent, broad-minded men had proposed to indemnify the victims of the rebellion of 1837, those rebels carried things to the length of outraging the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen in the person of Lord Elgin, the governor of the province, who was even rotten-egged by that crowd of rebels. They were seen publicly urging the populace to burn down the

parliament buildings. Who were the men who thus outraged and challenged the authority of Our Gracious Sovereign? Why, Sir, I see among them the names of one John A. Macdonald, who was subsequently known as Sir John A. Macdonald.

Was not such a movement an act of disloyalty, an act of rebellion against the British Crown? Did the hon. gentlemen opposite ever openly denounce such sanglant outrages to the British Crown? No, Sir, and yet such conduct on the part of Sir John A. Macdonald was no bar, later on, to his preferment to the highest honours in the gift of the Crown, as, later on, he was made prime minister and the revered leader of the Conservative party, while his Sovereign bestowed on him very high titles.

It will thus be seen, Sir, that deeds of disloyalty are no bar to honours. Shall it then be said that we are the only ones who are to be denied the right of voicing our feelings—I do not mean disloyal feelings—but giving expression to the hope we cherish of other destinies for this beloved country of ours?

To come back to confederation, without wishing to enter into any tedious details, what did they tell the people, to induce them to accept and vote for confederation? They told the people that the time had come for us to bind together the different provinces, to centralize the scattered elements of our population, if we wished to form a great nation, an independent country. Such is the burden of all the speeches recorded in the debates on confederation. When the Militia Bill was brought down, it was stated that Great Britain had intimated her intention to withdraw her troops from Canada, and that we should prepare to protect our own country. After the Confederation Act was passed, they brought down the Militia Bill. And wherefore did that Bill provide for the organization of a Canadian militia? Why, just to protect our own territory.

It was said :

Loyal subjects have a right to expect as full a measure of protection as possible, when they have to defend their country.

And throughout that speech of Sir George E. Cartier there is not a single line which hints at Canada ever having, in the future, to take part in the wars of the empire; quite the contrary. Let us hear what Sir George E. Cartier said in the same speech :

Some hon. gentleman had stated that the best fortifications Her Majesty could have for the defence of this Dominion, were to be found in the loyalty and in the hearts of its inhabitants. He admitted this furnished a most essential defence, but they were not sufficient. The Imperial government had always declared that the whole resources of the empire were pledged to the defence of Canada, but that, at the same time, Canada must do something for herself.

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Nothing else was provided for in that Bill. It only aimed at the defence of the Dominion. Again and again in this House have the statements made by Sir John A. Macdonald and by Sir George Etienne Cartier on the matter been referred to; and reference was also made to the utterance of the present leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) on the same subject. Thus it happens that we have grown familiar with the idea that Canada could depend upon Great Britain assisting her in the defence of our territory, provided we co-operated with the mother country in that direction.

Now, Sir, did we, Canadians, faithfully discharge our duty? I need not go very far out of the way to find an answer to that question. It will suffice to draw the attention of the House to the speech made by the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), in which he referred to what Canada had done to co-operate in the defence of the Dominion and the empire. And, a few days ago, the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) stated, I think, that Canada had honourably discharged her duty in that regard. Here is what he said, as reported in *Hansard* :

That was the argument used in this House when we were asked to support these projects. Take, for instance, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. When the people of Canada were asked to tax themselves to an enormous extent for this work, what was the principal argument used to induce them to do so? Sir, the argument used was, that the Canadian Pacific Railway was a great continental route which would bridge the distance from one ocean to the other, and would enable English troops to go from Halifax to Vancouver in eight days. Then, we have in the Pacific cable another Imperial project which has been taken in hand by the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. Not a protest came from the Liberal benches when the Pacific cable resolutions were submitted, and that is an Imperial work. Then, again, we have the establishment, or rather what was to be the establishment of a fast line of steamers, for which this House voted an annual subsidy of \$750,000, and we were told that we should tax ourselves for this because it would lessen the distance between the mother country and Canada, and would make stronger the ties which unite us.

So, we have here the statement of the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) that what we have done, so far, in the interests of the empire, ought not to be construed into an adhesion to Imperial federation. It was to protest against this last statement that I rose in my seat. We are ready to assist in the defence of the British Empire and to do everything in our power to further that object, provided the Dominion's interests are involved. And here let me appeal to the testimony of the hon. leader of the opposition himself, who declared that Canada could not reasonably be expected to do more than she had done in the interest of the empire, through the development of our own resources.

Let us now hear what the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) has to say about Imperialism. The following is an extract from his speech, as it appeared in the Montreal paper, *Le Journal*:

That word 'Imperialism' is raised as a bug-bear in some parts of this country. Does the word imply that we will have to keep up a standing army? Does the word imply that we will have to take part in every war into which England is drawn either against the dark tribes of Africa or the yellow races of Asia? Does it imply that we must assume all these obligations and duties and have no right of control? Sir, I do not look upon it in that light, nor do I think that any man in this country who reflects will look upon it in that light either. That is not the true meaning of Imperialism as I understand it to-day. Sir, if Imperialism means that in a crisis like the present, we are called upon to defend the prestige, the influence, the integrity of the empire, surely we are all willing and ready to do our duty as British subjects, and surely nobody will be found so attached to abstract principles, so near-sighted or so weak, as to stand aloof. Surely no one will be so blind to the teachings of our own history as to refuse to do his share in this truly patriotic work. Mr. Speaker, to take the opposite view would be to array ourselves against the teachings of the history of Canada.

There is another matter I referred to at the outset, and which I think it proper to dwell upon again. We were told that we were traitors and disloyal. They have tried to mislead the public opinion in the country by saying that it was the Liberals and their organs in the province of Quebec who were bent upon raising race and creed prejudices. The French Canadians are being denounced and outraged in their feelings by the Ontario press and by many a Conservative organ. These appeals to prejudices are now the order of the day. The leader of the opposition, by way of exculpating himself, says that never in the course of his political career a single word had escaped his lips calculated to wound the feelings of his fellow-countrymen. But it is from his staff that such attacks come. Why, Sir, the other day, we were informed by a despatch that General French had reached Kimberley. Upon that occasion did any one hear Lord Roberts say: 'You know, I wash my hands of the whole affair.' No, Sir, in spite of his denials, the hon. leader of the opposition is responsible for those denunciations coming from men who sit by his side in this House. In his quality of leader of his party, he is responsible for the misconduct of his political organs.

I was very much surprised at the allusions made by some hon. gentlemen. I have already called the attention of the hon. leader of the opposition to the contradictions that crop out in his husting speeches. But, for the present, I wish to confine myself to the changes of opinion of one of the lieutenants of the hon. gentleman.

The hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) in his speech, the other day, made

a personal allusion to the right hon. leader of the House. He referred to the musket of the Prime Minister. And, when I heard him, I could not help exclaiming: How is it possible for a man like him to have so short a memory as to come here and try to rouse national and race prejudices, when his own record supplies so many opportunities of putting him to the blush. Let me then, Sir, say a word about the regrettable circumstances in connection with the Riel affair.

The hon. leader of the opposition has again and again referred to the matter. One day, on the Montreal Champ de Mars, 50,000 people had gathered, during that regrettable period, to hear the speakers who were to address the crowd anxious to hear what they had to say about the events that had just transpired. Among the speakers of the day, were to be found men who have since risen to eminence in the councils of the Conservative party. Mr. J. D. Rolland and Mr. Jeannotte presided over the meeting. Later on, the former gentleman was appointed by the Conservatives to the Quebec Legislative Council, while the other gentleman, Mr. Jeannotte, was chosen by the same party as their candidate for federal honours in the county of L'Assomption. I find in the report of that meeting letters of excuse from men who did not hesitate to voice their feelings, as follows:

We have invoked the recommendation of the jury to mercy, as part and parcel of the verdict, which our rulers should have given effect to. We have also looked upon General Middleton's invitation to the rebel chieftain and his counsel to surrender, as a pledge that he would be humanely treated. We have finally protested against capital punishment being inflicted for political offences as it is at variance with modern legislation as enforced by all civilized nations.

For these several grounds in which we all coincide, we are now able to meet upon common grounds, and to denounce with a common voice an act of wanton cruelty which our federal representatives are in honour bound to stigmatize, by turning out Sir John Macdonald's cabinet, and which will be avenged at the hands of the people at the next general elections.

Let us then, like our ancestors, discard all party ties and party differences, and let us beware of misrepresenting and perverting the meaning of so patriotic a demonstration, by making it subservient to the more or less paltry purposes of a political party, whether old or new.

Who were the gentlemen who signed that letter? That letter, Sir, was signed by no less a personage than Mr. D. Girouard, one of the leading lights of the Conservative party at that time. Now, the gentleman who was guilty of such a flagrant act of treason, at least from the present standpoint of the hon. gentlemen opposite, that gentleman, I say, was later on called to the bench, as a member of the highest tribunal of this country.

Among the signers of that letter was also to be found the name of the Hon. L. Beaubien, who was most outspoken in his denunciation of the government, on that day. That gentleman is one of the directors of *Le Journal*, the mouthpiece of the leader of the opposition in his new political campaign, and a French copy of the *Montreal Star* as it is called in the city of Montreal. That gentleman, later on, occupied a most honourable position, having been given a portfolio in the provincial cabinet. But there was another gentleman, the Hon. Alphonse Desjardins, the very same gentleman who said that Sir John A. Macdonald had entered political life under the glimmer of the fire that had destroyed the parliament buildings, and had ended it behind the Regina scaffold. Such were very emphatical expressions for a public man to use. Yet this man became, later on, a member of the short-lived administration formed by the present leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), and in which he held the portfolio of Minister of Militia.

I also see the name of the Hon. Senator Trudel, besides many others I could mention, in the same category. But I now come to the gentleman who engages my attention for the present. Here is the speech of a man by the name of J. G. H. Bergeron. Let us hear what that gentleman who now denounces in this House those who appeal to national feeling, said at that meeting :

Why do we hear to-day such formal protests rising from every part of the country ?

Why does the same feeling of indignation rise from every part of the Dominion, without any watchword having been given ?

The reason is that Canadians know how to impose silence to their political feelings, and to let their hearts and their generosity speak out.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). (Translation.) Hear ! hear !

Mr. DESMARAIS (Translation.) Alas ! that ardour very soon died away, and that generosity was also very short-lived. He goes on :

The sixty thousand Frenchmen, abandoned by Louis XV. on the shores of the St. Lawrence, had lost everything, except honour.

And that proverbial generosity which prompted them to shed their blood under the walls of Quebec in 1775 for the British flag, and that unalterable loyalty which led them to a victorious death on the banks of the Chateauguay River in 1812, those sublime qualities which we have inherited from France

—the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) never went so far in that direction, and yet he was denounced as disloyal.

. which we have inherited from France have just been heated to a glow by the unjustifiable act recently perpetrated by the Dominion government.

And that government was that of Sir John A. Macdonald. Further on, he adds :

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The Minister of Justice called out the militia. Two regiments from the province of Quebec, composed of French-speaking soldiers, the 65th and the 9th nobly responded to the call of the government and bravely hastened to the defence of the country.

And still further on :

Our regiments, the departure of which we all approved of

Now, hear this ironical outburst :

O ! loyalty ! were ordered to go back to their homes. The return trip was a triumphal march ; everywhere they were acclaimed, for everybody knew that they had well discharged their duty, and had they met Louis Riel on their way, he would have had a very short trial—for was he not a rebel ! But he was under the protection of the British flag.

Then he goes on voicing his feelings :

Forming a new party is altogether out of the question ; let us not diminish the movement we have started ; let us be great as the cause which we upheld ; let us walk hand in hand, side by side and leave it to God to give us men able to preside over our political destinies.

How could he utter such a blasphemy ! He is the very leader he speaks of !

Let our political men, irrespective of parties, lay aside their personal ambition.

That is, no doubt, what he is doing now :

but let them never forget one thing, that they must be Canadians first !

Such were the feelings expressed at that time by Mr. J. G. H. Bergeron. And I think he is the same gentleman who now denounces the leader of the government and who pretends that we are disloyal to the British Crown, when we express the hope that, in a more or less remote future our country will take rank in the concert of nations.

I forgot, a little while ago, when speaking of the position taken by the Hon. Mr. Desjardins, to bring to the attention of the House the remark made by that gentleman, in connection with another Conservative leader. When referring to the three French-speaking ministers, Mr. Desjardins had mentioned the names of Sir Hector Langevin and of the Hon. Mr. Chapleau. As to the other minister, said he, it is better that his name should not be mentioned here. And that other gentleman, I think, went on sitting on the Treasury benches, and he is still one of the leading members of the opposition. His name is Sir Adolphe Caron, member for Three Rivers.

These are the men who now talk of loyalty to the British Crown !

I said, a little while ago, that our ultra-loyal opponents were blaming us for saying that, as regards the sending of those contingents to South Africa, in defence of the British flag, our English fellow-countrymen were actuated by the voice of blood, while we, French Canadians, were obeying a proper feeling of gratitude.

The very gentleman who now brings up that charge against us, did he not, upon one occasion, make on the floor of this House a far more reprehensible statement? Let us refer to the debates on the Home Rule question, and what do we find? At the very moment when Mr. Gladstone, the great English Liberal leader, seemed disposed to grant to Ireland a certain amount of freedom, who was the man who rose from his seat in this House to protest against that policy? That man was the hon. member for West York (Mr. Clarke Wallace). Here is the statement made by the hon. gentleman:

We find to-day in the old country that brethren, the descendants of the heroes of two hundred years ago, are perhaps facing difficulties of a similar character to those which their ancestors had to face in 1688—that the men of 1893 are threatened with a rule which is antagonistic to freedom there, to the liberty which they have always enjoyed as citizens of the British Empire. What is proposed is not only to shake off their allegiance to Great Britain—the bonds of love that bind them to the empire—but to put them forsooth, under an alien and hostile government.

The man—who thus protested on the floor of this House against the political action of the British government, was a sworn member of the cabinet.

They are trying to take the loyal men with them; but our friends over there say they will never submit. Britain may cast them out, but if she does so, she has no right to say what may be their future allegiance. Our friends of Ulster are preparing and have asserted their unalterable determination never to submit to that Home Rule which Mr. Gladstone and his government have laid out for them.

What do you think, Sir, of such a loyalty?

I am sure that in their efforts they shall have the sympathy of the Orangemen of Canada—more than sympathy; they shall have our active aid, if that active aid is necessary. We should not be worthy descendants of the heroes of two hundred years ago—we would not be worthy of our ancestors of old, if we failed in our duty in that respect.

So thus spoke the hon. member for West York, no doubt in a moment of weakness for, several years after those events had transpired, we heard him giving expression to emphatic protestations of loyalty to the mother country.

Should the men who are scandalized at our language and are shocked at our attitude, take the trouble to look for information, they would find out that even in Great Britain they go much further in that direction than we do. There are also in this country public men of importance who have not hesitated to express their views. Let me quote here, from a Toronto magazine, the words of a man who enjoys universal respect, the Hon. Mr. Longley, Attorney General of Nova Scotia:

In the future, in proportion as this matter of the destinies of Canada becomes more and more pressing and urgent, I shall give a respectful

attention to all those who have arguments to urge. I shall not be afraid to open my eyes to daylight, no matter where it comes from. I shall listen to all those who will proclaim themselves in favour of political union with the United States, and I shall attach to it as much importance as to what will be represented to me by the Imperialists. I positively and most emphatically maintain that every citizen of Canada, whether in the service of the Crown or not, has a right to defend in a public assembly, by honest arguments, the cause of union with the United States, just as much as any other citizen has a right to advocate the cause of Imperial federation or that of independence. In Canada, there is no servant of the Crown, from the Prime Minister down to the most modest employee, that can be prevented by his oath of office, no matter in what public meeting, from making known to his fellow-citizens, whenever it becomes necessary to do so, the best course to pursue in order to decide on the destinies of the country.

On January 23, 1893, Mr. Edgar, member for West Ontario, in a letter to his constituents, concluded as follows:—

A word as to our national future. Apart from economical and material consideration, there is in the hearts of all native-born Canadians, a dream that we shall one day take rank among the nations. I consider that the work which must be done for that purpose constitutes the duty and privilege of Canadian public men. All English patriots, all American patriots will respect us more, if we take that position, than if we persisted in allowing ourselves to be engulfed either in Imperial federation or in a federal union with the United States. I am of opinion that before many years have elapsed, we shall have our independence. That independence will not be born in the hatred of Great Britain, neither will it be baptized in the blood of our brethren, &c., &c.

Sir, Mr. Edgar was your predecessor in the chair you now occupy, and the death of Sir James Edgar was a national loss.

Such was the language of an Englishman enjoying the respect of all his fellow-countrymen, and yet never was he accused of disloyalty, or threatened to be driven out of the country. Moreover, pamphlets have been published by political men who then acted on the suggestions of the leader of the Conservative party.

The Hon. Mr. Cauchon wrote in a pamphlet, published in 1865, and here is what he says:

All the nations of the world naturally aspire to great destinies and to an important position in the human family, because, in addition to the legitimate feeling of pride which actuates them in seeking to reach the highest rank, they know that there is more chance of their being respected, favoured and prosperous, in proportion to the power they wield.

At the present moment this law has become an axiom of political economy as well as the profession of faith of all the statesmen of Great Britain who continually warn us to prepare ourselves, by a strong political and military organization, for the emancipation which is at hand.

We are certainly happy colonists—free as the fish that swim in the ocean or the birds that fly

through space, and this because we are under the protection of the British flag; and still we ask, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Canadians, all—are you not desirous, if you can, of becoming a great nationality? The only obstacle to the success of their aspirations can be found in our local difficulties, in the fear of losing, by any change of system, those privileges which are very dear to us, and which we would not sacrifice even to greatness, power, glory or the title of nationality.

Here the writer wanted to show that everything was tending towards preparing the mind of the people for the independence of Canada, in a more or less remote future. That pamphlet was published in 1865, by Mr. Cauchon, on the suggestion of Mr. Cartier, his colleague. Later on, Colonel Prince, member for Essex, presented a petition which, he said, was signed by a large number of respectable Canadians, begging the House to present an address to Her Majesty asking that Canada be relieved of its dependency and be allowed to become a sovereign state. Among the members who voted in favour of that petition, are to be found the names of Messrs. Malcolm Cameron, Benjamin Holmes, Jacob Dewitt, John McConnell, member for Stanstead; J. S. Sanborn, member for Sherbrooke, who, later on, ascended the bench. Those men, who signed a petition to the Queen in favour of the independence of Canada, were never looked upon as disloyal. Why, Sir, those very sentiments were being encouraged by British statesmen themselves. Let me quote the words of Lord John Russell, in his work 'Recollections and Suggestions,' page 200:

It is hardly necessary to say, that when the majority in any of our dependencies, declare by their representatives that they wish to separate from us, no attempt should be made to retain them. The faults committed by George Grenville, Charles Townshend and Lord North can never be repeated.

Are not these words an encouragement to the aspirations I have just mentioned?

The historian, Mr. Dent, in his work, 'The Last Forty Years or Canada since the Union of 1841,' after having stated that confederation had given liberty to impulses which have rapidly developed themselves into aspirations after a national existence, adds that a little party sprung into being, having for its object the fostering of a Canadian national spirit. We advocated the consideration of Canadian interests in preference to all others, and adopted the significant motto of 'Canada First.' Here is what that writer says:

The seed, however, had been sown, and a national spirit has ever since been abroad in the land, more especially among the young men; the generations to whose hands the future destinies of Canada must inevitably be committed. Upon one subject all thinking men are agreed; the relations at present existing between Canada and Great Britain are not destined to be permanent. Some modification in those relations

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is inevitable. Many years may possibly elapse ere it shall become necessary to take the question into practical consideration, but that such a time will come is no longer disputable. . . . The idea of independence, on the other hand, appears to have taken a tolerably firm hold of the mind of young Canada.

In 1870, the Young Conservative Club of Montreal, proposed a resolution in favour of the independence of Canada.

The mover of that resolution was Mr. F. E. Villeneuve, a son of the Hon. Senator Villeneuve, and now a member for the legislature of the North-west Territories. It cannot be said that this act of disloyalty on his part was detrimental to him.

Whereas the members of the House of Commons of Canada have recently passed an address to Her Majesty the Queen, voicing the feelings of the people of Canada in favour of the colonial tie and deprecating for the future any attempt at the severance of British connection.

Be it resolved that the members of this Conservative Club consider that the said address is ill-timed and that it is calculated to be most detrimental to us, by placing Great Britain under the impression that we are ready to take up all her quarrels.

That, while professing the greatest admiration for British institutions, the members of this club earnestly wish to see Canada becoming independent and taking rank among the nations of the world, free from all trammels and ready to fulfil the brilliant destiny which Providence has in store for her.

As will be seen, there were twenty-five disloyal young men in that Conservative club. I do not know whether the hon. member for Beauharnois was among them.

Mr. J. G. H. BERGERON. (Translation.) What year was that in?

Mr. O. DESMARAIS. (Translation.) In 1890. It is not so very far back. I remember that at that time the hon. gentleman was serving under another leader; and to do him justice, I must say that he did not frequent Conservative clubs. I remember very well that in those days we used to make stump-speeches together, going from husting to husting, throughout the province of Quebec, expressing the same disloyal feelings against the Conservative party. But later on, the hon. member changed his mind, and after the general elections were over, he had quite forgotten his most solemn protestations and he had become a most loyal subject, not of the Queen, but of the Conservative leaders.

I now approach the consideration of the immediate subject of the debate, and I wish to show that I have been denounced before the House and the country, along with my friends, for having said exactly what the Conservatives have all the time been saying here and outside of this House. I often heard it said that *La Patrie* was the only journal which made it its stock-in-trade to stir up race prejudices, and I tried to find

out where I had seen the same views and feelings expressed. I also heard the hon. leader of the opposition extolling the merits of the newspaper I am about to quote from ; he even referred to the loyalty of *La Presse*. I am quite ready to accept that statement and to believe in the loyalty of that paper. The hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), the other day, quoted from that journal an article in which his leader was praised. I am also going to put on record an article which under the heading : 'The French Canadians and the Transvaal' appeared in *La Presse* in its issue of the 14th October, and this, for the information of the hon. gentlemen, in order that they may see how unfair are those men who accuse us of disloyalty for giving utterance to feelings exactly similar to what is published by them in the columns of their newspapers.

Up to this morning, that is to say, previous to the action taken by the government, the Transvaal war would have left us quite indifferent. But now that the most serious differences have been settled, we may try to find out where we stand on the question. It was only under the reign of wireless telegraphy that Canada could find herself involved in a political crisis, which is raging in the Transvaal at a distance of 7,000 miles, and which is to be unravelled there ; and had the original suggestion, of sending, at the expense of the country, a Canadian regiment, been carried out, it would have been all over with our peaceful state of security, as the flag under whose protection we live is that of an empire upon which the sun never sets. Once you admitted that principle, all you had to do was to remain, day and night, under arms.

The French Canadian element was certainly opposed to the policy of sending a contingent at our own expense, and therein they did not show any disloyalty. It was, on the contrary, our duty to take such a stand.

In this new departure from our settled policy, and which involves us in all the wars of the empire, we may possibly go beyond the rules of moderation and prudence. As for us, French Canadians, we are in a better position than our fellow-countrymen to weigh the consequences of a movement which was threatening to carry our people beyond all reasonable control.

No more direct attack could be levelled at the very feeling which is being appealed to by those who reproach the French Canadian element with being disloyal. That article was published in *La Presse*, the very organ which threatens to expel me from the country, for having made a similar statement. Let me say, in passing, that the editor of *La Presse* is Mr. Arthur Dansereau, a journalist of high standing, and a Conservative, who takes his password from the leader of the opposition.

Were Great Britain in danger, it would be quite a different thing—

It was on the 14th October that this article was published :

—and we should not hesitate to go to her assistance ; but every one will agree with us that

the proportions of the present war are being grossly exaggerated. Never did Great Britain, in her might, expect that under circumstances which are far from being extraordinary, that a small colony like Canada, without any martial record, should bring her help of no small importance. We have no arms, no guns, no cavalry, and, owing to our lack of military experience, no warriors of standing. True, we have inherited from our fathers pluck, valour and endurance ; but where, I ask, even with all possible good will, could we have learnt how to handle those arms ? Had one of our regiments been sent to the Cape, they would, no doubt, have done duty at St. Helena—

Now, you have here, Sir, a sample of Conservative loyalty !

In the following lines near the very same ideas, which I expressed publicly, though less forcibly, and which were referred to by the hon. leader of the opposition :

—as during the Crimean war, our 100th regiment remained at Gibraltar.

Such critical remarks cannot be disagreeable to our embryo army, which according to the 'Military Gazette' is in possession of all the elements of military merit and science, as also of an undeniable physical and moral strength.

So, greater emphasis was given to the argument that the sending of our contingents ought to be looked upon less in the light of an efficacious help than as a palpable evidence of our loyalty to England and of our love for the mother country. That was a noble and respectable feeling, and one which could hardly evoke any controversy. But if we call it in question, now that everything is settled, it is not because we feel any sympathy for the Boers, an ignorant, a fanatical people, hostile to the Roman Catholic religion, and whose obliteration from the map would not in the least retard the progress of human events. But should we feel justifiable in imposing upon Great Britain the burden of such a proof ? Did she ever call in question our feelings ? And why should we make such a profession of loyalty, when everybody knows that we are loyal to the core ? The fact of sending our troops to the Transvaal could at the best only be looked upon as a pleonasm, or a redundancy proscribed in the conduct of intelligent men as well as by the rules of grammar. Should our readers wonder why we give expression here to such views, it is that there is quite a difference in the standpoint of the French Canadians and of their English-speaking fellow-countrymen.

As for us, French Canadians, we belong to but one country, namely, Canada. As stated very forcibly by an Indian chief : 'Do you want us to remove from this country the bones of our ancestors ?' This is the land of our birth, of our hopes, a happy land where we hope, we will breathe our last. For us, Canada is the whole world. But an Englishman has two countries : Canada and the old country. Their relatives are over there, across the sea ; and their family ties, the recollections of childhood, the appeals of the same blood, the noble pride of their race, everything in short, tends to identify them with the struggles of the mother country. An Englishman becomes a colonist of his own free will, and because he wishes to quit the old country ; previously, he was by right of birth, a son of the British realm, whereas, we, Canadians, are merely colonists.

We appeal here to the conscience of our fellow-countrymen belonging to other races: does a Britisher look upon a colonial Englishman as his equal? Not in the least. Our English-speaking neighbours are also affected here to a certain extent, by such a distinction. The colonies are but an incident in the British Empire, which in every case, frames its policy and acts upon it, without consulting us. Never will it enter the mind of a British cabinet to ask our opinion in regard to British interests or the exercise of British rights; and we have no consulting voice in the Imperial parliament so as to be able to advise or restrict that body.

Now, if we place the question upon another ground, that of feeling, let me ask whether there can be any feeling between a metropolis and its colonies? At the time of the Fenian raid, did Great Britain ever make the romantic attempt of sending troops or money to Canada? No, we had to foot the whole bill. Notwithstanding that the raid was organized upon the United States territory, Great Britain never asked the American government, who, under international laws, were responsible through their dereliction of duty, for those troubles, to indemnify us.

Now, let the hon. gentleman hear how the writer of these lines handles England without gloves:

But when the secessionists raided the St. Alban's bank, Great Britain took precious good care to apply the principle of responsibility and to compel us to reimburse out of our own public treasury, the money stolen by the raiders. Great Britain was never actuated by feeling when they allowed the State of Maine to aggrandize itself at the expense of New Brunswick and of the province of Quebec; or when she allowed the United States to take away from us the states of Illinois, Dakota, Washington, Oregon and the Straits of Fuca.

The editor of *La Presse* goes on in the same strain, and makes further remarks which I would not hesitate to endorse:

The 'Witness' tells us that the French Canadians ought to feel grateful to England for the protection she has afforded us in connection with the Alaska boundary question. What does the 'Witness' know about it? The American newspapers have again and again stated that Great Britain would be quite willing to give up our claims, were it not for our persistent obstinacy; and yet, not a single word of protest has come from the other side of the ocean. Why, as a matter of fact, the Hon. Mr. Davies has returned from London empty-handed. What does a year of delay signify to us? Are we going, in the meanwhile, to spend a single cent upon a territory that is likely to be taken away from us next year?

We wish it to be well understood that we are not blaming Great Britain. We do not complain about those things any more than about the withdrawal of British troops, years ago, from Quebec, Montreal, Kingston and Toronto. Great Britain deemed it proper to consult her own feelings and interests in those matters, and it is no concern of ours. But I say that it was from the mother country herself that we learned the lesson of not introducing feeling in political matters.

In this case, an expression of sympathy on the part of Canada would have involved our sending one of two regiments at our own expense, that is to say, an expenditure of one or

two million dollars in round numbers. Now, if an expression of sympathy amounts to an expenditure of money, we should appropriate those moneys to some useful purpose. We could have told the mother country: 'You have an immense territory to protect; now, we are going to do our share, at home. You wish to remain mistress of the seas; very well, we shall go to the expense of fitting out a warship, where we shall give our sailors proper training, just as we have been turning out of our military college efficient engineers, sappers and officers. And, if need be, we shall make additional expenditure on that college, so as to enable us to send you more men like Girouard. We shall keep up the nucleus of a permanent army, in order to have good officers, men fit to command, whenever Canada is invaded.'

That is, in our opinion, lofty, real and rational feeling.

But for Canada to go and scatter millions of dollars over the seven thousand miles which divide us from Africa, would, to our mind, have been an egregious mistake. Those millions would have been wasted; while sowing them throughout our territory would have been productive of merit, good services, genuine affection towards England, excellent men and heroes.

Fortunately, the British government came to the rescue, and with that practical spirit which is so characteristic of all their dealings, they obviated the difficulty. As to coming here and recruiting men, that is quite a different thing. We have been asked to send volunteers at the expense of the British government, and every one is free to go. Under the circumstances, the French Canadians, very likely, shall not be the last to enroll; but, at any rate, it is upon Great Britain that devolves the whole responsibility. This cannot be drawn into a precedent. We have, it is true, to provide supplies and defray the expenses of transport to Africa for 1,000 men, during twenty-five days; but that is, at the utmost, an insignificant sum of one hundred thousand dollars.

These lines were published on October 14 just as the government had declared that they had decided to equip a contingent to go to South Africa.

Did it ever enter your mind, Sir, that since October 14, such an article had been penned, going much farther than any Liberal had dared to go in that direction? And yet the hon. leader of the opposition was loud in his praises of this newspaper. But the article I have just quoted is no solitary example, for the columns of *La Presse* were filled with similar articles. It even reproduced, with evident glee, leaders from *Le Monde Canadien*, a paper which holds still more extreme views on the matter. Let me quote an article that appeared in the columns of that journal on October 30, under the heading 'Trend of Opinion':

Public opinion is ostensibly taking a threefold trend around this vexed question of the future: the participation of Canada in the wars of the British Empire.

Some are of opinion that henceforth, without any more ado than if the question was to send a body of policemen against a band of roving Indians, the government of Canada, in virtue of a mere Order in Council, should place our militia at the disposal of the Imperial authorities, to go and battle against no matter what enemy, no

matter why, no matter in which hemisphere of the world, without any further consideration or representation in the councils of the empire.

Further down, referring to what the editor considers as the general trend of public opinion, which coincides with his own views, he says :

This Transvaal war should be treated as all the other wars of the empire in which Canada is not directly concerned.

We are a colony and we intend to remain so, just in order not to have to shoulder all the charges of a permanent army and experience all the horrors of war. So long as we shall remain a self-governing colony, recognized as such by the metropolis, we ought to confine ourselves to the necessary expenditure for the defence and protection of Canada. Such is the position we occupy under the constitution of the country, pursuant to the custom and practice that have prevailed ever since the conquest of Canada by British arms. But we may be told that it is only fair and proper that we should contribute to the wars of the empire which protects us and of which we are part and parcel. Let it be so, if you will, but then, let us first determine the respective position of the interested parties. Let us contribute to all the charges, but at the same time let us also share in all the advantages arising from the international treaties, and the customs arrangements between the colonies as well as with the metropolis.

Now, this is an occasion for making well defined negotiations and treaties. So long as nothing shall have been settled and determined without any ambiguity, let us strictly adhere to the 'status quo,' a position which, in our quality of good Britishers speaking French, we prefer, for our part, with all the guarantees it implies, to the smiling prospects of an Imperial grandeur, the splendour of which we can perceive only through a distant vista and under a very clouded sky.

Who was it penned those lines that appeared in *Le Monde Canadien*? Why, Sir, it was the Hon. Mr. Nantel, formerly Minister of Public Works for the province of Quebec, a former colleague of the Hon. Mr. Taillon, the same man who was given a portfolio in the short-lived cabinet of the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper).

Allow me, Sir, to quote another article from *La Presse*, under the heading 'A British Reverse.' After referring to the reverses experienced by the British, the article goes on :

If those who have foolishly railed at Canadian loyalty had happened to find themselves on Tuesday among our most important groups, they would have noticed the same anxious look, the same painful anguish of heart as among themselves.

At that moment there was no longer any haggling spirit about the assistance to give the mother country, or whether we should send one or two regiments. There had come quite a change in the view points of those who, in anticipation and under the presumption of the most absolute security for British arms believed they could, a week ago, consider, debate, and oppose, in their quality of politicians, a position which had suddenly been sprung upon

the country, without any notice, without any previous consideration, without any provision for the least safeguard, but who, all the same did not wish to object to the actual and practical fact of sending a Canadian contingent.

You will see, Sir, from the above, that this paper has gone through an evolution, while we, Liberals, are being denied the right to do the same.

If England were in danger, we ought to contribute, willingly and with alacrity, to the defence of the mother country and do our own share. Such ever was and such will ever be the feeling the French Canadian people, in every crisis of danger. Never shall we stop to discuss things, in case of emergency. Grave and right-thinking men would say : 'The case admits of no delay ; there is no longer any question as to the merits of the war, and as to whether this is a precedent or not. There is nothing left us but a duty to fulfil ; let us fulfil it.'

In its issue of November 18, *La Presse* reproduced an article from the *Toronto Evening News*, containing an attack against the French Canadians, and it entered a very emphatic protest against it ; while, in the very same issue, it gave the hospitality of its columns to an article from the pen of Mr. Stead, the editor of the *Review of Reviews*, and apparently endorsed it.

After quoting the speech delivered by Mr. John Morley at Manchester, *La Presse* adds :

We shall make no further comment, but only let us not forget that Imperialism is one and indivisible and that the coercive measures which were found good in London cannot for ever remain bad in Canada.

Then it goes on giving opinions to show the injustice of the war.

In its issue of October 24, *La Presse* gave the opinion of Sir Edgar Clark, a Tory, who said, in parliament, that the present war was a crime against the constitution.

In its issue of October 16, we find an article from the *Mail and Empire* on a commercial union, or a customs union, with the United States, as in Wiman's time :

So much the worse for British connection.

What kind of loyalty is this, I ask, Sir, when a paper goes to the length of advocating the severing of the colonial tie?

In its issue of the 17th October, *La Presse* quoted from the *Toronto Evening News* in which had appeared the text of a resolution passed by the Ancient Order of Hibernians, protesting against the sending of a Canadian contingent to Africa, deprecated the denunciations made against the French Canadians, and it added that, in the face of such charges, one would feel tempted to be disloyal.

On the 16th December, *La Presse* published a very able article on the loyalty of the French Canadians, protesting against these fanatics who make it their business to attack our nationality. In this article, which covers three or four columns of that issue, the writer claims our right to the respect

of the other races. I shall not recall that article, merely wishing to draw the attention of the House to it.

There are other papers still more Conservative than *La Presse* is. Let me quote from *Le Courrier du Canada*. The son-in-law of Sir Hector Langevin, the Hon. Mr. Chapais, a legislative councillor, and formerly a minister in the provincial cabinet, is the chief editor of that paper.

In its issue of the 18th October, there appeared an article which ran as follows:—

On the other hand, we despise, as they deserve it those insultors from Ontario who think they are justifiable in slandering the province of Quebec, because all the French Canadians have not yet left for South Africa.

Reference is here made to Girouard and others who are making ready to go to Africa, and the writer proceeds as follows:—

We merely wish to tell those fanatical slanderers who are a perfect nuisance in this country, that if French Canadian loyalty and devotion had nothing else than that stinking press to feed upon, it would not last very long.

In its issue of the 20th October, there appeared in the same paper a letter from the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) making public his resignation and explaining the reasons for it. The writer praises and congratulates the hon. gentleman. After stating that he had condemned the attitude taken by my hon. friend upon the school question, the writer adds:

But that cannot prevent us from paying a well deserved tribute to his firmness, his courage, his pluck, and the sincerity of his convictions, as well as to cogency of his arguments.

On the 23rd October appeared what follows:

A number of enlightened and patriotic men are now anxiously inquiring where is going to lead us that policy of participating in the wars of Great Britain, a policy inaugurated by the Laurier government and supported by public men belonging to both political parties. Men who are at the same time good Canadians and loyal British subjects are anxious to know what will be the solution of the problem now under consideration. Are we drifting towards Imperial federation, a policy proposed in years gone by, by our most eminent leaders? Are we on the threshold of a new era, when the Canadian constitution will be put to a severe test? People put all those questions and feel rightly anxious about them.

It is the *Courrier du Canada*, a Conservative paper that puts all those questions.

In its issue of the 7th November, the same paper says:

We hear from various sources that Sir Wilfrid Laurier has offered the British government to send a second contingent of Canadian soldiers, to go and fight in South Africa. Verily, we feel inclined to inquire whether the Prime Minister is still in his sober senses.

In another article published on the 9th November, in which the writer tries to show

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that the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has always advocated Imperial federation, and in which he explains and denounces as well the position which it would create for us, he says:

Now, we ask, what influence could a handful of our representatives wield in that immense assembly? How could they prevent a war decided upon by the rest of Europe? They would be nullified, drowned and perhaps carried away by one of those impetuous currents which under certain circumstances are formed in those great deliberative bodies. And Canada would have to contribute money and pay the tribute of blood, no matter what the feelings and wishes of the people were. But what matters it? Should we not be represented? There is the whole burden of the question. We should have to pay against our grain, we should have to fight in spite of ourselves, but we would enjoy a right to representation in the Imperial government. Then would Mr. Tarte feel happy. To be absorbed, to be controlled, to be coerced, to be driven in spite of oneself towards the unknown, that is all right, provided we are represented.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
(Translation.) Oh! loyalty!

Mr. DESMARAIS. (Translation.) Yes. Truly could we say with the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron): Oh! loyalty!

What is the feeling that prompts those attacks? On the other hand, it is sought to create the impression that the hon. leader of the House and the hon. Minister of Public Works are trying to bring about Imperial federation; and while in the province of Quebec, newspapers like the *Courrier* stir up public opinion against the Dominion government by asserting that they are embarking in Imperial federation, they say in the English provinces that the cabinet was too slow in acting and was not British enough. It is by such tactics that they deceive the people.

On November 10, another article was published to show that the Liberal party as well as Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Tarte were advocates of Imperial federation.

In its issue of November 15, the *Courrier* denounces the Prime Minister for having offered to send a contingent.

On November 18, appeared another elaborate article to the same effect.

In its issue of November 17, the *Courrier* reproduces a statement from the Hon. Edward Clarke, denouncing the war, and it adds that he gives the lie to the Prime Minister; and all this, of course, with a view to making political capital against the government in the province of Quebec.

On November 22, another article appeared, showing that the Roman Catholic religion was free and flourishing in the Transvaal.

On November 29, an elaborate article appeared on Imperial federation, to show that the Liberals were in favour of that political

departure, and that the Conservatives were opposed to it.

Well, for our part, we take exception to such utterances.

Here the writer assumes that the country is opposed to Imperialism; and in order to show that, he quotes from a speech delivered by the hon. leader of the opposition, an extract of which has already been reproduced in this House. Then, he gives extracts from a speech of the right hon. Prime Minister and from another speech delivered by Sir Hector Langevin, at Joliette, in 1888, in which the latter stated that he was opposed to Imperial federation, and he concludes his article with the following statement:

The position with regard to that question of Imperial federation is a very simple one: Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Tarte are advocates of that scheme, Sir Charles Tupper and his party are opposed to it.

We deemed it desirable well to define the position in order to prevent public opinion from being led astray.

It is necessary that the electorate should exactly know what are the principles and the responsibility of each party.

The hon. gentlemen who have heard or read the statement made by the hon. member for West York (Mr. Clarke Wallace) on the very next day after the leader of the opposition had spoken here, were no doubt satisfied that there was no common ideas on the matter, and that he had not consulted with his leader before making his speech.

Let us now hear the Hon. Mr. Foster, as reported in *Hansard*:

These are wonderful times in which we live. The chains are being forged to-day on the anvil beneath the swift moving hammers of history, which shall unite for ever within their bonds every dependency of Great Britain indissolubly and so long as British colonization exists.

And he goes on in the same tune.

The *Courrier du Canada* says that Sir Charles Tupper and the Conservative party are opposed to Imperial federation; but that the guilty parties are Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Hon. Mr. Tarte.

In its issue of December 18, appears another article to the same effect. The writer repeats that Sir Charles Tupper is opposed to Imperial federation.

On December 19, the *Courrier* states that it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier who made the offer of a second contingent.

The *Star* having published a cablegram stating that the sending of the contingents was but the prelude to a change in the constitution of the empire, the *Courrier du Canada*, after having quoted a protest from Mr. Reeves, agent of New Zealand, warns us against the policy inaugurated at Toronto, and adds:

This is a most sensible expression of opinion and one calculated to create a very favourable

impression and the greatest satisfaction in the British colonies whose inhabitants wish to preserve in all their integrity the constitutional liberties which they now enjoy.

On December 21, the most important of all those articles appeared under the heading: 'About the War,' and the writer, after referring to the exasperating nature of the discussion carried on between French and English papers, goes on to say:

This arises, no doubt, from certain misunderstandings which all right-thinking men on both sides should endeavour to dissipate. There are, in our opinion, actual questions, connected with history, diplomacy or politics, about which writers may honestly agree to disagree, without its being necessary for them to seize each other by the throat.

We are of opinion that such questions as the opportunity, the necessity or the justification of the Transvaal war come under that head. It seems to us that a British subject may honestly believe that it was unwise to embark in that dangerous affair, that the reasons invoked were not sufficiently strong to justify such a bloody conflict, without being disloyal and a bad citizen.

Such is the statement made by the Hon. Mr. Chapais:

One may passionately love one's country and yet because he loves it, regret that it should engage in such a risky affair. Such is evidently the opinion of men like Sir William Harcourt, John Morley, Edward Clarke, Herbert Spencer, Edward Blake and so many others who are neither traitors nor guilty of felony.

No better, no more forcible defence could one wish for than this able article from an opposition organ.

Here, as in England, as in France and in every other country in the world, such an opinion could not without injustice be treated as a symptom of treason. On the contrary, it is the indication of a sincere loyalty on the part of a man to deplore the errors which he thinks are being made and who feels anxious about the results.

We have had, through ages, two mother countries, France and England. France has remained the land of our ancestors, the land of our traditions and of our dearest recollections. England is the mother country which presides over our manhood, watches over the progress of our destiny and claims our political loyalty. Whatever may be our sympathy for France—and it is too natural a sympathy for any one to wonder at it, since it is the voice of blood which speaks—it cannot go beyond the limit of a feeling and could never interfere with the fulfilment of any of the duties involved by our new allegiance. The ties which bind us to England, though of a different class, are just as strong and just as difficult to sever. Our loyalty is not an empty word; it is not rhetorical rubbish for the use of short-winded speakers, or one of those common-place topics taught by rhetoric. Our loyalty is grounded upon the protection received from Great Britain, upon the expansion of Canada which she has favoured, and upon a combination of powerful, lofty and patriotic considerations.

I think, Sir, that all the hon. gentlemen who understand French will endorse those

views. For my part, I may say that I coincide in those views, and if to entertain those views is to be disloyal, why, then, I am disloyal. Order me to be shot or expelled: I would rather submit to that fate, than dissemble sentiments which are mine.

Let us now turn our attention to the newspaper *Le Journal*, a French copy of the *Star*. The sessional correspondent of *Le Journal*, who was formerly an hon. member of this House, was present with us at that grand 'Champ de Mars' meeting, and he then spoke just like my hon. friend from Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron). Let me quote from an article that appeared in the *Journal* on December 21 last, under the heading: 'Imperial Federation.' The writer quotes from Sir Charles Tupper's speech to show that he is opposed to Imperial federation, and after saying that Sir Wilfrid Laurier is in favour of it, he points out the drawbacks of the scheme, laughs at the whole thing and exclaims:

We denounce here the man who for the sake of the vain glory of representing us on the floor of the Imperial parliament, would wantonly jeopardize a position acquired at the cost of great sacrifices and render useless our past struggles.

The man whom *Le Journal* attacks in that way, is the leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who, it says, is an Imperialist, ready to hand us over to Imperial federation. Let us proceed:

Before he can succeed, he will have to lift up the slabs of the sepulchre, to tear away from their graves our illustrious dead; he will have to scatter to the winds of ingratitude and oblivion the dust of Viger, Bédard, Papineau, Lafontaine, Taché, Cartier, &c.

And then? Well, after that, there will be enough living left to avenge the dead and chastise the man who will have betrayed their memory and injured their work.

On December 22, *Le Journal* declines to give its opinion as to the merits of the war; it reproduces in its columns an article from *La Presse*, under the heading: 'Honest explanations,' about loyalty and endorses it.

And on the 19th of this month, the same paper tries to show that Sir Wilfrid Laurier is in favour of Imperial federation, and speaks as follows:

At last the hour has come when Mr. Laurier proceeding gradually has reached the heights of his new patriotism, in inducing our Canadian volunteers to go and fight for Great Britain, whenever England shall require it.

Therefore, Messrs. Tarte and Laurier are in favour of Imperial federation.

But one thing we know, and it is that his utopia has no chance of succeeding in Canada. Great Britain herself would probably not give her consent to such a scheme. Suicide—as Mr. Laurier used to say at the time when he was a democrat to the hilt—would perhaps kill the mother and her offspring.

At all events, we have nothing to gain by the change. Our interests would certainly not always be identical with those of the other colon-

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ies, and from such divergency of interests would arise conflicts which would soon degenerate into discord. But we would have our say on all the great questions, as say the advocates of Imperial federation. How many representatives should we have?

It is not always the number that decides a question, says Mr. Tarte. Nowadays, however, numerical strength is a great factor. Let us not incur the risk of a political evolution which might increase our responsibility and our duties.

But, Mr. Speaker, things are going from bad to worse, as you will see. There is another small public sheet, which is not yet very well known, and is published in a manufacturing centre. I said that it was not yet very well known, but I may add that it will have a great record, as it is supposed to reflect the views of an illustrious personage who has become a leader in his party, and who is now the successor of Cartier in the province of Quebec.

Valleyfield, as many important cities which contend for the honour of having been the birthplace of great geniuses whom humanity takes pride in, has witnessed the birth of a newspaper called *Salaberry*. Is it to recall the famous Chateauguay battle, in which three hundred French Canadians defeated seven thousand American soldiers, that this journal has assumed the name of the victorious general? I do not know. *Le Salaberry* is to be the organ of the new leader upon whose shoulders has fallen Cartier's mantle.

There is a letter from a correspondent here, who takes his information from the most authorized sources, and who says:

'It was not Minto'—a rather disrespectful way of speaking of the representative of the British Crown in Canada—'but Laurier himself who has offered a contingent to the War Office.'

Now, how dare they tell us that the hon. leader of the opposition does not try to raise prejudices against the Prime Minister? *Le Salaberry* speaks of the sending of the second contingent as follows:

Sir Wilfrid pretended to be more loyal than Victoria.

That is the way they speak of our august Sovereign; a rather disrespectful way.

Referring to the correspondence in connection with the contingents, the writer says:

It is said in that correspondence that the Canadian volunteers are not desirable on a battle-field, where they would rather be a nuisance. In the face of such a refusal, no wonder that Sir Wilfrid should have told us so positively, on the 4th October that Canada would not send any soldiers.

The organ of the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) says:

The government has been very unlucky in the choice of the commanding officer of the Canadian contingent. Do people know that Colonel Otter is the choice of the government?

Now let us see what kind of loyalty to the country those people make profession of. Here is what this journal says :

The records will tell us. Colonel Otter was the commanding officer of the 'Queen's Own,' of Toronto, and of the 'Sharpshooters' of Ottawa, during the North-west campaign of 1885.

Further down, it adds :

Mr. Tarte has stated that it was the war office which made the offer to pay our soldiers. That is not very notable, in as much as our volunteers are of no use whatever to England, except as food for the guns.

So, the hon. member for Beauharnois who did not hesitate to offer five thousand, nay more, ten thousand men, thinks that our soldiers are of no use whatever to England.

In the issue of November 28, of the same paper, I find extracts from a speech of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) in which he says that the right hon. Prime Minister has rendered considerable service to the Canadian people having secured for our nation an honourable place in the councils of the empire.

The hon. gentleman after bestowing praise upon the Prime Minister in his Toronto speech, should not allow his organ to insult him, in as much as that paper sings the hon. gentleman's own praise at least once a week.

Here are two short extracts in which the writer shows very little sympathy for the mother country :

In the Crimea, in 1854, at the post of honour, and of danger, one was sure to meet a Frenchman, but never any of those British 'business men.'

Further on, here is what I find :

No! the Britisher who is the incarnation in this world of the goddess Discord of antiquity; the Britisher who, for the last hundred years has made it a business to urge on nations to slaughter each other on the battlefields, while taking precious good care not to appear in the front rank; the Britisher, I say, did not know what he was doing, a few months ago, when forcing the Transvaal to undertake the present war.

Such is the organ of Cartier's successor, who, the other day, in this House was so loud-mouthed in his professions of loyalty.

An hon. MEMBER. (Translation.) Is that all?

Mr. DESMARAIS. (Translation.) The end is not yet; I have a few more issues of that paper. This is not an old newspaper; but with brave hearts, courage and youth walk hand in hand.

On December 21, the *Salaberry* published what follows:—

The war waged between the British colossus and the Boer pigmy so far reminds us of the fight of Goliath with David. Great Britain, according to the despatches from her generals themselves, experiences nothing but reverses. Those repeated reverses are so persistent that

it is an open question whether Bismarck's prophecy is not near being fulfilled, that South Africa would be the grave of British glory.

Not a word of sympathy from this newspaper, with the British flag in such a distress!

Oh! loyalty! where art thou?

In another issue, I find the following:—

The 'Monde Canadien' and 'La Vérité' have assumed towards Mr. L. O. David a similar attitude to that I took, after the publication of the famous letter to 'La Presse.' They both agree with me that Mr. David has made a blunder. There is this difference between their comments and mine: in their opinion, Mr. David, after abdicating his former professions of patriotism, is guilty of treason when he suggests to his fellow-countrymen to side with England against the Boers. It is an anti-patriotic work to stand by England under the circumstances.

In the issue of the *Salaberry* from which I have taken the above extract, the organ of the new Conservative leader—or assistant leader—devotes two columns of its space to the reproduction of a portion of the speech delivered by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) at Toronto. Much good is said of that speech, and here is what I find in the *Salaberry* :

As to Great Britain, they say that in her struggle against the Boers, she has justice on her side. We are too far from the scene of the war and from the causes which brought it about, to give an opinion as to the merits or demerits of this war. For my part, it is enough to know that our mother country is in danger to conclude that it is the duty of her sons to hasten to assist her.

As will be seen, the hon. gentleman hesitates a little and his loyalty does not warrant him stating that England has right and justice on her side.

If it be proper for a man of such unquestioned loyalty to show a little hesitation, it seems to me that any other man less gifted, is free to say as much. I could quote many other articles from the *Salaberry*, all of the same tenor.

But I now turn my attention to another Conservative paper, the mouth-piece of another influential politician. That paper is edited in the city of Three Rivers, and is called *Le Trifluvien*. I shall not quote here all the articles which have appeared in that paper with regard to the question under consideration; let it suffice for my purpose to quote the most recent article. The writer of that article had no doubt, previous to writing it, read the speech of the hon. leader of the opposition as well as that delivered by the hon. member for Beauharnois at Toronto.

In its issue of February 13, the *Trifluvien* published an article, under the heading, 'Beware.'

We have had the honour of being consulted as to the attitude to be taken by the French Canadian Conservatives with regard to the policy of sending contingents of Canadian volunteers to

South Africa. Here is our answer: for our part, the question is a very simple one. The war is unjust on the side of England. We were in no way obliged to take part in it. To contribute, of our own free will, to the perpetration of an injustice, is to be accessory to the same. In conscience, we cannot give our consent to that. We, therefore, decline to affirm by our vote and the war itself and Canada's active and free participation in the war, and all the expenditure involved by the active part taken by us in the war. It is as clear, as peremptory as an axiom.

But we are told that if England is defeated, we shall find ourselves at the mercy of the United States, and that we, French Canadians in particular, should have everything to lose by the change of yoke. Here is our answer to that objection: we cannot help it; a war, which is unjust at the outset, cannot become a just war by reason of the reverses experienced by the party who has perpetrated the injustice; that party is always free to put a stop to the war as far as he is concerned, on condition of paying an indemnity for the damages resulting from his unjust action; besides, a nation can never grow and prosper, when benefiting by an injustice.

Further, in our opinion, Providence has not abdicated its control over the progress of events having an influence over the fate of nations; and there is nothing to warrant the belief that Providence to-day is taking less interest in those events than it did yesterday. We do not think it our business, short-sighted as we are, to substitute our views to the far-reaching views of divine wisdom; and, if Providence has decreed that French Canada should lend to her destiny, independently from that of the neighbouring republic, Providence will so direct things as to prevent our being engulfed by the Yankee Moloch.

Paul Kruger said the very same thing, when expressing his confidence in God.

Now, if we were to inquire into the designs of Providence in relation to this small French Canadian people, we might say that, in the light of past events, if Canada does not prevaricate, she is predestined, we believe, to preserve her own identity, a life of her own, and to play a part of her own on this continent of America, and from that standpoint, we have good reasons to ponder over the consequences of the attitude we would take in endorsing what has been done.

What is the meaning attached to the movement which is impelling the British colonies to act jointly and severally with England? We need not go very far back into the past to find out the reason. Was it not Mr. Chamberlain who, last week, was applauded to the echo and carried the day for the Imperial government in sounding this note: that the recent manifestations of the colonies were an immense step taken towards the establishment of an Imperial confederation which would blend the whole Anglo-Saxon race into a solid body, connected together by common interests, common aspirations, common duties and common advantages?

Now, from the standpoint of our own future, as a distinct race which has withstood every attempt at assimilating it and which is doing its best every day to resist such attempts, is there not in that fact a threatening peril? He would be short-sighted, indeed, the man who would not bow to evidence in that respect. At all events, the British statesman who has availed himself of his tenure of office to prepare that evolution

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and to make it fruitful, the 'deus ex machinâ' who has brought out of their obscurity the dreams of the most ardent imperialists, has taken good care to dissipate all doubts in that respect. Nothing but a blind policy could cause us to remain indifferent to the results of the plot that has been concocted with a view to do away with our influence.

Under such circumstances, for every French Canadian who has at heart the future of his nationality, there is no longer any room for doubt as to his duty. He has no option, because there is no alternative. His own interest and the interest of those who are dear to him require that he should vote against everything that has been done to embark Canada in a war that can only affect us through its consequences, in its relation with schemes which tend to nullify three centuries of toll, of sacrifices and of struggles.

The writer says that he had an interview with a Conservative member, who promised him to vote here against the expenditure in connection with the contingents sent to South Africa. As there are only two members from that district here, the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Adolphe Caron), and the hon. member for Champlain (Mr. Marcotte), I have no doubt that either of the two gentlemen will tell us which of them is opposed to that expenditure.

I think I have quoted at sufficient length, Sir, to show that it is not only among Liberals that are to be found feelings of disloyalty. I could quote from other papers, such as *Le Pionnier*, of Sherbrooke; *L'Evenement*; *La Défense*, Chicoutimi; *La Semaine Religieuse* and *tutti quanti*. Among the Liberal newspapers, *La Patrie* is the only paper which has opposed that Imperialist movement. I need not mention *Le Soleil*, for it is an ultra-loyalist paper.

Now, one word about my attitude on this question. At the outset, when this movement was started, I publicly stated that I did not mean to endorse it, no matter who was the initiator of it, though even it came from the respected leader of my party. There are certain things from which I would not recoil, the moment I thought it my duty to do so. But, as was stated in *La Presse*, we ought to offer our assistance to the mother country without haggling, but what I was disposed to denounce as an Imperialist movement, I still denounce. But, when we are asked to do the thing, out of the fulness of our heart, out of gratitude for the favours conferred upon us by England, and as a token of our feelings towards the mother country, I would be very ungrateful, indeed, should I turn a deaf ear to such an invitation. What they would impose upon us for political purposes, I decline to accede to; but what I am asked to do, out of gratitude, I very willingly acquiesce in. The moment England wants our assistance, we cannot refuse our co-operation.

However, it is open to doubt whether England needs our assistance. I think that, even if we had not sent any volun-

teers, England would have easily managed, without such help, to extricate herself, as she generally does and as she will still do in the future. I cannot be led into believing that Great Britain, after having defeated the great warrior before whom the whole of Europe trembled, Napoleon Bonaparte, she will be afraid to face on the battlefield an army of peasants.

If, under the circumstances, I think it proper to refuse my assent to the resolution under consideration, from the standpoint I have taken at the outset, it is because, as stated by the hon. member from Montmorancy (Mr. Casgrain) this movement does not pave the way towards Imperialism, as would have it *Le Courrier du Canada, La Presse*, and so many other papers, and I thus feel reassured about the future of my country.

I could quote many other articles showing how unfair are the charges brought against us. After all we have heard here and after reading all the articles which have been communicated to us, one is at loss to know where this absurd and ridiculous onslaught will stop.

In this connection, allow me to communicate to the House, through you, Mr. Speaker, a thought that struck me. Last night, when I was wending my way towards the Parliament Buildings, I happened to cast a glance at the tower where the British flag had been flying half-mast since the reception of the sad news which has thrown into mourning many a family, members of which have shed their blood and fallen on the battlefields of South Africa. I noticed that the flag had been rent asunder during the violent storm then raging, and it occurred to me that perhaps somebody would think that we from the province of Quebec were responsible for the flag being torn to rags. It is absurd, you will tell me, Sir, to entertain such a notion; but it is no more absurd than the unjust accusations thrown to our face, and those articles reflecting on our loyalty.

Yes, we are loyal, but we are also British subjects, and whoever says a British subject says a free man, having the right to discuss questions of public policy and concerning the future of the country. For my part, I affirm here my loyalty, my allegiance to the British Crown, to the gracious Queen whom I respect and admire. I am a subject of the empire, a British subject, and for twenty years, I have been a member of the Canadian militia.

A few years ago, being then an officer in the militia, there occurred a circumstance I wish to refer to. In 1885, the commanding officer Campbell called a meeting at the city hall at St. Hyacinthe, of all the officers of his battalion, in order to make sure whether they were willing to enter the active service, in consideration of the circumstances that were then transpiring. For my part, although I had denounced the course

pursued by the Dominion government, who had provoked the troubles of which Canada was the scene, and though I sympathized with the cause of those I would have to oppose, because I thought they had been unjustly dealt with, I declared that I was ready to go and to fulfil my duty, were I called upon by the authorities to do so.

There is another charge made against us in connection with our old mother country, France. They call us disloyal, because we still love our old mother country. We are as loyal as the respected leader of the House. We are more loyal than Sir John A. Macdonald, when he set fire to the Parliament Buildings in Montreal, and when he insulted the representative of Her Majesty. We are more loyal than those who signed the annexation manifesto of 1849. We are as loyal as the men who, in 1885, denounced the Prime Minister, because of the trouble that had taken place.

We have a right to express our opinion, without being accused, on that account, of disloyalty to the British Crown. We are ready, and we will ever be ready to take part in the defence of the country when required to do so, and to make the necessary sacrifices for the maintenance of our constitutional rights. So long as the French Canadians will remain British subjects, they will not hesitate to do their duty for the defence of the country.

Nay, more, Sir, if it ever happened that France—God forbid!—if France, I say, ever attempted to invade her ancient colony, Canada, and tried to haul down the flag which protects us, let me tell you, Sir, that I would be ready, I and my sons, with closed eyes and heavy hearts, to defend the British flag.

Such is the loyalty of the French Canadians, Sir, and it is as good as that of others. But, on the other hand, when they pretend to deny us the right of discussing here the questions that are debated in the British parliament, and this because we are of French origin, I say it is time to make a halt. Standing here, on the floor of this House, as a free man, I claim my right, and to those who threaten and accuse us, I say: You threaten to reconquer the province of Quebec and to destroy the French race; but what your fathers were unable to do, when we were only sixty thousand inhabitants, do you think you will achieve, now that we are two million of people?

To-day, the great mass of our English speaking fellow-countrymen are intelligent and generous. With the men who gave us the constitution which governs us; with the men who have been the friends and upholders of freedom on every point of the globe, with these men, I say, we agree perfectly; and whenever they hold out their hand to us, in the interest of our common country, Canada, we shall not ask them what language they speak, or before which altars they kneel down to render homage to the

Divinity. We shall merely tell them : Let us go hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, and with stout hearts strive to reach the bright future which is in store for our country. The day will come, I hope, when my sons at least—if I have departed this life—will be numbered among the citizens of a free, prosperous country, taking rank among the nations, but also in friendly alliance with Great Britain, whose generosity will have contributed to the achievement of that great work.

It being six o'clock the Speaker left the chair.

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. FREDERICK D. MONK (Jacques Cartier). Mr. Speaker, I confess to you that I feel at some disadvantage in rising to speak after the hon. member for St. James Division, Montreal (Mr. Desmarais). That hon. gentleman is a very eloquent man. I have heard him on many occasions. He is known in the province of Quebec as a natural-born orator, and I do not think I can pay him any more sincere compliment than in saying that while he spoke it was a matter of regret to me that so many of the hon. members of this House were not in a position to admire his magnificent diction and the skilful way in which he wields the language which is the language of the majority of the people in our province. But, Sir, I am bound to say that I do not think that upon this occasion the hon. gentleman has done quite justice to himself, and I will tell you why. There was all over this House an anxious expectation as to what attitude the hon. member would take upon that most important question which underlies the resolutions now under discussion; and why did that anxiety exist? Well, Sir, for those who are acquainted with the political career of the hon. member for St. James Division, it did seem difficult for him to side with the government upon the subject-matter of these resolutions. In 1885, conspicuous among those who in the province of Quebec raised a most powerful cry against the action which this government thought fit to take at that time for the maintenance of order in the North-west, was that hon. gentleman; and that agitation was carried to such an extent that one of the hon. gentlemen who sit here to-day on the Treasury benches, the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière), who at that time with universal approbation and consent was the leader of his party in the province of Quebec, and others, if I mistake not, saw fit to secede from these gentlemen, feeling that they had carried altogether beyond legitimate bounds and limits their attitude in regard to the maintenance of law and order and the supremacy of the flag in this country. But, Sir, that is not all. In 1890, during the

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severe campaign which preceded the call of this government to power, that hon. gentleman took up a still stronger position before his own province. Those who took part in that electoral campaign, without exception, surely will bear me out when I say that upon every hustings upon which that hon. gentleman appeared—and he appeared upon many, for his eloquence is well known in our province—he condemned in unmitigated terms the action of the late government in purchasing rifles. He charged the present hon. leader of the opposition with the intention of supporting the British government in the defence of its rights outside of Canada, and he made it a ground of appeal to the electorate of the province of Quebec in every place that they were called upon to choose between supporting a man who did not intend to aid England in any way, who, on the contrary, was determined to maintain an attitude of absolute neutrality in this country, and the man who was then the leader of the government, now the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), who, according to him, was disposed to take up the attitude which the present government has taken up to-day, and which that hon. gentleman was called upon to pronounce himself upon. Why, Sir, these facts are most familiar. There was a story current at that time which will bear repetition and I believe it is true; if it is not, it is, as the Italians say, well found. That story is that on one occasion when my hon. friend from Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) met the hon. member for St. James Division in a great political gathering, foreseeing as every one could foresee, what denunciations he would launch into, my hon. friend from Beauharnois, during the temporary absence of the hon. member, said to the people: 'You are going to hear a very eloquent man in a few moments, a man who is a natural-born orator; but you must remember that he is afflicted at times with a painful mania—the rifle fever. He will say to you that the government is purchasing rifles for the troops, and that Sir Charles Tupper has come from England with the intention of arming those troops and sending your children to South Africa or to Venezuela to be sacrificed in the defence of the British flag.' Having said these words, my hon. friend from Beauharnois sat down. At that moment the hon. member for St. James Division came on the hustings, not having heard these observations of my hon. friend, and he said: 'There is one paramount question in this campaign; it is the question of rifles.' There was a ripple of laughter in the crowd which the hon. gentleman did not understand, and he went on to say: 'The question is one that concerns your very lives; the question is whether you are going to sacrifice your children on the altar of British devotion, or whether you will keep them at home;' and then the laughter became so great that the hon. gen-

tleman had to launch out upon another subject. Later still, at the beginning of these very troubles, the hon. member for St. James Division had occasion to express his opinion, and he then indicated that he had not altered his opinion, and that it was always the same. In the beginning of October last, after the right hon. gentleman who leads this House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) had given his interview to the *Globe*, there was a meeting in Montreal, and we all heard through the press what the outcome of that meeting was. The hon. member for St. James Division was there, and he declared in his own eloquent way that he would never approve of a government which took upon itself to furnish aid to Great Britain in the impending war, and that he would not hesitate to condemn a government that took such a step. Well, Sir, under these circumstances this House can readily imagine that we were anxious to know what the opinion of that hon. gentleman was if he had changed it, and, for reasons which I will indicate in a moment, they were anxious to ascertain what his attitude was upon this most important subject. I said a moment ago that the hon. gentleman had not done justice to himself. We expected an expression of opinion; we had none. I watched the hon. gentleman for nearly three hours during which he took up the time of this House in reading extracts from newspapers, some of which, published in my own province, I never heard of before. He took up the time of the House reading extracts from these papers, endeavouring to prove that there were people, according to his own saying, as disloyal as himself. Let me say immediately, that I have heard no one lay the charge of disloyalty against the hon. gentleman in this House, and I lay none. I will refer to that in a moment, and this House will see for what reason, and in what sense we have the right to an expression of opinion from that hon. gentleman. But we have had none. He could, in language more eloquent than could have been used by any other man in this House, have defined his position in the course of the long address he made, but not one word did he utter, which could enlighten us on this point up to five minutes to six o'clock, and then, for the space of perhaps two short minutes, we had a brief, I should say, a vague reference to the subject-matter of these resolutions. And what did the hon. gentleman say? I speak subject to correction, but his attitude, his very words, conveyed this idea. If Great Britain needs our assistance, and asks for our assistance, I am not disposed to refuse it. I am satisfied with our present position in this country, and, as a matter of gratitude, I am not disposed to refuse that assistance, but I do not believe that she does need it. I place myself in the judgment of this House, and I ask hon. members, who are familiar with the French language, and who listened to

the speech of the hon. gentleman, if they are in a position to say to-day, after having heard him for three hours, what is his attitude with regard to these resolutions. I defy any one of the members to do so. If we take his words, if we take the comments he made, it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that he avoided the question. Well, in this attitude, I believe the hon. gentleman has followed the example of the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). He has taken exactly the course of the hon. minister, and no other. We did, Sir, place the hon. Minister of Public Works in this position, as I venture to say he would have placed any hon. gentleman sitting on the Treasury benches, under similar circumstances. We took up the newspaper, which is the recognized organ of the hon. Minister of Public Works—not a paper published in the rural districts, not a paper having no political colour, but the accredited, the recognized organ of the hon. minister, and, acting upon the constitutional principles which obtain in this country, we called upon him, as in like case we would have called upon any other minister of the other side, to explain and define his position. I am not going to take up the time of this House in quoting from *La Patrie* newspaper. I read it daily, I looked over its files last night, and any hon. member who wishes to ascertain exactly the tone of that paper, can find the file here in the library, and look over its numbers, from the first of October, down to the present day, and what will he find? He will find that at no time has that organ approved of the present action of the government. In the beginning, he will find that it scouted the idea that troops should be sent to South Africa. Afterwards, when the troops were sent, he will find that it took up the attitude that the sending of the troops constituted no precedent, but was due to pressure brought upon the government by the Conservative party. All sorts of excuses were invented for the action of the government. He will find that the attitude taken by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), was commended and approved. Let any one follow that paper, from the very institution of these difficulties, down to the present day, and I say that no fair-minded man can come to any other conclusion but that its attitude was directly hostile to the government. Under those circumstances, surely we were entitled to know what the views of the hon. minister, who really is responsible for the publication of that paper, who is identified with it in a manner he cannot escape—we are entitled to know what his views are. There is no question of loyalty here. We would have addressed the same question to the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) had he been connected with a newspaper in his own province published in that way, which took up the same

position. We would have put the same query to the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), if his own organ, in his own province—and I believe he has one—had taken up that attitude. Well, what did we hear from the Minister of Public Works? I say that it is impossible to read his speech, to weigh his words, without coming to the conclusion, that he occupies, for a motive, which I will indicate later, a position upon this question hostile to the government. It is impossible to come to any other conclusion. He was opposed to the sending of the contingents. The war, he said, is an unjust war, because it is a war of conquest, and the action of the government is one which I cannot approve; parliament was not convened as it should have been. He takes this position, that parliament was not convened as it should have been, and he goes so far as to come down to this Chamber, and tell us what was the position of the Governor General's advisers on this question. His very words are that he was beaten in the council by a majority, but that, for reasons which I find totally inadequate, he did not deem it proper to take up the only logical position which, under our constitution, a minister can take up, and that is to resign.

The hon. Minister of Public Works has told us repeatedly that he is anxious for the maintenance of the constitution. I appeal to you, Sir, if the position which he has taken on this question, is not a position entirely repugnant to the spirit of the constitution. I would ask you if it does not bring us back to the days previous to responsible government in England, previous to 1780, when we had the spectacle of ministers coming down to parliament, and there discussing and fighting against one another, there being divided, yet still being able to retain their positions. In other words, he brought us back to the time when responsible government did not exist. His attitude, his conduct, is entirely opposed to the principles of responsible government.

And what is the object of it? I shall await with anxiety what other members of the Liberal party, who represent the province of Quebec in this House, will say, because, so far as they have gone, we have had no approval of the course of the government from these gentlemen, and what I do say is this, as my hon. friend from Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), has said, there is unfortunately in the province of Quebec, a mode of warfare which has most disastrous results and which will go to any lengths in order to obtain a purely temporary advantage. The scheme, if I mistake not, of these gentlemen is to go before the country, after this parliament is closed, and appeal to the people for the maintenance of this government, on the ground that some members of it were opposed to the sending of the troops, and to the attitude which the country has taken upon this question; and we, who sit on

this side from the province of Quebec, will be pointed to with scorn, because we came to the conclusion, after weighing every circumstance, and every possible reason connected with the action the government has taken in this matter, that the attitude adopted by the government, in so far as the sending of the contingents is concerned, was a proper one. We will be told that we are the upholders of the men who have attacked the province of Quebec, who have forced the French people into the attitude this government has taken, and we will be subjected to every imaginable kind of abuse, because we have thought fit to take the only logical and patriotic attitude which we could adopt. We have a foreshadowing of that attitude by their treatment of the speech of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) at the present moment. Referring to his speech, they say: That is the language of the Minister of Public Works in which he has denounced this war, in which he has taken the position that the action of the government was illegal and wrong, because parliament was not convoked, and we are told that his language is that of a patriot. We are told in addition that the Minister of Public Works has made a vigorous attack against—whom, Mr. Speaker? Against the fanatics, that is to say ourselves, who are making a campaign against the province of Quebec. Now, Sir, that is the course which these gentlemen intend to pursue, and for my own part I am anxious that we should hear from themselves in no uncertain language what their attitude is upon this question. We do not regret that they should take the position that the province of Quebec is attacked. The province of Quebec, as the Minister of Public Works has said, is well able to take care of itself. But we want to know what they think of these resolutions, and we will know it before this session closes. For my own part, I am not in public life for my own advancement or advantage; but I am anxious before I leave it to see that system of warfare cease. I believe that it works to the detriment of our province; I believe that it has the result of disaffecting a population inclined to be most loyal, inclined to be most fair. I believe that the way of carrying on party warfare in the province of Quebec has a disastrous effect upon the population. We have a fine population in that province, a population who—I am speaking more particularly of the French Canadians—form an invaluable element in this empire. They are only too anxious to bear the responsibilities which a participation in that empire entails. They are a people with great military traditions. Long before they settled in this country most of them were soldiers, and on every battlefield of Europe they distinguished themselves. Their early settlement in this country was accompanied by circumstances calculated to develop their

courage ; and after the great struggle which placed a new flag above their heads, they have shown themselves in every circumstance loyal and devoted to the British Crown, and they are anxious to remain so. I venture to say that there are very few French members who sit in this House whose relatives have not at some time had occasion to prove that devotion. Well, under these circumstances is it not time that this system of playing upon the sentiments of the people for party purposes, should be done away with, and that we should learn to discuss and to examine political questions upon their true merits. For my part, I am willing to go down to my county where the majority are French speaking, and am willing to trust myself to their judgment respecting the attitude we have thought fit to take up on this side of the House in regard to this question. I am prepared to go down before the people of my county and take the position that it would have been disastrous for us, when every other part of the empire saw fit to take part in this struggle, it would have placed us in a most humiliating position, if we had not done so ourselves. I am prepared to put that fairly before them. I am prepared to go before the people of my county and expose to them what would have been our position if we had failed to take that share in the defence of the empire which every other colony has seen fit to take.

Mr. ETHIER. The hon. member may go before his electors, but it is doubtful if he comes back again.

Mr. MONK. I am prepared to take chances with my hon. friend as to coming back. I do not think that when this question is put fairly before the electors of the province of Quebec they will view it in any other light than we do ; and if the hon. gentlemen who sit opposite will treat that question before the electors of that province as fairly as it should be treated, I venture to say that the province of Quebec will speak with a voice as clear as any other in this Dominion.

I do not wish to take up the time of this House at any greater length. I have in these remarks stated my attitude on this important question. The question has been raised of the extent to which we ought to contribute to the maintenance of our troops while they are in South Africa. For my own part, I never entertained much doubt upon that subject, because the moment you adopt the principle that we were right in sending our troops, there it becomes almost a necessity that we should treat those who are there to uphold the honour of this country, in such a manner as they deserve to be treated. I must confess to you, Sir, that the day before yesterday when, on leaving my room, I saw the flag at half-mast upon this building, and heard the

news that so many of our fellow-countrymen had fallen in defence of that flag in South Africa, I must confess to you that any hesitation I may have had promptly disappeared. I think it is time for us fully to realize what our position is in this great empire, and having realized that position to assume all the responsibilities which it involves. I am not disposed to find fault with the government upon the question of expense, and am prepared to support the government in treating generously the relatives of those who have fallen with their face to the foe in upholding the honour of our flag.

Mr. J. A. C. ETHIER (Two Mountains). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I wish I had the eloquence and the acquirements of the hon. member for Jacques-Cartier (Mr. Monk), so as to be able to deal with this question as eloquently as he has dealt with it, but still, I think it my duty, owing to the importance of the matter, and because my name has incidentally been mixed in the debate, to take part in the discussion and to freely make known my views upon the situation in which we have been placed by the war in which England is engaged, and of which Canada is now feeling the consequences. I wish I could speak English fluently, so as to be understood by all my English-speaking colleagues in this House. But not only am I deprived of that advantage, but I must confess that I am unable to treat my subject in French in the same felicitous way as my hon. friend who spoke before me has dealt with it.

I do not think I am called upon to refute the arguments adduced by the hon. member for Jacques Cartier, or to follow the hon. member for Montreal (Mr. Desmarais) through the lengthy dissertation which we have all listened to with such pleasure. The hon. member for Jacques Cartier told us that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Desmarais) had devoted three hours to read extracts from newspapers without proving anything. Now, I appeal to the hon. gentlemen who have heard that speech, whether the hon. member for St. James Division did not, throughout his brilliant dissertation use most cogent argument, and whether he has not drawn from his propositions most logical conclusions. He has substantiated all the charges brought by him against the hon. gentlemen opposite with whom the hon. member for Jacques Cartier sides. He has shown that the cry of disloyalty raised against the government and against the French Canadian Liberal party was altogether unjustifiable.

Since October last, the word loyalty has undergone many changes and has been the subject of many definitions more or less loyal, for as stated the other day by the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) 'loyalty is a cheap commodity.'

Owing to the attitude taken by the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and by the hon. member for Laprairie-Napierville (Mr. Monet), owing also to the statement made by the hon. member for the St. James Division (Mr. Desmarais), protesting in the name of the constitution which, they say is violated by the government participating in the wars of the empire with foreign nations, and by the appropriation of public moneys to that effect without the previous sanction of parliament, the reptile Tory press, for the five last months, has kept hurling insults at the whole French Canadian people of the Dominion, and against the French Liberals of the province of Quebec in particular.

And why so? Because they do not hold the same views on that question. In the course of this debate, we have heard regrettable utterances fall from the hon. gentlemen opposite, though not from the leader of the opposition himself. In the course of the four last months inflammatory articles have been scattered broadcast from one end of the Dominion to the other, in connection with this vexed question. It is all very well for the leader of the opposition to come down here and declare before parliament that no man living had throughout his whole public career set his face more determinedly than he had against anything that would cause race or religious rancour in this Canada of ours. In order to show how groundless that pretension is, it will suffice to refer to his famous Winnipeg speech, which was so well commented upon by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), in a speech that will go down to posterity, as a masterly refutation of the allegation made by the hon. leader of the opposition.

If it is impossible to find in the speeches of the hon. gentleman a single word, as he says, that can be construed into an appeal to race and creed prejudices, the same cannot be said of his followers and of his political organs. And, as we all know, under the constitution, the hon. gentleman is to be held responsible for the conduct of his partisans and of the press under his control.

What did we see, these five last months, Sir? Who was it that started that campaign of hatred and prejudices against the French Canadians and the Catholics of the province of Quebec? Was it the English or the French Liberal press in the Dominion? No, Sir, it was the Tory press of Ontario. Allow me to quote a few extracts which will open the eyes of our fellow countrymen of the province of Quebec. Let us hear what Mr. Mark Roberts, the president of an Orange lodge in the county of Middlesex, said in a speech recently delivered, about French domination in Canada.

From several points of view, we have reason to be ashamed of our federal government at
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Ottawa, led as it is, by a French papist and controlled by another papist by name Tarte, both, I am sure, being rebels at heart. However, the presence at Ottawa of Mr. Clarke Wallace brings us some relief. We feel more secure when we know that so vigilant a sentinel is on guard.

Did the hon. leader of the opposition ever condemn that slanderous statement? No, Sir, he did not. Well, then, let him shoulder the responsibility for it.

But in order to form a right estimate of the party led by the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) something more is required than the solitary utterances of the president of an Orange lodge. Let us then hear what the *Mail and Empire* has to say, and I invite the hon. gentlemen opposite to register here their protest against the stand taken by that journal, on the question under consideration.

Much has been said lately about the attitude of Quebec. Quebec, like Ireland, has two distinct peoples; in Quebec, as in Ireland, the educated and intelligent people are loyal and British to the core, while in both places the ignorant sections, under the control of the priests, are malcontents and enemies of the empire.

It is by such slanders that newspapers stir up ill-feeling among the various elements of our population, and the hon. leader of the opposition may claim a large share of responsibility if he permits to go unanswered such vile slanders as those published by his organ, the *Mail and Empire*. Let those slanderers substantiate their statements, if they can.

In that article, reference is made to the stand taken by the clergy of the province of Quebec, but not a word is said about the attitude of some Anglican and Presbyterian ministers, and of all those fanatical Tories who, from their pulpits, throw insult to the face of their Catholic fellow-countrymen, without even taking the trouble of looking for information about them. Those are the allies of the Conservative party in the province of Quebec. Do you require further evidence? I have some at hand; the Rev. L. B. Lanceley, in a speech delivered at Kingston, spoke as follows:

Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Wilfrid Laurier have given evidence of their loyalty to the country and to the empire; but, as to Israel Tarte, I think it is high time to bring him to his senses, and that, first, because of his ill-treatment of the Anticosti Protestant settlers.

I think parliament and the country have shown that they were satisfied with the explanations given by the hon. Minister of Public Works and with the action taken in connection therewith.

Secondly, because of the speech recently delivered by him at a banquet, when he cried out that he was French first and British next. Thirdly, on account of his refusal to allow the British flag to be hoisted on the public buildings at Ottawa at the time of the departure of the volunteers. These acts and those

speeches are, to my mind, unworthy of a Crown minister, and warrant the people of Canada in asking for his resignation.

The statement in connection with the hoisting of the flag on the public buildings is a pure invention, as formally shown by the hon. Minister of Public Works.

I have given but a few samples of the statements which appear in the columns of Tory newspapers, and then they dare come and tell us by way of apology, that they disclaim any intention of raising race and creed prejudices in the country! But, Sir, those people, as a matter of fact, make it their business to sow strife and dissension: that is their only stock in trade.

There is another reverend minister, Mr. Steacy, who declared at an Orange meeting in this city that Mr. Tarte, the hon. Minister of Public Works, should be burnt in effigy. Did that appeal find an echo in the hearts of the people of a certain city in Ontario, known as ultra-loyalists? That is more than I can say. At all events, the jingoes did not fail to burn in effigy one of the Crown ministers. That is the way the Tories understand loyalty, I suppose.

The *Toronto Evening News* is a Tory organ, which certainly does not sympathize with the French Canadians or with Catholics. Will any hon. gentleman pretend to say that the *News* never appeals to race and creed prejudices and that the leader of the opposition has nothing to do with that paper?

The following article, taken from its issue of October 30, 1899, shows how far a Tory organ can go in that direction:—

We can tell Honourable Mr. Tarte and his French compatriots that the people of this province are thinking hard just now. They are opening their eyes to the true character of their French neighbours, and they are forming convictions that will have their fruition sooner or later in depriving the French Canadians of the special privileges that were granted to them by the Treaty of Paris.

Unless the British Canadians of this province are cravens, they will not tolerate a condition of subjection to the French Canadians, and if through the ballot boxes there is no redress, they will find other means of emancipating themselves from the dominance of an inferior people that peculiar circumstances have placed in authority in the Dominion.

That is quite an insignificant warning in itself, but, all the same, it throws some light on certain facts which should claim our attention. The *News* is the mouthpiece of the Tory party, which controlled the affairs of the country, for 18 years, from confederation. To-day there are two million French Canadians, out of a population of five millions.

Now, the warning of the *News* amounts to say this to the two million French Canadians: 'Beware! If you dare to claim the rights and privileges guaranteed by the constitution, we, people of the *News*, the or-

gan of the leader of the opposition, will bring you to your senses!'

There they are, those jingoes of Ontario, who, in their candour, cry out: 'If we cannot succeed, through the ballot and the law in turning the government out, we will rise up in arms against it.' And, it would not be the first time, as remarked by the hon. member for St. James Division (Mr. Desmarais). After having rotten-egged Lord Elgin in 1848, I should not be surprised if, in order to gratify their anger, after being defeated at the polls, they drove out of the vice-regal residence the representative of Her Majesty!

After the *Mail and Empire* and the *News*, let us hear what the *Toronto Evening News* said in its issue of the 18th October last.

I am sorry that the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk) has just left his seat, and that he did not hear this article read. I may tell my hon. friends opposite that no other paper, either French or English, that I know of, has been more aggressive than the *Toronto Evening News*. Among all the papers in the province of Quebec, *La Patrie* is the only one which has succeeded in rousing the ire of the Tories; but *La Patrie*, throughout that crusade against the French always opposed that campaign and never took the offensive. Here is the article that appeared in the *Toronto Evening News* of the 18th October. The article was contributed by a correspondent who signed W. A. H.:

I have read, with much interest, your editorials on the feelings expressed by the French Canadians against the sending of troops to serve in South Africa. Would you allow me to ask you whether it was not high time to teach those people a lesson? If they are able to command in Quebec, they have not yet the control of Canada.

Yes, Sir, so long as French blood will flow in our veins, we shall command in Quebec, while remaining loyal to the British Crown. I hear the sardonic laugh of the hon. member for Champlain (Mr. Marcotte). If the hon. gentleman wishes to speak, I shall sit down and wait until he has delivered himself of his well-rounded periods.

Mr. F. A. MARCOTTE. (Translation.) I should not, for all the world, lose a single word of the interesting speech of my hon. friend.

Mr. J. A. C. ETHIER. (Translation.) I thank the hon. gentleman for his compliment.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN. (Translation.) Yes, yes. Hear, hear.

Mr. J. A. C. ETHIER. (Translation.) I think I hear the clarion voice of the bard of Reigna. If the illustrious Béranger of the west would only keep silent, he might perhaps hear something new.

I have had the bad luck of living and doing business in their midst for five or six years past. I may say, without any exaggeration, that, with a very few exceptions, they are as loyal to Great Britain and the empire as the Boers themselves are at present. That is to say, if they were to-day the Boers and we were the Uitlanders, we should receive at their hands—if we were stupid enough to put up with it—a much worse treatment than is actually given the Uitlanders in Africa.

A French Canadian is French, in all the acceptation of the word.

On holidays and at their large meetings they hoist no other flag than the French flag, and they sing only French songs.

Do not the English, the Irish, the Scots, on their holidays, hoist the flags which they hold dear? According to the *Toronto Evening News*, a French Canadian, on St. John the Baptist's day, should be denied the right to wear the maple leaf, which is dear to him as an emblem of his race.

And those holidays are none else than the feasts of the saints of France.

All the French Canadians are politicians. They have a great many political clubs, several of which are hot-beds of sedition and treason.

The French of Quebec are no friends of mine. They are no more honourable in politics than they are in business.

Therefore, it is high time to intimate to them, once for all, that we are Britishers, living in a British country.

Never more shall we allow a Frenchman to rule the country.

British institutions for Englishmen.

Let us intimate to the men who were taught such hard lessons at Trafalgar, Waterloo and on the Plains of Abraham, that we can give them a new lesson, if they think they have not got enough.

Let them remember that Britons shall never be slaves.

Here is another article published by the *Toronto Evening News*:

With characteristic hypocrisy, the 'Globe' charges those who have been objecting to French domination in the Dominion cabinet, with raising the religious cry. In the course of a two-column article yesterday, it connected the religion with the nationality of the French Canadian in every instance for the purpose of setting Roman Catholics against Protestants in this question.

The 'Globe' is the first newspaper to give a religious aspect to the matter.

No person in Ontario will object to the religion of the French Canadian. His religion is something between himself and his Maker, and he has as much right to worship at a Roman Catholic altar as the Protestant has to bow at a Protestant altar.

But we submit that a French Canadian has no right to preach the doctrine of French nationality while he is a subject of Her Majesty and finding a place in one of her colonies.

Objection to French domination is absolutely devoid of any religious feature. It is purely a question of nationality and language, and the 'Globe' is acting the part of a firebrand by interjecting the religious idea.

There is a spirit of tolerance throughout the province of Ontario that would destroy any public man or any journal—as they ought to be destroyed—if they attacked any portion of the

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community because of their religious views. But that spirit of toleration with the religion of the French Canadian is a very different thing to the feeling that exists with regard to the conduct of the French members of the government on the question of rendering substantial assistance to Britain in her present conflict.

The 'Globe' stands convicted of bringing into the matter, for party purposes, the religion of those who are opposing Ontario and Imperial interests on purely national grounds.

Pshaw! Let these gentlemen, the Tories, speak English as much as they please, but, as for us, in the province of Quebec, we shall continue to claim our right of speaking French, not only in our province, but throughout the Dominion.

In its issue of the 16th October the *Toronto Evening News* published what follows:

Deep-rooted in the heart of French Canadians is the hope that at some future day Canada will become separated from the mother country, and that they must so govern themselves as to be in a position to profit by the anticipated disruption of the empire and erect a French state on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

True, the politicians of the lower province do not voice this fond desire very loudly when they think that the echo may reach the ears of real Canadians, but the yearning is all the stronger because policy causes it to smoulder.

Among themselves the representative habitants speak plainly.

The further away he is from the Ottawa River the more anti-British does the French Canadian become, forgetting that in these days of the telegraph and newspaper, which, despite his eighteenth century cast of thought, are known in his territory, his veriest whisper of treason to Canada is wafted across the continent.

The hon. member for Champlain (Mr. Marcotte) laughs; does he endorse those statements of the political organ of his leader?

Mr. MARCOTTE. (Translation.) I don't think there is any room for laughing.

Mr. ETHIER. (Translation.) Then, you had better cry.

Mr. MARCOTTE. (Translation.) It is sad enough to make one cry.

Mr. ETHIER. (Translation.) I shall not undertake to read every article published by those fanatical papers against the French Canadians; but if the House will bear with me, I shall give here the statement made by one of the enemies of our race during the memorable campaign directed against the French, within the last few months. Here is what the Rev. Mr. Gorman said at Ottawa, in October last:

Those Frenchmen who control our country to-day, whose opinions are blazed abroad, are not our representatives. We repudiate them, and the sooner England knows it the better. The question of French Roman Catholic supremacy was settled once and for all time upon the Plains of Abraham, and let them never forget it.

Such are the feelings of those Protestant

ministers who turn their pulpits into rostrums, thereby to promote the interests of politicians who want to seize the reins of power, after having been hurled from it by an indignant people.

Let us compare the attitude of those Protestant ministers with that adopted by the Catholic clergy throughout the province of Quebec, and it will easily be seen on which side are to be found moderation and fair play. I appeal to the hon. member for Champlain, whether he does not share in my views in that respect.

I think, Sir, I have shown beyond the shadow of a doubt the existence of a crusade throughout the country against everything that is French and Catholic, and that our opponents never miss an opportunity of insulting our loyalty.

I shall refrain from quoting any more articles, as my hon. friend (Mr. Desmarais) has made an exhaustive review of the newspapers; but let me mention to the hon. gentlemen opposite the *Toronto News*, the *Hamilton Spectator*, the *Mail and Empire*, the *Star*, the *Winnipeg Telegram*, the *Toronto Telegram*. All those newspapers state that the French Canadian Liberals, are disloyal to the British Crown. Let me put to the hon. gentlemen opposite who accuse us of being disloyal, a question: would they dare to qualify as disloyal the 113 members of the House of Commons in England who, at the last session, voted against a proposition asking parliament to authorize the government to declare war against the Transvaal? Would they dare to accuse of disloyalty all those who voted against the Salisbury government? No, sir, they dare not do so; that is a kind of accusation they resort to only against the French Canadians. This double-dealing is nothing new for the hon. gentlemen; we have already heard of it, about the Manitoba school question. In 1896, they had one voice for Winnipeg and another voice for the province of Quebec; they had one programme for the province of Ontario, another programme for the maritime provinces, and still a third one for Quebec.

Are the hon. gentlemen ready to qualify as disloyal Sir Edward Clarke? Are they ready to accuse of disloyalty Mr. Stead and Mr. Morley, mentioned here, this afternoon, by my hon. friend who has just taken his seat? Would they dare to apply that qualification to Michael Davitt, who, at the last session, resigned his seat, like the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), because he did not approve of the Transvaal war? No, Sir, they would not do it; as I said, they resort to that kind of accusation only against the French Canadians.

Are they disloyal, those papers like the *Daily Sentinel*, the *Woodstock Review*, which say that Canada has nothing to do with the Transvaal war?

Is the Tory party ready to apply that qualification to Canon Scott Holland, who, in the

course of a sermon which he preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, in November last, compared England to Nebuchadnezzar who, through his immense pride, lost his reason.

Are the hon. gentlemen opposite ready to brand as disloyal, pastor Kennedy, of the diocese of Carlisle, who refused to offer the prayers ordered by his bishop for the triumph of British arms, saying that the war England was waging against the Transvaal was Chamberlain's and Cecil Rhodes's war?

An hon. MEMBER. (Translation.) Who is Cecil Rhodes?

Mr. ETHIER. (Translation.) You know him better than I do. No, Sir, they dare not do it; for all those people are Tories; therefore they are loyalists. Are they disloyal, those French Tories, like the Hon. Mr. Nantel, formerly a minister in the provincial cabinet, and the hon. member for Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin), who declared in their speeches and their writings that one could be loyal, without being an imperialist? No, Sir, but here again, I say, they have a double policy, one for Quebec and another for Ontario; and by such double-dealing, they they hope to snatch power from the hands of their opponents.

Sir, I have taken the liberty of quoting a few articles which the hon. member for Champlain (Mr. Marcotte) might read with profit to himself, instead of laughing at my remarks, as he had done from the beginning. For his own information, let me read a few extracts from editorials published by his organ, *Le Trifluvien*. Let us hear what the Conservative organ of the city of Three Rivers has to say on the matter:

If, in order to be a Conservative, one must endorse the policy of sending a contingent to South Africa and look upon this policy as a precedent; if, again, in order to be a Conservative, one must approve the position taken by Lord Minto, well—we are not Conservatives.

The hon. member for Champlain, I presume, shares in those views. I may notice here, in passing, that the *Trifluvien* is more civil than the organ of the hon. member for Beauharnois towards the representative of Her Majesty, and that the editor calls His Lordship not Minto, but Lord Minto.

We do not want Canada to take part in the wars of the empire, except for the defence of our own country. We are still more strongly opposed to Canada participating in unjust wars, like the present war.

We want no imperialism here, because it would nullify the constitution of 1867, which we French Canadians have accepted of our own free will. We are opposed to imperialism, because, for us, French Canadians, it involves the ruin of our fair share of influence in this country, which were opened to civilization by our fathers.

We deprecate any departure from the constitution in behalf of imperialism. We do not

want for Governor General a man who arbitrarily sets himself above his advisers and controls their policy. We do not want for a Governor a man who assumes the responsibility of undertaking, in the name of a fictitious right, what the Queen herself could not do in England.

Again, we say that if it is necessary, in order to be a Conservative, to endorse such departure from our settled policy, and such encroachments upon our rights and privileges, we declare that we are no longer Conservative.

I would like to know what the hon. member for Champlain (Mr. Marcotte) and what the hon. member for Three Rivers and St. Maurice (Sir Adolphe Caron) think of that editorial? The hon. gentlemen, no doubt, will avail themselves of the opportunity for denouncing such an article. If they endorse it, they can no longer remain in the ranks of the Conservative party. If they disapprove of it and disclaim any responsibility for the same, they will not fail, I suppose, to say so.

My hon. friend from Montreal (Mr. Desmarais) has quoted from *Le Monde Canadien*, the organ of the Hon. Mr. Nantel, but he has not, as you see, exhausted the subject. Mr. Nantel did not scruple to oppose Imperialism, the policy of his leader, in the various editorials which he has published in his paper, and for the information of the Tory party I shall read a few more extracts from that paper.

In its issue of October 18, *Le Monde Canadien*, referring to the course pursued by his leader in the different provinces, says :

On the other hand, Sir Charles Tupper, who has been in power for over twenty years, and who has never spent a cent nor sent a single soldier to assist the mother country, has just come back from England full of martial spirit.

Is Mr. Nantel to be accused of disloyalty for stating openly his views, which are at variance with those of his leader and his party? It is rank disloyalty; it is sheer treason in the opinion of the hon. gentlemen opposite.

The eloquence of Mr. Chamberlain, the arguments of the great financiers of London have satisfied him of the necessity for Canada taking an active part in all the wars of the empire; he is now stumping the country in every direction—he is now in the North-west, no doubt trying to convert the Doukhobors.

What is Mr. Nantel going to think of the statements made on the floor of the House by the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), by the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain), by the hon. member for West York (Mr. Clarke Wallace)? What he is going to think of the statements made in Toronto by the hon. member for Beauharnois, that if Great Britain wished to have 5,000 men, she could have them, that Canada was ready to send them to her help? What is Mr. Nantel going to think of the utterances of General Dalby, of the *Star*? Are those gentlemen going to recruit soldiers in Manitoba?

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The writer goes on :

Let us add that those patriots do not scruple to say that the school question is dead and buried. It is apparently with such bait that the Conservative party is going to return to power.

He is shocked beyond measure at the very idea that the government did not defray the whole expenditure of the contingents; and he denounces their action as a crime. We have seen him in our province, accompanied by several French Canadians, more or less conscious of their acts, who pitied the sad condition of the Uitlanders, who were forced to pay a royalty of from two to two and a half per cent on their mining output, while our fellow-countrymen in the Yukon pay ten per cent. They pitied, I say, those poor Uitlanders, being forced to contribute to the support of the Dutch schools in the Transvaal, while, in our own country, the French-speaking Catholics of Winnipeg are being taxed for the support of English Protestant schools; they pitied again the Uitlanders, who were denied representation in proportion to the taxes paid by them, while Hugh John Macdonald is framing a Bill to deprive of their franchise all those who cannot read the Manitoba Act in English.

As will be seen, the Conservative leader of the province of Manitoba is given here a good slap in the face. Let the hon. gentlemen who understand French realize the full purport of Mr. Nantel's article. As to the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney) who is now listening to my remarks, I invite him to read the translation of the article I have just given to the House.

I am sorry that the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) and the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) did not hear that article read; for, they would have been edified as to the opinion Mr. Nantel entertains of their capacity and merits, seeing he describes them as being more or less conscious of their acts.

It is the Hon. Mr. Nantel who thus lectures his party.

Let us proceed with our review of those who, in the eyes of the Tory party, are disloyal. Let us take, for instance, the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Grant. According to those good Tories, that gentleman should be branded as a traitor and a disloyal man, if we may judge from his remarks concerning the position taken by the Hon. Mr. Tarte, Minister of Public Works, when the order in council in connection with the sending of the contingent to South Africa was passed.

As the hon. gentlemen are aware, the hon. Minister of Public Works with his wonted energy insisted on a rider being added to the order in council, namely, that this should not be drawn into a precedent. What does Principal Grant say, among other things?

Mr. Tarte will no doubt agree that this is a case of an exceptional character. It seems to me he admits it, because what he asked was that the action taken by the government should not create a precedent. That point having been

granted, he has thus obtained all that was essential and I think that all those who take an interest in the parliamentary system ought to be grateful to him for it.

Had the Minister of Public Works anticipated what the future might have in store for us, because of the position taken by the government in connection with that disastrous war? To prove it, I would have to quote the editorial that appeared in *La Presse*, in its issue of the 14th October last, which was read, this afternoon, by the hon. member for St. James Division, Montreal, (Mr. Desmarais) and which is credited to Mr. Dansereau, the 'alter ego' of the old Conservative ministers.

The French Canadians, Sir, are as loyal as the hon. member for West York (Mr. Clarke Wallace), or the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney), and the French Liberals are as loyal as the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk) and the hon. member for Montmagny (Mr. Casgrain). I have noticed, Sir, during this debate, that our English fellow-countrymen do not know the French Canadians as they should know them, and I take note of the words of the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McInerney), who, in his reply to the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) said this: 'I did not know much of the history of French Canada.' Here is an admission. Let him then read it, that history of French Canada, from the treaty of Paris down to our own times and he will find at each page the sanction of the rights and privileges of the French race, on this American continent.

The hon. member for St. James Division, Montreal (Mr. Desmarais), when referring to the loyalty of the French Canadians, made a brief review of what the French Canadians have done for the British Crown, since the cession of Canada, after the battle on the Plains of Abraham. Let all fanatics, represented by the Orange lodge of the Middlesex County, I referred to a little while ago, answer this question: in 1775, on what side were the loyalists to be found and on what side the traitors?

In those eventful times, when they had just passed under British rule, the French Canadians enlisted in the British army, in order to repel the attack of two American generals, Arnold and Montgomery. Never did the French Canadians prove false to their new allegiance and nobody has a right to tax them of disloyalty.

In 1775, on which side were the traitors? Who were they who enlisted under the British flag, to repel Arnold and Montgomery? Why, Sir, they were French Canadians from Lower Canada, and yet, at that time, they had not received at the hands of the British government such treatment as was guaranteed by the treaty of Paris. What promises,

what offers were made to them? Let me quote here from the proclamation addressed in 1775 to the French Canadians by General Washington. I shall give that extract at full length, because it is a page of our history which it is desirable the Tories should know, so as to be satisfied of the loyalty of the French Canadians under those circumstances.

Above all we rejoice that our enemies have been deceived with regard to you. They have persuaded themselves, they have even dared to say, that the Canadians were not capable of distinguishing between the blessings of liberty and the wretchedness of slavery; that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the people of Canada. By such artifices they hoped to bend you to their views. We look forward with pleasure to that day, not far remote, when the inhabitants of America shall have one sentiment and the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free government.

Incited by these motives and encouraged by the advice of many friends of liberty among you, the grand American Congress have sent an army into your province, under the command of General Schuyler not to plunder but to protect you; to animate and bring into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To co-operate with this design and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes, which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children. I have detached Colonel Arnold into your country, with a part of the army under my command. I have enjoined it upon him, and I am certain that he will consider himself, and act as in the country of his patrons and best friends. Necessaries and accommodation of every kind, which you may furnish, he will thankfully receive and render the full value. I invite you therefore as friends and brethren, to provide him such supplies as your country affords; and I pledge myself, not only for your safety and security, but for an ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation; let no one flee as before an enemy. The cause of America and of liberty, is the cause of every virtuous American citizen; whatever may be his religion or descent, the United Colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption and arbitrary dominion may create. Come then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty against which all the force and artifices of tyranny will never be able to prevail.

Such were, Sir, the generous offers made to the French Canadians, who had just passed under British rule, and who, after fourteen years of suffering, had certainly a right to claim the benefit of the guarantees secured to them by the Treaty of Paris. What did they do, those men who are now charged with disloyalty? Did they accept the offers made to them? No; they remained faithful to the British Crown at a moment when, by becoming transfuges and passing over to the enemy, they might have annihilated British power on the American continent.

Not satisfied with having tempted the French Canadians by means of alluring promises, the Americans resorted to still more powerful means, when appealing to feelings

which were still very deep-rooted in the hearts of our ancestors. In 1778, Count D'Estaing crossed over from France to America, along with M. LaFayette, in order to help the cause of the independence of the United States. He issued a proclamation which must have deeply touched the heart of the French Canadians, thereby placing in still greater peril their allegiance to the British flag. I shall give here that proclamation, so that it may be on record in *Hansard* for the information of those who tax us with disloyalty to the mother country :

I need not ask the companions in arms of the Marquis of Lévis, the men who have shared in his glory, who have admired his genius, his military tact, who have loved him for his cordialness and his sincerity,—the distinguishing features of our nobility—if there are any other names, among other peoples, by the side of which they would prefer to have their own names appear.

Count D'Estaing, in those lines, touched the sensitive spot, as, being himself a Frenchman, he could appeal to the racial feeling when writing the Canadians to shake off the British yoke and renounce their allegiance to the British Crown, in order, later on, to draw them into the neighbouring republic. As will be seen by what I have just read, the Canadians proved very loyal, when declining to listen to a man who was appealing in such terms to a feeling so deeply rooted in their hearts.

Could the Canadians, who saw the brave Marquis de Montcalm fall for their defence, become the enemies of his descendants, fight against their old leaders, and take up arms against their relatives? The mere mention of these names would disarm them! I need not bring to the attention of the clergy that, for the success of their evangelical work, they will require a special protection of divine Providence, so that example may not impair faith nor temporal interests control everything else; and in order that the good treatment accorded them by their new sovereigns may not grow weaker, in proportion as their masters will have less to fear; that it is necessary for religion, that those who preach it should form a body in the State, and that no body of men would enjoy more consideration and respect and more power for doing good than that of the priests of Canada, taking part in the government of the country, because their honourable conduct has entitled them to public confidence. I need not remind the people of Canada, and all my fellow-countrymen in general, that a vast monarchy having the same religion, the same manners, the same language, and where are found relatives, old friends and brothers, is an inexhaustible source of trade and of wealth more easily acquired through a reunion with powerful neighbours, offering more security than by joining with foreigners of another hemisphere where everything is dissimilar and who, sooner or later, turning jealous and despotic sovereigns, will treat them as a conquered people and worse, no doubt, than their former fellow-countrymen did who had caused them to be defeated. I need not remind a whole people—for, a whole people, when they acquire the right of thinking and of acting, know their interests—that, to be allied to the

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United States, would secure their happiness; but I shall declare, as, in fact I formally declare in the name of His Majesty Louis the XVIth, who has authorized me to do so, that all his old subjects in North America who will no longer recognize the supremacy of Great Britain, may rely upon his help and protection.

Thus it was that American citizens of British descent and disloyal to the British Crown, tried to allure the French Canadians, who were loyal to the new régime they had accepted. Those were the promises made to them. Did they hearken to the voice of the tempter? No, Sir; they defended, against Arnold and Schuyler, the British patrimony on American soil.

Now, could the loyalty of the French Canadians in 1812 be called in question? History does not revoke in doubt the bravery and the devotion of three hundred French Canadians who, under the command of De-Salaberry, defeated seven thousand Americans, formerly British subjects.

In 1866, as in 1870, at the time of the Fenian raid, did not the French Canadians, just like Canadians of British descent, declare themselves ready to take up arms for the defence of the British territory?

And, to-day, who are they who leave relatives, friends and country to go and fight for the honour of the British flag on African soil? We see French Canadians, like Pelletier, Fiset, Larue and many others, who perhaps at this hour have sealed with their blood that loyalty which narrow-minded and fanatical people now deny us even on the floor of parliament.

Let it be known, once for all, that the French Canadians are loyal. We are loyal to the British Crown, but we also pretend to have the enjoyment of the rights and privileges secured to us as British subjects.

Now, to come back to the merit of the question. The hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk) told us that the hon. member for St. James Division, Montreal (Mr. Desmarais) had taken up the time of the House in reading extracts from newspapers, without coming to any conclusion. Although I consider that my hon. friend is free from reproach in that respect, as I do not wish to incur the same censure, I shall clearly define the position I mean to take upon the resolutions now under consideration.

At the risk of being qualified as disloyal, I hesitate not to say that the British North America Act contains no provision warranting Canada to take part in the wars of the empire, or giving the government power to dispose of public moneys without the consent of parliament, except in case of urgency, and that case is provided for by the Audit Act. I do not think the government had power to contribute to the expenses of the present war. In my opinion, there was no more reason to take part in the war now waged in South Africa, than there

was to participate in the thirty-two wars which Great Britain has been engaged in during the reign of Queen Victoria.

The government of the day, who always had my support, thought it their duty to take part in the war waged by Great Britain against the Transvaal Republic, by sending two Canadian contingents, under the order in council, in date of October 14 last, and that as a token of gratitude towards the mother country.

The order in council also provides that the action taken by the government cannot be construed as a precedent for future action. It is also stated therein that the government will only pay for the arming, the equipment and the transportation of the volunteers, the pay of the men and the other expenses being provided for by the Imperial government.

I agree with the hon. member for St. James Division, Montreal (Mr. Desmarais) that if I was satisfied that the action taken by the government was a first step towards Imperial federation, I should be the first to protest against such a dangerous policy. I am free to say here, however, that judging from the experience of the past, I am not alarmed at all about the future as regards this question. The order in council provides as follows:—

The Prime Minister, in view of the well known desire of a great many Canadians who are ready to take service under such conditions, is of opinion that the moderate expenditure which would thus be involved for the equipment and transportation of such volunteers, may readily be undertaken by the government of Canada without summoning parliament, especially as such an expenditure, under such circumstances cannot be regarded as a departure from the well known principles of constitutional government and colonial practice, nor construed as a precedent for future action.

The Prime Minister during the debate on the address repeated that pledge and reaffirmed the principle laid down in the order in council of October 14 :

But, I will go further, and I will say that not only from the British constitutional point of view it is not to be construed as a precedent, but that even from the colonial point of view it is not to be construed as a precedent. If the result of our action were to be, that in any war of Great Britain, we were to be constrained to take a part, as upon this precedent, I would strongly object. What we have done we have done, as I said at Sherbrooke, in the plenitude, in the majesty of our colonial, legislative independence. I claim for Canada this, that, in future, Canada shall be at liberty to act or not act, to interfere or not interfere, to do just as she pleases, and that she shall reserve to herself the right to judge whether or not there is cause for her to act. In the words of Rudyard Kipling, I repeat :

Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own ;
The gates are mine to open,
The gates are mine to close.

As I said, opposed as I am, on principle, to any such Imperialist move as that involved in the sending of the Canadian contingent to South Africa, and although I deprecate any participation by Canada in the wars of the empire, yet I place the utmost reliance upon the pledge given by the Prime Minister, and, I hope, the order in council will not be a dead letter in the future.

Having to choose between the policy of the government of the day and that propounded by the hon. leader of the opposition, and which he would undoubtedly carry out were he to seize the reins of power again, I do not hesitate to give the preference to the policy now under consideration, and let me tell you why: if, on the one hand, the present government went too far in that direction, it is clear, on the other hand, from the statements of the hon. leader of the opposition, so full of jingoism, that he would go much farther and that he would give us a military government. Let us choose the least of the two evils.

From the very beginning of this debate, I expected the hon. leader of the opposition would propose his Woodbridge resolutions. But I was doomed to disappointment; for the hon. gentleman, far from playing the braggard, told us, in the course of a very tame speech, that he simply blamed the government for their hesitancy in the sending of the first contingent, and for not doing more than they had done.

Since when has the hon. leader of the opposition become an Imperialist? Here, again, I find the same double-dealing. As the member for St. James Division (Mr. Desmarais) very properly remarked this afternoon, the leader of the opposition is an Imperialist in Ontario and a jingo in the province of Quebec. Has he turned his back on his past record to such a point that he no longer remembers what he said in 1866, in the course of his controversy with Joseph Howe. Here is what he said :

It is a monstrous absurdity to want Canada to participate in the wars of the empire in every quarter of the globe, and Canadians can be held to nothing more than the defence of the portion of the empire they inhabit.

The hon. gentleman had not yet become an Imperialist at that time. He was then working in favour of the scheme of confederation, and was seconded by such distinguished men as John A. Macdonald and George Etienne Cartier. Let us hear the statement made by Sir G. E. Cartier on April 20, 1866, at the Fishmongers' banquet in London, where he was then as a delegate of the Canadian parliament :

We desire the adoption of that scheme, in order not only to increase our prosperity and our strength, but also in order the better to be able to participate in the defence of the British Empire. We understand very well that in case of invasion, we could not resist the enemy with-

out the assistance of the British armies ; but with the union of all the provinces, we promise to take part in the defence of our country to the best of our ability. Therefore when we speak of a confederation of the British North American colonies, we do not mean to speak of a system calculated to loosen the ties which bind those colonies to the mother country, but a system calculated to develop, for the advantage of all, the trade of British America.

As you see, there is no mention made here of a military system for the unification of Canada and Great Britain.

I still hear the sardonic laugh of the hon. member for Champlain (Mr. Marcotte).

Mr. MARCOTTE. (Translation.) I may tell the hon. gentleman that I shall laugh whenever there will be cause for it.

Mr. ETHIER. (Translation.) I suppose the hon. gentleman is liable to such fits of laughter.

Mr. MARCOTTE. (Translation.) Yes, when I hear funny things said.

Mr. ETHIER. (Translation.) On March 31, 1868, speaking during the debate on the Militia Bill, Mr. J. S. Macdonald made a statement, which I am going to give to the House. As will easily be seen, he had not the least intention of having Canada participate in the wars of the empire. Referring to the Militia Bill of 1862, which had brought about the defeat of his cabinet, he said :

The failure of the Bill of 1862 clearly showed that any coercive Militia Bill is repugnant to the people of Canada. I think that, in the absence of danger, the present measure or any other measure which might be brought down, will remain a dead letter for the great majority of our militiamen.

But let a danger arise, and then all Canadians will fly to arms, for the defence of their homes and their country.

Now, what is the argument brought forward in order to justify the position taken by the Conservative leaders on this question? They now pretend that the framers of the constitution had in view the creation of a military system enabling us to participate in the wars of the empire. Let us hear what Mr. Nantel has to say in this respect. After referring to the enactments of the constitution of 1867, and opposing them to the statements of the hon. leader of the opposition and of his followers in the province of Quebec, he says :

We perfectly realize the import of the statement we make, and that it will be evoked against us by some men whose judgment is blinded by their hostility ; but we should really be ashamed of ourselves, were we to refrain voicing here the feeling of a mass of our fellow-countrymen, who, when accepting the constitution of 1867, and when acquiescing in it with all the strength of their patriotism, never sus-

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pected they were going to be engulfed in an Imperialism where they could not make their voice heard, while they know that under the present régime, they may have their say in the creation, the maintenance and the government of the country.

That is, Sir, what I had to say on this vexed question which is now agitating the minds of the people.

The order in council enacts that the policy of sending the Canadian contingents is not to be construed as a precedent and that the government is to pay for the arming, equipment and transportation of those contingents to South Africa. The right hon. Prime Minister has stated, in his speech, during the debate on the address, that if the result of the government action were to be, that in any war of Great Britain, we were to be constrained to take a part, as upon this precedent, he would strongly object, and that, in the future, Canada shall be at liberty to act or not to act, to interfere or not to interfere, to do just as she pleases.

I place the utmost reliance upon the statement of the Prime Minister, irrespective of any party ties or bias.

I take no stock in the ultra-loyalist statements of the hon. gentlemen opposite, nor in the janus-faced policy they are propounding to the country in that respect.

A British subject, I am ready to endorse the government's policy in that respect, provided it be not drawn into a precedent.

The Canadian militia was organized and has been maintained so far with a view to the defence of Canada, in case of invasion, and not to co-operate in the wars of Great Britain.

One word more as to the financial aspect of the question. We have to pay \$2,000,000 to defray the expenditure in connection with the contingents sent to South Africa. Now, that sum of money might have been applied to the development of the country, to public works of great urgency, and our opponents will not fail to cast the thing in our teeth. But when I hear the hon. gentlemen opposite denouncing the government upon the hustings in the country because of the expenditure of millions of dollars for public improvements, while on the other hand, they say that we should send 5,000 men to South Africa to fight for Great Britain, and moreover that we should defray the whole expenditure in connection with that contingent, then it is, Sir, that we have good ground to doubt their sincerity. Have the hon. gentlemen even a faint idea of the enormous expenditure involved in such a proposition?

Let me confine myself, for the moment, to the additional pay of 25 cents a day for our soldiers by the resolutions now under consideration. If you take the 2,000 men we have sent to Africa, that gives \$500 a day, or \$15,000 a month, or \$180,000 a year. As you see, that is a liberal expenditure.

The hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) was greatly scandalized last year, when the government brought down estimates for sixty million dollars; but, for the last few months, he has been stumping the country with the hon. leader of the opposition and the hon. member for West York (Mr. N. C. Wallace), telling the electorate that he was ready to send 5,000 men to Africa to assist Great Britain in her war with the Transvaal.

When it comes to throwing dust into the eyes of the people, and making jingoist speeches, the hon. gentlemen are quite bold. *Audaces fortuna juvat*. They might, however, be disappointed in that respect.

I hope, Sir, that Imperialism, which is threatening us, will be checked, and that steps will be taken to choke it in the embryo. In conclusion, let me express the hope that as the union of England, Scotland and Ireland has ever been fruitful in glory and power for the United Kingdom, so, from the union the people of this Dominion, irrespective of races and religious creeds, will spring a strong and mighty nation, a free and independent people, on this American continent.

Mr. F. A. MARCOTTE (Champlain). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to follow the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat, through the luxuriant path he has followed; nor do I wish to reply to his statements—I was almost going to say his challenge, so provoking were some of the remarks addressed by him to most straightforward men who belong to a nationality different from ours.

Newspapers, it is true, have been quoted here whose statements are to be regretted by us and by our English-speaking colleagues as well; but, on the other hand, some of our own newspapers have also published opinions that many of us would not like to endorse. The reason why some of those papers should not be judged quite as severely as others should, when they publish exaggerated statements, is that they have not had the advantage of being made sufficiently acquainted with the character of the races which they disparage. As to members of this House, it is altogether a different thing, and the hon. member for Two Mountains (Mr. Ethier), in his speech of to-night, has uttered words which, as a friend, and if he wishes to be more in keeping with prudence, I would advise him to expunge from *Hansard*.

Mr. J. A. C. ETHIER (Two Mountains). (Translation.) I am not in the habit of making corrections to my speeches.

Mr. MARCOTTE. (Translation.) There is another piece of advice I would like to give the hon. gentleman. 'Forewarned, forearmed,' as the saying goes; and I think my hon. friend is entitled to this piece of advice:

Let him, in the future, avoid being so nervous, as one of my friends here suggests, especially from the beginning to the end of his speech.

Professors of eloquence—though I do not pretend to give myself as an example, for I am far from being a model on that point—tell us that, when speaking in public, one should now raise his voice, now lower it, but that in those parts of his speech which are most pathetic, he should raise the tone of his voice. To-day, my hon. friend has been pathetic all through his oration—I say pathetic, not to use the word 'pathos.'

As to the position of affairs, I think it is one full of responsibility for us. This delicate situation has been created by outside circumstances. I mean the deplorable war which has broken out between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic.

As to the causes of the war, I need certainly not refer to them, as the subject has been so thoroughly threshed out on the floor of this House. I may say, however, that, in my opinion, the hon. gentlemen who have ventilated their views on the question—although there were great differences of opinion—have all spoken with sincerity and conviction.

As to the merits of the war, some were of opinion that England was engaged in a just war, while others held that it was an unjust war.

There is, however, one noticeable fact that has struck me and which, I think it proper to draw the attention of the House to. It is the freedom of speech and criticism with which the question has been debated on the floor of both Houses of the English parliament, a fact, Sir, that comes in singular contrast with the restrictions and reticence which we have had perforce to bring into debate.

Some hon. MEMBERS. (Translation.) Hear, hear.

Mr. F. A. MARCOTTE. (Translation.) In England, prominent political men, who fully realized their responsibilities, have been heard to say on the floor of parliament that the war between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic was an unjust war. Now, since we enjoy here the same constitution and the same parliamentary privileges, I think we ought to be allowed to speak freely our minds and to ventilate our views in parliament, how divergent soever these views may be, on the important issue now under consideration. There is another noticeable fact that crops out of this debate: and it is this, that the question of French Canadian loyalty has been threshed out here and ventilated *ad nauseam*. I need not then refer to it at all, except to say this: that French Canadian loyalty needs no further evidence; that it has been fully proved and substantiated in the past, and that to the malignant strictures and reflections of a

certain press, we can oppose, as a bulwark, the names of a host of fellow-countrymen of ours who have fallen on the battle-fields, for the maintenance of the British flag in this country. But, on the other hand, in a country like this, composed as it is of various races and creeds, peace and harmony can only be secured by maintaining in all its integrity the constitution which governs us. Whenever the constitution is infringed upon, and when the solemn treaties agreed to by our statesmen and sanctioned by the people are thrown to the winds, protestations cannot fail to make themselves heard, and friction or ill-feeling must necessarily arise, such as have already been experienced by certain elements in the country. Ill-feeling still exists in the country in connection with that vexed school question, the French Canadians being the only class of people who have been deprived and are still being deprived of the free exercise of their educational rights, and that, I regret to say, in defiance of a most solemn pact and most solemn pledges given them at the entrance of Manitoba into confederation. That ill-feeling still exists; from one end of the country to the other, a cry has arisen and is still being kept up that an injustice was perpetrated, that the law is being violated, and such a cry, such ill-feeling and friction, I say, cannot but be most detrimental to the country and to the union which ought to exist between free and independent men living under the same flag.

What did we see in the past, Sir? When our responsible ministers undertook to give important contracts without the consent and sanction of parliament, as in the case of the Yukon and the Drummond contracts. My hon. friends on this side of the House stood up on the floor of the House to vindicate the independence and the rights of parliament. We then said—and we say so again—that the prerogatives of parliament had been ignored; that popular representation had become an empty word, that the only business of parliament was for members to come down here and register the contracts passed and signed by the ministers. Now, we are exactly in the same position. The Chambers have not been consulted, before saddling the country with an expenditure of \$2,000,000. Under the constitution and the pact in force at the entrance of the provinces into confederation we were never to be called upon to take part in the wars of the empire.

The question is, now: Whether are we drifting? Has parliament become a mere registering machine without any right to make its voice heard? Has the constitution been amended? Indeed, it looks very much like it, Sir. We no longer live here under a constitutional monarchy, where the people's representatives have a consultative voice in the giving of contracts, and in the most important matters. No, we have

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not a single word to say. What we have now is government by a few people; we have an oligarchy, the worst form of government; and as I said, our only business here now is to register the decrees of the cabinet. Under some pretense or other, the ministers know how to prevail upon their friends in this House to approve and ratify what they have done. Now, Sir, against such an infringement upon the rights of prerogatives of parliament, I enter here my protest, in the name of the constitution and on behalf of my electors. I ever was and I am still in favour of maintaining the constitution in its entirety.

But, Sir, under these perplexing circumstances, and in the delicate position we are in, what is to be done, when our poor soldiers fall on those distant battle-fields, for the defence of the British flag? We are British subjects and we are indebted to Great Britain for the protection she grants us, for the privileges we enjoy, for the right of making ourselves heard here in the French language; now, I ask, what is to be done, in face of this vote of \$2,000,000, a large portion of which will go to the wife and children of the warriors who are fighting and spilling their blood for the empire under the burning sun of Africa? What is to be done, I repeat, when some tell us that the war is unjust, while others, like Cardinal Vaughan tells us that the war is just and when our clergy are offering up prayers for the success of British arms? What we have to do, Sir, is to uphold the constitution and to stick to the letter of the pact of 1867. Such is the dilemma in which we find ourselves placed. Under such circumstances, although I enter my protest, and fully understand the step taken towards Imperialism, a policy which I oppose, I say that I cannot decline voting these two million dollars, to our poor Canadian boys, who are falling, victims to their bravery and heroism on the battle-fields of Africa. Perhaps, at this moment, they are fighting and turning their looks towards Canada, towards their families and towards this parliament, where we are sitting under the protection of the British flag. How could we decline voting that money which will go to the support of the families of our soldiers, and towards the education of their sons? No, I do not think there is a man in this House and in the country who does not realize that, under the circumstances, we are all bound to vote in favour of the Fielding motion.

I believe that when I shall tell my constituents that, while entering my protest and insisting upon the maintenance of the constitution, I did vote in favour of the Fielding motion, they will approve of my vote.

Mr. FLINT moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT—OFFER TO GARRISON HALIFAX.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. McNEILL. Before the House adjourns, I wish to ask the right hon. First Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) whether he has received an answer from the Imperial government with regard to the offer to garrison Halifax?

The PRIME MINISTER. No.

ASH WEDNESDAY ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. FOSTER. Before the House adjourns. I desire to ask a question: Is it the intention of the government to adjourn over Wednesday next?

The PRIME MINISTER. Yes, because it is a legal holiday. I will give notice accordingly.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 10.30 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, February 26, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

OFFICIAL DEBATES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. CHAMPAGNE moved:

That the first report of the Select Standing Committee appointed to supervise the official report of the debates of this House during the present session, be now concurred in.

Motion agreed to.

CANADA TEMPERANCE ACT.

Mr. FLINT introduced Bill (No. 50) to amend the Canada Temperance Act. He said: Mr. Speaker, this Bill is almost a copy of the Bill introduced by me last session dealing with punishments for violations of the Act, and also dealing with the subject of search warrants. The details will be explained in committee. They are all purely technical, and it is the belief of those who

favour the Bill, that it will make the Act more efficient.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

REPORT.

Report of the Department of Inland Revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899.—(Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière.)

ADMINISTRATION OF THE YUKON TERRITORY.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw the attention of the House to a matter which we may consider to be of very grave importance, and to put myself in order, I propose to conclude with a motion. I should not have brought this subject up at the present moment had I not learned from the press that the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) is about to visit England, and that he is to leave to-morrow morning. I presume that statement is authentic. I saw it stated in the papers that he would leave to-morrow morning for Winnipeg. I wished very much that the hon. gentleman should be in the House when I dealt with the subject that I propose to draw to his attention, and I regret that I had not the opportunity of giving him longer notice than I have in regard to it now. I may say that it is the present position of matters in the Yukon, and as I consider that it has assumed a very grave and important character, I should fail in my duty if I did not place before the notice of the House some of the reasons which, I think, have led to the present disastrous condition of things, and of the prospects in that place and the means by which they may be improved. We have had, from a very high authority—I mean Mr. Ogilvie—the statement made, after years of careful examination and consideration of that country, that the prospect of the Canadian Yukon developing into an enormous gold-producing country was almost limitless and unbounded. We had that statement made after years of examination by a gentleman who was very well qualified to speak upon that subject, and, I believe, that the people of Canada accepted his report as one that was entitled to very great confidence and accepted his statements as likely to be realized. Now, I need not tell the House that I have differed in toto cœlo with the hon. Minister of the Interior as to the administration of that country and, as it is a matter of national importance, I want, before he leaves the House, as he has been giving the subject his attention, to draw the attention of the House to the grounds on which the Department of the Interior should reconsider its whole policy in reference to

the administration of the Yukon. Perhaps I am not able to judge impartially, but if I wished to exploit the Yukon for my own purposes, if I were the Minister of the Interior, and for the purposes and in the interest of the party to which I belonged, I would have adopted exactly the policy the hon. Minister of the Interior adopted, and has pursued since he took charge of that department. I take exception altogether to the regulations in almost every particular. The first fatal mistake, in my judgment, was made in reference to the royalty, and I brought that to the attention of the hon. Minister of the Interior and of this House in the strongest and most emphatic manner. I protested against it from the first hour that this extraordinary and unheard of policy was adopted. I say unheard of; I do not believe that in this world such a policy was ever adopted before or since as the imposition of a charge of 10 per cent on the gross output. Of course, I know that some slight amelioration was made in reference to the amount subjected to royalty, and I believe, that the amount was increased to \$5,000. But I say that it is a fact that in almost all gold mining countries in the world no such mining policy has ever been adopted and that the tendency everywhere has been entirely the reverse, and this very fact, I think, is sufficient reason why grave consideration should be given to this subject. The policy of the imposition of 10 per cent royalty on the output of gold in the Yukon was, in the first place, calculated to lead to smuggling. There is no material in the world in regard to which the inducement is so large and which is so easily smuggled as gold, because you can get in a very small compass a very large amount of value, and it is extremely difficult for parties to detect it. The fact that this unexampled royalty was imposed was, in the first place, calculated to injure the Canadian Yukon in every possible way, first, because there is no such royalty known or recognized in the adjoining territory of Alaska in the United States of America. In the second place, in British Columbia there is no such royalty recognized, and in Nova Scotia, where I believe the royalty has been higher than in any other part of the country, it is, I think, only 2½ per cent. This Yukon royalty is unexampled. It is a royalty calculated to lead to smuggling with the incidental result of minifying the amount of gold produced in that territory. If hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of gold are smuggled out, it greatly injures the character of the Canadian Yukon, because the country does not get credit for the product, and it is upon the volume of your gold product that you must hope to keep up the interest of the miners all over the world in that territory. So far as I am aware, capitalists everywhere regard this

royalty as an act of extortion, and that is a very grave matter for the consideration of the government. While ten per cent royalty may be paid by persons who have been enabled to get bonanzas, in the shape of gold-bearing limits of enormous wealth and value, yet the fact remains that the prospectors—the men upon whom every gold mining region has to depend for its extension and development—must be discouraged by such a royalty. They would feel that it is in vain for them to spend all their means in exploring for a discovery, which if of only ordinary value, would be worthless to them, because the royalty would deprive them of any profit in it. After spending \$20,000 or \$30,000, it might turn out that the royalty would deprive them of any value whatever in their discovery, and consequently prospectors are debarred from undertaking the exploration. You have the great army of prospectors upon whose energy and activity the progress of the country depends, you have them discouraged; you have the country deprived of the full credit of its gold production, and you have a wet blanket thrown over the gold mining industries of the Yukon. Those who have taken the trouble to read Major Walsh's report, will find that after he had been for some time administrator of the Yukon, he put on record, in the strongest terms, his utter hostility to the ten per cent royalty. He has, in fact, pointed out that the officials acting under him, were absolutely obliged to ignore the law, in consequence of the severity of the royalty. And, Sir, one of the worst things that can happen in any country is, that the conditions and regulations and laws are such as to render it absolutely necessary that they should be violated. I do not intend to-day to speak as to the character of the Yukon officials appointed by this government, but I must say, that you must have men of the highest standing, character and integrity, men who have some character to lose, before you can hope, that in administering such a law, which presents such enormous temptation to fraud and bribery, they will administer it effectively and honestly. I may say, Sir, that this government, in their appointment of these officials, have not studied the interests of Canada, nor of the territory most intimately concerned. Mr. Ogilvie, who was a long time in that territory, and who has more knowledge of gold mining there than any other official, also stated clearly and emphatically, that he believed Canada would obtain a larger amount of revenue from a 3 per cent royalty, than from a 10 per cent royalty. Why is it, that after the evidence of Mr. Walsh and of Mr. Ogilvie, and of all others to whom the Minister of the Interior ought to look for advice; why is it, that their opinion has been ignored, and that a policy has been pursued which has led to the result I anticipated,

viz.: That the population is being driven out of the richest gold country in the world, and that instead of our seeing year by year, the Yukon grow in population and wealth, we have the startling fact, that a population of 30,000 has been reduced to a little over 4,000 at the present moment, and that when the spring opens, it is expected that a much greater exodus will take place. A private company has spent a very large sum of money for the purpose of affording easier access to that country by the construction of the White Pass Railway. We all know that the difficulties of reaching the Yukon have been greatly lessened by the construction of that railway, and by the larger number of boats which are plying on the lakes, between the railway terminus and Dawson. In view of the fact that people are able to reach Dawson now, without a tenth part of the expense or personal inconvenience which they were forced to experience a short time ago, we might reasonably hope for a steadily increase of population, rather than a startling decrease. We have the fact apparent to every one, that the Yukon territory is, to say the least of it, at a standstill. I may further refer to the opinion of another gentleman, who is, I believe, recognized on both sides of the House, as a man of authority and intelligence. I speak of Mr. Coste, who was sent up there by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). I find this reference to him made in a newspaper, a very warm supporter of this government, published in London, namely the *Canadian Gazette*. Under the heading of 'The Klondike,' that paper says:

Mr. Louis Coste, formerly chief engineer of the Public Works Department, who has lately returned from Dawson, has been visiting Ottawa and has conferred with Sir Wilfrid Laurier with reference to the Yukon royalty. Mr. Coste is said to be of opinion that the development of the Yukon country is being hindered by the enforcement of the 10 per cent royalty. The tax, he says, does not merely affect the output of gold, but has a far-reaching influence on every class of business in the country, and means an addition of 10 per cent to the cost of living and supplies of all kinds. In the early part of the year Dawson had a population of 16,000, but when Mr. Coste left there six weeks ago (this was published on December 7) the population had dropped to 4,800.

And we have from the Minister of the Interior himself the statement that that population is some 500 less, according to the last account he had received, than it was when Mr. Coste made that statement. I give that to the House as a reason why I think the government should most seriously consider this question of royalty. I know that it is preventing capital, especially from Great Britain, being sent into the country, because the mere mention of the 10 per cent royalty, so unlike anything found in any other country, has at once a completely deterrent

effect, and parties will not invest their money in what is under ordinary circumstances business of the most speculative character, gold mining, when they find that after sending their prospectors in, the government wish to take all the profit that can be made by what would be a fairly successful undertaking under an ordinary and reasonable royalty, and leave absolutely nothing for those who are engaged. I can quite understand that a few parties who have got hold of bonanzas and eldorados will be perfectly satisfied with the 10 per cent royalty; but even in that case we have had the statement made to this House in the most authentic manner that the law was violated in regard to the payment of the royalty by the most successful of those engaged in gold mining in that country; and if the law has been violated by them, what must we expect? Mr. Walsh has told us that he found it absolutely impossible to carry on the law, and that great latitude and license was exercised by himself and the inspectors under him in administering it.

I will not detain the House any longer with that feature of the case; but I was surprised to hear the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick), in answer to a question, say that he had not learned that the mining regulations were giving dissatisfaction, but that, on the contrary, as far as he was aware, they were giving great satisfaction. But, what did surprise me was a statement made by the hon. Solicitor General that the government had no information—I think he said official information—as to the necessity of appointing a judge. In order not to do the hon. gentleman any injustice, as he is not here, I will read what he said. He was asked the following question:

1. Has the government any information as to the condition of the docket of the court of Mr. Justice Dugas, in the Yukon district?

(a) If so, what was the condition when the vacation of two months was taken in June last?

(b) Is there difficulty of obtaining a hearing of civil cases in this district, owing to the congestion of court work? If so, how long has such a state of things existed?

(c) Was an additional judge not appointed since the provision therefor at the last session of parliament? If not, why not?

(d) Is it proposed to appoint another judge for this court?

There were some further questions on the same subject, which it is not necessary for me to repeat. The answer of the hon. Solicitor General was:

The answer to subsections (a) and (b) is: the government have no official information on the subject. The answer to subsection (c) is: an additional judge was not appointed. The answer to subsection (d) is: that the government has no official information on this subject. The answer to subsection (e) is the same. The answer to subsection (f) is: the government has no official advice that the population of Dawson City is decreasing rapidly.

It is a curious statement for the Solicitor General to make that the government have no information as to so important a matter as the administration of justice, in face of the fact that the Department of Justice came to this House last session, if I remember rightly, and got parliament to vote the money for an additional judge in that country. It is an abuse of the term, when we ask for information, for the government to shield themselves under the term official.

The PRIME MINISTER. What is the date?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am reading from page 619 of *Hansard* of this session; the date is February 19. It was on the same day that the Minister of the Interior, the colleague of the hon. Solicitor General, said that the last estimate which the government had of the population of Dawson City was 4,445. This estimate was made up about two months ago, and I do not hesitate to say that an estimate made up to-day would show a loss of the 445, and that as soon as spring opens there will be a loss of more than half of the remaining population. These facts, if anything could do it, should bring the government to the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary that this matter should not rest in the hands of a gentleman who has set his face like a flint against accepting any advice either from gentlemen on this side of the House or from the press or from his own officers or from anybody, and who is maintaining, for purposes which I cannot understand, this administration which is recognized everywhere as striking at the very foundation of our hopes and prospects in the Yukon. I may say that if the hon. Solicitor General has no information in reference to the very important matters referred to in the question, I have some:

In June last the court work was in a moderately fair shape, although the docket was showing signs of being overcrowded. Notwithstanding this a two months' vacation was taken, and when court opened in September there was a large list of civil cases which had been set down for trial. Besides this there were a number of criminal cases, and what with chamber motions and criminal cases, when the court adjourned at Christmas there had actually been only ten days occupied in civil trials. A good many of the cases on the list had been wiped off by the process of settlement as the only attainable end of a hopeless litigation—

Simply because people could not do that which every free man in the country has a right to do under the institutions of the country, have his claim tried in a court of law; and the government recognized this so fully that they themselves proposed to appoint one or more additional judges and took a vote for that purpose last session.

—but in spite of this the list has increased until there are now over one hundred cases already

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set down for trial, and if there was any prospect of a case ever being heard this number would be largely increased. It is an impossibility to collect an account, and litigants, merchants and lawyers are suffering accordingly.

Can you destroy a community, can you put a check on the business of any country more completely than by making it impossible to collect an account by process of law?

The judge has fixed the first twenty-five days of the month for sittings, reserving the last week for recess during which, in theory, he has to prepare judgment and be ready for the next sittings, but as a matter of fact, judgments are often a month in arrears.

Again, in the matter of Christmas vacation, the ordinance fixes it as running until January 4. The judge added on a week, and is now out of town on the creeks and will not return until the 10th.

This was written on the 6th January.

I do not wish you to take these remarks as being personally directed to the judge. He, however, is absolutely unsuited by training for conducting business under our Judicature Act. He does not understand the interlocutory motions or practice of any kind, and many other matters of importance. I put down his present apathetic attitude as being due to the hopelessness of ever being able to carry on the work before him. A year ago he advised the authorities—

I call the attention of my right hon. friend the First Minister to that, as it is a very grave statement.

—that another, and perhaps two more, judges were needed, and you will remember that the salary of a judge was placed in the Estimates, but no appointment has been made, and it is now almost too late, as the damage has been done and litigation ruined.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The ruination of litigation is not always particularly damaging to the public.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. When merchants and business men find that they are in a community where there is no law that can be put in force, owing to the want of judicial action, for the recovery of their debts and other rights, when they find that they cannot collect their debts, they will cease to do business, and I say therefore that the ruin of litigation in that sense means the forcing of business men to take their capital and their energies elsewhere and seek a place where they can have their just claims protected by a force of law.

The PRIME MINISTER. And litigation profitable.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. And litigation profitable, says the hon. gentleman. That is a taint that attaches to the hon. gentleman's profession, but wherever business and enterprise flourish, litigation will always

be found profitable, and the fact that even lawyers are to share in the general prosperity ought not to be a reason for depriving honest, enterprising, intelligent men of the means of enforcing their rights and of engaging in commercial undertakings under the protection given them by the law.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Did the hon. gentleman state who is the author of this information?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I did not, and I do not propose to do so.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I do not ask him to do so, if he has any objection, but merely put the question.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not propose to give my authority, I am stating things that must be either true or false, and it is the business of the government to know. The government took a vote of this House last session for the purpose of providing an additional judge, at the earnest entreaty of Judge Dugas, who said it was impossible for him to get through the business. The government had the salary voted, but for some reason not explained—whether it was because the hon. gentleman who is to get that position has not yet done sufficient missionary work in the country to entitle him to the appointment, I will not undertake to say—but from whatever course, that additional judge has not been appointed; and I say it is a scandal, when a judge in a position to offer an opinion advises the government that he is incapable of doing the legal business the country requires to be done, and when the government took from this House the power to appoint and pay another judge, they have not yet seen fit to appoint one, simply for the purpose of keeping a little longer in this House the gentlemen that they intend to appoint. Whether that or any other reason is the cause of their neglect to discharge this, which is one of the highest duties of the government, I say it is simply a scandal. My informant continues:

I understand that an assistant of the Gold Commissioner is coming in. This was a most urgent necessity a year ago, but now mining litigation is about over.

A year ago an assistant gold commissioner was required to do the business. Judge Senkler was overworked and unable, with all his energy and ability, to overtake the work, and an assistant gold commissioner was asked for. Such an assistant was not then appointed, and now there is no necessity for one, as the men who were carrying on gold mining have been driven out of the country, the gold mining population has dwindled down from 30,000 to under 5,000, and mining business is at a standstill, not-

withstanding all the facilities furnished by the White Pass Railway and the various navigation companies operating in connection with it for bringing people into and out of that country; and notwithstanding the great facility furnished at great cost by the construction of a telegraph line into Dawson. Notwithstanding all these advantages, owing to the mismanagement of the government, owing to this 10 per cent royalty, owing to these regulations that are calculated to discourage enterprise, the development of that district has practically ceased. Where is there any country in the world that has adopted this policy of imposing a 10 per cent royalty? There may be some, but I am not aware of any in which the government steps in and says to the prospector, who, after having gone there with his own money, after encountering great toil and hardship, and after having left everything like comfort behind him, has succeeded in finding a good mine,—where is the country in the world in which the government declares that it will take the benefit of that man's labour by taking the adjoining location and locking it up and dealing with it in such a way as may be very satisfactory to its friends, but very ill-calculated to inspire confidence in the public. My informant further says:

They have abolished relocations and withdrawn all lands from exploration, so that the new assistant will have a sinecure. Nine months ago Senkler was nearly worked to death, and it was only his constitution which pulled him through.

The government were made aware of that, but they failed to provide the assistance required.

Postal matters this year are in a wonderfully good shape compared with last year, which only shows how easy it is to do the job if they try. As to mining matters, the whole country is withdrawn from prospecting by the action of the government in abolishing relocation, and by the new regulations the Minister of the Interior decides who will get a claim and how it will be disposed of.

I want to ask the government if they think that is calculated to induce people to take their capital into that country for the purpose of gold mining. Let a man have a claim as good as he likes, he has to go before the gold commissioner, and the final decision is left with the Minister of the Interior, so that all the regulations are of a character that will enable that hon. gentleman to deal with claims in a way which will best suit him and his friends.

The hydraulic regulations are an outrage. Under them the country will be parcelled out for the favourites of the minister. If you read the regulations you will find that the method of acquiring a lease is very poorly laid out.

What do you think of regulations that are of a character that will enable any minister—I care not who he may be—to parcel out among his favourites the valuable gold mining claims to be found in that country?

If you read the regulations, you will find that the method of acquiring a lease is very poorly laid out; and one might almost say intentionally so, as it is all left in the hands of the government. I would refer you to the opening words of section 13 of the hydraulic regulations: 'When it is decided.' Who decides? On what material does he decide? For whose benefit does he decide? The papers showing applications for hydraulic leases would form interesting reading. The effect of the government's action is to drive all the miners from the country—

It has driven out 20,000 of those who entered into that country for the purpose of developing the mines, according to the Minister of the Interior's own statement.

The effect of the government's action is to drive all the miners from the country. Our population is decreasing daily, and, when the water is open in the spring, will be decimated. No inducements are held out to the average prospector, and he, of course, will not stay.

The royalty you know all about, and I see by the papers that Louis Coste has been voicing the general sentiment of the local miners.

There will be some enormous fortunes made in some of these hydraulic locations, while in others it is ridiculous to regard them as being capable of being worked by hydraulic methods, as there is no water available. What will be done, no doubt, is to work many of the locations by the ordinary methods, as many of them are on absolutely unprospected creeks, which may later develop and be as rich as any in the country.

Sulphur Creek is an example of how a creek may have a bad name one year and all of a sudden come to the front. If the hydraulic regulations had been in force one year ago, Sulphur Creek would have been taken up under them, as it was almost abandoned. This year they have found they were looking for pay on the wrong limit. It has been located, and gold is now found on every claim for a long distance. This will be the experience of some of the hydraulic favourites.

To show how absolutely negligent and dilatory the government is in regard to matters here, we have a Registrar of Land Titles under the Torrens system, and you will find that on August 26, 1897, an Order in Council fixing his fees was passed, but up to this time I do not believe there is a bit of patented land in the territory, so what good is a registry office? The application for a Crown grant of the townsite was made a year or more ago, and the government had an officer in here during last summer, professedly for the purpose of clearing up titles; but no Crown grant has yet been issued. I myself am living on a piece of land bought from the government direct, not of the Harper-Ladue townsite. No patent has ever been issued for my lot, though the government had been paid in full for it before I bought it fifteen months ago. As to the financial condition, I can say very little, except that there must have been an enormous waste of money. The accommo-

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dation in the gold commissioner's office and court house is miserable. Plans for a new court house and new gold commissioner's office were drawn last year, but it seems to take a couple of years after the plans are drawn before any building can be put up.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). May I ask what the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), is quoting from?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. From a letter of a gentleman who is well known to me as a man of high character and standing and authority.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Another anonymous correspondent.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Well, I have given the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, as I have gone on, a great deal besides anonymous correspondence. I have given him the consensus of opinion from all directions, and if he wants unanswerable and overwhelming evidence, I have put that before him, in the fact, that the population, that was 30,000, and ought to have been 40,000 or 50,000, has gone down to below 5,000. I think that ought to satisfy him that there is something besides anonymous correspondence in this matter. This letter concludes:

If things go on as they are at the present time, we will not need any new buildings, for there will be no business to be done in them.

This letter is from a gentleman who has gone into that country, and who is deeply interested in its progress and prosperity, and who would not, I am perfectly satisfied, say a word for any partisan purpose whatever. But let me quote to the Minister of Trade and Commerce, a statement from the organ, as I understand it to be, of the Minister of the Interior—the present newspaper organ of the minister in Dawson City. This newspaper has shown evidence of the strongest desire, to say everything possible in favour of the government. This is from the *Yukon Sun and Klondike Pioneer*:

We do not say to the people of Canada that there are no wrongs to be righted in Yukon—

They have been combatting various char- made against the government, with all the ability they could. But they are compelled to say this:

We do not say to the people of Canada that there are no wrongs to be righted in Yukon. There are many changes and improvements to be made. The royalty must be decreased, security of title must be more definitely provided for, the government must not hold back so much of the country from location or relocation, although it is entitled to some share of the land. The government should open up the mining districts

more rapidly. Changes, too, must be made to improve both placer, hydraulic and quartz mining regulations.

This, from a paper anxious to give its hearty support to the government, ought, I think, to obtain some little consideration from the House.

Now, I do not intend to occupy the attention of the House longer. I am very sorry that I was obliged to bring this matter up at this time. It was only because of the fact that we were informed that the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), was to leave to-morrow, that I brought the subject up to-day. A large number of addresses for papers on this subject have been placed on the Order paper; and it was important, in my opinion, that before the question of the Yukon was taken up, we should have these papers, and all the information before us, in order to be able to deal generally with the question. But, I did not want my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to be obliged to tell me, or any other hon. gentleman who feels a keen interest in this question, that the discussion of the subject would have to lie over, owing to the absence of the Minister of the Interior. I want to draw his attention to a few of these salient points that I thought required immediate consideration. If the Yukon is not to become a desert, it seems to me that this matter should be brought before the attention of the House, before the departure of the Minister of the Interior might prevent us from learning from him what is to be done. A year ago, my right hon. friend will remember, I pressed upon his attention, and the attention of the House, a resolution which was before us, for the appointment of a royal commission, to inquire into the administration—or I should rather say, the mal-administration—of the Yukon, he was able to get a portion, a very considerable portion, of his supporters, to vote down that proposition, I ventured to tell him that he would not always be able to pack the jury, that the time was not distant, when we would stand in the presence of the masters of this administration, and this parliament—the people of Canada; and I looked forward to that time for support, for the position I took in regard to the management of the Department of the Interior, which was then challenged. A proper investigation was formally refused by my right hon. friend, but I ventured to tell him that we should soon have to appeal to a higher authority, than even this House, and that the government could not rely, with the same confidence upon that authority, as they could upon their supporters here with judgeships and postmasterships and other offices in their hands, to distribute among their followers, with the power to send, as they have done, a large number of members out of this House, after those members have given reluctant support for a

time to the retirement of lucrative positions. Well, we have had a little investigation of that kind since I had the pleasure of making those observations to my right hon. friend, and what is the result? The result is that the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) has had to appeal to the whole province on that subject. When this government staked their existence upon carrying the province of Manitoba, they sent the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), and the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) and other gentlemen into the province of Manitoba to canvass that province from end to end, and to hold meetings throughout the whole province. Well, Sir, I had the pleasure of making a little visit to that province also, and shortly after my advent, the writs were issued for the provincial elections, issued at so short a time that they could not even afford to give three days additional time to notify Dauphin and Gimli. They could not notify the whole electorate of the province, so eager were they to shut down discussion. After the province had been properly prepared by a campaign led by the two ministers of the Crown, and another gentleman whose platform ability, I believe, is regarded by the government as being very valuable, the writs were issued, and with what result? Why, Sir, the organ of the Minister of the Interior, a paper that he has acquired and is known as his organ in the city of Winnipeg, a paper under the management of a gentleman whom he imported for the purpose of editing it in accordance with his own views, put this issue broadly to the people of the province: Every vote polled against Greenway is a vote polled for Sir Charles Tupper. That was the issue put distinctly by the Minister of the Interior, and he got his answer. On that issue he and his organ conducted the battle. I may say that neither the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald nor myself controverted the statement which from day to day and from week to week was made by the *Manitoba Free Press*, that the question was between Greenway and Tupper, and that every vote polled against Greenway was a vote in favour of Tupper. I say we did not challenge that issue, but we allowed it to go, and with what result? From the day that the writ was issued, the Minister of the Interior devoted all his time and talents to his own constituency of Brandon, and with what result? Remember that he had enormous advantages. It was known that no man, whatever his position, might not reach any office however unsuited he was, provided that he would support the Minister of the Interior, that he could send him up to the Yukon the next day where he could make a fortune within the next few months; and with all this power of the Minister of the Interior, with all the patronage of this government at his back, with all the patronage of the local government at

his back, the hon. gentleman fought his battle, and he fought it as Cronje is fighting his, as a battle for his life; he fought it feeling and knowing that the struggle was whether he should live or die politically. And after fighting the battle in that way, what was the result? In a constituency that four years ago elected nine members for the local House of Manitoba, every one of them opposed to the Conservative party, the hon. gentleman was beaten in six of them, and the majority rolled up against him was over a thousand. I say to my right hon. friend that if anything could open his eyes—and they seemed to be hermetically sealed a year ago—if any thing can open his eyes to the fact that his confidence has been misplaced and that the Minister of the Interior, instead of being a tower of strength to his government—and I have no doubt that in some ways he has been most valuable in so far as obtaining resources were concerned—but I say if anything could open his eyes to the fact that the Minister of the Interior, instead of being a tower of strength to him and his government is a source of weakness, it must be the voice of the province of Manitoba given in the clearest and most emphatic terms where the hon. gentleman is best known, showing that the people of that province do not believe in him or in his administration of the Yukon.

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR (Mr. Sifton). I feel it my duty to thank the hon. gentleman who leads the opposition for having brought this question before the House while I was able to be present and make a few remarks in reply to what he has thought fit to say. It is a matter of regret to me that I am obliged to leave the House and to leave the performance of my sessional and departmental duties for a time; therefore, it is a matter of gratification to me that he has seen fit to bring this subject up to-day while I am in a position to reply to him. I do not think that the hon. gentleman has added to the probability of a judicial discussion of the question of the royalty in the Yukon, which he apparently has in his mind, by making a violent partisan statement in regard to the result of the recent Manitoba elections. Mr. Speaker, political parties will always differ in discussing the results of an election; but I did not think that even my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, with his exuberant imagination, would suggest that the recent election in the province of Manitoba was decided upon the question of what the royalty in the Yukon should be; so the concluding remarks of the hon. gentleman do not appear to my mind to bear very logically upon the question which he has brought to the attention of the House. If accuracy were any consideration with the hon. gentleman, I might say to him that he has somewhat lost track of the majority which

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was recorded for the Conservative candidates in my constituency. The hon. gentleman thinks that figures make a great deal of difference when discussing royalty; they sometimes make a difference, too, when discussing majorities. The actual majority which was recorded for the Conservative candidates in the electoral district of Brandon, which I have the honour to represent, was 160 or 166, I am not sure which. The hon. gentleman is accustomed to deal in round and large numbers, and consequently it is no doubt more natural for him to say an even thousand when speaking of majorities. But we will pass that by. I do not propose to discuss with the hon. gentleman the question of whether the electors in my county have or have not lost confidence in me; but I will simply say to the hon. gentleman that when the time comes, if Providence should spare my life till then, we will have an opportunity of deciding that point, and the hon. gentleman will find me there prepared to do any amount of fighting that may be necessary.

There are a few questions in reference to which I desire to say a word or two for the purpose of clearing up some misconceptions which might arise from the speech of the hon. gentleman. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that the practice of reading letters from gentlemen in the Yukon who may be dissatisfied because they have not done as well as they thought they were going to do when they went out there, or from lawyers who perhaps have not as many clients as they would like to have, or who are not doing as profitable a business as they would like to do, is not the best way of getting exact and accurate information before the House of Commons in regard to affairs in that country; and their statements must be received with a good degree of caution. For instance, the hon. gentleman read a letter which contained a number of statements, one of which was the extraordinary statement that the government had withdrawn the whole country from prospecting. Now, I have to say that the mining regulations cannot be altered, under the present state of affairs, without my signature, and I give a flat denial to that statement. I say that the government has not withdrawn any portion of the country from prospecting; and the statement which the hon. gentleman has read from a letter is simply a statement that has no foundation whatever in fact. Then the hon. gentleman's correspondent goes on to say that by the system of preventing relocation we have destroyed the interest of the miner in the country. If hon. gentlemen in this House, and gentlemen in the Yukon, too, would understand that, when, after a good deal of careful consideration and deliberation, a change is made in the mining regulations, while there may be a difference of opinion in regard to the policy that we adopt, there is a reason for the change, possibly they would not

criticise quite so wildly. One of the main difficulties in the Yukon, and one which gave rise to the largest amount of litigation, was in regard to the subject of the relocation of claims; and let me commend the hon. gentleman's attention to this particular point, that the regulation which abolished relocation is a change which is going to abolish four-fifths of the litigation, and therefore it is not popular with the legal profession, of which profession, I suppose, the hon. gentleman's correspondent is a member. The change which abolishes relocation was made for this reason: The mining law of the Western States, upon which the mining regulations were originally founded, provided for what is called, in common parlance, jumping claims. When a man who held an entry for a claim failed to perform the duties which the regulations required him to perform, failed to do his work, another party came in and, in the language of the mining country, jumped his claim, or in other words, complied with the mining regulations, and relocated the claim. If the original locator had not complied with the regulations, and if it was shown that the original locator had not complied with them the second man was entitled to locate the claim. This regulation allowed every person in the country who was not a miner, who was not a prospector, who was not even a mining man, and who stood around, to take advantage of other people's mistakes, and he was enabled, through inadvertencies on the part of other persons, to locate or jump claims. I lived in the province of Manitoba where there was a similar system in the early days of jumping homesteads, and the state of affairs got so bad, that, practically, vigilance committees had to be organized against men known as claim jumpers. Such men took advantage of the inadvertence of other people, and would, upon occasions, make affidavits, which would not stand the test of examination and put honest people to an enormous amount of expense and trouble. The representations made to me by a large number of people coming from the Yukon, intelligent men, of all classes, were unanimously to the effect that this system of claim jumping, which placed a premium upon one man taking advantage of another for the purpose of getting the claim which the other had honestly prospected and wished to acquire, was a bad system. Therefore, we made a provision, after the most careful consideration, abolishing relocation. What did we do? We provided that when a man did not comply with the regulations, his claim should be subject to cancellation, but, we further provided that it should come back to the Crown, and that it should not go to the person who made the application for cancellation, so that there was no inducement whatever for one man to jump the claim of another. When we determined

upon this system we, at the same time, provided, that, when claims were cancelled for non-performance of the conditions, they should be put up and sold by auction by the gold commissioner. The House will see, from the explanation I have given, that instead of this change in the regulations being a change for the purpose of doing anybody any harm, it was a change for the purpose of doing away with a fruitful source of litigation and getting the business of that country into a more satisfactory shape. But, of course, it is not popular with the members of the legal profession. I have the honour to be a member of that profession myself, and I have no doubt that if I were practicing law in Dawson City, a change of this kind, which would destroy half the litigation going on at present and the prospect of much arising in future, would certainly not be popular with me from a professional standpoint. My hon. friend dilates at some length, in comment upon the words of his correspondent, that all these claims are in the hands of the Minister of the Interior to be parcelled out amongst his friends. One would expect that an hon. gentleman of the experience of the hon. leader of the opposition would refrain from making statements of that kind. We have in this government a number of hon. gentlemen of fairly good ordinary common sense and some experience, the right hon. Prime Minister and the hon. gentlemen who sit alongside of him, not saying anything at all about myself. These hon. gentlemen are all acquainted with the method in which the business respecting these claims is being conducted, and is there any member of this House, outside of the hon. leader of the opposition, who imagines that this government would give into the hands of any minister the power to parcel out among his friends mining claims in the Yukon by the hundred or the thousand? The matter is so absolutely ridiculous and absurd that I am surprised that the hon. leader of the opposition would commit himself to a discussion of the question upon that basis. We have adopted the policy which the hon. gentleman in the palmy days of his power, never acknowledged, and that is, that public property should be sold to the highest bidder after being exposed to public competition. Mining claims of great value have come into the control of the department of which I have the honour to be the head. Efforts have been made, I have the greatest freedom in saying, by a very great number of people, to get these claims, and to obtain entries for them without being exposed to public competition. These efforts have not been confined to Liberals; even gentlemen of the Conservative persuasion have understood the desirability of acquiring valuable mining claims without having to compete for them before the public. But, up to this moment, these

claims have all been disposed of in the way I have spoken of. All the claims which have come into the hands of the Crown have been exposed to public competition, and wherever they have been disposed of they have been disposed of to the highest bidder. These claims that the hon. gentleman speaks of have been placed in the hands of the gold commissioner at Dawson City, and only a short time ago general instructions were forwarded to the gold commissioner, or the commissioner of the district—I am not sure through which channel they went—that all claims falling into the hands of the government, all reserved claims, claims which had come in by cancellation and which otherwise would be relocated, and all fractional claims which come into the hands of the government owing to the operation of the surveyor in defining the limits of claims, shall be disposed of by public competition, and, as I said before, sold at auction at Dawson City after due and proper advertisement. That is, therefore, the answer which I make to the hon. leader of the opposition when he makes the statement that these claims are to be parcelled out to the friends of the Minister of the Interior. I say that these claims are to be sold by public auction, and that they are to be sold for the benefit of the public exchequer to the highest bidder. When I make that broad and general statement, it occurs to me that perhaps there may arise in the minds of some persons, one or two transactions which took place in connection with claims which were awarded to persons who had lost property through the default, or through the action of some official of the government. There have been occasions in which officials of the government have made mistakes and persons have lost their claims through the mistake of the agents or some of the officers, and upon the recommendation of Mr. Ogilvie, the commissioner, in one or two cases they have been permitted to acquire other government claims, presumably of about the same value in lieu of the ones they had lost. That has been done regularly through the commissioner of the district, and upon his recommendation in one or two cases. I am not familiar at all with the persons in whose cases it has been done, but it has been done upon the recommendation of Mr. Ogilvie, upon the ground that the person so losing his claim was entitled to some compensation.

Mr. FOSTER. Will the hon. gentleman be kind enough to explain to the House the method in which the substituting of one claim for another, on account of a supposed mistake, could be done or is done?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. The cases which I remember at the present time were two or three cases in which the officers had issued a certificate of record to two different parties, and when the decision

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finally had to be given in regard to the claim, only one person, of course, could get the claim. I do not remember the names of the parties, but I recollect that in one case, the commissioner of the district reported that the person who was deprived of his claim was entitled to make an entry because he had refrained from going on to make any further entry on the same creek, believing as he did that he had already a claim on that creek. He had refrained from going to another place to make his entry, and the commissioner thought he was fairly entitled to get one of the claims or the fraction of a claim.

Mr. FOSTER. If that was done in one case, is that the rule?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. These are the particulars of the case which I have now in my mind.

Mr. FOSTER. Very well; then I suppose the rule of the government is: That wherever such a mistake can be proved to have occurred, and the person loses what he fancied he had gained, that the government is prepared to give him another claim in its place?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. I am not prepared to accept the wording of the position as my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) puts it, because he clothes it with an idea in his mind which I am not sure I appreciate, but I am quite sure that I understand what I say myself. What I say is, that in certain cases persons had lost claims through the malfeasance or mistake of an officer of the government, and after consideration of all the circumstances of the case, where it appeared that the loss was wholly due to the action of an official of the government and there appeared from the facts and circumstances of the case to be a legitimate ground for compensation; that, then, we exercised the privilege which we had of giving the person an entry for another claim. I cannot put it any more generally than that. Each case, as every one will at once appreciate, must to some extent depend upon the consideration of the particular facts in that case.

I have gone, Mr. Speaker, somewhat fully into the question of these regulations, to show that the person who has written the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) and given him the information, apparently does not understand at all what he is talking about. He apparently has no grasp of the subject he is discussing, or otherwise he would know what the position was with regard to this question of relocation. He perfectly understands, however, that the abolition of relocation as it was understood before, is going to do away with a large amount of litigation. I may say upon that point, that it has been the aim of statesmen and jurists for centuries, to get the business of the country carried on with as small

an amount of litigation as possible, and I can hardly believe that the abolition of a large amount of litigation is a matter upon which the charge should be made against me, that this territory is not being properly administered.

I have a word or two to say with regard to the charge of my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper), that the miners of that country have been driven out. I say emphatically that so far as my information goes, the miners of that country have not been driven out at all, and the persons who are going out are not as a rule miners. The hon. gentleman must know from the information which he has—and, indeed, every person must know who has paid anything like as much attention to the affairs of that country as he has—that a very large portion of the population of the city of Dawson was not composed of men who were engaged in any business which could be called permanent. There were hundreds, yes, thousands of people there, who had no regular means of livelihood, who were waiting for something to turn up, who were there for the purpose of getting claims in some way other than by legitimate prospecting or mining. In addition to these there was a large number of persons who always flock into new mining places, or where there is mining excitement in any particular locality. There were large numbers of persons of that description there, and the most natural thing in the world was that such a population should melt away as soon as the country got down to a legitimate basis and business went on in a regular way. The state of affairs which existed in Dawson a year and a half ago, when enormous prices were paid for everything, when nobody stopped to ask whether the price of a thing was \$5 or \$10; that sort of thing could not go on. The population which was living out of transactions which arose in that way were bound to go sooner or later, and could not hold on for any considerable length of time. Now, a gold excitement starts at Cape Nome, just down the river from Dawson, and a most natural thing was that a large number of people should go from Dawson City to Cape Nome. Nothing in the world could have stopped them. If there had been no royalty, if there had been no reserved claims, if there had been none of the things which the hon. gentleman complains of, the rush would take place exactly the same as now. So far as the allegation is concerned, that the miners of the country are being driven out, the hon. gentleman will admit, that the fact that the population of Dawson City has decreased to 4,480 is no proof that the miners are being driven out, because the miners are not working in Dawson City at all, and they do not form part of its population. My information, gathered from a fairly reliable source—although, at this moment, I

am not able to recollect whether I have any official report to that effect or not—my information is that the gold output of the Yukon during the coming season will be equal to, or larger than it was during last season. I think that will be substantiated by the best information that can be got on the subject. If the output this coming season is as great as it was during last season, then I think that, all things considered, we may come to the conclusion that affairs there are going on fairly well. I suppose there was produced last year from that district, something in the neighbourhood of \$15,000,000 worth of gold, and I am inclined to think that the general opinion of the people of Canada will be, that if that district is producing gold at the rate of \$15,000,000 a year in the first two or three years of its existence, and before the less costly operation of mining property by improved scientific methods and machinery, then, I think the general opinion will be, that matters are going on fast enough, and that we have no ground to find fault.

We have had from the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) several incorrect statements before he came to the actual question which he sought to have discussed, namely, the question as to the amount of the royalty. I am quite prepared to say to the hon. gentleman—and I would have said it without using preliminary remarks if he had confined himself to the question he rose to discuss—that the amount of the royalty, and the question how the royalty should be collected, is a matter for very grave and serious consideration on the part of the government at the present time. We quite admit that. We did not imagine, when we imposed the royalty of 10 per cent on the gross output, that that was a policy which should for ever remain exactly the same. We were dealing with a country under new conditions, a country in regard to which there were large expenses of administration, and we had to decide on a policy quickly, and carry it out firmly. The hon. gentleman says that I set my face like flint against suggestions from anybody. The hon. gentleman is quite incorrect in that. Of course, the minister is open to the charge that he is setting his face against any advice so long as no change is being made; but the hon. gentleman is quite aware that having inaugurated that policy, we could not throw out suggestions at every stage of the game that there was a possibility or a prospect of it being changed; and we simply adhered to our policy, getting all the information we could, and full well knowing that the whole subject at an early date would have to be taken into consideration. I am bound to say that I doubt very much if up to the present time the imposition of the royalty has had any special effect on the operation of the min-

ing claims owned by individuals. When I say this, I say it in the light of information that comes to me as I sit in my office and almost every day see somebody who comes from Dawson City in regard to matters of business, and hear what he has to say about the general conditions of affairs there. I do not think the imposition of the royalty has had much effect on the operation of the mining claims owned by individuals; but I have no doubt that a considerable number of enterprises, which might perhaps have been floated in the English money market if the royalty had not been imposed, have been, to some extent, burked or prevented by the fact that the royalty existed. There is no doubt that a large number of gentlemen who have attempted to float these enterprises in a speculative way and make money out of them, have been prevented from so doing by the imposition of the royalty. I do not wish to be understood as speaking in a condemnatory way of the gentlemen who have done this. I do not at all blame gentlemen who have got mining locations for endeavouring to float them on the English money market, provided they do not misrepresent the facts. No doubt this is the way capital will be introduced into the Yukon country. But it is not an unmixed evil that these mining enterprises have not all been suddenly floated on the English money market; and I venture to say that if some of the enterprises which have been floated had not been floated, it would have been much better for the credit of Canada and the Yukon country. It is not an unmixed evil that to some extent the floating of companies to operate in the Yukon has been suspended, and that the opportunity has been given to acquire very much greater information than it was possible to give to the public at the time efforts were first made to float these companies. I do not know that it is necessary for me to discuss the matter further. I presume that my hon. friend, although he diverged largely before he took his seat, intended in the first place, in bringing the matter to the attention of the House, to secure from the government some statement of what their position on this question was. The position of the government, I may say, is that they quite recognize that the question of royalty and the mode of collecting it is a matter which requires consideration, and which may require at an early date a readjustment or a change. That is all I can say at the present time, and I do not know that anything can be added which would throw further light on the question.

Mr. GEO. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to take up much of the time of the House; but two or three things which have been referred to have struck me as profitable to have a little more talk about. With regard to the evident de-

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sire of the minister to prejudice the case which has been brought before the House by the leader of the opposition in the interest of peaceable possession and non-litigation, I do not think that it comes very fairly from him. It was rather amusing to me to see the Prime Minister and his right-hand supporter (Sir Louis Davies) seeming to be very glad and joyful that the lawyers were not having as good a time out there as they might otherwise have. I do not know why they should be the first to exhibit an inbred suspicion that the lawyer's occupation is not the best one in the world, and that it would be well for the lawyers to be curbed in any new and rising part of the country. An attempt has also been made to rather break the force of the assertions that have been read as information because they were not signed by the writer's name. Now, I do not think that ought to be pushed too far, and I think it can easily be pushed too far. You can take the assertion for what it is worth, whether the name is there or not. I myself have had some opportunities during the last year of conversing with people who have come from Dawson, and who were going back there, and the gentlemen with whom I talked invariably believed that the arbitrary way, and the insecurity which resulted from the arbitrary way, in which claims were granted, or rather claims temporarily held, are such that it is absolutely foolish for any man who retains any interests in that country, or wishes to acquire any, to allow his name to be used at all, no matter what he may see going on before his eyes, which merits criticism and certainly earns his disapprobation. I have one case in mind, and I am open to the reproach conveyed in the 'hear, hear,' of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) when the name of the informant cannot be given. He is a gentleman whom I know well, whom I would trust if I would trust any gentleman in this House, who is a keen man of business, and who has been in the Yukon territory for some fifteen months. I had the benefit of some hours' conversation with that gentleman, and the first thing he said to me when he sat down to talk with me was that he would only talk freely on the understanding that the conversation was to be perfectly in confidence as to who my informant was. I might use whatever of the information I thought it wise to use, but he said it would absolutely ruin the work of his company and his own prospects in that country if it were known that he had made these assertions. He told me one other thing: 'If I had no interests in that country, and were free in that respect, I would like nothing better than to be brought before an impartial commission, and tell the plain story of my experience, and of what I know has taken place and is now taking place there.' I do not think that I ought to say to myself, I will not believe that gentle-

man because he will not let me use his name. I think that his reason is perfectly sufficient for wishing his name to be kept secret, and if that is the case with him, it is the case with others, and one which fairly commends itself to the minds of business men who listen to me.

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR** (Mr. Sifton). Will the hon. gentleman allow me to interrupt? He speaks of his informant as telling something that is happening in the country now which, to his mind, is objectionable. What is happening that is objectionable?

Mr. **FOSTER**. I will partly answer that question as I go on. I gave two reasons why this gentleman absolutely refused to say anything unless his name were kept secret. In the first place, because so much of what a man tries to get, or so much of what he actually holds by a temporary title—if we may speak of it as such—is at the mercy of the arbitrary decision of a mere official, that it is very hard work for that man, if he be proceeded against, by the official in power, to obtain any claim at all in that county. We have only just to go over the different conditions, arbitrary in themselves, and which are left to the decision of the official himself, to realize this. We have only to go over those different conditions to see by what a slender thread the man who has, or is looking for a claim can hold it for his own working. But when we go to British Columbia, the case is different. If a prospector finds a prospect, which he thinks is good, his first endeavour is to determine whether that piece of land has been staked out or not. If he finds that it has not, he stakes out his claim; and once he has staked it out, that is a very good warrant that, if it has not been previously staked out and recorded, that claim may become his, if he fulfils the conditions. The conditions are laid down in the law, and they are plain and easy and simple. He has to keep his miner's certificate, he has to record his claim, he has to pay a fee for the recording, and he has to do so much work each year or up to a certain amount. Once he has fulfilled these conditions, there is no power on earth, so far as a minister or a government is concerned, that can keep him from obtaining a Crown grant, and absolutely owning it himself. But that is not the case by any means in the Yukon. My hon. friend says that it is a very great evil that there should be a jumping of a claim or a relocation. That may be, and is, to a certain extent, an evil, but I will challenge my hon. friend to take the Kootenay through and through, and he will be astonished at the very small number of claims that have ever been jumped in the whole of that district. They are an infinitesimal proportion. Why? For two reasons. In the

first place, the claim jumper is not looked upon with any great respect by his fellow miners, and it is consequently a perilous piece of business. Not only does public sentiment frown upon it, but something a little more individual makes it very unhealthy to the one who ventures on it. There is the broad fact, which cannot be got over, that in British Columbia, the number of claims that are jumped is infinitesimal, compared with those which are ultimately obtained by the prospectors. The prospectors have a fair chance, one with another, and need not seek favours, or resort to kissing or fawning or using influence. The broad lands of the country are open to him, and if no other man goes in before him, he has a prior right. If any other man claims a prior right, if the two claims clash, there is an inexpensive way of determining between them, namely, to go before the commissioner, and then the man whose claim is just, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred—and probably in the hundred—gets his just claim. There is no necessity to go to this minister or that government, but you have only to comply with the legal regulations; and if you do that, you get your property, and when you get your Crown grant, it is yours.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). Will the hon. gentleman allow me to put him a question? He implies that there is a great distinction between the laws and regulations enforced in British Columbia, and those enforced in the Yukon. Will he state what is the distinction?

Mr. **FOSTER**. I do not think it is necessary to take up time a single moment in doing so. The hon. gentleman did not know much, apparently, about the Stikine-Teslin route, when he brought down his railway legislation, but surely, he has not lived from that time to this, without having made himself acquainted with the different kind of mining regulations in British Columbia and the very different regulations in the Yukon. I do not propose to go into that question at present, but propose to discuss, later on, when that subject is before the House. What I am trying to point out is the very different security which a mining man has in British Columbia, compared with what he has in the Yukon, as regards the title and the permanence of the title by which he holds his claim.

It was in order to prevent this jumping business taking place, that my hon. friend made a change. If the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals had listened to my hon. friend, he would have soon noticed one very great difference between the Yukon regulations and administration and those of British Columbia. You do not require, under the British Columbia regulations, to go to Victoria, and interview a minister and say to him: Mr. Minister, I thought I had a very

good and nice claim up there in East Kootenay, but some mistake was made by one of your officials, and I now find that I have not got that mine which was worth \$1,000,000. I want you, therefore, to give me a claim in place of that which I did not get through such mistake. Is that the case in British Columbia? It is not, and it ought not to exist in any mining regulations anywhere. I do not believe that such a regulation can be honestly administered, and I do not believe that the hon. minister himself, can say that this procedure is the general rule; but if it is not that only makes it all the worse, because it is then applied in some special circumstances, for the benefit of some ministerial favourites. So that is one great difference between the regulations and administration in the two places.

The minister said that this matter was administered on the principle of equity and that it prevented claim jumping, and that litigation was less on that account, that in fact, three-quarters of the litigation was done away with. Well, I will take the history of litigation, with reference to the jumping of claims in British Columbia, and let any man study it, practically or theoretically, and he will find that the amount of litigation there, arising out of disputed claims, has been almost infinitesimal. What is the case in the Yukon? A man finds that for some reason or other, his claim has lapsed. It may be on account of the 72-hours limit. I do not think my hon. friend will find that in the British Columbia laws. He will find numerous limitations in the Yukon, which do not exist in British Columbia. For some reason or other, a prospector has lost his claim, my hon. friend would not let any one jump it, and it comes into the hands of the government. He has not said, and I do not know if the regulations go that far, that if a man has made his stakes and his claim has lapsed, out of no fault of his own, or some trivial fault, he himself having been the primary locator and prospector, having gone to all the trouble to getting it so far along—my hon. friend has not stated that they have some fair and honest machinery by which the man who prospected that claim can get the benefit of his previous labour by getting another chance at that or getting it given to him. That would be some ground for the government keeping others off it and keeping it for the worthy prospector whose title may have lapsed through some fault which was venial, in which there was no dishonesty, or who, owing to some temporary stress of circumstances, could not carry out his operation and prove his title. But what happens? I asked how the hon. gentleman carried that out, and this he did not explain. I say it never could be carried out. How are you going to make it possible for the cabinet or the minister here, or even the gold commissioner in the

Yukon, when Tom, Dick, Harry and a hundred others, come and say: We have lost a valuable claim through some fault of your clerk; we believe our claim was worth a quarter of a million, and we want you to give us one to compensate us for our loss—to give us other claims. What proof have you of the value of the lost claim? It may be valuable only in the claimant's imagination; it may have been only a prospect at the best. But you are going to take one of the government claims which may have been more or less thoroughly prospected, which may not have been proven, which has the advantage, in many cases, of being one that is reserved by the government on a creek or bench where other claims have been taken up and proved. By what process are you going to give to this man, compensation for the mistake of your officials by giving him a claim that is left on the benches or on the river beds? It is not possible to do it except by favour, by influence. And that opens up a vista that I hope will be speedily closed in the administration of the gold mines of this country. It is a power that ought not to exist in the hands of the minister or government or gold commissioner. If a man has lost his claim by mistake of the minister, say there are two men who are equal on the claim, there is a better way—divide it between them; let each take his share. That would be even-handed justice, because the same value would be in each. But to say that for the mistake of an official by which a prospective claim has lapsed, you will give another claim that you yourself have in possession, is to attempt a thing which cannot be done on any principle of justice. When I put the case, the minister did not give a satisfactory answer, and he could not have given an answer without showing that it was a matter of favour of the minister or the gold commissioner.

Now, hon. gentlemen opposite do not want anonymous information. But I will tell you plainly what charges were made by the men with whom I have talked. One of the charges was that it was possible—and that it was actually done over and over again—that your official inside sold information to the man outside, and that the man outside profited by the information he got, and so secured claims which made or helped to make a fortune. Another thing was that the officials when they got knowledge, by a prospector coming in and giving them descriptions of property, that they wished to take up they would say that they could not attend to the matter at the time, and tell the prospector to come back later. But between the time when he gave partial information and the time when he returned, the claim had vanished, and he was told that others were ahead of him. That also took place. There is a great deal of room for harm in the hands of the surveyor.

There is a great deal may go wrong through dishonest officials. And if I am not altogether astray, the Minister of the Interior has had some correspondence, in which these matters have been brought to his attention, but he has done nothing. Now, shall I go further? I dislike to, but I will. There is a method of getting hold of claims in that country which is the most disreputable that could exist, but it was openly, constantly, persistently carried on.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). What method does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) refer to?

Mr. **FOSTER**. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) knows if he has talked with any man who has gone into the Yukon. The charges were made in this House and have been canvassed here. These methods did exist, these methods, my informant tells me, exist at the present time. When last session we were talking about Mr. Ogilvie, I had heard nothing but what was good of him, so far as honest conduct was concerned. I took leave to say that I did not think he was the man to carry on judicial inquiries, but no more. But from the information I have had since from gentlemen who have been there, I am bound to say here that I do not believe that affairs in that respect are any better now than they were before, or, if they are, they are very little better. Now, there are other things we have seen in the administration of that country. What would you think, Sir, if you were in that country engaged in getting claims for yourself and your company, and an official were to say to you: Before you get this through council, I must have my fee of so much—a monstrous fee, an unearned fee, a fee which was nothing else but a bribe—and he would hold out to you the threat that unless you paid that you would find it very difficult to get it through the council and get your claims recognized. That that does take place, I am told; that it does take place I verily believe.

Mr. **COWAN**. Name a case.

Mr. **FOSTER**. My hon. friend (Mr. Cowan) has been asleep for a long time, and now that he is awake he at once calls upon me to name a case. These hon. gentlemen do not want anonymous information. The right hon. gentleman who leads the government flouts the idea of anonymous information. And it is a most difficult thing to use this information that I have and not be able to give the authority. But there stands a lion in the way, and I leave every man to judge whether it is not a sufficient reason for withholding names. These gentlemen do not like anonymous information. There was a way by which they could have got information by first hand. They were asked to appoint a judicial committee to go into that country and take evidence and sift the matter to the bottom. And they re-

fused to do it. When they refused to do that, it seems to me, they effectually closed their own mouths against crying out about the kind of information that we did give them. In his place in this House, a member of the House and a former member of a government, detailed charges lengthily and many of them.

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Oh, oh.

Mr. **CASEY**. Yes, he did that—eight hours.

Mr. **FOSTER**. And many of his charges were very explicit, and if he had gone into the whole of the information that he had, he would have spoken sixteen hours instead of eight. The information, if it was at his hand, would have given him any excuse for the length of time in the charges.

Mr. **CASEY**. Let us be thankful.

Mr. **FOSTER**. Yes, indeed. No man has any claim to be more thankful than the Minister of the Interior that these charges were not given before a commission to have them thoroughly investigated. What has happened from the very first? Everything has gone wrong in that country, in the way of government initiative. These gentlemen began wrong in every respect. They began wrong when they endeavoured to force that railway in the manner they did over a route which, commercially, had not one merit to recommend it.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). It had the leader of the opposition to recommend it very strongly.

Mr. **FOSTER**. I think I remember hearing the leader of the opposition in a speech delivered in this House, yes, in several speeches delivered in this House, most effectually condemning that business, and most effectually puzzling the know-nothing minister.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. And his company did not pay any dividend because that road was not built.

Mr. **FOSTER**. I am not going into what companies pay dividends or do not pay dividends. But if my hon. friend's company did not pay a dividend because that road was not built, then it is a standing proof of the public spirit of my hon. friend who opposed the project. The best public officer these gentlemen had, who went up there himself, condemned the road; and now it is like pulling teeth to get that report from the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) in whose coat tails or pigeon-holes somewhere, I believe, that report remains up to the present time.

The **MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS** (Mr. Tarte). There is no report of the kind.

Mr. FOSTER. Very well, then, we have at least a well expressed opinion of Mr. Coste himself with regard to it, and that will do just as well as a report.

Mr. BELCOURT. May I ask the hon. gentleman when Mr. Coste expressed an opinion on the road, and what was the opinion?

Mr. FOSTER. Well, now, if I have to be sponsor for all these hon. gentlemen who do not stay in their places in this House—

Mr. BELCOURT. I may inform the hon. gentleman that Mr. Coste never expressed any opinion or made any report.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman may not have read the report; but Mr. Coste, I think, certainly expressed an opinion.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. He never made any report of the kind.

Mr. FOSTER. I think he expressed an opinion over and over again.

Mr. CASEY. Anonymously, perhaps.

Mr. FOSTER. I think there are gentlemen in this House who know well the opinion he did express; and I think we had it pretty well stated in this House last year that such a report was made by Mr. Coste.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No, every report that has been made by Mr. Coste has been brought down.

Mr. FOSTER. We will take an opportunity of looking into this matter and finding out how it stands. My impression is that there was a report, or it was intimated to me that there was. It may not have been official. Maybe there is an unofficial report in the Public Works Department.

Mr. BERGERON. There is a strong report against that road.

Mr. FOSTER. However, that seems to be a disputed point. I rather think from the way the Minister of Public Works looks, that there was something in it after all. That was the first mistake, and it would have been a very costly mistake to this country if it had not been burked by this parliament, and consequently they were prevented from carrying it out. I think it is well known to-day by all business men, that if that road had been built under the conditions proposed and as it was proposed to be built, it would not at this hour have been worth anything more than simply to do the little local business it might have done in part of the year. But to make a through route in competition with the routes which are at present open, every business man who knows anything of the costs and facilities for handling freights and passengers knows that it would have been a total failure, commercially speaking. The next mistake was made in that great expense of a

Mr. FOSTER.

million or a million and a half dollars for taking a portion of the militia of Canada into that country, where they never were needed, where they have never been used. Most of them have been brought out at an equal expense to that incurred in taking them in; and the immense monument that has been built to them in the shape of the Selkirk barracks will remain for many years to come as a monument of an expenditure entirely unnecessary, and one which is now almost entirely unuseable. That was the second mistake in the manner of their administration of that country.

Now, I believe that these gentlemen knew that they made a mistake with reference to the royalty. My hon. friend says that the royalty has done a good deal of good. What good? It has kept the people from exploiting their own properties. Is that a good thing?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. I did not say that; the hon. gentleman knows better.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, it amounts to about the same thing. If men go into mining they go in for one purpose alone, to get hold of lands that have value in them and to get the value out of those lands. It is just as legitimate mining to endeavour to get value out of mines by companies as it is by individual effort; and surely we ought not to have laws on the statute-book which would discourage gentlemen from going into that country with capital or without capital, and participating in finding valuable mineral claims, and then, being unable to work them themselves, to sell them or get them taken up by a company which will aggregate the capital and then work them. That is a legitimate thing, a thing to be encouraged. The fact is that your royalty has not discouraged company floating, it encourages company floating, but of a different kind. Therefore, the royalty itself has not had a deterrent influence in the good sense that my hon. friend claimed; but, on the other hand, it has discouraged such effort to a very great extent in that country because of its manifest injustice. The fact that it is so may be very well proved by the historical method; for you do not find any other country in the world, most of them more experienced in mining than our own, which has adopted such regulations as this, and which is now carrying them out.

Now, my hon. friend says that they are doing another thing, the feasibility or the practicability of which, in a good sense, I take leave to question. He says they are retaining these claims. But before going any further, let me ask the hon. gentleman a question. Are there not orders in council in existence which give to the minister himself individually the right of disposing of fractions and of claims that fall in?

The **MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR**. The orders say it shall be disposed of as the Minister of the Interior may direct.

Mr. **FOSTER**. And if they are disposed of as the Minister of the Interior may direct, he may direct entirely outside of any advice of the government. They are not disposed of as the Governor in Council may direct. They are put into the hand of the minister, who disposes of them as he himself individually wishes or wills to dispose of them. Now, I say that if I were a minister having to do with these lands, I would not accept a responsibility of that kind under any consideration; I would have it shared by every member of the cabinet to which I belonged, or I would not use the right at all. I am not saying anything against the character of any minister, but neither do I think that there ought to be any large disposition of gold mines, of untold value in money, because, where the incentives are tremendous and where the temptations are prodigious, I say that a man had better keep himself clear of responsibility in reference to dealing with these in the large. It had better be by the Governor in Council and not by an individual minister. But, he says that when these fall in there is one way that we will dispose of them; we will dispose of them by public auction, and they will be auctioned off at Dawson City. Who gets a chance of buying any claims that are auctioned off at Dawson City? It may be a most difficult thing to know just how to dispose of gold mining claims when once you have got them, and there comes in a strong basis for the reasoning, from a great many points of view, that it is better for the government to allow these lands to go into the hands of prospectors and buyers and get its revenue, then, at first hand, instead of trying to heap up and accumulate gold claims and sell them to the highest bidder, or to deal with them according to the whim of the minister, or in any other manner which you can devise to sell them. It is a most difficult thing, but, there is a difficulty in putting them up to auction. Take a lot of claims that have fallen in, advertise them for three months, and then put them up in Dawson City for sale. Who knows anything about it in New Brunswick, or in Nova Scotia, or in any part of the country? The very man who goes up one of these creeks, and by careful prospecting stakes his claim, and after getting hold of his claim brings it up to the point of being valuable, has no chance of reaping any of the reward of his labours by taking, under any conditions whatever the claims which he himself, by his individual effort, has made valuable, but, they are put up at auction and they are sold to the highest bidder, and no man but a man of large capital, or a company with large aggregate

capital, can get hold of them. But, what is worse still is this: Being so far away from every other part of the country, the information and knowledge of these lands being at first hand with the officials and friends of the officials, there is a very great temptation, and a very great liability to these claims being improperly disposed of, in this light on account of men getting the information who are in a position to profit by it, being on the ground.

Mr. **CAMPBELL**. How would you dispose of them?

Mr. **FOSTER**. That is a difficult problem as to how I would dispose of them. I have thought a great deal over the question as to what plan could be adopted for disposing of them. For instance, the man who spends years and imperils his life finding out a new creek, who gets his one claim, who finds out its value, and who must afterwards get hold of the companion claims, as it is necessary that he shall have two or three claims, may not have money enough to buy these claims in open competition when they are put up to auction, and a great amount of hardship might be inflicted upon a man under these circumstances. It is a difficult thing to tell how best to do it, and I do not know but that I would have to come to the conclusion, that, in the ultimate, it will be found that the best way is to leave the gold lands to the prospectors, and let the government take its revenues by licenses, or taxes of some kind, and not heap up lands and then try to find some method of selling them afterwards.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). Would the hon. gentleman give away the lands?

Mr. **FOSTER**. Give away the lands? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) is averse to giving away gold lands. The hon. gentleman brought a Bill down here which gave away millions of acres of picked gold claims for 150 miles of tramway. The hon. Minister of the Interior, speaking last year, admitted that he had no possible way by which he could hold a sufficient headship and power over the collection of the royalty, no way that he had to check it, but that it all, in the ultimate, depended on the honesty of his collector, and the honesty of the man who is working the claim. He was not able to check it. He says that \$15,000,000 of gold was taken out of the Yukon last year. Can he show \$1,500,000 of accrued royalty? He should show us that amount if he has collected the royalty, and if he has not collected the royalty, there is evidence that it is an absolutely impossible thing to collect the full tale of the royalty which ought to come to the government. Is there not another way by which this can be accomplished, and a way which is adopted by almost every mining country in

the world, by collecting a license fee from companies, and if you like, a royalty on the output to a certain extent, without taking shares of the areas of this country and then being obliged to find some method of selling them. I have spoken longer than I expected to upon this subject. But, it is an interesting subject; it is a question that ought to be well threshed out before we leave these halls for the country ought to know what is the best method and, if it be possible, entirely beyond party feeling being brought into the matter. Now, it is a great pity that a royal commission was not granted, or that a royal commission should not now be granted, in order to take up every one of these matters to set them at rest, because they will never be set at rest until some authoritative source of inquiry is instituted by which the government can obtain all the information.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Mr. Speaker, speaking for myself, I do not know that I would have any very serious ground of complaint against these hon. gentlemen opposite for the reason that they have not furnished the House with the names of their informants, or of the persons supplying the information which they have furnished this afternoon. I think it is fairly a matter in their own discretion, as to whether they should furnish these names or not. It might very much add to the value of the statements which are made and communicated to the House in that manner if the names were furnished. On the other hand, perhaps, it might very much detract from their value. At all events, I do not complain of them in that regard. If they were making formal complaints against the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), or the government, of misconduct in connection with the administration of the Yukon district and desired that an investigation should be held, they would then take the responsibility upon themselves, I presume, of formulating these charges, and they would commit their own credit and their own reputation to the value, the correctness and the accuracy of the charges made. That, I think, would cover all the ground. Therefore, I have no fault to find, I say, speaking personally, with these hon. gentlemen because the names they have withheld, have not been furnished. But, Sir, I do complain, and I think the House may reasonably complain of the conduct of hon. gentlemen in making complaints which are wanting in directness and fairness, which are largely insinuations against public officials, and which do not commit themselves to any positive, direct, clear, or explicit charge. The hon. gentleman who has just addressed the House (Mr. Foster) has been a long time in this parliament; he has been for many years a member of the government; he knows the difficulties which surround the

administration in watching closely and following the conduct of the thousands of officials through whom the government is acting in the various portions of this great country, and he knows that these difficulties, which even surround us here, at Ottawa, are immensely exaggerated when you are dealing with officials who are operating thousands of miles away from the centre of administration. Yet, these hon. gentlemen seek to send abroad through the country general reflections or insinuations upon the conduct of these officials in order to make a case against the government. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) places any reliance in the representations which have been made to him during these three hours' confidential intercourse with this person of repute, and standing, to whom he has referred; if he has confidence in these statements; if he believes a portion of them, even let alone the whole; why does not the hon. gentleman make his charge against the official in question. I do not claim that he ought to give the name of his informant, but I do say that if he places any credence at all in the information which has reached him through this channel, it is the simplest thing in the world for the hon. gentleman to state definitely, what these wrong acts consist of, what official he charges, and, let the government take means to have the charges investigated and to have the person punished, if found guilty. Surely the government cannot be supposed to have any interest in shielding officials who are misconducting themselves in this regard. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) can suggest no reason why there is not the same anxiety on the part of the minister, or on the part of the government, to punish misconduct in officials, as there is on his part. We have no other desire than that the affairs of the country shall be well administered, and that those in whom we place confidence, shall conduct themselves as becomes them in an office of that character. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) does not do that. His object is not to have inquiry, his object is not to have these complaints probed, but his object is, by making loose and general insinuations, to try to create an impression in the country, that something is rotten; and that the head of the department, or the government generally, are hiding officials from exposure. Well, Sir, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), will fail, and must fail in that object, unless he comes forward and makes his charges and proves them. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) apparently rose to unburden himself of the complaints that have been made to him by this informant, and he based his conclusion chiefly on the statement: That the mining regulations in British Columbia were entirely different from the mining regulations of the Yukon. He concluded that, as because of this differ-

ence, the persons who sought mining rights in the Yukon, were not able to secure any degree of permanency of title in these rights, and that they were in the hands of these officials to such an extent that even if they did get their titles, they had no certainty that they would be allowed to hold them. With a desire to get information, which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) was apparently in possession of, I rose innocently enough to ask him: What was the difference between the mining laws of British Columbia, and the mining laws of the Yukon, under which latter, he alleged these irregularities had occurred. But, Mr. Speaker, what was the course of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster)? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), could not afford to be courteous; he could not afford to be polite, he had to be impertinent, and I judge it must have been simply for the reason—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I must rise to a point of order. That word 'impertinent' was ruled out of order last session, and I presume we must have continuity of ruling in this House.

Mr. SPEAKER. A word that was unparliamentary last year will, I presume, remain unparliamentary this year.

Mr. FOSTER. Allow me to state my point of order. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) did not say that one of my arguments was an impertinent argument, but he directly addressed me, and said: that I, as a member of the House was impertinent. In all earnestness I ask the Speaker's ruling on that, because I might be tempted, under provocation to use bad words too.

Mr. SPEAKER. As applied to an individual member of the House, the word is unparliamentary.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Mr. Speaker, I always bow with very great deference to the decision of the Chair. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) was manifestly unable to answer the question which I put to him. If he had been able to support his argument, he would have answered. I do not wonder he was unable to answer the question, for the very simple reason that there is no substantial and material difference between the mining laws and regulations in force in the Yukon, and the mining laws and regulations in force in British Columbia. I defy the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), or any of those associated with him, to point out any substantial distinction which would give colour to his assertion, that the mining laws of the Yukon brought about this state of affairs complained of, when the mining laws of British Columbia would not bring it about. There is no doubt a difference in one particular, but

only in one, which is, at the present moment to my mind, and this distinction is doubtless unknown to the hon. gentleman. In the province of British Columbia, after a number of years have elapsed, after the regulations have been carefully observed, after the lessee has for a term of years held his permit, after he has paid the annual amount required by law as a holder of the permit, after he has done each year regularly, the labour required from him, or paid a money contribution in lieu thereof; then the mining laws of British Columbia, enable him to acquire a fixed and permanent title as to the future, by a grant from the Crown. While that is not the case in the Yukon, in all other particulars the mining laws of the two are practically and substantially identical. I hold, Sir, that under the laws and regulations in force in the Yukon, no more doubt or difficulty can arise with regard to the title of the lessee, than under the British Columbia mining laws. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) has said in proof of something—in proof of what, I found it difficult to gather—that there are not as many claim jumpers in the province of British Columbia, as there are in the Yukon, and he holds that this alleged allegation is evidence against the regulation which allows claims to be cancelled and relocations to take place. Well, Sir, there is a very reasonable explanation of why there is not claim jumping to the same extent in British Columbia, as there has been in the Yukon. There are different circumstances existing there in the Yukon which made it necessary that the minister should adopt a change in the regulations in this respect, as compared with the regulations in British Columbia. The difference in circumstances arises from the fact, that in the province of British Columbia, there is a more settled order of things prevailing now. It is many years since mining prospecting came to be an established order of things in British Columbia, while in the Yukon district, these matters are all quite new. It is only within the last two or three years that the mining business of the Yukon has attracted notice, and that people in any large numbers have gone in there; and the class of people who have gone in are more lawless and unscrupulous and are likely to do there what the more permanent and steadier mining people in the province of British Columbia are not likely to do, and which the people would not tolerate. So that it appears to me that a system which might be tolerated or fairly approved in the province of British Columbia, ought not to be permitted in the Yukon district under the conditions that exist there. When my hon. friend proceeded to argue this question, I was rather surprised to learn from him that there was a material difference in these regulations in the Yukon district which justified his condemnation, and the difference consisted in this: Taking the fact which the

Minister of the Interior himself had pointed out in the course of his remarks, that in the Yukon district when a man lost a claim by reason of oversight or inadvertence on his own part, or by reason of some error on the part of an official, he was recognized as having a right to compensation of some description from the government or the department; whereas in the province of British Columbia he was not so recognized, and, therefore, none of all the embarrassing questions which arise when you are settling how or to what extent or under what conditions compensation should be granted, would arise; and he said that it was a serious blot on the Interior Department that such claims should be settled. It struck me that instead of this being a ground of complaint against the regulations, it is strong evidence why they should be commended, because in the province of British Columbia a person who thinks he has resorted to every means to entitle him to a permit, and to have his claim regularly registered and secured to him, and who afterwards finds, through no act or neglect on his own part, but through the oversight of an official, that he has lost his claim, has no compensation and no remedy at all. Is it not extraordinary that such a condition of things as that should be regarded by the hon. gentleman as preferable to the condition which, under the regulations of my hon. friend, a person would be entitled under similar circumstances to consideration or compensation from the government. I can very well imagine that if it had suited the hon. gentleman's purpose, and the facts had been the other way, and he had wanted to make a case against the justice, equity and fairness of the regulations as they are administered by my hon. friend, he would have appealed very strongly and confidently to this House, and would have said: Look at the outrageous character of these regulations of the Minister of the Interior. Here is a man who, through no fault of his own, has been deprived of his property, and he is to be told that he has to go without any compensation, even though his claim may be regarded as worth a quarter of a million dollars. The hon. gentleman would have appealed with some force to reason if he had taken up the other side of the case; but I think that even the hon. gentleman himself must recognize the extreme weakness of the position he was taking when he is making as a ground of complaint against these regulations that which would strike an ordinary person as being one of their chief merits. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) tells us that he was informed that persons who were filling responsible positions in the Yukon had actually sold information to a person on the outside, who had taken advantage of that information, and had actually profited by it. If the hon. gentleman has a case of that kind, well authenticated and with any bottom to it, why does he not bring it to the attention

of the Minister of the Interior? The Minister of the Interior will be as ready as the hon. gentleman, and much readier, I believe, for the credit of his own department, and the administration, to pursue such a case to the very end, in order to find out whether there is any warrant for the statement, and whether any officer had violated his trust or not. But the hon. gentleman says: 'No, I will not give you the information, or tell you the particulars, or give you the name of my informant.' If everybody would proceed on the lines which the hon. gentleman marked out for himself, the discovery of official wrong-doing would be practically impossible, and you could never secure an investigation in the conduct of an official by the head of a department. It is only when cases of this character, if they occur, are brought to the notice of the head of the department that he is enabled to proceed, purify his department and expel the offending official if he is found guilty.

But, passing over the conduct of the ex-Minister of Finance in this regard, I want to know what has that to do with the question of the propriety or the efficiency of these regulations? You cannot prescribe a regulation which will enforce integrity among all officials in the employ of the government. Regulations will not do it. It has no concern at all with the regulations which my hon. friend has attacked. My hon. friend the Minister of the Interior was attacked because of these regulations, and acts of misconduct on the part of officials are cited as supporting the charge that these regulations ought to be modified, altered or revised. The hon. gentleman goes on to say there is in actual operation among the officials in the Yukon district a disreputable method of getting titles or getting control of lands. He said this with an air of great solemnity, as if the moment he uttered it he would startle the whole House. But the hon. gentleman stopped there. He would not tell us in what this disreputable process consisted. He did not hint in what direction we should look for this disreputable conduct or for the officials guilty of it; but he carefully concealed the facts—why? There are only two reasons that occur to my mind why—either that he had not any facts of any value to stand on, or that he preferred that this kind of conduct (whatever it was) should go on in order that it might bring discredit to the government, and he feared that the Minister of the Interior, if put on the track, would institute an investigation which would bring to justice those officials, if guilty. Whenever the hon. gentleman addresses the House or speaks from a public platform, he generally indulges in a sort of moral homily upon integrity and virtue, putting himself forward as the quintessence of all that is virtuous. I take it that the hon. gentleman is bound, having the belief which

he has expressed and the information which he says he possesses, to let the government know in what these things consist, so that we may ferret out the facts, get at the bottom of these charges and find out who these people are in order that, if their guilt is proved, they be punished.

The hon. gentleman proposes a very curious and extraordinary method. When by my hon. friend who sits beside me he was asked: What would you do in a case of the kind mentioned by the hon. Minister of the Interior, namely, the case of a man who had staked out the ground and applied to the proper officer to have his claim registered and done everything necessary to secure his right, but who found out subsequently that through some oversight or omission or neglect or even wrong-doing on the part of that officer, the claim which he had staked out, and for the registration of which he had applied, had been given to another? What was the hon. gentleman's reply? Surely it was that of a Daniel come to judgment? Surely it was the essence of all wisdom. He said: I would suggest that the property should be divided in two, and one-half given to each. Did you ever hear of anything so childish or absurd from a gentleman who has filled most responsible positions in the government of the country, and who, no doubt, aspires to fill a still higher position in the future, if the opportunity should come to him? Split the land in two. It is not a question whether this land belongs to the man to whom it was given or the man who took the necessary steps to entitle him to it, but a question of compromise between the two. We will, he says, cut the land in two. We will do, as Solomon did when the famous question of maternity was brought before him, we will cut the babe in two and give the half to the one claimant and the other half to the other, and hereby do justice as between the two parties—a very satisfactory and sound conclusion no doubt, and one certain to be eminently satisfactory to both the claimants.

I will just make one further reference before I resume my seat. We have had a good many suggestions thrown out from time to time with regard to the jealousy or rivalry that exists between the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) and the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), but I do not think we have ever had any more conclusive evidence of the actual existence of such a feeling than has been afforded us this afternoon. What have we heard from the ex-Minister of Finance? He wandered away from the question of the Yukon regulations, from the question of the royalty, he got away from the subject which the hon. leader of the opposition had introduced as matter for debate, and he drifted off to the Teslin-Stikine Railway, and what did he tell us? He said there was not a sane business man in the country to-day who would countenance or approve the idea of

building a railway from Teslin Lake to Stikine, and he made the statement with all the authority of an ex-Minister of Finance, with his hon. leader sitting beside him, in the face of and with the full knowledge of the fact that even before that route was proposed to parliament, the hon. leader of the opposition had himself been one of its most strenuous and hearty supporters. So anxious was that gentleman to turn public opinion in a direction favourable to that route, that he rushed into newspaper print, before parliament met—at all events before the policy of the government was known or had been announced—and declared his entire absolute confidence in the wisdom of selecting this route over all others. But that is not all. It might be thought that the hon. gentleman had forgotten that the leader of the opposition was representing his party when he expressed himself so unqualifiably in approval of that route, but there was one circumstance he did not forget, one that could not have slipped his memory, and that was that nearly at the close of last session, the hon. gentleman rose, and, speaking with the authority of the leader of his party and having the ex-Minister of Finance beside him, declared to this parliament his conviction that it was in the best interests of Canada that this government should ask parliament for a sufficient appropriation to enable it to go on and construct a line of railway connecting British Columbia and the Yukon country. And by what route? Why, Sir, by the Teslin-Stikine route, and he appealed to my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to accept his assistance and assured him of the unqualified and hearty support of the Conservative party, if the government would ask parliament for a grant sufficient to enable it to construct that railway.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman allow me?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). The hon. gentleman must pardon me. It is true that the railway this government was so advised to take authority to build was not limited to points between the Stikine River and Teslin Lake, but was to be continued further to the south until it struck a proper Canadian harbour.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. But that does not alter the case. The Teslin-Stikine route was part of that line, and if it is to be condemned in the unqualified and unmeasured language in which the ex-Minister of Finance has condemned it, it is equally worthy of condemnation whether as part of a line to a port on the coast or as a line between these two points. You would not

object to building a line from a suitable harbour on the British coast in British Columbia up to the Stikine, and then stop, but would continue it up to the Teslin Lake, and such was the route approved by the leader of the opposition. Let me add that the hon. leader of the opposition, when he made the statement he did last session, when he rushed into the newspaper press and expressed his unqualified approval of that route, knew that the government contemplated building an extension of that Teslin-Stikine route—not immediately, but as soon as the first section was completed and as soon as the company could carry it forward with the assistance of the government—south to a harbour on the British Columbia coast, so that the very scheme which the hon. gentleman urged on the government last session, with all the weight and the authority of the opposition behind him, including the ex-Minister of Finance, embraced this line of railway which the ex-Minister of Finance now so recklessly and rashly—as even I think his friends now acknowledge—condemns the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) in such unqualified terms for having recommended to parliament.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). I shall deal very briefly with this question. There are one or two points that require to be cleared up. The statement was made by the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) that the province of Manitoba was carried, not on provincial issues only, but also on Dominion issues, and especially in connection with the Yukon; and he referred to the fact that the *Winnipeg Free Press* had stated that every vote cast against Greenway would be cast for Tupper, and that the contest was allowed by the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald to go on that issue without controverting the correctness of the statement. Well, Sir, I took a hand in that contest myself, and I know that Dominion politics had as much to do at least with the result as local politics had, and that this government felt that Manitoba was a vital battle ground to them, was proved by the fact that they sent in two ministers and a distinguished supporter, and then that during the whole of the contest the Minister of the Interior devoted himself to his own constituency. The leader of the opposition stated that the minister was beaten by over a thousand in that constituency. The Minister of the Interior attempted to controvert that, but what are the facts? When the contest commenced the whole of that section of the country, every one of the nine constituencies, was with the Greenway govern-

Mr. BLAIR.

ment; at the close, in the Minister of the Interior's own constituency, six of these local constituencies had gone against the government, and against the Minister of the Interior, a man holding so important a portfolio in this government. In fact the leader of the opposition understated what a blow this was to the government, to the Minister of the Interior, and what an indication it is of the revulsion of feeling that has taken place within a few years. I have here before me the local constituencies that are within the bounds of the Dominion constituency represented here by the Minister of the Interior: Virden, Lansdowne, Avondale, Souris, Deloraine, North Brandon, Brandon City, South Brandon, and Turtle Mountain. At the previous local election a Liberal carried Virden by 125 majority; Lansdowne by 239 majority; Avondale by 208; Souris in 1896, Liberal, by acclamation; Deloraine by 9 majority; North Brandon, Liberal, by 244 majority; Brandon City by 99 majority; South Brandon by 344; Turtle Mountain by 23. Well, Sir, at the last election a Conservative carried Virden by 35, or a turnover of 160. Lansdowne was only carried by a Liberal supporter of Mr. Greenway by 46, or a loss of 193; Avondale was carried by a Conservative with 77 majority, showing a turnover of 285. Souris was carried by Mr. Thompson, by a majority of 8, or a turnover of 352. Deloraine was carried by a Liberal by 88, showing a turnover of 74. North Brandon was carried by 17, whereas the Minister of the Interior had carried it by 244, and his successor by 138, showing a turnover of 121. Brandon City was one of the great triumphs of that contest. Everything was thrown there. Money was poured into the city—where it came from one knows not. The way money was poured into that city throws an instructive light upon what the leader of the opposition said here to-day, that the Minister of the Interior had been very useful to the government by opening for them the sluices of unmeasured resources. Nevertheless, we carried that city against all these odds by a majority of 8. As there was 99 of a majority to overcome, that showed 107 of a turnover. South Brandon went Liberal by 67, whereas at the previous election it gave 344 majority for the Liberal candidate, showing a turnover of 277. Turtle Mountain gave 192 of a majority as against 23 of a Liberal majority on a previous election, showing a turnover of 215. If you add these majorities together you will find that in the constituency of the Minister of the Interior, within the short period of four years, there was a turnover of close on 1,900 votes. No wonder that the hon. gentleman feels discouraged. It is no wonder that he has seemed this session much depressed, and that the gay, and festive, and confident air that characterized him in other sessions has entirely departed.

Now, I have in my hand a letter written by a Manitoba Liberal to that great Liberal organ the *Witness* of Montreal. He tells the *Witness*, in renewing his subscription to that paper, that he thought he would write a few lines concerning the recent election. He says he has been a reader of that paper for 50 years, for 25 years in his father's house, and 25 years in his own; and he goes on to describe what a staunch, true, solid, loyal, zealous Liberal he is. He then discusses the causes of the fall of the Liberal government, and in the fourth paragraph of his letter they are all summed up in that one word, Sifton. He concludes the letter in this way:

I have been an ardent supporter of the Liberal party for over thirty years, and I hope to continue so, as I believe the Liberal policy, even with its defects, is preferable to Conservative rule. But I say candidly, Sir Wilfrid Laurier has to change his advisers in this province if he wishes to carry it at the coming Dominion elections. The recent appointments to the Senate would lead us to believe that he does not yet grasp the situation. The appointment of defeated politicians to fill the vacancies in the Senate is not in accordance with the views of the Liberal party. The late Minister of Public Works was not a success in provincial politics, and was badly defeated at the last election, and should have been relegated to private life instead of being promoted to the Senate.

He signs it, 'Manitoban.' He does not give his name, but the paper, I suppose, has it. He is a strong Liberal, and apparently an independent man. The *Witness* leads a third of the letter, showing the importance they attach to the writer of the communication. Well, Sir, that man although he is unwilling to give his name—we sometimes meet with such men—nevertheless the paper to which he has sent this communication, I suppose, will stand sponsor for his position as a Liberal, that should lead hon. gentlemen opposite to attach some weight to what he says. The Conservative victory in Manitoba was the Hougoumont of the Waterloo that is at hand, and whenever the opportunity occurs that we can go before the people the result will be all over this country commensurate with the hopes that have been built on what took place in Manitoba. Now, I want to say one word in regard to the state of judicial business in the Yukon. We were given to understand last year, when the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) asked for \$4,000 for a judge, that it was a pressing necessity that an associate was needed for Judge Dugas in order to meet the demands of litigants in the Yukon, and in order that Judge Dugas should be, in other ways, assisted by a man instructed in the common law. We voted \$4,000 on that assurance, and, nevertheless, look at the time which has elapsed. Nearly twelve months have elapsed since we voted that \$4,000. Why has the judge not been sent up? Is it that there is no lawyer in the Liberal ranks

learned in the law, who is not weighty in legal knowledge, of a character to be sent up to the Yukon? What is the reason of the delay? Can it be, in the face of the professions made by leading Liberals in the past, can it be, as was hinted by the hon. leader of the opposition to-day, that the reason is that the government intend to appoint a member of this House, or have practically appointed him already, and that the man who is yet to administer justice on the bench in the Yukon is now sitting in this House? Can that be, Sir? Well, Mr. Speaker, if it be, it adds to the scandal of the delay, and after what was read here to-day, can it be doubted for one instant that the legal business of the Yukon and of Dawson City has got into the confusion that was described by the hon. leader of the opposition? In regard to the charges made against the administration of the Yukon, what is the answer? The answer made to-day to the hon. leader of the opposition and to the hon. ex-Minister of Finance is the old answer: Your charges are indefinite, and you do not give names. Well, the answer to that is that those who give us information tie our hands. If the government had given the royal commission that was asked for, that was asked for properly, and asked for under conditions that it made it almost imperative that the government should have granted it, because the man who asked for it took his public life in his hands, they would have had the names. If you had given that royal commission subpoenas could have been sent to all these gentlemen who gave information on confidential conditions, they could have been brought before a judicial commission and you would have had their charges substantiated. But I do not think that was what was desired. It does not seem to have been desired. I think the hon. Minister of the Interior feared that something more would come out even than the heavy charges that were laid at his door, when the hon. member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) moved his celebrated motion. Since that, what has occurred? I want to give the House some idea of the way things are going on in the Yukon. An ordinance has been passed giving monopoly in supplying the people up there with water. Through the Yukon Council, which is the immediate government of the Yukon, but which is controlled from here, this government have given men a monopoly in the handling of water in the Yukon. Let me read to the House the following:—

The favoured company is to filter and boil water, and is to dispose of it at a price that must not be higher than 10 cents a gallon, and for two years 'no person other than the company shall sell in Dawson water purified by the process of filtering and boiling.' 'Any person so selling shall for each offence be subject to a fine of \$50 and costs, to be recovered by summary process before a justice of the peace.'

It would be quite right to give a charter to a company for the purification of water in the Yukon, but you have no right to give any company, by law, a monopoly, under a charter. The hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor) read for me what has been said, within a few days back by Mr. Arthur Copland, who has just come from Bennett in the Yukon :

There is no doubt but that there has been, and still is, plenty of truth in the various reports, and an extensive practice of bribery and corruption predominates all through the country. If a man requires any courtesies or assistance at the hands of a government official he has to pay for it before he can get it. They are all looking for what is commonly called 'grafts,' and the applicant has on more than one occasion been politely informed by the one from whom he is seeking assistance, 'I am not here for my health.' The same condition of affairs also applies to the registration of mining claims; you can get justice only by paying for it.

Well, this man gives his name. We have his name with the charge, and if we had a proper tribunal we could have had persons making charges come before it and have their charges examined and sifted. I have a charge here made by no less a person than Mr. Eugene Coste, son of the chief engineer of that day. This was made after parliament rose, on September 29th.

Mr. BERGERON. A brother.

Mr. DAVIN. A brother, is it? Well, he is described here as the son. He says :

There are grave grounds for complaint against officials.

There is another reason why it is difficult for us to give names. The moment a man tabulated charges against the Department of the Interior, the hon. minister shut his mouth by giving him a position. Take the case of Mr. Miller, the editor of the *Pembroke Observer*, who sent to his own paper elaborate charges against the department and concluded as follows :—

For myself, I did not believe the government knew anything of the dirt here, even if it really existed as charged, though many good friends have indignantly declared to me that it is their business to know. Since I have reached Dawson, I have almost been forced to a like conclusion, and have no hesitation in declaring that if they do not take strong and speedy steps to end the orgie that is in progress here, they will not only have become partners in the dirt themselves, but shall have permitted the continuance of a system which must result in very great financial and moral injury to the Dominion. I have been here now for two weeks, and have been noting and inquiring on every hand, and though I cannot yet give you facts and figures, I have seen enough to convince myself that it is worse even than the mind of an honest man can conceive. That the mining laws are being set aside on a colossal scale is beyond all question, and that barefaced bribery is the rule of the day is equally certain. But why go on. I have already told you it was high time to draw this letter to a close.

Mr. DAVIN.

This man had hardly touched Ontario when the hon. Minister of the Interior picked him up, gave him a position and silenced him. What would be the result if we gave the names?

Mr. BERGERON. He would buy them off.

Mr. DAVIN. Buy them off. Now, Mr. Speaker, in the course of the discussion Mr. Coste's name has been introduced, and the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has declared that Mr. Coste has made no report whatever on his trip to the Yukon; which is a very curious statement for the minister to make.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The minister (Mr. Tarte) did not say that Mr. Coste had made no report on this trip. He said, Mr. Coste had made no report on the Stikine-Teslin Railway.

Mr. BERGERON. Well, he has made one.

Mr. DAVIN. That is where I took the point, and the minister (Mr. Tarte) must bring down the report. Now, Sir, I have in my hand the report of Louis Coste, the chief engineer, addressed to the Hon. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, dated Ottawa, February 10, and here are the subjects on which the report is given: Stikine River, Teslin Lake, Teslin River, Lewes River, Yukon River. You see, Mr. Speaker, how correct these ministers are and how well they know their business, and I suppose the answer of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) and the answer of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) that there was no report on the Stikine River or Teslin Lake, is about as true to fact as—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am sure the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) does not want to misrepresent me. I said that the Minister of Public Works stated this afternoon that there was no report from Louis Coste on the Stikine and Teslin Railway.

Mr. BERGERON. There is a report.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The minister (Mr. Tarte) said there were several reports, but none on the railway.

Mr. BERGERON. There is a report on the railway, but it is not down.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. He denied that.

Mr. BERGERON. I know he denied it, but there is a report and it will have to come down. Mr. Coste will make another one if not.

Mr. DAVIN. This is what Mr. Coste says about the Teslin Lake :

Teslin Lake is about sixty-five miles long, and is navigable for vessels of light draught (not more than 3 ft. 8 in.). The first ten miles are more like a river than a lake and have two narrows in which only four feet of water are available towards the end of the season of navigation, viz., October 15.

I happen to know, and others know it as well as I do, that Mr. Coste has presented a report to the Department of Public Works, strongly condemning the Teslin Lake route. Now, Sir, as the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) has come, I will repeat in a sentence what I said before he came in. Before he entered the Chamber I declared that Manitoba was carried at least as much on Dominion issues as on provincial issues; that the minister (Mr. Sifton) was beaten by close on 2,000 votes of a turnover in his own constituency, as compared with the vote that was cast in the previous local election, and I further declared, that it was the name 'Sifton' that told hardest against Mr. Greenway. In fact, one of the ways that Mr. Greenway was killed was on the Menzientian process. You know what Mezentius, the tyrant, used to do when he wanted to kill a man; he bound him with untieable cords to a corpse, and in that dreadful company left him to die. So Greenway was bound up with the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), who effectually killed him. I may say here that the thing that went hardest in the North-west against the Minister of the Interior—went as hard almost as his tergiversation and back-sliding and treason on the subject of the tariff—was his conduct in regard to the Yukon. Here are a number of charges that to this day remain unanswered:

That the Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, has been guilty of scandalous neglect, delay and mismanagement in the administration of his department in the Yukon district.

That the commissions issued to Major Walsh were made without authority and were consequently void.

That H. H. Norwood and J. B. McGregor, the one an uncertified master of a whaler or small sailing vessel, the other a livery stable keeper, were appointed 'inspectors,' their duties to consist chiefly of inspecting mining locations and reporting thereon to the gold commissioners with a view of specially supervising the collection of dues and the settlement of conflicting claims; and that both were incompetent for the discharge of these duties.

That the government, on the recommendation of Mr. Sifton, appointed certain officials who were incapable and corrupt to positions requiring experience, technical knowledge and integrity of character.

That Mr. Sifton has been guilty of favouritism and partiality in the administration of the laws and regulations of the Yukon.

That according to official returns the following parties obtained leases of gold placer mining or gold dredging areas in the Yukon district.

Here follows a list of names:

That Mr. Sifton gave Mr. Philp a permit or authority signed by him, contrary to law, which

was offered for sale by Philp for a large sum of money.

That Mr. Sifton gave his express sanction and approval to Mr. Wade, being financially interested in Dominion lands or mining claims in the Yukon, and that Mr. Wade was so interested, contrary to law.

That unsanitary conditions have unnecessarily prevailed in the district. That in Dawson, a city of 25,000 estimated population, on April 1, 1899, not a single road, bridge or drain or anything that might be termed a public work, existed; neither pavement, roadway, drain or ditch, neither water supply or lighting; that the disposal of refuse was left entirely to individual responsibility, and that this condition of affairs resulted in an epidemic of typhoid fever.

That official favouritism and partiality has been shown and extended to the representatives of the North American Trading Company of Chicago and Seattle.

That application to the minister and political influence became necessary to secure respect for legal permits, and that a Liberal lawyer was enabled to charge a large sum to secure the good offices of the minister.

That the regulations were not regularly enforced, but certain of them (as, for instance, those relating to royalties) were allowed by Major Walsh to be violated and claims 500 feet in length were allowed by him to be staked in lieu of the 250 feet prescribed by the regulations.

That the Crown prosecutor, Mr. F. C. Wade, declined to act in the enforcement of the laws, ordinances and regulations of the North-west Territories.

That Mr. Wade actively practiced his profession while holding his official position and appeared before the court, the gold commissioner, and other officials as the paid advocate of private parties.

That the gold commissioner's legal adviser accepted fees from persons contesting claims before the commissioner. That the acting Dominion lands agent, registrar, clerk of court and Crown prosecutor, accepted fees for procuring and promising to procure titles to lands and claims.

That an officer of the government was guilty of blackmailing persons engaged in the sale of spirituous liquors and keeping gambling saloons.

That Mr. Wade, while registrar of lands, clerk of court and Crown attorney, was financially interested in the disposal of the water front lands.

That officials have accepted gifts, &c., as compensation for procuring information from public records, &c., and for assistance in procuring claims; and for favouring certain individuals.

That officials have been guilty of fraud and breaches of trust affecting the public.

That the 'side door' system prevailed at the post office.

That a system of bribery was rendered necessary to get officials to perform their duties.

That the blackmailing of persons applying for claims has prevailed.

That unfair and fraudulent use has been made by officials of knowledge acquired in the discharge of their duties.

&c., &c.

We have in some of these, the very same charges that are made to this hour by persons returning from the Yukon, as I showed by reading what was stated by Mr. Cope-land. We have a long list of charges to

this hour uninvestigated. I repeat that nothing did the Minister of the Interior more harm than the fact that he refused inquiry, and I am very sorry that he is now going away—I am sorry for the cause—but it would have been very convenient if he could have arranged to stop here this session; but apparently this session will have to go by, and these charges still remain uninvestigated. What will the people think? What does any honest man who has nothing to fear do when charges are made against him, but say, 'Inquire into my conduct, formulate your charges.' That would be the language of a minister who had nothing to fear; whereas, although the hon. member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) came forward in this House and pledged his reputation and position that he would substantiate the charges if he got a judicial commission, the minister glides off from the demand for an investigation by saying that ministers must not be brought before judges in that way. Mr. Speaker, I have listened to-day to the defence made by the Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair), and I must say that when I consider his experience and his adroitness in stating a case or making a defence, looking back to that defence and pondering over it, it seems to me that it was the strongest possible condemnation of the government of which he is a member; because, if excuses of that sort can be made at this time of day in regard to the administration of the Yukon, in the face of these charges still uninvestigated and complaints still rife, this government stands condemned in respect to that great department of the administration of the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. D. C. FRASER (Guysborough). Mr. Speaker, we have had addresses from the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) and from the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), and these are all the contribution we have had to the subject before the House. What, after all, is that subject? If I might be allowed to suggest, I think that when a motion is made to adjourn the House under cover of which certain statements are made, the business of this House should not be kept back by permitting members to wander all over the Dominion upon every conceivable question except the one which is the occasion of the motion.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Pure obstruction.

Mr. FOSTER. You are very grateful for it.

Mr. FRASER. What did the hon. leader of the opposition say? His point was this, and he wished to bring it before the minister before he left, that the royalty in the Yukon was too large, and the proof of that was that as a result there were fewer peo-

Mr. DAVIN.

ple in the Yukon to-day than there were last year, and they were leaving by thousands. That is the whole question. I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, and this House, what have the Manitoba elections, the Teslin Lake Railway, the position in which Mr. Sifton stands in relation to the people of Manitoba and the people of the North-west, and ten thousand other nonsensical questions which have been brought forward, to do with that single question? I think it was perfectly legitimate for the leader of the opposition to bring up the only question relating to the Yukon that he thought ought to be raised in parliament this winter before the minister left. Let us confine ourselves to that, and that alone. I regret that both the leader of the opposition and the ex-Minister of Finance should, in making their statements, refer to letters, the authors of which they were either ashamed of or the statements in which they felt were not correct, and therefore they gave no names. Now, I might produce a number of letters from the Yukon. I went to the Yukon last summer, and stayed there two or three weeks; and I may say here that however humble a member of parliament is who goes to that country, the fact is noised abroad, and it is considered that his acquaintance might be made so that matters relating to the country might be brought before him. I am bound to say that during the three weeks that I was in Dawson and up and down the creeks, only three parties spoke to me who had any grievances, and these three parties made no complaint against the government or the honesty of the officials. Their cases were similar to those spoken of by the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), namely, that when they made applications for claims, and the surveys were made, it was discovered that others had come in and taken part of the area which they thought they were entitled to, and they thought that in equity they had a claim. When I returned I spoke to the Minister of the Interior about the matter, and I found that the gold commissioner had previously communicated with the minister in regard to these cases, and had recommended them to his consideration. I think it was exceedingly ungenerous in the ex-Minister of Finance to refer, as he did, to the gold commissioner. Of all the disreputable things that I know of, it is insinuating that a man is dishonest, and giving no authority. The ex-Minister of Finance, if I understood him correctly, said that last year he thought Mr. Ogilvie was honest; now he does not. Well, you may prove a man honest or dishonest, but I submit that you ought to have evidence, and the evidence ought to be produced; the style of the man who gives the evidence ought to be apparent, and he should not be ashamed when he takes his oath to give his name, so that you may catch him if he happens to make a statement that is not

correct. I venture to say that there is not a man in the Yukon territory who will give his name to the ex-Minister of Finance to be published, who will join him in the statement that Mr. Ogilvie is not an honest man. There may be a question among those engaged in mining out there as to whether Mr. Ogilvie is as able a man as ought to be there. I have heard men say that; and although perhaps, it may be said, he is not the ablest man that could be sent to that country, yet as to his honesty, nobody ever thought of hinting that the man who walked over the richest territory of Canada, and did not own an inch of it, as he might have done, is a man to be spoken of as dishonest. As to letters, I wish to read two. In the case of one, I will not give the name of the writer.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. FRASER. I would not do it in the first instance, only I have such an excellent example in the leader of the opposition and the ex-Minister of Finance. The letter expresses an opinion on what was done last winter. It says:

The conduct of Sir Charles and his son, aided by those who assisted them, has been the only setback this country has so far received. The effect was not as bad as anticipated by them. Still, there were political friends here who used their untruthful statements in order to decry the country. The Yankees who were kept in order by the police, and were prevented from running the Yukon, also took sides with the enemies of law and order as led by Sir Charles.

No one hears anything now from the few here who were in sympathy with these attacks.

Men of all opinions and from all lands here hold the crew who started the crusade in contempt.

Mr. MILLS. When was that letter written?

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). On the 10th January last. Mark it down, so that you will not forget it.

The country is all right, and no amount of effort on the part of the antiquated baronet can injure us. Those who know the facts boldly assert that Sir H. Tupper knew the charges were false, but he hoped he could injure Mr. Sifton, and gain a party advantage.

I might as well found the charge, based on that letter, that Sir Charles H. Tupper did not believe what he said, and have as good authority, as the leader of the opposition had for basing his charges. I propose to give another authority, which I will name, and only gave this one I did not name in order to follow the illustrious example set me, as I always like to learn from those who are older and more experienced than I.

The hon. leader of the opposition, has told us that the royalty is too high. On that point there may be a difference of opinion, but he followed that up, by saying that the people were leaving Dawson City in thousands,

and that the country next summer would be almost depopulated. Well, the hon. gentleman ought to know that never, except after the washup, is there more than 4,000 or 5,000 people there. It is not a mining town, you have to go ten miles before you reach the first mine, and in the mining season everybody is up in the creeks, so that Dawson City is merely a rendezvous for them after the wash-up.

Mr. BERGERON. That is why you went out there. It is a place of rendezvous.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I can understand how disappointed the hon. gentleman must feel at not being there when he is informed that it is such a place.

Mr. BERGERON. That is too thin; I did not go there.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Certainly, and that is why you are now sorry. I am going to read an extract from a letter which I received from a gentleman in Dawson City, who has done more for the Yukon than any man in it, who last year paid one-seventh of the total royalty, whose word is taken everywhere, and who knows more about the country than any man in the Yukon. By the way, I may say that this gentleman, whose name I will give, thinks the royalty is too high, but we can understand why a man who pays \$100,000 in royalty would like to get that royalty reduced. This is an extract from a letter written by Mr. Alex. Macdonald, the Klondike king, and dated the 29th January last, still later than the other. I am sorry that the hon. leader of the opposition is not here to hear it, so that he would understand that the whole fabric on which he makes his case has no foundation. This is what Mr. Macdonald says:

Prospects all over the country are good for at least as big a clean-up this year as last.

Could there be as big a clean-up if the people were leaving? Here is the chief miner of the Klondike, a man who owns more property out there than any man in that country, who has done more to develop that country than any other, and he is not complaining that the people are running away, he is not trying to give that country a black eye, but is willing to tell the truth about it. I did not write to him to inquire what the prospects were for this year. I made his acquaintance out there, and he being a fellow-countryman of mine wrote me a letter and gave me this information without any inquiries on my part. I submit that his statement ought to be an answer to all the vapourings of men who never were there and know very little about it.

Do hon. gentlemen opposite think they are going to help themselves or the country by attempting to show that people are leaving that district, and that it is a difficult one to live in? Does any one believe that a

country where men have made \$50,000, \$100,000, \$300,000, aye, as high as \$1,000,000, in mining, is going to be depopulated, because of the 10 per cent royalty? A curious thing about it all is that there were hundreds of men in Dawson City and the creeks who never heard a word about any difficulty in Dawson, or the whole of the Yukon, until they read the speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite. That there have been things done there which have not been done in older countries, I will admit. When one goes there, one sees exactly how matters stood. Here was a gold commissioner, with only two clerks, who had to live in a small log building, and here was the richest mining district in the world, thrown open, into which thousands of people were rushing. About the door of that building, would be 200 or 300 at a time clamouring for admittance. And, here were this gold commissioner, and his clerks, without a map of the country, who did not know one part of it from another, who had not a single paper, by which they could rectify any application. One man puts in his application, and describes its area as beginning at a certain point and coming round in one direction. Another comes in and describes his particular claim on the opposite side. What can the gold commissioner do? He can only do the best he can. He cannot refer to a single map or anything else, to know where he is, but has to take the application, and put it on record without a single means of rectifying it. Would it then be a matter for surprise that claims would sometimes clash, and that the commissioner, overworked, and with hundreds clamouring about him, would make an occasional mistake. There is not a member of this House who does not sometimes make mistakes in his own office. I know that for myself, when the letters I have dictated are brought to me, after having been written by my typewriter, I will sometimes, when I have a dozen or two to post, put the letter intended for one person into the envelope addressed to another. Would it be surprising, therefore, that mistakes should occur in the commissioner's office. Hon. members can scarcely appreciate the difficulties, but I am bound to make this statement, that, so far as deliberate dishonesty is concerned, or any attempt to do any man out of his rights, there is no such instance on record. Why, if the ex-Minister of Finance would speak to the Americans, what would he find? He would find one class clamouring loudly against the royalty because they want to take all the money out of the country, and another class—and a very large majority of those who own mines in that country are Yankees—telling him that whatever may be the difficulties in that country, it is the best mining camp they ever saw. Why? Because there is more order and security there, and all that makes for good citizenship, than could be found

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough).

even in New York, or any other of the great cities of the United States. I have seen other mining camps, and I am bound to say that I never saw anything at all to compare with this one. Men went there in the rush to break the law, to hold up the town as they call it—Montana plugs and bandits thinking they were going to do as they liked with their revolvers and Winchesters. But they discovered that the policeman would come up, tap them on the shoulder and say: If you are found with arms here, you will be arrested. And the effect of this is that law and order are better upheld in Dawson City to-day than they are in the very large majority even of the very small towns in Canada. Was not that a great deal? And, as to what we hear about the Yukon, I am bound to say, in all honesty, that I did not hear it in the Yukon, and I conversed with miners and others while there.

But it is well that we have the question up. As I say, the whole question, after all, is the royalty; and that is a question that may well be inquired into, to see, whether we should not get as much by a smaller royalty and have better results so far as the industry of the country is concerned. While I am speaking, let me say that there are two or three things that we want in that country. Much is being done, but there are some things still to be done. We want more money expended in making roads up the creeks, and expenditures on roads and railways are matters that the government may well undertake. But there is a greater want in that country than that, and I wish to call the attention of the government to it. These creeks come from a very high dome, and run in various directions. They are, I believe, the richest creeks in the world. I am not a miner, but if I were allowed to judge from what I saw and heard there, I must believe that our grandchildren will be working in the Yukon country the various minerals that are there in great profusion. The great desideratum there is water. They must have water. You may say that that is a small matter, but to the miners it is a most important matter that water should be obtained and on a large scale; and, if the government expect to get large royalty year after year, they should seriously consider what assistance they can give to a scheme which would put it in the power of every miner working his individual claim to get, at the cheapest rate possible, all the water he requires, without forming a company. I believe fully in what the Minister of the Interior said. I would like to see capital go into that country, but it is important to have as many men mining there on their own account as possible; it will be destructive of the interest of the Dominion to have that country all taken by large corporations that would hold the min-

ing rights and work them, and thus prevent the ordinary miner from getting a place. The water, of course, must be taken in from quite a long distance, but there are rivers there that can be utilized, and so utilized as to serve all the creeks. I would like to give one illustration of what there is there. Going up Bonanza Creek, about half way up, I met a man on a little stream. There were eight or ten claims that had never been worked. The man was a tramp, he did not own any of it; but there he was, rocking away. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon. I asked him how many pans he had rocked and he said about one hundred and fifty or two hundred. I knew that that was about half a day's work. I said: What have you got? How much have you got? With the western emphasis, which admits of no good Saxon word being used except as with cursory remark, he said: Very little. I thought perhaps he meant \$1 or \$1.50. I asked him again how much, and his reply was: Only seven or eight dollars. He was on a creek three-quarters of a mile wide, on which you have to go down 30 feet to strike bed rock. And I looked up at Gold Hill with the general rising three hundred, four hundred, five hundred feet up the mountain side as rich mines as there are in the world. And I thought, if we can get water to treat all that gravel in which the gold was dispersed in various degrees of richness, I think that country will be good for us and our children and our grandchildren to work. That country is all right. As I say, the royalty should be considered where there is a contention that too much is being paid. As to the people going out of that territory, it is not correct, and this statement made by Mr. Macdonald shows that the country is not being depopulated, but that it is being worked to better advantage than last year.

Before I sit down, I wish to make a personal reference. I hate to be obliged to descend to a personal explanation; but, after the hint thrown out as to myself by the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) and afterwards hinted at by a less responsible party, I must, in justice to myself, say one word. I wish to state that I have had no offer made me, nor do I expect an offer to be made me to go to the Yukon; and, if an offer were made, I would not go. It is quite easy for hon. gentlemen opposite to think that they are smart when they hint that a member of this House does not understand his position and has no respect for his honour. When I make up my mind to accept any position, I shall immediately leave this House; for I trust I have a due sense of the dignity and honour that should characterize an hon. member of this House. I have no doubt that the country that knows me so well is very anxious that I should hold a very high and distinguished position. I have no doubt that should the occasion come that the government, while

sorry to lose me, would be only too glad to see that I got my just deserts. But I have no such intention. I take a little pride in the fact that I have done my share towards ridding this country of the incubus of a Conservative government. In doing that, I only did my duty, as every true and enlightened Canadian should do. I think, perhaps, my work is not yet done. There are some wretched animalculæ in that party that have not yet been destroyed. We are not yet rid of all who make that party not all it should be. But when I make up my mind to take that rest, which should follow a manly, dignified course in the service of my country, I shall not consult the wishes of my opponents, but I shall consult my own dignity and the honour that should characterize every man who represents a constituency in this free country.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON (Three Rivers). Unfortunately for me, I was absent when this debate began. Consequently, I shall not go into this question except to point out certain matters which, I believe, are detrimental to the interests of Canada. In England and in Canada I have met men who have been trying to develop the gold fields of the Yukon, and among them I have heard a universal expression of opinion that the 10 per cent royalty was detrimental to the best interests of the country. I am prepared to admit one thing—that in the opening up of the Yukon country and making it safe for those who desired to go there, under circumstances which had been by no means expected, Canada and the government of Canada were assuming a great responsibility and undertaking a very great expense. But there is wisdom sometimes in considering whether the interests of the country will be better served by imposing a very large royalty as the government is now doing, or by waiting and allowing future generations gradually to pay the debt which will be incurred by the country in developing that region. Now, I believe, and I am convinced, that the interests of Canada are not properly served by an imposition of 10 per cent royalty. To-day we hear of people leaving that country and going in to another country under a different flag, under different regulations, and I believe that the great reason why they are leaving our gold fields for others is the imposition of this royalty of 10 per cent. My hon. friend from Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) has spoken of Alex. Macdonald and Mr. Ferguson, who floated a very large company in London, and who floated it so successfully that I think it will contribute more probably than any company which has been floated in London to the credit and the prosperity of Canada. But, Sir, the first objection they met with among the investors in London was the exorbitant royalty imposed by the government of Canada; and I believe as a Canadian wishing to see the great resources

of that almost unknown country better known and developed to the fullest possible extent, that it is the first duty of the government to change the regulations which have been imposed upon miners, upon the men who have been the pioneers of that country, and to relieve them of the charge now imposed upon them. You will see no other country in the world where mining has been successful and has contributed to the prosperity of that country, where a similar duty is placed upon the product of the mines. Take the gold fields of Australia, take the gold fields of South Africa, take any country where gold mining is an industry which has paid the people who have invested their money in it, and you will not find a single country where a royalty of 10 per cent has been imposed. I will tell you more than that. I believe that the 10 per cent royalty is the reason why our output of gold in the Yukon is not known at the present time. There is more gold taken out of that country without paying any royalty at all, than that which does pay royalty. That country is the hot-bed of all the schemes that human ingenuity can devise to take gold out of the country without paying royalty. I read the other day in a newspaper that a man had died, and it was discovered that the inventive genius of the miners had put all the gold they possibly could into his coffin and into his boots, in the hope of escaping the duty imposed by the regulations of the Minister of the Interior.

Now, this is a question which does not affect parties in Canada, it is a question which affects the development of one of the greatest and richest gifts with which Providence has blessed Canada, and we should stand shoulder to shoulder to devise the most favourable regulations. If the government find that 10 per cent is an exorbitant royalty in the interest of the country, let the government come down and reduce it to 2½ per cent. I have heard an opinion expressed which I will just lay before the House, without at all giving it my own sanction: I was told by a man who had been into that country, and who had been into every other gold country from Australia to South Africa, that if the government imposed a duty of 2½ per cent upon the product of the mines in that country, and a duty of 5 or 6 or 10 per cent upon all the gold exported from Canada, and if the government were to establish a mint at Dawson, or Victoria, or Vancouver, or any other place, and to send the minted gold to England, or anywhere else, the government would get better results in the way of revenue than it is getting at present from a 10 per cent royalty. Mr. Speaker, we do not want simply to have untold wealth lie buried in those extreme northern regions, but we desire to develop that wealth so that it may

be applied to the building up of Canada. Sir, this is a matter concerning which I have very strong opinions, because I believe that the present regulations will have the effect of retarding the development of that country for years and years. And, Sir, it is a question that can be solved by the practical minds of practical men. And if these men, who have studied the conditions of that country, have arrived at a conclusion that it becomes necessary to reduce that royalty, I think it would be well to pay some attention to their opinions. I do not speak as an expert: I do not pretend to be an expert, but I am voicing the opinions of other men that I have met in London, in Ottawa and in Montreal, who have come from that district, and I have never heard a dissenting voice upon the question that the imposition of the 10 per cent royalty is absolutely killing the results that might be expected from the operation of the great mines in that country. I wish merely to express my views, and I feel strongly upon that point because I have discussed it with men completely outside of politics, men who take no interest in our party fights, men who have been living in that country, and who have all agreed upon this one point that the 10 per cent royalty is absolutely killing the result of the enterprise of the men who have gone into that district. Of course, I understand, that, in opening up a new country of that kind, the government might have imagined that it was necessary to impose a large royalty for the purpose of paying the expenses of the administration but, I do not agree with that at all, and for this reason: I consider that a broad-minded, liberal administration such as a Liberal government should be, would consider, that, in developing these mines, we are developing them, not for ourselves alone, but for the generations which are going to follow us, and I hold that the present generation should not bear the expense of paying for the whole of the results which will be beneficial to those who will follow us. Of course, as I have stated before, I was not present when the discussion commenced, but I also believe, that, in connection with the development of that country, the regulations which were laid down by the Department of the Interior were not those that were attractive to the outsiders who were called upon to come in and help to build up that country. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister of the Interior, who is going away very shortly, as I understand—and I have no doubt that he will be just as useful on the other side of the water as he has been on this side, when it comes to developing the country—to this fact, that all the practical men who are called upon to express an opinion, not only Americans who are not living under our flag, but Canadians who

have made money out of that country, who say that they made money in the country before the regulations of the hon. Minister of the Interior were imposed upon them, declare that the effect of the new regulations has been absolutely detrimental to the further development of the country. I have spoken these few words for the purpose of drawing attention to the conditions in the Yukon. I look upon the future of the mines of Canada as being one of the greatest benefits that Canada can reap from the advantages that have been handed down to us by Providence, and I think that the fact of not knowing how to handle these great advantages is one of the gravest charges that can be laid at the door of any government whatever side of politics it belongs to, because, if proper regulations are adopted they will make our mining regulations attractive to miners, whereas, if the regulations are not what they should be they will prevent miners from coming into Canada, and they will go elsewhere. They will go to Australia where the regulations are very much more liberal, or they will go to South Africa, when the war is over, and I hope it will be over very shortly in so far as the fighting is concerned, and be over in a way that England's rule will be beneficial to the men who are taking part in the war under the worst possible idea of what they were fighting England for.

Mr. T. B. FLINT (Yarmouth). Mr. Speaker, there are two phases of this question which have been brought before the House during this session and last session of parliament which ought to be distinguished one from the other. One is that phase which treats of the regulations of the Yukon, their propriety and the manner in which they may be worked, the improvements that may be suggested in them, and the other phase deals with the assumption of wrong-doing by the local administrators of the law and regulations of the territory. There has been the positive insinuation, almost from the first, from the other side of the House, from the hon. member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper), the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) and others that a state of things exists in that territory in regard to the administration of the regulations which, if true, would not only have subject the officers of the government in that district, but would indirectly subject the ministers of the government, if they could be proved to be aware of this alleged maladministration, to the censure of this House. Never have hon. gentlemen, upon that phase of the subject alone, challenged this House to appoint, over the heads of the government, or even with the assistance of the government an investigation into these alleged abuses. The evidence given to the government and the House, has been complained of, very properly, by almost every

speaker who has attempted to defend the government, as being inadequate to be considered as even prima facie evidence of the offences charged. We have pleaded in the House and in the press for the names of those who make charges of these gross abuses of trust, and pressed for the names of the officials who are charged with criminal malfeasance in office, yet, neither the names of the accusers nor the names of the officials accused are given to this House, or to the country. We are asked to be content with mere anonymous accusations by correspondence and by word of mouth. I think this is not treating the government or the subject with due consideration. I merely rose, upon this phase of the subject, to make this remark. But, I call the attention of hon. gentlemen opposite to the fact that not one of the hon. gentlemen who have made these charges, or of those who have anonymously placed charges in their hands, have stated this fact to the House or to the country, and that is, that they have ever made application to the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) himself, as the officer charged with the direct administration of the affairs of the Yukon, or to any other prominent member of the administration, upon these points. They tell us the reason is that such a state of absolute tyranny exists in the Yukon in regard to the administration of the mining regulations that these men, the representatives of gigantic companies, of England and of Canada, are so terrorized by their position in the Yukon, that they do not dare to make these charges either in the House, or to the responsible minister of the government. I trust that these hon. gentlemen will excuse me if I say that I do not believe they can find ten men in Canada who would believe that if such charges should exist in the minds of responsible men, of men responsible for enormous sums of capital, they would be afraid to make their complaints before a responsible minister of the Crown. We know the character of the leading Englishmen who are engaged in any sort of enterprises in any portion of the world, in Australia, South Africa, British Columbia and the Yukon, and they are not, I venture to submit to this House, a class of men who tremble in their shoes under administrators in office or before petty officials of the class of those in these regions or territories. They are, on the contrary, a class of men who by nature and by education and by the responsibilities thrown upon them in consequence of the vast financial interests they represent, who would not be afraid to lay their case before the Prime Minister of Canada or any minister of the government. If those who have made the charges against the unnamed officials; if they could have said: We have gone to the Premier, or to the Minister of Marine, or to the Minister of Trade and Commerce, men of high posi-

tion and of great experience, and we have asked them to take steps to investigate these charges but they refused; then I would say that something like a prima facie case would have been made out demanding the attention of this parliament. Not one of these informants, not one of the hon. gentlemen opposite has attempted to make an assertion of this kind. I do not think that half a dozen men in Canada believe that abuses of such a flagrant character can exist and that none of these men representing millions of capital would have the courage to lay the charges before some minister who could take the responsibility of making the inquiry. Sir, we are justified in considering the charges as being made purely for political and party purposes and we are justified in believing that there is not behind them that substantial evidence which hon. gentlemen opposite pretend. I think, Sir, I fairly represent the sentiment of hon. gentlemen on this side of the House when I say that they are anxious to hear all that can be said in the way of fair and reasonable criticism on the laws and mining regulations of the Yukon. For my part, I have listened carefully to all that hon. gentlemen opposite have said on this subject, and I admit that I am rather impressed with the statement that possibly the royalty may be too high considering the present conditions and the possible development of the Yukon. Yet, apart from this, the answer to the other charges made has been complete and satisfactory, that in other respects the Yukon laws and regulations are fair and equitable, and well calculated to assist in the development of that country. If, in future, charges of such scandalous wrong-doing are to be brought against officials who occupy respectable positions, I trust, Sir, that the accusers will have the courage to give their names and to bring the charges forward in something like proper form. The majority of these public servants in the Yukon have, I believe, been taken from the political ranks of hon. gentlemen opposite. They are men of high standing in their profession; they have been selected from the public service on account of their good character, and I do say it is beneath the dignity of hon. members of this House, and it is grossly unfair towards men who have a character to sustain, that anonymous charges should be made against them en masse, without a scintilla of evidence to support them. I have every confidence in the Minister of the Interior, and in those by whose advice he is guided. I believe they are as sincerely anxious that the Yukon should be made to prosper, and that the laws should be well administered there, as I am that the majority of gentlemen on the other side of the House are likewise anxious. I believe that if this discussion were based upon a sincere desire for the betterment of the Yukon and the best in-

Mr. FLINT.

terests of Canada as a whole, the partisan character of the discussion would cease, and it would be conducted more on the line adopted by the hon. gentleman (Sir Adolphe Caron) who has preceded me. There is ample room for consultation and advice in the administration of a country so distant from the seat of government, and in which the conditions are entirely novel. I am sure, Sir, that this parliament, as well as the department directly charged with the management of affairs there, will be always anxious and willing to receive well intentioned advice upon any of these points. It is not to be supposed that off-hand, and out of his own imagination, or from short conversations with those who passed through the country, a person could formulate a new system of rules and regulations, as well as can those who have for months and years given their sole and undivided attention to the administration of the law and the formulating of such improvements as are from time to time deemed necessary. I believe that to a very large extent the financial interests of Canada and the improvement of our trade are bound up in the development of the Yukon. There are vast sums yet to be paid into the Dominion Treasury by way of returns from the great natural wealth of that country, and there are vast expenditures yet to be made in opening up railways, in developing water power, and in assisting miners and others to utilize to the fullest extent the bountiful resources which Providence has placed under our control there. I trust that Parliament and the government will be actuated, not by a mere desire for partisan advantage, but with the desire to promote the best interests of the Yukon, and indirectly the best interests of the whole of Canada.

Mr. GEORGE R. MAXWELL (Burrard). Mr. Speaker, I wish to say a few words on this question, I, having like my hon. friend from Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) taken a trip to Dawson last summer. I may say for the encouragement of hon. gentlemen that one cannot imagine a more pleasant and agreeable trip to any part of Canada than is a journey to the Yukon at the present time. When in Dawson I had the privilege of meeting with a great many people who had, as they thought, grievances with regard to certain questions that have been mentioned in the House to-day. I think it was a very fair matter for the leader of the opposition to bring before this House, but I am sorry that when he brought the question of the royalty to our attention, he imported so many extraneous matters into the discussion as to be prejudicial rather than beneficial to the object he professed to serve. It is to be regretted that anonymous letters should form such a conspicuous part in the deliberations of this House. I believe there should be such a sense of honour on both sides of the House as to

make it certain that this indirect and insidious way of assailing the character and reputation of hon. members, should not receive that encouragement which it has received in the past. The anonymous man may be a good man or he may be a bad man; he may be a man of reputation or of no reputation; but that we do not know because the name is hidden from us. I suspect, however, that the author of the letter read here this afternoon may, perhaps, be a legal partner of the hon. member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper), who is known on the coast as a very strong Conservative in his political leanings. If that is the gentleman who wrote this letter, it shows considerable forbearance on the part of this government that that gentleman should do a great deal of the legal work of the government in Dawson City at the present time. I wish, Mr. Speaker, to refer to a few points mentioned in that letter which I know are not true. That is to say, the construction which he puts upon these things are not true to fact. In the first place, he makes complaint about the buildings which have been undertaken by the Dominion government in Dawson City. He says it has taken them two years to get these buildings in shape, to have them in readiness for the officials. When I was in Dawson in September last, the plans for these buildings were not ready, and I know they were just completed when the frost came; so that it was next to impossible for the government, no matter how willing they might be, to proceed with the buildings. But as soon as spring comes, we know that everything is in readiness, and these buildings—the post office, the custom house and other buildings—will be built as rapidly as possible. The government which built the telegraph line from Bennett to Dawson, and from Tagish to Atlin, in one season, with remarkable rapidity and success, will not be slow, when the opportunity is presented, to have all their works in the Yukon carried to completion, with the same despatch.

Again, it was mentioned as an argument against the royalty that the population of Dawson was growing less. Now, people who have been in Dawson know, that only a small portion of the people of the Yukon reside there. There are numberless houses or huts or cabins dotting the hill, and a stranger might have the impression on seeing Dawson for the first time, that it had a population of 10,000; but the fact is that nearly all these cabins are empty, the men being on the different creeks, and only returning to their cabins after the washup. At this season of the year, very few are inhabited for this reason. New methods of thawing out are in vogue. The old method is being superceded by the adoption of steam thawing, so that men will be able to work in the mines winter and summer. I

believe that the output this year, will be as large, if not a great deal larger, than that of last year.

Now, those who know miners, know that they are a very unsettled and transitory class. I was in Dawson when the tidings came of the discovery of a very valuable country at Cape Nome, and I saw quite an exodus of men, who intended to go to that point; but they were men who had no particular calling in Dawson, or on the creeks. They were men, who had no claims, but were perhaps working for wages. A miner of that description is carried by reports hither and thither, always imagining that he is going where he will be better off. I venture to say, that not a single man has left Dawson or the Yukon, who has any claim in it, and I have not the slightest doubt that if the men who have left, had remained where they were, they would have been a great deal better off.

I am in thorough sympathy with the action of the Minister of the Interior, in destroying that portion of the regulations in regard to the re-location of claims. I make no charge against the lawyers of Dawson City. Some of them are very respectable and honourable gentlemen. But any one who has been there and has come in contact with the miners and their disputes in regard to claims, know that lawyers enter into partnership with these men, and in taking up a case, they make the stipulation that they have an interest in the claim. In this way they are all the time encouraging litigation, and I have not the slightest doubt, that a great many men have been robbed of their rightful dues on account of the legal acumen and the perseverance of many of these legal gentlemen. Therefore, I rejoice in the action of the Minister of the Interior, in absolutely blotting out this state of things, and making it possible for honest men in that country to free themselves as much as possible from the clutches of these hon. gentlemen.

I might say in passing, that I think the Minister of the Interior, is perfectly right, when disputes take place between men in regard to the ownership of a claim, in holding that he has a right to compensate men who have been bereft of what they consider their property, by giving them a quid pro quo. A great deal of reference has been made by the ex-Minister of Finance to British Columbia; and, as I come from that province, I probably know as much of the way in which things are managed there as that hon. gentleman. We have had the Atlin country opened up a little later than the Yukon, and I know that the provincial ministers started out with the intention of showing the Dominion government how to open up a new country, so that there would be no troubles, and everything would go along with the greatest possible despatch. We were told that country would be settled without any reflections being cast upon the integ-

rity of the officials, or the way in which the government carried out the regulations. But, we have had a state of affairs in Atlin eclipsing the state of affairs of Dawson. A man of integrity, a man who knew his business as gold commissioner in different parts of the province, a skilled man, was sent to Atlin; and yet with regard to the distribution of claims, we have had as much dissatisfaction in that part of the province as we have had in the Yukon. When I was in Atlin I saw one claim on which there had been put eighteen stakes by different men; When you talk about the history of officials, you will have to take into consideration also the honesty of the miner, because if there is one thing more than another impressed on the mind of the stranger going to Dawson, it is the great wrong that has been done, not by officials, but by the men themselves, in trying to rob each other in connection with the location of claims. What had the British Columbia government to do? They sent a judge from Victoria to Atlin City, and he sat there two or three months, trying to unravel the web or skein and set matters right. Well, he gave one claim to a particular man, there were ninety-nine persons dissatisfied to the one who was satisfied with the action of the government. Where there is an honest difference, and a man is deprived of his claim, I think it is only fair and just that there should be some method of compensating him.

I want to say a word about the royalty itself. While in Dawson, I met with men from South Africa, men representing British capitalists, Canadians from Dominion Creek, Eldorado, Hunker, and all over, and I made it my business, as far as I could, to obtain the views of these different men in regard to this question. I supported the royalty as it now stands for this reason, that as the country was a new country, and immense expenditures would have to be made on roads, on the improvement of the Yukon River, and in other ways, the government would require all the money they could possibly get hold of, in order to make these improvements, not so much for the benefit of eastern or western Canada, but for the benefit of the miners in that particular region. A good deal of money has been expended and wisely expended, and I think that as much as has been taken out of that country has been spent in it. I think, however, that we might now make a change which would be in the interests of that country, by the reduction of the royalty. I may say in passing that the men out there are not agreed themselves as to what reductions should be made. Mr. Wills, of the Bank of Commerce, one of the leading citizens of Dawson, thinks that the royalty should be put on a net basis, a great many others think it should be reduced one-half, and others that it should be still further reduced, so that there is a great deal of difference

Mr. MAXWELL.

of opinion on that point. But I think that if you consider the government tax, the expenses that men are put to in the way of obtaining supplies, the royalty, the many other expenses of opening up the mines, such as the cost of labour, we will find that these men are very heavily taxed on what they take out, not only for the enrichment of themselves, but of the people at large, and I think it would be a very wise move on the part of the government to take off at least some of the royalty, and thus give a great impetus to the development of that country than can be given by maintaining the royalty as it is. I might say, with regard to representation, that one of the leading officials told me there were three strong reasons why this system of representation should be done away with. A man may get sick and have to be replaced. The man whom he puts in his place to do the necessary work may enter into a collusion with somebody else to do the owner out of his claim. The owner has no check over these men, but has to trust them to do the necessary work, and should they not do that work, he loses his claim besides the money he has paid to his representative. I think that that ought to be done away with altogether, and that instead a miner should be obliged to pay a certain sum per year, or for a number of years, that will entitle him to the possession of his claim without his having to depend upon others.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Without being obliged to do any development work?

Mr. MAXWELL. Yes, of course, the development work by those employed is, in many cases, practically a farce.

With regard to the officials, I found that the leading men of Dawson are strong admirers of the late administrator, Major Walsh. I found that the leading men of Dawson have no sympathy with the views expressed by the editor of the *Nugget* and by that American, whom the opposition took so fondly into their arms, Mr. Dunlevy. These men never represented the views of the best people of Dawson. I found still further that there was not one complaint against a single official in Dawson last year, and that the people had perfect confidence in them, feeling assured that they were doing their work honestly and fairly for the benefit of all. With regard to Mr. Ogilvie, I wish to reiterate the views which I expressed last session. After having been with him for a considerable time in Dawson, I can say from personal knowledge that not one respectable man in Dawson to-day will say that Mr. Ogilvie is dishonest. He may have his weaknesses, he may not be as strong as some would like him to be, he is not as partisan, I know, as a great many would like, but I believe that every honest man in Dawson to-day is convinced that Mr. Ogilvie

is doing everything he can in an honest way for the development of Dawson City and the Yukon country. Then, with regard to the insinuation made by the ex-Minister of Finance concerning Mr. Senkler, the gold commissioner, there is not one dissentient voice in Dawson to-day in his regard.

Mr. FOSTER. If the hon. gentleman understood me to make any allusion to Mr. Senkler, let me say that I did not do so, and that if I said anything about the gold commissioner I did not refer to Mr. Senkler but to Mr. Ogilvie. With reference to Mr. Senkler, I have not heard a word to his discredit.

Mr. MAXWELL. I am glad to stand corrected, but am very sorry that the hon. gentleman should have said anything impugning the honesty of Mr. Ogilvie.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not wish to be held responsible for any other words with reference to Mr. Ogilvie than those I used.

Mr. MAXWELL. Certainly not. But I regret that any word should be spoken in this House to the detriment of the personal character and reputation of Mr. Ogilvie as an honest man in his administration.

The Yukon country is going ahead all right, but with reference to the royalty let me say that while undoubtedly there are rich claims in that country which can pay the 10 per cent easily without being hampered in their operation, the majority of claims to-day are not so rich as those on the Bonanza and Dominion creeks, and I believe that the 10 per cent royalty is retarding the development of claims that are not so rich, and that if it were reduced, a great deal more developments might be done because there would be then a greater incentive to miners to go in and develop those districts.

Motion to adjourn negatived.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 35) to incorporate the Comox and Cape Scott Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

Bill (No. 37) respecting the Dominion Oil Pipe Line and Manufacturing Company.—(Mr. Fraser, Guysborough.)

Bill (No. 41) respecting the River St. Clair Railway Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Montague.)

Bill (No. 42) to incorporate the Alaska and North-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Belcourt.)

Bill (No. 44) respecting the Canada Southern Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 45) respecting the Pontiac Pacific Junction Railway Company.—(Mr. Poupore.)

Bill (No. 46) respecting the Canada and Michigan Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Cowan.)

Bill (No. 48) respecting the Montreal and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Monk.)

WINNIPEG BY-ELECTIONS—REMUNERATION OF DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICERS.

Mr. PUTTEE asked :

Was an Order in Council issued for the sufficient remuneration of deputy returning officers and others acting at the recent by-election in Winnipeg, as provided for in section 123 of the Dominion Elections Act? If not, when will such order issue?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Section 123 of the Dominion Elections Act provides that in the electoral districts of Gaspé and Chicoutimi and Saguenay, in the province of Quebec, and Algoma, in the province of Ontario, which are very large electoral districts with sparse populations, and in similar districts in the provinces of British Columbia and Manitoba, the government may provide for increased remuneration for deputy returning officers. We do not see that the same reasons exist in Winnipeg, which is a city constituency. Therefore, the government does not propose to pass an order in council to give an extra rate of remuneration to the deputy returning officers.

THE ROYAL RESERVE.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON asked :

Has the Prime Minister seen the announcement of Her Majesty requesting all officers and non-commissioned officers and men who have previously served Her Majesty to join the colours, forming a royal reserve, as several officers and men are in Canada anxious to show their devotion to the sovereign? Whether the government are going to take any steps to send those who would be willing to join?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government have had no official information upon this subject, but I understand that General Lord William Seymour, commander of the forces, is attending to such matters. If the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) were here, he might give a little more information to my hon. friend.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Would the right hon. gentleman then allow this to stand?

The PRIME MINISTER. We have no official information, so I do not think there is more to be said than I have already stated.

I.C.R.—RIVIERE DU LOUP STATION HOUSE.

Mr. GAUVREAU (by Mr. Britton) asked :

Whether the Minister of Railways is aware that the station-house of the Intercolonial Railway at Rivière du Loup is in a deplorable condition; that it is too small for the traffic and

business transacted therein and the numbers of travellers using it, and entirely unsuited to the requirements of the officials compelled to remain there?

If so, is it the intention of the government, or of the Minister of Railways, to build a new station-house, or to so increase the dimensions and accommodation facilities of the present building as to meet the requirements of business of the travelling public, of the officials of the railway and of the transit traffic with the Temiscouata Railway?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). The minister is aware that the station house of the Intercolonial Railway at Riviere du Loup is requiring some repairs, and that it is not suitable for the traffic during the summer or tourist season. With a view to improving the facilities and making changes in the plan of the building to better adapt it to the traffic, plans are being prepared, and as soon as the working season opens, it is proposed to proceed with the work of improvement.

EDMONTON, YUKON AND PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

Has any contract been entered into by the government with the Edmonton, Yukon and Pacific Railroad Company for constructing the whole or any part of the railway, for fifty miles of which a subsidy was granted last year? Has the company to which this subsidy was granted, sold out its franchise to Messrs. Mann & McKenzie, or to any other party?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). The government has not entered into a contract with the Edmonton, Yukon and Pacific Railway Company for constructing the whole or any part of the railway under the Subsidy Act of last year, nor is the government aware that the company have sold out their franchise to Messrs. McKenzie and Mann or any other party.

COST OF THE SOULANGES CANAL.

Mr. BERGERON (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. How much money has already been spent on the construction of the Soulanges Canal?
2. What is the amount of claims not yet settled and paid?
3. What is the amount of claims still in litigation or before the tribunals?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). The amount of expenditure on construction of the Soulanges Canal, up to 24th February, 1900, is \$5,489,230.57. The amount of claims not yet settled or paid according to the records of the department, is \$608,331.53. The amount of claims still in litigation or before tribunals, is \$466,533.60.

Mr. GAUVREAU.

BINDER TWINE, KINGSTON PENITENTIARY.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Did the government advertise in the newspapers that farmers could purchase binder twine at the Kingston Penitentiary until March 1? If so, in what papers and at what date was such advertisement inserted?

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. Yes. 2. The advertisement was inserted in the following newspapers: *The Globe*, Toronto; *The Times*, Hamilton; *The Advertiser*, London; *The Free Press*, Ottawa; *The Whig*, Kingston; *The Witness*, Montreal; *La Patrie*, Montreal; *The Herald*, Montreal; *Le Soleil*, Quebec; *The Chronicle*, Halifax; *The Acadian Recorder*, Halifax; *The Globe*, St. John, N.B.; *The Telegraph*, St. John, N.B.; *The Transcript*, Moncton; *The Patriot*, Charlottetown; *The Free Press*, Winnipeg; *The Tribune*, Winnipeg; *The Leader*, Regina; *The Record*, London; *The Freeman*, Kingston; *Hardware and Metal*, Toronto; *The Examiner*, Peterborough; *The Beacon*, Stratford; *United Canada*, Ottawa; *Le Temps*, Ottawa; *The Farmers Advocate*, London; *The North-west Farmer*, Winnipeg; *The Times*, Orillia; *The Guide*, Port Hope; *The Star*, Toronto; *Battleford Herald*, N.W.T.; *Advocate*, Prince Albert; *Journal*, Emerson, Man.; *The Sun*, Brandon, Man.; *The Liberal*, Portage la Prairie, Man.; *The Banner*, Chatham, Ont.; *The Advertiser*, Owen Sound; *Danebrog*, Ottawa; *Journal of Agriculture*, Quebec; *The Tribune*, Deseronto. This advertisement was issued on the 19th of January, 1900. The time for receiving orders from farmers has been extended until the 20th of March.

PRICES OF BINDER TWINE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Has the government sent out a schedule of prices at which binder twine will be sold at the Kingston Penitentiary up to March 1, 1900, as follows:—

Binder Twine—Schedule of Prices.

Quantities.	Manila.	Mixed.	New Zealand.
	cts.	cts.	cts.
In lots of 50 tons and upwards....	12½	8½	8½
In carload lots (less than 50 tons).	13	10	9
In lots of one ton up to a carload..	13½	10½	9½
In lots of less than one ton.....	14	11	10

Terms, in all cases, cash on delivery.

If not, at what price will it be sold in above quantities up to March 1?

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Yes. The prices were as quoted in the question with the exception of 'mixed' in fifty ton lots and upwards, for which the price was 9½ cents instead of 8½ cents.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CANADIAN MINT.

On the notice of motion :

That in the opinion of this House it is desirable and expedient that the government should, at the earliest possible date, establish a mint in Canada for the purpose of coining all the gold, silver and copper currency necessary to meet the commercial requirements of the country.—(Mr. McInnes.)

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The hon. gentleman (Mr. McInnes) is not here, but I will give notice that when his motion is next called, I will ask my hon. friend to proceed with it, or let it drop.

DUTIES UPON TOBACCO.

Upon the notice of motion :

Resolved, that in the opinion of this House the present high duties upon tobacco should be reduced.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I will agree to the motion standing, but the next time it is called, I will ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Gillies) to proceed with it, or let it drop.

Mr. GILLIES. I was ready to proceed with it at all times, but I let it stand at the request of hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House.

The PRIME MINISTER. Well, we are ready.

ADJOURNMENT—UNOPPOSED MOTIONS.

The PRIME MINISTER moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. BERGERON. Mr. Speaker, there are some motions here, and I do not see why they have not been taken up, although we have made a bargain that we should take the unopposed motions. I have one here which only requires an answer, and I am very sorry that we are not going through the list again. There is a motion which I put on the Order paper at the request of one of the hon. ministers. It was a question, in fact, it might have been answered, but I was requested by that hon. gentlemen to make a motion of it. I was ready to make the motion, but the right hon. gentleman asked that it should stand. I will make it now.

The PRIME MINISTER. Perhaps we will have to make some answer to the hon. gentleman's motion, so that there are two sides to this question.

INQUIRY FOR REPORTS.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to ask when we are going to have the Trade and Commerce report, and the Trade and Navigation returns ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). I was asking the Printing Bureau about them, and I think I will be able to lay the Trade and Navigation returns on the Table to-morrow. The Trade and Commerce report will be down very soon after it.

Mr. FOSTER. It is reported amongst some members of the reptile press, that the hon. Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding) is going to make his budget speech the last of this week.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). No date has yet been fixed for the budget; in fact, hon. gentlemen opposite have been manifesting such a disposition to get on with the real business, that we have not felt it necessary to do so before this.

Mr. FOSTER. The opposition has been very charitable knowing the state in which the government is.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Mr. Speaker, I have had a motion on the paper since February 14, in respect to the investigation which was partially held last session into the conduct of the returning officer and deputy returning officers at the election for the West Riding of Huron, and at the election for the town of Brockville. There was a very great willingness expressed last year; the investigation was partially proceeded with, and at the instance of the hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, a number of witnesses who were here, were sent away.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Order, order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman may ask a question, but no discussion can take place now.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. There is no discussion.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) is referring to the proceedings of the committee.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I am referring to the report which is on the Table of the House, and which has been received.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman is referring to the proceedings of the committee.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I am quite in order. I am referring to the proceedings of the committee as reported to this House.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) cannot discuss the question, unless there is a motion.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I am referring to the fact that this motion has been on the Order paper for a long time, that it has

stood over, at the instance of the government, and I would suggest to the right hon. Prime Minister that if the same desire animates him which animated him last year, this motion should have precedence in some way. We were reproached because it was not brought up sooner last year. We have given the very earliest possible notice this year, and notwithstanding that, this was objected to as a matter of privilege, and has been objected to from time to time since, on the ground that gentlemen on the other side of the House want to discuss something in connection with it. The report of the committee itself states that the investigation is incomplete, and that I should think, would be ample justification for dealing with it as an unopposed motion. I bring this matter to the attention of the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) in order that he may give it consideration.

The PRIME MINISTER. I am sure the hon. gentleman from Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) would not feel at all satisfied, if his motion were to be passed over for that of my hon. friend (Mr. Borden, Halifax.)

Mr. BERGERON. I do not want to say a word on my motion.

RETURNS ORDERED.

Copies of Orders in Council passed in 1898 and 1899 to enable the Department of the Interior to grant permits to cut timber on Dominion lands in Manitoba, and of all orders in council cancelling the same; copy of all applications made for cutting timber under such orders in council, and the conditions attached to any grants made for the same.—(Mr. Davin, by Mr. Foster.)

Return showing the monthly statements of paid-up capital, circulation and deposits of the Ville Marie Bank, from July 1, 1892.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all correspondence with the Imperial government, any of the colonies or any individuals, not already brought down, on the subject of the Pacific cable, and all papers, letters, telegrams and reports relating to the delays which have arisen in connection with the establishment of the undertaking.—(Sir Charles Tupper, by Mr. Foster.)

Copies of forms used in the census of the respective years of 1871, 1881 and 1891, with regard to the place of birth, origin and nationality.—(Mr. LaRivière.)

Copies of advertisements or the terms calling for tenders for printing for the North-west Territories government from 1890 to 1899, inclusive, or at least until the audit of the North-west expenditure passed out of the hands of the Auditor General; the prices at which the contract for each of the above years was let; when, and to whom, it was given.—(Mr. Davin, by Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all petitions or other papers in the possession of the government on behalf of the Caughnawaga Indians, asking for a return to the tribal form of government for such Indians.—(Mr. Quinn, by Mr. Bergeron.)

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax.)

Return of all letters, telegrams, petitions and representations made by the town council of the town of Sydney, Cape Breton, and of the Cape Breton board of trade, and of all persons to or with the Department of Railways, or any member of the government, remonstrating and protesting against the present arrangement of running the whole express train twice every day from North Sydney Junction to the wharf at North Sydney, a distance of about six miles each way, when on its way to and from the west to the terminus of the railway at Sydney.—(Mr. Gillies.)

Return of all tenders, contracts and correspondence relating to mail service between Hope-well Cape and Hopewell, Albert County, N.B., since July 1, 1896.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copy of the order in council of August 3, 1898, appointing Joseph Eno Girouard to the position of registrar of the Yukon Territory.—(Mr. Bergeron.)

Statement of commission of inquiry and investigation appointed or current since July 1, 1899, under the headings of (1) names of commissioners (2) pay and expenses of the same, and (3) other expenses of the commission.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return of all papers and correspondence, &c., in connection with the selection of officers of the Canadian militia for the course of instruction in the duties of general staff now being carried out at Kingston.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copy of the report of the agent of the Marine and Fisheries Department at St. John, N.B., regarding necessity for the erection of a light at the 'Narrows,' near Seal Cove, Grand Manan, N.B.—(Mr. Ganong.)

Copies of all petitions and other communications received by the Department of Public Works since June, 1896, relative to the building of a public wharf or breakwater at Grand Manan, N.B. Also copies of reports and estimates made by E. T. P. Shewen, the resident engineer at St. John, N.B., or any other officer of the de-N.B.—(Mr. Ganong.)

Copies of all letters, telegrams, reports and other papers in reference to or in connection with the application of Goff and Batson for a weir privilege on the eastern side of Frye's Head, Campobello, in the early part of the year 1898.—(Mr. Ganong.)

Copies of all letters, telegrams, evidence, reports, documents and papers in reference to or in connection with the dismissals of Isaac Dick and Bartholomew Brown as special fishery guardians in the county of Charlotte, N.B.—(Mr. Ganong.)

Copies of all petitions or other communications received by the Department of Public Works since June, 1896, relative to the repairing and extension of the breakwater at Wilson's Beach, N.B.; also for copies of all estimates and reports made by the government engineers for the above-named work.—(Mr. Ganong.)

Copies of all letters, petitions, reports and other documents in reference to the opening for homestead entries of odd-number sections in townships 7, 8 and 9, range 7, 8 and 9, each of the first principal meridian, in the province of Manitoba.—(Mr. LaRivière.)

Copies of all correspondence, petitions and other documents relating to the application for subsidy for rebuilding that portion of the Mont-

real, Portland and Boston Railway, now the Montreal and Province Line Railway, from Farnham via Stanbridge East and Frelighsburg to the Province Line in the county of Missisquoi.—(Mr. Moore.)

Copies of all correspondence, reports, telegrams and other communications which have passed between the government, or any members thereof, and any person or persons, referring to the conviction and sentence of G. O. Mann for embezzling funds of the corporation of Ottawa, and also in connection with the release of the said G. O. Mann from Kingston Penitentiary, including the report of the Minister of Justice recommending Mann's release.—(Mr. Taylor.)

Return of regulations under which bounties on silver lead ore (58-59 Vic., c. 7) are paid.—(Mr. Foster.)

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 10.45 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, February 27, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—SURRENDER OF GENERAL CRONJE.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I have the authority of His Excellency the Governor General to state that he has received the following despatch from Sir Alfred Milner, Governor of Cape Colony:

Cape Town, Feb. 27, 1900.—Cronje surrendered at daylight. Congratulate you on noble share taken by troops from your colony.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That from this day to the end of the session, Government Orders shall have precedence on Thursdays, immediately after questions to be put by members.

He said : I may state that the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) is prepared at this moment to lay the Estimates on the Table of the House, and I trust my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) will agree to this motion.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not see any objection to that.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax). There is one word I would like to say on this motion. I have had a motion on the Order paper for some time with regard to continuing the inquiry into the conduct of certain officers of this House at the West Huron and Brockville elections. The motion came up last year, as a matter of privilege, and was not opposed. This year I tried on my first appearance in the House to have it dealt with in the same way, but at the instance of the government, as I understand, it was not dealt with in the same way. When the motion came up last night, and I was prepared to move it as an unopposed motion, the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) asked that the motion should stand, for the reason, I suppose, that some one desires to debate it. What there is to debate about it I cannot see, because the report of the committee speaks for itself and says, that the investigation is incomplete. Before the right hon. gentleman proceeds to take Thursday for government business, he should, I think, make some provision for having such an important matter which is so near to the privileges and rights and best interests of this House, advanced as rapidly as possible. Otherwise the motion may remain on the Order paper for a great length of time, and it may eventually become an adjourned debate and not be reached before the end of the session. I think this an opportune time to bring this matter again to the attention of the Prime Minister, and to ask him what his intention is with regard to it?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Before my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) speaks on the subject, I wish to press upon him the extreme importance of this question. It is a question in which every member of this House, and in which the people of the country, are intensely interested. It is charged that most disgraceful conduct has taken place on the part of officials connected with the elections in Brockville and West Huron, and in view of what has been proven to have taken place in other elections in the province of Ontario, this becomes a matter of the very gravest importance.

I do not wish to refer to the proceedings of the committee ; but the impression has gone abroad, and is very widespread throughout this country that, to use the mildest term, the government did not in any way facilitate the proceedings of the Committee on Privileges and Elections on that most important question during last session. Anything more calculated to ruin and destroy the influence of this government cannot go abroad than the impression that they stand behind the committee, and are determined to obstruct its proceedings, instead of being dis-

posed to give their heartiest and most thorough support to every step which may be taken for the purpose of destroying the disreputable and illegal means of depriving the people of this country of their honest franchise. That is the question now before the House and the country, and I have heard with great regret the suggestion, that the Chair should be invoked to prevent this motion passing promptly, so that the committee might be enabled at once to deal with that subject. The government have a very decided majority on the Committee on Privileges and Elections: they have the control of that committee largely in their own hands; and I desire in the strongest possible manner to impress upon the government, the absolute necessity of giving every possible assistance to have a prompt, full, free and fair investigation of one of the gravest questions which this House has ever had before it, and one which is receiving the attention of intelligent and fair-minded men all over the country. For a government to interpose any obstruction in the way of bringing to justice men, if such there are, who have been guilty of adopting means to deprive the electorate of the opportunity of giving their fair and dispassionate verdict, is fraught with consequences so grave that I hope my right hon. friend will at once agree to allow this motion to pass, and the Committee on Privileges and Elections to be charged as promptly as possible with the investigation of that matter; and not only that, but that the members of the government, who are members of that committee, will feel it a duty as incumbent upon them, as upon any other members of this House, to facilitate by every possible means a complete and thorough investigation, which shall remove the impression, if it be a false one, that most unjustifiable measures have been adopted by government officials in connection with these elections, and, that no such thing shall be permitted by any party to take place in this country.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, the motion before the House, is that Government Orders shall have precedence on Thursdays. This motion at this stage of the session is so natural, that my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) has at once assented to it. I do not see the connection between this motion and the matter that has been brought before the House by my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Borden); and he will himself be satisfied that there is no connection between the two, when he reflects that his motion cannot come up on Thursday. It can only come up on Monday or on Wednesday, before six o'clock, which is the time devoted to notices of motion. Thursday is devoted to Public Bills and Orders, and the Order paper is full of them; so that his motion cannot come up on that

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

day. I am astonished at the remarks of my hon. friend from Halifax, and at the remarks of the hon. leader of the opposition, which I may be pardoned for saying are absolutely uncalled for. My hon. friend has no reason for saying that the government showed any disinclination to have his charges investigated. As soon as the committee was asked for, it was granted, and permission was also granted to the committee to sit during the sittings of the House. But often the committee sat without a sufficient number of members to make a quorum, only two or three members being present. There was no inclination on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite to attend the committee. Nor has my hon. friend from Halifax shown any anxiety this session to go on with this question. Two weeks of the session elapsed before my hon. friend moved in the matter.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). That is not quite correct. I brought it up as a matter of privilege on Tuesday, the 13th.

The PRIME MINISTER. The motion was made on the 19th of February, and notice was given on the 17th or the 18th. Therefore, I am quite within the truth in saying that two weeks elapsed before my hon. friend showed any inclination to go on with the matter.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). The Prime Minister is not correctly informed. The motion stood on the Order paper of the 14th, and two days before that I sought to bring it up as a matter of privilege.

The PRIME MINISTER. On the hon. gentleman's own showing, it was two weeks within two days after the opening of the session before he moved; and I must say that I did not see any particular anxiety to proceed with that motion yesterday, when the whole day was taken up with the discussion of a stale question. If the Order paper had been proceeded with as usual, we would, no doubt, have reached the motion of my hon. friend. My hon. friend is anxious to bring up this question; but my hon. friend is not the only person who is anxious. There are other members equally anxious to bring up questions, and my experience is that it is far preferable to adhere strictly to the rules of the House. Whenever we depart from the rules of the House, we are sure to land in trouble; whereas, if those rules, which embody the experience of ages in parliamentary matters, are adhered to, no injustice can be done to any one.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). I cannot understand in what sense the hon. member holds that there is no connection between the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden), and this question. The connection is simply this, that the gov-

ernment propose to take away one of the days belonging to private members, and this is one of the motions in the hands of private members.

Mr. CASEY. It cannot come on Thursday.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman cannot know very much about parliamentary procedure, or he would know that although notices of motion come on Monday, they can as well come on Thursday, if the other business is first disposed of; and up to the present time the government has had no business to go on with. If the motion of the Prime Minister is carried, and another day is taken from private members, and he persists in adhering strictly to the rules, we shall have less opportunity to go on with this motion, and get the papers before the committee. I have been in this House a considerable time, and I have yet to learn that it has not been the custom very frequently to depart from the well-established rules of the House, when exigencies or circumstances justify it; and in this case. I think they do. In this case we think it does. There is nothing more important to parliament or the people than purity of elections. The allegations set up in connection with these cases were that the elections in question were saturated with fraud, and all the information we have obtained up to the present justifies that conclusion; and it is for the purpose of concluding that investigation, part of which is reported to the House, that this motion is made, which the government are opposing on a mere technicality. Last session we declared that this House would avail itself at the earliest opportunity to go on and complete the inquiry; and as soon as my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Borden) came here he made the usual motion to have the inquiry gone on with, believing that no one would object to it. But, strange to say, a supporter of the government was put up to object to it.

The PRIME MINISTER. Who is he?

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. member for North Wellington.

Mr. McMULLEN. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to say that his statement is absolutely unfounded? I was not spoken to by any minister of the Crown or any other member of this House, either on the one side or the other. I took the action I did simply because I want to see the business of the House conducted according to rules.

Mr. SPROULE. I considered myself justified in saying that the hon. gentleman was put up to make the objection he did, because no member of this House ever showed

more righteous indignation against anything that savoured of corruption in elections than did the hon. gentleman when he sat on this side, and no one was more ready to demand investigation at the earliest opportunity. I, therefore, could not deem it possible that, of his own motion, he would have risen to try and burk the inquiry into this most important case. And I think that his own constituents will view with alarm his conduct as a complete departure from the hon. gentleman's past record on such questions as this.

A month of the session has now passed. Last session the committee held over 25 meetings, sitting day and night, and examined a great number of witnesses, and only succeeded in going through a portion of one constituency, examining into what took place at each polling station, with several others yet to be investigated, before the work is concluded in the first constituency. If we are prevented from getting these papers referred back to the committee for another month, the result will be that we will not be able this session to get through the inquiry. If we had the papers before the committee now, it would take that committee, with all the time at its disposal, every day from now to the end of the session to complete the investigation and report so as to enable us to consider the report before adjournment. Is it any wonder, then, that we should be anxious to get these papers before the committee again without delay? And we are warranted in adversely criticising the right hon. First Minister when he insists on enforcing the strict rules of the House and thus keep back this motion for several weeks yet. This course of procedure will not be viewed with favour by the country. During all this delay members may be sitting here, who are not entitled to their seats, who have obtained their election through the operations of a gang that would be a discredit to any country. The Committee on Privileges and Elections is the only body that can deal with this matter, and we are prevented going on before that committee by the action of the government in refusing to allow this motion to pass. This is a motion which any one would have thought the government would have allowed to pass without requiring any notice of it at all. The government are aware of the evidence that was brought out before the committee last year, and I am confident that equally damaging evidence will be brought out this session, as soon as we are allowed to bring before the committee witnesses in connection with the West Huron and Brockville elections, which have not yet been inquired into. The country will view with alarm the conduct of the government in preventing our passing that motion and bringing that information before the committee, so as to expose and by that means put an end to the system of bribery and corruption which has

been rampant during the past few years, in the province of Ontario at least.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). I would call the attention of the hon. gentleman to the fact that the terms in which this matter has been referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections for investigation does not and cannot—no matter what the findings of that committee may be—in any way affect the sitting of any hon. member in this House. This House has not yet gone so far as to usurp the functions which have been by law vested in our judges to try election petitions. It went so far last year as to refer the conduct of certain officials in certain elections to the inquiry of the Committee on Privileges and Elections; but whether those officials were strictly regular or not in the performance of their duties cannot affect the sitting of any hon. member in this House, so that the simulated indignation of my hon. friend is entirely wide of the mark.

Mr. **SPROULE**. Would the hon. gentleman allow me? If it were clearly laid before that committee that certain members were sitting in this House by virtue of a system of corruption, does the hon. minister not think that such hon. gentlemen would be bound in honour to follow the usual course under such circumstances, and resign their seats.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I should rather prefer, before giving judgment, to wait until I hear the evidence. I am not going to prejudge the case. If I am to act as a member of that committee, I should prefer to wait for the evidence before giving judgment.

I must frankly confess that I am some what appalled at the future which, according to my hon. friend, lies before that committee. We spent between \$10,000 and \$20,000 last year and examined nearly 100 witnesses, and if the hon. gentleman is correct—and I presume he is junior counsel for the prosecution, as he is sitting next to the hon. member for Halifax—we were to sit every morning and afternoon as we did last year for the rest of the session, supposing the session reaches the normal length of four months, we will even then not be able to complete the inquiry, although we may have examined many hundreds of witnesses. That is an appalling future. It means an expenditure of an enormous sum of money without the hope of reaching a conclusion even then.

But I did not rise to discuss the matter except for the purpose of entering my most earnest and energetic protest against the statement of the hon. leader of the opposition that in the conduct of that inquiry members of the government threw obstruction in its way.

Mr. **SPROULE**.

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Hear, hear.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I beg to assure you, Mr. Speaker, that the statement is without a shadow of foundation. I have sat on many election committees during the last eighteen years in this House, and I have never been on a committee where such facilities were afforded by the government for the inquiry as in this case. Why, if the government had had the slightest desire, they could have stopped the inquiry at any time. The Conservative members of the committee got tired of it; they did not attend, and no quorum could be had. If it had not been for our consenting to the committee going on with two or three present, it could not have gone on. Day after day witnesses were examined with three or four members present. Then, members of the government had to give up their work, and even leave the House when matters here demanded their attention and go and sit in that committee day after day, morning and afternoon. The hon. gentleman said that he had strong evidence to bring out to show wrong-doing. And so the committee went on. The quorum was reduced, and even then the committee was allowed to sit assuming that there was a quorum present, when, as a matter of fact, there was not. The treasury was placed at their disposal, and every member of the committee was allowed, practically, to bring forward as a witness whomever he pleased. I rise not to claim credit for anything the government did, but to enter my emphatic and determined protest against the statement that there was any disposition shown by the government to throw the slightest obstacle in the way of the fullest investigation into the matter. In my opinion the government deserves credit and should receive credit from the hon. gentlemen opposite for the manner in which they acted from beginning to end of this inquiry. But no matter what we do to facilitate inquiry, instead of getting thanks, we get abuse for it.

Mr. **G. E. CASEY** (West Elgin). The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) makes a great point of the possibility that if Thursday were not taken by the government we might reach the motion on that day. The hon. gentleman is quite an old member of this House, and I sat here a good many years before he came in; and neither of us, I venture to say has ever, at this period of the session, seen the list of public Bills and orders exhausted on Thursday, or any possibility of getting at a notice of motion on that day. As a matter of practical fact, not of theoretical possibility, the chances of getting this motion brought forward are not in the slightest degree affected by taking Thursday. But the hon. gentleman goes fur-

ther, as his leader did, and urges us to break the rule, to take this motion out of its order and move it without notice, at a time when notices of motion are not allowed to come up, all on the plea of facilitating inquiry. And when we do not agree to it, hon. gentlemen opposite declare that we are trying to burk inquiry. I think that the House and the country are getting tired of this pinchbeck, German-silver imitation of a desire for political purity on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Talk about burking inquiry: There was a time when charges were made concerning an election in which the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir A. Caron), then representing a different constituency, was interested. These charges were brought before the House in a form calculated, in the opinion of those who presented them, to elicit the truth. But they were mangled and mutilated by hon. gentlemen then sitting on the Treasury benches, and these charges had to go to committee in such a shape that the truth could not be elicited by the inquiry. The hon. member for East Grey, who talks now about burking inquiry, sat here and voted in favour of that mutilation, voted to prevent inquiry. Was that example followed in this case? Did not the House jump at the opportunity to investigate these charges? I say the House went, if anything, too far in the latitude they allowed the Privileges and Elections Committee to take; they permitted a liberty they should not have permitted, with the law and with the courts of the country—and with the treasury, as an hon. member near me suggests. Why were not petitions entered in the regular way? The courts were open to these hon. gentlemen; but, not having entered these petitions, hon. gentlemen opposite thought they could gain a little popularity by going on a fishing excursion. In the first place, six weeks of the valuable time of the country was occupied by a debate on the address, and other matters were gone on with before the inquiry was brought on. Toward the latter part of the session this move for an inquiry was made; and then hon. gentlemen opposite kept the House sitting six weeks after the real business of the House was concluded, or might have been concluded. In order that this fishing inquiry might go on. It was evident they did not know what they intended to prove; they had not any trustworthy information as to what they could prove; but they went on in the hope that they could prove something. And, while they were fishing upstairs in the committee room, their colleagues here were talking against time in the most open and acknowledged way, keeping the House in session merely in order that the committee might continue to fish. But they had very poor luck. They were great fisher-

men; but there were no fish for them to catch, evidently, for they did not catch any.

The hon. member for East Grey says that the evidence taken went to show the existence of widespread corruption. I say the evidence taken did not go to show anything of the kind, but that the result of this long inquiry was only to convince the public at large that there was nothing to be inquired into. There appeared at one time to have been a discovery about ballots—I am not going into details; we remember what that was—but, on further inquiry, that was found to be a mare's nest. There were other sub-inquiries started that resulted in nothing. They must have been very tired fishing, but the government did right in allowing them even to sit without a quorum. That was breaking the rules of the House, but it was right enough, seeing the committee wanted it. The government gave them rope enough, and, while they did not exactly hang themselves, they went on and proved that there was nothing in the whole business. Now, in addition to wasting six weeks of the time of the committee, the whole House were kept here in order that the committee might sit. And, at the end of it all, what do we find? Do we find the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden), this session anxious to get this matter before the House? By no means. He is a young member of the House, it is true; but he must have found out in the few sessions he has been here, that, in the early days of the session the Notice paper soon gets full of notices. But instead of putting on his notice—which is simple and could be prepared without loss of time,—in the first days of the session—he leaves it over for a fortnight, and allows the paper to get full of notices of motion, and then he puts it on. Then hon. gentlemen opposite ask us to break the rules of the House in order to rectify this blunder of the attorney for the prosecution. I say we should be demeaning ourselves if we agreed to it. We could not do it without the consent of every member of this House; and I say we should not do it, even if we could.

My impression of the whole matter is that the House stultified itself last year by allowing a fishing expedition of this kind. If there was not enough evidence to justify putting up a deposit and entering a petition, we should not risk going into the matter. When the statute puts the authority to inquire into electoral corruption into the hands of the courts, we are going beyond our constitutional authority if we go into such matters, returning officers and deputy returning officers, have done anything illegal. That far, perhaps, we might have been justified in going. But this committee did not confine itself entirely to that question. Latitude was allowed that, I

think, should not have been allowed. I venture to think that the House went rather too far in interfering with the action of the courts in this matter. But so far as the present motion is concerned, it certainly has no bearing whatever on the question of when this inquiry was to go before that committee.

At the same time, I would say a word to the right hon. the Premier on behalf of those who have business on the paper that might come up on Thursdays. I do not remember whether the hon. member for Grey has a Bill there or not; he generally has, and I have one there, and other members have public Bills that we consider of importance and that we would like to get advanced a stage. I would suggest that possibly the coming Thursday of this week might be expected from the motion, for the reason that we do not sit to-morrow evening (Ash Wednesday) when such Bills would naturally come on; and I would urge upon the Premier, as a matter of expediting the business before the House, that seeing we have lost all Wednesday, we might have Tuesday of this week for the purpose of giving a lot of these Bills a stage that would enable them to go before the committees, and so get them off the Order paper. It has unfortunately happened that on several Wednesday evenings already the House has not sat, and on Thursdays other discussions have sprung up which have prevented these Bills getting a stage. I would urge these considerations on the Premier.

Mr. N. C. WALLACE (West York). I think the government's defence for the course that they propose to take is a very weak one. The Committee on Privileges and Elections was appointed on Friday, the 9th of February, the House did not sit again until Monday, the 12th, and on Tuesday, the 13th, the member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) gave notice to the government and to the House that he would bring up this question on the next day. The next day objection was made by a gentleman who solemnly assures this House that he was not inspired by the government to rise and make that objection. Well, if he were not inspired by the government, if this idea of burking the inquiry, stultifying the investigation, and closing up wrong-doing, emanated from the breast of the member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) himself, then I say so much the worse for the member for North Wellington. I know that the member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) made a statement that the member for North Wellington was put up to do that job. He stated the reasons why he thought the hon. member was put up: because we know that on many occasions the member for North Wellington has done exactly the kind of work that the government would desire to have done. Now, with reference to the statement of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis

Mr. CASEY.

Davies). He says the ministers had to leave the House many times to attend this committee when the House was sitting. Why, Mr. Speaker, it was a matter of public notoriety that when that committee was not sitting you could scarcely ever find a minister in his seat except the Premier himself. They have absented themselves conspicuously, and more particularly when matters affecting their departments were likely to come up for consideration. With reference to his statement that the government reduced the quorum on that committee—it was not the members of the committee who reduced the quorum. The member for Halifax asked that the quorum be reduced, and it was reduced, and the object was to permit the investigation to go on when there was not a quorum present. But does not every member of this House know that in the Committee of Railways and Canals that has occurred hundreds of times?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). No, no.

Mr. WALLACE. I have been present scores of times when the committee was sitting when there was no quorum.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do not think it.

Mr. WALLACE. So there was no concession granted in that regard at all. The supporters of the government refused point-blank to reduce the quorum.

Now, with regard to another important matter. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries says he wants to hear the evidence. Well, Sir, if the Minister of Marine and Fisheries wants to hear the evidence, something has happened since last session, because during last session, if there were two flagrant sinners in this respect in blocking and burking the investigation, in preventing the facts from coming before that committee, those two members were the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the member for Kingston (Mr. Britton). These two gentlemen attempted at every stage to lengthen out the investigation, to prevent the true facts of the case from being disclosed; and as we know, witnesses were held here day after day when all that was really wanted of them was an examination not lasting more than five minutes, at a cost to the country, as the minister tells us, of from \$10,000 to \$20,000. What do they care for \$20,000 when the object was to screen wrong-doers, to hide the evidence of the grossest bribery, stealing and everything in the calendar except arson? In Toronto they have a more ready way of adjusting these matters, they simply put the ballot boxes in the fire, and as the ballots were not fireproof, they went up in smoke. Now, these gentlemen do not need to expect that they are going to prevent an investigation. We will have that investigation, we will

compel them to permit that investigation to go on; and if they attempt the tactics which they carried out last year, and in which the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the member for Kingston were the two most conspicuous sinners, if I may apply that mild term to them, they will not be permitted to do so again, because public attention will be called to them, and those gentlemen who snapped their fingers last year at public opinion will be compelled this year to bow down before public opinion. They know that they are nearer a general election by one year, and they know that the elections that have been held have shown that they are not so sure of their position in the future as they were last year. Now, Sir, with reference to the hon. First Minister himself.

Mr. WOOD. Why did you not take this case to the courts where these hon. gentlemen could not interfere with you?

Mr. WALLACE. This case was taken to the highest court in the Dominion of Canada, and we will see, Mr. Speaker, that the parliament of Canada will not burk, and will not get out of this question. I was going to refer to the course of the First Minister himself. The member for Halifax was willing that that motion of his should go through yesterday without any remarks from him. It had been exhaustively discussed before in the House. The First Minister made his speech upon it and it was referred to the committee. The committee reported that their investigations were incomplete, and, therefore, this parliament was in duty bound to furnish every facility for continuing that investigation. But what occurred? The right hon. First Minister said 'stand.' What for? That was his statement yesterday. Did he want to make a speech on it, or did he want to obstruct the passage of this motion before the House?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The hon. gentleman has no right to refer to a past debate.

Mr. WALLACE. I think I have a perfect right to call attention to this fact, since the matter has been brought up, and to say that the First Minister himself asked that the matter stand. What for? Now, Sir, we must have an answer in this House. The investigation started in the midst of the trial. We are to-day in the middle of the trial, because we have not yet reached one-quarter of the iniquities. I presume we are on the way to unearthing rascalities in connection with the election in West Huron and Brockville, and instead of offering every facility and giving every opportunity for the investigation to proceed, the right hon. Prime Minister said 'stand,' when the introducer of the motion had nothing to say, or waived any right that he might have to

speaking, and simply let it go without remark. He was permitted to have this matter brought up in that way. Every step that has been taken from the time the committee was granted, both in the committee and in this House, has given evidence, as we see to-day, that the government are determined to prevent the investigation. If they are, we will let the country know the attitude and position of the government of the day; I see the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) before me, with a severe, a righteous and a virtuous look upon his face, which, I am sure, does not emanate from his heart, and which, as an hon. gentleman has just remarked, would astonish his family. It would astonish anybody who knew him. These hon. gentlemen are attempting, and successfully attempting, to prevent an investigation being held into these matters. If there is any one subject that this country is determined shall be investigated, the truth of which shall be found out, it is the question of who the parties were who stole ballot papers, who the parties were who took out ballots that had been marked by men, and substituted marked ballots for the other candidate, who were the men who manipulated these matters, and more important than all, not the Cap. Sullivan's, Tim Murphy's and other men of that class, but—

Mr. SPEAKER. Perhaps the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace), will confine himself to the subject.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am referring to the historical aspect of the case. I say, that, in the investigation, we not only want to ascertain if there were any guilty parties who did these acts, but we want to know who prompted them, who furnished the enormous sinews of war that would be required from the beneficiaries of these illegal acts, and we are going to continue the investigation until we trace it up to the highest sources. We know those who have been guilty in Dominion and local elections; we know the men; we know that there are ministers implicated, we know that all these things must come out, that they will come out, and that any attempt on the part of the right hon. Prime Minister, of the hon. member for North Wellington, and of any other hon. member opposite, to prevent this investigation going forward, will be a lamentable failure, because we are bound to have an investigation.

Mr. McMULLEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to speak to the question before the House.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman has spoken already.

Mr. McMULLEN. I merely put a question. I simply wish to refer to what the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace)

said. In the first place, the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden), I am sure, is one of the ablest lawyers in this House. I quite agree with that statement made by the hon. member for West York. He certainly knows the rules of this House, and he must certainly have known that when he took the course he did, in order to bring this matter before the House, he was taking a course that was not in accordance with the rules of the House.

Mr. McNEILL. I rise to a question of order. I want to know if this is a personal explanation.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. member for Halifax fully expected that he would be called to order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I propose to allow the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) to go on, simply because this is, as we have done a dozen times before. If you allow one hon. member to exceed the limits of the debate it introduces an entirely new discussion. The hon. gentleman has a right to defend himself under the circumstances.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Speaker, when shall we get back to parliamentary practice? Now is the time to go back to the parliamentary practice which is observed in every other House of Commons regulated by the rules which control us.

Mr. McMULLEN. I have a perfect right to reply to the charges made against me. The hon. member for West York made a personal reference to me, and I think I am entitled, under the privileges of this, to reply to these statements.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point in order. Is the ruling, such as you state it, to be the practice of this House that, when an hon. gentleman has spoken, when any hon. gentleman has replied to him, and he considers that something has been said against him, he can rise and make another speech?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). He has not spoken.

Mr. SPEAKER. Technically, I want to correct the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster). The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) gave place to the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) to make a statement. The hon. member for East Grey referred to a matter, and the hon. member for North Wellington undertook to correct him. Beyond that, he was not allowed to make any further statement.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) has not spoken?

Mr. McMULLEN.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Certainly not.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. member for East Grey charged me with having done a certain thing at the instigation of the ministers, and challenged me to say it was correct or not. I merely replied, saying that he was incorrect in that statement. I shall now go on. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) is unquestionably a man of high standing in his profession, and he must have known when he introduced the question that he did in this House, for the purpose of getting that committee, that he was taking an irregular proceeding, and a proceeding that would not be tolerated if any hon. member objected to it. I objected to it; I knew that it was out of order, and I come to the conclusion now that he was intentionally out of order. I believe that hon. gentlemen opposite do not want the matter to go before the committee, but they want to have an opportunity in this House of getting up a grievance and trying to load upon the government the responsibility of trying to burk the investigation. It looks quite like it. Another thing is, that hon. gentlemen opposite appear to be loaded up with the idea that every hon. gentleman on this side of the House and the government are all in collusion to do corrupt and wrong things. They are measuring the present government's corn in their own bushel. They followed the system so long, that, now they have got into opposition, they think that in every little thing that comes up the government are following in the very same lines that they adopted when they sat on this side of the House. They did that in connection with the investigation that took place in regard to the Drummond County Railway.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order, order.

Mr. McMULLEN. First they thought there was corruption, and afterwards they admitted there was none. In connection with West Huron, there was a very extended investigation last year. A great many persons were subpoenaed; they came to the House, sat in rows on the chairs along the corridor, like so many pigeons on a fence rail, waiting to be shot, or called in. These people were eventually taken in, examined, and after an exhaustive investigation, there was not a single thing or item proved wrong on the part of any deputy returning officer in West Huron.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. McMULLEN. No; on the part of any deputy returning officer there was no wrong proved at all. The investigation got so stale, that in the end, as has already been stated, a quorum could not be got together to attend it while it was proceed-

ing. On several occasions I was present when only three or four members of the committee attended, and the fact was that they found they had nothing to prove, and so it virtually frittered out. I am not one to stand in the way of an investigation, which would be calculated to secure to a man his rights as a member of this House or which would tend to show that another man held his seat wrongly. I believe we should have purity of elections and that men sitting in this House should be returned honestly, but it is amusing to see how virtuous hon. gentlemen opposite have become recently, when we remember that when the Liberals were in opposition, and when we pointed out that the ballot boxes were manipulated in a scandalous way, these gentlemen simply sneered and laughed at us. Take the case of Mr. Baird. My hon. friend from West York (Mr. Wallace), appears to forget that Mr. Baird came to this House from King's County, N.B., representing a minority of the electors—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. McMULLEN. There was also the McGillivray case, but it appears to be out of order to refer to these cases in this debate. I have no objection that every opportunity should be given to my hon. friend (Mr. Borden), to hold a decent investigation, but the kind of investigation that was held last year was neither creditable to the House nor to the government that permitted it to go so far. Whenever a member of this House makes a distinct statement that a certain individual is guilty of wrong-doing in the discharge of his duty, and when the time for filing a protest has gone past, I am prepared to admit that it might be well to investigate that. But I do not think it is proper to hold such an inquiry as that of West Huron last year when witness after witness by the dozens were called up and had nothing to prove. I am prepared to express that opinion before my constituents and before the House and to contend that it is not the intention of parliament that an unlimited investigation of that kind should be gone into in the case of every constituency. If every member of this House is liable to have his seat challenged in that way, then we had better go back to the old system of hearing election trials before a committee of the House. If such a state of affairs is to exist there is no use any longer of dividing the work between the judges and the House of Commons. The courts have been given charge of these matters, and to the credit of the courts be it said they have discharged their duties well in this regard. So far as wrong-doing is concerned, we could trace a good deal of that to hon. gentlemen opposite and some of it to the constituency of West York. I believe there is a memorable hall in the constituency of the hon.

gentleman (Mr. Wallace) where a great many met night after night for the purpose of concocting schemes and debauching the constituencies and doing what was wrong. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) will reflect he will know that his constituency was not free from that.

Mr. WALLACE. Would the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) say where this hall is?

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) is posted on that himself.

Mr. WALLACE. This is the first I ever heard of it, and I would like to get some information about it.

Mr. McMULLEN. Ask for an investigation.

Mr. WALLACE. I want to know now where is that hall and who are the persons who met in it?

Mr. McMULLEN. By-and-by we will investigate it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no; take it back.

Mr. McMULLEN. I am sorry I interrupted my hon. friend—

Mr. WALLACE. I rise to a point of order, Mr. Speaker, and my point of order is, that the hon. member for North Wellington has stated that there is a hall in my constituency where a lot of wrong-doing was concocted—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). That is not a point of order.

Mr. WALLACE. The Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) had better wait till I get through before he interrupts. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) has said that I was cognizant of these facts. It is the first time I ever heard of any wrong-doing. I do not know what hall he referred to, I do not know what parties he referred to, but when he makes the statement that I was connected in any way near or remote with such doings, he says what is absolutely false and untrue.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). Order.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, absolutely untrue.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) used another word.

Mr. WALLACE. I say it is untrue, and if it were parliamentary I would like to say it was false. I cannot find a word too strong to characterize such a statement.

Mr. McMULLEN. I wish to state, Mr. Speaker—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order:

Mr. SPEAKER. To my mind there is no point of order. The whole matter is outside the discussion now before the House. The hon. member (Mr. Wallace) has denied the statement of the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) point-blank and he says there is no foundation for the statement. It seems to me that both hon. gentlemen are in an even position.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If a member makes a statement attacking the character of another member upon a question of fact, and the other member rises in his place and says the statement has no foundation in fact; it is, I think, the practice of this House that the member making the statement should accept the denial. That has been the usual ruling in this House, and the hon. member who made the statement should withdraw it.

Mr. SPEAKER. If we were going back to the beginning of this debate I would, I think, have to exact a withdrawal from the hon. member (Mr. Sproule) with regard to his statement that the hon. member (Mr. McMullen) was put up to do a certain thing.

Mr. SPROULE. And if you ruled, Mr. Speaker, that I had not the right to make that statement I would withdraw it.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON (Three Rivers). I would not have spoken in this debate were it not for a remark made by the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) which was personal to myself. A lamer defence of the action of the government than that made by the hon. member (Mr. Casey), I cannot well understand. I feel myself rather at a disadvantage in discussing the case to which he referred, because it was your lamented predecessor, Sir, who attacked me on that occasion and brought charges against me in this House. Sir James Edgar not only moved for a fishing investigation, but he attempted to get that fishing investigation to cover the long period from 1873, when I first entered the House, until 1894, when the charge was made. What was the course of the government at that time? Sir John Thompson, one of the luminaries of the bar, without favour, or without any desire to sacrifice his position as a great lawyer to any party, stated: 'What you have to do is to make a charge, and we shall be prepared to take it up and investigate it'; and the motion was made by my hon. friend and late leader, Sir Mackenzie Bowell. He said: 'Reduce your charges to a period of time that can be investigated, and whether they are against a member of the cabinet or a private member supporting the Con-

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servative government, they shall be investigated.' What more does my hon. friend demand to-day? I am not prepared to say, until the investigation is entered into, whether he is right in his surmises or wrong; but it is the duty of the government to settle the question by granting an investigation within limits which every member of parliament has a right to expect. What was the course followed in the investigation in my case? The charges were limited to a reasonable period of time, and a royal commission was appointed to investigate them, consisting of three judges whose names stand higher in the province of Quebec than those of any other judges on the Bench. I went before these judges, and the witnesses were brought before them, and the report of that commission was carried in the House of Commons by the largest majority that has ever been recorded in the parliament of Canada. But to-day we find this government shirking investigation. Are they afraid of having it? The lame defence of the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) places the government in the most awkward position possible. His defence is simply that we have lost a lot of time on this discussion, and that we should not lose any more time. But is Canada to be debarred from ascertaining whether the members who represent public opinion in this House have been elected without the devices which we know prevailed in the province of Ontario during the late elections? I think the government are placed in a position that is fatal to our parliamentary system. If they do not wish to have the investigation, let them say so, and let parliament decide; but let them not fall back upon the lame defence of the hon. member for West Elgin, and try to get out of it by a subterfuge which the public of Canada will not accept, but must condemn. Sir James Edgar when called upon to produce his witnesses to prove his charges against me failed to attend the request of the committee.

Mr. ALEX. McNEILL (North Bruce). Mr. Speaker, the statement made by my right hon. friend the First Minister in reference of this matter is one which I think on the face of it will be borne out by all the members of this House, especially those who have had any considerable experience of the House. I am sure we all of us feel that it is very important indeed that there should be as little infringement as possible upon those rules which have been found by a long experience to be in the interest of the proper conduct of our parliamentary business. But, Sir, there are exceptions to every rule, and the question is whether such a condition of things exists in reference to the matter now under discussion as to make it advisable to depart from the usual practice. Now, I venture to say that if ever there was a case in which it would be desirable to infringe on the ordinary proceed-

ings of this House, this is that case, because this is a matter which deals with the very foundations on which this House exists. It is a matter which goes to the very root of our representation. It is a question which, if it is not properly dealt with, must end in the destruction of representative institutions in Canada. If ever there was an occasion, I say, when the ordinary rules should be departed from, this is the occasion: and more, Sir, I venture to say that the people of this country will say that this is the occasion. I venture to say that the people of this country will say that they are not going to be deprived of their franchise by this government or by any other government. That is the question. Now, I am not going to bandy words as to whether this party was wrong or that party was wrong. We know that we have a condition of things existing in Canada to-day which is a disgrace to the country. Such a condition of things has been exposed as makes every man who is not a violent partisan on one side or the other blush for the name of Canada; and the question we have to decide here to-day is whether some technical rule, which we admit to be under ordinary conditions a wise rule, shall be applied so as to prevent the redress of the grievances of which the people are complaining. That is the question. What does it matter in this regard whether there has on some former occasion been guilt on this side of the House or not? If there has been guilt on this side of the House, that is all the more reason why we should have this investigation, and why this thing should be put down with a strong hand. The more widely this corruption has spread, the deeper it has entered into the vitals of our political life, the more reason there is that we should put an end to it. I am astonished to find hon. gentlemen opposite dealing with the question in the manner in which they have. My hon. friend from West Elgin (Mr. Casey), to use a colloquial expression, let the cat out of the bag. He said we had gone too far last session. It was found, when the investigation was entered upon, that it was going a great deal too far for some people on that side of the House. The right hon. gentleman, when the matter was first brought before the attention of parliament, admitted frankly that such a prima facie case was made out as to render the investigation demanded absolutely necessary. What, then, is the good of harking back about courts of law. That was considered last session, and it was then determined that an investigation was absolutely necessary. I would ask, such being the case, why are we not allowed to go on with it? I would ask the right hon. gentleman whether he cannot agree to the statement I have made that this is a case in which the ordinary rules of procedure ought to be set aside, and whether we ought not to make a special

rule, if desirable, for the express purposes of dealing with this case?

Such a condition of things has never existed in the history of Canada before as exists here to-day; and I am not careful to say whether anything of the kind has been done on this side or not. If it has, all the worse for Canada and all the more necessary that we should have this investigation, and all the less excuse for my right hon. friend to throw any obstacle whatever in the way of reaching an investigation as quickly as possible.

The PRIME MINISTER. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL. My right hon. friend says 'hear, hear,' and I would ask him to explain. I understood him to say, in the most express manner, that he would not allow the ordinary rules of the House in any way to be infringed in order that we might reach this investigation without delay.

The PRIME MINISTER. That is not putting an obstacle.

Mr. McNEILL. I consider it is. But if my right hon. friend chooses to split hairs, and say it is not putting an obstacle, then it is leaving an obstacle which he will not allow us to remove. Whether he is putting an obstacle or leaving an obstacle in the way, which he has the power to remove, amounts practically to the same thing. I say that he ought not to leave any obstacle, which he has the power to remove, in the way of this investigation.

Mr. B. M. BRITTON (Kingston). I do not intend to discuss the question involved in the motion, notice of which is on the paper, and would not have said a word about it were it not for the remarks of the hon. gentleman who has just addressed the House. That hon. gentleman surely cannot remember what appears in *Hansard*, as the statement of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden), when he introduced his motion last session calling for a committee, and he must equally have forgotten the provisions of the Election Act, or he would know that there is not a single point raised in the presentation of this matter to the House that could not to-day be as well investigated by the courts as ever. In my opinion the question which the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Wood) put to the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) is entirely in point, namely, why this matter might not be referred to the courts for investigation. And the question might also be asked: Why do hon. gentlemen opposite not now go to the courts to investigate every charge they make in reference to this matter?

I wish to refer briefly to what the hon. member for West York was pleased to say with reference to myself. He characterized me as one of those who tried to obstruct the action of the committee. Sir, nothing of the kind was done. The questions asked

in that committee were, in my opinion, very proper ones, and no lawyer, I venture to say, even on the other side, unless he wanted to make political capital, would have objected either to the mode of examination or to anything else that took place in the endeavour to elicit the truth from the witnesses before the committee.

Mr. WALLACE. Did not the hon. member for Halifax object to the waste of time of the committee in asking questions not relevant?

Mr. BRITTON. I dare say he did, but lawyers differ as to what questions are relevant, and the hon. gentleman who asked the questions objected to, I suppose, had as good a right to think them relevant as the hon. member for Halifax had to think the contrary.

One cannot help thinking, in listening to what has been said in this House, and considering the ostentatious manner in which this matter is brought forward from time to time, that hon. gentlemen opposite are actuated by something else than a simple desire to get at the facts and punish the guilty. Their conduct is simply part of a plan carried out from the beginning, namely, throw as much dirt as you can, spread it all over the country as fast and hard as you can, and some will be sure to stick. As an illustration of this, let me quote an article from the *Montreal Witness*, dated 29th April last, commenting on what was printed in the *Toronto Telegram* concerning what was alleged to have taken place in Brockville. This article is headed 'Dishonest Journalism':

It is perhaps worth while demonstrating for once in a way the deliberate falsehood which characterizes reports of election incidents on to the political organs. At the recent Brockville election an elector was given a duly initialled ballot-paper, in the presence of the agents or scrutineers of the political parties, who are present to watch the proceedings on behalf of the candidates of their own party. The elector seems to have had a bogus ballot-paper in his possession, with forged initials, which he attempted to deposit instead of the true ballot. The returning officer detected the forgery, and the elector slipped out of the polling booth. Now, here is the account telegraphed to the Conservative organs of this incident:

'During the afternoon a Conservative scrutineer in No. 3 subdivision, West ward, detected a Liberal named Gordam Empey, presenting a bogus ballot. The attention of the returning officer being called to the matter, he made a scrutiny of the ballot, and was forced to admit that the initials on the back were not his.'

It will be seen that the allegation here is that the Conservative scrutineer detected the false ballot, and had to compel the Liberal returning officer to do his duty. The deliberate falsity of the impression thus given is clearly shown by the testimony sworn to when the case came before the courts yesterday. Here is the returning officer's evidence as to what took place:

'When Empey presented himself to vote, I gave him a ballot, and wrote the initials on the

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counterfoil and ballot with an indelible pencil. Empey returned from the compartment and handed me a paper which was folded. When I took the paper from him I looked to see if my initials were on it, and the number of the counterfoil. I first discovered the number was not on the counterfoil. I looked at the ballot to see if my initials were there, and saw they were on the right-hand corner of the ballot, not in the place where I had been initialling other ballots. They were very small, and done with a common black lead pencil, not with an indelible one. My initials were made in capitals. These initials were on the ballot given to me, but were not written by me. I did not authorize the initials to be put there. I then spoke to the accused and said, 'These are not my initials, made by me, and I don't think it's the paper I gave you.' He said it was. At that moment the two agents drew near me. They wanted to see the initials they had heard spoken of by me. They saw them. They spoke to each other, and said they thought the initials shown were not my initials. At that moment Empey left the voting booth. I objected to the paper he gave me, and did not put it in the ballot-box.'

That is the account given by the deputy returning officer and it is evidently a true account, and the account in the *Toronto Telegram*, as I said before, was repeated by the Conservative newspapers. Now, what followed? This man was arrested, and he was tried at the assizes in Brockville by a jury. I am told that there were seven Conservatives on that jury. I do not know how that is, but I know, as a matter of fact, that there were Conservatives as well as Reformers on the jury. The man was tried before one of the judges of the High Court of Justice; and the result was that the ballot which was said to be a bogus ballot was found to be a true ballot, and the man was acquitted. Further than that, there was a recount in this election. At the recount, the judge said that if that ballot had been put in the box, he would have counted it; but because it was not put into the box by the deputy returning officer, it was not where the judge in the recount could count it. So, the vote was not counted for either party. And that is one of these very questions that has come up in this House. This is a trial that took place where cross-examination by counsel of the witnesses was possible—and it resulted in the man's acquittal and the establishment of the fact that the ballot alleged to be a forged ballot was a true one, though it was thought to have differed in some respects from the others. What were the charges in this case? First, that he had forged a ballot paper; second, that he had counterfeited a ballot paper; third, that he had attempted to put a forged ballot paper in the box, and fourth, that he had fraudulently attempted to take a ballot paper out of the booth. A true bill was found by the grand jury, and, with all the formalities of the trial, with the opportunity for counsel to cross-examine witnesses, the man was acquitted. I suppose the same questions were asked at the trial as were asked in

committee rooms. The hon. member for Halifax, if he had been present and if it had suited his purpose, would have said we were stifling inquiry; the hon. member for Westmorland (Mr. Powell) would have said that the examiner had not any brains, and the hon. member for Annapolis (Mr. Mills) would have said with quite an air of resignation, 'Why don't you ask the witness what he had to suffer?' And it would have gone out that we were obstructing justice by our manner of examining witnesses—for I have heard somewhat similar proceedings in committee in matters of that kind.

I am not arguing in the merits of these matters, but what I am arguing is that an attempt is being made to make political capital out of this instead of going to the courts where the matter could still be investigated.

Another case arose. A man named Wendling was charged with offering a man a forged ballot. He was brought before the police court; and I may say, and I think it is of importance in connection with this matter, that these were not cases in which the trial was left to take care of itself. I understand that Mr. S. Barker is now the Conservative organizer for the province of Ontario, that he is the gentleman in league with the new lights who are now the leaders of the Conservative party; that he, with Mr. Dalby and the present leader of the opposition, are preparing for the next election campaign. Mr. Barker was present in Brockville and took part in the proceedings. He was there a long time and did all that a man could do in looking up the evidence that could be brought up in regard to the Brockville election, and if there was any evidence that would go to show fraud, it is pretty certain that he would have found it. He has the means at his disposal, for he is a rich man, and has a rich party at his back; moreover, he is an able lawyer of long standing, and he had come down for the purpose of attending to this business. Mr. Wendling, against whom the charge was made, has the misfortune, in some respects, to be a man of considerable wealth—

Mr. SPROULE. I rise to a point of order. I desire to inquire whether it is in order for the hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) to discuss a case which is referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections and which should be examined there, in anticipation of the action of that committee.

Mr. BRITTON. I am not discussing the question that is to be referred, but I am discussing the question whether this is, as declared by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) a great constitutional question and if rights are denied parties here, the privileges of the House are infringed, the right is denied also and the constitution is violated.

Mr. SPROULE. I may be right or I may be wrong, but having raised the question of order and stated the case, I think I am entitled to a decision as to whether the point is well taken or otherwise.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Did not the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) discuss it likewise?

Mr. SPROULE. I did not discuss it.

Mr. SPEAKER. I do not think there is anything in the question of order the hon. member (Mr. Sproule) has raised. I think hon. gentlemen may criticise the judgment of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) who introduced these matters by way of illustration; but the whole afternoon we have been travelling all over this field to my mind, entirely outside of the question really before the House.

Mr. BRITTON. I will cut the matter short. I have only a few words further to say with regard to Mr. Wendling. I am showing that hon. gentlemen opposite do not take this matter before the courts, and am endeavouring to show that no harm could be done even if there happens to be a little delay, nine months after the event, in waiting for this motion to come up in its regular order. Mr. Wendling was charged, as I say, with issuing false ballots to other parties. He was brought before the police court and committed for trial. He gave bail. Before the case came up, a woman, apparently put up for the purpose, came and demanded \$500 from him, saying that if it was not paid, certain parties would appear against him. He refused to pay such a sum, or any sum. A trap was laid for this woman so that she made her statement in the hearing of persons who, as those who have read the papers know, are men of character in Brockville, men who would not state anything but the absolute truth. In the presence of these persons she made the demand for \$500 in order that a person who was to appear as a witness might not appear. Mr. Wendling refused to give the money, or, as he said, refused to be blackmailed. The woman was charged with attempting to levy blackmail. She was tried and was acquitted by the judge, not on the ground that there were any facts in dispute, as the charge was clearly proved, but because, as Wendling had been charged before the demand of money was made upon him appearing the charge was not within the wording of the section of the code applicable to the case. So she was discharged. The case against Wendling was adjourned from time to time, no evidence was given against him, and he was discharged. I have the judgment of the judge who disposed of the matter, and also the charge; and this whole thing leads to the conclusion, from what has taken place to-day and other days in connection with it, that hon. gen-

lemen, as Mr. Chamberlain said in the British House of Commons in reference to the investigation of the Jameson raid in South Africa, want not so much an investigation as an execution against the government, trying to make political capital in a matter of this kind.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—MESSAGES FROM HER MAJESTY AND FROM GENERAL ROBERTS.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I do not rise to speak in the debate which is now going on, but to say that I have just received from His Excellency two messages which I have his authority to convey to the House :

(Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Minto.)

London, Feb. 27, 1900.

Her Majesty the Queen desires you to express to people of Dominion her admiration of gallant conduct of her Canadian troops in late engagement and her sorrow at loss of so many brave men.

(Sd.) CHAMBERLAIN.

(Lord Roberts to the Governor General.)

Paardeberg, Feb. 27, 1900.

In the very successful attack made by the Royal Canadian Regiment on the enemy's trenches this morning the following casualties occurred: Killed—Page, Withy, Ormand, Johnston, Scott, Withers, Riggs, Quinn. Wounded—Major Pelletier (slightly), Hughes, Harrison, Sutherland, McDonald, Pepitate, Proulx, Roy, Theriault, Bagot, Sievert, Mathison, Holland, Hulme, Croft, Thomas, Living, McConnell, Brady, Harris, Sprague, Pelky, Coombs, Durant, Lovitt, Simpson, Bradshaw, Donohue, Vickers, Holland, Wasdill.

(Sd.) ROBERTS.

Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, I may be allowed to read the despatch which was also read to-day in the House of Commons in England. It is part of the despatch addressed by Lord Roberts to the War Office :

At 3 a.m. to-day a most dashing advance was made by the Canadian Regiment and some Engineers, supported by the First Gordon Highlanders and Second Shropshires, resulting in our gaining a point some 600 yards nearer the enemy and within about eighty yards of his trenches, where our men entrenched themselves and maintained their positions till morning—a gallant deed, worthy of our colonial comrades, and which I am glad to say was attended by comparatively slight loss.

This apparently clinched matters, for at daylight to-day a letter signed by Gen. Cronje, in which he stated that he surrendered unconditionally, was brought to our outposts under a flag of truce.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. J. G. HAGGART (South Lanark). This, perhaps, is one of the most interesting subjects that the House can discuss, inasmuch as it affects the independence and honour of the House. I understand by your ruling, Mr. Speaker, that when anything

Mr. BRITTON.

affecting the independence or honour of the House has been made a matter of inquiry at a previous session, the only way it can be taken up again in the succeeding session is by a motion, and that motion has to take the ordinary course on the Order paper. My hon. friend who introduced the motion this session said that he did not wish to discuss it, that he was perfectly willing to have it pass without entering into any controversy upon it; and, as I understand, the right hon. gentleman, the leader of the government, then took the opportunity of opposing the motion, and prevented it from passing. Although we have to agree with your ruling on that particular question, still I feel that on an occasion of this kind, when evidence of the most infamous character has already been adduced in an inquiry before a committee of this House, the government ought to have assisted in every possible manner towards securing a continuance of that inquiry, instead of taking advantage of the forms of the House to prevent it. The question was a purely formal one, one to send this matter before a committee of the House, and the right hon. gentleman took the objection, which he had a right to do, and delayed it for a time. For what purpose? Is it not evident by the statement of the member for Kingston and the statement of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), that they are harking back on their policy of last session, when we agreed unanimously in this House that this was a matter that required the fullest inquiry? Now the member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) and the member for Kingston, and other gentlemen opposite, say that this matter had better be left to the courts to decide. That was not the policy of the House, that was not what they promised to the country, that was not the reason of the inquiry last session. Now a new course of action is laid before us. After the binding of this committee, having discovered that these officers who had charge of the ballots there had defrauded the electors of their franchise, that they had returned a person who is not entitled to a seat in this House, now the Minister of Marine and Fisheries says the government did not intend to inquire into that matter at all, they had not to go any further than an inquiry as to the conduct of the officers, and there should be nothing done in reference to the party returned to this House who had not received the support of the electorate. He says that we should follow the law as it has been laid down by the member for West Elgin and others, namely, that the courts have jurisdiction upon the matter. It is no such thing. We have merely delegated to the courts for our convenience, the trial of these cases; we have never divested ourselves of the authority and power that lie in this parliament to try these cases by a committee. The right hon. leader of the

government, in one of his campaign addresses delivered somewhere in Ontario, stated that inquiries had been made, and no facts had been brought out discreditable to the sitting member, or to the officers concerned in holding the election, that no wrong had been proved. Who told the right hon. gentleman that? Did he read the evidence before the committee that was appointed to inquire into that matter, and which inquiry was delayed in every possible manner? Honest farmers from the country came before the committee who had no object but to tell the truth, and the simple question asked them: How did you mark your ballot? would be the subject of cross-examination by the hour by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the member for Kingston and others. Then, one of the reasons given to the House why this committee should be delayed, was that the expense had run up to between \$10,000 and \$20,000 in a case which could be as easily disposed of by the courts. The right hon. leader of the government need not expect to delay or to squelch an inquiry by this committee. Every member of the House must know that we have already proved sufficiently to show that in West Huron frauds of the most diabolical and infamous character were perpetrated upon the electorate. We intend to continue that inquiry, and to make an inquiry into Brockville.

An hon. MEMBER. How are you going to do it?

Mr. HAGGART. We are going to do it by the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries says: Oh, there was no inquiry, no interest taken in the committee by the members of the opposition. There was as much interest taken in that committee as in any other committee of the House. Is it necessary that every member of the committee, or a majority of them, should be there when evidence is being taken? One or two members of the committee are chosen to take the evidence for the purpose of getting at the full facts. The evidence is printed, and every member of the committee has the privilege of reading over the evidence that was given before the committee. I will state that the committee was just as well attended as any other Committee of Privileges and Elections for the purpose of entering into an inquiry has ever been. I am sorry to hear that the manner of proceeding in this House is one entirely different from what I thought was the correct manner of proceeding.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). How often did the hon. gentleman (Mr. Haggart) attend the committee?

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman was there nearly every day it sat. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) asks the question, how often I was there. He puts me in mind of the gentleman who stated that he never saw the other in church for the simple reason that he never was there himself. I do not remember ever having met the hon. gentleman there.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). For the same reason.

Mr. HAGGART. I was at church the whole time; I was attending the meetings of the committee. However, this is too important a question to be burked in any such manner as that. I entirely differ from the lines laid down by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries. If the evidence shows that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Holmes), who is sitting here, presumably with the franchise of the electorate in West Huron, is not entitled to be here, it is the duty of this House, and it is in the full power of this House to turn that hon. gentleman out.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I will do the hon. gentleman justice to say that he did not attend the proceedings of the committee very often, and I am therefore not very much surprised to find that he is so grievously in error. He attended one of the meetings, at any rate, when the question came up as to whether witnesses should be examined or not in respect to the way they voted. It was absolutely clear that if we were affecting the seat of a member, the law prohibited these witnesses from being so examined, and it was because it was determined by the committee that no conclusion they reached could affect the seat of the member that it was agreed to by the committee that these gentlemen could be asked for whom they had voted. That course could only be adopted on the ground that the findings of the committee could not affect the seat of the member. Now, having proceeded to examine witnesses in that way the hon. gentleman says that they intend to affect the seat of the member.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) has made a speech, and he has made statements which are entirely wrong. The hon. gentleman states that on a few occasions I was there. I made the statement that I attended the majority of the meetings. I was there at the time this debate took place. I took exception to the statement of the hon. gentleman—if we can discuss a matter that took place in the committee; I suppose we can, as the report came down. I took exception as to his

law. I made the statement that this House did not divest itself of authority to deal with these subjects, that it had only delegated it, and that the committee in making the inquiry did not limit itself. As to the statement of facts and the law by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, I held an entirely different opinion. The hon. gentleman will remember that he said that my statement of law was not much different from his own, and we were perfectly agreed upon it. That statement was this, and it is a view which is held in this House by every lawyer of prominence who has spoken upon the subject here, that there was a simple delegation of the matter to the courts for our convenience, that the power was in our hands, and that when we exercised the power of inquiry last session, we never divested ourselves of our power. What a farce it would be if it were found that the hon. member for West Huron is sitting here in the face of proved statements about which there can be no controversy or doubt, that ballots were illegally cast for him, and that this House can take no action in the matter, that the party who is sitting there shall occupy his seat until the end of parliament, although it has been proved in the highest court in the land that he is not entitled to his seat.

Mr. FIRMAN McCLURE (Colchester). Mr. Speaker, I am anxious that there should be no further delay in this matter. It is to be regretted that, at one time in the history of this controversy, hon. gentlemen opposite were not so anxious to avoid delay. The election into which the inquiry was made was held on the 21st of February, 1899. These hon. gentlemen had in their possession, on the 30th of March, 1899, all the evidence which they ever presented to the committee. They had the affidavits upon which they based their inquiry on the 30th of March, 1899. It was not until the month of July that they brought forward this matter for examination. Was there any delay there? They had an opportunity to bring it up before the time of appearing before the courts had passed. They knew it could not afterwards be opened up before the courts where there could be a fair and honest inquiry. They then brought it before the committee, and what was the course of these hon. gentlemen? As one member of that committee, I do not propose to pass judgment upon what the result of the inquiry may be, but, I do take issue with the hon. member for Lanark (Mr. Haggart), and I say that no hon. member, sitting as a judge in that committee, will undertake to say that upon the evidence presented was any official there convicted of any wrong act. What the inquiry may eventually show I cannot say, but I do say that there was not one particle

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of evidence presented there to cast the slightest suspicion upon anybody, but there was—

Mr. MILLS. Oh, oh.

Mr. McCLURE. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills) wait until I am done? There was not one particle of evidence presented before that committee which cast suspicion on anybody, but the course that was adopted there was in violation of the clearest principles of law. The hon. gentlemen were permitted to examine witness after witness as to how he voted, and they went into matters that if they had gone before any court in the country they never could have inquired into. It is very plain why they allowed the law courts to go by, why they did not bring this matter before one of the courts of the country; it is because they knew that the evidence which they had to present was such as no judicial court in the country would ever look at. But, by the leniency of the committee they were allowed to inquire into matters that no law court would have permitted them to inquire into. They claim that suspicion is cast upon somebody. Upon whom is it cast? I am not prepared to say that it is cast any more upon the Liberal party than upon the Conservative party, but I have no hesitation in saying that any gentleman who will thoroughly examine that evidence cannot come to any other conclusion than that, although there was crookedness and wrong-doing, there is not the slightest evidence fixing it upon any official or any particular person. So, I wish that these hon. gentlemen had been a little more prompt in bringing this matter before the proper tribunal and not have taken it before a committee, they would exercise a more judicial spirit, and not seek to make political capital by talking about an unfinished case, that they would not base arguments upon evidence which is only taken through the too great leniency of the committee, because, if that committee committed any fault it was not in burking the inquiry, but in permitting the inquiry to be conducted upon lines that allowed anything and everything could be inquired into in that way.

Mr. GEO. V. McINERNEY (Kent, N.B.) Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to discuss the merits or demerits of the West Huron case, or the investigation that took place during last session before the Privileges and Elections Committee, but, I think there is a point of considerable importance that has arisen incidentally in this debate which should be disposed of. The hon. member for Lanark (Mr. Haggart) questioned the authority of the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) after the hon. minister had stated, in the speech he made this afternoon, that this

House and the Privileges and Elections Committee had divested themselves of all their ancient rights and privileges, that they had handed them over to the courts, by the Controverted Elections Act, and the right to try election petitions. Now, Sir, I contend, and I think I can contend with some degree of success—notwithstanding the fact that the Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) once in the committee challenged the opinion of the hon. member for Lanark (Mr. Haggart) because the latter hon. gentleman was not a lawyer—I hold that the hon. member (Mr. Haggart) is correct in the contention he makes, and that the Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies), who is a lawyer, is wrong.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McINERNEY. And if I wanted any authority for that, I can quote a gentleman by the name of 'Davies' who sat in this House in the year 1887, representing the county of Queen's, P.E.I.

Mr. FOSTER. Surely that is not Sir Louis.

Mr. McINERNEY. I think that same gentleman named 'Davies' is synonymous with a gentleman who now holds the portfolio of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies).

Mr. BERGERON. Send out and bring him in.

Mr. McINERNEY. Here is what this gentleman named 'Louis H. Davies' said in this House in 1887: (*Hansard*, p. 678.)

Sir, I contend, as a matter of law, that the rights which this House can exercise respecting the election of members have not been in any degree minimized by the passage of the Controverted Elections Act. I state that as a clear principle of constitutional law, and I think I have the authority not only of the leader of the Opposition, but of the leader of the government, for that position—that the same rights which this House retained to itself when in former days it relegated the trial of election petitions to the election committees of the House, these same rights the House continues to retain, after it has relegated the trial of election petitions to the judges of the land.

And at the same page of the Official Debates of 1887 (p. 678) the same gentleman repeated that contention, when he said:

That is a position of law that the Minister of Justice cannot controvert. If we had power before the Controverted Elections Act was passed, to consider and determine on cases of this kind, we have that power now, because we did not by that Act divest ourselves of any powers we had previously.

Yet, here we have the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) to-day coolly and deliberately getting up in this House, and making the contention, that this case should have gone to the election courts and should not have gone to the Committee on Privileges and Elections at all. We have

him seconded in that position, by the hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton), and as against that we have a layman on this side of the House (Mr. Haggart) who has truly stated the right and the legal position on that question.

Mr. BRITTON. May I ask you a question?

Mr. McINERNEY. Certainly.

Mr. BRITTON. Does the hon. gentleman think, as a lawyer, that under this reference to the Privileges and Elections Committee, that the seat of the hon. member for West Huron (Mr. Holmes) could be touched?

Mr. McINERNEY. Beyond the question of a doubt it could. And I could read page after page of opinions from Sir John Thompson, from the Hon. David Mills, now Minister of Justice, from Sir Charles H. Tupper, from Mr. Lister, from gentlemen sitting on both sides of the House; to the effect that this House could certainly dismiss any member. The hon. member for St. John (Mr. Ellis) took the same ground at the time, and he was right.

Mr. FOSTER. What case were they discussing?

Mr. McINERNEY. They were discussing the Baird case. Sir, the hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House were right in stating that this House has a perfect right to say who shall sit here and who shall not. This House has a perfect right to declare to-morrow any member of the House disqualified to sit, if the House sees fit, and there is no court in this land to which an appeal can be taken from that decision. That, Sir, is my humble opinion. That is an opinion gained from having read the opinions of the gentlemen whom I have mentioned; opinions expressed over and over again in the celebrated Queen's County debate in 1887.

The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), who is a busy man, no doubt, threw a slur across the floor, at the hon. member for Lanark (Mr. Haggart), and asked him, did he attend the committee meetings often last year? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Haggart) was too modest in his reply. I take up the report of that committee and I find that the hon. member (Mr. Haggart) was only absent from two of its sittings.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McINERNEY. And I find further, that the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) was only present at two or three of the sittings of that committee. I admit that the Minister of Railways and Canals is a very busy man, and I admit that he may have had other duties to perform, but at the same time, many others of us had other duties to perform. Be that as it may, I am here as a member of this committee,

to state distinctly, that we had to wait for hours at a time for the presence of a minister of the Crown. We would get there at ten in the morning, and be there until eleven o'clock and half-past eleven, waiting for the presence of a minister. That, Sir, was the experience of the members of the committee representing both sides of the House.

Mr. H. A. POWELL (Westmorland). Mr. Speaker, I took some interest in the proceedings before the committee last session, and having heard some statements made here to-day, that are rather startling—and, which if not inconsistent with fact, are at least, very inconsistent with my recollection—I feel I should address myself to the consideration of this question for a few moments. In the first place, the question has arisen, just with what logical connection I do not know, of the attendance upon the committee on elections last session. Unfortunately the attendance upon the committee was not as large as it should have been. And, especially, it was not as large on the part of gentlemen who constitutionally are charged with the good government of this country, as it should have been. As the hon. gentleman from Kent (Mr. McInerney) has said, day after day, we attended that committee, and were prevented from going on frequently for hours, by the mere fact that there was not a member of the cabinet present to supervise the proceedings. I have a very distinct recollection that on one occasion, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) objected to going on, because the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) was not present, and that fact will be within the recollection of every member of the committee who was in attendance at that sitting. Now, Sir, it has been advanced by some gentlemen on this side of the House and controverted by some gentlemen on the other side, that the percentage of the quorum of that committee in attendance was on the average quite as large as the percentage in attendance on the Railway Committee, for instance. That may, or may not, be so, but I call to the attention of the Minister of Railways and Canals, and of the House, to the rule of the House, it is necessary in the case of an ordinary standing committee to have a majority present to constitute a quorum. That was not modified by any resolution of the House last session, in the case of the standing Committee of Privileges and Elections. That committee consisted of forty-five members, and it was necessary to have a quorum, that twenty-three members should be present. In the case of the Committee on Railways and Canals, by a special provision of this House, when the committee was formed, it was enacted that twenty-five members out of the 176 forming the committee, should constitute a quorum. I have taken the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and I have looked at the attendance at every meeting, and I

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find that with the exception of the last meeting, when nothing virtually was done, that there was a larger percentage of the committee present than there had been on many occasions in the case of the Railway Committee, even if there was a quorum of the Railway Committee—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Powell) knows that formally a quorum is reported as being present, but I am sure his sense of fairness will compel him to say that as a matter of fact, there were only two or three members of the committee present during most of the time the witnesses were being examined at the latter part of the inquiry.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Although they appear on the face of it as being present, they were not really present, and we agreed to go on without them.

Mr. POWELL. The report of the committee is here, and it will speak for itself. Those present, and consequently those absent are noted here; the one by expression, the other by omission. If the hon. gentleman will look at the records of the nineteen sessions of that committee, he will see every member that was present, and he consequently will know every gentleman that was absent. That is a sufficient answer to his statement. I do not think that any official stenographer can be charged with wilfully misrepresenting the facts. It has also been said by gentlemen on the other side, that last year's was a fishing inquiry. Well, Sir, I am astonished to hear such a statement made by any gentleman on the other side of the House. So far from its being a fishing inquiry, I may say that I never knew a case in my twenty-one years practice at the bar, where the bill of particulars was as clear and the evidence relied on, was so fully set forth before the prosecution commenced as in this case. Why, Sir, we were tied down in that committee to every statement of fact that the hon. gentleman from Halifax made on the floor of this House. And what statement did he make? He produced solemn declarations of forty-three gentlemen, and never in a single case did we travel outside of the record. That covered the subject-matter of the investigation, and we confined ourselves to it. I shall not go into the question of the conclusiveness of the evidence, because I am a member of the committee, and the proper time, I trust, will come for the consideration of that at a later stage. The position is this. This House, by a solemn resolution, has committed itself to the policy of investigating the Brockville election. There is no doubt about that. The hon. leader of the government took a certain course, for

what purpose I do not know ; I am bound to assume that his purpose was patriotic and honourable. Last session he took the stand on the floor of this House that he would aid all endeavours of the hon. member for Halifax to bring the matter before the committee and have the charges investigated. He went further. The question was introduced at the time in precisely the same manner in which the hon. member for Halifax undertook to introduce it the other day, and he allowed the matter to be referred to the committee. He did not then take the objection that it was contrary to the rules of the House. The prosecution of the charges was ostensibly favoured by the leader of the government. Why he has adopted a different policy on this occasion I do not know. The prosecution has not been entered upon, so far as the Brockville case is concerned. Inferences may be drawn ; but I have no facts on which to base inferences apart from the course pursued. The hon. gentleman may explain his inconsistency, I cannot. We have the contention advanced by the hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton), and other hon. gentlemen opposite, that as a matter of legislative policy it is improper for this House to take upon itself the investigation and adjudication of any matter which has by the laws of the country been assigned to the courts for investigation and adjudication. Now, Sir, the hon. member for Kingston is a good lawyer. I never said before the committee, as he suggests I did, that hon. gentlemen had no brains. In charging me with having made that statement the hon. gentleman is entirely mistaken. I did not say that he had no brains. On the contrary, I said he is a gentleman of weighty brain. But I will call the hon. gentleman's attention to this fact, that in the reign of Queen Anne, the sale of public offices was made punishable by statute of the realm of Great Britain. That law was continued and forms part and parcel of our common law ; and when my hon. friend for Northumberland (Mr. Cochrane) was hounded before this House a few years ago by hon. gentlemen opposite on the charge of having endeavoured to sell offices in his constituency, was there a word uttered by any of those gentlemen suggesting that it was unconstitutional for the House to investigate the charge, and that it should be investigated before the courts ? Again, in the case of Mr. Baird, the member for Queen's County, N.B., which was brought before the House, what is the course of the gentlemen whose successors now occupy the Treasury benches ? Why, Sir, they took an entirely different course from that they follow now. The late member for the city of St. John, Mr. Weldon moved that the returning officer of Queen's County be brought before the Bar of this House to answer for the irregularities which had taken place in the election. He was brought before the Bar of

this House, interrogated, and subjected to a strict cross-examination. Did the friends of hon. gentlemen opposite say that that case should be relegated to the courts of the country, and inquired into there, or that this parliament had divested itself of its inherent jurisdiction over such a matter ? No. They introduced a resolution, based on the examination of Mr. Dunn, the returning officer, to seat Mr. King, now Senator King, in place of Mr. Baird. What did the government of that day do ? Sir John Thompson did not use his majority to vote down the resolution ; but he moved as an amendment that the whole matter be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and that course was adopted consonant with the unanimous view of both sides of the House. While opinions differed as to the policy of the House seating and unseating members, there was a perfect consensus of opinion on the part of all gentlemen of parliamentary experience that the proper course to pursue was to refer the matter to the Committee on Privileges and Elections for investigation, that the country might have the full facts, although this House disapproved of exercising its power to instal one man in the place of the other.

So far as the delay on the present occasion is concerned, the government, whose duty it was to strike the standing committees of this House, did not strike them until the 9th day of February. There was no committee to refer this matter to previously. That day was a Friday. The first day afterwards the House sat was Monday. My hon. friend from Halifax moved in this matter on Tuesday, the 13th, when he gave notice of his motion, and on the 14th he brought his motion forward. He was met by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) with a technical objection, which, if raised at all, should have been raised in the first instance last year. It was not raised until this occasion, and it was no doubt raised by an understanding with the government, if not by their direction. If my hon. friend for North Wellington had not raised that objection, my hon. friend from Halifax would have had this matter before the House on the very first day on which, according to parliamentary procedure, it could have been brought before the House after the committee was struck to which alone it could be referred. Rightly or wrongly, it was burked by a technicality. Then the notice was put upon the Motion paper, and the matter came up last night. What was the course of hon. gentlemen opposite then ? What was the course of their leader, for whom they are responsible ? Did he say, I am anxious to expedite this matter, I am anxious to have my party cleansed, I am anxious to have parliament and public life purified, I am anxious the people should have the facts, I am anxious to have that which is at the very basis of the constitution respected in

every constituency? No; he set himself to burk the inquiry by raising the objection that he wished to discuss the motion. What did he wish to discuss it for? What was a debate to be invoked for? A debate to be justifiable would simply have as its object the convincing of the House that the resolution was an undesirable one and should not pass; and, therefore, when my hon. friend from Halifax proposed to allow the motion to go without discussion, so that the matter should go before the Committee on Privileges and Elections without delay, the leader of the House rose and said virtually: 'This is a matter which we propose to debate. This motion should not pass. There is a serious phase of this question to which I call the attention of the hon. gentleman. If there are infringements of men's political and constitutional rights that are not protected by the laws of this country, when those sacred rights are disregarded, and are sought to be taken away by fraud, then I say that the matter is carried into a region outside of law, to a region of outlawry. Then it comes the inalienable right, I could almost say, the duty, of every man who values properly his rights and privileges to assert them by any means in his power—to protect himself against fraud by force. I would have, I confess, a great deal of sympathy for the right hon. gentleman in the stand he took when he declared on the floor of this House that had he been on the banks of the Saskatchewan he would have shouldered his musket in defence of the half-breeds if he believed their constitutional rights were violated, that the fundamental rights of the half-breeds in that section were denied by the government whose duty it was to protect them. If their rights were persistently ignored, and they were subjected to tyranny—without hope of remedy under the law—it would have been the duty of every man who had the proper sense of manhood in his breast to rise and aid with his musket right in its struggle with fraud and wrong.

I have no hesitation, as a member of the committee, in saying that the election in West Huron was stolen from the man who won it. I have no hesitation in saying that the majority of voters who polled their votes according to law did not say their representative was Mr. Holmes, who now sits here, but Mr. McLean, who remains at home, elected by the people but defeated by theft and fraud. If the information I have is correct—and I believe it is—the gentleman who was elected by the votes cast in the constituency of Brockville was ex-Speaker White. The hon. gentleman who sits for that constituency in this House occupies a seat procured, I did not mean by bribery and corrupt influences, but by theft. If the man who received the majority of votes deposited with the polling officers were sitting here, that gentleman would be the late Speaker

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of this parliament. Therefore, I say it behooves the hon. gentleman who leads this House, and whose heart I know beats in sympathy with constitutional right, to forward by every means in his power the investigation which will guarantee to the people that while they may sell their votes, which I think to a considerable extent is their own business, the honest voters of this country shall not have them stolen from them, and when they elect a man by their votes, that man should be the one who gets the seat in this House. But if that does not prevail and if outlawry has to be resorted to, to conquer outlawry, the man who uses force against fraud is perfectly justifiable in so doing, and that will be done no doubt in this country if these frauds are continued much longer. I have known of frauds being prevented simply by letting the people know that if these frauds were resorted to they would be met, if necessary, by force and the people's constitutional rights fully protected, if not by the government and laws of the country, at least by the muscle and brawny arms of outraged electors. There is no reason that can be urged why this investigation should not go on, and go on at once. This House has put itself on record, the right hon. First Minister is committed to it. What has taken place since the day last session when, with the true patriotic glow, he declared it his duty to grant this investigation? Nothing, Sir, but damaging disclosures—disclosures acknowledged on the other side as shocking the conscience of the country. In one case in West Huron twenty-four honest voters, who supposed that their ballots had been placed in the box for the candidate of their choice, were robbed of their ballots by the very returning officer who had sworn to protect them. That has been disclosed and a great deal more. Is it feared that in the case of Brockville, there will be a repetition of these disclosures or a bringing to light of worse and more extensive evils? The prevention of these disclosures is the only excuse that reasonably can be conjured up by my imagination for the course pursued by the right hon. gentleman.

Mr. W. H. BENNETT (East Simcoe). When a year ago the right hon. Premier announced in his place that there would be the fullest, frankest, and fairest investigation into this matter, the country took the right hon. gentleman at his word and gave him the credit of believing that he was quite willing a thorough investigation should be had. But since then many things have happened throughout Ontario and other parts of the Dominion which have rather changed the opinion of the right hon. gentleman and those behind him. They have been through Manitoba, and the slap they got in the face there they cannot easily forget. Then the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), smarting under the notice to

quit given him by his own province, does not wish to hear anything more, and as for the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), the defeat he met in Carleton County, N.B., is such, that he was thrown into a state of coma from which he is not easily awakened. Worse than that. Worse than the handwriting on the wall shown these hon. gentlemen is the disgraceful state of affairs in Ontario and the scandals in West Huron and Brockville, which show that the same scoundrels were at work there.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). You would not be here if scoundrels had not been the means of getting you elected.

Mr. BENNETT. Does the hon. Minister of Railways mean to insinuate that the seat I occupy was corruptly obtained? Let me tell him that his own Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) with a gang of pluggers was in my riding working to defeat me. Let me tell him that I have not taken the protection of these walls to make that charge against his hon. colleague, but I made the same charge against him—and I regret he is not now present—namely, that with one of the biggest pluggers in Ontario he invaded East Simcoe, and that with that same plugger, the hon. Postmaster General of this administration was endeavouring to steal away from me the seat I honestly obtained.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I must call the hon. gentleman to order.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Withdraw.

Mr. SPEAKER. The matter the hon. gentleman refers to is beside the question under discussion.

Mr. BENNETT. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals insinuated that I would not be here but for corrupt means.

Mr. SPEAKER. That is no justification for your attacking the hon. Postmaster General.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, if I cannot attack the Postmaster General and make that charge here I shall withdraw it, but I will do this. On every occasion when I again meet him outside, I will repeat the charge. In the *Globe* of the 14th February last, the charge that I made at the West Huron and Goderich nominations can be found in black and white, and the hon. gentleman and the man connected with him never dared to bring me into court.

The right hon. First Minister last year courted an investigation, and the investigation went on merrily for the first few days. The hon. Ministers of Railways and Canals and Marine and Fisheries were there, but I say to the credit of the Minister of Rail-

ways and Canals that he got so ashamed of the whole scheme after the first few days that he quit the committee altogether. I give him credit for that. But when the question was discussed here about the disclosures in the committee, complaints were made of the non-attendance of ministers, as the result of which the business of the committee had from time to time to be postponed.

I do not believe that the hon. member for North Wellington was inspired to make the objection he did. I believe the hon. member for North Wellington is afraid to have the matter go any further, because he knows something of what went on in West Huron. I saw him standing in the town of Goderich on that occasion in the same hotel with Cap Sullivan and the rest of them; and this Cap Sullivan, a man the criminal law has been reaching out after—

Mr. McMULLEN. Allow me to inform the hon. gentleman, and to state positively to this House, that I do not know such a person as Capt. Sullivan.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, if the hon. member for North Wellington does not know Cap Sullivan let me tell him this, and I will repeat the charge that I made here last year, that there are ministers that do know him, and he was closeted last year in one of the anterooms near the reading-room with one of them.

Mr. SPEAKER. I must call the hon. gentleman to order. He is going outside the subject of discussion.

Mr. BENNETT. I am simply endeavouring to deal with the parties who are mixed up with this matter, and who are, according to the evidence connected with it, and one of the leading spirits in the whole matter was this same Cap Sullivan. Now, Sir, at the outset it is plainly and broadly intimated that there is to be no investigation. The member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) at once insinuates and states boldly that it is an outrage to have an inquiry. Coming from the member for West Elgin, that is only natural. The member for West Elgin disdains the action of the government; he looks with thorough contempt upon their action in having an investigation at all. Doesn't he come from West Elgin, where they have had similar difficulties? Why, if the member for West Elgin, or rather those who have control of the election matters there, had had their way there would never have been a ballot to investigate; they would have been burned, the same as the West Elgin ballots were in the local election. The member for North Wellington spurns Cap Sullivan and those people. I can tell him some relatives of his own that are always to be found in these nefarious contests. I can tell the member for North Wellington that

in the late contest in West Elgin a ballot box there was kept away for two or three days, and it was thought that Mr. McDiarmid's election would be defeated, the first man from Toronto to arrive on the scene and interesting himself in the matter was a nephew of the member for North Wellington.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order. I must ask the hon. gentleman to confine his remarks to the question before the House. I think these personal matters are entirely below the standing of this House. It is very plain that if we wish to keep the standard of our debates in any reasonable position, we must avoid these personal references.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I think, Mr. Speaker, you have lost sight of the fact that this discussion would not have occurred at all if the proper course of having this motion passed last night when it was brought up, had been followed.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the leader of the opposition has no right to say that we departed from the regular order last evening.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I beg your pardon, Mr. Speaker, you are entirely mistaken. When the Chair very properly called attention to the fact that this discussion had taken an irrelevant channel, I called the attention of the Chair to the fact, as I had a right to do, that this discussion would not have occurred at all had not the right hon. Premier of this House obstructed—

The PRIME MINISTER. Order.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Had he allowed that motion to pass, the matter would have been dealt with in the ordinary way.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. gentleman has no right to use the word 'obstructed,' as applied to the action of the Prime Minister last evening.

The PRIME MINISTER. I beg permission to make a statement. I said at the outset of this debate that by far the best way was to adhere strictly to the rules of the House, otherwise we would be landed in difficulties. Last night, through courtesy, I allowed the Clerk to run through the Order paper in order to have these motions dealt with which called for the introduction of papers; that was allowed in courtesy to hon. gentlemen on the other side, and now it is made a point against me. It is another evidence of the way that hon. gentlemen opposite abuse the privileges which they receive from the government.

Mr. BENNETT. I bow to your ruling, Sir, but I ask you to bear this in mind.

Mr. BENNETT.

The hon. member for Kingston, as I understood him, resisted an inquiry into the Brockville case, and in support of his position he produced certain evidence which had been taken in the courts; and in view of evidence I submit, that when I am asking here for an investigation, I am within my rights in discussing men who have been proved in the courts guilty of the most heinous offences in these elections. That is a strong reason why there should be an inquiry of a most thorough and searching kind. Now, referring to the Brockville case, the hon. member for Kingston went into the evidence and, I presume, Mr. Speaker, as you permitted him to do so, I am within my rights if I refer to the Brockville case also. The member for Kingston knows that before no committee is there a scintilla of evidence yet as to the Brockville case. And the member for Kingston, who shows that he is conversant with this case, must know that since the Brockville election half a dozen blackguards who lived in that riding, and were connected with the election, have left the country and have not dared to come back to the town of Brockville, they are to-day outlaws; they are either unable or afraid to come back to Brockville for fear of the criminal law. I do not know whether the member for Kingston knows that or not.

Mr. BRITTON. No, I do not.

Mr. BENNETT. Then I can assure the hon. member that such is the case; and when that is the case it is an additional strong reason why there ought to be an inquiry into both these matters. Now, what is the position of the Premier on these cases? He knows well that throughout Ontario there is to-day a great demand for a searching inquiry into these matters. He knows that in the province of Ontario in the local elections the greatest distrust has been engendered with the respectable part of the community, not only by reason of the actions that have been going on, but by reason of the fact that the criminal law of Ontario has been paralyzed, that the strong arm of the Attorney General has gone up behind the offenders and prevented an inquiry into the crimes of the County Attorney's, who stood up and aided and abetted the defiance of the law and prevented the exposure of the crimes in those ridings. The Premier must know that, because it is no idle report, that in the city of Toronto Mr. Hardy was driven out of his position by reason of the fact that his footsteps were dogged day and night by these blackguards threatening exposures. When Mr. Hardy, the late Premier, was driven out of his position by reason of the fact that his footsteps were dogged day and night by these blackguards, threatening exposure, unless he came to their terms. Is it to be wondered at, in view of the disgrace-

ful disclosures made last year, which will be followed by worse disclosures made in the Brockville case if it is gone into, that the Premier and those behind him ask that the matter be delayed? The chief offender in this matter has been the Premier. I heard him with my own ears, ask that this motion should not pass on that day, but that it should be allowed to stand. It was not a motion for comment, except for the purpose of delaying and defeating it, and yet the Premier asked that it should stand. If hon. gentlemen opposite wish to show the people of Ontario, if they show the people of the whole Dominion that they are anxious to have a fair and honest investigation, this side of the House will take them at their word, and will let that investigation proceed. What is to be said of the hon. member for West Huron (Mr. Holmes)? Has he no rights in the premises? Standing here with positive proof sworn to, that stolen ballots aided in giving him his seat, surely hon. gentlemen, if they had any respect for the hon. member for West Huron, would insist that a full and fair inquiry be made. And when that inquiry is made in this and in the Brockville case, the outrages committed in West Egin will fade into insignificance by contrast.

Motion (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) agreed to.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY— THE ESTIMATES.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) presented a Message from His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. Speaker read the Message, as follows:

Minto.

The Governor General transmits to the House of Commons, Estimates of sums required for the service of the Dominion for the year ending June 30, 1900, and in accordance with the provisions of 'The British North America Act, 1867,' the Governor General recommends these Estimates to the House of Commons.

Government House,

Ottawa, February 27, 1900.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE moved:

That the Message of His Excellency and the Estimates be referred to the Committee of Supply.

Motion agreed to.

REPORTS.

Part 2 of the Report of the Auditor General for the year ending June 30, 1899.—(Mr. Fielding.)

Tables of the Trade and Navigation of the Dominion of Canada, for the year ending June 30, 1899.—(Mr. Paterson.)

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

AFTER RECESS.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ASH WEDNESDAY ADJOURNMENT.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright) moved:

That when the House adjourns this day, it will stand adjourned until Thursday next, the 1st of March.

Motion agreed to.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

The House resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding: That the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to consider certain proposed resolutions to provide for the payment of the expenditure incurred, or to be incurred, in sending contingents of Canadian volunteers to South Africa.

Mr. T. B. FLINT (Yarmouth). Mr. Speaker, I am extremely fortunate in resuming the discussion of this important resolution when Canada, when the mother country, when the world, is ringing with the deeds of British soldiers under British generals, and particularly when our own hearts are stirred with the praises honestly earned by our own brave Canadian lads. Sir, what a contrast there is between this moment in the history of this unfortunate struggle, and the day on which these resolutions were placed upon the Order paper of this House. Until a few days ago the British army was held near the banks of the Modder River, by a victorious force of the enemy. The city of Kimberley was besieged by another force hostile and threatening to overcome the small and determined garrison within its walls, and suffering and disease were rife amongst Englishmen and women in that beleaguered city. The garrison farther north was in dire straits also, and farther east the almost apparently doomed city of Ladysmith contained a British army which seemed almost hopeless of relief. To-day, what a brilliant contrast? Although, possibly, it may be only the beginning of a long and tedious struggle, or it may be the signal for the end, yet, at any rate the hours seem brighter. One of the largest forces of the hostile troops have been captured; their brave general is now in the hands of the British where he will receive every consideration which his position, his able management of the campaign, and his personal courage entitle him to. His army is broken, his ammunition and food are destroyed, and his forces are in the hands of the victorious British general. On the other theatre of war farther north, Kimberley has been relieved, trains are regularly supplying the

formerly beleaguered garrison with food. Farther north, Colonel Baden-Powell is daily and hourly driving the enemy farther away, and we are in hourly expectation of realizing that General Buller, with his brave men, who have suffered and fought and certainly deserve all our gratitude and praise, will have relieved the beleaguered force of General White at Ladysmith. And so, the discussion is resumed upon the large part that Canada is to play in this grand drama at the close of the nineteenth century. It almost seems as if, during the last two or three months, the British Empire has been passing through the very valley of the shadow of death. Surrounded on all sides by hostile powers, at any rate by hostile populations, with scarcely apparently any exception, with perhaps that of Italy, and some of the smaller European nations, without friends amongst the great nations of the earth, she had gone forth, 7,000 miles, to fight a most terrible series of conflicts in a country abounding with difficulties, with an enemy brave to the verge of desperation, armed and equipped with all that modern science and ingenuity can furnish an ample supply of fighting men, directed, we have reason to believe, by the most skilled military genius from the continent of Europe. With that true steadfastness of purpose, with that calm determination which has ever been characteristic of the British Empire, they have pressed forward in the face of disaster, in the face of difficulty, in the face of danger, and we have never had any doubt, at any rate, we have not now the least shadow of doubt that the result will be a great triumph for British arms, and more important than that, it will be a great and signal triumph for the principles of justice, liberty, equality and honesty in the administration of affairs for which we believe the British Empire, at any rate, during the last century, has stood the principal representative in this world. I remember an audience being once almost shocked, by the opening sentence of a lecture delivered by the distinguished American orator, Wendell Phillips, on the French Revolution. He began in a calm and unimpassioned way with the statement that probably the French Revolution was the greatest blessing which was ever conferred upon mankind. To a certain extent he did afterwards modify this idea by admitting all the temporary evils and ills which occurred during the course of that revolution. I think we can almost adopt his language and say, that although we are suffering keenly by the loss of the dear friends of some of us that although we are suffering keenly by the disasters which occurred to the British arms, yet, making allowance for all these necessary evils of war, I think those who have studied this question carefully and thoroughly from the British standpoint will be inclined to say, that notwith-

standing the suffering which may have been occasioned here and there and which always accompanies war, the struggle in the Transvaal may almost be considered as a blessing. I believe it is not only a righteous war, but that it was an inevitable war, that the British government had no other course open to itself than to undertake the struggle which has fallen to its lot. It is no use to trace the history of the events which led up to this unfortunate contest. They reach far back into the past; their ramifications are many, and all their indices pointed to conflict of this kind, owing to the character of the people of the Transvaal, to their determined and stubborn character, which, certainly in many respects, is most admirable, owing to the belief that they inherited from their childhood as to their being a sort of select and special people under the care of Divine Providence, owing to their thorough antagonism to all that is comprised in modern civilization, owing to their determined effort to keep themselves aloof not only from English civilization, but from all civilization whatsoever. When the fact was apparent that the country which they had selected for themselves was enormously rich in minerals, particularly in gold and diamonds, it became evident that this great conflict of civilization with barbarism, this great conflict of liberty with tyranny, must, in the near future, be fought out, and it passed from the menace of war and negotiation to the actual conflict of arms. If, notwithstanding the loss and expense and suffering that have been occasioned to Great Britain, the lesson will have been learned that she must always stand the advocate and friend of liberty, with her armour by her side thoroughly prepared for all the eventualities of war, then, the lesson will be a most valuable one indeed. If we look over the world, with the exception of one or two nations, not the most powerful in military affairs, not the most prosperous nations in the world, we find that she has very few friends amongst the great civilized powers of the world. Why this is so baffles our comprehension. Why a nation which has ever been for self-abnegation, why a nation which has had so much territory almost forced upon her, against her will, why a power which has stood for the open door in trade and commerce, which has ever stood for freedom, and for liberty in government and administration in her own colonies and territories, wherever they are scattered throughout the world, which has ever stood for the principles of civilization, which is the representative of all these amongst the nations of the world, should be so hated and despised by all these nations, it is difficult to understand. Probably there are reasons which an Englishman cannot understand, but so it is. We feel that as to our mother country and ourselves we are inextricably tied together in the

future, and we must rely upon no help from foreign powers but upon our good right arms and upon the justice of our cause.

There is ample evidence now that the statesmen at the head of affairs in the mother country who are responsible for entering into this conflict and for carrying it on were unfortunately unprepared for the serious issue which was brought about. We all know how for months and months, and almost for years previous to the 9th of October last, it was apparent to many that actual war must be the result of the diplomatic complications which then presented themselves. Yet in face of this, and with that calm assurance which so frequently characterizes the mother country, they assumed that they were equal to any emergency which might arise. We remember how the British nation rushed into the Crimean War, unprepared in men and material and arrangements of all kinds. We remember how, that after the discipline of these weary winter months, and these desperate conflicts in the Crimea, towards the end of the war, Great Britain appeared about to be getting ready for a long and doubtful struggle. So in the case of the Indian Mutiny. Although the signs were filling the heavens that a terrible mutiny was about to break out, we remember the calm confidence of the generals and officers of the British troops in India; we remember their confidence that nothing would occur and that if anything serious did occur, they could easily quell it with the forces at their disposal. We all recollect how terribly they were undeceived, and what a series of awful battles were necessary in order to re-establish British supremacy and British prestige throughout the Indian Empire. And so, Sir, the statesmen of Great Britain allowed themselves to drift into the Transvaal war without appreciating the dangers and difficulties with which they were confronted. Even so astute and so able and so thoughtful a man as Cecil Rhodes is reported to have stated: that the armed strength of the Boers was the greatest unpricked bubble in the world. This was his opinion, even within a few weeks of the desperate conflicts which were forced upon his fellow-countrymen. Lord Wolseley not many weeks before the actual outbreak of hostilities, spoke of the reports of Sir Wm. Butler who had been commander of the forces in South Africa for many years, and said that they were grossly exaggerated as to the strength of the Boers. I remember, within a few weeks of the war, reading of some eminent English officer arriving in London from South Africa; Sir Somebody with a string of titles after his name, signifying he had received awards from his sovereign for bravery; I wish his name would be embalmed in history, I have forgotten it; I remember that he who had been many

years in high office in South Africa, gave a long interview which was published in the press of both continents, and in the course of that interview he stated that 20,000 English soldiers would drive the Boers like sheep back to Pretoria inside of thirty days. If men like these, experienced in South Africa, underestimated the difficulties which were to be met with, and if their calm assurance of British ability and British preparedness was so great, how can we blame those officials who resided permanently in England for being deceived. It all goes to show what is perhaps one of the failures of our British character, a failure which we have often lamented, and which we are always willing to acknowledge, namely our proneness to underrate those who are opposed to us, and our disposition to put off to another day the necessary preparations for meeting the enemy. We all know that these imperfections are always redeemed. We all know that the stern lecture of necessity, the stern discipline of defeat and loss, rehabilitates and strengthens our character, and enables us after these disasters to recover the ground which we have lost.

If this war will have taught Britishers the world over that they are not to look for sympathy or aid from any foreign power; if it teaches them that they must rely upon themselves and upon their colonies for whatever of military or naval forces they may require; if it teaches them always to be prepared and adequately prepared for any foe that may undertake to limit the liberty and the freedom of the British people, then the lesson will not have been in vain. Sir, we come to the discussion of this question at none too early a period. The government of the day have been severely blamed by the leaders of the Conservative party for their alleged inaction in regard to the part Canada was to play in this great drama of war. I have listened carefully to some hon. gentlemen opposite who stated their objections to the course of the government. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), the hon. member for Toronto (Mr. Clarke), and others, all united in condemning the government of Canada for not having been first in the field to offer aid to the mother country in the crisis which confronted her. Differing from them as I do upon this fundamental question, I may venture to say that in the opinion of many, the attitude of the government was dignified, was worthy of Canadian statesmen, and was entirely in harmony with the importance and gravity of the occasion. In order that Canada might be first in the field we must bear in mind that offers of help should have come from Canada as far back as the middle of July of last year, long before any one would believe that war was at all likely

to arise out of the South African complication. I would put it to the intelligence and to the spirit of fairness of any hon. gentleman, if an offer of that kind at that time would not have been improper, undignified, and entirely uncalled for. There was no occasion whatever for a country occupying the position that Canada does in the British Empire, rushing fiercely and thoughtlessly into a war with which directly she had nothing whatever to do. The only possible motive by which this government should have been actuated, the only feeling by which the vast bulk of the people of Canada are actuated in this war, is, not so much that their assistance would be of such prime importance to Great Britain, but that it should be taken as a sign to the world at large that this great colony sympathized with the mother country, and was willing to assist her at any time that assistance was needed. I believe that ninety-nine hundredths of the people of this country are quite prepared, if the destinies of the British Empire require it, to vote the last man and the last dollar for that purpose. At the outset of the war no one believed that our assistance was at all vital; but it was a response to the yelpings and the barkings of the populations of foreign countries, who were denouncing England, and endeavouring to impress on the governments of their own countries, the desirability of intervening. Then the signal was flashed from Canada through the proper authorities, that our sympathies were with the mother country, and if necessary our material aid also. We are all, I believe, without distinction of party, intensely proud of the noble part that has been played by our young men on the veldt and among the hills and mountains of South Africa. The discipline they have suffered, and the lesson they have learned, will return to us a thousand-fold in confidence in ourselves and in determination that we shall endeavour to be worthy of the men who have so gallantly stood up for the flag. In view of the sacrifices and sufferings of our young men there, we ought to manage so that we can look them in the face when they return; and I think we cannot do so if, while they are suffering and laying down their lives for their country, under the blazing sun of Africa, we are here bickering, clamouring and denouncing each other as traitors to the British flag. I think the disposition to make political capital out of these occurrences is not in its essence loyalty, and is not treating our suffering sons and brothers worthily. Why is it that hon. gentlemen upon the opposite side of the House and the press which represents their views, bring this charge of disloyalty against a certain section or certain individuals of the people of Canada? The very fact that this charge is made and insisted upon and amplified and illustrated, proves conclusively, that they

believe in the loyalty of ninety-nine hundredths—nay, nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of our people; and it is only an effort to enhance their own loyalty in the minds of the loyal people of this country. If there were disloyalty in Canada, it would certainly be the duty of any one who discovered it, to point it out; but what are the facts which have been offered to us in proof that this spirit exists? The evidences are of the most paltry character. We cannot expect that every citizen of a free country can view matters of this kind in precisely the same light. There are many of our most able and intellectual men and women who think the war was unjustifiable. There are many who agree with some British statesmen that the war was unjust and unrighteous. Shall they not have the right to express their opinion freely and fully, and is there any disloyalty in their doing so? If Canada is to participate either to a small or to a great extent in the wars of the empire, certainly Canadians must have the right to discuss the merits of these wars? No one will contend that we are bound by any feeling of loyalty to the mother country to participate in an unjust war, a war of conquest or spoliation, a war that does not in any way affect British or Canadian interests. No one will contend that we ought to offer our treasure or our sons to support an unjust war. The question of the justice or injustice of a war must be a subject for open and fair discussion. Otherwise, when the wave of loyalty rises high, we shall find ourselves dragooned and precipitated almost unknowingly into transactions which the wisest and best could not advocate. Granted, then, that we should not be called on to assist in any unjust cause, and that the question of the justice or injustice of the cause is an essential part of our participation in these conflicts, then I contend that there is no disloyalty in any person arguing that the war is unjust or improper and that we should not enter into it. One of our hon. friends, in opposition to the action of the government, took the ground that the government should not have expended any money or have made any offer of material assistance to the mother country, without calling parliament and obtaining its sanction. No one has questioned the propriety of the stand he took, as a constitutional question. We contended, however, that under the circumstances, the consent—nay, the overwhelming wish—of the country was so plain and manifest that the strict letter of the constitution could be dispensed with. But ought we not to a certain extent to be grateful to those who, when we are headstrong, enthusiastic, excited—I am speaking more particularly of those who have been brought up, so to speak, in a British atmosphere—call attention to the provisions of the constitution which have been gained by so much care and suffering and

bloodshed in the past? The men who call attention to these are not enemies of the country; they are not traitors in any respect whatever. They are the truest friends of sound constitutional procedure and of the British government and British ideas. Another hon. gentleman who thought the government were precipitate, had ideas of his own, which were certainly open to discussion, as to the future destiny of Canada. He held, that the destiny of Canada was not to be bound up any more intimately with the affairs of the British Empire, particularly in matters of war and matters pertaining to the dealings of the empire with outside powers, but that our true interest lay in looking towards an independent future of our own. This is an attitude which many of the most loyal and devoted Canadians have held for many years. It is certainly not unattractive. It is not without grand vistas to think that Canada should at some future time be a nation in the world, with its own foreign representatives, no longer a dependency, but an ally, of the mother country, standing side by side with her, equal in majesty and sovereignty. Whatever be our notion as to the present propriety of such an advocacy, no one can deny that the ideal is grand and the conception magnificent, and it does not involve any disloyalty or treason to the British Empire. But, Sir, differing from these gentlemen, I think that this was not the proper time to enumerate or formulate those ideas. But I can thoroughly understand that one who does take advantage of this opportunity to call attention to the future destiny of Canada is doing a service to his country for which we ought to be grateful.

Is the course we are taking to be confined to a mere participation of Canada in the South African war? The passage of the resolution to which I am now addressing myself is a turning point in Canadian and British history and deserves to be treated with calm consideration and its causes and consequences looked fairly in the face. Are we in any danger, Sir, of taking to a certain extent a similar position to that which the governing classes in the mother country have taken, namely, of entering suddenly and unpreparedly upon a new course and a new policy fraught with vast consequences, perhaps undreamed of by the wisest of us. And should we not, when we face a contingency of this kind, look upon it as a question of large policy and look to the future, not in the attitude of enthusiastic children, jumping into some unknown fairyland, but of statesmen working out the future destinies of a great country and a great and prosperous people. The question then arises: Is the Dominion of Canada, from this time forward, to take part in all the wars in which the British Empire may necessarily be engaged? If so, to what extent is she to participate in these conflicts? And if she is to participate in them what

provisions are we making for giving the empire our military and financial assistance? All these questions deserve an answer, and those who call attention to the difficulties of the case and the magnitude and importance of the issue, are not doing a disservice but a great service to the people of this country and the empire at large. I think that it is the duty of responsible statesmen on both sides to get together, or at any rate to formulate their views upon the vast and far-reaching issues which may arise from the action Canada has taken and arrange for some programme which all the people of all political parties in this country can support. In the first place if we are to participate in British wars, we must adjust our revenue, our military administration, and our internal administration to the new conditions, for if we allow ourselves to be swamped by the wave of patriotic enthusiasm, which is so easily aroused, into a course of this kind, without due and careful provision as to the future, we may find ourselves in difficulties which we did not foresee.

During the course of this debate we had a speech from the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), to whom it is always interesting to listen, who, although he may be unfair and savage at times, yet displays a certain picturesqueness which is not uninteresting. He certainly is very reckless, but this very recklessness itself has a certain charm which perhaps otherwise the hon. gentleman would lack. The hon. gentleman said that all this talk about the necessity of calling parliament was moonshine, that the Militia Act gave ample power and authority to the government to call out all the forces of Canada and put them into the field, and that it was utter nonsense, from a constitutional and legal standpoint, to invoke a supposed constitution in opposition to this Act. Of course, my hon. friend is not a lawyer, and like those who are not lawyers can take liberties with statutes and the constitution which men of the legal profession do not feel prepared to take, because they do not enjoy the advantage which my hon. friend enjoys of replying, when brought to task, for their errors and inconsistencies, that they are not constitutional lawyers, and leave that to their legal friends. I was somewhat amused by the attitude of the hon. member for West York—an attitude which no doubt would appeal to many people throughout Canada as not unreasonable—because he left parliament out of sight altogether. It would appear prima facie, from the Militia Act, that the government has the power the hon. gentleman claims they have, and that it was under no necessity to call parliament together to supply the funds for fitting out any contingent for service abroad, and, therefore, the hon. gentleman quoted with great unction certain clauses in this Act. He quoted the clause which provides

that the officer commanding any military district or division or any active corps of militia may, in any emergency, such as war, invasion, or insurrection, call out the militia under his command. He also quoted the clause which gives Her Majesty power in certain circumstances to call out the militia, supply them with arms, and put them in the field. But I would call his attention to the fact that every statute provides that various officers of the government may do various things. For instance, the power is given the Minister of Public Works to build public works in numerous places. The power is given the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to establish lighthouses and carry on all the business of his department. And so with other officers. The statutes give them ample power to do all these things, but they cannot do any of them unless parliament votes the money. And there is not one line of the constitution or of any statute which dispenses with the power of parliament over the purse. I need hardly call the attention of hon. members, not only to the fundamental law or constitutional idea of the power of parliament, but to the statute known as the Audit Act, which is appealed to every session of this House as the only authority the government or any officer of the government, has for drawing money from the public exchequer. The only authority under which the government could draw any money to meet the necessary expenses in anticipation of this vote is the Audit Act, and not any provisions of the Militia Act or any other. This I contend wholly disposes of the contention of the hon. member for West York or those who think with him that the Militia Act gives power to the government to draw one cent from the treasury, although it gives the government power to call out the militia in certain eventualities.

Mr. SPROULE. If the hon. gentleman's reasoning is correct, then the government had no authority to do what they did.

Mr. FLINT. Certainly not. The only authority they had was the presumed consent of the people and their assumption that parliament would indemnify them.

Mr. SPROULE. Why did they not assume that earlier?

Mr. FLINT. I shall not dwell upon the other point on which considerable stress is laid by a few of my hon. friends opposite, because it has ceased to be of any practical importance. I refer to the point as to whether Canada ought to have offered to pay all the expenses of the contingents throughout the war or to have accepted the status as laid down by the mother country. That point, although it was deemed by our hon. friends opposite a good ground of cleavage

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to take with the administration, has practically passed out of the political arena.

We have heard during this discussion too much about French Canadian sentiment and French Canadian attitude with regard to the action taken by the administration. I think that every hon. gentleman who understands clearly the situation must appreciate the situation which our French Canadian representatives occupy in this very delicate matter. It would be perfectly absurd to expect that those whose nationality, whose literary history, identifies them with French history can feel exactly the same in a matter of this kind as their English, Scotch, and Irish fellow-citizens. Their point of view is different; and, while there is no question, and I believe there is, at this moment, no pretense of question, as to their thorough and hearty loyalty to British institutions and the British flag, yet we cannot expect that they will feel the same thrill of anxiety, the same thrill of enthusiasm, over a foreign war in which our mother country is engaged as do we of British nationality. And, though, a minority among the English population, their teachers have educated them—and not only their educators in Canada, but those in old France from the time of Montesquieu down—to believe in the beauty and strength of the British constitution. There is a large school in France of the ablest and best thought which pins its faith to the essential principles of the British constitution. Our French fellow-citizens have been trained in these doctrines; and, if when we are carried away with enthusiasm, they check us and recall us to the principles of that constitution which we are only too anxious to cling to, I think we should feel proud of and satisfied with the attitude they assume. I for one have no word of censure, but, have an entirely opposite feeling in regard to them when they appeal to that constitution which we all so deeply revere and would so greatly admire. But, Sir, if that feeling exists—a natural and laudable feeling—and if that feeling has been incidentally attacked by hon. gentlemen opposite, I would call the attention of those hon. gentlemen to the fact that it is the feeling, at this moment, of gentlemen of both parties among our French Canadian fellow subjects. It has ceased and must cease to be a line of cleavage between the Conservative and Liberal parties in this country, when we find that the Conservative element of French Canada take precisely the same view of this subject as do the Liberal element. I need hardly call attention to the very excellent speech of the hon. member for Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin) which will be found in *Hansard*, and which will repay perusal. I do not know the hon. gentleman personally, but I understand that he is a gentleman of high standing in

the province of Quebec; and certainly his utterances upon this subject are well worthy of perusal. He takes precisely the same ground as my hon. friend from Laprairie (Mr. Monet), and my hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) have taken. But, while there is not one word of censure for the hon. member for Terrebonne, no language of denunciation, insinuation or censure seems to be too strong for my hon. friends from Laprairie and Labelle. If we have learned properly the lesson of the British constitution, we must understand that large room must be allowed for difference of opinion upon constitutional questions and constitutional procedure before the undeserved taunt of treason or disloyalty is hurled across the floor of this House. I cannot conceive a word more distasteful to an hon. member of this House; I cannot conceive of any epithet more painful as applied to a citizen of this country, than that of traitor or disloyal man. We should be cautious before such taunts as this are hurled across the floor of this Chamber or used in the press in regard to any important section of our fellow-citizens. The Liberal party has gone through this conflict before. We know that for many years the stock in trade of hon. gentlemen opposite was the essential disloyalty of the whole Liberal party; and to such an extent had these denunciations gone, with such persistence had they been sustained through the press and public speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite, that the mother country had been imbued with the idea that the great Liberal party was hostile to British institutions and disloyal to the British flag, and was prepared, at any moment, to hand this country over to a foreign power. It was a matter of astonishment to the British people, to find that, when the Liberal party, was entrusted with power, that every element which went to show the most thorough devotion to British interests and British unity and British ideas was present in the Liberal government of Canada. We all remember the wave of enthusiasm created in the mother country by the presence and the eloquence of the right hon. gentleman who leads the Liberal administration. We all recollect the passionate feeling of regard expressed for Canada and Canadians when the tariff of my hon. friend the Minister of Finance was announced to the world. And we have felt that regard to-day, with our hearts beating more rapidly, when we heard the telegram from the mother country of congratulation upon the action of the brave and loyal Canadians who had fallen in South Africa fighting under the British flag. Never in the history of the British Empire did Canada stand so near to the heart of the mother country, so near to the heart of all her fellow colonists throughout the universe, as at this hour. Can it

be just or fair that any speaker, for any purpose whatever, should undertake to dim the impression of that loyalty and the impression of that devotion by charges of treason or disloyalty against any hon. gentleman or against any political party within the walls of this House? Sir, unfortunately, there have been those outside of this Chamber who have used language which is scarcely short of criminal in this connection. We have seen quotations from the press and other quotations even from clergymen in the pulpit who have hurled the taunts against members of the administration and large classes of people which only required repetition to show their utter falsity and as well as their utter absurdity. I trust that from the hour when these terrible losses have been announced to us, when the union of hearts between the colonies and the mother country has been cemented by the blood of our loyal sons and brothers, these insinuations will be heard no more. What are the conclusions which I attempt to deduce from the few and imperfect observations I have made? In the first place, I think it is apparent that Canada is thoroughly and heartily interested in the progress of British ideas of government throughout the world, and that it is as students of that progress, and as well-wishers of the continuation and expansion of those principles that we have taken side with the mother country in this war. The Boer republic, whatever may be its good qualities, certainly was intolerant in its treatment, not only of Englishmen, but of all those within their borders who were outside their own narrow creed or their own peculiar race. The Boer has many excellent qualities, but intolerance is unfortunately one of his great characteristics. Although, as a result of error after error, and blunder after blunder, peace was once made with the Boer on the strict understanding that equality of rights should exist between the foreigners and the Dutch men within those republics, yet, inch by inch, they were robbed of those rights and equalities, until at last patience ceased to be a virtue, and diplomatic as well as other pressure was brought to bear upon the Boers in order to compel them to give the rights which they had pledged their word to give. The Boer republic was not a republic except in name. We now know that it was an oligarchy pure and simple, that the average Boer farmer had very little control over the administration of his own affairs; that a narrow, brutal, cruel and corrupt clique at Pretoria governed the affairs of the Transvaal; that the foreigners who had built up the prosperity of that country were, under the name of taxation, most outrageously robbed; and that no fair and honest account was ever given to the people of the Transvaal of the expenditure of the enormous revenues which were

wrung out of the people who had conducted its enterprises. Otherwise how could we have seen the expenditure for ammunition and arms, which must at least have cost twenty or thirty million pounds, and which must have been smuggled through the accounts which were submitted from time to time to the assembly of the Boer republic? There can be no doubt in the minds of any fair observer that the intention of the managers of this enormous fund, playing upon the national characteristics and ideas of the Dutch people, combined with their friends in the colonies to the south, was to drive British power from South Africa. I ask any hon. gentleman who is inclined to sympathize with the Boers in this struggle, to contemplate for one moment the condition of things we would have seen in South Africa if their well laid schemes had been successful; and that they might have been successful in case the mother country was involved in war with a first class power, no one can for a moment doubt. Suppose Cape Colony and Natal had been overrun by these warlike people with the machinery they had at their command in national and race feeling, and in the use of spoils they had wrung from the Uitlanders, we would have seen there a tyranny such as the world has not seen since the days before the French revolution; we would have seen all British and all foreigners driven entirely from any participation in the civil administration or in the government of the country; we would have seen in the world a new and powerful nation ready to take the part of Britain's enemies in any complications in which she might have been engaged. That this danger is likely to be removed is owing to the devotion of the British government and the British people and their determination that at all hazards, and no matter at what sacrifice, these pretensions must be overthrown.

The lesson, then, we are to learn from all this is that we should stand under all circumstances by the principles of the British constitution as interpreted in our own country to-day. We should always keep open every avenue of political preferment to all creeds and classes in our Dominion, absolute free speech and free thought should be conceded, and we should be prepared with our means to stand by the British Empire in any war in which she may be engaged which we deem to be honourable and just. In order that we may be able to decide as a nation whether these wars are honourable and just, there should be absolute freedom of thought and speech, and full discussion of all the issues in any conflicts that may arise. It is time that the government of the day, and the opposition of the day, should think out the problem of where we stand. If we are going to adopt this new attitude, and I do not say it is an improper one, we should make provision for

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the future at home. How do we stand from a military standpoint? I think the country has every reason to be proud and satisfied with the action of our militia department. The utmost bitterness of opposition, the utmost violence of attack, has so far not reached or attempted to reach the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden). I think he has received nothing but praise for the smooth and efficient manner in which the department over which he presides has carried out all the details preparatory to the sending of these contingents. Certainly it must be gratifying to hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House that so far as the machinery is concerned, as respects the handling of the men and forwarding them to the point where their services may be required, this machinery has worked smoothly. But I will not anticipate the debate that may take place when the militia estimates come forward. I think, however, it is time to consider in what position we stand as a military power. I would not be just to myself if I did not say that the estimates which this resolution provides for are by no means the full estimates which we may have to vote before this parliament closes, in regard to the South African war. We are asked for two millions now, it is possible we may require two millions more, because whatever may be the issue of the war, I believe that we are going to stand nobly by the men whom we have sent forward, and the families of the men who may suffer by this war. We are to give them heaping and overflowing gratitude for the services that they have rendered to Canada and to the mother country, and we must provide amply for this. I believe our sense of gratitude must lead us to enshrine in some noble monument in this country the memory of our friends who have gone from us and many of whom will never return. I believe there must be no stint in the expression of our gratitude to those who have made this great sacrifice to express the loyalty and devotion of this country to the flag which must float over us if we are to sustain our place among the nations of the earth. I shall vote heartily for these resolutions, and I think the discussion of them, although some unpleasant things may have been said, will do this country a vast amount of good. I think it lifts our minds from many of the small points which engage our attention in political warfare, and lifts us to a higher sphere of thought. It will help us to realize the privileges that we enjoy as part of the British Empire, and confirm in us the determination nobly to support the part which Providence has called upon us to sustain in our relation to that empire.

Mr. A. BRODER (Dundas). As the motion before the House commits this country to a new departure, I do not wish to give a silent vote, particularly as repre-

senting a county which, irrespective of class, or creed, or politics, is very enthusiastic as to the duty of the government in doing what they are doing now, and would even support them in going further. I may take this occasion of saying that the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat has performed his part well. In the first place he apologized for his leader, he next apologized for the slowness with which the government seized the opportunity which was presented to it of doing its part in this great drama of the British Empire. And, Sir, he has apologized with a good deal of ingenuity for hon. gentlemen on his own side of the House who are at variance with their friends in reference to the subject matter of the question before the House to-night. It occurred to me that these hon. gentlemen who have seen fit to differ from their friends were only following out the lines which had been laid down in years past by their leaders in the province of Quebec, and that they are the consistent ones, instead of the leaders. I wish to say further that while I dissent entirely from the views expressed by the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet), and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), that the hon. member for Labelle went up to the hill a bigger man than he came down the hill, and that in the eye of public opinion he is a much smaller man in the public life of Canada than he ever was before. As for the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville, who says that he is not willing to spend one dollar or to sacrifice one man in the interest of the empire, only for commercial purposes, he stands on a very low ground as a public man in Canada to-night. I make that statement for the reason that Canada is looking to strengthen her commercial ties with every country in the world. So that every country in the world, the most remote island, outside of British rule, is just as dear to his heart as any part of the British Empire if his argument meant anything. It is the business of any business government, particularly of the business government we have before us to-night, to strengthen the commercial ties. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Flint) who has just sat down, took great credit for the position this country now occupies in reference to the British Empire, and some of the reasons which he gave, took away all the credit from his side of the House. In the first place, man after man has got up on that side of the House and charged the Conservative press and party with driving the right hon. leader of the government into the position which he occupies to-night. Then, the Conservative party deserve the credit, not the hon. gentlemen opposite.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. BRODER. We are willing to take all the responsibility. Hon. gentlemen on the

other side of the House are not willing to take that responsibility, because one gentleman after another has stood up in his place and spoken on this subject, without saying on which side he was. You can read *Hansard* without finding how they stand on this question. The hon. gentleman also took credit for touching the great English heart when the government brought down their tariff. What did it mean? Did it mean that England was to get a preference? No, Sir, it meant that every country under the sun, which complied with certain conditions, was to have the preference. That is the way that they touched the great English heart. Why, hon. gentlemen were driven into that position to get out of a worse position. They were driven to give England a preference because other countries were forcing them by treaties with England to give them a preference. Hon. gentlemen can turn up the orders in council if they wish, to go over to the Department of the Secretary of State and find them. I want to say further that there is no man who can say that the people as a whole are not loyal in their sentiments. There are hon. gentlemen representing the French Canadian people in this House, and there is no man, irrespective of the country he may have come from, when he recalls the lessons of history, but who should be proud of the position that the French Canadian people took when an effort was made to induce them, shortly after the French flag left our shores, to go over and unite their fortunes with those of the colonies across the line. They remained true and firm to British institutions, and hon. gentlemen opposite had a right to be proud of the position occupied by the French Canadian people. We want to keep the continuity of that history, but if we follow the course pursued by the hon. member for Labelle, or the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville, we will break the continuity of that history, and this House does not want its continuity broken.

Mr. MONET. How about your colleague, the hon. member for Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin).

Mr. BRODER. I am taking you at your word. The government gave way to public opinion, but they gave way to public opinion after attempting to form public opinion. The statement made on the 3rd of October by the right hon. leader of the government as to the constitutional position he was in and published to the world in the *Toronto Globe*, was an effort to form public opinion averse to the movement which has taken place. The hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) was trying to form public opinion in the province of Quebec, averse to any movement such as that which has happened. The hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) can put a whole empire on a postage stamp, but he could not raise his voice

to keep that map intact. Not one of these hon. gentlemen interfered with the attempt to form public opinion averse to this movement. Instead they were silent. At last it began to dawn upon them that public opinion was against them, that public opinion was rising up in this country, that this country should stand in the position in which other colonies were proposing to stand. This is not a question of participating in England's wars; it is a colonial question, because the supremacy of England in her colonies is in jeopardy, and the colonies stand up and say that they shall be continued under British rule. It is not an English war, it is a colonial war, and every colony in the British Empire is interested in the outcome of the war. The liberty of the subject of the British Empire is the great underlying principle of British rule, and if any British subject in South Africa is deprived of his rights, it is for the colonies throughout the realm to unite and insist that British citizens shall have their rights. I am not here to say that this man or that man is disloyal, but, I cannot understand the position taken by the right hon. Prime Minister, when he says, in Sherbrooke, Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen can be enthusiastic in their loyalty, but that the Frenchman is enthusiastic from a sense of duty. I could understand that if there was a war between France and England, but I cannot understand it, when there is no war between France and England. I think that the right hon. gentleman is not fair to his people when he makes that statement broadcast through the world. He is not fair to the French people of the province of Quebec. I cannot understand why French Canadian loyalty in this case should not be more enthusiastic than that of the Irishman, the Englishman or the Scotchman, because President Kruger would not allow even a Roman Catholic clergyman to perform the last sad rites to the dead belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. They were refused the right to go and bury their dead, because they were Catholics. I cannot understand the Frenchman, or the Roman Catholics not being enthusiastic in reference to the success of England. She is fighting for liberty irrespective of class or creed in South Africa. The hon. Minister of Public Works, I am sorry to say, is not in his seat. If the ministers were soldiers and were out of their trenches as much as they are out of this House, they would be killed. You can scarcely find any minister in his seat. The hon. Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henry Joly de Lotbinière) is not here; the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) is not here; the right hon. leader of the government, is not here, and the minister who looks after the balances in this country, is not here. The gentleman who is supposed to deal out justice in this country, is not here.

Mr. BRODER.

An hon. MEMBER. Where are the Tappers and Fosters?

Mr. BRODER. The hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) is not here. Yet, this is a momentous question. When matters that are stirring the whole British Empire to its centre are being discussed and disposed of in this House, the ministers of the Crown are not here. Well, I am here, and I want to say that the Hon. Mr. Tarte is beginning to talk about the Irishmen of Canada now. He has been talking about the Frenchmen for the last four years. He begins to think that the French string of his political fiddle is about worn out (he is about right), and that the Frenchmen are not going to dance to his music any longer. And now Mr. Tarte wants to take a string off the Irish harp and hitch it on to his political fiddle. Well, Sir, there will be no harmony in that instrument, and I do not think he can get much music out of it. I cannot understand why the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) should make this insulting reference to the Irish people. I am the son of an Irishman, and I am not sorry for it. The minister (Mr. Tarte) was referring to our friend here from Kent (Mr. McInerney) who spoke on the question, and who spoke well, and no doubt the minister was sorry for that. Here is what he (Mr. Tarte) said:

When I see an Englishman loyal to Canada, I quite understand that; when I meet a French Canadian loyal to England, I quite understand that; we have our liberties.

I want to show the logic of his statement, Mr. Speaker, There is mischief underlying the words of the Minister of Public Works, and the import of his statement here, has not, I think, dawned upon every one in this House. He says that the Frenchmen are loyal because they have their liberty. Their liberty, mark you. And he continues:

But when I hear an Irishman assert himself as more loyal than the Queen, I say there is something wrong in his heart.

Why, Mr. Speaker. Has not an Irishman his liberties in this country? Does he mean that an Irishman in Canada has not his liberties? That must be his conclusion.

Mr. POPE. That is what he meant.

Mr. BRODER. I say, Mr. Speaker, that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is endeavouring to make political and party use of the mere fact that an Irish Canadian spoke loyally of the British institutions of his country in this House. Sir, no man can to-day look at the poor Irish Fusiliers depleted in their numbers from 800 to 200, and talk about Irishmen not being loyal. No man can to-day look at the interests of the British Empire, centred on the movements of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, both Irishmen, without realizing that the slur thrown out upon Irishmen by the Minister

of Public Works, ought to be resented by every Irishman as well as by every honourable man.

Now, Sir, I want to talk a little more about this question. Mr. Tarte was good enough to say up in Toronto, that when the war became a serious thing he was willing to help the motherland. Let me ask him: When did it cease to be serious? When did it commence to be serious? When the parliament of Great Britain voted £5,000,000 and when the Queen sent 50,000 soldiers to South Africa (as many British soldiers as there were in the field at the battle of Waterloo) were they only doing it hippantly and for fun? Oh, yes, the seriousness of the English people is nothing at all compared with the seriousness of the Minister of Public Works. It occurs to me that if that hon. gentleman's contention meant anything at all, then the more serious the war became, the stronger his contention against sending help would be, because he says that we have no right to participate in the wars of England. His ground was: No sacrifice to be made without representation. Then, Sir, the more serious it was and the more we were called upon to sacrifice, the stronger his objection to help England would be. If he had been logical that would be his contention. But, Sir, he only wished to blind the eyes of the public of this country when he made that statement. Sir, the war was serious from the start, and it was so serious that English statesmen did their best to endeavour to avert the war. I want to say that the language of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is perhaps more serious in itself than hon. gentlemen think of. I want to say here, that the position we have assumed is more important than perhaps some people realize. The moment we participated in this great achievement it taught the men across the line who have seen fit to talk of us as not being true to England; it taught any nation that thinks Canada is not true to the empire; it taught them that Canada is true to Britain, even to the sacrifice of the lives of her brave sons. Sir, the action we have taken in the South African war will for ever shut the mouths of the men who say that Canada is not loyal to the empire, and that of itself means a great deal in the interests of this country. I have already stated that this is a war of colonial interests, and I say further, that the man who stands up here and says he is not willing to make some sacrifices for the empire, does not appreciate the full meaning of the fact that this week the British parliament voted £145,000,000 for the British navy. What does that mean? Sir, that means safety to the colonies of the empire.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BRODER. Not one dollar of that is needed for the protection of England's

shores, so to speak, but it is to show the world that not one foot of British territory under British rule in any part of this wide world, shall be touched by a foreign foe with impunity. Hon. gentlemen opposite have got to grow larger and bigger and wider than mere provincial politics if we are going to govern this country. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has got to get over the little wall he has built around himself in the province of Quebec. They have got to get bigger men to lead their party, and they have bigger men than he is, and they ought to put them in public life. We are told that now they propose to send Mr. Tarte away, or that he is going away. If you read the Scriptures you will find that in ancient times there used to be cities of refuge and I think the Minister of Public Works is starting for a city of refuge, to wit, Paris. They want to get rid of him and so they send him to the city of refuge. Well, Sir, if we are to send a Frenchman to the Paris exhibition (and no man would be more willing than I to have Canada represented by a Frenchman there) let them send a good one; let them send a representative Frenchman; let them send a Frenchman who will be a credit to his country, and who will represent her as she ought to be represented at the Paris exhibition. That is what I say.

I may say, Sir, that I look upon the seriousness of this war in a graver light than does the Minister of Public Works. There, was England surrounded by hostile Europe. You could look all around the horizon of Europe and there you found pointed on England unfriendly guns, backed up by an unfriendly populace. It was not a war confined to the bounds of South Africa; it was a war necessary for England's supremacy in the future; a war that every Canadian ought to be willing to participate in. The supremacy of England was in the balance, and her supremacy must be maintained. I say here to-night, that England, by showing to the world her capability of dealing with this crisis in the interest of the empire, is fighting the battle of every British subject, no matter in what part of the world you may find him. The government of the day in Canada were out of touch with the spirit of this British Empire, and it is a good thing they were driven into line. It is not unique in one sense that we are doing what we are doing in Canada. Every British colony had offered aid to the mother country before we did. Then, Sir, if we are making a mistake, we are not making that mistake alone, for every other colony is doing what Canada did at the last moment. Canada follows along behind the other colonies—led by its government shall I say; no, but its government driven by public opinion to take action. They had no time to prepare for war, and I will give you some reasons why they had

no time. We want to excuse these gentlemen if there is any chance at all. They were getting ready for a war of the ballot, if you please—a great political war; and they got out 'Political Pointers No. 1.' I am going to call it by another name, and I hope the Minister of Trade and Commerce will allow me to be foster father while I christen his child. I am going to call it the apologetic thesis which the hon. gentleman issued in Toronto on the 24th of August, 1899. It was an apology from one end to the other for the doings, or rather the misdoings, of his friends, and it was so different from what the hon. gentleman had been telling the people of this country for twenty years, that in order that the people might not be mistaken as to who made this apology, they put the hon. gentleman's portrait upon it.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). You had better read it and learn something.

Mr. BRODER. There is another minister gone out. They were loading their Long Toms and their big guns with something else. Then, Sir, when we come down a little later, we find the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher)—I do not suppose he is a fighting man, but he was down around Sherbrooke with his little agricultural spade digging trenches. Let us look at him a minute. Here is Caesar's image and superscription on this document, for the Minister of Agriculture franked it. I am showing why these gentlemen did not want war. The title here is 'The Laurier Government and the Conservatives.' This is the kind of material they were shooting at the people down in Quebec. They intended to have a pitched battle some time last January, but public opinion drove them out of their trenches, and the dear knows when they will get back into them. Now, I want to show you the kind of statements these hon. gentlemen will send out when they do not expect to be caught or answered. On the 4th page of this pamphlet, under the head, 'Tory Tariff and Liberal Tariff,' we find it stated that binders under the Tory tariff had to pay 35 per cent and under the Reform tariff 25 per cent. What does the Minister of Customs (Mr. Pater-son) think of that? He was down there endorsing this pamphlet. Does not any hon. gentleman know, who is honest enough to state the fact, that in 1894 the tariff on binders was put at 20 per cent by the Conservative government, and that it is 20 per cent to-day. This is only a sample of what this book contains, and this is the kind of war these hon. gentlemen were proposing to wage in this country. But public opinion, led by the Conservative press, I am glad to say, drove them out of that position in the interests of this country, and every man in this

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country, no matter what his nationality may be, must admit that Canada would have made the mistake of her history if she had failed to participate with the other colonies in South Africa. And, Sir, it is well that Canada did not make that mistake. No man can look at this great empire, its possibilities, and its potentialities for good in the world, without seeing that Canada must assume her proper place in that great drama which the British Empire is to play in the future; and every man must feel that while England's heart throbs for Canada and for the other colonies which are fighting on her behalf in South Africa, we are cementing the empire with a responsibility that it can never, so long as history lasts, get away from. England must stand by her colonies; that is the policy of the public men of England to-day. A few years ago there were small, narrow English statesmen who took up the role which the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) takes up in the Dominion of Canada, and who were trying to get away from the responsibility of empire; but honest public opinion in England opposed them. England has gone on not only in the interest of the English people, but in the interest of the whole human race; and every Canadian, whether French, English, Scotch or Irish, must feel that Canada, standing where she does to-day, and making sacrifices if need be, is doing a duty which will never be forgotten by the English-speaking people of the world.

Mr. FIRMAN McCLURE (Colchester). Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Broder) opened his remarks by saying that my hon. friend from Yarmouth (Mr. Flint) had begun by apologizing for his leader. I think it is to be regretted that the hon. gentleman or somebody else on the other side of the House has not been found ready to apologize for their leader, because of the position he has taken in reference to this question—not the position he has taken in this House, but the position he took in the country before he came here, and which he did not dare to take before parliament. Then, the hon. gentleman proceeded to say that when my hon. friend from Yarmouth claimed that this government was entitled to credit for the position which Canada occupies in the empire to-day, he should have given the credit to the hon. gentlemen of the opposition. All I can say is this—and I but repeat words that have been repeated to me—that if the hon. gentlemen of the opposition are entitled to credit for the advance which Canada has made in her position in the empire, both as regards her material prosperity and the strengthening of the ties that bind us to the mother country—the progress that has taken place since this government came into power—then I think

it will be a long time before the people of Canada can trust hon. gentlemen opposite with power, for they have done a great deal more in their present position than they did during the eighteen years they sat on this side of the House. What is the history of Canada since this government assumed the reins of power? I remember as a school-boy hearing Conservative orators proclaiming everywhere that they and they alone, were true apostles of the imperial spirit in this country—

Mr. PRIOR. So we are.

Mr. McCLURE. That they, and they alone, possess the peculiar kind of loyalty that came down from heaven and inspired men; that they and they alone were entitled to be called patriots, and that all who followed the Liberal party were doing it from base and unpatriotic motives. How often did we hear that in this House; so often did we hear it that even those who followed this Liberal party, sometimes from the constant dinning with which it was clamoured into their ears, began to think that possibly when the Liberal party came into power something terrible would happen to the empire and the loyalty of the people. But what do we find? We find that from the moment the right hon. First Minister assumed office down to the present, there has gone on in this country such a march of progress, not only in prosperity, but in the broadest imperial idea, that such an illusion has been completely dispelled. When, Sir, was Canada treated with such consideration by the Imperial government as she is to-day? When did hon. gentlemen opposite, with their present leader representing them in London, succeed in calling the attention of the empire to this country so thoroughly as our present First Minister did during his few months visit there? Why, if hon. gentlemen opposite are entitled to credit for this, then I say it has been decreed, not that they have the instinct of government, but that in the opposition they are all powerful and have done much.

But I was still more surprised at the next position which the hon. gentleman took. He not only wanted credit for all the progress made, but proceeded to do something which savoured very like what Conservative leaders used to call a 'running down the country.' When the whole empire was ringing with plaudits for the action which Canada has taken, when even Her Majesty telegraphed to us her personal thanks for what Canada has done, when everybody throughout the empire recognizes that Canada has come to the assistance of the empire with her strong arm and powerful, when these plaudits are ringing everywhere, we have a Tory member of parliament forsooth, standing up in his place and telling us that Canada is behind in the procession.

Some hon. MEMBERS. So she was.

Mr. McCLURE. Does the hon. gentleman not know that if the position of Canada is unique in any respect among the colonies of the empire to-day, it is because she has been more unanimous in giving her aid than any colony? Let the hon. gentleman read the parliamentary debates in the Australian colonies, and find by what narrow majorities they succeeded in carrying the vote in those colonies, and then let him listen, when the vote is recorded in this House, and note what a difference there is between the position of Canada in this respect and the Australian colonies. I do not blame these colonies, I do not say they were wrong, but I say that if there is anything unique in the position of Canada, it is that she is more unanimous than any other colony in standing by the mother country in this great contest.

Not to deal any further with the hon. gentleman's remarks, I wish to say that if there is anything calculated to bring us back from the paltry issues that sometimes are introduced into this debate, it is the recent news we have heard with reference to this war, which must impress upon the minds of every member of this parliament that while war may be the arena in which glory is won and the foundations of liberty and reform are laid, it is at the same time the theatre in which saddening dramas that enter into private life are enacted, and, therefore, I think that in view of the recent news, it is, perhaps, becoming to us that we should approach this subject, not as a light trivial matter, but one of the most solemn import to the people of Canada, both in their public and private capacity. I recognize fully, however, that this stage of the discussion no argument is necessary to justify a vote in favour of the resolution before the House, and I also recognize that no argument against that resolution is likely to be listened to very patiently either by this House or the country. I do not propose, therefore, to enter into any lengthy argument upon the question, but simply to state very briefly, not the reasons which may have animated the government in the action they took or the reasons which may have justified that action in their minds, but the reasons why I feel that our vote should be cast on the affirmative side in this debate; and as no two of us can look at any question in exactly the same way, it is more than probable—in fact this debate has affirmed it—that the reasons which would influence some of us are not those which influence others, although we may arrive at the same conclusion. We have been told several times during this debate that it is perfectly absurd to say that the present war is not a justifiable one. On the other hand, we are told that we have nothing to do with the causes which led to this war or the question as to whether it is just or unjust. For my part, I cannot fully agree

with either proposition. I believe that it is a just war, but at the same time I cannot see that there is anything treasonable in the opposite view. If the history of the empire teaches us one thing more plainly than another, it is that the very purest patriotism, the patriotism which lives beyond the excitement that evoked it, which lives on the pages of history and in the memory of prosperity, has often been found in the ranks of a much-abused minority who have not hesitated to denounce the public policy of their country as wrong. Every schoolboy in this country is familiar with the words of the eminent English statesman who, standing in the parliament of this country, almost with his expiring breath, exclaimed against the prosecution of the great war in which his country was then engaged with her greatest colony. The words of Chatham on that occasion: You cannot conquer America; and again: I refuse to join in congratulations on misfortune and disgrace; and again when he accused the government of the day of employing the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the savage against their brothers in America—these words are familiar to every schoolboy, yet nobody ever said that Pitt or Chatham was a traitor to his country. In the British parliament to-day there are eminent statesmen of both political parties, men of weight and experience and undoubted ability, who have denounced this war, both as to the matter of its inception and the manner of its conduct, with all the strength of language and vigour or argument, beside which the criticism hurled in this country pales into insignificance. Yet will anybody tell me that they are untrue to their allegiance? If I did not believe that this is a just war in which the country is engaged, if I did not believe, from such an examination of the facts as I have been able to make, that it is not a war for the advancement of civilization and the establishment of liberty and equality, I could not conscientiously vote for this resolution. I may have been mistaken, but it strikes me that any member of parliament who gives a vote in favour of a resolution which he cannot justify in his own conscience, is neither true to himself nor his country. If, therefore, there be men in this country or anywhere in the empire who believe that this is not a just war, who believe that it is not a war for the advancement of civilization, but simply a war of conquest and waged out of mercenary and improper motives, surely it is our duty to respect such men when they give utterance to their sentiments by voice and vote. Above all things let us be careful, as citizens of this country, how we lightly fling the charge of disloyalty in the face and the teeth of any free citizen of this country. If there is anything that will sow the seeds of disloyalty it is an intolerant criticism of honest minorities. I firmly believe there is

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no disloyalty in the country, and, if there be differences of opinion, surely the less harsh things we say about them, surely the less we accentuate these differences of opinion, the better for Canada and the better for the empire.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not vote for this resolution because I believe that Canada is under any obligation to give this money or to send her soldiers to South Africa. I dissent entirely from the position of those who claim that Canada occupies any craven or ignoble position in the empire. The mother country has done much for Canada, but, in proportion to her resources and her opportunities Canada has done as much to promote the solidarity and maintain the protection of the empire. I agree with the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) in that. He proclaimed in language more powerful than I can, that we have not been behind in our efforts to promote the unity of the empire and secure its protection; and I repeat that we have done as much to promote the solidarity and maintain the protection of the empire, in proportion to our resources and opportunities, as the mother country has done for Canada. We are not, therefore, seeking by this vote on the sending of our soldiers to pay for past favours or to purchase future gifts. On the other hand, while it is most gratifying to know that at least one good result of this war has been to draw all parts of the empire more closely together—to use the words of another ‘to strengthen those ties which light as air, yet strong as iron bind us to the mother country’—while it has done that, yet not for that reason would I seek to justify this vote. The only reason which, in my opinion, justifies the support of this resolution is that England to-day is engaged, not only in war for the advancement of civilization, but for the establishment of principles that are especially dear to every Canadian citizen. Not because we are under any obligation to do so, not because we would consolidate the empire, desirable as that end might be, but because this is a just war for righteous principle—as a free people, free to give or free to withhold, we voluntarily, gladly and enthusiastically give our men and our money to assist in bringing victory to the banner of our Queen. And surely we may be permitted to hope, that after this war is over sad as some of the results may be, it may bring great blessings in its train; and surely I utter no disloyal sentiment when I say that it is to be hoped that the greatest blessings that follow this war may fall to the lot of the brave, the patriotic—according to their light—but, as we believe, misguided people against whom we are fighting. It should be the wish of Canadian citizens, whatever their origin may be that the history of this Canada may be repeated in

South Africa. A great many years ago, the present Prime Minister of this country, speaking in the old city of Quebec, used these words :

When in that last battle, which is recalled by the Wolfe and Montcalm monument, the iron hail was spreading death in the ranks of the French army, where the old heroes, whom victory had so often accompanied, saw at last victory snatched from them, when stretched on the ground with their life-blood fast ebbing away, they saw as the result of their defeat Quebec in the hands of the enemy, and the country for ever lost, no doubt their last thought was of their children whom they were leaving without protection and without defence; no doubt they pictured them as persecuted, enslaved and humiliated, and then it is reasonable to believe they drew their last breath with a cry of despair. But if, on the other hand, heaven had lifted the veil of the future from their dying eyes and enabled them for an instant before these closed for ever to pierce what was hidden from their sight, if they could have seen their children free and happy, marching proudly in all spheres of society, . . . if they could have seen our free institutions, is it not permissible to think that their last breath would have been exhaled in a murmur of gratitude to heaven, and that they would have died consoled.

In happier days, when this war is over, may some premier in South Africa utter such words in the Transvaal. If so, this war will not have been in vain. I agree with what was so well said by the hon. member for Pictou (Mr. Bell) that this is a proud moment for the Canadian people and the Canadian parliament. No pages in the history of this empire, bright as many of those pages are with deeds of heroism and high renown, will in future shine with greater lustre than those that record that in this year of our Lord 1900, the Canadian people, animated by no racial hate or national animosity, inspired by no fanatical zeal, hoping for no mercenary reward, influenced by no improper motive, voluntarily and freely gave their money and sent their soldiers to Africa to secure to our brethren there the establishment of those principles, those privileges, those rights and liberties which have made Canada to-day the home of a free, a contented, and, I believe, in spite of all that is said to the contrary, a united people.

Mr. RUFUS H. POPE (Compton). Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman (Mr. McClure) who has just taken his seat opened his speech by remarking that we should offer some apology for the action that was taken by Sir Charles Tupper. Whatever Sir Charles Tupper may have done to call for any apology by any hon. gentleman on this side of the House must have been done on some occasion when I was not in the country, and certainly could not have related to this contingent question now before the House; because, if there is a single individual in public life in Canada who oc-

cupies an enviable position on that question, that individual is Sir Charles Tupper. Now, it is not my intention to deal at great length with questions that have been so thoroughly discussed in this House by so many hon. gentlemen; but there are some matters which have been referred to; some by one speaker and some by another that I think we should give thought to.

In the first place, the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, as well as many hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, have done their best to prove that Canada was now in a forward position as compared with the other colonies. Sir, that the soldiers whom Canada has placed in the field, when asked to do their duty for Canada and the empire, will place Canada in no second position, no man inside of this House or outside of it can doubt. But whether those soldiers had the opportunity to go forward as soon as we believe they should have gone, is another and entirely different question, and one upon which I cannot agree with hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. Not that I think that it makes very material difference whether this contingent was in South Africa in one week or another in a certain month. But the First Minister who led a government, and who still leads a government, even if he does not lead public opinion, was moved forward, as I believe patriotic men in this country are moved forward, as I felt myself moved forward. But if he really cherished those sentiments that animate loyal and patriotic men, I cannot for the life of me understand how that right hon. gentleman could indifferently sit down and amuse himself by misreading the Militia Act of the Dominion of Canada. Then he goes from this country and takes a pleasure trip to Chicago, he comes back here, and from that time until this he and every other gentleman who has spoken on that side of the House, have to a certain extent, apologized for the position that they took. No greater apology was ever offered than when the First Minister stands up on the hustings, and in this House, and says: Why, Mr. Speaker, I did not know that I should move. How should I, the First Minister of Canada, know that it was my duty to act in a grave and serious question until the public came and whispered in my ear that it was my duty to act or leave the position I was in? Sir, there is no question in my mind that if the right hon. gentleman had thought for a moment that, no matter what happened to the British Empire, the lower level of political life would have been content with inaction. I may be wrong, but it is my honest opinion that that hon. gentleman would never have sent a contingent from this country. I know it is not good form to cast doubt upon the loyalty of a political party. I understand that, and that is why I am singling out the head of that

party. I do not wish to reflect upon the individuals of that party, who sit opposite me, and who are loyal and true in their sentiments. I have already taken occasion, I think, the session before last, to indicate to this House my opinion of the right hon. gentleman, and of his insincerity generally. On that occasion, I pointed out the treatment he had measured out to his followers in this House, who have been faithful to him for 17 or 18 years, how he had awarded them by taking others on to the front benches from the province of Quebec. Now, if we take the history of that right hon. gentleman, if we take his speeches, say, with reference to the rebellion that took place in the North-west, we should find he is unfortunate in all his positions—if he is deeply loyal. He could not move until the people of Canada told him he must move. He says that if he had been in the rebellion in the North-west he would have shouldered his musket. He is then found down in Boston making speeches upon commercial questions of a very doubtful quality as respects loyalty to Canada. Next he is found engaged in a propaganda for commercial union which would do away with the very basis of our position as it now exists. Then coming down to 1899, we find him, at a great crisis of the empire, not knowing whether he should stand still, move forward or go backwards. Sir, if the right hon. gentleman, making history for himself at all these periods of time, was deeply loyal, was a true Canadian, was true to his friends, then I say he has been very unfortunate in the method he has taken to exhibit his loyalty. Sir, it is not necessary for me to say it, but it is a fact, that the people of Canada to-day, from ocean to ocean, throughout every province, are troubled with a doubt; there is a very serious doubt existing in the public mind of Canada, whether that right hon. gentleman is true or not true to Canada.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No, no.

Mr. POPE. Perhaps the gallant knight knows his leader better than I do, being more intimately associated with him. I was born in the same province and come from the same section of the province as the right hon. gentleman, and I feel a certain provincial pride in his oratory and in the dignity of the position he occupies, and fills so well, under certain circumstances. Perhaps the right hon. gentleman may know better the state of public opinion than I do, but I believe it is just as I stated it to be a moment ago, the people do not want a man at the head of the government who, in a great Imperial crisis, cannot read the Militia Act of Canada, without putting upon it the interpretation which the right hon. gentleman did put upon it, when he gave that interview to the *Globe* newspaper. When any

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one reads that interview in the *Globe*, and reads the speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor General at Quebec, he must come to the conclusion that at one time, at least, there was a wide difference of opinion existing between the advised and the adviser, upon this great subject. Sir, has His Excellency the Governor General changed, or has somebody else changed? Who is at fault in gauging the state of public opinion? Why, Sir, he has admitted that he has but to harken to the breeze of public opinion. Now, it has always been my opinion that the First Minister of a country had a solemn duty to perform; even though he had to face public opinion, even though in doing so, he had to resign his position at the head of the government, he must do what he believes to be right and in the interest of the country, instead of waiting for the whisperings of public opinion to prompt him to action.

The seriousness of this war has been commented upon. Now, it is not necessary to go far into that. The hon. member for Dundas (Mr. Broder), who spoke a moment ago, said that the preparations made by England, were a sufficient proof of her sense of the seriousness of this war. But there is another test we may apply. Let me ask this question: Is it true or is it not, that if England wins, as she will win, the battle she is now fighting, if she issues victorious from this contest, as she will issue, will she or will she not, be a greater empire or more powerful than when she entered into this war? If that is true, is not the converse equally true, that if she is vanquished in this war, she will fall back to the standard of a second rate power? In that case, what protection would the colonies have been able to receive from a second rate power? But we know that she will issue from this contest with her power and prestige enormously increased. Therefore, the question is a serious one, and when you view it from an Imperial, world-wide standpoint, there is no hon. gentleman in this House who can say that it was not sufficiently serious to attract the attention of even the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte).

Now, as to the constitutional question of whether the government should or should not have consulted parliament. An hon. gentleman who spoke this evening said undoubtedly the government had acted unconstitutionally, and he went on to argue that point. Well, Sir, he reminded me of the man who was put in jail, and he sent for his counsel and said: My friend, I want you to get me out of here. Well, what is the trouble with you? And he told his case to the counsel. Why, says the counsel, they cannot put you in jail. But they have put me in jail. I tell you, says his counsel, they cannot put you in jail. What is the use of saying that, replies the prisoner, for here I am already in jail. In the same way, what

is the use of discussing the constitutional question, whether the government could or could not send a contingent to South Africa without calling parliament together to get its sanction? Sir, I may be a hayseed, this may be fireside law, and it may not come up to the standard of the hon. gentleman who spoke this afternoon, but we may as well deal with the facts as they exist. I say, Sir, that for the defence of this empire, for the defence of this country, this government, or the government that succeeds it, or the government that succeeds that one, can, at all times, depend on the people to support the government who are in power in their expenditures, whether it be one million or five million dollars. I believe that we are marching on in the great Imperial march. It is not only among the colonies that that Imperial position is going forward; it is in the whole empire, and we are living in an imperial age. Look at our friends in the United States of America, the great democracy, the great republic. Are they not becoming imperial, searching among the islands of the sea here and there to extend their power? Look at Germany, look at Russia, which are taking part in this great competition. This is an imperial century that we are about to enter upon, and who would hesitate, whether he be from the province of Quebec, or any other province, whether he be English, Irish, Scotch, or French, to join in this great imperial march? There should be no hesitancy about it if we expect to be in the forefront of the century which is about to open. I will say that of all these pigmies that are found in various parts of the empire, none is more contemptible than the little Englishman, because he confines himself to that little bit of soil in the motherland. I think that he is the most contemptible man that is in existence, and wherever our hon. friends opposite look for him, either in the House of Lords or in the House of Commons, where they are to be found among the lords and commoners of the land, or among the writers of England, in the search for men who will endorse the position that they are taking on the other side of the House, they are looking in a small field, because they will have to support their cause before the electorate of Canada and not before those pigmies who are not the men who are going to make history as history is going to be written in the centuries to come. Hon. gentlemen opposite have juggled with this question in the province of Quebec. I have known the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) for many years most intimately, and it is my opinion that there is no greater sinner politically than this hon. gentleman in dealing with this question. I believe that he should have done better. He was taught in a wider and broader school, and he should have approached this subject upon

more generous ground, and should have taken a higher stand than that which he did. However, he thought that common politics should be the standard by which he should measure his position, and having chosen that ground, that hon. gentleman, who might have occupied a higher and more honourable position in the province of Quebec, is bound to dwindle down amongst the little Englishmen or the little Irishmen, who have inherited a long standing grudge against England, and amongst those little pigmies, who are just so many little flies fluttering about and whose influence will never be reflected upon the pages of history. The hon. minister has got three or four hon. gentlemen here into an extremely unenviable position, who have spent their time before the House and the country apologizing for the manner in which they got into that position, and who have been given an example of the absolute consistency of their inconsistency in order that they may record themselves, not against their own party or for another party. These young men will all live to regret it. There is not one of these young men, powerful as the hon. member for Labelle is, powerful as the hon. member for Laprairie is, who will stay the British Empire in its forward march. The progress of the world will continue without them. They are both bright young men, and I hope that they will be converted to a better way and that they will be allowed to remain in public life. I think, perhaps, a rest for their constitution would be a good thing for them for a time, and I have no doubt that the electorate will give them an opportunity of refreshing and reinvigorating their constitutions if it is necessary at the very first opportunity. Then, after they have had that rest and have adopted views on broader lines, we will hear speeches delivered in this House and in different parts of the country from these hon. gentlemen that will be so contradictory of the speeches which they have delivered here, that they will say that these were the playthings of their childhood, and they will ask that we shall not hold them responsible for their dolls and toys. They will say that they were misguided and misled. They will say: We were led into an impossible position before the people of Canada and we wish to apologize. It has been questioned as to whether there are two lines of political thought in the province of Quebec. There is no doubt about it. Every one who studies the political history of the province of Quebec will see written upon its pages two lines of political thought. These hon. gentlemen opposite must take their position and trace it from Dorion, through Mercier down to the present time when they are headed by the hon. Minister of Public Works and the right hon. leader of the government. They must be satisfied with the history they have

written. The hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House never obtained the confidence of the people of Quebec except through what is known as national sentiment. Whenever the province of Quebec is willing to give serious consideration to public questions presented before them upon grounds of justice, hon. gentlemen opposite never expect to carry that province. They carried it in the last election, and quite naturally; I do not altogether blame them because they had an opportunity of having a French Canadian Prime Minister, the first opportunity since confederation, and they said: We cannot afford to miss this opportunity. They had a question which they thought was of a serious character to be decided before this parliament and by the government, and they believed that they would rather entrust the decision of this question to one of their own nationality and religion, and to a man actuated by these sentiments which they felt to be so dear to themselves. In their sentiments there is no finer people than the French Canadian people of Quebec. They voted for Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Prime Minister, one of themselves, and they elected Mercier upon national grounds pure and simple. So that when any hon. gentleman stands up and pretends to become indignant that we should say that there are two lines of thought, his protest is not based upon fact, because hon. gentlemen opposite have carried their elections upon national grounds. Mark you, Sir, born and having lived in the province of Quebec as I have done for forty-two years, I know the people of that province well, and if any person undertakes to tell me that there are not two political lines of thought in the province of Quebec, he might as well tell me that black is white. I know it. The hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House who created that national sentiment have always worked that oracle with all the strength and ability they possess. They have worked that oracle, and as they have to face Canada from ocean to ocean they have gained the weakness that it gives them; that is, from the Quebec standpoint. I might present an argument if I were to speak at length on the position which they occupy with the English speaking people in all parts of Canada, but it is unnecessary. I have sufficiently shown forth the fact that during all the history of that party power has been obtained and exercised by playing upon the national sentiment in the province of Quebec. Something has been said by hon. gentlemen on the other side of this House as to making politics out of this question. This government have been so infatuated with that belief that they have gone on committing blunder after blunder from the very moment they got into power; and I have not the slightest doubt they will perpetuate these blunders until they are

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thrown out of power again, which will be at the very first opportunity the people have a chance to get at them.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, no.

Mr. POPE. There is no doubt at all about it. Public opinion spoke against you in the Sherbrooke election.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. POPE. I say that, that election on the part of these hon. gentlemen and their leaders and the others who were sent there, was the most vulgarly corrupt election that ever I witnessed in my life.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. POPE. Yes, Sir, they had thousands and thousands of dollars in Sherbrooke and whisky reigned supreme with them. And what about Prince Edward Island. The Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) knows that if he can save his own seat there it is about all he can do. Look at Manitoba. I listened to the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) last night, and he could no more get elected for a Manitoba constituency than he could turn into an angel, and you all know how impossible that would be—he would not make a pretty angel by any means. Afraid of public opinion these gentlemen opposite raise the plea: Oh, do not make politics out of this serious question. That is their cry whenever their shortcomings are being shown up. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) told us not to make politics out of the transportation question, and to-day, when we endeavoured to have investigated flagrant election corruption the friends of the government told us not to make politics out of it. Why, you have only to take any document they ever published, or any act of theirs since 1896, and it is sufficient to cause the electors of Canada to revolt against them. They tell us that they acted promptly in the South African crisis, and that their policy reflected credit on the empire. Well, if that is so, we cannot make political capital out of it, and they need not fear that we will. But, Sir, the truth is that these hon. gentlemen made a mistake in that, and the people of Canada found it out and the people of Canada will punish them. Why, since the first session of this parliament the government and their friends have been apologizing. On all the hustings, and in all their newspapers throughout the Dominion they have been apologizing for the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) having a seat in the cabinet. His party friends come to this House and they apologize for him getting them into trouble. No hon. gentleman on the other side has yet spoken that he did not make an apology, and none of them will speak in future who does not offer one. Sir, we must be in the procession or out of it.

I believe in the unity of the empire, and I believe that the future of Canada lies best under the old British flag. I enjoy as much independence as do my French friends in Quebec, but I do not want to be foolhardy with my independence. Those gentlemen who speak of Canada as an independent nation are sane enough to say that they do not want independence now, but they do not indicate the particular time that they do want it. Let us discuss practical questions in this House. What have we to do now with questions which may be ripe for discussion a century hence? We see all the great nations of the world looking about for power and aggrandisement of territory. We see them dividing China and dividing Africa, and do these gentlemen think that if we were independent to-morrow, without the strong arm of England to protect us, these great military powers of the world would not cast a longing eye on Canada, the richest undeveloped country in the world to-day. Sir, independence is just worth having to the extent that you can protect it, and without England we have insufficient protection for Canadian independence. I do not deny hon. gentlemen the privilege of discussing this question in an academic way, but from a business-political standpoint its discussion is a pure waste of time. Let us discuss live issues, and although I do not care at the present to enter into the commercial aspect of our connection with England, I do say that if we had an arrangement by which a preference would be given to our products in the British market, both Canada and Great Britain would immensely benefit thereby. Canada, in sending her gallant sons to defend the British Empire in South Africa, has demonstrated that the mother country has an arm of strength and support here whenever she needs to use it. The mother country has here a loyal population who are ready and willing to go forth to fight her battles, not only if the government wants them, but whether the government wants them or not. The mother country has here a British population which in intelligence and loyalty cannot be equalled in the world. Only a few days ago the sons of Canada left Halifax for South Africa. There were reports at first a little discouraging as to whether these men would make good soldiers when they landed at the seat of war, but the battle of the other day decided the fact that we can take a young Canadian boy, without previous training in arms, and using his intelligence and his loyalty, make out of him a brave and disciplined soldier. If Great Britain should adopt a commercial policy which will give a larger market to our products, which will give us better prices, which will cause an increased population to flow into the Dominion, then we have given a guarantee to the mother country that from this loyal Canadian people she can call on battalion after battalion

prepared to go forth to do battle for Imperial interests.

Mr. F. T. FROST (Leeds and Grenville). Mr. Speaker, representing as I do a constituency historic for its loyalty and devotion to the British Throne and Crown, I desire to say a few words in support of the vote which I intend to give in favour of the resolution of the hon. the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding). There have been two things very well established in the debate which we have heard on this question: one is the loyalty of the entire people of Canada irrespective of race or creed; the other is the approbation of Her Majesty the Queen and the empire at large, of the course which the government and people of this country have taken in furnishing contingents for the support of the empire in South Africa. We are told by the speaker who has just taken his seat (Mr. Rufus Pope), that every speaker on this side of the House has apologized for the conduct of the government. I have not heard any apologies from any member on this side of the House yet; and I am very sure that I do not intend on the present occasion to make any apology for the government. The government require no apology. The indignation which we find exhibited so generally on the opposition side of the House originates chiefly from the fact that it is a Liberal government that is in power, and doing what hon. gentlemen opposite have been talking about for the last thirty years and never did. There have been times in the history of this country when a Conservative government might have got up contingents to assist the mother country. The Premier of the country might have gone on, in spite of public opinion, and carried out the policy which my hon. friend from Compton has stated; but we never saw anything of that kind done. It remained for a Liberal government to introduce measures for sending contingents to assist the empire in the great work in which she is now engaged. We have been told that the government has been too slow. Well, all I know about that is this, that the contingents have been got up on time, that they were despatched from Quebec on time, that they reached Cape Town on time, and that they reached the front on time, and have taken part in the great victory achieved there to-day. If such is the case, I would like to know what is the reason for all this carping criticism which we have heard in relation to the action of the government in the matter? What is to be gained by it? Is it not too bad that the good fame of this country should be impaired by these snarling attempts to gain a little political capital? Why should not a more generous view of the whole matter be taken? We live in a free country and under a constitutional government,

and on questions of war as well as on questions of peace, free discussion is allowable to any person without his being open to a charge of treason. It is a small, petty and unworthy position for any political party to take. The Throne of Great Britain is founded in the love and the affection of a free people, and on the banks of the Nile and the Ganges as well as on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and wherever the flag of Great Britain floats, there you will find devotion and loyalty to Her Majesty, laws justly administered by British power, property protected, crime punished, and civil and religious liberty and free speech guaranteed. It only remains for a garrulous and disappointed opposition in Canada to impute motives to a portion of our people who have for over two hundred years proved their devotion to Great Britain by many heroic deeds and many a willing sacrifice. I say we have a right to rise superior to this pettiness of thought and action; and in view of what we know to-day of the brave young men who have gone down to their death fighting at the front, who have given their lives a willing sacrifice to the empire, I think it would look more dignified on the part of this parliament, and it would more truly represent the people of this country, if insinuations respecting the loyalty of any portion of our people should cease, and we united here on behalf of Canada as our young men have united in pouring out their blood in defence of the empire, by doing our share of the patriotic work that is necessary to sow in South Africa those sacred principles which are at once the greatness and the glory of British supremacy. Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not apologize for my leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I have no apology to make for him. He is able to take care of himself, and I can assure my hon. friend from Compton that long after he and many who hold such opinions as he has expressed to-night have been forgotten, the name of the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier will shine in the annals of this country as that of one of the most devoted, one of the most loyal, and one of the greatest men that Canada has ever produced. No other man has brought about such a unison of the races of this country as has the right hon. leader of this government; and therefore for any one to stand up at this day, after all that Sir Wilfrid Laurier has done in the past three years to bind together this country and to unite the races, to impeach his loyalty and to impeach him, is one of the greatest exhibitions of stupidity, if nothing else, that could probably be seen in any free country. Now, Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to occupy any further time. I am not going into the constitutional question or any of the other questions that have been touched upon, and have been so ably expounded by

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hon. gentlemen on this side of the House since this debate began. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution which is now before the House, to appropriate \$2,000,000 for the expense of the contingents, and I am prepared to go very much further than that, if need be, in order to bring this war to a victorious and successful conclusion.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). Mr. Speaker, if it is agreeable to the government, I would like to move the adjournment of the debate, as there are a number who wish yet to speak on the question, and I think it is quite impossible to finish to-night.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I hope the hon. gentleman will not speak of adjourning the debate at this early hour. The government did hope, after the long debate we have had, that we might dispose of this resolution and go into committee to-night; but if hon. gentlemen opposite are not willing, of course, we cannot do it. If not, I think we should sit to a much later hour. It is only half-past ten now.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I would like to call my hon. friend's attention to this fact, that the government have not been very anxious so far to bring on the work of the session or to have us sit very late. There are several on our side of the House who wish to speak on this question. If the hon. gentleman objects to the adjournment, of course, we shall merely have to keep up the debate; but I think it would help to bring the debate to a conclusion if the hon. gentleman consented to it being adjourned.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No. no. Question.

Mr. SPROULE. Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to speak very long, but I think it would be more in accord with the feelings of my constituents, if I expressed my views on this question. To begin with, I may say that I am heartily in accord with the proposal of the government to vote this money; I have no objection to it whatever. But I have been somewhat amused as well as surprised at the line of argument taken on that side of the House to justify the course of the government. The hon. gentleman who last addressed the House said that no apologies were offered on that side, and that his party had none to make. Surely he could not have heard what the hon. gentleman who preceded him on that side had said, because that hon. gentleman took up a considerable part of the time he occupied in his remarks, in apologizing for the conduct of the government, in the first place, and for the fact that several members of the government expressed their dissent from the course taken. He forgot that the right hon.

First Minister himself, practically apologized for his delay in taking the action he did. If what he said was not an apology for not having acted earlier, I do not understand what an apology is. I did think, when listening to the hon. gentleman, that he could not have consulted the records which are in our possession. I scarcely think that he could have consulted the correspondence which took place between the right hon. First Minister, and the Colonial Office about sending the troops to South Africa. The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, said that the government sent the troops at the right time, and that they arrived at the right time, and that there was no reason to apologize. That may be his opinion, but it is not that of other people in this country, and for this reason. They remember that only a few years ago, when the Jubilee celebration took place in England, the leader of the Canadian government was given a very prominent place in that celebration. He was allotted a place in the foremost ranks of the colonial dependencies. Why was he given that position? Because Canada was regarded as the first colony of the empire and as the one which was doing more than any of the others to cement the ties of affection and loyalty that bind the colonies to the mother country. I have here the speeches made by the right hon. Premier at this celebration in England, and they are altogether different from the action of the leader of the government, when he was given the opportunity of showing by something more than mere words the attachment which he professed existed between Canada and the mother country. He then declared in no uncertain sound what Canada would do if necessary to show her loyalty. He said that if the time should ever come when the British Empire would be menaced or threatened, and it would be necessary for the colonies to act, all that England required to do, was to light the proverbial fires on the hills, and Canada would take her place as the first colony to stand by England in her hour of need. Loyalty then was cheap, it did not cost anything, it cost only mere words, but the time did come when something was required more than mere professions, the time did come when the fires were lit on the hilltops, and what was the result? The right hon. gentleman waited to see what public opinion required, and he spent his time beating about the bush in the endeavour to find excuses why he should not prove by deeds, that loyalty which he declared before the world in London was universal in Canada, and would be shown on the first occasion. When the time did come for action, was he equal to the occasion? No, Sir, loyalty in London was one thing, and in Canada another, and when it required more than mere lip loyalty to show that Canada would maintain the position given her in the jubilee celebration, the right hon. gentleman was found wanting. Al-

though Canada was the first colony in the celebration, she was amongst the last to offer support to England. Which colony was the first? It was Queensland. Twice did Queensland offer assistance to the mother country in her hour of need, before Canada said a word. After Queensland came Victoria with her offer. Then came the federated Malay States, which were considered almost insignificant at the jubilee celebration compared with Canada. Then came the governor of Lagos. The first offer was made on the 11th July, the next on the 12th, the next on the 17th, the next on the 18th, the next on the 21st from the Governor of New South Wales, and again on the 21st of July from the Governor of Lagos. On the 26th July, there came an offer from the Governor of New South Wales, and on the 27th July there came again an offer from Victoria and on the 1st August, Victoria repeated her offer for the third time. Then, with Hong Kong spoke on the 21st December; then Queensland again on the 22nd September; then again Victoria on the 27th September. New Zealand again on the 28th, and on the 29th; and Queensland on the 3rd October. New Zealand again came with her offer of assistance on the 3rd October, and then, at last, on the 3rd October, came the offer from Canada. These little colonies sent in their offers beginning on the 11th July, and Canada, which was given the first place in that colonial celebration, only proffered her aid on the 3rd October, when she was forced to do so through very shame. No one can read the speeches made by the right hon. gentleman at the jubilee, without a feeling of humiliation for his country arising out of the fact that our First Minister, who pronounced these eloquent pæans of loyalty—and no man, in my judgment in Canada, could do so better—was found unequal to the occasion, when the hour for illustrating his professions by deeds arrived. Do we wonder that the people complain, do we wonder that the hon. gentleman and his friends have to spend so much time now in apologizing for their position? What reason did they give for their action when they did act? The Premier said at first: I did not know that we had the legal power to act, and I do not think so yet; and many of his supporters say the same. I asked an hon. gentleman who was apologizing to-night why they did it if they had not the right to do it, and his answer was: Because public opinion drove us to do it. Public opinion should not drive either an individual or a government to do wrong; they should stand up before public opinion when public opinion demands that they do wrong.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). It does not follow that it was wrong, because it was not technically illegal.

Mr. SPROULE. But if the government had not the right to do it legally, why did they do it at all?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Because we relied upon the indemnity of parliament for our action—and we will see if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) will vote against it.

Mr. SPROULE. If the hon. gentleman was so strong in his conviction that parliament would support his action, why did he not act last July as well as last October?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. There was no war last July.

Mr. SPROULE. There was no war, but every person saw it coming on. Did not these other colonies offer support, and why should they offer it if there were no anticipation of war? Why did Canada hang back when they were coming forward? Why did the Premier apologize at first and say that he did not intend to spend a dollar of money or send a single man to support the British cause? He changed his views afterwards. What reason did he give? It was that public opinion was different from what he expected, that it became so strong that no government could withstand it. If the Premier were as intelligent a man as he should be to occupy his present position, he would be able to judge public opinion to the extent at least, of knowing that he would be justified by it in assisting the mother country; he would not need to stand back until driven and compelled to do right—though, apparently it was very much against the grain to do it.

The next instance that attracted my attention was the unusual one we had in this House when the hon. Minister of Public Works and one of his friends introduced the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) in this House. This seemed to me one of the strangest spectacles ever seen in parliamentary life. Here was an hon. member of this House who resigned his seat as a protest against the action of the government. He virtually challenged the government to contest public sentiment in a portion of the country. The gauntlet was thrown down to them and they dared not take it up. They were afraid to put up a candidate against him; and, though he resigned as a protest against their action, they allowed him to be re-elected without opposition, and they are willing to take the same man to their bosom and introduced him to this House. He comes back prepared and fortified and strengthened by his re-election to oppose them in this House; and they introduce him as a supporter of their own—for that is the only interpretation that can be put on their conduct. It is one of the strangest anomalies I ever saw. The only excuse is: We are so liberal that we can accept followers who do not agree with us in everything. We do

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not need to be told that, when we see men in the cabinet disagreeing, members of the cabinet actually writing in newspapers against the policy of their colleagues. When we see this, we are but little surprised when we see them allow their following to exercise the same latitude that is allowed to one of the members of the cabinet. But it is something that was never before seen in this House, and something that the people do not understand.

Now, I have only to add that I believe the government did right in sending a contingent to Africa. I have always endorsed it. But I think they were wrong in holding off so long before they sent the contingent. They showed to the world that they were wanting either in good judgment or in moral courage. If they had had good judgment, they would have foreseen what public opinion would be, and they would have strengthened themselves by taking the course which would have met the approval of the public. Or, if they had sufficient judgment to know what public opinion was, they were wanting in moral courage, they were afraid to act lest they might offend their supporters in the province of Quebec. They could not have held back for fear of offending their supporters in Ontario, Manitoba or the North-west, because no one could misunderstand the feeling of those provinces. So, they were wanting either in good judgment or in moral courage; they can take whichever horn of the dilemma they choose; it is a matter of indifference to me. But, though they sent the contingent, the next thing was, in obedience to the will of the Minister of Public Works, they had to enter into a solemn declaration that this should not be regarded as a precedent to send more men or spend more money to help England in her time of need. When I see that contention put up by some men outside of this House, the question naturally arises in my mind: What are these gentlemen aiming at, and what do they mean to tell the world? They say they are loyal. But even though the result of the war should be to disintegrate the British Empire, they are not prepared to spend a dollar in support of that empire. One hon. gentleman, either the hon. member for Labelle or the hon. member for Laprairie, said: We are loyal to Canada; we will fight for Canada; but we will not fight for the British Empire. How long would Canada stand if the British Empire were not at its back; how long would Canada maintain her position if the result of the war were to overpower the British Empire and endanger its position among the nations of the world? I feel, as the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) said: It is impossible to be loyal to the part if you are not loyal to the whole; in other words, you cannot be loyal to the British Empire by being loyal only to Canada and disloyal to every other portion of the empire. It is not such loyalty that Brit-

ain wants when the word goes out that every subject of the Queen is expected to do his duty. That is no less than is expected of British subjects in any part of the world. Our Canadian soldiers have gone to South Africa and have shown their loyalty to the British Empire; they have taken their places among the British troops, and I am pleased to know and am justified in the belief, by the reports that have come not only from General Roberts himself, but from the War Department, and from the Queen, through the Colonial Office, that they have displayed not only equal ability but as much courage and have become as able soldiers as those in the regular army of the mother country. They have done a good work, they have never shown any disposition to do other than exercise the right of every British soldier, to stand up and fight to the last drop of their blood in defence of the British Empire. They have built up for themselves a noble record. I am pleased to know that two of my constituents were in the first fight that took place there, and they acquitted themselves nobly. I am pleased to say a word of praise to those young men who went from Canada from the various parts of the Dominion of Canada to maintain British law and British justice on South African soil. They have been writing a page in British history that will for all time to come redound to their credit and to the credit of Canada. They are writing a very important part of British history to-day, and they are doing it well. I am glad they have succeeded so far in quelling the trouble in that country. I believe they are fighting in a righteous cause. The hon. gentleman from Colchester (Mr. McClure) who spoke a short time ago, said: I believe this is a righteous war, I think the government were justified in sending the contingent to help the empire; but every other member who disagrees with me in that opinion has a perfect right to express it, and I will not quarrel with him, because he has just as good grounds for his belief as I have. Now, Sir, I cannot take the same grounds as the hon. member for Colchester. If I took that position I could hold no belief of my own at all. If I thought the government was right, how could I admit that another man who thinks the government is wrong could have as good grounds for his belief as I have for mine? Therefore, I say there are no grounds for any two opinions on this question. We are fighting for the right. We are fighting not only for the present, but for posterity. We are fighting for the right of British subjects in all parts of the British Dominion to enjoy the same liberty that we enjoy in Canada. As long as we know that any British subject in any part of the world is deprived of the right and freedom which we enjoy, we are bound to

come to his assistance and to restore him those rights.

Now, this discussion has lasted some time. I need not remind the government that if this discussion had not lasted until the present time, the House would have had nothing to do, we would have had to adjourn two weeks ago. I do not think that we have a single government Bill on the paper printed yet.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Oh, yes.

Mr. SPROULE. What other measures have we? The government have given us nothing to do, and if this debate had not continued as long as it has we would be dancing attendance on the government every day; we would come here and go through the ordinary routine, and then have to adjourn.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. There are lots of government measures.

Mr. SPROULE. Lots of government measures promised.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. On the Order paper, ready to go on with.

Mr. SPROULE. They are on the Order paper, but not ready. The hon. gentlemen know that very well themselves, they have expressed their opinion that way, and if this debate had not gone on until the present time the government would have been obliged to adjourn the House from day to day until they got their business ready. I say that the opposition would be doing less than their duty if they did not express the opinions which they have expressed in this House that the government, although they may be loyal, took a very unfortunate way of showing it; that although they may be desirous of supporting the mother country, it was very late in the day when they decided to do so. When they sent the first contingent they agreed never to send another, but the force of public opinion drove them forward to send the second contingent; and if the exigencies of the situation required it, they would have to send a third, and a fourth, and a fifth, notwithstanding the opposition of the Minister of Public Works. Although the members of the government are not in accord with themselves, no member of the government has had the moral courage or the manliness to resign his seat because he is not in accord with the policy laid down by the Premier. The fruits of office are too sweet, the emoluments of office are too large, to allow them to do it. That is the only conclusion that we can come to. It seems to be much easier for them to swallow their convictions than to resign. I do not think there is any danger of the Mi-

ister of Public Works resigning, because he is out of accord with the government, as long as the salary remains as it is. I do not think any member of the government will resign, they are not made that way, they are not a resigning government. But just as public opinion has driven them to send the first and second contingents, contrary to their own views, so they would be ready to swallow their own convictions over and over again in order that they may continue to enjoy the emoluments of office.

Now, Sir, I do not wish to say any more on this question, because I am anxious to vote for the resolution. I am also anxious to see how the supporters of the government will vote, and how they will square themselves with the country for the vote they are going to give. I am anxious to know whether the member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) who was introduced by the Minister of Public Works, will have the hardihood to vote against this resolution according to the protest that he made by resigning when the government proposed to send a contingent. I am anxious to find out whether the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) will do the same, I have no doubt he will, because if there is any man on that side of the House who has been consistent, it is that hon. member. He has had the courage of his convictions right through. I cannot say that of the hon. member for Labelle, who, after saying that he was out of accord with the government, wound up by promising to vote for the resolution. He must have a very elastic kind of a conscience, a very convenient kind of conscience to enable him to speak one way and to vote another. I am anxious to see how some other gentlemen on that side of the House will vote. The country will want to know exactly where they stand. After they have voted the country will be able to judge whether there are just grounds for the contention put forward on this side of the House that the tardy way in which the government acted in this matter justifies the conclusion that their chief motive was not to serve the empire, but to hold on to office.

Mr. C. KLOEPFER (South Wellington). I desire to say only a few words in order to place my views on record regarding the sending of contingents to help the mother country. I may say that I am pleased that Canada has taken this important step in assisting the empire in this hour of trial. I am prepared to vote for the resolution granting two million dollars to pay for the expenses of the two contingents, and I would even be willing to vote for double that amount if necessary. I feel, Mr. Speaker, that in view of all the advantages we have derived from British connection, and from the protection which the empire has thrown around us during

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the last century, the least we can do is to contribute this military assistance to uphold the honour of the empire in South Africa. I was pleased that this country should show itself faithful to the mother country, in offering these contingents, without being asked, to go to South Africa and fight for the empire. I also desire to state here that I am proud of our boys taking such a leading part in this struggle and in bringing our beloved Canada to a more prominent place in the affairs of the empire than it has hitherto occupied. In conclusion, I wish to say that it is well that we should contribute this \$2,000,000 to defray the expenses of our brave boys who have gone to fight for the empire. I just wish to make these few remarks to show where I stand.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I hope my hon. friend (Sir Adolphe Caron) will not do that. There is no intention on the part of the government to force these resolutions to-night. We will go into committee and make some progress. There will be plenty of opportunities of discussing the question. The House will have the amplest opportunity of discussing the resolutions. I do not propose to ask the committee to report the resolutions to-night. We will make reasonable progress in committee and then take them up again on Thursday, and after discussing them in committee they will have to be reported, and we will have a Bill to bring in based upon them, and there will be plenty of opportunities for hon. gentlemen to express their views at length. I hope my hon. friend will not insist upon moving the adjournment of the debate.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Mr. Speaker, the only reason why I moved the adjournment of the debate, and I would like to draw my hon. friend's attention to it, is that the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) asked the right hon. leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) whether, in committee, the same freedom would be given to discuss these resolutions as if we were not in committee, and the right hon. leader of the House stated that we would have to fall back upon the rules of the House, and that they would not allow that. Now, I know that some of our friends on this side of the House wish to discuss the resolutions, and as for myself, unfortunately, I have such a cold that it is quite impossible for me to speak to-night.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. My hon. friend has spoken on these resolutions.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I have ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. It is so long ago; perhaps I am wrong.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I think my hon. friend is mistaken as to the speech I made. I am glad that he remembers that I have spoken, but it was not at all upon the present question. If my hon. friend refers to *Hansard* I think he will find that I am quite right. I very seldom forget when I have spoken upon any question.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I remember listening with great pleasure to the hon. gentleman.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I should like to call the attention of the hon. gentleman who is leading the House to-night, to the fact that there is really no reason why the debate should not be adjourned. It will be taken up next day; then we can go into committee, and I think it will be more satisfactory.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am sure the hon. gentleman desires to further the progress of the House, and I want to point out that we have now been a great many days upon the resolutions without going into committee. The proposition is not that we should go into committee and force the resolutions through, because, I rather fancy, although I do not know, from a note I received from the right hon. leader of the government, that there is a kind of understanding that we should not go beyond the committee. I would ask the House, not to carry the resolutions, but to go into committee, report progress, go back into committee on Thursday, and then, when the resolutions are reported, the report would have to be received, when the Speaker is in the Chair, and there would be an opportunity of continuing the debate. Then there will be the motion to introduce the Bill upon these resolutions, and there will be a number of opportunities of speaking. There will be one continuous debate on the resolutions and on the Bill. It will be only in the committee that the debate will be limited to the immediate resolution before it. In all other stages there will be plenty of opportunities for hon. gentlemen to speak. I am desirous that we should go into committee so that we will make some reasonable progress.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I am quite ready to help the government to advance the work of the session as much as possible, and I believe the government requires some help in that direction. If it is understood that the discussion can go on, I am quite prepared not to interfere at all in preventing the House going into committee.

Mr. W. J. POUPORE (Pontiac). Mr. Speaker, before the debate terminates, I would like to say a word or two upon this important question. I shall not detain the

House at any length. What is parliament asked to do by the resolutions before the House? It occurs to me that it is very plain. We are asked to vote \$2,000,000 to defray the expenses incurred in sending our contingents to South Africa. What for? To show to Great Britain that we, as a British dependency, feel that we owe to that great nation that respect and support which we have shown by sending our contingents. I regret, myself, from my standpoint in this House, that we should have hesitated so long in voting the money. I think the money should have been voted without very much discussion. Why should we not at once respond? Why should we not at once show that we are all loyal? I think one of the means of showing that would have been to have voted the money without so much discussion. It has been stated in this House by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House that there are existing in the province of Quebec two schools of thought. Whether two schools of thought have existed in the past in the province of Quebec or not can have no effect upon the question of voting \$2,000,000 to defray the expenses of our contingents. I do not think that any hon. gentleman who has followed the history of the province of Quebec will deny that two schools of thought exist there. Two schools of thought have existed in Quebec since ever I can remember. I do not think, however, that if any such schools of thought have existed, either one of them has ever expressed any opinion of disloyalty to Great Britain. But I must say that hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House have expressed themselves with a great deal of indignation because an hon. gentleman on this side of the House, the hon. member for Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney), declared that two schools of thought existed in Quebec. I was surprised to hear that indignation coming from the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick), because he himself, sat with me in the legislature of the province of Quebec from 1886 to 1890, and he knew himself that the school of thought which carried the province of Quebec in 1886 was the school of thought which pandered to the prejudices of the people of Quebec. That school of thought was led by the late Hon. Mr. Mercier. I do not want to be personal at all, but the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière), who occupies a distinguished place in this House, felt it to be his duty to resign his seat for Lotbinière as a protest against the principles adopted by the late Hon. Mr. Mercier in the province of Quebec. Why should any hon. gentleman opposite express his indignation because an hon. member on this side said, there are two schools of thought in the province of Quebec. I do regret that any opinion has been expressed that in the province of Quebec or elsewhere—I shall not confine myself to the province of Quebec alone, because ex-

pressions have been uttered in other portions of the Dominion—which savoured of what some people wish to term disloyalty. I do not wish to be so severe as to call it disloyalty, but it is unfortunate that opinions have been expressed which would have given foundation for the least suspicion that there was any disloyalty to be found in this portion of Her Majesty's Dominion. And, Mr. Speaker; disloyalty for what? Disloyalty to a country that has ever been the protector of Canada. Where is there on the face of the globe, a constitution which confers so many blessings on the people as does ours? What could we have to take its place? I have heard independence, spoken of. Why, Sir, we have more than independence in our present position. We have absolute independence in the government of our own country, and we have the greatest power on earth to support us against foreign foe. No country on earth is so favoured as ours. There is no greater power behind Great Britain herself to protect her, whilst we in Canada have the same constitution, the same freedom, the same right to make our laws, as she has. I represent a county in which there are all the different elements of race and religion, and I am glad to bear testimony in this House to-night, that not a single voice has been raised in that county to utter any sentiment but that of the truest loyalty and that of the greatest devotion to the British Empire. I listened with much pleasure to the speech of the hon. member for Toronto (Mr. Clarke) in which he said, that his constituents, one and all, were quite prepared to contribute their portion towards paying all the expenses of the Canadian contingents in South Africa. I want to say, Sir, that a similar feeling exists in the good old county of Pontiac. There is not a single ratepayer in that county, but who would hold up both hands in favour of contributing his quota toward paying all the expenses of the Canadian contingent. Now, a good deal has been said about the delay of the government in taking action, and expressions have been made use of which I think are really deplorable. I do not know that the government should have been so severely censured as they have been, but I think it is unfortunate for the sake of Canada, and its good reputation, that any expression of opinion emanating from any source should have been uttered that would cast the slightest suspicion upon the loyalty of this Canada of ours. I do not wish to take up more time of the House, Mr. Speaker, but I felt it was a duty which I owed to myself as a Canadian, a duty which I owed to the people whom I have the honour to represent, to express their opinion in this House, and to vote not only \$2,000,000 as asked by the present resolutions, but to contribute more if necessary to maintain the dignity, and the honour of the British Empire, of which

Mr. POUPORE.

we, as Canadians, are so proud to form an independent part.

Mr. RUSSELL. I think, Mr. Speaker, that it would be timely to adjourn the debate now. It is somewhat unsatisfactory to discuss the general principles of a subject like this after the House has once disposed of the main question, and I therefore beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I shall certainly not oppose any general desire on the part of hon. members to adjourn the debate. I desire to push on the business of the House, but as there seems to be a disposition on both sides to prolong the debate, and as in a few minutes we will have to adjourn on account of the holiday, I will accede to the motion.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 11:25 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 1, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

PRIVATE BILLS—EXTENSION OF TIME.

Mr. LANDERKIN moved :

That the time for presenting private Bills be extended to Thursday, the 29th inst., in accordance with the recommendation of the Select Standing Committee on Standing Orders, as contained in their fourth report.

Motion agreed to.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough) moved :

That the Public Accounts of Canada for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, and the report of the Auditor General for the same year be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts.

Motion agreed to.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 51) to incorporate the Holiness Movement (or Church) in Canada.—(Mr. Copp.)

Bill (No. 52) to incorporate the Morris and Portage Railway Company.—(Mr. Oliver.)

Bill (No. 53) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Orford Copper Company.—(Mr. Hutchison.)

Bill (No. 54) respecting the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company, and to change its name to the Mutual Life Assurance Company of Canada.—(Mr. Britton, by Mr. Campbell.)

Bill (No. 55) to incorporate the Canadian Bankers' Association.—(Mr. Britton, by Mr. Campbell.)

WORKING DAY—LENGTH OF.

Mr. BEATTIE moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 56) to determine the length of the working day for workmen and labourers. He said: This Bill is very short and no need to explain it before its second reading. It is intended for the benefit of the workmen for whom, while there has been a great deal of class legislation enacted in this House, nothing so far has been done.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

DOMINION ELECTIONS ACT.

Mr. ERB moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 57) further to amend the Dominion Elections Act. He said: Very few words are required to explain this Bill. It deals entirely with the manner or method of marking ballots. Under the present law the voter is required to place a cross on the ballot, and we know that there are so many different ways of forming a cross that it is a very easy matter to make it in such a way that it can be identified by one or the other of the scrutineers. The object of this amendment is to provide a means of marking the cross so that it would be impossible to tell one ballot from another. The only two ways by which a ballot can be identified are in the location of the mark and the form of the mark. This amendment deals with both. As to the form of the mark, it provides that instead of making a cross, the voter shall punch a hole in the ballot with a peculiar punch, somewhat similar to what is now used by street car conductors. As to the location of the mark, the directions are specific. The mark shall be punched in the circular place to the right of and opposite the name of the candidate for whom the elector intends to vote and nowhere else. These, in brief, are the provisions of this amendment.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

GRAIN TRANSPORTATION DURING SEASON OF 1899.

Mr. BENNETT asked :

How many bushels of grain were received per water during the season of 1899 at each of the following points, and the points from which the said cargoes were despatched: Midland, Parry Sound, Owen Sound, Collingwood, Goderich, Sarnia, Kingston, Prescott, Montreal ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). I beg to reply: During the season of 1899, Midland received by water 11,258,144 bushels of grain, despatched from Duluth, Washburn, Chicago, Milwaukee and Fort William. Parry Sound received by water 13,098,398 bushels of grain from Chicago, Duluth and Fort William. Owen Sound received by water 2,674,302 bushels of grain from Fort William, Duluth, Milwaukee and Chicago. Goderich received by water 2,131,555 bushels of grain from Fort William, Duluth and Chicago. Sarnia received by water 3,636,791 bushels of grain from Chicago, Duluth and Fort William. Kingston received by water 4,958,761 bushels of grain from Chicago, Detroit, Duluth, Milwaukee, Superior and Toledo; 4,045,206 bushels from Fort William, and 1,250,633 bushels from other Canadian ports; total, 10,254,600 bushels. Prescott received by water 2,328,332 bushels of grain from Chicago, Duluth, Toledo and Fort William. Montreal received by water 17,162,026 bushels of grain from Coteau, Kingston, Prescott, Ogdensburg, Duluth, Superior and Toledo.

Mr. BENNETT. Did the hon. gentleman give the figures of Collingwood ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. No, they are not here. And I do not understand the reason. They may not have been received, but I will hold the answer over until I have complete information, if the hon. gentleman wishes.

Mr. BENNETT. No, that will do, thank you.

MILITARY INSTRUCTION COURSE.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

1. What is the purpose had in view of selecting officers of the Canadian militia to undergo a course of instruction in the duties of general staff at the Military College, Kingston? 2. What is the basis on which the selection is made? 3. What are the names and standing of the officers originally selected for the staff course now going on, and the date of notification? 4. What changes were thereafter made, and for what reasons?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). I beg to reply: 1. For the purpose of promoting higher military education and of preparing officers for positions of command and for staff duties,

when required. 2. Suitability for promotion, capacity for staff duties, and the probability of their being required to act on the staff generally, or at the Royal Schools of Instruction, in replacing officers selected for active service. The Queen's Regulations do not admit officers over the age of thirty-five to the staff course in England, 3. Lieut.-Colonels: W. W. White, W. E. Hodgins, A. Roy, G. E. A. Jones, D. McL. Vince, H. McLaren; majors: J. C. Galloway, W. G. Mutton, E. Chinic; captains: A. E. Carpenter, J. J. Sharples, W. S. Smith. They were notified in Orders 20th January, 1900, without the authority of the minister. 4. Of the officers named in paragraph 3, Lieut.-Colonels Vince and White were removed from the list chiefly on account of age and because they had retired from active command. Captain Mutton was struck off the list at his own request. Captain Taylor was added to fill vacancy. Lieut. Webster was put on and retired without instruction or authority from the minister.

YUKON BARRACKS.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What is the total cost of the military barracks in the Yukon, and (2) for what purpose and to what extent are they now used ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. The following amounts have been paid by the officer commanding in the Yukon to December 31, 1899, presumably for construction of barracks :

Labour.....	\$14,296 65
Logs and sawed lumber	35,918 01
Nails, glass, putty, sashes, hinges, &c..	2,737 87
Total	\$52,952 53

2. The buildings at Selkirk and Dawson are used as quarters and hospitals for the officers and men stationed at those places.

BLANKETS AND THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

1. How many blankets have been bought by the Militia Department since July 1, 1899 ?
2. From whom, and at what price ?
3. Were they made in Canada and obtained by tender and contract, or otherwise ?
4. Were any waterproof blankets served out to the contingents ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). 1. 4,400 blankets have been placed under contract since 1st July, 1899; the delivery of these was only commenced recently, and is not yet completed. 2. Contracts were awarded to: W. C. Caldwell, Esq., M.P.P., Lanark, for 2,000 blankets; P. Gar-

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

neau, Son & Co., Quebec, for 2,000 blankets; Westport Woollen Co., Westport, Leeds County, for 400 blankets. The price paid was 40 cents per pound, the blankets to weigh four pounds each. 3. The blankets were made in Canada, and were obtained by tender and contract. 4. Yes, waterproof sheets were issued as follows: 1st contingent, 1,200; 2nd contingent, 1,225.

SELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

What system of selection, if any, has been followed by the Minister of Militia in appointing officers to the special service contingents sent to South Africa? Have military knowledge, efficiency and physical fitness been the only qualifications considered? Has each military district been allowed to send a like proportion of officers and men in comparison with the total strength of the force in said district, and so far as applications for such positions were received ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). 1. The chief object had in view was fitness, and to this end the most careful inquiry was made. 2. No. Character also entered into the consideration. 3. Yes; so far as the different districts were able to supply to the respective contingents the officers and men of the particular arms of the service required.

MEMBERS OF SOUTH AFRICAN CONTINGENTS BY PROVINCES.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

How many officers, non-commissioned officers and men (the same to be given separately) have enlisted in the two special service contingents for South Africa from each province, viz.: Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia, and from the North-west Territories ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). I am only able to give a partial answer. I will give what I have, and the question must stand for the rest of it. As regards the first contingent, the officers and numbers enrolled, by provinces, are as follows :

	Officers.	Other ranks.
Ontario	18	377
Quebec	16	240
New Brunswick	3	106
Nova Scotia	3	131
Manitoba	1	53
British Columbia	2	61
Prince Edward Island	1	30
Total	44	998

All were enrolled as privates, and therefore there are no means of ascertaining who were officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, at the time of enrolment.

MILITIA—AMBULANCE SERVICE.

Mr. ELLIS (by Mr. Domville) asked :

Is it the intention of the government, in any steps which it may take in regard to the re-organization and improvement of the militia system, to strengthen the ambulance service by increasing the number of ambulance corps, or in any other way ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). The regimental establishments for the current fiscal year contain provision for four bearer companies, and four field hospitals, and the organization of these companies is being proceeded with. It is contemplated, further, to ask for the necessary authority to organize additional bearer companies and field hospitals.

YUKON—COST OF TRANSPORT OF TROOPS.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What has been the total expenditure incurred to date for the transport of Canadian troops into and out from the Yukon, and for their maintenance therein ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). The total expenditure for the Yukon contingent of Canadian troops to date, is \$596,941.67. From that deduct amount expended for work and material in construction of barracks, &c., \$52,952.53 ; leaving expenditure for transport, pay and maintenance, \$543,989.14.

SADDLES FOR MILITIA DEPARTMENT.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

1. How many saddles have been purchased or contracted for by the Militia Department since July 1, 1899 ? 2. From whom were they purchased or contracted for ? 3. Were they, or are they, being made in Canada ? 4. Were they purchased or contracted for by tender ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). The answers to the hon. gentleman's questions are as follows : 1. 300. 2. Adams Bros., Toronto. 3. Yes. 4. Yes.

APPLICATIONS FROM QUEBEC TO SERVE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. DUGAS (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

What are the names of the officers, subaltern officers and others of the province of Quebec, who have made application to the Militia Department, or to the persons authorized to receive such applications, to serve in Africa ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). The question will have to stand. The district officers commanding have been communicated with in order to get complete lists of those who volunteered. But I would suggest that this is a proper question to

make the subject of a motion. It is a long return to read to the House, and if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Dugas), would bring it on in the form of a motion for return, I think it would be more convenient.

PARISHES BELOW RIVIERE DU LOUP—MAIL SERVICES.

Mr. GAUVREAU (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Whether the hon. the Postmaster General is aware: That the mail which leaves Montreal in the evening by the Intercolonial Railway for Quebec and the lower counties, and reaches Lévis in the morning, in place of being kept on board the train which leaves Lévis at 8.35 a.m., is taken across to Quebec and then back again to Lévis, to be put on board the train leaving the latter station at 1.35 p.m.; that the said last-mentioned train goes no further than Rivière du Loup, which it reaches at 7 p.m., when it is not delayed, so that the mail for the parishes and counties below Rivière du Loup is distributed the next morning by a mixed train which is often behind time, that is to say, over twenty-four hours after it leaves Montreal; and that inasmuch as there is no train leaving Montreal on Saturday evening, the Sunday newspapers do not reach Temiscouata and Rimouski until Tuesday morning ?

2. If so, is it the intention of the hon. Postmaster General, in the interest of all the said parishes below Quebec, or at least in so far as regards Temiscouata, to cause the mail from Montreal to be retained and carried on by the 8.35 a.m. train from Lévis, so that it may be distributed the same day in all parts ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). 1. Yes. 2. The department is now arranging to make such changes in the service as will, no doubt, give entire satisfaction to the districts in question.

R. W. MILLER, POSTMASTER OF ACTINOLITE.

Mr. CARSCALLEN asked :

1. Has R. W. Miller, postmaster of Actinolite, been dismissed ? 2. If so, when ? 3. What were the charges, if any, that were preferred against him ? 4. Was an investigation held, and by whom ? 5. Was Mr. Miller given a chance to prove the charges untrue. 6. Who was appointed to the position ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). 1. Mr. R. W. Miller, postmaster of Actinolite, has been removed from the postmastership of that office. 2. The following were the charges against him : (a) Allowing cartoons, ridiculing the Reform party, to be posted on the wickets of the post office. (b) Electioneering and canvassing for the Conservative candidate, and offering to wager \$100 that the Reform candidate for the county of Hastings, N. R., during the last Dominion elections, was a P.P.A., for the purpose of influencing Roman Catholic voters against the Reform candidate.

(c) That he, as clerk of the municipality, was responsible for the removal from the voters' lists (1894) of a number of Reformers, who were fully qualified to vote. (d) That as deputy returning officer, he prevented Ernest and Francis Keinstleber, who were accompanied by Dr. Harrison, of Madoc, from entering the polling booth in the village of Actinolite, on the 22nd of December last, whereby these men lost their votes. 4 and 5. An investigation was ordered to be held by Inspector Hawken. That officer, accordingly, proceeded to Actinolite for the purpose of holding such investigation, and reports that Mr. Miller frankly admitted the first charge, but denied all the others; but when the inspector told him that he had interviewed a number of responsible and trustworthy persons, who were quite prepared to make a statement, under oath, that they knew the charges to be true, Mr. Miller had nothing more to say to the inspector, from which it is assumed that he offered no defence, but admitted the accuracy of the charges. 6. The former postmaster, Mr. Roberts, the son of the present postmaster, died on the 3rd February, 1895, and Mr. Miller took charge of the office on the 1st April, 1895, Mrs. Roberts having been in charge from February 3rd to April 1st, 1895.

PAYMENTS TO REGINA LEADER COMPANY, OR TO N. F. DAVIN.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

What was the total amount paid to the Regina 'Leader' Company, or to Nicholas Flood Davin, Esq., between January 1, 1883, and March 15, 1887, out of the public moneys of Canada? What was the total amount paid to the Regina 'Leader' Company, Limited, or to Nicholas Flood Davin, Esq., M.P., between March 15, 1887, and July 1, 1895, out of the public moneys of Canada for printing and advertising?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The total amount paid to the Regina *Leader* Company, Limited, between the 1st January, 1883 and the 30th June, 1895, for advertising and printing, was \$47,852.19. A separation cannot be made in the accounts at March 15th, 1887.

PENSIONS FOR PERMANENT CORPS AND HEADQUARTERS AND DISTRICT STAFF.

Mr. GILMOUR asked :

Has any scheme been prepared by the government for submission to this House at this session of parliament formulating a pension system for officers and men of the Canadian Permanent Corps and of the headquarters and district staff who are not under the civil service list, as indicated by the Minister of Militia in a speech made in the House on May 8 last?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). Such a scheme as was outlined by me is now under consideration.

Mr. MULOCK.

QUESNELLE-DAWSON TELEGRAPH LINE.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Did Mr. Charleson buy any groceries and provisions in Quebec or Ontario and take or send them on to British Columbia for use of the men employed on the Quesnelle-Dawson telegraph line? If so, what was the value of same? Who did he buy them from? Were tenders called for same?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior), refers to the construction of the Bennett-Dawson telegraph line; provisions were purchased in March, 1899, from H. N. Bate & Son, of Ottawa, to the amount of \$5,082.41, without tender; in July tenders were called for supplies amounting to about \$6,000. Nineteen tenders were received. Kelly, Douglas & Co., of Vancouver, being lowest, got the contract. The provisions arrived too late and were stored. If the hon. gentleman refers to the Bennett-Quesnelle line; no provisions were purchased this year as those supplied by Kelly, Douglas & Co. will be used.

AMOUNTS PAID REGINA LEADER.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

What amount was paid the Regina 'Leader' Company, Limited, or Nicholas Flood Davin, Esq., for advertising mining regulations in the Regina 'Leader' in the year 1884?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. \$1,211.75 was paid to the Regina *Leader* Co. (Ltd.) for advertising mining regulations in the year 1884.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Before you pass from that question I would like to draw the attention of the right hon. gentleman leading the House, to its character. I think if that question had been asked by any person from this side of the House attention would have been drawn to it: I refer to putting the name of a member of the House into a question of that kind. I think it is an abuse of the form of putting questions, because the answers in both cases have no reference to Nicholas Flood Davin, Esquire, but to the Regina *Leader* Co. (Ltd.)

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). My hon. friend forgets that the question refers to the year 1884. At that time Mr. Davin was not a member of this House.

Mr. FOSTER. The previous one refers to 1895, and the one before that when he was a member.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. In 1887 he was a member of the House.

SIR ROBERT G. W. HERBERT.

Mr. CASEY asked :

1. Do the government know whether Sir Robert G. W. Herbert in acting Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office ? If so, how long has he so acted ?

2. Do they know whether he has acted in any other official capacity ? If so, what and when ?

3. Do they know whether he is the same Sir R. G. W. Herbert who appears by the 'Directory of Directors' to be a director of the Eastern and Southern Africa Telegraph Company, and Chairman of the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government have no official knowledge upon this question. But I understand that Sir R. G. W. Herbert has been superannuated, but he was recalled a few days ago to take the place of some gentleman who is ill. I am informed that he is the same gentleman who appears as a director of the Eastern and Southern Africa Telegraph Company.

HARBOUR OF VICTORIA, B.C.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

What amounts have been voted by this House for the harbour of Victoria, British Columbia, in the year 1897-8, 1898-9 and 1899-1900, and what amounts of said votes, if any, have been expended up to 31st December, 1899 ? How much has been expended on said harbour, during same period, from the votes for 'Dredging, British Columbia' ?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Parliament having thought that public money could be spent to better advantage elsewhere in British Empire, I have not spent any money in Victoria.

SUBSIDIES TO RAILWAYS IN THE NORTH-WEST.

Mr. DAVIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

How many acres of land in the North-west Territories have been given as subsidies to railway corporations whose lines run entirely outside the Territories ? What are the names of such corporations ? How many acres of land in the North-west Territories have been given as subsidies to corporations whose lines run in part through the Territories, in part through other portions of the Dominion ? What are the names of these corporations ?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The information asked for cannot properly be given as an answer to a question. It will be brought down in the form of a return if moved for.

FREE PASSES TO IMMIGRANTS.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Has the Department of the Interior, the Minister, or any of its officers, given or promised free passes to any immigrants or intending im-

migrants, or secured first or second, or superior accommodation of any kind for intending immigrants at steerage rates ? If either or both, what are the names of the persons whose transmigration has been thus arranged ; for and from what part of the world will they come ; are they coming, or have they come ? If such accommodation has been secured for any parties, at what time or times was it secured ?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Free passes have not been given or promised to any immigrants, or intending immigrants, by the Department of the Interior, the minister, or any of the officers of the department, nor has first or second or superior accommodation of any kind been secured for intending immigrants at steerage rates.

BINDER TWINE.

Mr. McMULLEN (by Mr. Gibson) asked :

Have the government decided to extend the time within which farmers will be permitted to purchase binder twine from the Kingston Penitentiary ? If so, to what date has the time been extended ? In what way does the government propose making known to the farmers that the time will be extended ? What are the several brands manufactured, and the price at which the several brands will be sold ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. Yes. 2. The 20th of March. 3. By advertisement in the newspapers. 4. This question was answered on Monday last in reply to an inquiry by Mr. Taylor.

B. H. DODGE.

Mr. MILLS asked :

Is Mr. B. H. Dodge, of Kentville, an officer of Her Majesty's Customs ? Within the last three years has the said Dodge received any pay from the Customs Department of Canada, or money on account of any services ? If so, what was the amount ? What did said Dodge do to entitle him to any money ? Who employed him ? Is said Dodge and Benton H. Dodge, M.L.A. for King's County, Nova Scotia, one and the same individual ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). B. H. Dodge, of Kentville, is not an officer of Her Majesty's Customs. He received \$600.04 within the last three years as the usual award on account of a seizure formerly made by him while an officer of Customs. The Department of Customs has no information as to whether the said B. H. Dodge is the same individual as Benton H. Dodge, M.L.A. for King's County, Nova Scotia.

ENVELOPES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

How many envelopes, and of what kind, were supplied to the Department of Trade and Commerce, or to any officer or employee thereof, from August 1, 1899, until January 1, 1900 ?

The **MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE** (Sir Richard Cartwright). I think my hon. friend must move for that. I cannot undertake to say how many have been supplied off-hand for all the officers in the department.

MONUMENT TO CANADIAN VOLUNTEERS.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Is it the intention of the government to place a sum in the Estimates for the purpose of erecting a monument at the Capital in memory of the Canadian volunteers who have fallen, or may fall, on the field of battle in South Africa in defence of the empire ?

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I would remind my hon. friend that the war is not yet over, though the successes which have lately attended Her Majesty's arms, particularly the last one, the relief of Ladysmith, will perhaps bring the end within measurable distance. But the government believes that so long as the war lasts all our efforts should be devoted to fighting the battles of the empire, and when the war is over the government will be eager to remember not only the dead but the living as well.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What is the value of exports from Canada, distinguishing home from foreign, and of imports for home consumption, for the seven months—July to January, inclusive—for the fiscal years 1898-9, 1899-1900, and the duty collected thereon ?

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS** (Mr. Paterson). The exports of Canadian produce from Canada for the seven months, from July to January, of the fiscal year 1898-9, amounted to \$91,106,685, and for the same period of the present fiscal year to \$103,001,132. The exports of foreign produce for the said seven months of 1898-9, amounted to \$15,463,550, and for the said seven months of the current year to \$16,829,622. These reports, statistics in both cases, include coin and bullion. The imports for home consumption for the said seven months of 1898-9, amounted to \$89,447,131, upon which duty to the amount of \$14,408,030 was collected. For the said seven months of 1899-1900, the imports for home consumption amounted to \$107,823,088, and the duty paid thereon to \$17,076,642.

SERVICES OF MR. A. S. KENDALL.

Mr. MARTIN asked :

1. Was Mr. A. S. Kendall, M.P.P., of Nova Scotia, in the employ of the government when, in the autumn of 1899, he was in Prince Edward Island ?

Mr. TAYLOR.

2. If so, what service did he render, and what amount was paid him for such service ?

3. Is he now in the employ of the government ?

4. What amount, if any, was paid him by the government since June, 1899, to date ?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). 1. Yes. 2. In taking the initial steps necessary to bring into effect the establishment of bait freezers by the fishermen along the coast, by calling meetings of fishermen and personally explaining to them the government's policy of aiding in establishing these freezers at various points chosen. No special amount has yet been paid for this service. 3. No, he is not employed during the sittings of the provincial legislature. 4. \$200 on account of salary and \$200 on account of expenses.

VOTERS' LISTS FOR KING'S, N.B.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked :

As the custodian of the voters' lists for the purposes of provincial elections for the county of King's, New Brunswick, has not complied with the prescriptions of the Act 61 Vic., chap. 14 sec. 10 ('An Act to repeal the Electoral Franchise Act and to further amend the Dominion Elections Act'), which enacts as follows :—

'Within ten days after the final revision of every list of voters for the purpose of provincial elections, it shall be the duty of the custodian thereof to transmit to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, by registered mail, a copy of such list certified under the hand of such custodian, and having every alteration, addition or erasure therein identified by his initials.'

Is it the intention of the government to compel the custodian of such lists to comply with the law at once ?

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am happy to inform my hon. friend that the lists for King's county have been filed. I was led into error the other day in giving information to the House which I am glad to find now is incorrect. I have just received a letter from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery saying that the lists were filed on the 22nd of December.

PAYMENT OF POSTMASTERS.

Mr. WILSON asked :

1. Are postmasters in towns and villages paid by percentage ? If so, what percentage are they paid ?

2. Has there been any addition made to the percentage paid these postmasters since the postage has been reduced from 3 to 2 cents ?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mulock). 1. Postmasters in towns and villages are paid by a percentage on their legitimate collections of post office revenue, according to the following scale : On the first \$800 of revenue, 40 per cent ; on revenue in excess of \$800 but not exceeding \$10,000, 25 per cent ; on all revenue over \$10,000,

15 per cent. Whenever the revenue of an office reaches \$800 an allowance of \$40 is paid towards expenses of rent, fuel and light. This allowance is increased by \$20 for each additional \$400 of revenue up to \$2,000 and for each additional \$500 of revenue over \$2,000. In British Columbia \$75 is granted in lieu of \$40. In addition, postmasters from whose offices other offices are served and who have to make up mails for such offices, receive a further allowance equal to 10 per cent of the revenue of the offices in question. 2. Postmasters are paid on the basis of the revenue for the fiscal year prior to the reduction of postage, except that in case the revenue of any office has increased since the reduction of postage, then the percentage is upon such increased revenue.

A BREAKWATER AT CHAPEL COVE.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

Is it the intention of the government to provide in the estimates during the present session for the construction of a breakwater at Chapel Cove, West L'Ardoise, County of Richmond, Nova Scotia ?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). No positive reply can be made until the supplementary estimates are brought down.

NOVA SCOTIA—REFUND OF SUBSIDIES.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

1. Was a delegation from the local government of Nova Scotia sent to Ottawa during the year 1892, or any other year, to press for a refund of the subsidies paid by the government of Nova Scotia towards the construction of the Western Counties Railway and towards the construction of the railway from New Glasgow to the Straits of Canso ?

2. Who were the members of this delegation ?

3. What amount was claimed by this delegation that should be refunded to the province of Nova Scotia by the Federal government ?

4. Is the refund of this claim now being pressed upon the government of Canada by the government of Nova Scotia ?

5. Do the Government purpose refunding the amount of this claim ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. Delegations have frequently waited upon the Dominion government on behalf of the government of Nova Scotia. I believe one did so in the year 1892, but I am not sure about that, as we have no official record. They certainly have subsequently. 2. Members of the Nova Scotia government constituted the delegations more recently. The Prime Minister, Mr. Murray, and Mr. Pipes have attended, at any rate, in connection with these claims. 3. The claims amount now in the whole to \$1,351,033.47. 4. Yes. 5. The

government purposes making a reference of a portion of the claim to arbitration.

Mr. GILLIES. What portion ?

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—INSURANCE OF CANADIAN CONTINGENT.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to take the opportunity of reading to the House for the information of all parties who will be interested, telegrams addressed to myself from the representative of the Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation, this morning :

In regard to the insurance of \$1,000,000 effected by you on the lives of the members of the Canadian contingent covering death and accident contingencies we have this morning received the cable despatch which follows :

London, March 1, 1900.

To the Canadian Branch Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation, Montreal.

The directors authorize you to pay the sum insured in each fatal claim to the Canadian contingent expressing, at the same time, their admiration of the loyal and gallant conduct of the Canadians. This prompt settlement will cover the 28 deaths by \$28,000, leaving the wounded to be settled with according to the policy of insurance when the claims are received.

I must express my regret that that \$28,000 will be increased by the news we have just received of the unfortunate death of three of the brave volunteers who have succumbed to the injuries received, so that it will be \$31,000 that is now in a position to be claimed by the heirs of the parties referred to.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—INQUIRY REGARDING PRESS DESPATCH.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw the attention of the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to a very important despatch I would have communicated to the hon. gentleman personally, but for the fact that it has appeared both in Montreal and Toronto and has therefore become public. I have received telegrams, both from Montreal and Toronto, saying that :

A Melbourne despatch states that Chamberlain has cabled to Australian governments asking whether they would be able to send additional troops to South Africa in event of Imperial troops being required elsewhere.

I would like to ask the hon. gentleman if the government has received a similar communication.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government has received no such communication.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am very glad to hear it, and I am in hopes that the despatch, which has obtained currency both in Montreal and Toronto, is without any foundation.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—GARRISON AT HALIFAX.

Mr. McNEILL. Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I should like to ask the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), whether there has been received any answer of any kind, and if so, what answer, from the Imperial authorities in reference to the offer of this government to garrison Halifax.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am not in a position to give any answer to-day to my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) to this question.

CANADIAN NAVAL RESERVE—INQUIRY OF MINISTRY.

Mr. BOURASSA. Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to call the attention of the government and of the House to a most extraordinary statement that was made in the British House of Commons on Monday last by the First Lord of the Admiralty. It was my intention to have called the attention of the government to this matter on Tuesday last, but, on account of the absence of the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), when the Orders of the Day were called, I waited until to-day. This is what Mr. Goschen said in his speech, in introducing to the House his estimates for the navy:

The Admiralty was considering how it could organize a naval reserve in conjunction with the colonies. He explained that with an adequate organization the government could get a very valuable contingent from Canada and Australia. The negotiations with Canada were very well advanced. Canada had asked that the period of training be reduced, but a final decision on the subject had not been reached.

I think it is most extraordinary that, with a question of such importance, the British House of Commons should be seized with a knowledge of the project mentioned by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and that negotiations should be 'very well advanced' without anybody in the Canadian House of Commons, which has been sitting for a month, being aware of anything going on.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I am sorry that the hon. member (Mr. Bourassa) did not give notice that he intended to bring this subject up, so that I might have been prepared to give him an answer. He will understand that when statements are made on the floor of the House of Commons it would not be

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

proper to make any statement without being prepared to substantiate it. If my hon. friend will move for the papers, I will be glad to give all the information on this subject.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—HOISTING THE FLAG ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to call the attention of the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) to a telegram from Bathurst, requesting why the flag had not been raised on the government building to celebrate the victories over the enemy in the Transvaal. I suppose that if the flag is ever flown at all it should be on occasions like this,—and I have no doubt it is through the carelessness of the official that it is not. At the same time, I think it would be well to have instructions issued in that connection.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I issued orders this morning to all the officers, all over Canada, to raise the flag.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, if I may be permitted to make a remark I hope it will be attended to by the post office at Montreal. I received a telegram Saturday saying that no flag had been hoisted on the post office at Montreal and that it was the subject of very unfavourable comment.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I may frankly admit to the hon. gentleman that I did not issue orders all over the Dominion until this morning. In former days, not only under this government but before it came into power, the flags were not raised on public buildings unless orders were given. That is the reason why the flag was not raised before.

Mr. BERGERON. Has the Minister of Public Works laid in a large stock of flags, because they will be used up in great numbers just now.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair, for the House to go into Committee of the Whole to consider a certain proposed resolution to provide certain sums for the payment of the contingents of Canadian volunteers in South Africa.

Mr. B. RUSSELL (Halifax). Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for Compton (Mr. Pope),

who last spoke in this debate, made the statement, that no speaker on this side of the House had undertaken to discuss this question without apologizing for the conduct and proceedings of the government, and he predicted that no speaker from this side would, during the future progress of the discussion undertake to present his argument to the House except in the form of an apology. Of course, hon. gentlemen may have different meanings for the words which they use in this House, but if the hon. member (Mr. Pope) simply meant that the members on this side of the House, finding that the conduct and proceedings of the government in connection with this matter have been attacked, have presented arguments in defence of that conduct and in defence of those proceedings, then I am willing to concede that he is correct both in his statement and in his prediction. In that regard, the speeches delivered by members on this side present a marked contrast to many, if not to all, the speeches delivered by hon. gentlemen opposite, because those speeches have been conspicuously lacking in argument. The two hon. gentlemen opposite who spoke on Tuesday evening occupied a great deal of their time in attacks upon the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa)—I do not know why they did not include in the same category the hon. member for Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin), who has assumed precisely the same, or substantially the same, position on this question as do the other two hon. members. I again say that the speeches which these two gentlemen (Messrs. Monet and Bourassa) delivered upon this question, were in very marked contrast to the great bulk of the speeches which have been delivered to us upon this subject from the other side of the House. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) certainly presented their arguments to this House in a very luminous way, and the arguments they did present were fair and legitimate arguments. We may agree in their conclusion or we may not, but there is no member in this House who will not do both of those hon. gentlemen the justice to say, that their arguments were presented in temperate language, and in an eloquent and logical manner. Their speeches contrasted more than favourably with the wandering, incoherent and rambling speeches which we had to listen to on Tuesday evening. I do not know what subject would not be relevant to the discussion of this resolution, if the subjects which were lugged into the debate by these two gentlemen were relevant. They discussed the National Policy; they discussed the preferential tariff; they discussed the provincial elections in Manitoba; they discussed the provincial elections in Prince Edward Island, and one of them even ventured to discuss the duty on binder twine.

What logical connection that subject could have with the war in South Africa perhaps the hon. gentleman who made the argument will not now in his cooler moments undertake to establish. I think it would have been more to the purpose if some of those gentlemen opposite, who thought it worth while to pay so much attention to the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet) and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) had undertaken to give the House what would be very interesting, very entertaining and very satisfactory, namely: Some answer to the arguments which those hon. members presented. I may say that for my part, I would be exceedingly sorry to have the blood of the meanest Hottentot on my hands on the strength of any argument advanced by hon. gentlemen opposite, much less on the strength of any arguments that they put forward would I justify a declaration of war against a free and civilized people and the shedding of the blood of thousands of my fellow-beings. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet) and the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) confined themselves to the question before the House, and they dealt with it, as I have said, in a fair and logical way. Now, Sir, this is a free country. I do not agree in either of the conclusions which these hon. gentlemen presented. I do not agree, first of all, in their opinion with respect to the righteousness of the war in which our mother country is engaged. Neither do I agree with them as to the impropriety of Canada taking part in that war by contributing to the cost of the maintenance of her volunteers. I differ from them entirely on the whole of the programme they have put before the House. But I say again, this is a free parliament. If in the parliament of Great Britain, men like John Morley, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, Sir Edward Clarke, Prof. Bryce, and Leonard Courtney, and if in English journalism men like Mr. Stead and others as celebrated, can express opinions antagonistic to the views of the great majority of the people of England, I do not know why we cannot permit the same freedom of opinion and the same freedom of expression here.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. RUSSELL. Sir, it will be a sorry day for this House when it will not afford a welcome hearing to the expression of views, however unpopular they may be, when presented in temperate language and in a logical way; and 'the decline and fall' of the British Empire will be near at hand if ever there comes a day when the tyranny of public opinion will be so oppressive that there shall not be a receptive and attentive hearing to any views that may be presented by the free representatives of a free people, so long as those views are presented in temperate and respectful language. I have

said that I differ entirely from those two hon. members (Messrs. Monet and Bourassa), but I shall proceed to show that they have very good reason for the arguments they presented to this House. Yes, they have even more than a good excuse. Sir, these hon. gentlemen have a very considerable degree of justification for the arguments they presented, and for one of the cardinal and fundamental points of their contention; that is to say, as to the impropriety of this House or of this country taking part—as it is doing, and as it will do—in the war in which the mother country is engaged. I say that these hon. gentlemen (Messrs. Monet and Bourassa) have high warrant for the arguments which they have presented to the House. They could plead a long course of indoctrination by hon. gentlemen, and conspicuous hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. I will name first of all, the leader of the opposition as one of the authorities on which they might ground the doctrines they have presented here. I know that the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) is not now under the impression that such has been his attitude during the greater part of his life. I know that he is hugging to his soul the delusion that he has been all his lifetime of the same opinion on this subject that he now entertains, and I have no desire to remove that delusion from the mind of the hon. gentleman, for I think he has reached that period of life in which it is entirely proper that he should be allowed to entertain on any question relating to his past career, not actually touching the health of his soul, such opinions as will give him the greatest amount of comfort.

But, Sir, there is a duty which one owes to the truth of history, and the truth of history will not permit the hon. gentleman to come forward claiming the credit of always having entertained his present opinions. On the contrary, I must show that, during the greater part of his career, he has entertained opinions diametrically opposite to those which he entertains at this hour, and which I have no doubt he sincerely entertains, as do the great bulk of the people of this country. Many of the hon. members of this House will surely remember being present at a meeting of some kind of an Imperial society, held in an upper chamber, in this very building, only two sessions ago, at which Colonel Denison presided. In the course of his introductory address, that gentleman referred to some opinions that had been expressed by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in reference to the duties of the Dominion of Canada in the way of assisting to sustain the burden of Imperial defence. It will be remembered by hon. gentlemen, that the hon. leader of the opposition, very vehemently protested against the opinions which Colonel Denison expressed on that occasion, and very vehemently put forward the con-

tention that the Dominion of Canada had been doing, and was doing at that moment, all that was incumbent upon it, in the way of sustaining Imperial burdens and contributing to the army and navy of the empire. Even the very pale and colourless report of the *Toronto Mail*, makes it abundantly clear that this was the position the hon. gentleman took on that occasion. The hon. gentleman referred to the compact which had been made with the Imperial government by the delegation of Canadian statesmen, who went to England, in the year 1865—a compact 'that if Canada would agree to spend \$1,000,000 per annum on her militia, England was prepared, with all the power of her empire, to maintain the interest and the security of Canada on every occasion.' Then he went on to say :

That which was reduced to writing has been done. Canada not only has lived up to the obligations assigned to her but has done vastly more.

That may not be absolutely conclusive as to the fact that the hon. gentleman then entertained the opinion that Canada had done all she could rightfully be called upon to do, and that she was under no duty to do anything more in the way of sustaining Imperial burdens, because it would be open to any one to contend that he possibly had in his mind an *arrière pensée*. He might still have thought that on some great and exceptional occasion, we might be called upon to do more. But this was only two years ago, and England had had many wars, vastly more serious, than appeared to be the war in South Africa, when this government took action. That this was no new opinion, is evident from a citation I shall make from a paper of the hon. gentleman, shortly before the beginning of his career as a federal politician. I can remember as a boy, reading the very strong language which he used, and I may say that I read with great indignation the language that he used in answer to the proposal of the late Hon. Joseph Howe, who was an Imperialist of Imperialists, and who in his day took strong ground with reference to the duty of the colonies to come to the support of the mother country in every hour of trial, holding that a Canadian was as good as an Englishman, and should not only have the same status, but be subject to the same duties, burdens and obligations as an Englishman; he presented these views with great eloquence and power to the people of England, in the heart of the empire. What was the position taken by the present leader of the opposition, who was then leading the government of Nova Scotia? Referring to the argument of Mr. Howe, that it was the duty of the colonies to stand by the mother country and assume their fair proportion of Imperial burdens, he said ?

Who would be mad enough to withdraw a pound from the treasury of British America or a man from its population to fight beyond the seas with the probability that the first attempt of any power to humiliate England would be to wrest these splendid possessions from her grasp and that all the resources of the colonies would be required to maintain the dignity of the empire, by protecting their own soil from being desecrated by the enemies of England. British colonists recognize the same obligations to contribute both men and money to the defence of that portion of the empire in which they live as the inhabitants of these islands, and in all the colonies enjoying representative institutions they are loyally discharging that duty.

Sir, that was not very much of a duty to undertake after all. I wonder where the British Empire would have been to-day, if no Briton recognized any obligation to contribute men or money to the defence of any portion of the empire, except that in which he lived. Well, Sir, I know that the hon. leader of the opposition has made attempts to show that at other times in his career, he has taken a larger and more generous view of the duty of the people of Canada, than he took of the duties of the people of Nova Scotia, and the colonies generally on the occasion to which I have referred. Speaking at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in November, 1895, before the Geographical Society—I forget whether that of England, or some local society—the hon. gentleman took much stronger, higher, juster and truer ground. Referring to the past action of Canada, he asked if it was not sufficient to prove that she is not insensible to the responsibility that devolved upon her as a component part of this empire, and went on to say that in the future, as in the past, she would be always found ready to discharge her duties to the utmost extent of her ability. Then he went on :

A short time ago, when there were troubles in the east, I was directed to place a regiment of Royal Canadian Infantry at the service of the Imperial government to be maintained by Canada.

Well, Sir, I have no doubt that that statement received a very enthusiastic response from the ingenuous townsmen of Newcastle-on-Tyne when they heard it ; but, unfortunately for us, when the hon. gentleman came to look into the statement a little more closely, he discovered that, speaking from mere recollection of the circumstances, he had mis-stated the only vital point in the statement he was making to these ingenuous listeners. The whole point of his reference to this episode, was his statement that the regiment of Royal Canadian Infantry, which he had been directed to place at the control of the Imperial government, was to be maintained by Canada. But when the hon. gentleman came the other day, in the course of his address in this House, to read the despatch in which the offer was conveyed to the Imperial government, he found that it read as follows :

I would suggest a brigade of three battalions, 500 each from the maritime provinces, old Canada and North-west. Laurie might command brigade and Williams one battalion, Melgund would like to serve as brigade major ; entire cost would fall on Imperial exchequer.

The entire cost, it was said in that despatch, was to fall upon the Imperial exchequer. When that despatch was made public, when that offer was made to the Imperial government, when that pusillanimous proposition was made by which Canada was not willing to pay one brass farthing towards the maintenance of that contingent, I would like to know where were all these flaming patriots of to-day ? Was there no member for Toronto East (Mr. Robertson) at that time living—orator, editor and epigrammatist ? Was there no man living by the name of John Ross Robertson to blast and scathe with the lightning of his epigrammatic wit this pusillanimous proposition ? He would have us now roll up our money into a bundle and fire it at the head of the Colonial Secretary whether he wants it or not ; where was he when this contemptible proposition was made ?

The hon. leader of the opposition told us the other day that he was speaking only from recollection when he made the statement to these honest people of Newcastle-on-Tyne, that these soldiers were to be maintained by Canada. But that was a grave misstatement to make on such an occasion, and besides there is this about the hon. leader of the opposition, that he seldom makes a statement once which he does not make at least more than once again. 'He hath a damnable iteration,' and this very statement which he made so innocently and artlessly to the good people of Newcastle-on-Tyne, was reproduced by the hon. gentleman some months afterwards in a more serious way, as part of the history of the country, in the *Canadian Magazine*, and the very same language is used there :

A short time ago when there were threatenings in the east I was directed to place a regiment of Royal Canadian infantry at the service of the Imperial government to be maintained by Canada.

There is the same statement repeated in cold print, and going down upon the records of this country, to be used by future historians as the authentic history of this country, and possibly to be entered into the biography of that eminent gentleman when his biography comes to be written, as written it undoubtedly will be one of these days.

But I forget that there was a good excuse given, or rather a good reason, why on this particular occasion the cost of that contingent should be borne by Canada. I was almost forgetting to give the hon. gentleman the benefit of his excuse. What do you suppose it was ? It was that at

that time he was contemplating having a rebellion himself in his own country, out there in the North-west. He was going to have a rebellion there, and that rebellion was going to cost \$6,000,000, and he would have no money to spare for the maintenance of the contingent which he was offering to the British government, on February 12, 1885. I think it a thousand of pities that the hon. gentleman should have kept that secret locked up in his own breast for six long weeks. Why did he not, on February 12, tell the then leader of his government that he was going to have a rebellion in the North-west? Why did he not tell the Minister of Militia? Why did he allow those gentlemen to remain six long weeks in a fool's paradise, under the impression that the North-west was all right, and that really nothing was the matter? On March 23, you will find that Mr. Blake raised the constitutional point in this House, that it was the duty of the government to have announced that the militia had been called out. Remember this happened on March 23, but on February 12—six weeks earlier—this hon. gentleman knew—and this was why he wanted the whole cost of the Canadian brigade to fall on the Imperial exchequer—that we were going to spend \$6,000,000 in quelling a rebellion that was to take place six weeks later. Well, on March 23, Mr. Blake raised the point that the government should have announced the calling out of the militia. What did the late First Minister, Sir John Macdonald, say? He said:

The fact of the matter is that, taking time by the forelock, after having shown not apathy nor neglect, but extraordinary quickness in making all precautionary arrangements, the Minister of Militia sent a telegram on that day (the 23rd March), to ask if there was any want of militia and how many men the militia forces could supply.

Down to March 23, the Minister of Militia did not even know if any militia forces would be required or what militia forces could be supplied. Yet on February 12, the present hon. leader of the opposition knew the whole thing so thoroughly, he had such a prophetic insight into the whole matter, that he was able to foresee that every penny of this money and much more would be required in six weeks.

I do really think that an hon. gentleman who had such prophetic gifts should not on that occasion have concealed them. He should have made use of them for the benefit of this country. Because if he had done so he might have saved enough out of the cost of quelling the rebellion in the North-west to pay for this contingent three times over, and not allowed this country to be exposed to the spectacle of calling on the Imperial exchequer to defray the cost of this contingent which he was so magnanimous in offering.

Mr. RUSSELL.

With reference to the duty of this country to participate in Imperial wars and assist the mother country, the hon. gentleman had other opportunities of expressing his opinion. There was a meeting of the British Empire League on December 3, 1896, at the Guildhall. The Duke of Devonshire was there, and did really this time invite the hon. gentleman to give an expression of his opinion. We have heard of an invitation given by the Duke of Devonshire to a leading colonial statesman on another occasion, to express his views on a great subject of Imperial and colonial concern. This really was an invitation extended in the most pointed way by the Duke of Devonshire to the hon. leader of the opposition, who then was, I think, High Commissioner, to discuss the question of Imperial defence. He was endeavouring, I think, to coax the hon. gentleman into making some statement on his own behalf in respect of the willingness of Canada to do something in the way of helping to sustain the immense weight of Imperial burdens that rested on the shoulders of the old land. But all that he got out of him was this, and it was not very much:

I listened with profound interest to the important statement made by the Duke of Devonshire with reference to the question of defence. I may say, as far as that matter is concerned that there is no portion of this great empire which, in my judgment, has not been engaged steadily doing its utmost for the defence of the empire.

This was the burden of his song at all times, that we were doing our utmost, that we had been doing from year to year, everything that was incumbent upon us in the way of bearing the Imperial burden. He went on to point out—as he did a great many times—the enormous indebtedness which we had incurred in opening up this country. He pointed to the fact that we had built a great interoceanic line of railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific; he pointed to the fact that we had established here a permanent militia force; he pointed to the fact that outside of our permanent force, we had organized a volunteer force of 35,000 militiamen; he pointed to the fact that we had agreed to subsidize a fast line of steamers across the Atlantic, and also that we were ready to take part in the construction of the Pacific cable. And finally he repeated his old hackneyed story that we were ready to shed our last drop of blood for the defence of that part of the empire in which we lived. Beyond that, the hon. gentleman was absolutely unwilling to go. He would not go outside of that, and he did not give any hint or suggestion of any willingness to go one single step beyond the services that I have already mentioned.

Now, on another occasion, two years before this, his statements upon this very

issue were the subject of very sharp controversy. The question at issue was whether the Dominion of Canada and the other colonies should do something more than they had done, should do something in addition to what they had been called upon to do in the way of assisting in the defence of the empire at large. Mr. Parkin was present at the meeting and heard the address delivered on that occasion by the hon. leader of the opposition and the reply made to it by Sir John Colomb. If anybody would be able to state the precise point at issue between the leader of the opposition and Sir John Colomb, Mr. Parkin could state it. And he did state it. He said :

The only question that lies between Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John Colomb is whether the time has arrived when it is right and just that we should change from this indirect expenditure by which Canada has enormously strengthened the empire in the past to the time when we shall take on our shoulders a more broad and national burden.

Sir John Colomb thought the time had come when we should take upon ourselves a more broad and national burden ; Sir Charles Tupper thought the time had not come when we were called upon to do one single thing beyond the indirect contributions we had made by the indebtedness we had incurred by our construction of public works, by our offer to subsidize the fast Atlantic service, by our willingness to subsidize the Pacific cable, and by our establishment of a permanent force, a military school and a volunteer militia. He would not go one step beyond that, and his refusal was the subject of a sharp controversy that arose at the meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on the occasion of the reading of his paper on Canada in its relation to the empire.

I might cite still further, but that I fear I have wearied the House with too much evidence on this subject. But I say that the hon. member for Napierville and Laprairie and the hon. member for Labelle can find a perfect armoury of arguments, a perfect arsenal of weapons, if they but look at the articles the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) published in 1891 and 1892 in the *Nineteenth Century*.

Now, Sir, let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. I will not trouble the House to hear these extracts, or to hear further evidence, but I would ask the House simply to listen to the statement of a very high authority, a very competent historian and writer, Mr. Blake Crofton, the librarian of the parliamentary library of the province of Nova Scotia, who has made an acute study of the hon. gentleman's record in respect of these Imperial questions. He has summed up the essence of the whole matter in this way. The work I quote from is published anonymously, but it is an open secret that it is from his facile and cul-

tured pen. Speaking of the present leader of the opposition, he says:

In several speeches and lectures he advertised with much ability, the services of Canada to the empire. He did not content himself, as some other equally sound Canadians and sounder federationists have done, with urging that the expense of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the militia, etc., should be reckoned as assets in determining Canada's contribution, if she should decide on federating with the British islands. He claimed that her contribution was complete. He wished Canada to occupy an anomalous position (half dependent, half equal) in a hybrid federation, with preferential duties, with the right to make commercial treaties, with a maimed kind of representation ; but it must not cost a cent to Canada. He wanted some more 'get' and no more 'give.' His theory of Imperial federation appealed to the cupidity of Canadians, as the reciprocal theory of Howe and Grant and Parkin appealed to their justice and manliness.

This was published in 1896, and is the comment of Mr. Crofton, who had been a member of the Imperial Federation Society, and a pronounced and advanced member, taking the same ground as my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), my distinguished friend, Dr. Weldon, and the same ground as Mr. Parkin and Lt. Col. Denison and perhaps some other Imperial federationists, who thought it was the duty of Canada to contribute something to the support of the army and navy of the mother country. The hon. and distinguished leader of the opposition was diametrically opposed to these gentlemen throughout his whole career as a member of the Imperial Federation Society. He never once admitted the point for which they contended, except perhaps, once, in a most reluctant way, when after he had been drawn into it by Sir John Colomb, he made the equivocal suggestion that all these things that he mentioned were not to be taken as payment in full on the part of Canada, but as evidence of what Canada might still further do. But the concession he then made to Sir John Colomb, if it was a concession, was practically retracted, as Mr. Crofton shows, in other deliverances.

Now, I do not blame the hon. leader of the opposition for holding these views—not at all. They were reasonable views, and views that one might fairly hold. I am not sure that you should expect a practical politician, as he is, to be a pioneer in questions like this. I am not sure but that the persons to look to for inspiration in such matters as these are not the practical public men who are bothered with details of administration and perplexed with all kinds of obstacles, but the men of insight and inspiration, the men who see visions and dream dreams, like my hon. friend from North Bruce, like my learned and distinguished friend, Dr. Weldon, like Mr. Parkin, like, perhaps, Lord Rosebery, 'the practical mystic,' to use his own expression. I do

not blame the hon. leader of the opposition for not having the insight to see that this was the duty of Canada and for not proclaiming it on every hustings, so as to educate the public opinion of Canada up to the measure of these great duties. What I do blame him for is attempting to take the credit of that which belongs to other men, in violent antagonism to whom upon this subject he has spent the greater part of his life. And I blame him still further, after having taken this stand for, not only—I will not say stealing—the credit that belongs to other people, but for so representing the facts of this case as to endeavour to deprive his country, in the face of the world, of the credit to which it is entitled for the magnanimity of its action, for the promptitude and heartiness of its response and for the great service it has rendered to the empire in its hour of trial. He has taught all his minions and all his organs to cry that Canada has been a laggard in the race, that Canada is not risking to the measure of her opportunity, or to the measure of her duty.

One hon. gentleman told us the other night that our position in Canada was unique among all the other colonies of the empire. Well, Sir, I agree with my hon. friend from Pictou (Mr. Bell), who made a most eloquent speech, a powerful speech, the other evening; I agree with him in saying—if he did not say it, it was on his tongue, and he said the equivalent of it—that if Canada's position really was unique it was unique in the unanimity with which it had risen to the occasion. Why, Sir, a very careful and scrupulous writer whose statements I have not had opportunity to verify, tells us that in the colony of Queensland public opinion actually compelled the government to delay action upon this subject until parliament could be consulted; and then when the vote was taken, what do you suppose it was? Absolute unanimity? An overwhelming majority? Nothing of the kind. It was a vote of 37 for to 23 on the other side, against sending any help to the mother country at all. Well, Sir, there were then, according to the leader of the opposition, twenty-three traitors in that legislature, there were twenty-three men who were unwilling to pass that vote against only thirty-seven who were willing. Are we unique, then, when we compare ourselves with Queensland? I venture to say that when this vote is taken we will stand with an immensely larger proportion of the membership of this House voting for the sending of these contingents and for their payment, than voted for the sending and the payment of the colonial forces from Queensland. The colony of New South Wales has been referred to. It happened that there was a company of lancers that were drilling at Aldershot some time during the summer, and they cabled to their own government for permission to volunteer for South Africa; and the permission was refused un-

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til the parliament of that colony could be consulted. And then what do you suppose the vote was? Was it anything like unanimity, anything like the unanimity that we expect to have here? Nothing of the sort. It was a vote of 17 for against 10 the other way. Then what about the colony of South Australia? Surely there we shall find absolute unanimity. We find nothing of the sort, however. We find in one Chamber 18 against 9, one out of every three voting against the proposal; whereas, in the other Chamber the vote was carried only by the casting vote of the chairman. Well, Sir, I say again that if these statements are correct—and they are statements of a careful and scrupulous writer, and though I have not had an opportunity to verify them, I believe them to be entirely correct—our position is unique, I admit. I concede to the hon. gentleman who used that expression on the other side of the House, the hon. member for Dundas (Mr. Broder), that we are unique, but we are unique in our unanimity on this subject in this House, and in the unanimity of public opinion throughout the Dominion of Canada.

The hon. gentleman said, and others have said, and it has been said in the Conservative press, that we were occupying a humiliating position in England. Sir, I happen to know that that is absolutely untrue. I have a friend who happened to be in London at the very time when the announcement was made that the second Canadian contingent had been offered. It was during those dark and trying days when we were meeting with one defeat after another, when blow after blow was falling upon the British arms in South Africa. The report had reached London—I know not what the basis of it was—that the forces from one of the colonial contingents, like the children of Ephraim, had turned back in the day of battle, and right upon that rumour came the announcement in one of the great theatres of London of the offer of the second contingent from the Dominion of Canada. The enthusiasm was so great, the feeling was so strong in that assembly, that for the space of fifteen minutes no further business could be done. The whole audience rose applauding, and continued for five, ten, fifteen minutes at a time, applauding the gallantry, applauding the patriotism, applauding the magnanimity and the nobility of the people of Canada for coming to their assistance in that hour of need, instead of turning their backs in the day of adversity.

Now, Sir, I have said that I do not attach any blame to my right hon. friend for the suddenness of his conversion. It was a sudden conversion. He:

Between the saddle and the ground,
Salvation sought, salvation found.

As sudden as that was the conversion, the wholesome, the saving conversion that the

leader of the opposition has undergone upon this subject. But I say it is cruel that he should reproach his own political children who have been sucking their political milk from his breast, those whom he has been indoctrinating with these opinions during the whole course of his political career; I say it is cruel, hard, heartless, for him to be reproaching them now, and calling upon his press to reproach them, and calling upon his followers in this House to reproach them, because they cannot, suddenly, in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, uproot the doctrines that he has been implanting in their breasts during the lifetime of a whole generation. The hon. member was converted by public opinion. He was converted by the public opinion of this country which he did not create, which he was no factor in creating, the creation of which he resisted with all his might, the creation of which would never have taken place if he had had his way, the creation of which would have been absolutely impossible if his views and arguments had prevailed with the people of Canada. I say he did not create that public opinion, he merely announced that public opinion. I stated in some remarks which I addressed to a small meeting in the city of Halifax, that he enjoyed the enviable distinction of being in a position to be the first to announce that public opinion. I am not going to recall what I said. If any of my friends think I took a more charitable view of his proceedings on that occasion than a cold and heartless analysis would absolutely justify, I am so wedded to the charitable opinion that I formed and derive so much comfort from it that I do not propose to listen to any reasoning by which that opinion could be changed. But my point was this, and I think it is a correct one, that the leader of an opposition has a freedom from the trammels of office, and from the burden of executive responsibility, which gives him an opportunity of making such an announcement, that the leader of a government, charged with executive responsibilities, could not make and dare not make, and which there would be no propriety in his making.

The hon. member for Compton (Mr. Pope) asked, and some other hon. gentlemen have asked: In view of these statements, what sort of a leader is it that does not lead public opinion? Why, Sir, it was not the duty of a leader of a government to lead public opinion upon a question such as that. The hon. gentleman who asked that question, the hon. gentleman who indulged in that sneer, did not stop to reflect upon the circumstances of the case. Our friends opposite do not stop to think that we were undertaking a two-fold departure in what we did last fall; they do not stop to consider, first of all, that we are making an absolute and complete departure in the policy of the people of this country with reference to our participating in Imperial

wars from anything that had ever before been done; and secondly, that we were taking that departure without even the authority of a vote of the House of Commons. They do not stop to consider this, and I ask them now to stop and consider it, and in all fairness, and justice, to remember, that the public opinion of this country was actually calling, and did successfully call, upon the government of this country to reverse our whole public policy and to take an absolutely new departure. The people of this country were actually asking the government to usurp the functions and the prerogatives of parliament; and I say frankly and fearlessly that the government actually did usurp the prerogatives and powers of the parliament of Canada. But not only so, they were asking the government to do more than that, they were asking them, without a vote of the Canadian House of Commons, to undertake an enormous and unheard of expenditure, and it would have been criminal on the part of the leader of any government to have taken such a step, without being absolutely certain that he had, not only a majority, but an overwhelming majority of the members of this House and of the people of this country, behind him, a majority so large, so pronounced, so absolutely certain that it could be called a practical unanimity of the whole people of this country from end to end, every section, every class, every creed and every race.

I have no doubt, Sir, that the House will sustain, and the country will sustain the leader of this government, and this government in taking that step. They will sustain them for two reasons; they will sustain them in the first place, because they believe that the cause in which they have embarked this country, is a righteous cause. I believe that nine out of ten members in this House, if not a larger proportion, will be able to come to the conclusion, that the government embarked the Dominion of Canada in a righteous and just cause, when they sent these contingents to help to fight the battles of Great Britain in South Africa. I believe that some of us who do not think it was a justifiable cause, will, nevertheless, say that when our country was once embarked, and our forces were hard bested, it was the duty of the country, without stopping to inquire who set the house on fire, to do everything that was possible to extinguish the flame and leave the inquiry as to who it was that started them, to be answered at a later stage. I wish to impress upon my hon. friend from Napierville, that the British Empire is engaged in a defensive war, for this is a point which has not been given due force and weight by that hon. gentleman (Mr. Monet), when he undertook to argue the other side of the main question. I am willing to frankly concede to the hon. gentleman that if the mother

country were engaged, in South Africa, in a war of aggression, there might be very considerable reason for hesitating before we could undertake to affirm the rectitude of her entering upon such a quarrel. I think there never was a more difficult ethical problem presented to any minister of the Crown than the problem which was presented to the Colonial Secretary, when he had to decide the question whether, before there was any ultimatum from President Kruger—or any such ultimatum was ever dreamed of—whether he, on the strength of any position in which the country was then placed, should involve the empire of Great Britain in war or not, for any cause then manifest in the controversy between the mother country and President Kruger. I know that there were the grievances of the Uitlanders to be redressed. Everybody has heard of them, all through the civilized world. A very active propaganda was set on foot to expound the grievances of those people in the Transvaal. Their grievances were great and serious, but I am not sure that there is any principle of international law; I am rather inclined to think that there is no principle of international law, none as yet generally recognized at all events, which would justify a foreign nation in intervening on behalf of the Uitlanders in connection with the internal affairs of the South African Republic. I think that Mr. Chamberlain and the Premier of Great Britain would have had a very difficult ethical problem to solve, if they had had to come to a conclusion upon anything that had occurred up to the time that President Kruger's ultimatum was delivered, in respect to the grievances of the Uitlanders, that would have justified them, as an independent power, in intervening between the Uitlanders and the government of the South African Republic. But, it was suggested, and is suggested, that it is not a case of one independent sovereignty in its relation with another independent sovereignty, but it is a question of a suzerain power in its relation with a subject power. There, again, however, I think you have a very difficult question to answer. Does the suzerainty exist, or had it been abolished? From my reading of the convention of 1884, I am bound to say that I cannot find, as a mere matter of legal construction, that British suzerainty was ever abolished in the convention of 1881, but eminent British statesmen have said that it was abolished, and that it was the purpose of the negotiations and of the new convention, that the suzerainty should be abolished. But, grant, for the sake of argument, that the suzerainty was not abolished, and that it is still in the convention, I am not sure that there is any living man who really knows what the suzerainty means, what it implies, or what it involves. I am not sure but that the hon. member for Laprairie and Napier-

ville conceded too much, when he said that if suzerainty was not abolished, he would be willing to give up his whole case, because I am not sure that suzerainty has anything to do with the relations between Mr. Kruger, as President of the South African Republic, and those who have chosen to make their domicile and be subject to the rule of the South African Republic in respect to their civil rights, as inhabitants of that republic. But it may be further said that outside of all technical pleadings and of all technical questions, as to whether a case for intervention had arisen, or whether suzerainty was abolished, or whether, if it has not been abolished, it involves the right to interpose for the protection of the Uitlanders, outside, I say, of all those considerations, a perfect case for the mother country was made out and can be made out on the ground of the absolute necessity of the protection of its own colonies and possessions in South Africa, against the intended encroachment of the South African Republic. Be it so, and so I do sincerely believe. But, it was difficult to press that ground, because President Kruger, when they charged him with amassing great and menacing armaments, always could point to the spectre of the Jameson Raid, and make it his excuse, and his justification for the enormous armaments that he was accumulating. I believe there is good ground further, for the contention, that there was a conspiracy on foot, and had been one on foot for years, in the South African Republic, not only to secure its own absolute independence, but to acquire the control of South Africa, but here again it was no easy matter to demonstrate the fact of such a conspiracy, or of the complicity of President Kruger, if it was a fact. My own mind is satisfied, in view of all the facts, that this war was inevitable and that even if the war had come without the ultimatum of President Kruger, it would have been a just and righteous war, but I do not see how any statesman in England could fail to be perplexed by the 'obstinate questionings' that must have oppressed him in coming to the conclusion that he had a complete case against the republic on account of anything that had transpired down to the date of the ultimatum. I do not know, if war had been declared in the absence of such an ultimatum, how it would have been demonstrable to the world that Great Britain had lowered it up by absolute acts of aggression. President Kruger. On the other hand, I do not know how any person can be in a position to say, that if President Kruger had not himself struck the first blow, if he had not delivered his insane ultimatum and followed it up by absolute acts of aggression, if he had not himself cried havoc and let slip the dogs of war, I do not know how any man can possibly be in a position to say that negotiations might not have

been proceeding at this very hour. But we do know that the British government was negotiating with infinite and inexhaustible patience down to the very hour when that insane ultimatum was delivered, and I do not see how any living man can say that the British government would not still have averted hostilities if that insane ultimatum had not been issued. Now, Sir, that is an absolutely vital point, and it is the point on which the argument of my hon. friend from Laprairie (Mr. Monet) was hopelessly at fault. From the other side of the House the very fair question was put to him by the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig): Who began the war, and my hon. friend (Mr. Monet) could not answer him. He did have to answer that Kruger struck the first blow. Well, if Kruger struck the first blow, the burden is on the hon. member (Mr. Monet) to show that Kruger was not the virtual, as he was actual, aggressor. It is certain that Kruger was the aggressor on the face of things, and it will require a strong case for him to make out that he was not absolutely the aggressor in point of substance, as he was in point of form. I am willing to go a long distance to meet my hon. friend (Mr. Monet). I am willing to say that even although Kruger did actually invade British territory, even although he did actually strike the first blow, he may not have been the aggressor if by our preparations against him, we placed ourselves in a menacing attitude towards him, and in a position where we might strike at him, and where he might fairly presume we had the intention to strike. Sometimes, as we all know, the man who strikes the first blow may do so absolutely in self-defence. But that case cannot be made out here if, as is admittedly the fact, the preparations of the British government were such as were absolutely demanded for the safety of their own territory. I call my hon. friend's attention, therefore, to the fact that on May 25 (six months before Kruger's ultimatum), he will find evidence that the Boer preparations across the border had excited the anxiety and fear of British subjects in the northern corner of Natal. They were nervous at the prospect of war; they wanted to know what the British government were prepared to do for them, and in all that dark and perplexed history of South African affairs the voice of the Imperial authority for once rang clear and true:

You can tell the minister from me that it is out of the question that any invasion of Natal should be tolerated by Her Majesty's government. Such an event is highly improbable, I think; but Natal would be defended with the whole force of the empire, if it occurred, and redress would be exacted for any injury to her.

That is the despatch from Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, to Mr. Chamberlain. I say, Sir, that from that time for-

ward every step taken by the British government was a step taken absolutely in self-defence. Every step taken after that in the line of military precautions was a step taken for the safety of British colonists and British subjects in Natal. Not only that, but I assert further, that not even sufficient precautions were taken by the British government.

Mr. McNEILL. Hear, hear.

Mr. RUSSELL. Every one now knows that the precautions taken by the British government were not adequate, and every one knows that we suffered defeat after defeat simply because the precautions taken by the British government were not sufficient to meet the emergency. Sir, in the light of all these facts, I assert that the cause of Britain is an absolutely righteous cause, an absolutely just cause, and because of its righteousness, and because of its justice, we are ready to stand by the mother country until the conflict is ended. We have had trials enough, and sorrows enough and difficulties enough, heaven knows, since this cruel conflict has opened, and we have had enemies and prophets of evil, many enough, who rejoiced in our temporary discomfitures and would be glad enough to have rejoiced in our downfall. One of these prophets, with whom the wish was father to the thought, predicted that in South Africa Great Britain was to find the grave of her empire. Sir, that prediction is going to be falsified. We know now for certain, but we felt confident of it all through, that Great Britain is not going to find the grave of her empire in South Africa. Far from it, Sir, she has found in South Africa her glorious rebirth, or at least, the renewal of her youth, for never before in the whole history of our country has there been a more glorious demonstration given to the whole world of its essential unity and its invincible power. The grave of empire! No, far otherwise. As one of our own poets has said:

It is not to be thought of that the flood
Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, 'with pomp of waters, unwith-
stood,'
Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
Should perish; and to evil and to good
Be lost forever. In our halls is hung
Armory of the invincible Knights of old;
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals
hold
Which Milton held.—In everything we are sprung
Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.

Under the colour of these manifold and indefeasible titles, the people of the motherland propose to go forward, and the people of Canada by their side, and along with

them the people of all our great self-governing colonies—to go forward through what toils and trials may yet remain, through what difficulties and dangers, through what agony and bloody sweat, forward from victory to victory until the standard of England is planted upon the battlements of Pretoria, the symbol and the guarantee to all nations and kindreds and peoples and tribes in all that great South African continent of British freedom and British justice—freedom and justice, the two noblest words in the English language, the two noblest achievements of British political genius and military valour.

Mr. W. H. BENNETT (East Simcoe). Mr. Speaker, the importance of this question must be my excuse for rising to continue the debate, if excuse were needed. As the representative of a constituency which has sent some of her gallant sons to the war in South Africa—one of whom has gloriously yielded up his life's-blood in defence of his country's honour—it is incumbent on me that I should speak in this debate. Throughout this discussion the government have endeavoured to shield themselves from the accusation, which is believed in throughout the whole Dominion, that they did not act with that promptitude which a loyal government of a loyal British colony should display. No complaint has come from this side of the House as to the action of the government in sending these contingents to South Africa, but to the amazement of the people of this Dominion a series of speeches have emanated from the Liberal benches which it is difficult to reconcile with loyalty to the British Crown. We have listened with pleasure to some loyal speeches from hon. gentlemen opposite, but to the consternation of the loyal people of Canada, we have heard emanating from the government benches speeches which did not savour of loyalty, speeches which did not tend to strengthen the bonds which should exist between Canada and the motherland; speeches which must raise in the minds of all the people of this country a doubt, that in this great trial of the empire the government of Canada were heartily willing to stand up for the defence of British institutions. The people of Canada objected to the delay of the government in taking action in this crisis, and I think that whole delay may be fairly charged to the account of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). I can congratulate the Minister (Mr. Tarte) that when he once puts his hands to the plough he never turns back. From the very birth of this government he has demonstrated that he is bound to have his way in all things. When the allotment of portfolios was being made the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) made a bid for the largest money-spending department, and the Prime Minis-

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ter was compelled to yield to his demands. And so on many occasions it has been proved and illustrated that if there is one man in the whole cabinet who controls and masters the situation, it is the Minister of Public Works. What ground are the government taking to-day? They are taking the ground that they had a perfect right to send these contingents to Africa, that they are justified in doing so by law and custom, and they hope and trust that their action will be endorsed by Canada and the Canadian parliament. When did this change come about? If there is one man who should be responsible for the action and conduct of the government, it is the man who leads it; and the right hon. the Premier was the first man who stood up in Canada, not in a haphazard manner, but deliberately, and gave it as his opinion that Canada should not enter into this war, and pooh-poohed and made light of the suggestion that the government had the right to interfere on behalf of the empire. There was published in the *Military Gazette* of Toronto, on the 3rd of October, the following statement:

There appears to be an entirely erroneous view held by many of the people that the militia is purely for defence and cannot be called upon to serve outside of Canada. Clause 76 of the Militia Act empowers Her Majesty to call out the militia, or any part thereof, for active service, either within or without Canada, when it appears advisable to do so by reason of war, invasion or insurrection, or danger of any of them. Provision is made in the Act for placing the militia under the orders of the Commander of Her Majesty's forces in Canada. This would be done in the event of our militia leaving Canada, as they would be serving under the Army Act and Queen's Regulations. Under authority of the Militia Act the whole of the militia of Canada could be called out by the government of Canada and placed under the orders of the Commander of the regular force in Canada and sent by him anywhere. There would be no difficulty in the Canadian government providing money for a force for service in the Transvaal, as a Governor General's warrant could be issued for any amount under our laws as an unforeseen and unprovided for expenditure.

I do not happen to know who the editor of that journal is; but to my mind he gave utterance to what is to-day accepted by this government as sound constitutional law. But instead of his being treated with consideration, the Premier was the first man to disdain and make light of his proposal. On the 4th of October, supposing that there was no widespread feeling throughout Canada in favour of taking part in this war, the Premier was carefully interviewed by the correspondent of the *Globe*, the great organ of the Liberal party in Canada, and in that interview he said:

There exists a great deal of misconception in the country regarding the powers of the government in the present case. As I understand the Militia Act, and I may say that I have given it some study of late, our volunteers are enrolled

to be used in the defence of the Dominion. They are Canadian troops to be used to fight for Canada's defence. Perhaps the most widespread misapprehension is that they cannot be sent out of Canada.

Then, he went on to say :

There is no menace to Canada, and although we may be willing to contribute troops, I do not see how we can do so. Then again, how could we do so without parliament's granting us the money? We simply could not do anything. In other words, we should have to summon parliament.

Then the hon. gentleman went out of his way to abuse the editor of the *Military Gazette*, by saying this :

The statement in 'The Military Gazette,' published this morning, is a pure invention. Far from possessing any foundation in fact, it is wholly imaginative.

The writer of that article in the *Gazette* is certainly entitled to an apology from the Premier, who, after stating that the writer did not know what he was talking about, accepted the dictum that gentleman had laid down. What is the cause of this change? The cause is quite plain: the Minister of Public Works, the master of the administration, had shown his hand; he had sulked in his tent; he was not forthcoming in this emergency. He was going through the province of Quebec making most inflammatory and abusive speeches against members of this House, more particularly against the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), and other gentlemen who at all times and in all places dared to take their political lives in their hands—as I fear they have done in some cases in the province of Quebec. These men were being reviled by the hon. gentleman in the province of Quebec, as note the following from his newspaper, *La Patrie* :

Not one of the speakers who addressed the meeting at St. Liboire had the energy to denounce the dangerous policy adopted by the chief of the Conservative party during the last few weeks, namely, the participation of Canada in the war of the Transvaal, and, consequently, in all others that might break out in Europe or elsewhere. M. Taillon, M. Beaubien and M. Bergeron constitute themselves the lay figures of Toryism and of the Orangeism of Ontario, that is to say, of the most fanatical and baneful influences that exist in this country.

We denounce them in the name of sound public opinion. We ask of our fellow-citizens to brand them as criminal cowards.

The Minister of Public Works in his journal was asserting that any man who should contend that Canada should take part in this Transvaal war should be denounced as a criminal coward. The Minister of Public Works denounces the whole cabinet to-day as criminal cowards because they took the action he denounced, and there is not a member of the cabinet who has the courage to resent the imputation and to chal-

lenge the Minister of Public Works that if he does not step out of the cabinet, they will do so. But a change came over the spirit of the dream of the Premier. Meanwhile, what was the *Globe* newspaper doing? Day in and day out its editorial columns were silent on the subject of the Transvaal war. The Premier had contented himself with the broad statement that it was utterly illegal and indefensible for Canada to interfere in this contest, and the *Globe* was prepared to accept his law on the question. What followed next? The interview with the Premier was on the 4th of October, and it is intimated to the *Globe* that a change of face must be shown to the public. The *Globe* was instructed to take two grounds—first, that it was utterly illegal and indefensible for Canada to interfere in this matter, and, secondly, that consideration and respect to parliament required that parliament should be summoned to consider the matter. Mark, the Premier and the government shifted from their first ground, and took refuge on the second ground that parliament should be called together. So we find the *Globe* newspaper on the 7th of October advocating that course. This is what it says:

What we have said will, we think, show that the rights of the government to deal with the matter without the consent of parliament is quite doubtful. No doubt the government would have the right to act in case of a great and unforeseen emergency. But in this case the emergency, if it exists, was certainly not unforeseen. . . . We do not lay down the rule that there ought to be more assistance rendered by the colonies even in these cases. But it can at least be reasonably maintained that before such a departure is taken parliament ought to be consulted.

In this way the government shifted their ground, because any man who read the military regulations would have seen that the writer in the *Military Gazette* was right, and the Premier was wrong. Therefore, when the military regulations were printed and read and discussed throughout the whole country, the weakness of the right hon. gentleman's position became evident, and the tip was given the Liberal press that a new and stronger ground must be taken. So, forsooth, on the 7th of October the *Globe* came out with the statement that the high court of parliament must be called and consulted before anything could be done. In the meantime the right hon. gentleman had gone on a visit to Chicago, and any one who will read the speeches which he made there will find that he dealt with every subject under the sun except the one in which Canada felt the greatest interest. That subject he studiously avoided, although there were magnificent opportunities afforded him at public banquets to declare before the world the readiness of Canada to stand by the empire, in her hour of need. But the right hon. gentleman was silent.

He indulged in flights of fancy and flowers of rhetoric on other subjects, but had not a word to say on this question; and if the truth could be known, if the right hon. gentleman would tell us how many cipher telegrams passed between his ministers and himself, we would find that during his stay in Chicago he was not reposing on a bed of roses. On his return he had to pass through the great city of Toronto, and there met scores of Liberals, who told him that his government was making a laughing stock of itself. First, by declaring it to be the solemn law of the country that the government could not intervene, and then abandoning that ground and taking the other that parliament must be called together before intervention. Why, we can imagine these gentlemen saying to him, has not the administration time and time again spent money in advance of the authority of parliament? Has not the government passed orders in council innumerable for the expenditure of money? It is high time you should be up and doing; the loyal province of Ontario is a seething mass of discontent against the government because of its inaction. In that great journal of Canada, the *Montreal Star*, thousands of opinions of the people were being daily published. What was the public opinion expressed in that paper? Day in and day out, the *Montreal Star* was publishing telegrams and letters from every city and town, village and hamlet, demanding that the government of Canada should respond to the will of the people by coming to the relief of the motherland without delay. What then happened? The right hon. gentleman went to Ottawa, and there he met the master of the administration, who was on top on this occasion, as he always is. There were hurried consultations held in the city of Montreal. Day in and day out the public were anxiously waiting a decision. In Toronto, the armouries were swarming night after night with men waiting and watching to see what this government were going to do—this government which was making itself ridiculous by declaring one day it was feasible to send men and the next day that it had no power to act before parliament voted the money. What happened? The Premier was in Chicago about the 9th of October, and on the 12th of October, the *Globe* made the announcement that in all probability a contingent would be sent. Why, parliament had not met at all. The law was the same as it was before. But the Premier was wrong, as everybody knew. The editor of the *Military Gazette* was right, as everybody knew. And everybody knew that parliament had not been summoned and that these hon. gentlemen were changing their front and waiting upon and watching for every shift of the wind. In the meantime, there were two great currents of opinion

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in the province of Quebec. There was the hon. member for Napierville (Mr. Monet), and there was the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and I congratulate these gentlemen on the honesty of their opinions, though I am sorry to see the stand they have taken—these gentlemen denounced the government for sending a contingent, yet this government, which to-day poses as the personification of loyalty, dared not cross the river and bring out an opponent against the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), who had denounced them as wrong-doers.

In the government constituency of Napierville, the hon. member for that county (Mr. Monet) went about saying that if a petition were signed by twenty-five of his constituents, he would resign his seat and contest the county against the policy of the government. Yet this strong government was afraid to take up the hon. gentleman's challenge. In the meantime, in Toronto and in every county of Ontario, there were strong demonstrations against the government. Where were the Ontario ministers? They could not be found. Where was the gallant knight, the Minister of Trade and Commerce? Was he standing up and denouncing the Minister of Public Works? Not at all. Where was the Postmaster General, the Minister of Customs, and the other members of the administration? Not one was heard from, but the master of the administration was asserting his power. The *Globe* announced on the 12th of October that there would be a cabinet council, and it was not until the 14th of October that the order in council was made and the regulation passed that a contingent should go to the front. Why, if this government were of one opinion, if they saw eye to eye on this occasion, where was the necessity of wasting two or three days in the passing of an order in council? The answer is to be found in this fact that the Minister of Public Works was insisting upon the terms of the order and no doubt himself drafted it, and so we find it reported on the 23rd of October in *La Patrie*:

We declare in the most formal manner that the departure of the volunteers under the present conditions does not establish a precedent. The government of Her Majesty, and we are sure His Excellency the Governor General have neither the desire nor the intention to bind us by devious procedure or by manœuvres plotted in the dark.

Here was the Minister of Public Works insisting on a reservation which is not the reservation of the people of Canada. It is not their wish that this should not be considered as a precedent. The people of Canada are prepared on all future occasions—should such unfortunately arise—to take the same stand again. What was seen afterwards? We saw the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) protesting in this House against this war and against the in-

tervention of Canadian troops in it, and I regret to say that he characterized, with unseemly language, the contest in which England is plunged. This is not a war of spoliation, as he described it; it is not a bloody warfare carried on by the strong against the weak; it is, and it has been an attack made upon Britain and Britain's glory, and Britain's honour. I quite agree with everything said by the hon. member for North Norfolk, when he denounced the gentlemen who had described this war as an uncalled-for proceeding on the part of Great Britain.

What followed? The hon. member for Labelle went to his constituents, and he came back here, to do what? Not to turn somersaults, I hope. Still, he announced that he is ready to do that. He resigns as a protest against this expenditure, and now he announces that he is ready to support it. The hon. member for Napierville (Mr. Monet) is more consistent; he, as I understand him, has announced that he will vote against the appropriations.

Now, if the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) will excuse me, for appropriating one of his expressions, it was a sight to make angels weep and jackasses laugh, to see the hon. member for Labelle, escorted into the House by the hon. Minister of Public Works, a member of this government, whose members see eye to eye, whose hearts beat together in this war. The Minister of Public Works on the floor of this House of Parliament dares—for I say, it was a daring act, and would not be ventured upon by any man but the Minister of Public Works, who feels so strong in his position—to introduce on the floor, a gentleman who resigned his seat as a protest against the action of the government.

The hon. junior member for Halifax has contented himself by doing what? He did not endeavour to deal with the conduct of the government, but he devoted himself to proving that at a time, probably, when most of us were unborn, the leader of the opposition did not see these matters exactly as he sees them to-day. I have no quarrel with that. I heard the explanation of the leader of the opposition in this House, and I heard the statements read; and I say it was the greatest strain upon the English language to attempt to twist and distort the statement made by the leader of the opposition some years ago, to prove that he at any time was found averse to the participation by Canada in any wars in which the mother country might unfortunately take part.

But where does the Premier come in? He says: I was right in my law—for he has not yet retracted, at any rate by his conduct—and actions as we know, speak louder than words. He has not summoned parliament to provide for this expenditure. He has only, according to his own statement, per-

mitted these volunteers to go to South Africa. Surely the brave Canadians who have gone out there and have endured the toils and dangers of war will be thankful to him for permitting them to go. I can tell the right hon. Premier, that I witnessed some of the scenes of enthusiasm and saw the outburst of loyalty in the county of Simcoe; and if he had not permitted the loyal members of the contingent from that county to go, they would have gone without his permission. Has it come to this, that men volunteering their services, their lives for the defence of the empire, are simply to be permitted to go. It should be declared that they go with the full approval, with the heartiest approval of the people of Canada, rather than that a forced and reluctant permission has been drawn from this government.

But the Premier has shifted his ground. After he has admitted his action that his law was bad, and that his action was wrong and parliament should have been called together, he says that the action of the government was dictated by public opinion. I accept that statement in toto, and without qualification. I believe that is the only reason that this government took the action that they did, and not of their own free will and accord. Because, the Minister of Public Works, the master of the administration, denounced my hon. friend from Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), and others who approved of our participation in the war. The government was driven by the Conservative press, and, to a great extent also, by the action of the leader of the opposition. We have heard the romantic details concerning that wonderful telegram. Whether it reached the Premier, or whether it did not, I am not going to consider. But I will say that when this telegram was despatched by the leader of the opposition, saying that the great Conservative party would back up the government in this action, the heart of Canada beat responsive. And, Sir, that was one of the reasons why the government was driven to take the course they did. It stands out clearly in the record, that the government acted reluctantly, and only in obedience to public opinion. The Minister of Public Works, by his denunciations in his newspaper and otherwise, by his actions on the stump in different places in the province of Quebec, by delaying the government's action, and finally by causing to be inserted, as he claimed he had caused to be inserted, this proviso in the order in council, made it certain and plain that he did control, and did direct the action of the administration. And, if the Minister of Public Works is to be blamed in this connection—and I do claim that he is to be blamed—still I am here to say that I honour the Minister of Public Works for not looking back once he had decided upon his course. This is not the first occasion when we have had it shown

that the Minister of Public Works was the master of the administration. Two years ago, the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), in the committee announced that the policy of this government was that permission should be given for railways to cross into the boundary country from the United States. But when it came down to this House, the government stood up to back up their policy, and the Minister of Public Works stood up to knock it down. Why did not other ministers resign on that occasion? If not why did not the Minister of Public Works resign? There was no cause for that hon. gentleman to resign, for he had won. So in this contest, there was no reason for that hon. gentleman to resign, because he had won. And I say it would be more honourable to the other members of the cabinet, if they had stuck to their guns and manfully declared: If the Minister of Public Works is to prevail in this matter, we are prepared to go out. But the people know to-day that the Minister of Public Works has had his way. Now, in the course of this debate, we have heard speeches made by hon. gentlemen on the other side, very different from what they declared when they were outside this House. The Minister of Public Works himself, went around like a roaring lion seeking whom he might devour, but he comes back a cooing dove. Not that he need be afraid, for has not the Premier himself said: The day the Minister of Public Works goes out of this cabinet, I go out too. They are the Chang and Eng of Canadian politics. When one dies, the other also expires. The Minister of Public Works knows the strength of his position. But there are other gentlemen who went out and spoke. There was the hon. member for St. James Division of Montreal (Mr. Desmarais). That hon. gentleman spoke in Montreal, and this is what he said:

I do not fear to say that the Laurier government would be seriously blamed by the electorate if it approved such a measure, sending a Canadian contingent to the Transvaal, and I, for one, would rise on the floor of the House as member for St. James Division, if such a proposal was brought before parliament and signify my disapproval.

But read the speech of the hon. gentleman in this House. Did he signify his disapproval? Unlike the hon. member for Napierville and the hon. member for Labelle, he has been whipped into line. It may be owing, because the statement that went forth through the public press last year that the hon. gentleman was to be appointed to a judgeship has a basis of fact. That is rather borne out by the fact that the public press has announced within the past few days that three more judges are to be appointed for the Montreal district. Sir, the fact of the matter is, that the government are playing fast and loose with

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this question. They have played fast and loose with this question, and the Premier has done so on every occasion that presented itself. When the elections of 1887 were on, what was heard then as the Shibboleth, the war cry of the Liberal party? Whenever a French-speaking people could be found, their cry went forth that the murder of Riel, as it was termed, must be avenged. That was the cry throughout the whole province of Quebec, and the Premier to-day is responsible and has been responsible in the past for those utterances. Well was it said the other day by the hon. member for Kent, N.B., (Mr. McInerney) that there have always been in the province of Quebec two great lines of thought, one led by the Liberal party, which has always taught distaste and distrust for Britain and everything connected with Britain. And, Sir, was not that statement borne out by the hon. member for Napierville (Mr. Monet) the other night, when he chided the Premier for bringing him up to his present state of mind, and then rudely letting him drop at the present juncture?

But this is not at all confined to the province of Quebec. I believe it has been, and it is, rampant there; but wherever in the province of Ontario there is a large French Canadian vote, this has always been the cry of the Liberal party, they have tried to work race and religion for all they are worth. In the constituency which honours me with its confidence, there is a large French-speaking population, numbering probably 3,000 or 4,000 souls in all. They are people who came into that northern part of Ontario some years ago and engaged in lumbering operations. The land was fertile, they were industrious and thrifty; they took up land there, and they live there to-day, and if any hon. gentleman from the province of Quebec will pay that part of the province a visit, he will think he has been transplanted into one of his own Quebec counties. There are men who are intelligent, there are men who are thrifty, there are men who are industrious; and better than that, there are men who have grasped the situation and taken advantage of the opportunities that are afforded them. They have no conflict there with their English-speaking friends. They mix together at the same public schools—at least in most districts they do; their children are taught the English language; and it is their fondest wish to be, as they are, honoured and respected by their English-speaking neighbours. In the municipal contests that take place in those townships the greatest possible deference is accorded to the French Canadian residents in that part of the riding, and they always have a representative placed on the municipal boards; aye, more than that, the township council officers are French Canadians. As I said before, they are deserving of every privilege, they are deserving of every respect that

has been given them. Sir, such is the peaceful condition of things in that riding year in and year out, there is the greatest possible degree of interchange of good feeling between the two classes of people. But, Sir, let the signal be placed on the wall that there is going to be a general election, and then what do we find? We find Mr. Charles Marcil, one of the bosom friends of the Premier, we find Mr. Leduc, and scores of others whose names I have forgotten, coming into that township, to do—what? To raise prejudice, to raise passion, to endeavour to breed a feeling that festers and has festered for months after an election. Sir, these are the gentlemen who have always been responsible for attempting to foster the race and religious cries in that riding. So bitter, so violent were the attacks that have been made in that riding, that they have estranged the support of dozens and dozens of honest Liberals who were disgusted with the appeals that were made, because, when there were great questions to be discussed, when questions of trade and commerce came up and other matters of importance, they were disgusted to hear such cries raised by these gentlemen on every occasion that offered itself, and it has recoiled on their own heads. I may here tell the government to-night that if, as I trust, I am the candidate again in that riding, I ask no greater favour from them than to send up the men there that they have sent in the past to raise those questions of race and religion, and revenge.

Sir, how does this government act towards their friends? The hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), the man who says the government is wrong but who won't vote against their getting the money, is at once translated to a higher place, the portals of the caucus room are thrown open to him, with open arms he is embraced and is placed in the confidential position of a whip of the government.

Mr. BOURASSA. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I have already denied that statement, which is entirely unfounded in fact. I am not a government whip.

Mr. BENNETT. I accept the hon. gentleman's statement that he is not a government whip, and I will rely on the statement that the government, in order to conciliate this hon. gentleman, have tendered him a position.

Mr. BOURASSA. No. This has also been denied, and I deny it again.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, where is the hon. member for Napierville (Mr. Monet)? Is the caucus closed to him? I have not heard that it is. That is wide open that he may run into it too.

Mr. MONET. This is a family matter with which the hon. gentleman has nothing to do.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, if this is a family matter all I can say is that if there are a few more exhibitions afforded of the differences of opinion that have been manifested in the past few weeks, the whole family will soon be on the street. Why, the hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe (Mr. Stenson) stands up and denounces the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) because he has dared to say things that are not complimentary to the people with whom he is allied; and so we find the members of this happy family assailing each other in turn. Now, the reason that I have mentioned the matter is this, that this government are so torn asunder on this matter, they are so shifting their sails to the fleeting winds that they cannot afford to lose a single friend on this question. Doubtless the members for Labelle and Napierville will be provided for, and if the hon. member for St. James, Montreal (Mr. Desmarais), is not translated to the judiciary by that time he will have recanted from his first opinion, and when the election takes place in the province of Quebec, there will be nothing to denounce but the leader of the opposition and the *Montreal Star* for having started the agitation that drove this government to the action they took. And that will go on in the province of Quebec. True, there will be a hemming and a hawing, there will be an endeavour to excuse and apologize for that same action of the government. But the real question will be—and it is on this question that this government is impaled—that this government is notoriously weak in the eyes of the people. It is to-day asking for aid, and assistance, and succour from every quarter, they are impressing into the fold every man who can assist them, and woe betide the man who denounces a minister. Look at the fate of the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson). He denounced the little Napoleon of the west, who, by the way, has gone into exile, and where is the hon. member for Lisgar? He is driven out of the caucus room. Sir, is it not a pitiful situation for a so-called strong government to be in? They are now in such a position that whoever dares to assail the frail character of a minister must be driven out of the gates. On matters of import such as this every member is free to do as he likes in the premises—do whatever he will and say whatever he will; but in the name of all that is good they must try to crawl back into the fold in some way or another. But if a member of the House dares to stand up and say that he thinks that a minister is wrong, there is only one place where he is to be cast, and that is into outer darkness, where the member for Lisgar is now.

Sir, the government are on their trial, not only in the great province of Ontario, but in every province of this Dominion, on their action on this occasion. In every province

of this Dominion, whether it be from the far west or the far east, there is unanimity, there is a line of action that all have agreed and decided upon. They are not going to quibble and ask themselves whether this war was right or wrong, they are not going to ask themselves whether the law or custom of the country permitted participation on the part of Canada in this war, but they are going to say spontaneously, and as one man: We believe that when the hour of duty arrives and England calls for assistance, that assistance should be granted to her, and we are prepared to give it. And when the time does come that an appeal to the great electorate has to be made, all the apologizing and shuffling of this government will stand in the light of day, and it must appear that the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues were driven to this policy and that action was taken which was not taken by themselves, which was not of their own choosing, or of their own wish, but that they were driven to this by public opinion. Far be it from me to say that the great Liberal party throughout Ontario and the Dominion are not loyal to the core; I believe they are. But in this matter, as in many others, they have been betrayed by their leaders. There was a time when the cry of commercial union rang from one end of the country to the other. On that occasion thousands of good loyal Liberals withdrew their support and assistance from the Liberal party. And why? Because they saw that if the policy of their leaders was carried out nothing but destruction was in store for Canada's interests. And so to-day, when the appeal is made to the electorate on this question, the people will pronounce, as they pronounced the other day in the province of Manitoba, and as they pronounce on every occasion that is offered to them, that an administration that is led by the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), the man who controls and directs and leads every action that it takes, is not worthy of countenance, and that there should be in times of emergency and when grave questions are facing the country and the empire, a government with a leader at its head who will not wait for public opinion, but standing in the van, will lead, leaving to all to follow.

Motion agreed to, and House resolved itself into committee on the resolutions.

(In the Committee.)

It being six o'clock, the committee took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

On resolution 1,

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) if

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these two orders in council have been brought down.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). A statement of the Governor General's warrants was brought down giving the sums of money, but I do not think the text of the orders in council was brought down.

Mr. FOSTER. I wish the hon. gentleman would bring that down.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I will text of the orders in council are laid on the Table.

On resolution 2,

Mr. FOSTER. I do not want to go into the particulars in reference to this resolution at this stage, provided we can take them on the Bill itself with the additions that, I believe, the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) is preparing; that is, the estimate in detail of the different items which go to make up the amount. It is quite impossible for us, just by explanation across the Table, to at all make any analysis or criticism of the expenditures which go to make up the total sum, and if, with the understanding that, when we are in committee on the Bill, we can take up the items of expenditure, the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence having provided the members of the House with an estimate of the items, we might discuss them in that way. Of course, that would serve the purpose of parliament just as well, and it would facilitate the matter rather than waiting for it now. I would like to hear the answer of the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding).

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) has prepared the information and will be very glad to give any information that may be desired now. There is no desire on our part to shut off any proper inquiry at a later stage either of the resolutions or of the Bill. Since the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence is prepared now with the information, perhaps it would facilitate matters if he would give the information the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) desires.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. Minister of Militia and Defence may give all the information he pleases, but with a mass of information making up about \$2,000,000, you will see that it is quite impossible to have any criticism at all. What I think would be better would be to defer that stage of criticism until the second reading of the Bill.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Or when the Bill is in committee.

Mr. FOSTER. Or when the Bill is in committee, and let the hon. minister put

on the Table, for the information of members now, or as soon as possible, a printed statement of the items. Whilst we are all in favour of the appropriation, the hon. minister must not think that it is going through parliament just by a general explanation. We must have all the items in detail so that we can have time and be prepared to pass a judgment on every item just the same as if the estimates were passing through the House. The hon. minister will quite see that it will be impossible to make any criticism outside of that. I suppose we might agree to and pass this resolution, as far as this goes, without the proper explanation or debate.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) suggested to the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) and myself the propriety of having the statement printed which has been printed. Do I understand from him that he wishes a further detailed statement printed of every item of the expenditure that is incurred the same as the items that appear in the Auditor General's Report?

Mr. FOSTER. I have not seen the statement the minister refers to, nor do I think any member on this side of the House has.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I shall send the hon. gentleman over some copies of it. I understood it had been printed and circulated. I am sorry it has not been.

Mr. FOSTER. This statement will, of course, be satisfactory for the present.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) should have been placed in possession of a copy of the statement before now, and as he will need time to examine it, there will be no objection at the committee stage of the Bill to go into these details.

3. The word 'expenditures' in the foregoing resolutions includes the following:—

(a) All expenses of every kind in connection with the raising, enrolling, arming, equipping, provisioning, despatching and transporting of the said contingents up to the time of their arrival at the place of debarkation in South Africa.

Mr. FOSTER. I suppose that does not include payment for the staff of the Militia Department or anything of that kind?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The regular officers of the department performed their duties without extra expense. Possibly in some cases we required extra help, and travelling expenses would be included.

(b) The payment of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men composing the said contingents up to the time of debarkation as aforesaid at the rates authorized by the regulations and orders of the Department of Militia and Defence;

(c) All separation allowances paid to the wives and children of the married non-commissioned officers and men at the rates laid down by the Imperial regulations;

Mr. FOSTER. Are these separation allowances paid by the Imperial authorities?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No, but we are paying the same rate as the Imperial authorities.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. They cannot be paid by the Imperial authorities.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. In the Imperial army a certain number of non-commissioned officers and men are allowed to marry, and the separation allowance is paid to their wives and families by a vote of the Imperial parliament. We are paying these allowances ourselves.

Mr. FOSTER. Is there any understanding with the Imperial government that these allowances shall be refunded to us?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No; the application has not been made.

Mr. FOSTER. The understanding all through this discussion has been that the British government wished to treat our Canadian soldiers as if they were Imperial troops. In that case, of course, the British government would pay this allowance to the wives of married men of the Canadian and Australian contingents, or otherwise they would not be treating the men from the colonies the same as the Imperial troops.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I made inquiries with reference to that at the outset. The question presented itself to me precisely as it does to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster). The answer I received was, that there was no provision made, and I was told that none of the other colonies had raised any question with regard to that. I did not press the matter further.

Mr. FOSTER. I suppose it might be reconciled in this way. The only Imperial soldiers placed on that footing are those who have been given permission to marry, and as the Imperial authorities have not, of course, given permission to any of the Canadians or Australians to marry, they will properly not come under that rule.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. That is the explanation.

Mr. FOSTER. I can quite see how that would be consistent.

Mr. GUILLET. With reference to the \$200,000 for rifles and ordnances; as I understand it, these were taken out of stores.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes, we took them out of stores and we are replacing them by purchase from England.

Mr. OLIVER. What is the amount of these separation allowances which are to be paid to the wives and children?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The separation allowance given by the Imperial authorities is as follows: Sergeants, 50 cents for a wife, 5 cents for each son, and 5 cents for each daughter, per day; corporals, 35 cents for a wife, 5 cents for each son, and 5 cents for each daughter; privates, 25 cents for a wife, 5 cents for each son, and 5 cents for each daughter. The numbers are as follows in the first contingent: sergeants, 13 wives, 24 children; corporals, 9 wives, 15 children; privates, 37 wives, 61 children. These draw about \$23 per day, at which rate the payments on account of the first contingent will amount to \$5,589 to June 30, 1900. The memorandum goes on to say that the returns for the second contingent are not in, and we are not able to say how many married men are in it.

Mr. OLIVER. I would like to say, following the remarks which I made on the resolution, that I for one do not consider that the Imperial rate of pay or allowances is adequate to the circumstances of our soldiers. I do not think 25 cents a day to the wife of a private soldier, circumstanced as the private soldiers are in the first, second or third Canadian contingents, an adequate allowance. The very fact that it is the allowance of the Imperial forces, made in the case of people whose trade or calling is simply soldiering, is an evidence that it is not adequate.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. It applies to the Imperial militia.

Mr. OLIVER. The fact that it applies to the Imperial forces is a sufficient proof that it is not adequate when applied to people in civilian life. As to its being sufficient for the militia forces in the old country, even in that case the circumstances are not the same as in the case of our volunteers in this country, where the cost of living is higher and where wages are higher; and the class of people who have joined the Canadian forces are perhaps on a somewhat different footing from those who compose the ordinary militia forces in the old country. If the people of Canada are deriving a certain amount of credit from the sacrifices made by these men who have gone to Africa, it is as little as the people of Canada can do for themselves to lighten those sacrifices as much as possible, and to judge what are proper allowances, not by the standard which prevails in the mother country, where the conditions are

Mr. GUILLET.

different, but rather by the standard which prevails in this country. This country is getting the benefit, if there is any benefit, and should pay according to that benefit.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I would point out to my hon. friend that in addition to this allowance, the wife of the Canadian soldier is getting the benefit of a fund which is to be set aside, made up of the difference between the Canadian pay and the Imperial pay. After carefully considering the matter, we thought, in view of that fund being set aside for the benefit of the wife and children, or the men if they come back, that this allowance would answer fairly well.

Mr. McNEILL. I must say I entirely agree with the view of my hon. friend opposite (Mr. Oliver). I do think we ought not to make two bites of a cherry in this matter. I think we ought not to save one-half of the pay of our militia by reason of their going to South Africa. If they were serving here instead of in South Africa, we would be paying them 50 cents a day.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. We are paying them that.

Mr. McNEILL. No, we are paying half that. The pay of a private militiaman in Canada is 50 cents, whereas if he goes to South Africa, only 25 cents is to be paid to him by Canada, and I am very glad to see that my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is as much shocked at the thought as I am, because he shook his head at the statement.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am not shocked. It was at the first statement you made that I shook my head.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend said that we were paying them 50 cents. He finds now that we are not paying them 50 cents. I hope that we shall have one member of the government with us, if not more, and that this shall not be made a party question at all. I hope we shall arrange to give our boys who have gone out at the risk of their lives to uphold the honour of Canada and the integrity of the empire, their full Canadian pay, and will not attempt to save 25 cents out of it.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. My hon. friend assumes that I was incorrect in my statement across the House; but unless I am altogether wrong, the Minister of Militia explained to us in Council, and we all concurred in it, that Canada is providing for the payment of the full amount to our militia who have gone to South Africa that they would be entitled to receive under our regulations here. They may not get it all paid to them each day in South Africa. There they can only

be paid on the same scale as Imperial troops; but the difference is funded for them here, and their wives and families will receive it, or they will receive it if single men, when they come back. In addition to that, they are paid the Queen's regulation fees, if married, for their wives and children; that is, in addition to the pay of regular Canadian troops or the Mounted Police force. I think I am correct in saying that.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That is right.

Mr. WALLACE. What is Canada paying?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The full pay that is paid to a permanent militiaman or a Mounted Policeman here, and in addition to that the Queen's regulation fees for those who are married.

Mr. McNEILL. I think my hon. friend is mistaken. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence whether we are paying our militiamen who have gone to South Africa, in addition to the pay they are receiving from the Imperial authorities, the full amount of pay they would have if serving in Canada.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No.

Mr. McNEILL. Precisely. That is what I said. My hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is wrong, and I am right in my contention.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No.

Mr. McNEILL. The minister says we are not paying the full amount of their Canadian pay.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. We are providing for it.

Mr. McNEILL. No, we are not; we are providing for the difference between Imperial pay and Canadian pay. We are providing 25 cents a day for privates. It is well that the House should understand that the Canadian private militiaman is not to have 50 cents a day put to his credit while he is away, but that he is to have 25 cents a day put to his credit while he is away. I ask the Minister of Militia if that is right.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. That is what my hon. friend said.

Mr. McNEILL. No, it was the very opposite.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Not at all.

Mr. McNEILL. Well, my hon. friend was understood to say it on this side of the House, and I think the country would so understand him. Under the present arrangement the boys who have gone out, are not to receive from Canada the full amount of pay they would have, if they were here. I think they ought to have it, in addition to whatever they may get from the Imperial authorities. We ought not to have any saving in this matter. I do not think that we ought simply to supplement what is given by the Imperial authorities, but that our boys should receive full pay from us, irrespective of what they may get in the Imperial service. That is what I said to begin with, and my hon. friend said I was entirely wrong. I am quite in favour of the position taken by my hon. friend opposite (Mr. Oliver), and I hope the committee will agree that it is the proper one to take.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I am afraid that the way my hon. friend has put the case is calculated to leave an erroneous opinion which I am sure he has no desire to do. What we wish to state, and what the Minister of Militia did state, is that our militia, who are going out to South Africa, will receive the full pay that they would if they were serving Her Majesty in Canada. The militiaman will receive, either himself or his family, as may be arranged, the full pay he would receive if he were serving Her Majesty in Canada, and that is larger than the pay in the British service. And, in addition, if he be a married man, his family will get a separation allowance, which they would not receive if he were serving at home.

Mr. McNEILL. I wish to repeat that by means of the pay given by the Imperial authorities, Canada is saving one half of the pay she would give her militiamen if serving her at home. That is an awkward position for us to be in.

Mr. DAVIN. Will the militiaman have, not only the Imperial pay, but the full pay he would have received if on service in this country?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Including the Imperial pay?

Mr. DAVIN. In addition to it.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Not in addition.

Mr. DAVIN. I communicated some months ago with the Minister of Militia, and suggested to him that the mounted policemen should have, while serving in Africa, their full pay, to be given their legal representatives, if they so desired, or kept for them until they returned. And in the meanwhile let the Imperial authorities pay them what they please. The hon. minister whom I found very courteous with regard to this matter, telegraphed back to say that

the suggestion was being carefully considered, and I got the impression that he had decided that in the case of the mounted police, this would be done. I would like to know what the position is.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA. With regard to the mounted police, the position adopted is precisely the same as that taken with reference to the militia, except that the mounted police rate is the one that governs. That is to say, you make up to the mounted policemen the difference between the British cavalry pay, and the mounted police pay, just as in the case of the infantry, we make up the difference between the Imperial infantry pay, and the Canadian infantry pay.

Mr. DAVIN. In the case of a mounted policeman, whose pay out here is 75 cents a day, if the Imperial government pays him 40 cents, then you make up the difference, and pay him 35 cents?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA. Exactly.

Mr. DAVIN. I think that is unsatisfactory, from whatever point of view you look at it. It is unsatisfactory from the Imperial point of view. I think we ought to say: We will foot the whole bill for our fellows over there. Look at the way the wholesale men in England are behaving. They are allowing the pay to continue to those of their men who are in the reserve. There are many wholesale houses who allow their men full pay while they are serving in South Africa. Surely Canada ought to be able to do what a private firm can do. The most respectable position for Canada to occupy would be to let the Imperial authorities do what they like, we would give the men their full pay. These are not hired men, but men who volunteered to go. I know of one man, worth certainly \$150,000, who is going out as a corporal. I know another, a perfect model of what a man should be physically, and a wealthy man, going out as a constable. They are not Tommy Atkins, but men of a superior kind, and we should not deal with them in this manner, but in a generous way, worthy of Canada. With regard to the mounted police, what should be done, and what I thought the minister agreed to do, would be to allow them their full pay apart altogether from what they get from the Imperial authorities. I felt so convinced that the hon. minister would do this, that I had a cheer given for him at Calgary, at the sending off we gave the Pincher Creek contingent. It was one of the finest patriotic gatherings which could be seen anywhere, and of that contingent, every man was fit for a statue. I told them that the Minister of Militia had agreed to continue the full pay of the policemen, while in South Africa, to their families in this country, or to be kept for them until they came back, and the hon. minister was loudly cheered.

Mr. DAVIN.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). These men have enlisted to serve in the British army, and have deliberately chosen to serve it on Imperial pay, not asking or expecting to be better treated than the Tommy Atkins, to whom they do not pretend to be superior. And I do not believe that they care so much for the pay as these hon. gentlemen pretend. I do not believe that a man worth \$150,000, cares very much whether he gets 10 cents a day, more or less. These men are going out there for duty's sake, and as I have explained to the House, the policy adopted in their regard, is that adopted with respect to all the British colonies. All the men who volunteer their services are just British soldiers, serving with the rights and responsibilities of British soldiers, and we know that they have discharged them well. But we thought, after consideration, that a man in the mounted police, for instance, who gave up his position and volunteered to serve at Imperial pay should at least not lose anything, and that when he came back here, after having served through the war, he should be placed in the same position, and lose nothing at all, but get the same amount of money he would have received had he remained in Canada. Therefore, we have provided that the difference between the Imperial pay and the Canadian pay which he would receive here shall be provided for his relatives. As it has been explained, it is not intended to pay them that money, to give it to them from day to day or month to month, for everybody will realize that it would not be conducive to discipline if one man received one rate of pay and another man received another. But this money will be deposited and will be given to them on their return or given to their families. Now, the contention of my hon. friend from Bruce (Mr. McNeill), which is repeated by hon. gentlemen on the other side, is that these men should receive pay and a half, the whole of the Canadian pay and the Imperial pay. This is a novel proposition, and one which, I think, would not commend itself to the judgment of the House. I believe that if the volunteers themselves were consulted upon this subject, they would be quite satisfied with what we have done for them. Take the mounted police. These men have been faithful servants of the country, and have done valuable duty and done it for no very large rate of pay, but pay with which they have been content. We propose that, by the fact that they have gone to serve their country, they should not suffer any loss, but should receive as much as they would have received if they had remained in the country.

Mr. DAVIN. I think it is a very small affair—

The PRIME MINISTER. I think so.

Mr. DAVIN. I think it is a small way of looking at it. And I think that if the Prime Minister would consider it a little further—because I am sure he looks at it sympathetically—he would take the view that these men should have their full pay. Take the ordinary policeman, who receives 75 cents a day, and the non-commissioned officer who receives a certain amount. These men receive that money when they are in the North-west Territories and in their usual line of work. They volunteered to go to South Africa, give their time, to give their valour, to give their lives, if necessary, for the empire. I say that we should not go into this careful balancing of accounts as to whether they would lose anything or not. We should say: You are going to fight for the empire, and you may be away for three months, you may be away for six months. You give your services to the empire—very well, let the empire treat you how it pleases; so far as we are concerned, your place is kept and your pay goes on. That is what the wholesale men do.

Mr. McNEILL. I quite agree with what my hon. friend (Mr. Davin) has said; and I would ask the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to be kind enough not to give us a final answer to-night, but to wait and see if he cannot take a more favourable view of the situation. I think there is a great deal in the example that has been cited of the wholesale dealers in England. I think that if a private firm thinks it right to pay its employees their full amount of wages while they are absent serving in the field and still allow them to have the pay the Imperial authorities give, Canada, as a Dominion, might at least do as much. I think there is a great deal of force in this aspect of the question—that the Imperial soldier of the line, in a sense, goes out as a hired soldier. That is an unfortunate expression to make use of, and I would rather make use of some other term if it had come to my mind. I mean that he serves in this war as a professional. But the Canadian goes out purely as a volunteer. It is quite true, as has been said, that some men who have gone out are wealthy, and it does not matter to them what the rate of pay may be. But there are men who have gone out there to whom and to whose families it does matter very considerably. The mere fact that they volunteered and did not ask what the pay was to be is no reason why we should not give what is suggested, but rather a reason why we should give it to show that we are prepared to appreciate the voluntary sacrifice they have made. I would beg my right hon. friend to take this matter, at all events, into his consideration. I hope it will not be made in any way a party issue; I hope that both sides can agree to give our Canadian militiaman who has gone to South Africa the same pay when he comes back that he would have

had if he had not left, and still allow him the pay he gets from the Imperial authorities. Do not let us save anything in this matter. If the volunteer had been serving in Canada he would have got 50 cents. For goodness sake, let us give him that and not save anything by reason of the fact that he has been risking his life fighting for the empire.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. They are getting it.

Mr. McNEILL. Yes, they are getting that amount, but we are saving half. From my point of view—of course I do not wish to say anything offensive to any member of the government—it seems a small thing to try to save half the pay that we would otherwise give to our militiamen simply because they are going out to fight for us in South Africa. Had it not been for the rule laid down by the Imperial authorities in reference to colonial forces, I presume we would be only too glad to give the 50 cents to our colonial volunteers. I understand that some of the Australian colonies are paying their men. I presume in this way—my right hon. friend shakes his head, but I will give the authority on which I make the statement. I read a letter from a Natal volunteer in which he spoke of the pay the men of his force were receiving as being very much larger than that received by the regulars. I presume that that pay is given in the way in which it was suggested we should pay our volunteers, not directly, but they receive the Imperial pay and they receive the other pay besides—that is, they receive the Imperial pay in the field and the other pay goes as the 25 cents is supposed to go to our volunteers. In addition to that, an extract from a letter from one of our Canadian boys was read to me in which he said that two of the Australian colonies are allowing their volunteers as much as five shillings a day, and one is allowing as much as seven shillings and sixpence a day. That is the authority I have for that statement. I presume that that is pay which will be made up to the volunteer in the same way as this government proposes to pay the 25 cents.

Mr. OLIVER. This discussion is entirely aside from the point I raised, which was not as to the pay of the men, but as to the allowance to the wives and the children. I wish to say that it is not, to my mind, so important whether the men are paid high wages or low wages. The important matter is that we have these families with us, and they must be supported by somebody; and if this country does not support them, unless they have private means, they will have to be supported by charity. Now, I, for one, do not want to see the wives or dependents of our soldiers who are fighting our battles in South Africa dependent on charity for support, no matter what high-sounding name it goes by. A fine

patriotic fund is being raised, and it is highly creditable to those who have subscribed to it. But, for my part, I do not want to see this country depend for the support of the wives and children of its soldiers upon a patriotic fund. This is a national matter, and not a matter of charity. I think the allowance to the dependents of our soldiers should be adequate according to our scale of living. I notice that the wife of a sergeant is allowed 50 cents a day, while the wife of a private is allowed 25 cents a day. Under the circumstances under which these men volunteered, it is quite as likely that the dependent of the private requires 50 cents a day as much as the dependent of the sergeant. The sergeant's circumstances are not at all parallel to those of the same officer in the British army where the foundation of these allowances is laid. I say that whatever the rule of the British army may be, or whatever the condition upon which these men engaged—for my part I think the government did wrong to engage a married man in any rank below that of an officer—but having engaged him, this country then becomes responsible for the support of his family while he is away, and the credit of this country is involved in seeing that his family is supported at least decently. At 25 cents a day, or \$1.75 a week, a woman is expected to support herself and five children on \$3.50 a week. Now, if the members of this House who have been talking Imperial patriotism for the last two weeks think that is a manifestation of Imperial patriotism and an adequate manifestation of gratitude to the soldiers in South Africa, I for one do not.

Mr. BEATTIE. I do not wish to discuss this question from a party standpoint. Of course our noble volunteers who have gone to the front in South Africa have gone there of their own free will; but, Mr. Chairman, are we not to take into consideration the noble manner in which they fought, the honour and the glory they have brought to the flag of Canada? I think that their conduct deserves some consideration, and I do not think that there is a member in this House or a man in Canada who would not be perfectly willing to pay the soldier the full pay he would receive in Canada as well as the pay he receives from Great Britain. I quite agree with the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver). I think the wives should be looked after, as he advocates, and I do not think any distinction should be shown between the wife of the sergeant and the wife of the private. I would be sorry to see these women and children left to the charity of their friends in the village or town where they live. I trust the government will reconsider their motion, and pay the volunteers independently of any pay they receive from England. I am quite sure this House will unanimously vote for such a proposition.

Mr. OLIVER.

Mr. FOSTER. I think the member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver) made a strong point. There may be some reasons which do not appeal to our minds as to why the separation allowance should be different to the wives of privates, and of corporals, and of sergeants in Great Britain; but I am sincere in saying that I do not see any reason under God's heaven why there should be any difference made with reference to the wives of the men that have gone forth from Canada. Some few have been privileged to become officers, not because they are any better from a social or any other point of view than the men who work in the ranks, many of whom were quite capable of being officers, and would have been officers if more officers had been required. The Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) will bear me out in saying that there are serving to-day as privates, men who are quite as well capable of being officers as any officers that have gone in those contingents, and they are not officers simply because no more officers were needed; but so great was their patriotism, and their desire to serve their country, that they did not stop at the idea as to whether they were to be officers or not, and so they went in the ranks. I think that is a matter which will approve itself to us all. It takes just as much to keep the wife of a private as it does to keep the wife of a corporal or a sergeant. Some of the wives of privates are women with small and helpless children to take care of. It costs them just as much if they were corporals' wives, and in nine cases out of ten they move in just as good a circle of society as do the wives of corporals, or sergeants, or other officers. I speak of this with a little knowledge because I happen to be on the relief committee of the Patriotic Fund. I do not want my hon. friend from Alberta to inculcate the opinion that any wife who is taking the allowance which is made to her out of the Patriotic Fund, which is contributed by the public spirited citizens of Canada, is any more the recipient of charity than if it were voted by this parliament. It is not considered that way; and I am sure my hon. friend would not like the opinion to go abroad that they are taking a charity when they are taking from the fund. It is the country at large making this appropriation voluntarily, not by legal act, and putting it into a fund under the management of a committee. Wherever a case is made out, the wives and children have just as much right to that as they have to the appropriation which is made by this House. But when we come to read over these cases, as we read them over every day, of a woman left in this country and her husband away in South Africa, with anywhere from two to sometimes six or eight children, and without a single one of them earning anything, and all of whom had been dependent on her husband's earn-

ings, her case appeals very strongly; and the argument of my hon. friend ought to be considered as to whether these living allowances should not be made equal in the first place, and whether they should not be made on a more generous scale. I think that is a matter which may well be considered by the government and for the reasons that I have named. I do not wish to argue the question, but I think there is a good deal of force in these considerations. I would like to see the government rearrange these allowances. I think the minister has simply followed the Imperial scale. Well, we may throw ourselves away from precedent in that respect and do in this case what we think would be fair, and equal, and right. I certainly think if we were making a scale for ourselves we would make it even for every woman, no matter whether she is the wife of a private, or the wife of a sergeant, or the wife of a corporal; and then let us make it just as much as we can. After all, I am not going to press so strongly with reference to the soldier's pay. No amount of pay that you can give those men is sufficient for their services. They are risking their lives, pouring out their blood, and we are here calmly and quietly, and peaceably, at our homes. But this is a thing which I think might appeal to all of us, and the country will not begrudge it. If you make these few women who are left here whilst their husbands are at war in Africa, if you put them all on a level and make the basis of the separation allowance a good basis, it will only amount to a mere bagatelle. I would strongly urge upon the minister the propriety of revising this scale of allowances. As I said before, I would rather that the whole sum be paid to the soldiers, but that will be as a majority of this House thinks best to do. But I think we will certainly do no more than justice if we make this allowance equal and make the scale higher. It is pretty hard lines. There are living in Ottawa to-day, and in Toronto to-day, women whose bread winner has been taken from them, and they do not know the moment when a bullet will seek his life. They are left here with little children, in rented homes, and it is utterly impossible for them to get along with anything like this living allowance. Even though we doubled it, it would be but a small amount, but it would be somewhat of a recognition, at least, from the government: and when the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) foots it all up, he will find that so far as that allowance goes it amounts to only a few thousand dollars in the end.

Mr. TISDALE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to detain the House just for one moment upon the point which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), has just raised and upon the point raised by the hon. member for

Alberta (Mr. Oliver). I think all of us, who know anything of military regulations, must agree that in so far as allowances to officers, non-commissioned officers and men are concerned, it would hardly do to venture to change the arrangements. The differences in rank and pay that would follow these changes would be rather extraordinary, and, I think, without precedent. Therefore, so far as varying the pay or allowances of officers, non-commissioned officers and men is concerned, I think the government would be quite right in maintaining that which has been the rule in the past, and under all circumstances, in my opinion it is desirable, in order to preserve the efficiency, rank, and military character of any force, that they should be maintained. But, the other question that the hon. member for Alberta raised is a different one. It is one that, I may say, in one sense, while not without precedent, there is no military regulation controlling it, and, therefore, I urge upon the government to make a distinction so that the wives and children of those who are left, without breadwinners for the time being, should receive such consideration, under such circumstances, as the House thinks it wise and fair. I am not going to detain the House by repeating the arguments that have been so well put by the hon. member for Alberta, and by the hon. member for York, N.B., in regard to that. I think they have said all that is pertinent to the question, all that, I am sure, and more than I could have said if I had spoken before they did. I simply rise to express my opinion that the government would do well to try and consider that case, because, as has been so well said, the main and guiding principle, in my mind, is that all these helpless ones are in the same category; they are all in need of assistance equally, and we are not interfering with any military regulations, which are imperative or desirable. But I wish to say, in fairness to those on the other side of the House, who have to take the responsibility, that we must proceed upon principles in dealing with military questions, because, if we vary them to-day, other circumstances may arise under which we might have to vary them to-morrow, because we do not know under what other circumstances military necessities or requirements might arise. I think the government would do well to take this view of the matter, and I, for one, whatever other hon. gentleman may think of it, will be prepared to support the maintenance of those principles which have so long obtained in the British army, and in the military service of Great Britain, so far as officers, non-commissioned officers and men are concerned. If you commence to make distinctions, because of the social position of the men in the ranks, or the non-commissioned officers or the officers, you begin to shake those principles upon which the splendid record of the British army and the service, whether militia,

or regular, has been established. But, for these poor women that are in this shape, whose breadwinners are gone, for one, I strongly desire and wish to impress upon the government the necessity of considering their case; otherwise I would not have trespassed on the time of the House, because nearly everything that is to be said on this question, has been said, and, in most cases, said better than I could say it. I would urge the government to consider that feature, however, because their case stands upon the individual circumstances surrounding it; whereas as I have endeavoured to impress upon the committee, when military matters are dealt with, they must be dealt with upon well established principles. I would therefore recommend that the government give their careful consideration to this subject. I may say that I am heartily in accord with the resolution as it is before the House, and intend to support it, if better cannot be done.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I quite agree with my hon. friend (Mr. Tisdale), that, in a case like this, it is desirable to proceed upon principles, but, we do not violate any principle, which is at the basis of military efficiency by taking the cause suggested, even in the special case, by the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver), or the general suggestion that comes from my hon. friend from Bruce (Mr. McNeill). What is the principle we are going on at present? It is that, now, or at any future time, that we may give military aid to the empire, we will pay the difference between the pay that will be given to the militiaman, or a mounted policeman from Canada, and the Imperial pay. But, to use the language of the hon. member for North Bruce, in the case of those men who are fighting our battles, fighting the empire's battles, and adding undying glory to Canada, for the time being, we will save so much. I do not think that is a very noble principle, or a principle that we shall be able to act on ultimately. If there should come the time when we would take into account that we ought to do our share, then, what I think would be best would be to insist upon paying, not merely the difference between Imperial and Canadian pay, but that we should insist upon paying the whole shot. In reference to the suggestion of my hon. friend from Alberta, and his argument and suggestion have my entire endorsement, I want to deal with the social criticism that it has received. My right hon. friend, the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), misunderstood me; he misunderstood the force, or whatever force, I intended it to have, and the argument that was beneath the statement, that a friend of mine who was going out as a corporal, is worth \$150,000. What does that mean? In the mounted police we have had this interesting, curious, unique and desirable condition of things, that we have had a private socially on an

Mr. TISDALE.

equality with a commissioned officer, and at the same time, there has been no marring of efficiency. I have been at a ball at Government House, where a private in the police has danced with the wife of the superintendent. The next day, he was just as obedient on parade and just as much of a private in the police force, as if that practical assertion of social equality had not taken place. At balls given at the barracks, you would see what would astonish an Englishman, the wife and daughter of the commander, dancing with constables. The same thing has occurred at Calgary, and for the reason that the corps has been in great part a corps of gentlemen, and social distinctions have never been insisted upon by any officer. I see that my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) does not understand that.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). No; I was not paying attention to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin), for the moment.

Mr. DAVIN. I wish the hon. gentleman would pay attention. It may mar the noble ideas that belong to knighthood. But, it has been the case in the North-west Territories, that there has been this practical assertion of social equality. Mr. Tryon, a member of the elevator firm of Bready, Love and Tryon, a gentleman worth \$150,000, came and joined the second contingent and went out as a corporal. The point of mentioning that is, that the kind of argument that might be based upon social inequality does not apply at all to the men who have gone from the west, nor do I think it applies to the men who have gone from Canada in any sense. I know that sitting here in this House at the present minute is a man whose son, as he could not go as an officer, at once resigned his commission in the militia and went out as a private. Suppose he had been a married man you could not assert any social inequality between his wife and the wife of an officer. I hold that in regard to the mounted police especially (indeed, in regard to all who have gone out), that the wording of this resolution respecting the families of the men is open to the criticism that has come from my hon. friend from Alberta (Mr. Oliver), and I would urge the ministry to reconsider the position, and see if they cannot meet the views that have been expressed from both sides of the House.

Mr. GUILLET. Do these officers of the permanent force who are on the contingent receive full pay during their absence, in addition to the Imperial pay?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No.

Mr. GUILLET. What are they receiving?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. They are not receiving any pay, but the wives and families of the permanent force are receiving half-pay.

Mr. TISDALE. I do not wish that my remarks should be misunderstood from what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) has said. So far as I am concerned, I would support the government in voting a larger consideration for the forces engaged in South Africa, but at the same time some general principle must be applied. I believe I know something of the volunteer force of Canada. Thirty-four years ago I commanded a company for four months on active service—I happened to be made captain from the choice of my comrades—and in the ranks there was no man but who was the equal of the officers. Except on parade there was no distinction drawn, and in the town where we were stationed, the same social privileges were extended to the men as to the officers. Of course, it is requisite to keep up the military esprit de corps, that the officers should be distinguished from the privates, and no men are more anxious for that than the men who have thrown up their commissions and gone to serve in the ranks. We must remember that it is not the pay by any means that takes our Canadian soldiers to South Africa. While I am desirous of being liberal, we should at the same time be very careful not to let the impression get abroad that these noble, brave and enthusiastic men who have gone to fight for their Queen, are doing so only for pay or remuneration of any kind. Thirty-four years ago we never dreamt that the men from all provinces of this Dominion would volunteer for service to defend the empire thousands of miles from their Canadian homes. I am sure that the volunteers would rather have no pay at all than that any one should think they were fighting for money. If they could only get bread and cheese or enough of any food to sustain them that is all they want, if the necessities of the empire called them to the battlefield and circumstances were such they could not get more. That is the feeling that is abroad in this land and the party or the government that does not recognize it will have to pay the cost. I am sure the government do not wish that those left behind shall be obliged to get along on voluntary contributions. I agree with the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) and I would not subscribe a cent to a patriotic fund if it were looked upon as a charity. It is no charity at all. It is simply the duty of Canadians to make a small sacrifice in lieu of the great sacrifices which our brave volunteers have made in going to the front. I am quite sure that it is the desire of the government to be generous with those whom the members of the contingent left behind, but at the same time we cannot be expected to depart from long-established military rule and precedent.

Mr. BOURASSA. (Translation.) Mr. Chairman, I think it behooves us to give due consideration to what our present action may lead us to. It is all very well to allow ourselves to be led away by feeling; but we must beware of not being carried away too far.

An hon. MEMBER. (Translation.) Speak English.

Mr. BOURASSA. I am using the language which I have a right to make use of here. I have often witnessed the destitution and sufferings experienced by families of workingmen, when the head of the family had died, without leaving any insurance, and when the family could not depend upon public charity or upon government assistance. These families are quite as numerous as those referred to by the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster). Take the hardy pioneer who plunges into the primeval forest and enlarges the national domain; he often dies in poverty, after fifteen or twenty years of unceasing toil, leaving behind him a family in want and liable to experience sufferings as cruel as those which the families of our soldiers who have volunteered to go out to Africa, are exposed to that consideration alone is a sufficient check to prevent me from being led away by that feeling by which several of my hon. colleagues are carried away. In the course of my remarks on the Transvaal war, I stated that I would propose, at this stage of our proceedings, to strike out the clause which provides for the payment of the difference between the rates paid to the British soldiers and the rates paid to the Canadian soldiers, while serving here. I do not want to be considered picayune. I have previously, stated the grounds on which I felt justifiable in bringing up this motion. For my part, the question of money in no wise affects my opinion. It has been asserted here that my motion was directed against the families of the soldiers. This is not the case. In proof of this, I may say that I am ready to let pass subsection (C) of clause 3 of the present resolutions fixing the separation allowances to be paid to the widows and children of non-commissioned officers and men. Besides, three-fourths of those soldiers are not married men. They have volunteered to go out to South Africa. As stated by the Prime Minister, the other day, and again this evening, these men have deliberately and of their own free will enlisted to serve in the British army.

Let the Canadian militiaman receive Canadian pay when he is serving in this country, but when he volunteers to take part in the wars of Great Britain, he should be put on a footing of equality with the British soldier.

We have heard, to-night, some hon. gentlemen say that the government should not act so meanly to those men; that they cannot afford to be small in dealing with such a

question. I may perhaps be considered as picayune, but, in that case, the British government and the governments of the British colonies are niggardly, since their soldiers only get the pay of a British soldier while serving in the field.

I move that subsection (b) of clause 3 be struck out, in order that it may be well understood that the Canadian soldier who volunteers to serve in the British army, becomes a British soldier and is on the same footing as the latter, being entitled to get no more than the Imperial pay. The same applies to officers.

The Canadian soldier, just as the African, the Hindoo, the Australian, serving in the British army, cannot expect to get more than Imperial pay, because, as the right hon. Prime Minister remarked, he becomes a full British soldier with the full quality of a Tommy Atkins. He suffers no wrong when he is placed on a footing of equality with the British soldier.

There are now about 200,000 soldiers in South Africa, and out of that number, there are about 2,000 Canadians. Why should those Canadians get a better treatment than is accorded the 198,000 soldiers from Great Britain and the colonies?

For my part, this is not a question of money, this is not a question of saving a miserable, paltry sum, and whether you cut down the amount by \$500,000 or by \$50, it is all the same to me. With me it is a question of principle.

Moreover, as I said upon a previous occasion, I am opposed to militarism, I am opposed to giving too much inducement to our young men to enlist in the army.

One of the reasons given by the government for not calling parliament, was that they were not sending out to South Africa a Canadian regiment, receiving the rate of pay of the Canadian militiaman, but that it was simply a matter of transporting on board our ships soldiers who had volunteered to serve in Africa. The government then declared that there was no necessity for calling parliament in special session, in order to amend the provisions of the Militia Act, as all the government had to do was to transport on board our ships soldiers who had volunteered to serve in the British army. The government then stated that there was no reason for calling parliament in special session, in order to amend the Militia Act, as they were only allowing volunteers to enlist in the British army.

So, my motion aims at assisting the government in carrying out their engagement with the volunteers and making good the statements they have made.

Therefore, I move, seconded by Mr. Monnet:

That subsection (d) of clause 3 be struck out.

Mr. McNEILL. I would like to say just a word, if I may be allowed, of personal

Mr. BOURASSA.

explanation. I may say that I am not sorry that my hon. friend beside me has not taken the same view that has been held by several of the speakers on this side of the House, because it goes to show that this is by no means a party question. We are not discussing the matter from a party point of view at all. But I should certainly repudiate, with all the energy I possess, any imputation that I, or any one else who has spoken on this question, imagined that any miserable, paltry sum that we could vote in this House, would compensate the men who have raised the glory of Canada to such a pitch that it is ringing throughout the whole civilized world to-day. I had no such thought. The arguments of my right hon. friend and of my hon. friend beside me, if pressed to their legitimate conclusion, would mean that we should not give anything at all, but simply leave our volunteers to receive the Imperial pay. 'It is not a matter of pay nor a matter of compensation; we cannot compensate these men; they are not considering the compensation they are to receive at all; that is the argument of my hon. friend.' We understand that they are not considering the question of compensation. We do not insult these men by saying that they went out to Africa with any such idea. But we say that this country owes something to itself as well as to the men, and we say that the country should not save a miserable 25 cents by withholding it from the men who are serving it in Africa—25 cents which they would be paid if serving in this country.

Mr. McCARTHY. Are we to recognize this 25 cents a day as a matter of bounty to the brave men who have gone out to fight the battles of the empire? I do not think it should be looked at in that way. If the country chooses to reward the men who, as the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) has said, have raised the glory of Canada throughout the empire to the highest pitch, we may see fit at a later period to do for them what was done for the brave soldiers who went to the defence of Canada in the North-west in 1885. A similar bounty might be given to them after their return. This is not an occasion, I think, when we should discuss the social position of the corporals, sergeants, captains or privates. They are not paid according to their social standing. They should be paid, I submit, according to the military standard applicable to the military positions they occupy. I would go as far as any man in this House to reward the brave Canadians who have gone to fight the battles of the empire on this occasion; but when we are dealing with soldiers, we must deal with them as such. Is it right for us to say that we should pay these men more than we paid the brave men who defended our own coun-

try in 1885? We must discuss this question from a business point of view; and whatever we may be prepared to do to show our appreciation of these men hereafter, we should not now deal with them in any other respect than as soldiers of Canada fighting for the empire, and I do not think they would desire to be dealt with in any other way. The discipline of the army and of our volunteer corps must be maintained; and if discipline is to be maintained, it can only be done through the officers and non-commissioned officers who command these men. To put them all on the same basis would not, I submit, be placing the officers with reference to their men in a fair position. As I was not in the House at the beginning of this discussion, I would ask the Minister of Militia how many married men have gone forth on this occasion with families left behind?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Thirteen sergeants, nine corporals and thirty-seven privates in the first contingent. We have not got the figures for the second or the third contingent.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is a comparatively small number. If I remember the regulation, it was that no married men should be accepted on the first contingent, and, therefore, those who went, went contrary to the regulations. If they have left behind people who have to be supported, these people must, of course, receive assistance, because no family of a soldier should be left in want. But are we to deal with the whole contingent upon the same basis, in view of the fact that only a small number have left behind families who require assistance and support? It seems to me, as I said before, that we should look at the matter to a certain extent from a business point of view, not forgetting at the same time to look at it from a national point of view. I do not want to be considered as picayune or as endeavouring to deprive any man or any man's family of proper support; but we have a patriotic fund, and a Soldiers' Wives League, who, I understand, are to the fullest extent looking after all those who have been left behind; this resolution provides that sufficient, at all events, shall be paid to them; and we have been assured by the Premier on more than one occasion that their families shall be looked after. That being so, should we by our action here increase the pay of a soldier beyond what he has hitherto been paid—beyond what was paid to our brave defenders in 1885? We are paying them the regulation pay of the ordinary Canadian soldier. If that is too little, the general Militia Act should be amended, and the pay increased. If it is not too little, it should remain at that figure, which has hitherto been judged to be fair, because we know not the time when our whole militia force might be called out

to defend our own country, and then we should be bound by our present action, or else we would be accused of refusing to pay the defenders of our own country as much as we were prepared to pay to those who had gone abroad to fight the battles of the empire.

Mr. GUILLET. If we consider this question from a business standpoint, we ought not to forget that in Africa our soldiers find themselves subjected to enormous expenses in providing themselves with the comforts and conveniences which are absolutely necessary to them, but which Tommy Atkins as an old campaigner has been trained to do without. Such comforts as milk, sugar and many other things can only be got at enormous prices, sometimes five or six or even nine or ten times as much as they would have to pay this country, if called on to do service for Canada. In this way their pay is frittered away, and I know that in many cases they have to spend their own money. Therefore, looking at the question in a business light, I think we should supplement the Imperial pay they are receiving by the whole Canadian pay.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I agree with my hon. friends who hold that the men who left Canada to fight the battles of England in South Africa should be paid just as much as it is possible under the law to pay them; but I do not believe that the men themselves would altogether agree with the discussion that is taking place to-night. The question is not whether we should pay the whole amount that they are entitled to, or whether we should allow England to pay them. The great point for the men is that they went to fight for the principle of liberty and to back England in a war which they considered to be absolutely right and just; and it is not a question at all of money. It seems to me that this discussion will not quite serve the patriotic views of the Canadian people who allowed their sons to go abroad to help to fight the battles of England. When the men come back, I believe we can devise a means of compensation which everybody will agree to. I think it would possibly be better that we should not discuss at this moment whether we are going to pay the whole amount of their pay or not. In any case I feel that Canada is perfectly disposed to help the families of the soldiers who are fighting the battles of the empire in South Africa, but as to whether we should now lay down the rule that our men should be paid so much over and above the Imperial allowance, I do not think that is a subject that ought to be now discussed.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not think I can find it very easy to agree with the proposition laid down by my hon. friend who has just spoken (Sir Adolphe Caron). He seems to think, and the hon. and learned gentleman

on the other side (Mr. McCarthy), took the same view, that it would be more dignified if we were to wait until these men came back before doing something for them. This is a patronising sort of tone that I do not think we ought to countenance. I know many of the men who have gone to South Africa, they are my personal friends, and I do not think that any of them would consider that we were doing anything not consistent with the dignity of this House in making a plea for them and their families to be treated as our conception of what justice demands they should. The case cannot be put stronger than it was by my hon. friend from Alberta (Mr. Oliver), namely, that we should take care that not one of the families of the men gone to Africa should become dependent upon charity or tortured by anxiety. The hon. and learned member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) made what might be called a martinet argument, and I think myself that the argument used by my hon. friend, who was formerly Minister of Militia (Sir Adolphe Caron), might be likewise so described. They are tortured by red tape, they are dominated by militarism and etiquette. Let us be genteel or die; let us have military etiquette or the country will go to the bow-wows. I want this parliament and government to escape a little from that idea. I know very well that notions of rank and etiquette and society are very strong just now on the government benches, but I should like the Prime Minister not to forget the day when he declared that he was a democrat to the hilt, and to let something of the breezy atmosphere of these democratic days sweep the government benches and especially his hon. colleague to his right (Sir Louis Davies). I know that his hon. colleague is greatly overshadowed by the sense of rank, and that dignity has marked him for her own. But, nevertheless, rank and dignity and etiquette and red tape are not everything. Justice is something, honour is something, and the manhood of these men who have represented us in a way that is almost without parallel in the annals of warfare—the courage of these young soldiers who showed such steadiness under fire and whose eagerness to charge had to be repressed by their commanding officer—these demand practical recognition at our hands, and I do not want to see these finicking notions, which have fallen from the ex-Minister of Militia and my hon. and learned friend, have any weight with this government or parliament in preventing our doing what is right. The question we should ask ourselves is: What does justice demand? Let the government deal with these men, not by holding out promises of future concessions, not by vague promises of something that our high mightiness will do for them when they come back, but by declaring at once what we intend doing. Let us treat them as the wholesale men are dealing with their employees. They said: You are doing a gal-

Mr. DAVIN.

lant thing, leaving comparative ease to face privations and discomforts, the dust and heat, and whistling bullets and shrapnel, and perhaps die for our empire, and we are not going to weigh, as in apothecary scales, the amount we will give you, we are not going to value our goods, and say we are doing this on business principles and above all on genteel grounds.

With regard to the amendment of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), I must say that I was sorry to hear him make the speech he did. I did not believe there was anybody so small in parliament as my hon. friend turns out to be.

Mr. BOURASSA. That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend's argument was this, that if men fight for Canada they should be paid Canadian pay, and if they go out to fight for England they should be paid England's pay.

Mr. BOURASSA. Hear hear.

Mr. DAVIN. I consider that that is a view so small that it is not worth my while discussing it. All I can do is to express my regret that an hon. gentleman who certainly makes superficially on one a pleasant, kindly and genial impression should be so small as to propose such a resolution or make such an argument.

Mr. BOURASSA. It makes me just the size of the British ministers who give the same pay to the British soldiers that I want the Canadians to get.

Mr. TISDALE. I do not think my hon. friend realized what I said or intended to say.

Mr. DAVIN. I did not make any reference to you, but to the ex-Minister of Militia at your side.

Mr. TISDALE. But another hon. gentleman did make reference to me. I believe that after all the wise or unwise action of the government, who were seized with the responsibility, is the only legitimate political matter that the people will consider. If either side of this House attempts to discuss this question from any partisan standpoint and in any partisan spirit, that side will suffer when it goes to the polls. I do think I understand the feeling of the people in my province. But I am learning, as I sit in parliament and come in contact more and more with those who speak a different language from my own, and represent other provinces than my own, the larger views that it is necessary we should entertain if we hope to serve our country and please our constituents. Though a prophet is without honour in his own country, I venture to say that when the general election comes, those gentlemen who have attempted to make political capital out of this matter—whether they be on one side or on the other—will

find that the people of this country are well enough informed by the newspapers on these large questions to punish those who have been guilty of such an attempt. I am prepared to vote for a larger consideration to our volunteers who have enlisted, but I want to say that I am quite prepared to support the government in the distance they go. Still, I am not ready to condemn them for not going further. There are difficulties in the way, and the government, controlling ways and means, do not see their way to submit a larger vote. I am prepared to support them, if they will look after the families of these men. For, there is no principle involved there, such as has been referred to. While the men can take care of themselves, these helpless ones cannot do so. Therefore, I am strong in my desire that they should be cared for. That is the position I take, and the position I am prepared to stand or fall by in my own constituency, and in the face of the people of this country.

I am, to a certain extent, disappointed in the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bourassa), who followed me, and whose language, it is one of the regrets of my life I have been to busy to acquire. I would like to acquire it for its own sake, for the many associations it brings, and the many pleasant things which those who have it can say in finer ways than we more rough Anglo-Saxons. I regret to see a man, such as he has the makings of in him, voicing the sentiments he does, and voicing them against his own fellow-countrymen—for I am delighted to understand that in the ranks of those who have gone to South Africa there are some of the gallant French Canadians, who I am sure will show themselves the equals of the best when the time of trial comes. Let me tell the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bourassa) that I have had my trials in fighting the battles of his people, no longer ago than last general election. It is no easy matter to stand up for a class of people and yet feel and know that they will vote against you. I do not know but that it would be more easy, if I was as young as I once was, to face the difficulties faced by those in South Africa than to stand, as some believes to be, right against the feelings of one's own friends upon these questions that we must be right upon if we are to live in this country, as I believe it is intended we should live. So far, we have made a success of it—the two great races and the two great creeds of this world, the two good races and the two good creeds of this world. I tell the hon. gentleman that I have fought his fight. And as he goes among his French Canadian friends, I do not ask him to lead them aright on this question, because I am satisfied of their loyalty, but I ask him not to try to teach them to misunderstand the feelings of the British Canadians in a crisis like this. I

think that would be a mistake on the part of the hon. gentleman. His family has won a distinguished place in Canadian history, and I want him to take a larger view than he now does. I believe that his people take that larger view, or I should not have faith in the future of Canada. If they are not led astray, if he will not lead them astray, I believe that they are sound upon these questions, that they are satisfied with the institutions of Britain which they have adopted, and that they know that they can be as free, as great and as proud as if the result of the old-time contest had been the other way. Suppose he were a soldier and had gone out, as I hope he would if the contest were nearer home. How would he like it if while he was in the field, the members of parliament were cavilling and saying he should not receive more than 25 cents a day because he is fighting for England. He would not be fighting for England. This war is not for England. This war, in my opinion, is to settle the future of the British Empire. Events are hastening on, and this is an epoch-making era in the history of the world. That which underlies this great movement, which has affected the British people throughout the world, is the question whether the empire shall be bound closer and closer, or whether its constituent elements shall drift further apart. And, in spite of men of the hon. gentleman's size, and in spite of the greatest men we have, the forces of the world are making for the union of the empire. This war will have a far-reaching effect upon our history. I am one of those who believe that, in spite of everything intervening, this war means the drawing closer together of the component parts of this great empire, of those throughout the world who enjoy the advantage of British institutions. We are moving on faster than most of us dream of towards Imperial federation. I may not live to see it, but I believe that the youngest men in this House will live to see representation of the colonies in the great Imperial parliament, so that, instead of having the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, we shall have the great council of the British Empire, and those who sit at Westminster will be the representatives of British nations throughout the world. I may be optimistic in this matter; but, so great is the hope of the future that we cannot afford to be small in dealing with any question involving these considerations. I regret that there should be one man in this parliament, I do not care which province he comes from, who would object to paying our soldiers what they would have received fighting for the direct defence of Canada instead of the indirect defence. So, while I support this resolution, I am not prepared to discuss very much the amount of it. I would have been prepared to support a larger amount, but I will support this heartily if the government will make the pro-

vision spoken of for the women and children left behind.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I desire to ask some information with regard to subsection (c) of clause 3. I observe that separation allowances are to be paid to the widows and children of non-commissioned officers and men at the rates laid down by the Imperial regulations. I do not understand the Imperial system in this matter, but I understand that this is something in addition to the pay.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I would suggest that as we are to pay our officers, non-commissioned officers and men at the rates prevailing in Canada, and these rates are, so far as the men are concerned, about double the rates paid to the privates of the Imperial force, as I understand—

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Something like that.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). What I suggest is, if there is that difference to be made under subsection (b), some similar difference should be made under subsection (c), as the cost of living in this country is higher than in England; and we are to pay our non-commissioned officers and men at Canadian rates and not at English rates. But according to this resolution we are to provide for a separation allowance, not at Canadian rates, but at Imperial rates. I venture to suggest to the minister that some consideration should be given to that matter. I believe that families cannot be supported in Canada for the same sum that they can probably be supported in England; and if we are to make an allowance, it seems to me that which is provided for in subsection (d) is the smallest that could be suggested.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The question put by the hon. member is one which had not escaped my consideration, and I had intended to explain it later on. It is a fact that the Imperial rates of the separation allowance have been increased since this war began in South Africa by nearly 50 per cent; and that as a matter of fact, to-day the separation allowance to wives, at any rate, is about fifty per cent higher than it was a year ago, and the separation allowance to children is about 25 per cent to 30 per cent higher than it was before. That fact was considered; and I felt that in view of the additional amount given to the Canadian soldiers, making their pay equal on the whole to the Canadian pay, and adding to it the separation allowance, that this was a fair solution of the whole question.

Mr. WALLACE. What is the separation allowance in England?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I read it once, but the hon. gen-

Mr. TISDALE.

tleman, perhaps, was not present. The separation allowance to the wife of a private is 25 cents per day, 5 cents for each son, and 5 cents for each daughter; to the wife of a corporal it is 35 cents, 5 and 5; to the wife of a sergeant it is 50 cents, 5 and 5.

Mr. OLIVER. Does that include the 50 per cent additional?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. It does. Now, with reference to the criticisms advanced by the hon. member for York (Mr. Wallace), the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), and others, that there should not be social distinctions between men occupying different positions in our militia or among our soldiers serving in South Africa. Well, these are not social positions, they are military positions which have been established for many years, and which are the fundamental principle, you may say, of the military system of Great Britain, which we have deliberately adopted in this country. Sergeants are not chosen because they are sons of dukes or earls, or because their social position is better than the position of their fellows in the ranks; they are chosen by the commanding officers of companies on account of their fitness for the position; so with the corporals. It was considered proper, and I believe it is proper, that positions of that kind should be recognized. The fact that certain men are better fitted for certain positions of responsibility than other men, should be recognized by giving these men a higher rate of pay. I do not see how we are going to get at it in any other way. My hon. friend might go into any other walk of life, he might go into the civil service of this country, he might come into this very House and say that there are men in this House not as competent, not as well suited for the positions they happen to fill, as some men who may be found outside the House occupying inferior positions.

Mr. McNEILL. If the hon. gentleman is addressing these observations to myself, I may remind him that I avoided referring to that matter at all.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I wish to say in a single word that we have adopted the British system, right or wrong. We are paying our men upon that system. When our men went away we had to proceed upon that system, and the system upon which we proceeded was that which we have adopted in this country, acting under the Queen's Regulations. I adopted this system because I thought it was one which had been proved by the experience of time to be a wise one, and particularly, as I have pointed out, because the separation allowance has been the subject of revision within a few weeks by the Imperial War Office. I believe it

has been brought up to a reasonable point, and I therefore adopted it.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not know how much justice is founded on those distinctions which prevail in other countries and have been imported into this, or whether the foundations of the militia system would entirely crumble if they were not translated exactly. You may make just as much distinction as you like between a private and a corporal or a sergeant; but the private's wife requires just as much food to keep her as the sergeant's wife, or the corporal's wife. I do not think that the whole system will crumble into ruin if the minister will put them on an equality. I said nothing about the propriety of recognizing distinctions in the different grades of the army amongst the militia. You must have privates, and you must have officers, and they must grade up. But when you come to make an allowance for the woman that is left at home, I do not care whether she is a cook's wife, or a duke's wife, or a millionaire's wife, or whether she is the wife of a private, or a corporal, or a sergeant, I believe that she ought to be treated equally with the others, so far as the separation allowance is required.

Mr. MONET. (Translation). It was not my intention to take part in this debate, but after hearing the reflections cast upon my hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) by the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), I think it my duty to say a few words. That hon. gentleman, instead of addressing himself to the arguments of the hon. member for Labelle, began and even ended his speech by stating—and this is about the whole burden of his speech—that he did not believe there was anybody so small in parliament as his hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) turned out to be.

Mr. Chairman, I need not say that I do not think it necessary to protect my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) from the aspersions of the hon. member for West Assiniboia, as he is perfectly able to take care of himself. But if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) thinks he has a right to look down upon his colleagues in this House, let me tell him that men are not to be judged by their size and their verbosity. I may further tell him that, if there is a difference in the size of the hon. gentleman, the hon. member for West Assiniboia may possibly be a few inches taller than my hon. friend, but that the difference lies more in the feet than in the head. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin). I hope, understands French enough to catch my meaning.

Now, I have a word to say with regard to an article which appeared in *Le Journal* this morning. In that article I am referred to, with two hon. colleagues of mine, as having gone back on my opinions. I wish to protest against that statement. In that letter, which is clearly from the pen of the correspondent of *Le Journal* here, it is said :

The debate on the two million dollars resolutions will probably come to an end on Friday. It will pass without a vote.

Messrs. Bourassa, Monet, Desmarais and Tarte, who have sworn by Heaven that they would cross swords with the government on that question, have sheathed their sword, and, as loyal subjects of Her Majesty, have declared that they approved of any past or future policy of the government. 'E finita la comedia.'

For my part, I wish to protest against that assertion. I have in no way changed my mind on the Transvaal war question and I still hold the same views as when I entered the House, this session. I have not a single word to retract from what I said. I am ready, as I have previously stated, to vote against the general resolutions introduced by the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding). But it goes without saying that, in order to provoke a vote on any question whatsoever, the opposition must be stronger numerically than we prove to be now, if we may judge from what has transpired during this debate. That is the only reason why I have not asked for a vote.

Nor has the hon. member for Labelle gone back on his opinions, ever since he resigned his seat; he still holds the same views, as shown by the amendment he has just moved.

If I support the amendment, it is not that, in my opinion, it is broad enough to cover the whole ground, upon which I stand on this question, but as I was ready to vote against the general resolutions as a whole, I do not hesitate to vote against a portion of them.

Let the hon. member for West Assiniboia think what he likes about the stature of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) and the smallness or meanness of the seconder of the amendment, that cannot alter matters, and we both remain, my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) and I, what we are, satisfied that it is our duty to oppose any measure leading to Imperialism.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I think there is now a very strong consensus of opinion in this committee, and the House, in reference to the separation allowance to the dependents of those who have gone to South Africa. We are told that men are not chosen to be officers, because they are duke's sons or cook's sons, but because of their merits. It seems to me that a very reasonable solution of this question, one which would be a fair one, and which would not cost the country more money than I am sure this parliament is perfectly willing to vote, would be to add a proviso to clause (c), that no separation allowance should be less than the rates allowed to the family of a sergeant. In so doing, I feel that the government would very largely meet the opinion of this House. I trust that this matter will receive further consideration by the government before it reaches its final stage, and I hope that they will see their way clear to

making this slight increase. Now, in reference to the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), all I have to say about it is, that I hope it will be received by the House with silent contempt—and I say it with no disrespect—and that we will treat it as something unworthy to be proposed by a member of this House. I intend to vote against it, and I hope that every hon. member of this committee will do the same. I take this opportunity, as I did not speak on the resolutions, when they were before the House, of saying that I am heartily in accord with the course that the government have pursued, not only in reference to the sending of the contingents, but the payment of the men, and I trust that very few, if any, I hope none, beyond the mover and seconder, will vote for the amendment.

Mr. McCLEARY. I was not able to follow the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), who has proposed an amendment to the resolutions before you. However, I am satisfied that this hon. gentleman must have been influenced by one of two motives; either he has been influenced by a motive of a pecuniary character, or there must have been a want of sympathy with the resolution in its entirety. I cannot conceive any other position that the hon. gentleman could take. If his motive is a pecuniary and mercenary one, surely he must have a very poor conception of the great resources of this country. If he thinks that this country cannot afford to pay its soldiers, then I am sorry for the constituents that send that hon. gentleman here. If, on the other hand, he lacks that sympathy and patriotism, that, I believe, inspire every true Canadian, then, I am sorry he was introduced to this House by a member of the government. There is no disposition, so far as I am concerned, to quarrel with the government in regard to their proposal, because, if we look at it as a matter of business, as the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) said, we should, there is not so much to quarrel about. By the paper that the hon. Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden), has sent round, it will be seen that the Canadian pay per man is 40 cents per day. Imperial pay is 24 cents a day. The difference would be 16 cents. The government, I understand, propose to add that 16 cents, and make the pay up to 56 cents a day. If, instead of making it 56 cents a day, they added the 40 cents and the 24 cents together and made it 64 cents a day, there would only be a difference of 8 cents a day, so far as the first contingent is concerned. I know it would be more, as far as the mounted police are concerned. But there would only be 8 cents difference per man, and the whole amount, for the first contingent, it would not be more than \$20,000. I think this is a small thing for the government to split hairs about. While they have acted generously,

Mr. HENDERSON.

there is a larger and higher position that they could take because, having their hands on the pulse of the people, they would feel that they were fully justified in taking a higher and nobler position in this regard. I do not think that the government need the special pleading of the hon. member for North Simcoe to strengthen them in their attitude on this question. He certainly will not add to his popularity in the loyal and patriotic constituency from which he comes, and I am sorry that he has seen fit not to give his influence to those who want to see our volunteers, who have gone out to South Africa dealt with handsomely and well. The question raised by the hon. member for Alberta, is an important one. I am sure there ought not to be any difference in this House in regards to the attitude the government should take in supporting those who are left behind by the brave fellows who have gone out to fight for the interests of the empire. I would be glad if the government would reconsider this matter, and, for the small difference of a few thousand dollars, which it is going to make, come up to the expectations of the people of this country, so that we could give a unanimous vote in this parliament for the extra amount required.

Mr. McNEILL. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to prolong the discussion, but I want to ask the right hon. Prime Minister, if he would adopt the suggestion of my hon. friend who sits beside me. I would not go quite so far as he does. I would not propose that we should allow this matter to stand over until our volunteers come back from South Africa. But, I would suggest that the government let the matter stand over, take it further into consideration and not press these resolutions upon the committee tonight.

Mr. J. E. MARCIL. (Translation). Mr. Chairman, speaking in the name of the important constituency I have the honour of representing here, I think I would be neglecting my duty did I not take the floor to give the House my opinion on the question at issue.

I must say, from the outset, that I shall vote with pleasure for the amendment moved by the hon. member for Labelle. Nay more, I may add that in my opinion, the amendment should have gone further. I do not hesitate to say that the position taken on this question cannot but be detrimental to the country in general, and this, in view of the immigration system which we have adopted. To my mind, this new departure from the old policy cannot but result in checking the influx of immigrants into this country. I think the government should not have taken any part in this South African war. Such is my honest opinion and I think I have a right to express it on the floor of this House.

From what I know of the position taken by the government, at the time of the departure of the contingent for Africa, and also from what I know of the contract passed between the government and those who have volunteered their services, I think the motion of the hon. member for Labelle covers the whole ground.

I think the country should not have paid a cent. However, I think it my duty to support the amendment, seeing that no motion going any further in the same direction has been proposed so far. On the contrary, the number of members in favour of the amendment is so small that I do not think there could be found a single hon. gentleman sharing in my views, except perhaps the hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Monet).

Under the circumstances, I need not, I think, expatiate any further on the matter. This question of the South African war has been so thoroughly threshed out on the floor of this House that the electorate, I think, must now be sufficiently enlightened and able to form an opinion on the matter. At any rate, I deemed it my duty to rise from my seat to declare before the country that I approve of the amendment moved by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa).

Mr. FOSTER. I would suggest to the minister with reference to section (c) that he would leave out all after the word 'men' in that section. That leaves it entirely open for the government to fix the separation allowance. They may make it the same as the Imperial regulation, or they may increase it if they wish.

The PRIME MINISTER. Carried.

Mr. FOSTER. Then I move that section (c) be amended in that respect.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. There is no objection to that.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. OLIVER. I would not wish a motion such as that moved by the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) to come before this House without expressing my strong dissent from it. My view is that these volunteers should receive full Canadian pay in addition to their British pay, which is a diametrically opposite view to that entertained by the hon. member for Labelle. To those who think there is any danger of over-paying our men let me say, that it is just as regular a rule in military life as of civil life that special service requires special pay, and inasmuch as this service in South Africa is special service from every point of view, these men by the right of military law are entitled to special pay. During the North-west rebellion the same class of men as are in the Strathcona Horse and employed in exactly the same work as they are to do in South Africa, received \$2.50 a day, and it was not too much. Do not be afraid of over-

paying these men; do not be afraid of breaking military traditions by giving them special considerations for the special service they have rendered. It would perhaps be a pity to put the question of military service and the glory of the empire on the basis of a private soldier's pay, or to discuss the question whether a man should get 10 cents a day or 25 cents a day too much. That may be all very nice from our point of view, but how about the point of view of the man who is sacrificing his position, and sacrificing his business prospects for the glory of the empire. Has he to do all and has nobody else to do anything? Are we to do all the hurrahing and he all the fighting? Is he to do all the spending and we to draw all the profit? If there is to be a general glorification, if we the ordinary stay-at-home citizens of Canada are to have our share of the glory of this war; if we are to hoist our flags and hurrah ourselves hoarse over victories, we ought to be willing to do something to indemnify those who are winning the victories. It is not that these men have asked for special pay, but it is that our national credit demands that we should give them special pay, and that we should not ask them to do special work for us unless we are willing to pay them according to the work they are doing. Why, Sir, any man in the Strathcona Horse, if he could get his passage to South Africa and enlist in the local forces there would get \$2.50 a day. When we ask these men to make sacrifices for the honour of Canada and the glory of the empire, let us be willing to do our share. If they are willing to do the fighting, let us be willing to do the paying. I make these remarks in order to demonstrate to what extent I dissent from the amendment moved by Mr. Bourassa, and to particularly impress upon the ministers and upon the government that inasmuch as arrangements are being made for dealing with the loss of life, and limbs, and health resulting from this war, consideration shall be given (according to the special circumstances and conditions of our country) to those who have volunteered, and that we shall not be tied down by Imperial regulations. If we do not pay the men their full extra pay, let us take special care that those who require comfort at the hands of the nation shall receive it, and that it shall not be done by us as a charity but as a matter of duty. By taking this precaution, we shall really share in the glory that these men have achieved by the sacrifices that they have made.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Did I understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Oliver) to say that \$2.50 a day was paid these men during the North-west rebellion?

Mr. OLIVER. It was paid to the same class of men as are in the Strathcona Horse, and even to some of these very men. They did special service as scouts and they got special pay for it.

Mr. WALLACE. I am not surprised that the hon. member (Mr. Bourassa) should move such a resolution as this, considering the education and training he has received from the Prime Minister and from the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). Did not the Prime Minister tell us at Sherbrooke that he had 'permitted' the Canadian volunteers to go to South Africa, thus washing his hands from all responsibility. Think of him giving his gracious permission to these loyal Canadians, who were ready to defend the British flag and the British Empire. Did not the Minister of Public Works say that not a cent would be paid by Canada.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). I never said that, and I never wrote that.

Mr. WALLACE. The newspaper owned by the Minister of Public Works said it.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I state that is not true.

Mr. WALLACE. I have the floor just now.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Mr. WALLACE. The Minister of Public Works says it is not true—

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Yes, I say that.

Mr. WALLACE. I say that the paper belonging to the Minister of Public Works published it, and that it is true.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I again say that it is not true.

Mr. WALLACE. I say it is true, and I repeat it.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. It is not true.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. *La Patrie* never said that, and the hon. gentleman knows it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Mr. WALLACE. Take his disloyal utterances back? I have nothing to take back.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I have nothing to take back either.

Mr. WALLACE. I am quoting what his disloyal newspaper said, and it appears to tread very much on the toes of the Minister of Public Works.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. *La Patrie* never said anything of the kind, and the hon. gentleman knows it.

Mr. WALLACE. I say that the position taken by these hon. gentlemen is quite in accordance with the education which they have received from the First Minister and the Minister of Public Works. They would not pay a dollar—that is the amendment—that we are to graciously allow our Canadians to assist in the defence of the empire and of the flag under which we live, and to risk their lives in doing so, and the

Mr. OLIVER.

Canadian people are not to pay them a dollar. That is the motion of the hon. member who has moved the amendment—to strike out the extra pay. I say, Mr. Chairman, that Canada is both able and willing, when she sends her soldiers abroad, to pay every dollar of the cost. Why, Sir, we should be ashamed to have the British government assume any financial responsibility. It is true that they have offered to do so; but because Great Britain has made that proposal is no reason why we should not do our duty to the men we send abroad as representatives of our Canadian people, and I say we are not doing our duty to our country, we are not representing the people of Canada, if we do not pay—I do not care what the pay may be, within reason. I do not care—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. WALLACE. I say that the Canadian parliament ought to pay every dollar of the expense of those men who are sent out. That is, I believe, the sentiment of the Canadian people. There are some, like those I have mentioned, who would not pay a dollar nor send a man, and who have openly proclaimed the fact. But they do not represent Canada. It is true, they are in high places to-day, and I think it is pretty humiliating to think that our Canadian boys have gone out to fight the battles of the empire and risk their lives—loyal men—while disloyal men are at home, ruling and regulating affairs. It looks to me like a position which the people of Canada will not tolerate very long. I repeat, when we ask our volunteers to go out and drill every year, we give them 50 cents a day; and yet when they go thousands of miles away and risk their lives, it is preposterous to say that we are only going to give them half their pay. These men, as the First Minister said, were not thinking of the amount of pay they were to receive. Certainly not. Every one of them was receiving, we will assume, two or three or four or five times as much as was proposed to be given them as soldiers. I saw in Toronto a young man who came from Pittsburg, a Canadian, and he showed me that he had been getting \$30 a week on a railroad, and he came back to Canada to volunteer for \$3.50 a week. It is true, the men were not considering the pay, but I think Canada is both able and willing to deal generously with our volunteers, of whom every Canadian is so proud to-day. The proposal of the government is to thrust one-half the expenditure upon the British government when we are both able and willing to pay the whole amount ourselves.

Mr. GILLIES. When it was decided that a contingent should be sent by Canada to South Africa, I was one of those who took the ground that Canada should pay every dollar of the expense that was incurred in the transportation, the maintenance and the

pay of the contingent, and I came here fully intending to press this view as far as I was able, upon the government; and it was only upon my understanding that the Imperial authorities accepted the offer of Canada to supply this contingent conditional on the men receiving Imperial pay while in the service, that I relaxed my view in favour of the proposition as put before us to-night by the government. For my part, I cannot very well see how we can adopt the suggestion of my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), with whom I very often agree in these matters; for the very moment we adopted such a proposition, we would, in my view, be controverting the idea that was put before us by the Imperial authorities. If we agreed to pay 50 cents a day irrespective of the contribution paid by the Imperial authorities, a controversy would immediately arise as to the difference of pay given to the different colonial forces. Therefore, while we should generously respond to any proposition for paying our forces, I am sorry I cannot agree with the views of my hon. friend in that respect. With regard to the separation allowance, I agree with the views of the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale). The terms of the resolution as submitted by the Minister of Militia are that all separation allowances paid to the wives and children of the married non-commissioned officers and the men should be at the rates laid down by the Imperial regulations, and I do not very well see how he could propose any other scheme. He has followed the regulations of the Imperial authorities in regard to graduation. However, I at once concede that the amount that we are now voting would be entirely inadequate for the support of the wives and children of the men—25 cents per day for a wife and 5 cents for every child under 16 years of age.

I am glad, therefore, to support the amendment proposed by the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), so as to give the government a free hand in increasing this amount. I would, therefore, urge the government to adopt the amount of 50 cents as the minimum allowance for the wife of every non-commissioned officer and man. Such an allowance of 50 cents for a wife and 5 cents per child for four children would only make after all \$255.50 per year, less than \$5 a week, which would be in all conscience a very small allowance for their support. I rise to press upon the government my desire that they should have a free hand in this direction, and deal as generously as possible in this matter of the separation allowance.

Mr. WALLACE. When speaking a few moments ago, I assumed, from what I understood the minister to have said, that the government were going to have the Canadian volunteers paid at the rate of 50 cents per day—that the British government

would pay 24 cents and this government make up the balance. But a statement I have in my hand, and which should have been circulated among members before, shows that the first contingent are to get not 50 cents but 40 cents.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The pay of a permanent corps.

Mr. WALLACE. But the hon. minister said the intention of the government was to supplement the pay which the Canadian volunteers received from the British government, so as to bring it up to the amount paid our volunteers. Now, we find that the Canadian volunteers gets 50 cents a day.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Not the permanent corps.

Mr. WALLACE. The permanent corps gets 40 cents per day. I do not see why the pay of a volunteer should be reduced to the basis of the permanent corps. It makes the case just that much the worse. I had no reason to think that the government were doing otherwise than what the country supposed, namely, giving 50 cents per day, one-half of which would be paid by the British government and the other by this government, but we find that it is 40 cents per day. Eight hundred and eighty-eight privates at 40 cents makes \$355.20. The British government pays 24 cents per day and a fraction, amounting to \$213.12, making \$142.08 to be paid by the people of Canada. That will be very interesting news, indeed. We have heard hon. gentlemen boasting about the progress Canada is making in wealth and affluence in every direction. We have heard of this bounteous booming time, and yet when a great crisis in the affairs of the nation occur, all that Canada can pay is 15½ cents per day to each of her soldiers. That is the proposal made with a great flourish of trumpets. But why should the Canadian volunteer, when putting in his two weeks drill, be paid 50 cents per day and not be paid that amount when undergoing greater risks and doing more arduous duties? Why should he then have his pay reduced to 40 cents per day? Is that due to those baneful influences which we all know have been surrounding and controlling the government, which we know influenced the First Minister in that interview he gave on the 4th October last, when he said the government could not send a man out of the country because it would be against the law, and he had studied the law from top to bottom. Sir, he had not read it at all, because the Militia Act specially provides that in cases of emergency the troops can be sent out of the country. But the right hon. gentleman did not desire to send those troops out, the government had no intention at that period of doing their duty by the Canadian people, and now when forced to adopt the patriotic policy they still fall as far short of their duty as they think they

conveniently can. And when they announce that they are going to make up the difference between the Imperial pay and the pay of the Canadian volunteers, we find that they fall short of that announcement by making the pay of the Canadian volunteer only that of the permanent corps. Instead of getting 50 cents per day, the Canadian volunteer is only to get 40 cents per day, and Canada's contribution to his pay is only 15½ cents instead of 25½ cents. Why did not the government announce this before? The Minister of Militia to-night did not announce it to the House. The First Minister did not announce that they were going to reduce the pay of the volunteers from 50 to 40 cents. Their conduct is only on a par with the course taken by them with regard to insuring the lives of the members of the first contingent. It was officially announced through their organ, the *Globe*, that the government were going to insure the lives of the Canadian contingent. The contingent sailed away with that announcement in their ears, but when they got to South Africa they discovered that the government had not the slightest intention of carrying out their pledge. The baneful influence came in again, and that influence would, if it had the power, prevent a single soldier going out from Canada or a dollar being spent in the defence of the empire—that influence which studies, not the interests of the empire, not our position as an integral important portion of the greatest empire, but whose allegiance apparently is due elsewhere. I say it is an outrage to those men, who are told that they are to get the pay of Canadian volunteers, to find their pay has been cut down 10 cents per day. What for? To enable the Minister of Public Works to go back and tell somebody in the province of Quebec that he had prevented the government from doing this or that which they had pledged themselves to do. Look at that single item, it does not amount to much to these boys who go out. What do they care? But it does amount to something in the eyes of the people of Canada that the Canadian government should act so meanly to those who are risking life and limb for the empire of which we are a part and will remain a part for all time to come.

Mr. McNEILL. I think that the point that has been brought before the committee by my hon. friend who has just taken his seat, is so grave a one that the committee is entitled to know from the minister, whether it is correctly taken or not, whether the statement made by my hon. friend is correct or not.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The pay adopted is the pay of the permanent force and of the North-west Mounted Police.

Mr. McNEILL. How much a day?

Mr. WALLACE.

Mr. WALLACE. How much is the pay of the volunteers?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The pay in the annual camp is 50 cents a day.

Mr. TISDALE. And when they are ordered out for service, I believe the pay is 50 cents a day. If this is not the rate of pay allowed to the volunteers now in South Africa, I can only say that I entirely misunderstood the case when I was making my speech. I am not prepared to support the proposition of 40 cents a day. I understand the hon. minister to say that the pay is 40 cents a day.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The pay of the permanent force is 40 cents a day.

Mr. WALLACE. What is the pay of the volunteers going to South Africa?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I say we adopted the pay of the permanent force.

Mr. TISDALE. Speaking for myself, I can only say that I misunderstood the case. I do not take it that this is a permanent force that we are sending to South Africa. I am satisfied that many of the men would not join any permanent force. It may be my fault that I have made the mistake, but I had not a chance to see these figures until just now. I had no idea, in any case, that it was necessary to see them. No one ever thought of this contingent that is sent out, being a permanent force. Of course, I am satisfied, the hon. minister (Mr. Borden) did not mean to mislead the House and the country. But in the country, we have been discussing this matter. I had a meeting for the presentation of the Fenian medals. Both Conservatives and Reformers were there, and no one dreamed that the pay of these men in South Africa would be less than 50 cents a day—the same as the volunteers get when they are ordered out. It will be a great mistake to pay them at this low rate, and will cause very general dissatisfaction. It will make of no effect, many of the arguments that I advanced a short time ago when I said that we were following the precedents in that respect and the regulations made for the force. Surely it cannot be doubted that these men went out as volunteers. To pay them at the rate of the permanent force, is equivalent to saying that these volunteers who went to South Africa went to join the permanent force, and become regular soldiers.

Mr. WALLACE. They enlisted for six months only.

Mr. TISDALE. And they enlisted as volunteers, not to make arms a profession, but because a crisis had arisen in the affairs of the country. In the remarks I made, I pleaded for unanimity in this matter. But if the government wants unanimity, if they

want what will satisfy the reasonable demand of the people, we must have volunteers' pay for these volunteers. I am more than grieved, I am more than disappointed, and I can assure the government that the people of this country, irrespective of politics, will feel as I do. Why, if they are going to put the men on this basis, it would be better to follow the suggestion of the hon. member for Labelle, and pay them and treat them as regular soldiers. There is some principle about that. If we are to be unanimous in support of the government's proposal, it must be on the basis of treating these men as volunteers. I hope the government will reconsider this matter. I am sure that hundreds and thousands of their own supporters feel as I do about it. If I am speaking a little warmly, it is because—I frankly confess—I am a little excited. The matter has been misunderstood—I do not say that it has been misrepresented, but I do say that the misunderstanding has extended from one end of the country to the other. I am desirous that there should be no division in this matter. Now, at the last moment, after a long debate—some of it pretty warm, and some of it, in my opinion, that had better have been left unsaid on both sides—let us have unity in the matter. Let us act as our men have acted, who have gone to South Africa. They did not stop to consider whether they were Liberals or Conservatives, they thought only of responding to the call that had been made for volunteers.

Mr. FOSTER. It seems to me—

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) will allow me—before it goes any further, I desire to explain that on this point, there has been misunderstanding. The estimates prepared by the Militia Department, not yet distributed, had based the calculation on the pay of the permanent force, which it appears, is 40 cents a day. But really that does not carry out the intention of the government. We did understand that it was to be 50 cents a day, but when we discussed the matter, we were under the impression that 50 cents a day was the rate paid to the permanent force. There has clearly been a misunderstanding, but the substance of our intention was that the rate of pay was to be 50 cents a day.

Mr. FOSTER. It was a pretty sharp turn, but you made it.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. There was no sharp turn about it.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I was going to suggest that the language of the resolutions was not sufficiently definite and should be amended. The Minister of Finance tells us that the rate of pay will be 50 cents a day. But we find according to subsection (b) :

The payment of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men composing the said contin-

gents . . . at the rate authorized by the regulations and orders of the Department of Militia and Defence.

We had better have some definite statement of the regulations and orders referred to. As the matter stands, the House is without information on that subject. The misunderstanding has arisen, if there is a misunderstanding, by reason of the fact that the language is so extremely vague and because nowhere is there any definite statement. First, you have subsection (b), stating that the rates of pay shall be those authorized by the regulations and orders of the department, which are not stated; and further down you have the rates fixed by reference to subsection (b), leaving it still in the same vague condition. I would suggest that the Minister of Finance should see to it that the subsection is expressed in some more definite way.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. If the regulation of the Department of Militia provides 50 cents per day, the subsection will work out—there will be no difficulty.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Where will you find it ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. If it does not provide 50 cents a day, it will be made 50 cents a day.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). But the criticism I make is that there is a vague reference to the regulations and orders of the department. Somebody ought to be able to show what those regulations and orders are, which are referred to, so that we could understand what we are doing.

Mr. TISDALE. I think the regulations are of a twofold character, providing 50 cents a day for the volunteers, and 40 cents a day for the permanent force.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). But that is the very difficulty. If they are so ambiguous that is the very thing we want to avoid. We want a reference to some regulation which fixes the rate at 50 cents a day, and not to one so uncertain in its terms.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. If the regulation is not 50 cents a day, it must be made 50 cents a day.

Mr. McCARTHY. If the words were inserted, that the scale of pay be that for volunteers in the fall camp, that would fix it beyond dispute. No one, of course, thought that the payment of this contingent was to be on any other basis than what our volunteers get when they are engaged in military duty.

Mr. WALLACE. The Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) has stated that this is to be put specifically at 50 cents a day. I am glad he made that statement, because the Minister of Militia and Defence stated a few minutes before that the arrangement was 40

cents per day. I am glad to notice that the Minister of Militia and Defence has been properly called down by the Minister of Finance.

Amendment (Mr. Bourassa) negatived ; yeas, 76 and nays, 3.

Mr. CLANCY. I have listened throughout this debate with a great deal of interest. I have taken no part in it so far, but I do not propose to sit silent in my seat and let go unchallenged a resolution such as has been proposed here to-night. I can quite understand hon. gentlemen taking a position differing from that of the majority in this House on what they are pleased to call high constitutional grounds. I quite agree that because some hon. gentleman might think proper to take a course at variance with the general trend of public opinion in this country they should not be too harshly dealt with ; but when we find a couple of high-minded gentlemen placing a question upon high constitutional ground, and when we find these same gentlemen subsequently tearing off the mask and basing their action upon the lowest ground they could put it, namely, that of dollars and cents, I say these hon. gentlemen have lost their case, they stand alone in this country. I will not use so strong a term in characterizing their action as I think it deserves. But when an hon. gentleman puts it upon the high ground, and at the last moment he turns round and puts it upon the lowest possible ground, then it is not difficult to understand what his motives are, and what he intends should follow that. There is just as much propriety in the hon. gentlemen declaring that if the Canadian volunteers had gone to fight the battles of the country to the south of us they should be paid American pay rather than Canadian pay. The hon. gentleman has made a sharp distinction between the British Empire and Canada, as much as to say that Canada is not a portion of the British Empire. My surprise is that the government should sit silent and raise no voice of rebuke. I do not know whether these hon. gentlemen are running a small side show under the patronage of the government or not ; but I can tell them that they have given an impression to this country that the loyalty of some gentlemen at least can be overbalanced by just 15½ cents a day to the Canadians who are fighting the battles of the British Empire. If these hon. gentlemen had taken the ground that the government were wrong, that they should not have entered upon this course without the sanction of parliament, then their position would be logical. But they seem to have forgotten that parliament is now in session ; and now when the Canadian parliament proposes to vote a certain sum of money to the Canadian volunteers, these two high-minded gentlemen rise in their places and declare that not one dollar of Canadian money should be paid to the Canadian volunteers above the

Mr. WALLACE.

Imperial pay. I do not propose to make a speech upon this subject, but I feel it my duty to make a protest against so unseemly a proposal being made in the Canadian parliament. It will have one effect alone, and that is to give the impression that there are members in the Canadian parliament who are unwilling that the Canadian volunteers should have one dollar of Canadian money if they can possibly be deprived of it by a vote of this House.

Mr. DAVIN. I remember distinctly having seen in *La Patrie* what my hon. friend from West York (Mr. Wallace) has quoted. I sent to the reading room for *La Patrie* for October, and word has come back that it cannot be found. But I have here *Le Temps* for October 5. *Le Temps* is the organ in the capital of the government, and there is an article here headed : Dans une attitude digne ; not using exactly the words quoted by the member for West York, but using language even stronger than that. It ridicules the idea of our sending Canadians to fight the battles of the empire, and declares that we owe England nothing whatever, and it is all apropos of the stand taken by the Prime Minister. If the fine ears of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) will tolerate my defective accent in French, I will read a few sentences :

The leader of the government has contradicted the rumour that had gone abroad, to the effect that the government had formally offered to Great Britain a contingent of volunteers to take part in the war in South Africa.

We sincerely rejoice at this news, as a Liberal and as a Canadian.

Canada has not offered any troops to Great Britain nor has she the intention of so doing. Should Great Britain ask for troops, her request will be duly brought before the Dominion parliament, who will take action upon the matter. Such is the plain statement made by Sir W. Laurier, and we approve of it. Some jingoes, more Imperialists than the Empress of India, are already strongly denouncing the Dominion government for the ridicule brought upon Canada, through their refusing to assist Great Britain in crushing a minuscule nation of Austral Africa. In the ravings of their mind, these people carry things to the length of threatening the government with an adverse verdict from the electorate, as if our fellow-countrymen were burning with the desire of getting their heads smashed in the service of John Bull.

It is not him whom you think of who is open to ridicule.

By having parliament express by a vote their sympathy with the equal-rightists in South Africa, the Liberal government did all they could do, to prove their loyalty to the British Crown.

Why should we send our young men to the Transvaal to be used as targets for the bullets of Boer marksmen, when the country stands in such need of them, for the advancement of the arts of peace ?

Why should we make a demonstration of Imperialism ? The Orders of the Day in parliament are quite a sufficient demonstration. As to the assistance we could give the British army, the latter can perfectly dispense with it, and in that case the latter demonstration of our Imperialism

would only turn out to be ridiculous and dangerous. I say it would be ridiculous, because it is useless; and, moreover, it would be dangerous, inasmuch as henceforward nothing could prevent us from taking part in all the wars of England and assisting her in the bad undertakings of the empire, while the empire, on the other hand, has not always backed us in our fair claims, as the Oregon and Maine frontiers question.

The Imperialists seem to labour under the delusion that, in return for the protection Great Britain affords us it is absolutely necessary for us to contribute money and blood for her defence. Let us reflect a little. Let us be positive. We stand with respect to England in the position of an insured who pays yearly insurance premiums to a company which pledges its protection to him for a rainy day. Great Britain affords us cheap protection; and, ever since 1812, she cannot fairly pretend that she has incurred a vast expenditure either in money or men, to protect us. And yet, ever since that time, we have paid her a yearly premium under the shape of considerable commercial benefits of which she has deprived us, by denying us the treaty-making power. In that respect, Great Britain has always given the precedence to her interests over our own interests and it may safely be stated that she has been handsomely rewarded for the protection she has afforded us.

Therefore we owe the British government absolutely nothing. Such is the plain, unvarnished truth. And when the Canadian parliament passed a resolution endorsing the stand taken by the equal-rightists in South Africa, they fully discharged their duty and perhaps more than their duty.

Loyal we are; but dupes we will not be.

That article was published in the organ of the government in Ottawa on October 5. It does not say what the hon. member for York attributed to *La Patrie*, but it is a reasoned statement why neither a man nor a dollar should be sent.

Mr. FOSTER. There is one line in the resolution that I cannot quite understand. It is:

Such difference not to be paid to such officers, non-commissioned officers and men, while on such service, but the amount which would be payable to each such officer, non-commissioned officer or man to be placed to his credit—

Now, this is the part:

—and to be applied in such manner as the Governor in Council may determine for the benefit of the dependents on him or failing such application to be paid to him or his representatives at the close of his period of service.

Is that not a strange power for the Governor in Council to take. It is the soldier's pay. Surely you should pay it to him instead of keeping it in a fund.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Or pay it to his family.

Mr. FOSTER. No, you are keeping it in a fund, and then make such disposition of it as you see fit.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. It will go to his wife or family.

Mr. FOSTER. Just as you see fit. It is an arbitrary course to take.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. It is only the power that you say we shall have in regard to the separation allowance because you strike out the scale.

Mr. FOSTER. No, we give power to say how the separation allowance is to be paid, but it is to be paid to the wives and children. Here you state that you are going to pay the money into a fund, and then you say you will pay it just as you please, without an order from the soldier. I think it should be upon the application of the soldier himself.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The soldier is in South Africa and the money may be required for his family and you could not get an order to pay the money. The desire of the government is that the money shall be available for the benefit of the soldier's family.

Mr. FOSTER. Every soldier knows about this, and there would be time to receive an application and to comply with his wishes.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. He could not very well send an order to the government if his family needed the money.

Mr. WALLACE. The government are providing for a family separation allowance.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. This also.

Mr. WALLACE. Are the government when paying the separation allowance to the wife and children of the soldier, going to keep the Canadian portion of his pay in addition, and have it at their discretion to pay it over to his wife or do what they please with it?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. If his wife and children needed it, I should certainly advise that the government would apply it for their benefit.

Mr. WALLACE. Would it not be better to make a proper separation allowance without touching the soldier's pay? There are only fifty-nine married men on the first contingent, and in some cases we may assume that their families will need aid. Why not give them a sufficient separation allowance until their husbands come back, and not touch the soldier's pay at all.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. This is not strictly speaking pay, because it forms no part of the amount payable to the soldier under the contract which he made. In view of the fact that the Canadian pay is higher than the Imperial pay, it was thought proper to give the difference and to place it in a fund, and to use it if it should be required for the soldier's family here, and if not, that

it should remain in the fund until the soldier returned to Canada.

Mr. TAYLOR. When the first contingent was being formed, the correspondent of the *Globe* in October last attributed this statement to the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden):

While the British government would pay the customary shilling a day to our men, the Canadian troops would also be in receipt of 25 cents a day from the government of Canada.

When our soldiers enlisted they thought that the promise of the minister would be carried out in this respect.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. So it is.

Mr. TAYLOR. But why do you not give the soldiers the right to say what they shall do with their pay? Why place it in the hands of the Governor General?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor) seems to draw a distinction which we are not willing to draw between the interest of the soldier and the interest of his wife and family. I hardly think that the Canadian soldier will be complimented at the statement that they do not want to give a portion of their pay to their wives and children. I venture to think that the soldiers of Canada will regard the proposition to reserve the money as the best scheme that could be devised.

Mr. McNEILL. But the minister must remember that very few of them have wives and children.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). The remarks of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) do not seem to have any relation to this matter at all, except with respect to the fifty-nine men who are married. The 950 who are not married may want to use this money in South Africa, and the argument of the Minister of Finance has not the slightest relation to them at all. I do not suppose that these men would squander their money in South Africa, on the contrary it seems to me a likely thing that they may want this money in South Africa for the purpose of purchasing necessaries for themselves. We read in the daily papers that people throughout Canada are sending money to South Africa in order that the men may purchase necessaries. Why should the government hold the money until the period of service is over, while the men may require the money for necessaries when on duty? Certainly the pay the men are getting is not so excessive that the government should see fit to hoard up any portion of it for them.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. They will be well looked after in South Africa.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). The people of this country are so apprehensive that our men will suffer in South Africa that they

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

are sending money to them. A gentleman in Ottawa sent \$350 the other day for the benefit of a single company.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. It proves the gentleman was generous, but it does not prove that the volunteers were in need.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). It proves that the public sentiment of this country, which is probably as capable of judging as the hon. gentleman is, thinks that our men may be in need. I do not suppose that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) thinks that he knows more about this than all the rest of the country combined. People capable of forming an opinion believe that these men do want the money. There is another thing with regard to this that does not appear to me to be quite regular. It says that this fund 'shall be applied in such manner as the Governor in Council shall determine.' It gives the men no opportunity of determining the application of the money. The government would carry out its object better, I think, if some such words as these were inserted: 'In such manner as each man shall determine, and failing such determination, then in such manner as the government shall determine.' Under such a clause as that the man would have the right to determine the application of his own money if he saw fit.

Mr. TISDALE. I would suggest that the government should take power to pay the entire sum to the soldiers if they see fit.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I think we have that power.

Mr. TISDALE. No, the money must remain in the fund until the soldier returns, under the resolution as you have it at present.

Mr. GIBSON. I do not want to prolong the discussion; but while the volunteers went out to serve their Queen and country irrespective of the emoluments they were to receive, we find the opposition to-night trying to make out that they are being unfairly treated by the government. If the suggestion of my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Borden) were carried out, instead of the Canadians receiving the regular pay of British soldiers at the same time as the other members of the British force, they would be given their additional pay from this government in the field. Instead of that, the government have wisely, in my judgment, retained the extra money in their hands to be paid to the men after their return, if God spares them to return to their native land, or to their families. Therefore, the government are just as careful of the interests of the married men as the British government. I know as a matter of fact, and I dare say that hon. gentlemen on both sides are aware, that many of the married volunteers now on service in South Af-

rica did not inform the government that they were married for fear that they would not be allowed to go. A great deal has been said by my hon. friend about the large families they left behind. If the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) will look up the figures, he will find that the families do not average over two children in each.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend is quite out. I know that aid has already been given by the relief committee to those who have left large families.

Mr. GIBSON. I think the information which the government has given is just as reliable as what the hon. gentleman has stated to the House. There are 13 sergeants' wives with 24 children; nine corporals' wives with 15 children, and 37 privates' wives with 61 children; so that I am within the mark in every case. The hon. gentleman may laugh. He is in the habit of laughing at his own jokes, but he is not very happy in the question he has raised to-night, in his attempt to make political capital out of the way the government are treating the volunteers. I am sure that no wiser provision could have been made than the government have made for the volunteers, and for the wives and children of those who have left their families behind.

Mr. WALLACE. There is a wiser and a better provision, I think, than that praised by the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson), that is, that these soldiers are not children, and that they are entitled to their pay as soon as they earn it, and the government should pay a separation allowance sufficient to keep those in comfortable circumstances they have left behind. It is stated that there are only 59 families and less than 120 children altogether, so that the pay is a mere bagatelle for Canada. I want to ask the Minister of Militia another question. What pay did he give the first Canadian contingent? I am told that he paid them until they arrived on the shores of South Africa.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. WALLACE. What was the pay—40 or 50 cents a day?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I think it was 40 cents.

Mr. WALLACE. That is rather interesting news. The minister says he thinks it was 40 cents a day. Does he not know?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I have answered the hon. gentleman.

Mr. WALLACE. I think we should have something more definite. I am sure that

there is not a citizen of Canada but expected that 50 cents a day, the pay of Canadian volunteers, would be paid to those men. The Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) had supposed, as he tells us, that the pay of the permanent corps was the same as the pay of the volunteers. I supposed so too. I am sure that the impression has gone abroad. I would like to ask the minister another question. If he paid these volunteers 40 cents a day from the time they were sworn in until they arrived on the coast of Africa, will he now pay them the additional 10 cents?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Resolutions reported.

MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) presented a message from His Excellency the Governor General.

Mr. SPEAKER read the message, as follows:

MINTO.

The Governor General transmits to the House of Commons a copy of the telegraphic message from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated August 22, 1899, expressing the appreciation of Her Majesty's government for the resolutions adopted by the Senate and House of Commons, respecting the situation in South Africa.

Government House,
Ottawa, February 27, 1900.

The PRIME MINISTER moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11.50 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 2, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

OFFICIAL DEBATES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. CHAMPAGNE presented the second report of the Select Committee appointed to supervise the Official Reports of the Debates, as follows:

The select committee appointed to supervise the official reports of the debates recommend that

the resignation of G. A. Geoffrion be accepted and the sum of \$350 be paid him for services rendered in the position and that Mr. Gustave Labine be appointed in his place, but that for this session he be paid \$650.

Mr. CHAMPAGNE moved :

That the House concur in the second report of the said committee.

Motion agreed to.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 58) to supervise and control the warehousing, inspection and weighing of grain in Manitoba and the North-west Territories.—(Mr. Douglas.)

PRIVILEGE—PARAGRAPH IN OTTAWA CITIZEN.

Mr. DAVIN. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I rise to a question of privilege. I do not think it necessary that I should do more than call attention to what seems to be a misprint in this morning's *Citizen* :

Questioned by Mr. Davis (Lib., Saskatchewan), elicited the information that between 1883 and 1887 the Regina 'Leader' obtained \$47,850 for government printing, and in 1884, \$12,111 for advertising mining regulations.

Well, Sir, I find that the \$12,000 is a misprint, and that the amount that was received by that company for advertising mining regulations, is correctly stated in the *Hansard*. Now, I wish to call attention to the implication that is underneath that most improper question, which certainly, as the leader of the opposition said, should have led to the point of order being raised. It was not a proper question in form. Now, dealing with the implication that somehow or other there may have been favouritism, I want to call attention to what actually is the history of printing in the capital of the North-west Territories. In 1883, a paper was started, called the *Leader*, when that town was nothing but a tent town; and a plant was put in that could do printing for a large government. In 1883-4, I find on turning to the Auditor General's report, there was \$1,386 paid for printing, and \$161 for advertising. I find that the number of items that go to make up the \$1,386 are items connected with the implementation of government proclamations, the *Gazette* formes, and numberless details of notices. Then if you take 1885, at page 506, you have \$1,738.89 for printing and \$369 for advertising. Then you come to 1886, and you have \$1,335.48. In 1887, you have \$4,318 for printing; in 1888, \$4,976 for printing, and \$363 for advertising. In that year, I find on inquiry, that the ordinances were consolidated, and a large book of laws printed. In 1889, page E-165, printing and advertising, \$5-

Mr. CHAMPAGNE.

689.60; 1890, \$5,055; 1891, \$6,407. In 1892, I find that the *Regina Journal*, got for printing, \$582. The *Leader*, got for advertising, \$293, and for printing, \$4,219. The *Regina Standard*, which was a paper started independent of the government, but the chief object of which, was to be anti-Davin—the *Regina Standard* received for advertising \$781, and for printing, \$555. Now we come to 1893. Remember the implication in that question must mean something like this: That, being a member of parliament, and being one of the principal shareholders of a newspaper, I might have used some influence to get work for that paper; or it may mean that the paper belonged to that class of reptile journals of which we have heard something. All that need be said is that the man who at this minute distributes the patronage of this government in Regina, declared in 1895, after he had purchased this paper that its career had been characterized from first to last by the utmost independence. Now, Sir, look at the facts. In 1893, the *Leader* received for advertising, \$299, and for printing, \$1,673. The *Standard* received for advertising \$415, and for printing, \$3,371. In 1894, the *Regina Leader* received for advertising, \$173, and for printing, \$2,021; the *Standard* received for advertising, \$391, and for printing, \$4,982. In 1895, the *Regina Leader* received for advertising, \$598, and for printing, \$990. The *Standard* received for advertising, \$36, and for printing, \$4,388. Then in the August of 1895, the paper was sold and passed into the hands of the gentleman who owns it at present. At once there is a change. Then you find the *Regina Leader* gets, in 1896, for advertising, \$148, and for printing, \$4,258. The *Standard*, that before was getting the lion's share, received in that year for advertising, only \$93, and for printing, \$576. Now, there is one thing certain that these figures demonstrate, and it is this, that the *Leader*, as long as I was connected with it, was a paper that was not held in favour by the governments; and that under the Conservative government in Ottawa, you find a sum for advertising given to a hostile paper, almost double that which was given to the paper that I was supposed to be largely interested in. I think, Sir, that is an entire answer to any implication that could have been behind that most improper question.

COLONIAL TROOPS FOR IMPERIAL PURPOSES.

Mr. BEATTIE. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to ask the government if they know anything about the matters contained in this despatch which I hold in my hand :

Following the report from Australia that Joseph Chamberlain had asked how many men

could be spared from that colony to go to South Africa in case the Imperial troops were needed elsewhere, the 'Times' has a special from Toronto which says that Mr. Chamberlain, some time ago, asked the same question of Canada, and a reply was sent that she could send ten thousand. In addition, Canada would garrison Halifax, Esquimalt, Newfoundland and the British West Indies.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I have already answered the same question put by the leader of the opposition.

THE HALIFAX GARRISON.

Mr. McNEILL. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask my right hon. friend, whether he can give any information to-day, in reply to the question which I asked him yesterday, and concerning which, he said he hoped to be able to give some information.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am happy to inform my hon. friend that our offer has been accepted.

THE REGINA LEADER COMPANY.

Mr. DAVIS. An order was passed on the 12th of February, asking for correspondence in connection with the Regina Leader Company; and I desire to ask the government when that will be brought down?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I cannot give a positive answer to my hon. friend, but I will call the attention of the proper department to it.

PERMANENT FORCE IN THE YUKON.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like, in connection with the statement which the right hon. the Premier has made—which statement, I am sure, will be received with great satisfaction—that the government are prepared to garrison the city of Halifax in order to release the regular force that are there for service elsewhere if necessary, I would like to draw the attention of the Minister of Militia to a point I brought before the House last session. I refer to the sending of a large portion of the permanent force to the Yukon. I took exception to that step at the time, as the House will remember, as a very ill-advised proceeding, in the first place, because the permanent force from the very character of its organization are not in a position to render the service that the mounted policemen can, and more especially—

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I think I must ask my hon. friend, if he is going to make any remarks, to make a motion.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If my right hon. friend desires it, I will conclude with a motion; but I do not wish to take up more than a moment of the time of the House with regard to this matter. I speak because the present moment is opportune for drawing attention to the fact that when the force was originally sent—about 200 strong, I think—to the Yukon, there was a population, I believe, of 30,000 to 32,000. We have now learned that a great exodus has taken place and the population is reduced to about 4,500 people, with a prospect of its being further reduced at an early day. We have had information brought before the House that there were—speaking from memory—247 mounted policemen in that country. In connection with the statement made by my right hon. friend of the intention of the government to provide a regiment for the city of Halifax, it would appear to me most desirable that the portion of the permanent force should be withdrawn. It cannot possibly be required there. I will not go into that further than to say that from the first the Yukon has been one of the most orderly places in the Dominion. There has been nothing but what a mere handful of mounted police could have dealt with at any time. Therefore, it appears to me that the idea of not retaining the force there at a time when they may be very useful elsewhere and save a large amount of public money is worthy of the attention of my right hon. friend and the Department of Militia.

The PRIME MINISTER. I may say to my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) that last year we withdrew from the Yukon half the force we had sent there. I think that the country generally, and particularly those who know the condition of things there, approve the sending of the military force to the Yukon. If there was no crime, no disturbances, no offences in the motley population which assembled in the Yukon at the height of the gold excitement, I think it is largely due to the care taken by the government to provide such a police and military force as to check the possibility of any demonstration of that kind. My hon. friend knows what the experience has been in every country where a mining population has assembled. Such a population is not always of the most orderly character, assembling as it does from all parts of the world and under circumstances the most likely to lead to more or less disturbance. We are happy in having had less disturbance perhaps, than has occurred in any other mining country. This was due in part, I believe to the wise precautions taken. My hon. friend says that there is less population there than there was. I am not prepared to admit that there is less population in the Yukon, though there may be less in Dawson. As was explained by my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior

(Mr. Sifton) the other day, the population is now settled, and the men who came looking about not knowing what to do have gone to other places. There is an active working population on all the mining creeks. Whether it would be advisable to withdraw the force at this moment is a question which it would be well to consider; but before we come to a conclusion, I think it would be well to wait until we receive the reports in the spring when the operations of the winter are completed. It is quite possible that we may then follow the hon. gentleman's advice; but at the present time it is not proper to say either yes or no to his suggestion. It is enough to say that it will receive careful consideration.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

Mr. A. McNEILL (North Bruce). Would the right hon. Premier allow me to ask him whether the government have considered whether they will maintain the strength of the contingents in South Africa, by filling up the vacancies that have occurred in the ranks?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). That is a point with regard to which we will have to communicate with the Imperial authorities.

Mr. GEO. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) I would like to ask the Minister of Militia and Defence, before we take up the resolution passed last night, whether he will bring down the orders in council which were passed, I suppose, as to the strength of the contingents, their officers, their pay and so on. That was what I had supposed I was asking for last night; but the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding) brought down only the two for the Governor General's warrant. Of course, they gave no information as to the establishment, the officers' pay, &c.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The general orders have all been published, but I will have a file of them placed on the Table of the House.

Mr. FOSTER. Were there no orders with reference to the establishment?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. There are orders in council, I think, appointing the officers—

Mr. FOSTER. And establishing the rates of pay?

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No, the general orders have the rates of pay.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, if the minister will bring down those orders—

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I will do so.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 59) to provide for the expenses of the Canadian volunteers serving Her Majesty in South Africa.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock) moved the second reading of Bill (No. 13) respecting representation in the House of Commons. He said: Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to discuss this measure now at any great length. It has been before the House for a very considerable period of time and was very thoroughly considered last session. It met with an untimely end in the other Chamber, but, I trust that, as it has become better known, it has become better appreciated, and that it comes back not as an acquaintance, but rather as an old friend. It is a measure that is calculated to undo a grave wrong committed against the people by the parliament of 1882, and repeated and extended by the parliament of 1892. The measure is one eminently in the interest of fair-play all round. On former occasions in every case where, in any province, or in the Dominion as a whole, there has been any legislation with the view of altering the limits of ridings, parliament itself has dealt with the question. On this occasion, as last year, the government have adopted a departure, which is the first instance in which any parliament of Canada, or any province of Canada, has voluntarily transferred to a judicial tribunal the delicate subject of redistributing ridings. That feature of this measure, in itself, has, I am sure, commended it to the right-thinking people of this country, and it also commended it to the overwhelming majority of the members of this House last session. It is true that it hardly secured a working majority in the other House, but, a year has rolled by, that House has had a year's opportunity of reconsidering its decision, and further, it has had many changes in its personnel, so that we may reasonably look forward to a wiser and different conclusion if the measure receives that fair considera-

tion at their hands that it is entitled to receive. It is under all circumstances and upon all occasions, a delicate matter. I think, for one House to veto the measures of another, but when it comes to dealing with the representation of this House, then, I think, it is especially a delicate question for that House to deal with, and they assume a grave responsibility if they thwart, by their majority, the will of the people as declared by the House of Commons. Therefore, Sir, I confidently move this Bill on this occasion, believing that it will be appreciated to-day, and that a year's deliberation in that very deliberative body will have brought it to the conclusion that their action last year was unwise and not to be repeated on this occasion.

The Bill proposes to abolish three municipal ridings that have no counterpart in our municipal divisions. It also proposes to confine the constituencies within the limits of counties or cities, and in no case to make up constituencies from fragments of various counties. The recognition of that principle is a safeguard against gerrymandering and interfering with a fair expression of opinion in parliament. As long as it is conceded that parliament may disregard any such checks as municipal boundaries there is no limit to the steps that may be taken in order to secure unfair representation in parliament. You have only to look at a few of the constituencies, the product of these two Redistribution Bills in 1882 and 1892 to be shocked at what was done. Take the constituency of North Brant, extending in an easterly direction from the county of Oxford, going through several counties, the North Riding of Brant, I believe, being brought into contact with no less than seven different constituencies, going into the city of Hamilton, dividing one of the ridings of Wentworth into two parts, separated by two townships, and by the city of Hamilton, so that you cannot pass from one part of the riding of North Wentworth to the other part except by crossing two other constituencies or going out into Lake Ontario to do so. Take the riding of North Ontario, which, at one point, is only four or five miles wide; it passes through a tier of townships until it passes away from the north end of the county of Ontario and reaches the district of Muskoka where it spreads out and includes within its limits a number of townships belonging to the district of Muskoka. Look at the geographical formation of these two ridings and you will find an example of the work of the perpetrators and of the men who permitted those measures to be passed. I think that anybody in this House, or in the Senate, who votes against this measure will adopt all the wrong-doing involved in those two measures of 1882 and 1892. You may go where you like throughout the province of Ontario, and you will find but one opinion

as to the justice of this Bill. There is one fixed conclusion in the minds of the people, and it is that these measures were eminently unfair, and that this parliament cannot too soon rise to a proper conception of its duty, repeal these measures and adopt something fairer in their place. Last session hon. gentlemen opposite attacked the clause which proposes to hand this matter over to the judiciary and pretended that the judiciary, to whom it would be referred, would be a partisan body. I do not think that any hon. gentleman to-day will repeat that statement. We stated then, and I may state again to-day, that the men we named then as fit and proper persons with whom to entrust the working out of this Bill will, or men equally worthy of confidence, be named again to-day. It is not in contemplation to change the personnel of the judiciary to whom the matter will be referred. If it receives the sanction of parliament it will be referred to the same gentlemen as those who were named last session. Their connection with it is a guarantee in itself of the fairness of the proposition, and one which, I trust, will commend it successfully to the consideration of this Chamber and to that of the other House. I indulge in the hope that time has produced a change in the minds of hon. gentlemen here and in the other Chamber and that it will not be necessary at such length now, as on a former occasion, to press this Bill upon the favourable attention of parliament. I doubt, Sir, if you can find a provision in it that is not eminently fair and just. It does not propose to rearrange the divisions for the whole province of Ontario, but, rather to deal with the iniquitous provisions that characterized the Bills of 1882 and 1892. On the former occasion, on the pretense of wiping out two constituencies, namely, Niagara and Stormont, and providing four additional seats, there was an entire overturning of the boundaries of the constituencies, including Ontario, westerly until you reached Lake Huron. There was no possible necessity for such changes as were made. They did not produce an equalization of population, they did not bring the constituents closer together, they did not, in any respect facilitate the formation of opinion by those who were to be grouped together into one constituency, but they so disregarded the facilities for interchange of opinion, that there are to-day ridings in the province of Ontario in various parts of which are living residents who would have to travel 100 miles within the boundaries of the constituency in order to meet each other. Take the riding of North Ontario as a sample. We will assume that the people of North Ontario desire to meet in convention for the purpose of expressing their opinions upon a political question; and considering the forma-

tion of that ill-shaped constituency, it is impossible for the constituents to select a spot where they could to any appreciable extent gather as representatives from all parts of that riding. That very fact alone ought have been sufficient to have caused men to hesitate, aye, even to refuse to place such an Act upon the statute-book. I point to that as one of the many proofs of the injustice of the measure. Last session I troubled the House with figures which satisfied all reasonable men that that measure, and the measure grafted upon it in 1892, secured a majority which brought the present representative of North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) into this House and kept him here ever since. That hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) I am sure feels a certain amount of regret that he should represent a constituency under such circumstances, and, Sir, taking, as he does on most questions, high, broad and advanced grounds, I look to him on this occasion, and I hope with good reason, to aid me in bringing about a more satisfactory state of affairs in North Bruce. I am sure, Sir, I will not be disappointed.

Mr. SCRIVER. You have great faith in human nature.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) has rendered good service to his country on many occasions. Whenever there is any measure before parliament calculated to raise the dignity of Canada in the minds of the people of the empire, or of foreign nations, there is no gentleman in this House who takes more elevated and advanced ground than does my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill). Let him, therefore, not waste all his good thoughts upon the larger questions, but let him for a moment come down to our own domestic affairs in Canada, and assist us to purify what is impure in our laws.

Mr. McNEILL. Hear, hear.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I am glad my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) echoes that sentiment. I am glad that my appeal to him has not been in vain. It has been argued, Sir, that we should not pass this measure on what is called the eve of a general election. The redistribution takes place once every ten years, and that means that it is estimated that there will be but two general elections upon the constituencies as then redistributed. Therefore, as there has been one general election under the census of 1891, there is yet another general election to be held. It is, therefore, not fair to say that we are having this wrong corrected just for one year. On the contrary, we are seeking to have this wrong remedied for one-half of the full life of the redistribution, after the decennial census. It is no argument, I submit, to say that the life of parliament has nearly run out, and that the time for taking the census

Mr. MULOCK:

is so near at hand that, therefore, this should be postponed until the new census is taken, and until the new parliament is elected. Sir, what should be the aim of this House of Commons, is to have its members elected upon constituencies as they should be, and not as they are. The proper time, therefore, to rearrange the constituencies is before the people have been called upon to exercise their franchise and not afterwards. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I confidently lay this Bill before the House, and I trust that it will have the hearty, I almost hope the unanimous, approval of hon. gentlemen. So endorsed, it will go to the Upper House, and I trust will there receive as favourable treatment as it will here. I have hope that it shall become a tardy measure of justice to the people, so that it may wipe out the stain which at present rests upon the statute-books of Canada.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). I quite concur in the opening remarks of the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), who said that this Bill had been so fully discussed at a recent period in this House that it would seem unnecessary to rediscuss it again. Am I right in assuming that this Bill is precisely the same as the Bill of last session?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Yes.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That being the case, it would be an entire waste of time to spend a single hour discussing this measure under such circumstances. Less than a year ago precisely the same Bill was discussed exhaustively in this House, and the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) admits that nothing new can be said on this subject. In view of this, I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, if you please, to accept the speech which I made on this Bill last session as my speech on the present occasion. The circumstances have only changed in one respect, and that change tells very much against the reintroduction of this measure. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock) knows that the main ground of objection to this Bill was that it was introduced at an altogether inopportune time. He knows that under our constitution it is provided that there shall be a redistribution of seats in this House after every decennial census is taken. He knows that a redistribution is then imperative on us. After each census there has been a change of the relative representation of the different provinces in this House, which makes it absolutely imperative to have a Redistribution Bill then. We established last session that this Bill was altogether unnecessary, and we established also that the time was inopportune as the period of the decennial census was so near. The Postmaster General stated to the House that the judges

who were instructed to deal with any alteration of boundaries under this Bill, would act upon the census taken in 1891. My hon. friend (Mr. Mulock) will excuse me if I say, that it is simply perfectly absurd to introduce at this time a measure for the redistribution of seats in this House based upon the census of 1891, in view of the fact that the population of the different localities has radically and completely changed since then. The fact that the government admits that the judges will have to be guided by a census which was taken ten years ago, is enough to show that the introduction of such a Bill as this is absurd. Every person must admit that the fundamental basis of our whole system of representation is representation by population. I do not mean to say that there are not other things to be taken in connection with that, but that is the great fundamental basis. And then to say that you will undertake the monstrous absurdity—

Mr. McMULLEN. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. What does the hon. gentleman say? What is the matter? Does he think that the term monstrous is too strong to apply to such a palpable absurdity as that? One uses the term monstrous for something very large.

Mr. McMULLEN. The gerrymander was monstrous.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No. I gave the proof the last time, and I will give it to the House again, that there was nothing abnormal or improper in the gerrymander, as the hon. gentleman calls it, of 1882.

Mr. McMULLEN. Oh; shame.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, there are gentlemen in this House who, when they find that they have no ground to stand upon, endeavour by clamour and noise to obstruct and prevent discussion on a question on which they know they have no legitimate argument to sustain them. Therefore, I hail with great satisfaction the admission of the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) that he wants to prevent an hon. gentleman stating his views in this House, because if he has an opportunity of stating them all the ground is cut from under the hon. member's feet, and consequently he has no case. But I must not be betrayed into making a speech, which I have no intention of doing on the present occasion. I may say that the main reason why the Senate threw out the Bill sent to them last year was the absurdity of putting before any intelligent body of gentlemen a measure to redistribute the constituencies of Canada upon the census of 1891, when we were just on the eve of taking another census. That position is immensely strengthened now, for another year has rolled by. Why, Sir,

in the very speech from the Throne we have a proposal to pass a Bill to provide for the taking of the new census, and my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) has provided in the estimates for taking a vote of money for the payment of the cost of taking the census. Could anything be more absurd than to put before this House at this time a Bill for a redistribution, in view of the fact that if it passed, you would have to have another redistribution immediately afterwards? That very fact is a most irresistible reason why the time of this House should not be wasted in reconsidering a measure which the Senate rejected a year ago for a reason which has become much stronger since. My hon. friend the Postmaster General says virtually that the Senate has nothing to do with a redistribution measure that touches the rights of the representatives of the people in this House. I join issue with him there altogether. I say that the Senate is entitled under the constitution of the country to deal with every measure that comes before this House, and there is only one point in which it is restricted by the clear terms of the constitution; that is, it cannot amend a revenue Bill.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I did not say that it had not the right.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If it has the right, it can exercise that right. I say that the reason which the Senate advanced for the rejection of the measure is immensely strengthened to-day, when we are on the very eve of taking the census. We are actually engaged in taking the census when the Bill for the purpose is introduced and the money is voted by the House. I do not hesitate to say, Mr. Speaker, that I do not believe the hon. gentleman is serious. I do not believe that he has the slightest expectation that this House is going, under these circumstances to do anything so palpably absurd as to pass this Bill. I think I know the reason why this Bill is here. The government have summoned parliament, and have no business ready. We have been a month in session, and they have been unable to submit any of their measures for our consideration; and in the absence of anything to do, to avoid adjourning the House from day to day and exhibiting their inability to deal with the public business, they have put up my hon. friend to throw down this old Bill of last session, which was fought out then in the fullest and most thorough manner, and was rejected by the Upper Chamber as altogether inopportune and out of time. I therefore conclude that my hon. friend was quite serious when he said that he did not propose to make any speech or enter into any discussion of the measure, because there is nothing to add to what was said last session. But I may be permitted to re-

mind him that I disposed in a single sentence of the whole ground on which he has based this Bill. He says that the object of the Bill is to right the wrong done by the gerrymander of 1882. I proved to the House that there was no gerrymander.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, and I have only to re-state my argument to show these hon. gentlemen that I did so most thoroughly. I say that a gerrymander act can only be used in one way. The whole significance of the term gerrymander lies in the construction of a Bill that will enable a minority of the electors to elect a majority of representatives. Everybody knows that it is the cutting up and carving of constituencies for that purpose, and if a Bill does not accomplish that it is no gerrymander. Let me give the proof. The Bill of 1882 was proved by the election of 1896 not to be unfair to hon. gentlemen opposite. The official statement of the votes polled, and the parties for whom they were polled, prove that in the province of Ontario the Conservative party polled a large majority of votes over and above the Liberal party.

Mr. McMULLEN. No.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes. As I said before, noise will not, I hope, take the place of argument, in this House. If you bring down the official statement made by the government officers, and now in the possession of the government, you will find the statement I make to be correct. I am speaking from memory, but those who turn up my speech of last year, will find that I gave the figures, which show, I think, that the Conservative party polled many thousands of votes, more in the province of Ontario, than the Liberals did. And yet they elected one more representative than we did. Where then was the gerrymander? It is absolutely impossible to have a gerrymander, when the party that passed the Bill is deprived of its fair proportion of members. We had a large majority of the votes, and yet hon. gentlemen opposite elected one more representative than we did. I shall not waste more time on that question, but would recommend the hon. member for North Wellington to read over my speech again, which he seems to have forgotten.

The hon. Postmaster General, has really given no reason why we should pass this Bill. The position of the judiciary under it is simply a farce. I would remind the hon. gentleman, who seems to doubt the power of the Upper House, to deal with the question of franchise or redistribution, of what took place in England. The Gladstone government passed a Franchise Bill, and

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

the House of Lords refused to deal with that measure unless the government agreed to have the two parties united—the government and the opposition—in determining upon a Redistribution Act, and that Redistribution Act was to be based on certain principles agreed upon by both parties. The Conservatives opposition united with the government, and both agreed upon a Redistribution Act, and by that agreement the redistribution was put substantially into the hands of a commission independent of the government, and it was only by agreeing to do this, that Mr. Gladstone secured the assent of the House of Lords to his Franchise Bill.

The hon. Postmaster General gave, of course, very few reasons why we should pass this Bill. It is quite obvious that he does not dream of its becoming law. He refrained from giving the only reason for introducing this Bill at such an inopportune time—at a time when the government is actually engaged making arrangements for taking the census—and that is the necessity in which the government is placed. Had my hon. friend been candid, he would have stated that in the three or four years this government have been in power, they have lost the confidence of the people and consequently their only hope of re-election, is the passing of a gerrymander Bill that will enable a minority of the electorate to return a majority of representatives. That is the only reason the government could have for the introduction of this Bill.

The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, appears amused at my statement that the government have lost the confidence of the country. But I need not go far to find the proof. That hon. minister supported this gerrymander Bill of last year, introduced by the Postmaster General, in which he cut up and changed the constituencies of Prince Edward Island in such a way as he thought would enable a minority to elect a majority of members. But he did not succeed in getting that passed into law. Now, I regard the local elections in the provinces, under the existing state of things, just as clear an indication of the popular will with regard to this House, as by-elections. And my reason is this: My right hon. friend went out and took the ground that the parties in the local and federal parliaments are one and the same. He went on the hustings, in the last local elections in Ontario, and implored the electors to maintain the Hardy government in power, because that government was his right arm. Well, it has been proved beyond controversy that but for the nefarious use of the infamous machine by the Ontario government, that the Hardy administration would have been crushed and defeated. Nobody knows that better than my right hon. friend, and he knows that from that day to this, the Ontario government, his right arm, is being

steadily paralyzed more and more. One seat has been taken away, but what more? The two men that have been unseated by a judge of the highest standing and character, have appealed to the Supreme Court, because they know they have not the slightest chance of carrying the constituencies again, in fact the ground is already crumbling under the feet of my right hon. friend in Ontario, and whenever the electors of that province, get the opportunity, they will sweep the local government out of office just as they will this government.

What happened in Prince Edward Island? What has become of the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies)? I see he has disappeared, and I am not surprised, because he knew what was coming. The elections for two members, one of them Attorney General, resulting from the reconstruction of the local government took place the other day in Prince Edward Island. The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries went down there, and did an act a little more daring than I think was ever done by any public man in this country on either side of politics. He went into these two local elections, and told the people that the life of this Dominion government was at stake upon these elections.

If these two men are beaten, the Liberal government are beaten, and they have no majority in the House to carry on the government of Prince Edward Island. And what do you think the hon. gentleman did then, Mr. Speaker? Why, so far forgot himself, forgot his position, forgot the respect due to the independent electors of this country, as to tell the electors that if they did not return Liberals, to keep in power the local Liberal government in Prince Edward Island, he could not answer for the money that this House had voted for public works in the island being actually expended. If you want evidence of the position this government are in you could not have stronger evidence than that. What answer did he get? He got the answer that any man will get from free and independent electors when he attempts to use a bludgeon of that kind to drive them to the polls. His candidates were defeated; and he knows right well that if an election took place in the province of Prince Edward Island to-morrow, if he managed to save his own seat, he would come back alone, without a single man from that province to support him.

THE MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. You had better come and face him yourself, then.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is the position of the hon. gentleman, and nobody knows it better than he. Otherwise, do you think he would have ventured upon so daring, so unconstitutional an act as I have spoken of. Why, Sir, it should deprive him of his seat in this House.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, I say distinctly that if that was done by a candidate, it would disqualify him, even if elected, from sitting in parliament for having used intimidation. And the agent of the candidate—which the hon. gentleman made himself—having done it, I think, if the law were as far-reaching and as stringent as it ought to be, we should lose his presence in this House.

The same may be said of the province of New Brunswick. We were told the other day that by the enormous means that the Minister of Railways and Canals had been able to exercise in the province of New Brunswick, the opposition had been completely paralyzed and destroyed. But what happened the other day? In spite of all that this government and the government of New Brunswick could do, they were defeated by the independent electors of the constituency; and the indications are that the government of New Brunswick will find it difficult to secure support in that province, as will the Liberal government in any other province of this Dominion. I need hardly refer to what occurred in Manitoba. With all that two governments could do, with all the power that two governments, converging their forces on that province, were able to bring to play, they have been defeated in a more overwhelming and ignominious manner than any party in any section of this country. The hon. gentleman is beginning to find that there are two sides to the story of making combinations with local parties, so that defeat of one cannot take place without the defeat of the other. The handwriting is on the wall, and the Postmaster General and his colleagues know it. They have been weighed in the balance and found wanting; hence they stand to-day before the great electors of Canada virtually confessing defeat. They admit that the franchise under which they were returned to power in 1896—a franchise controlled by this House—would not enable them to retain power on another appeal to the people, and they have swept it away. And now they make the further humiliating confession to the people that even with the franchises of the local legislatures adopted for the House of Commons, they will have no hope of getting back here unless they get the assent of parliament to the monstrous proposition—I again use the term, for no words in the English language are too strong to indicate the character of the measure now brought before the House—that 17,000 Liberals shall be given more power than 50,000 Conservatives in the province of Ontario. I will not take up the time further than to refer those gentlemen who regret that I do not go more elaborately into this question to the speech I made last session, to which I adhere in its entirety.

Mr. JAS. McMULLEN (North Wellington). The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) appears to fancy that the government of the day has lost the confidence of the people of this country. My answer is simply this: There have been since 1896, I think, some forty-five by-elections; and how many seats has my hon. friend got out of the forty-five? Just three seats. And he claims this as evidence that the present government had lost the confidence of the country. I cannot but express my amazement at the hon. gentleman standing before this House and declaring that there was not injustice, that there was no wrong in the gerrymander Bill of 1882. In my humble opinion it would require a man with as much brass as there is in any of the statues on Parliament Hill to stand before this House and make a statement of that kind. The people of this country know, and the hon. gentleman himself knows well, that that Bill was introduced into this House for a purpose, and that purpose was to tie the hands of Reformers, and to so distribute the Conservatives in Ontario that they would control an undue number of constituencies. It did have this effect at the time; and the government of which the hon. gentleman was a member held office supported by men who were elected by that gerrymander Act, and who, in all probability, but for it, never would have entered parliament at all. Now, all that the present Bill proposes to do is to go back to the system of county boundaries. Any man who will take the map of Ontario and go carefully over the bounds of the different constituencies must come to the conclusion that no other object could have been in the minds of those who hatched that Bill and passed it through the House than to gerrymander the municipalities into such forms as would give the government of that day an advantage over their opponents. It bears evidence of that intention upon its face. The hon. gentleman says that in the last election in the province of Ontario, the Conservatives polled more votes than the Reformers, and yet the Reformers retained a small majority of representatives. But he does not count fairly the votes cast in constituencies where three candidates ran.

He takes all the votes that were cast in the constituencies, Patron and Independent, and counts them as Conservatives; as long as they were cast in opposition to the nominee of the Reform party he counts them all as Conservatives, and in that way he tries to establish that there was a majority of Conservative votes cast. Now we are ready to-morrow to meet the hon. gentleman on the public platform in the province of Ontario or in the Dominion of Canada, on fair and equal terms. But I have known that hon. gentleman for many years, and I have never known him yet to be

ready to fight a fair and honest battle. He is always anxious and ready to take any advantage that he can get over an opponent; he is always anxious and willing to tie a Reformer's hands behind his back and then challenge him to come on to a duel. What kind of manliness is there about that? The gerrymander Act that was put on the statute-book of this Dominion in 1882 is one of the blackest pieces of legislation that was ever enacted by hon. gentlemen opposite. I won't say that it is the blackest spot in the whole history of the Conservative party, because there are many very black spots, but it is one of them. They took advantage of their opponents at that time; and I say to those hon. gentlemen in the House now, who were in the House at that time, that it is certainly no credit to them to have let that Bill pass. It never should have become law. Had I been favoured with a seat in this House at the time that Bill was introduced, I would have talked till my tongue was as thin as a sixpence before I would allow the hon. gentlemen opposite to pass a Bill of that kind, I certainly would. I say that one of the blackest pages in the history of the Dominion of Canada was the passage of that Bill.

Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman says that the government is not ready to go before the country and face the same constituencies that they did before. We want to do the people justice, we want to see that the people's votes, when they are recorded, will tell in the direction in which they are recorded. But in the gerrymander Act now in force no such justice can be obtained. Take my own riding. I have the honour of representing three counties; I am in the county of Wellington, I am in the county of Dufferin, and in the county of Perth. A more barefaced piece of trickery never was attempted on any man than was attempted on me after I was nominated in North Wellington. The sitting member actually took away a township which gave a very small majority of Reformers; and he put into my riding a township that gave 194 Conservative majority for the purpose of beating me. It was done for no other purpose, it was done for the purpose of rounding out the boundaries of the constituency. On its face it bears the proof that the object of taking that small township and putting it into my riding, and taking out another that gave a Reform vote, was to beat me; that was the object for which that constituency was gerrymandered. And yet the leader of the opposition, who is in his 79th year—and I am glad to see that at that age he is as strong and healthy as he is—but I am amazed to realize that he can now get up and defend a barefaced injustice such as that gerrymander Act of 1882. I suppose he has a glimmer of hope that he may

come back to power in Canada. Now, let me tell the hon. gentleman that the people of Canada have not forgotten the record of the party that he leads. That record is before them in black and white. They have not forgotten the McGreevy scandals and the other extravagances that were brought home to the Conservative party when he was a member of the cabinet. I would fully expect that if that hon. gentleman came back to power, the first Bill that he would introduce would be a Bill to abolish the ten commandments. Take for instance, the commandment: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.' Why, Sir, on every platform upon which the hon. gentleman has set his feet, from the prorogation of parliament down to this minute, there is not one commandment that he has not violated. Take also the commandment: 'Thou shalt not steal.'

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I think the decencies of the debate render it absolutely necessary that you should interfere to enforce the rules of this House. The hon. gentleman has called me a liar, in so many words. He says I never go upon a platform without violating that commandment. Now, if that is permitted in this House on one side, I can assure hon. gentlemen on the other side that this House will hear some very unpleasant truths.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think that the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) is rather straining the rules of debate.

Mr. McMULLEN. Well, Mr. Speaker, if you hold that it is against the rules of the House, I am willing to withdraw it; but I am sorry that you did not allow me to go through the entire list because I think I could have proven before I sat down that he had violated every one of them.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I again call the attention of the Chair to the fact that a member of this House, instead of complying with your demand that he should withdraw his statement, has offered an insult to you and to this House as well.

Mr. McMULLEN. I distinctly withdraw the statement, but in doing so I expressed the regret that the rules of this House did not allow me to proceed, because I felt quite sure that I could have proved that he had violated every one of them. That is all I said. Mr. Speaker, I may be allowed—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am perfectly indifferent to anything that that hon. gentleman may say, and I only regret that I am obliged to pay so much attention to it. But I say that this House will become a disgrace to Canada if you permit such dis-

graceful statements to be made by any hon. gentleman.

Mr. SPEAKER. I do not think that I need to add anything to my first statement, I think the House understands the position. I hope the hon. gentleman will respect the amenities of debate sufficiently to avoid a repetition of such language.

Mr. McMULLEN. Mr. Speaker, I do not think that there is any man in the House of Commons that has taken greater liberties in discussing public questions than the leader of the opposition.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, after you had given your ruling the hon. member for North Wellington repeated that if he had been permitted he could prove that the leader of the opposition had violated every one of the ten commandments. I say, Sir, such a disgraceful statement has never been made in this House.

Mr. SPEAKER. I may say that the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) has not taken his objection well on this occasion, for those are not the words that I heard the hon. member for North Wellington use.

Mr. FOSTER. If it is parliamentary, I think it is well that we should understand what is going to be done in this House with the connivance of the members of the government.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. FOSTER. Every one of the members of the government.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. McMULLEN. My hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, enjoys more liberty and privileges in debate in this House than any other hon. member. I do not wish to violate the rules of the House, and if, in anything I have said, I have violated any rule I am quite willing to withdraw it. I would like very well to take my seat for a moment and allow the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) to get up and state to this House what commandment of the ten he has not violated.

Mr. SPEAKER. I cannot allow these statements to be made. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) means to keep within the rules of debate I hope he will do so.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, I would ask that the words of the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) be taken down.

Mr. SPEAKER. I do not think it is necessary.

Mr. McMULLEN. I withdraw everything about the ten commandments.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the words of the hon. member for

North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) be taken down.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman is out of order in making that proposition after the time has passed.

Mr. FOSTER. After you allowed him.

Mr. SPEAKER. I must simply say that while I am willing to tolerate a great deal, I cannot accept statements made in this form. I must ask hon. members to respect themselves, to respect this House, and to conform themselves to the rules of debate.

Mr. FOSTER. If there ever was an hon. member of this House who respects neither this House nor himself it is the hon. member for North Wellington.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. FOSTER. I have been twenty-two years in this House and I have yet to hear an hon. gentleman on either side of the House get up in this House and make such outrageous, blackguard statements as the hon. member for North Wellington.

Mr. HAGGART. This is the only place he dare make them.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. FOSTER. Nobody but a blackguard would do it.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Mr. Speaker, I think these words should be taken down. I am sorry that any hon. gentleman, occupying the position that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) does in this House, should make such statements, and I think that they deserve to be taken down.

Mr. SPEAKER. Now, I think we have an example of the difficulties that arise when hon. members forget their positions in this House.

Mr. TAYLOR. Members of the government forget theirs.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think we had better recall ourselves to the debate, and allow the hon. member for North Wellington to proceed.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, I will ask you a question before the debate proceeds. On what ground do you refuse my request to have the words of the hon. member (Mr. McMullen) taken down?

Mr. SPEAKER. Because it was not asked at the time, or until subsequent events had transpired.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) had no business to use these words towards me. I am not speaking of the statements he made against the hon. leader of the opposition. I called your

Mr. WALLACE.

attention to his statements in regard to myself immediately.

Mr. SPEAKER. Correctly or incorrectly, that closes the question in reference to this appeal.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I have merely remarked that the words of the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster) be taken down. I do not want to press these things extremely. I think the hon. gentleman spoke in heat, and I think he should at once arise and withdraw the very improper words that he used.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think that the debate might be allowed to proceed. I fear that in both cases we have exceeded those proprieties that should prevail in this House.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Mr. Speaker, I insist upon my hon. friend withdrawing the words he used. I think, in all conscience, that the hon. member should withdraw the expressions, and that he should be required, by you, Sir, to withdraw the words used. I hope, inadvertently, because, I am sorry that any hon. gentleman, in his position, would use such words in speaking of an hon. member of this House.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) ought to have been the first person to rise and call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the outrage that was committed against the proprieties of this House by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen). I think he should have risen then and not now come to the rescue and endeavour to protect him from the consequences of a statement that I think he would have found it very difficult to have been able to sustain.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I ask your ruling, Mr. Speaker, on the point. I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) must withdraw the words that he used.

Mr. BERGERON. The Chair has already ruled.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The Chair has already ruled, and the ruling is that the debate should proceed.

Mr. McNEILL. The Chair has so ruled more than once.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Mr. Speaker, I moved that the words be taken down, but the motion was not put. If necessary I will repeat that motion.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. On the contrary, after you had made that motion, Mr. Speaker stated that the debate should be proceeded with.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). Mr. Speaker, we must have a ruling, because, if that expression is parliamentary it may be used hereafter by others. An hon. member of this House has made the statement in regard to another hon. member that nobody but a blackguard would use the language that he was using.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. Can you controvert that?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I hope the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) will act the part of a gentleman and let me proceed.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. Do you controvert that?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I wish to know by the Speaker's ruling whether such language is parliamentary or not. If not, I insist that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) who used it, shall withdraw it. If the House can be subjected to insults of that kind with impunity, and if parliamentary rules will not protect it we must resort to means to meet that language.

Mr. **FOSTER**. Mr. Speaker, if you will allow me I will make my statement. The hon. member for North Wellington went away entirely from the subject in hand and commenced an attack upon my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) here and stated in the House—

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). Then withdraw the expression.

Mr. **FOSTER**. May I make my statement without being interrupted?

Mr. **SPEAKER**. I think this is only prolonging an irritating discussion. The practical question, and I feel that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) will confirm what I say, is, that the language he used was not such as was parliamentary, or as should be repeated by any hon. member in this House.

Mr. **FOSTER**. Mr. Speaker, I bow to that statement which is eminently fair and perfectly just, and here is the statement that I want to make. There is an hon. gentleman on the other side of the House—

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. That is not the question.

Mr. **FOSTER**. I will make my statement if Mr. Speaker will allow me. There is an hon. gentleman on the other side of the House, the hon. member for North Wellington, who went aside from every ground of fair debate in this House—

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Order, order.

Mr. **FOSTER**.—and not only charged one, but two hon. members of this House with having violated every commandment of the ten. He did not withdraw that charge, and if it is going to be shotgun work from one side it will be shotgun work from the other side.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. I think the hon. member (Mr. Foster) is incorrect in making the statement that the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) did not withdraw that statement.

Mr. **WALLACE**. Both statements.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. He withdrew these statements.

Mr. **FOSTER**. He made it ten times worse.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. Yes, I admit there is a little ground for that, but, unfortunately he does not stand alone. I think this is one of those cases in which I may fairly ask the House to respect what we all feel is the dignity of the House. We must either agree or not that we will preserve the amenities of debate, and I have simply to ask hon. members to drop this whole matter and respect themselves and respect the House.

The **MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE**. Mr. Speaker, do I understand that the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), has withdrawn the expression that he used?

Mr. **FOSTER**. The hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) has two ears, and he heard what I stated. I stated that, and I will not state it again.

The **MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE**. In that case I will proceed with the motion that his words be taken down.

Mr. **McNEILL**. I think that is a distinct challenge of your ruling, Mr. Speaker.

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Chair.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. I understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) not to undertake to defend these words.

Mr. **FOSTER**. I do not propose to get up and say so every time, if these gentlemen do not keep their ears open to hear me.

The **MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE**. If you, Mr. Speaker, understood him to withdraw, I accept your statement, of course.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. That is my view.

The **MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE**. Do I understand you to say, Sir, that you understood him to withdraw?

Mr. **SPEAKER**. That is my view.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Very well, then.

Mr. WALLACE. Do I understand—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order; let us proceed to business. I think I made the statement sufficiently plain for my hon. friend from West York (Mr. Wallace).

Mr. WALLACE. Has the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) withdrawn the statement he made against me?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Mr. Speaker understood him so.

Mr. McMULLEN. I claim the protection of the Chair; I have the floor.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Sit down.

Mr. McMULLEN. I was discussing the question—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order; sit down.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order, please. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) has raised the question, whether the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) withdrew the statement that he made respecting him, namely, that the hon. member (Mr. Wallace) had broken all the commandments. I need not say that if the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) made that statement in the House, it should be withdrawn.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Withdraw.

Mr. McMULLEN. Anything that I have said that is contrary to the rules of the House, I am quite willing to withdraw. Now, Sir, with regard to the question before the House—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order; withdraw.

Mr. SPEAKER. My hon. friend (Mr. McMullen) should deal with the specific statement, because if that statement were made in the House it should certainly be withdrawn.

Mr. McMULLEN. I understand that I have withdrawn.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

Mr. McMULLEN. Am I to get down on my knees before the hon. member and beg his pardon?

Mr. BERGERON. That is about what you should do.

Mr. McMULLEN. I want to say with regard to the Bill under discussion, that it is a fair and just Bill. It wipes out the unfair and unjust conditions under which the Liberals suffered for eighteen years, and it returns to county boundaries; a principle which bears some semblance to jus-

Mr. SPEAKER.

tice. This Redistribution Bill which we hope to repeal was intended to diffuse the Conservative voters throughout the country and to hive the Grits. Its object was well carried out. The leader of the opposition tells me that if I want to get a correct idea of his views upon that Bill, I had better read his speech of last year, if I have forgotten it. Well, I am glad to say that I have forgotten a great deal of what the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) said in this House, because if I did not, my memory would be loaded up with a tremendous amount of rubbish. I have forgotten most of what he said on this Bill, but I know he strongly appealed to the Senate last year to throw out this Bill. The Liberals want a fair fight. We do not want to play with loaded dice, but the Conservatives have used loaded dice against us for eighteen years, and it is about time there was an end to that. The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) tells us that the Senate is acting within its rights when it throws out a manifestly honest and fair Bill like this. The Senate may have the power to do it, but I deny that it has the right, and there is a good deal of difference between having the power to do a thing and exercising the right to do it. The Crown of England has the power to throw out every Bill we pass in this parliament, but we all know that under our constitution it would be a very injudicious thing to exercise it. This Bill passed the Commons last year by a large majority, and the Senate showed their partisanship by throwing it out. Compare the action of the Senate last year with its action on the Bill of 1882. Although the vicious features of that Bill were exposed in this House, and condemned by the press of this country, in some cases by the Conservative press, yet the Senate of Canada was then so partisan that it ran that Bill through the Senate in about thirty minutes. If the Senate has the same character to-day as it had eighteen years ago, then it is a partisan Chamber, under the thumb of the leader of the opposition. If the Senate of Canada is going to carry out his commands and to act under his nod, it is right that the people of Canada should know it. The hon. gentlemen (Sir Charles Tupper) commends them for what they did last year, and he fancies that by rubbing them down the right way, complimenting them upon their powers and their exalted dignity, he can get the Senate to repeat their conduct this year. The people of Canada have sent to this Chamber a majority of men supporting this government, but the leader of the opposition thinks he will nullify the will of the people by appealing to a partisan Senate. The Bill is going to pass this House—

Mr. SPROULE. I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) refers to the Senate as a partisan Senate, and I

want to ask you, Mr. Speaker, if that remark is not unduly reflecting on the Senate?

Mr. McMULLEN. That is no point of order, and I shall proceed with my speech.

Mr. SPEAKER. It occurred to me that the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) was sinning more in failing to address the Chair, and in addressing directly the leader of the opposition across the Chamber. On the other hand, I think we have a right to respect the position which the Senate occupies as a recognized branch of this parliament under the constitution of the country.

Mr. McMULLEN. I respect the Senate, Sir.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. McMULLEN. Let hon. gentlemen opposite permit themselves to possess their souls in patience until they hear what I have to say. I respect the Senate in so far as the Senate is entitled to respect. I accord every member of the Senate that respect he is entitled to as a member of the Senate, but I do not admit that the Senate is so far removed above the reach of the elected representatives of the people of Canada in this Chamber, that we dare not mention the name of the Senate here. We have a right to indulge in criticism of the action of the Senate, just the same as they have a right to discuss any Bill that we pass in this House. We do not deny them that right. I contend that the Senate is not removed to a position which takes away from the representatives of the people, the right to discuss their course. I do hope that the Senate, with credit to themselves, and in view of the verdict of the people of Canada, will act more in accord with public sentiment. My hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, has said that the gentlemen occupying the Treasury benches are trembling in their shoes, knowing that their fate is sealed, knowing that when they appeal to the people they will be swept from office. The hon. gentleman feels sure that he is going to be returned. He does not appear to remember that out of forty-five by-elections the opposition only carried three, and the government forty-two. That of itself may be accepted by the Senate, I think, as an indication of the will of the people. If the Senate are going to set themselves up in direct opposition to the expressed will of the people, we want to know it. We are willing that they should take that position, if they wish to do so. They may have the power, but I question their right. We live in a democratic age, when people like to rule themselves and will rule themselves. We live in an age when, if we have a constituted body which openly violates that principle, some means will be found by which

the will of the people will prevail. I believe that time is not far distant. I am not threatening the Senate; I only say that in my opinion, they should take cognizance of public opinion, and be guided by it; and the public opinion of this country has in the most unmistakable way, declared that the Bill introduced by the government, is a right one, and should be endorsed. Now, Sir, I plead with my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition. He should endeavour to cultivate a little fairness toward the government in the position he occupies. He should begin to admit that there was a gross injustice done to the Reform party of this country in 1882. If he does not admit that, he certainly looks through a pair of coloured spectacles; for no man who is possessed of a reasonable amount of fairness could think of defending such a measure. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) is prepared to defend it, as well he may. He sits here by virtue of the passage of that gerrymander Act, and he knows it. The same is true of many other members of this House. It may not perhaps, be parliamentary, in the course of this debate, to name these hon. gentlemen, but they are here by virtue of that Act, and they know it, and my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition knows it. He knows perfectly well that if the Bill now before parliament becomes law, it will undoubtedly place a certain number of his supporters in such a position that they will have to fight for their political lives, as they have never had to fight before. The Reform party have had to suffer from this measure for eighteen years; we have had to fight with our hands tied behind our backs, and it is time that we should get relief, and we intend to press for relief. I was amazed to find my esteemed friend, whom I have known for many years, and whose ability I acknowledge, standing up in this House and defending that abominable gerrymander Act of 1882, and refusing to support a Bill that simply goes back to county boundaries and recognizes the limits of municipalities as they existed before. I know that some hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House will be ready to get up and say that the Mowat government gerrymandered.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McMULLEN. I said before, and I say now, that if they did so, they did wrong; but they never departed from county boundaries.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. McMULLEN. My hon. friend from Halton (Mr. Henderson), says 'Oh.' I will answer him, by reaffirming what I said, that they did not depart from county boundaries. They divided municipalities in some cases, but county boundaries they maintained very well. There may have been an exception to that rule.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McMULLEN. My hon. friend will admit that a rule would cease to be a rule, if there was not an exception to it. There may have been an exception; if there was, I do not know where it was; but as a rule the Ontario government maintained county boundaries, and that is what we should do here, instead of playing the political game of euchre, such as was played in 1882. It was a reflection on the Conservative party of this country, and I believe my hon. friend the leader of the opposition, will gain more votes in Ontario by acknowledging the wrong done by that Bill, than he will by going on the public platform and endeavouring to defend it. If he rises like a man and says: 'I confess that the Bill of 1882 was a gross injustice to the Reformers of Ontario, and I am prepared to correct that wrong and return to county boundaries,' I believe my hon. friend would make more friends than he will by attempting to defend one of the most villainous pieces of legislation ever put before this House or any other. I have not lost confidence in the Senate. I believe that after they give the matter full, mature and independent consideration, free from the influence of the hon. leader of the opposition, they will come to the conclusion that while they have the power, they will be exercising a very dangerous right, if for a second time they reject legislation affecting the representation of this House, a matter with which they have no direct connection whatever. We want to cultivate the most kindly and friendly feeling towards the Senate; but I say that their course is such as to cause a deep and serious feeling of bitterness between themselves and this House, for which they must assume the sole responsibility. We have not attempted to treat the Senate in any discourteous manner; we want to maintain a kindly feeling towards them to the end; but we want them to exhibit the same feeling towards us. We want them to realize that we are sent here directly by the votes of the people of this country, that we are responsible to the people, and that we have to return to the people and ask for their endorsement of our actions. They should learn to respect the democratic idea which the people of Canada so much appreciate, and that is that the people must rule, and that any Chamber which endeavours to set at naught the will of the people cannot possibly retain the people's confidence and respect. I hope that this Bill, notwithstanding the address of my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, and the venom with which he resented its second introduction, will receive the serious and prudent consideration of this House and be dealt with in the Senate on its merits and not on partisan grounds. My hon. friend has said that as we will have a census in 1901, that is the proper time to bring in a

Mr. McMULLEN.

Bill of this kind. But, Sir, this Bill is simply for the purpose of directing in what manner the readjustment shall take place after the census. In the meantime, it brings us back to the old county boundaries, and after the census is taken, the readjustment will be made within those boundaries. That is all we want. In some constituencies, I admit, there will be a large number of Conservatives and in others a very large number of Reformers, but you cannot so arrange that in every constituency there will be a fair percentage of each. One constituency may elect a Reformer by 1,700 or 1,800 of a majority, and another a Conservative by a similar majority. But that is a condition of things that cannot be avoided. But the feature of the old Bill that was so vicious was the placing of minor municipalities in such a position that they would be sure to elect a member in sympathy with the government. That is what we object to. I represent one of the worst gerrymandered ridings in the province of Ontario, but my people have a spirit of justice in them, there is not a finer lot of electors in any constituency in Canada—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. McMULLEN. I will match my constituency against any other in the Dominion for honourable, upright electors—men who will do what they believe is just and right; and in 1882 they so resented the gerrymander Act that they rose in their might and elected me in opposition to a prominent member of this House belonging to the opposite side. Why? Because they were hostile to the attempt made to beat me out of a position to which they thought I was fairly entitled. And although my hon. friends opposite fought me bitterly—I do not blame them for that—my people returned me; and if there is one thing I am proud of, it is the fact that in that riding there are men who in past years were in sympathy with hon. gentlemen opposite, but who have continuously supported me since the gerrymander Act of 1882. They resented that Act and came over to our side then and have never gone back since, and never will. I have a constituency 75 miles long and 15 miles wide, but in one place you could put your foot on both sides of it, it is so narrow. The municipalities are linked together, not for the sake of convenience, but for the sake of party advantage.

I could not sit still and listen to the tirade of the hon. leader of the opposition this afternoon. Let me say a word of warning to the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster). His statement with regard to me on the floor of this House is locked up in my memory and he will get the benefit of it some time. The rules of the House will not allow me to

give him the benefit now, but let me tell him that some day he will realize that he has made a mistake. I have said all that I want to say on the question, and I hope that the hon. leader of the opposition will treat with courtesy a Bill of such evident fairness as this one.

Mr. N. C. WALLACE (West York). I had not intended addressing the House on this question, because after the speech of the leader of the opposition I considered the whole of the ground was covered. But the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) has chosen to make some remarks to this House, and in so doing has just exceeded his ordinary vernacular, and exhibited certain traits of his character more clearly than he has ever done before in this House.

He told us that the constituency of West York would justify this Bill, because I am sitting here by virtue of the gerrymander Act. That statement is on a par with every one the hon. gentleman has made, but I tell him that the constituency of West York has identically the same boundaries to-day that it had the year I was born, which was a good many before 1882, and that its geographical boundaries have never since been changed.

Mr. McMULLEN. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, I will offer a word of explanation.

Mr. WALLACE. I do not think I should.

Mr. McMULLEN. I merely wish to say—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. WALLACE. There are many hon. gentlemen opposite to whom I would extend every courtesy and consideration, which one gentleman should to another, but the hon. member for North Wellington is, I think, distinctly out of the pale. I repeat that the statement of the hon. gentleman that I could justify the gerrymander Act because I was one of the beneficiaries is a statement absolutely without foundation. It is untrue in every particular. It is like every statement the hon. gentleman has made to-day, because every other statement he made was quite on a par with that one. I repeat that the boundaries of that constituency have not been disturbed for more than 50 years and are geographically the same to-day as they were at that time, with this exception that when the Liberals were in power, half of Richmond Hill was in East York and half in West York, and the whole was changed to West York by the Liberal administration. Now, Sir, he refers either to the leader of the opposition or to myself as his 'esteemed friend.' I think that for myself, and I am sure for the leader of the opposition, I can repudiate any such assertion or any such familiarity. I do not

think that either the leader of the opposition or myself have sunk so low or ever will sink so low as to permit such an expression to be used by the member for North Wellington. Like all other members, no doubt, in going through the world, I have met all sorts and conditions of men; but, Mr. Speaker, I have never in my career met such a low-down blackguard as—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. I repeat it—

Mr. CASEY. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. TAYLOR. He does not mean you.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman from West Elgin (Mr. Casey) is a little premature; I have not finished my sentence. If he will wait until I have finished my sentence he can then rise to his point of order. I can assure the hon. member for West Elgin that I had not him in mind just at the particular moment when he interrupted me, though I shall have a few words to say to him afterwards that will fit his case very well. I may say that, in my travels through the world I never met a low-down blackguard who would use such language as I have listened to to-day.

Mr. CASEY. I think, now, Mr. Speaker, that my point of order comes in.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) should not refer in such a way to any hon. member; and, I would urge him to avoid all personal allusions.

Mr. WALLACE. I am speaking in general terms of people outside of this House; and, I repeat what I say—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Chair, chair.

Mr. CASEY. I rise to a point of order, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) will please sit down. He said that he never heard a low-down blackguard who would use such language as he has heard used to-day. As only the leader of the opposition and the hon. member for North Wellington have spoken, he must refer to the remarks of one or of the other, and in either case, I say, his language is unparliamentary and must be retracted.

Mr. WALLACE. I adhere to the words I used, which were not exactly the words used by the hon. member for West Elgin.

Mr. CASEY. I call for the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. SPEAKER. I may be mistaken, but I think that the sense of the hon. member's (Mr. Wallace's) statement was that he had not met a low-down blackguard who would use the language he had heard here. If I am correct—

Mr. WALLACE. I did not say 'here,' but I said the language I had heard used to-day.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. gentleman's statement has no reference to anything that occurred in the Chamber, of course, I cannot rule; but I think I may appeal to the hon. gentleman's sense of propriety and sense of fitness not to make any personal allusions.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Mr. WALLACE. No.

Mr. CASEY. Well, then, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) can not go on.

Mr. WALLACE. The Speaker's ruling is different from that of the hon. member for West Elgin.

Mr. CASEY. Then, I did not catch the Speaker's ruling.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member (Mr. Wallace) said he did not refer to any language used in this Chamber.

Mr. CASEY. I did not hear the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) say that.

Mr. WALLACE. I know the rules of the House, and the hon. member for West Elgin does not appear to be very familiar with them. I carefully avoid breaking the rules of the House, because I respect those rules. I am only sorry that the hon. member for North Wellington has so openly and flagrantly violated those rules to-day. But, Sir, what can be expected—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order—I must ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) not to make any personal references.

Mr. WALLACE. But, Mr. Speaker, I have to make them. The hon. gentleman has made personal reference to me, and I am replying.

Mr. SPEAKER. He withdrew the statement he made with regard to the hon. gentleman. I think I may ask the hon. member (Mr. Wallace) as I must ask every member, to discuss the question on its merits. I think I may fairly ask the whole House to come back to the question.

Mr. WALLACE. I am going to stick closely to the question. I say the hon. member for North Wellington justifies this gerrymander Bill. He said that it is no wonder that I endorsed a previous measure, because I am here by virtue of a gerrymander. I wish to point out that he did not know what he was talking about. Am I in order now in doing that, Mr. Speaker? I think so. That is all I propose to do. As for any personal reference, Sir, I assure you, I would not touch him with a ten-foot pole. I have no desire to get any closer to

Mr. SPEAKER.

him than I am now, and if I could get further away from him in this House it would be a great pleasure to me indeed. Why, it is no wonder the hon. member for North Wellington advocates this Bill. Nor is it any wonder that he is able to point to the fact, that, as he says, forty-five elections have been held since the general election of 1896, and we have only won three of those elections. Well, I suppose about sixteen of those elections were of ministers going back to their constituencies for re-election. In those cases, there is scarcely ever opposition offered. Then we have fifteen members of this House who resigned their positions to accept office, who violated all the principles that they have laid down by solemn resolution, and violated the proposed provisions of the Bill, brought in by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) that there should be no appointments of members of parliament to office until after a certain term—

Mr. SPEAKER. That is hardly the Redistribution Bill.

Mr. WALLACE. But, Mr. Speaker, no less than four times did the hon. member for North Wellington refer to the fact that forty-five by-elections had been held, repeating his remarks on that subject in order to kill time. Surely, in replying to him, I am quite in order. And, Sir, does not everybody in this country know that the member for North Wellington has been looking for office? First, we know, he was looking to be made a member of the cabinet. But the First Minister and those who have the direction of such affairs knew very well that, while sometimes they made cabinet ministers of pretty queer material, yet, if they brought in the member for North Wellington they would be laughed to scorn. And do we not know that he has been running down the gamut of the offices since—Minister, Lieutenant Governor, Senator, any office at all. He is afraid to go back to North Wellington and meet his constituents again, because he knows that the tide of public opinion is running against the government of the day, and against their supporters, and more particularly is it running against himself; for, if there is one member of the Liberal party to-day who has utterly belied every profession he has made since the first day he came into parliament down to the time when the Liberals came into office, that member is the member for North Wellington. Why, Sir, has he not declaimed on the highways and the byways about the extravagance of the Conservative governments? When they expended thirty-seven million dollars on current expenditure and three or four millions on permanent expenditure, he called that ruinous and frightful extravagance. But what did he do the last session of parliament? He voted for sixty

millions where he said forty millions was altogether beyond the means of Canada, altogether unjustifiable. He dare not go back to his constituents and meet them, because his constituents are intelligent men, and they took him for an honest man when they elected him. He protested in every place that he was honest, he held up his hands with holy horror at anything approaching dishonesty. But as soon as the Liberals came into power he became the subservient tool of the government, he has been their defender in parliament and out of parliament. Why, if he had any conscientious convictions, if he believed what he said during all these years, what would have been his course as an honest man? He would have denounced the wrong-doing of his political friends as he denounced what he termed the wrong-doing of his political opponents. So, I say that the member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), looking for position, grovelling in the dirt in order to get an office, no matter what it may be—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order. 'Grovelling in the dirt' is too strong language, and should not be permitted. I ask the hon. gentleman to withdraw that phrase.

Mr. WALLACE. Well, Mr. Speaker, if you decide that 'grovelling in the dirt' as applied to the hon. member for North Wellington—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. I am in order. I have no desire to do the slightest thing that is out of order. I have the greatest regard for parliamentary rules and desire to keep within those rules. I shall withdraw that expression and use another, if I can find other words that will express the contempt that I feel—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. Order? I am quite in order—the contempt, I say, that I feel for a member, for any man who goes about the country declaiming against acts of wrong-doing and then turns around and condones acts ten times as bad when performed by his political friends. That is the case of the hon. member for North Wellington.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. gentleman had better confine himself to the question under discussion. These personal matters always lead to trouble.

Mr. WALLACE. Well, Sir, I would not have got on my feet at all had I not intended to refer to personal matters; because the speech of the leader of the opposition was all that was required in the shape of argument concerning the Bill that was introduced by the Postmaster General. Sir, that Bill is lacking in every essential qualification of a proper Redistribution Bill. It is lacking in that one great vital principle

that has been, if not the ruling element, at least one of the chief considerations in every Redistribution Bill brought before the parliament of Canada, and that is the principle of representation by population. It totally ignores that principle, it does not recognize it in a single line. But, Sir, that is one of the things that commends it to the member for North Wellington. You remember, Mr. Speaker, in the old days when the Liberal party were going up and down this country and saying that representation by population was the great feature of government that should prevail in this country. It has prevailed, and it is prevailing now. But it will not prevail any longer if this Bill becomes law. The Bill, I say, totally ignores representation by population. Though the Bill of 1882 did not carry out completely the principles of representation by population, almost every change that was made in it tended to extend still further that principle.

Now, Sir, to go back to another statement made by the hon. member for North Wellington, and I have done with him. He says that there have been forty-five by-elections, and that the government have carried all but three of them, which calls attention to the fact that they won the constituency of Brockville. Does any member of this House to-day think those constituencies were fairly won, knowing the facts that have already been disclosed in the county of West Huron, knowing the facts that have been already disclosed in Brockville, and in other counties that have been snatched from the Conservative party, not by honest means, but by performing all known villanies, all the illegal and unlawful acts, stealing ballots, stealing the franchises of men, in fact, committing every crime in the calendar in order to get hold of those constituencies? Then, they have the effrontery to get up in this House and say that public opinion is with them when they know that they have not gained those constituencies by fair and honest means. We are willing to go back to the constituencies that have placed these hon. gentlemen in power on the ministerial benches, we are prepared to go back to-morrow. But the hon. gentlemen are not prepared to go back to the constituencies that sent them here, they are not prepared to go back to-morrow, either. They are between the devil and the deep sea.

An hon. MEMBER. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, I think that is a classical quotation. Now, Mr. Speaker, this is the dilemma the government are in to-day. There is the province of Ontario, where they will have to appeal to the people immediately, but they dare not appeal to the people of that province any more than they dared appeal to the electorate of Manitoba a few months ago. They know that the result would be the same in

Ontario as it was in Manitoba, therefore, they do not dare to go to the province of Ontario alone. The game is to combine the provincial election in Ontario with the provincial election in Quebec, along with the Dominion election, all in one. Then, they will go to the people because they dare not trust either one of the elections alone. But no matter how they get up this combination, we can whip them either one by one, or we can defeat them all in a bunch. I say this gerrymander Bill is brought in in order to relieve them of these difficulties, and in order to make the constituencies to their liking. It is not arranged in accordance with any recognized principle that can be justified in this country. But, Sir, they will not succeed. The Senate has done its duty before, and the Senate, I have no doubt, will nobly do its duty again.

Mr. GEO. E. CASEY (West Elgin). Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) who has just taken his seat, has certainly treated us to the sort of speech that we expected from him. He started out by saying that he did not consider that he owed any courtesy to the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), and he certainly did not show any of that quality in the course of his remarks. One does not intend to follow that sort of thing to any great extent, to make too much reference to the language that has fallen from the hon. member for West York. One has a certain amount of scruple about what one touches or handles in any way. One cannot touch pitch without being defiled, and one cannot enter the lists of argument with a certain class of orators without being soiled to some extent. There are one or two things, however, which should be said in justice to the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen), who has been so wantonly assailed. The hon. member (Mr. Wallace), used language which he managed to make parliamentary by saying that he did not refer to anybody in this House, at least, that he had not said it referred to anybody in this House. It is worth while to quote his statement that he never knew a low-down blackguard who had used such language as he had heard used to-day.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the statement was ruled out and withdrawn, and I think it would be wisdom on the part of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casey) not to refer to it.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I did not understand that it was withdrawn; I understood the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) to say that he did not refer to anybody in this House, and that, therefore, he did not have to withdraw the statement. That I understood to be your ruling; therefore, I think it is a subject of remark by anybody who is answering the hon. gentleman. The only remark I intend to make about it is, that I do not intend to discuss the question of

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the hon. gentleman's familiarity with persons of the class to which he refers, or to inquire how intimately he knows them, or to point out to the House how fully he has adopted the style of speaking that might be expected from those persons whose style he refers to.

He says that the hon. member for North Wellington has been seeking for this, and seeking for that, and could not get anything. I think that all of us who know the hon. member from North Wellington, will pay no attention whatever to any language of that kind, but it is due to him to state openly here, that such language has no meaning at all, as applied to the hon. member for North Wellington. Said the hon. member for West York, further: They do make cabinet ministers out of very queer material, but they draw the line at the hon. member for North Wellington. Well, Sir, it is not long since, another firm had the business of cabinet making in hand for this country; that eminent firm now sitting on the opposition benches constructed several cabinets, a series of cabinets, generation after generation. They did, certainly, take in some queer material for cabinet ministers, but they drew the line at the hon. member for West York. He got on the doorstep of the cabinet; he sat there, out in the cold, but he never became a cabinet minister, and never would have done so, if the government had remained in power for ten years more. Even those who were so little scrupulous in their choice of material for cabinet building drew the line at the hon. member. We do not wonder why. That is quite sufficient for me to say about that hon. gentleman.

I want to say a few words about this Bill. I have to recur to the point that this is not a Redistribution Bill, in the ordinary sense of the word; it is not a Bill to divide the constituencies of Ontario, fairly as they ought to be divided, according to their present population. It is a Bill to remedy, as far as possible, the mis-distribution that was made in 1882 and 1892, and which this government and party pledged themselves to remedy, as soon as they got into power. They are doing their best to keep that pledge before the next elections. There is no doubt that the great majority of the members of this House will back them up in their effort. If the other House, at the urgent request of hon. gentlemen opposite, proceed to throw this Bill out a second time, the responsibility will be on their shoulders, and not upon the shoulders of the ministers of the Crown, nor of their supporters in this House. If a census had just been taken, we might consider more fully, on what principles a redistribution ought to take place, whether county boundaries should be invariably adhered to, whether the principle of representation by population should be made a leading point

in the scheme, or whether we should consider, rather, the natural association of groups of communities of people for municipal and other purposes. I am inclined to think, that the latter is probably the more important consideration of the two, and in seeking to remedy the gross injustices of the present Bill, we are bound to consider that rather, although, not to the exclusion of the principle of securing something like the equal representation of the people according to population. With that in view, we have to look rather to the maintenance of county boundaries than to absolute equality.

But, it has been claimed on behalf of the present scheme of distribution, that the principle of equality of representation was followed. There could not certainly, be any more baseless claim put forth. Let us take the immediate neighbourhood of the riding of the hon. gentleman who spoke before me; let us take the county of York and the immediate vicinity. How was the county of York divided? It was divided into three constituencies, two of which were made, as the authors of the scheme fondly hoped, absolutely safe for the Conservatives, leaving one that could possibly be carried by the Liberals. East York and West York, were intended to be safe Conservative hives; North York, it was thought, might be left as an outlet for some of the Liberals whom it would be inconvenient to include in the other two constituencies. Therefore, instead of making them all approximately equal in population, they put the greater part of the county into East and West York, and added to each of them a large slice of the city of Toronto, making up the population of North York by the addition of districts from Simcoe, with the result that the hon. member for South Simcoe (Mr. Tyrwhitt), is a constituent of the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), the member for North York. As to the equality of population, the figures stood thus at the time the redistribution was passed: East York, 35,000 odd; West York, 41,000, almost exactly; North York, 20,284. In other words, the constituency of this hon. member, who has the audacity, the cheek to stand up in the House this afternoon, and say that he is in favour of representation by population, is twice as large as the constituency of the hon. Postmaster General, and it was made twice as large in order that it might be made a safe seat for himself and men of his type. The adjacent riding of Peel does not show any great signs of a desire on the part of the authors of the gerrymander to secure equality of representation, because Peel has a population of only 15,460, while the adjoining constituency of West York has a population of 41,000. Is it not trying our patience too far, that men who are guilty of continuing an arrangement of that sort

should stand up here and pretend that they are in favour of representation according to population?

Let us now consider what happened in the constituencies immediately surrounding that which I have the honour to represent.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Six o'clock.

Mr. CASEY. Let us now consider, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, that it is six o'clock.

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

AFTER RECESS.

SECOND READING.

Bill (No. 43) respecting the Grand Valley Railway Company, and to change its name to the Port Dover, Brantford, Berlin and Goderich Railway Company.—(Mr. Charlton.)

REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. G. E. CASEY (West Elgin). Mr. Speaker, when you left the Chair at six o'clock I was referring to the group of counties surrounding my constituency of West Elgin. The constituencies of Bothwell, of Kent, the Middlesexes and the Elgins were all very seriously gerrymandered by the Redistribution Act of 1882. And, Sir, they were gerrymandered in a way that was evidently intended to accomplish what it did accomplish for a number of years, namely, the misrepresentation of the population of those districts in this House. Middlesex, which formerly was divided into three constituencies, was in 1882 divided into four, one of which, to wit: South Middlesex, was made a reservoir for as many of the Liberal electors as could with any show of decency be poured into it. The other Middlesexes were divided up so that it was hoped that they could all be carried by Conservatives, which happened as a matter of fact at every election down to 1896. Bothwell in like manner in 1882, was changed by putting two townships on to West Elgin, which between them gave from four to five hundred of a Liberal majority, and by other changes which I do not propose to detail at this moment; but it was hoped that these changes would make it impossible for the Hon. Mr. Mills ever again to be elected in that constituency. That object was realized apparently at the first election succeeding the gerrymander, when another gentleman was returned, but was afterwards unseated on petition. From that time on Mr. Mills had a very hard fight until 1896, when the gerrymander had its perfect work, and the result was the return to the House of the present

hon. member for that constituency. West Elgin, of course, was made by this change a perfectly safe seat for some Liberal, the lot having happened to fall on me, though it would have been equally safe for any one else who obtained the nomination. Let us look at the population of these different constituencies to see if they were arranged to carry out the principle of representation by population, which it is claimed, is the principle of the existing law. In 1891, Bothwell had a population of 25,600, East Elgin 26,724, West Elgin 23,925, East Middlesex 25,569, and Kent 31,434, a total population in these five constituencies of 133,252, or an average of 26,600. Coming to the other divisions, we find their populations, in 1891, to have been as follows: North Middlesex 19,090, South Middlesex 18,806, and West Middlesex 17,288, an average for these three constituencies of 18,360, or a difference between the average populations of the constituencies in the two groups of 8,000. It cannot be pretended that any desire for equality of representation dictated the fixing of these constituencies in that shape in these three adjoining counties. Now, up to 1896, three of these Middlesexes returned Conservative members, so that in the group of eight there were four Conservatives and four Liberals returned. In 1896 there were five Liberals and three Conservatives returned. Now, let us look at the figures of the votes cast. The total majorities of the five Liberal seats amounted to 2,026, and the majorities for the three Conservative seats amounted to 661, making a Liberal majority of about 1,400 in that group of counties, with only five Reformers returned against three Conservatives. Up to that time, from the time of the gerrymander Act of 1882, they had returned an equal number of Conservatives, although the vote had been about the same as it is now.

My deduction from the figures of this group is that these constituencies were not arranged so as to secure to every voter equal representation in this House. They were not arranged so as to show the real political complexion of the district they were to cover. They were arranged so as to make it convenient and easy to elect Conservatives in a number of them, and, admitting the sad necessity of electing a Liberal here and there, to shove as many Liberals as possible into those constituencies where Liberals would be elected anyhow. This is one of the grievances we complain of. I need not go all over the country. There will be time to do that at a subsequent stage of the Bill. But I will confine my remarks for the present to these two groups to which I have referred—what I may call the peninsular group and the York group. I pointed out before dinner how evidently the York group was gerrymandered for party purposes. I omitted to note one

point, that is, the large urban population which was put into both East and West York, for the purpose no doubt of making them secure Conservative seats; for at the time the gerrymander took place the manufacturing districts had a great fear of the party now in power. It has not turned out so deadly to them after all. The urban population of West York by the last census was about 22,000, and that of East York about 17,000.

It is grievances like these which the present Bill is intended to deal with. It is alleged that it is only a partial and incomplete measure; and that must be admitted. It is what the doctors would call a local and palliative measure. It is not intended to cure what may be called the constitutional disease of the whole system, but to palliate and moderate its effects in certain directions where that is possible. Consequently this Bill only touches those constituencies that were gerrymandered for obvious party reasons in 1882 or 1892, and does not apply to the whole country. Another objection raised against the Bill is that this is not the right time to introduce a measure of this kind—that we should wait until after the census is taken. That objection is covered by the same remark, that this is not a general redistribution Act—not such a one as should be introduced after a census; and therefore it is as timely now as it would be at any other time. It is to remedy something that we consider wrong, and it is always time to right a wrong. I think this view of the case will commend itself not only to the majority of this House, of which we are reasonably certain, but also to a majority of the people of the country at large. It is highly probable that there is not as much feeling amongst the people to-day on this subject as there was just after the gerrymander was perpetrated. The worst of outrages ceases to be felt so much after a length of time, the people learn to work together, and to a certain extent the grievance is not as acutely felt as before. But it is there all the same. A grievance which allows a district with a Liberal majority of 1,400 to be saddled with three Conservative members out of eight, is one that is real, and even though it be not so keenly felt now, is none the less unjust and outrageous. It is quite possible also that the passage of the present Act will arouse a certain amount of ill-feeling in some constituencies, that, perhaps, will object to being put back into the form they should have had eight years ago. But, nevertheless, we would have had the satisfaction of knowing that justice was done. In my constituency, for example, there are many who would deeply feel a disruption of the present union between a part of Elgin and a part of Kent. We have got accustomed to work together,

and agree most harmoniously, and I am sure that not only myself but those who reside in the part of the constituency where I reside would feel keenly the loss of the western portion of that constituency.

Mr. CLANCY. Would the hon. gentleman feel it keenly?

Mr. CASEY. I have just said that I would; I would feel keenly the loss of these constituents, whom I have found the perfection of what constituents should be. But, nevertheless, I am so fully convinced that this Bill, as a whole, will do justice and right and restore to the people of the districts affected the equal power and privilege they ought to have, that I am prepared to meet that loss and to go back for reelection to a constituency much more difficult than the one I have now the honour to represent. Whether I shall succeed in ever representing it again, under those circumstances, I do not know, but I am willing to take the risk, and support this Bill because it is required by honour and justice and in fulfilment of the pledges we gave our constituents when elected in 1896. For these reasons, I support the Bill, and hope it will go through this House and escape the dangers which hon. gentlemen opposite are trying to prepare for it in the other branch of the legislature.

Mr. J. H. BELL (East Prince, P.E.I.) Mr. Speaker, last session I spoke on this question from the standpoint of the province of Ontario. To-night I propose to confine my remarks to section 5 of the Act respecting representation from Prince Edward Island. We have no reason to complain in that province of having been gerrymandered in 1882, but we do complain of what was done in 1892. In that province we have roughly speaking, an equality of the political parties—one-half Liberals and one-half Conservatives. The political pendulum swings one way at times and another way at other times. We Liberals claim the majority of the votes, but for the purposes of this argument, we will assume an absolute equality exists.

There was a deliberate attempt in 1892 to gerrymander Prince Edward Island by the same party who manipulated Ontario in 1882. Our geographical position was not such as to allow a gerrymander to be perpetrated with the same facilities as in Ontario, but the intention was the same, and we were gerrymandered to the fullest extent possible. The object aimed at was this. Assuming an equality of the votes, the question was in what manner a preponderance of representation could be given the Conservatives. In what way could Prince Edward Island be made to return three members out of five to the House of Commons. That was the problem presented

to these gentlemen. How did they attempt to solve it? Simply by creating two Grit hives, one in West Prince and the other in West Queen's. That left what they considered three fairly strong Conservative constituencies. The constituency of West Prince was made up of fifteen townships. These according to geographical position, would number from 1 to 15 consecutively. But they passed over 15 and took 16 into West Prince. Why? Because 15 could be relied on to give, as it always had done, a hundred or more of a majority for the Conservatives. Therefore, 15 must go to East Prince to help make that secure to the Tories. That was not all. A portion of Queen's County was added to East Prince. Lots 20 and 21 lay most contiguous. But these were passed over and lots more remote—lots 29, 30 and 67 were selected. Why? Because more strongly Conservative than 20 and 21. The net result was they formed East Prince into the shape of a huge triangle extending some fifty miles on one side along the Straits of Northumberland and some six or seven miles on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But they fixed it as they thought and intended into a safe and solid Conservative riding.

This will give an idea of one of the difficulties the Liberals of East Prince had to overcome in electing a supporter of the government to the House of Commons.

This Bill proposes to remedy the wrong and to remedy it in the only way by which it can be done, namely, to revert to county lines that obtained for eighteen years after confederation, and to have two members represent the county of Prince, two the county of Queen's, and one the county of King's. As long as we have only five members, this is the only possible fair arrangement that could be made. In reverting to county boundaries we are not giving Liberals any party advantage. We simply say to Prince County: Elect your two members; and to Queen's County: Elect your two members. We propose a fair field and no favour—a condition of things to which no honourable man will object.

But the gerrymander was not the only wrong perpetrated against us in 1892. At that time our representation in the Commons was, as I submit and will prove, wrongfully reduced from 6 to 5 members. What condition of things faces us in Prince Edward Island to-day? In 1891, on the basis of population, we had not enough by 5,422 to give us 5 members. At that time the unit of representation was 22,900. But as the 5,422 did not amount to half the unit—it did not affect our representation—we were still entitled to 5 members. At the census of 1901, suppose the same condition of things holds in the future that has obtained in the past, we shall be entitled to only four members. In another decade or so we may be

entitled to only three, and so it will go on until the representation of the province of Prince Edward Island will be politically reduced to zero. Is that the condition of things that was intended when we entered the union, or was it not intended that the province should have six members for all time, and if her population increased relatively to the other provinces sufficiently to justify an increase of representation, she should have that increase?

This is the question which stares us in the face, and it is a question I shall now attempt to answer. We must bear in mind the distinction between general terms and special terms of union. In 1867 confederation took place between Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—the charter being the Confederation Act. There is no question about terms on which these provinces united. They are expressed in the British North America Act. If the population, say of the province of New Brunswick becomes less in proportion to the other provinces than it is, the representation must be reduced—because it is so declared in the bond.

Mr. FOSTER. I rise, Mr. Speaker, to ask your ruling on a point of order. The Prime Minister set out the other night with a very good rule that we should be particular about points of order. I notice the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell) has a notice under date of February 20th:

That in the opinion of this House, under the terms of confederation, Prince Edward Island is now entitled to be represented in the House of Commons of Canada by six members instead of five.

It seems to me that, while this is on the Order paper, the hon. gentleman is precluded from dragging the question in at this time.

Mr. SPEAKER. The only misfortune in raising the question is that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell) seems to have got through discussing the question.

Mr. FOSTER. I think he has only started. But if the point of order is well taken, it applies whether the hon. gentleman is beginning, is half through, or is near the end of his address.

Mr. SPEAKER. Undoubtedly the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell, P.E.I.) has no right to discuss a question at this time, of which notice has been given.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). I am discussing the question as it is presented in the Bill before the House. I have a right to discuss it as it comes up in the Bill, even though it may be affected by a notice of motion to be discussed later. I do not think I am in any way out of order.

I was proceeding to point out that the four provinces forming the original confed-

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.)

eration became united under general terms. But the provinces that came in afterwards came in under special terms—Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island. They came in, under a provision in the British North America Act, allowing other provinces to enter—not on the general terms, but on special terms to be set forth in their petition when they sought admission to the union. I can best illustrate my point by first examining the conditions under which British Columbia and Manitoba entered confederation. In the first place, take the province of British Columbia—

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, did we get your ruling on the point of order I raised?

Mr. SPEAKER. Yes; I think undoubtedly the hon. member (Mr. Bell, P.E.I.) has no right to discuss material that is the subject of a separate notice of motion. I must also say that in listening to the hon. gentleman, it seems to me he is not discussing the redistribution, but the relative merits and representation of the provinces that form confederation. That being so, I am obliged to rule that his remarks are hardly applicable to the Bill now before the House. Unless the House consents to his going on, I shall be obliged to stop the hon. gentleman.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). Of course, Mr. Speaker, I submit to your ruling.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. If I might be permitted to refer to the matter, I would point out that this Bill was introduced, as I see by the Order paper, on the 9th of February. The hon. gentleman's (Mr. Bell's, P.E.I.) motion was not put on the Order paper until the 20th of February. It seems to me, therefore, that anything that would be germane to this Bill would take priority, as a matter of right, over a subsequent notice of motion.

Mr. SPEAKER. I might say that, as a matter of fact, I noticed the difficulty when the hon. member (Mr. Bell, P.E.I.) began to discuss the question. But I was unwilling to interfere with a comparatively new member of the House in dealing with a matter of interest to him, unless the question was raised. But, all the same, I feel that as soon as my attention is drawn to it, I have no alternative but to call the hon. member's attention to the fact that it is a violation of the rules of the House to discuss a question covered by another motion which is on the paper.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) Unless I am permitted to proceed, I will be precluded from discussing the merits of the Bill now before the House. Section 5 only proposes to give us five members. I claim we are entitled to

six. The point is of vital importance to the province I represent. No rule of this House can possibly be construed to choke off the fair and full discussion of a Bill, notwithstanding there should happen to be a dozen notices on the Order paper bearing on the same point. But of course I have to respect the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.). I do not propose to spend any time in discussing the Bill, I am going to treat the House to a very short speech indeed. The leader of the opposition, who voiced the objections of this side of the House to the Bill in question at the last session, a Bill which I believe was exactly the same as the Bill now before the House, went very fully, as I did also, and a number of members on this side of the House, into the demerits of the Bill. and their views, I think, have not undergone any change in the few months that have passed since that time. It is clearly useless, so far as this side of the House is concerned, simply to go through the form of voicing in a contracted or abridged way, or even in an extended way, the arguments which were used last year, and which, so far as the discussion has extended this year, have again been used on this occasion.

The gentlemen on this side of the House are opposed to the Bill from conviction, and are opposed to the Bill on the matter of the Bill itself, and are also opposed to it because of the circumstances under which it is introduced. Without taking the extreme constitutional point, which has much in its favour, that it is not contemplated by the constitution that a redistribution should be made except as based upon changes in the population ascertained by a decennial census, it was not, I believe, the intention of the founders of confederation, that parliament should undertake a redistribution of the seats at any time it chose. If that principle were introduced, contrary to all precedents from confederation up to this time, every victorious party in a parliament would change the basis of representation at any time it wished, before a general election, and the temptation would be strong indeed to pack the jury in this way, and to get advantages for a party by a redistribution made systematically with that view, and largely in its own interests.

But if the Bill of last year, as the leader of the opposition pointed out, was a dangerous Bill, in that respect, and an unnecessary Bill in that respect, the absurdity of its introduction this year is much greater than it was last year, because almost in the very same breath that you propose the passage of this Redistribution Bill, you also propose machinery for taking the census. When the census is taken, as it will be taken in 1901, it does not take many months to get the population upon which legislation of this kind is based. So at the longest scarce two years will pass away, scarcely two years

could pass away, before this parliament would be in a position to follow out the precedents from confederation downward, and pass a redistribution upon information it possessed, with reference to changes in population, as established by the census. The absurdity, then, of bringing in this Bill in the very same breath in which you bring in a Bill making provision for the census, and the certainty that changes in the population will render another redistribution necessary when the population is ascertained is an additional reason why this House should not pass this measure at the present time.

The opposition to the Bill is based in the first place upon the character of the Bill itself. Hon. gentlemen start out with very strong and righteous indignation against what they call a gerrymander; and yet there is not one of them in this House who has not, in the province to which he belongs, supported gerrymanders, which in essential points have been entirely indefensible. Whether you take the province of Manitoba, in which were instances which were largely discussed in the campaign, which took place there not many months ago, whether you take the province of Ontario, or go down to Prince Edward Island, you will find in each of these, gross instances of the changes of constituencies, of setting aside or merging portions of constituencies into others, simply and solely for the purpose of making it easier for some hon. gentleman belonging to the party, to be elected. I say in all these three provinces you will find numerous instances of that. What took place in the province of Manitoba? The Hon. Mr. Greenway, just a little while before the last session of the legislature closed, when he knew and felt that in that province, he was going to have a difficult time for re-election in his own constituency, simply went to work and cut off from his own constituency three distinct portions, in which there was a very considerable Conservative majority, and added them to the constituency of a friend of his own, a little to the south of him. In that way, although he brought in no general gerrymander Bill, and left a large number of constituencies entirely outside the basis of uniformity of representation by population, he endeavoured to save, and probably did save, his own election in the district of Mountain. Well, Sir, I do not think that the present Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), had anything to say in reprobation of that glaring gerrymander by Mr. Greenway; but every Manitoba Liberal who supports the party in this Dominion, supported Mr. Greenway in his gerrymander, and supported him in the election which came on, based, so far as he was concerned, upon that gerrymandered district.

The same holds good with reference to the province of Ontario, and the same

holds good with reference to the province of Prince Edward Island. In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, I do not think any distributions have been undertaken of late, at least by the local authorities. Therefore, these gentlemen who proclaim that it is their intense desire to right wrongs with reference to the distribution of seats, which has not been done, as they allege, on the basis of population or county boundaries, every one of them, when they look back, find that they have been supporting, and up to this present, do support still more glaring cases where it has been done in the interest of their own party in the different provinces from which they come. These gentlemen profess a great desire to keep the representation by population, yet the Bill they have brought down to this House offers the most glaring instances where the principle of representation by population is totally ignored, and where the most glaring differences with reference to electoral population in the different constituencies are shown in various parts of the province of Ontario. Then these hon. gentlemen are very strongly in favour, as a theory, of a judicial redistribution, as they call it, and whilst they play to the eye of the public, on the assertion that they are handing it over to the judges, they are making of the judges simply, little more or little less, than mere recording clerks to carry out what they have already arranged and settled as the principles of their redistribution. So that, instead of anything in this case being consistent with the principles which they have professed, as to carrying them out into the legislation that they propose, they are inconsistent in all of them, and are not carrying out any of them in that legislation. Therefore, we are opposed to the legislation itself. As I said before, we are opposed to the manner of its introduction at this particular time; we think it would be far better that it should be left over until it is necessary. We believe that a redistribution should be closely confined, as I believe it was understood at confederation, to the redistribution which becomes necessary after ascertaining at each decennial period that a redistribution is made necessary by the changes in population. Now, we do not propose to take up the time of this House and keep hon. gentlemen opposite from the legislation of the country which is pressing upon them, and which, I believe, they profess to have a great desire to see carried out. We propose, therefore, to take ourselves out of the way, and in order to make our protest and to bring this matter to a speedy and plain decision, as far as we are concerned, I have the honour to move:

That the Bill be not now read a second, but that it be read a second time this day six months.

Mr. FOSTER.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Mr. Speaker, I would not have intervened in this debate were it not for some observations which the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) chose to make this afternoon, having special reference to myself. I do not think the House can congratulate hon. gentlemen upon the tone, or temper in which the discussion of this Bill has been received. I do not think the debate this afternoon was in any way creditable to this House. I regret exceedingly that language has been used which will reflect extreme discredit on the House all through the country, and I the more regret it inasmuch as many of these expressions fell from leading members of the opposition from whom better things might have been expected. I heard with very great pain and regret certain remarks that were made respecting one of the most respected and respectable members of this House. I have had the honour of sitting with that hon. gentleman in this House for about nineteen sessions, and I venture the assertion that there is no hon. member on either side of the House, who, generally, is accepted as a more respectable member of this House, or who conducts himself with greater propriety than does and has done the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen). He is an hon. gentleman who deserves a great deal of credit at the hands of hon. members of this House, and I will tell hon. gentlemen opposite, that, neither in this House, nor in the country, will the reflections which they chose to make upon that hon. gentleman meet with approval.

Mr. WALLACE. Will the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) does not choose to give way, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) cannot interrupt him.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Mr. Speaker, I do not see any reason for any interference at present by the hon. member for North York.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). West York.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. West York. I have to apologize to my hon. friend (Mr. Mulock) for coupling his name with that of the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace). I am voicing the opinion of every hon. gentleman on this side of the House, who has been associated with my hon. friend (Mr. McMullen), a gentleman whom I am proud to call my friend, when I say that his conduct, since he entered this House until to-

day, has been everything that is creditable and deserving. These hon. gentlemen who made such a violent, such a virulent and uncalled for attack upon him have earned very little credit for themselves, and will earn very little credit for themselves, either in this House, or in the country.

There are two objections taken to this Bill by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), who has just sat down, and who has moved the six months' hoist. One was the constitutional objection which, with all his acuteness he did not dare to argue. He referred to the provisions of the British North America Act which provides for a readjustment of the representation of the several provinces at the completion of every decennial census. That is a specific, clear and distinct duty which parliament has to perform, but that clear, constitutional, statutory duty has nothing whatever to do with the readjustment of the boundaries of counties. The latter does not affect the representation of the several provinces, and therefore, I say, it is an argument that I have never heard an hon. gentleman who values his legal or constitutional reputation dare to make, that by the provisions of the Constitutional Act, the hands of this parliament are in any way tied from revising the boundaries of any district within any province of the Dominion. If any hon. gentleman takes up the British North America Act he will see, in section 51, that, on the completion of the census of 1871, and of each subsequent decennial census, the representation of the four provinces is to be readjusted. Quebec is made the pivotal province, and sixty-five members are assigned to it. Around that pivot the representation of the several provinces is to be adjusted dependent on the returns of the census. What has that to do with determining whether one township is to remain in district A, or is to be attached to district B? Nothing in the wide world. The constitutional argument, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) has not dared to make, but which he has ventured to suggest is, in the hope that some hon. member behind him, who cannot vote for his amendment on its merits, will vote for it on the supposition that this legal point has some foundation. The hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) ventured to state this suggestion last year. What legal gentleman dares, on his legal reputation, make such an argument in this House? It is without foundation; it has nothing to do with the Bill. The redistribution of the provincial representation has nothing to do with the boundaries of districts, and this Bill neither alters, nor attempts to alter, in any way or sense, the representation which the several provinces have in this House under the British North America Act. So that, we come down to the merits of the Bill. What are the merits of the Bill?

Mr. CLANCY. None.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. My hon. friend (Mr. Clancy) says none, but he is a very strong party man, and he speaks entirely from the strong party point of view. The merits of the Bill are contained in the principles that the Liberal party have been fighting for for years. The principles are plain and they are that county boundaries should be fixed and established and should control not only the Liberal party but the Conservative party when they come to readjust the boundaries of districts. County boundaries is the cardinal principle of our redistribution, and as that principle was flagrantly violated by the gerrymander of 1882, this Bill has been introduced, in the first place, to remedy the wicked and grievous injustice perpetrated by that measure. In the second place, it has been introduced on those broad constitutional principles which should guide this parliament and future parliaments in rearranging the representation of the constituencies. It may be that when we go into committee hon. gentlemen may be able to argue that, in some particular, injustices have been done, but such particular objections, if they exist, do not affect the principle of the measure. What is the second principle we apply? We say that politics ought not to control, and that matters affecting the representation of the people which are vital principles, ought not to be bandied about to meet party exigencies from time to time. In the first place, we lay down the cardinal principle that county boundaries shall prevail, and, in case where the county is so numerously populated that more than one member should be given to it, we say: Let the judges of the land be brought in to say what the internal divisions of that county shall be. These are the two cardinal principles in this Bill, a Bill which hon. gentlemen opposite call upon this House to vote down. Another Chamber ventured to vote down these principles last year, and if this great Liberal party of Canada finds that it is impossible under the constitution of the country to carry out what they desire, namely, a fair representation of the people in this House, then they will only have to try, in the future, some other mode of obtaining their object.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Hon. gentlemen opposite exclaim 'Oh.' I ask them: What do they suppose the great Liberal party of Canada, representing the vast majority of the people of Canada is going to do under such circumstances?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. Are they going for all time to submit to the dictation of a Chamber which does not either directly or indirectly represent the people of Canada? Is the voice of the people of Canada to be forever silenced, by the vote of a Chamber which is utterly irresponsible. We lay down principles which not only can be defended, but which must commend themselves to the good judgment of every member, no matter on which side of the House he sits. And, Sir, if a Bill embodying these just principles is persistently thrown out for party reasons, then some other method must be resorted to for obtaining the rights of the people.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. Sir, if the Conservative party with a majority in the other Chamber determine that the intervention of the judges will not be permitted, then this House of Commons will have to take the matter into their own hands and make the division themselves. Perhaps that may better suit hon. gentlemen opposite. That will be for the future to consider, but I do not despair for one that the Upper House after a year's reflection on the arguments advanced, will come to a more just conclusion than it did before. I believe they will come to the conclusion that they are stepping beyond their bounds and interfering in a matter which specially appertains, and solely appertains to the members of this House. I believe that they will reconsider their determination to oppose the two cardinal principles, first of county boundaries, and, second, the intervention of judges to decide how the county boundaries shall be subdivided in cases where it is necessary. I shall say no more, Sir, on the general principles of the Bill, because they are pretty well understood by hon. gentlemen of this House.

The leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) attempted to administer a lecture to me this afternoon. A lecture, forsooth! He lectures every one in the House. One would suppose that he was the supreme ruler and arbiter of the conduct of hon. members in this House; where they should go, where they should speak, on what subjects they should address themselves, and with what propriety they should address themselves to a meeting of electors gathered together for the purpose of returning members to a provincial legislature. Sir, I have, at least, as much right to address the people in Prince Edward Island at a provincial election, as the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) had to trot away, against the wishes of his party, and to thrust himself into the Manitoba elections. He was not wanted there. It was an open secret that the party did not want him. He went there against their will,

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

and he delivered addresses with the idea of promoting the interests of one party as against the other. I make no apology at all for having gone to Prince Edward Island, to address the electors there. It was in the case of two hardly contested districts where the majorities have always been very close and very narrow. The hon. gentleman's party had the good fortune to carry them this time and he consequently formulated an attack upon me. What did the leader of the opposition say? He said that I had gone into Prince Edward Island and told the electors that if they did not vote for the government I could not answer for the expenditure of public money. He said that I should be impeached for that. Why, the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) does not know what he is talking about. He talks so much that he really does not know what he is saying. I made no such threat as he implies. I told the people of Prince Edward Island, with reference to the construction of a bridge across the Hillsborough River, that it was a work which was being constructed partly by the Dominion government and partly by the local government, under a provincial statute authorizing the provincial legislature to contribute \$400,000 or more, and under a Dominion statute authorizing this government to contribute the balance necessary. There had to be an agreement between this parliament and the legislature of Prince Edward Island on that. The Conservative party in Prince Edward Island had put themselves on record in the legislature, that the construction of that bridge was premature, and I simply read that resolution to the electorate, and I said: If you vote in favour of the candidate who supports the party that formulated this resolution, you are postponing the construction of this bridge, perhaps indefinitely. Was not that a proper argument to make? Could any one find objection to that? Sir, my prediction may unfortunately prove true; I hope to heavens it shall not. The hon. gentlemen opposite did elect their men, and if the Conservative party for once in their lives prove true to the principles they enunciated, they will oppose the construction of that bridge, and if they get a majority the bridge will not be built, and where will the people be then? I simply pointed out these facts to the electors, and for doing that the leader of the opposition attempts to administer a lecture to me. He had better reserve his lectures for those who sit around him. He had better keep his advice for those who ask for it. I did not ask for his advice. He talks about Prince Edward Island, and he is good enough to say that, perhaps, there is a possibility of my being returned, but that no one else supporting the Liberal party will be returned from that province. Well, Sir, that is a very old and stale story. I heard in 1882

that I had not a possibility of being elected. Every Tory newspaper in the Dominion proclaimed: There is no possibility of Davies being elected. Well, Sir, I was elected to this House then. In 1887 they said that I was out of the race, that it was a farce to run me; but I came back here with a thousand majority. In 1891, they said: Davies cannot be elected, but that prediction was like the prediction of these hon. gentlemen opposite to-day, supremely silly. Again, in 1896 they said: I could not be returned to this House. They had carved my constituency up; they gerrymandered me after 1891; they thought they had made my defeat sure, but they were nowhere when the people were appealed to. I came back here with a majority of 375 from the west half of the county of Queen's.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. These hon. gentlemen opposite are making the same predictions to-day in the hope that they will deceive some foolish people throughout the country. They are predicting day after day and year after year what they are going to do, but my hon. friend (Mr. McMullen) gave them their answer this afternoon. Forty-five by-elections have taken place since we came into power, and these gentlemen opposite have succeeded in holding three of them. That is the record they have in the past, and in the face of that record, they ask us to assume that they will sweep the country at the coming elections. There is not a vestige of a chance of it, and they know it. They have not the faintest hope of it in their hearts, and they know it. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) knows it well, and I do not think many months have elapsed since, it is currently rumoured, he gave that advice to his leader; and better advice he never gave him.

Mr. FOSTER. It is wonderful what a lot you know.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I do not intend to take up the time of the House any longer. I rose for the purpose of refuting the absurd calumny which the leader of the opposition uttered in this House to-night, and which I hope he will be ashamed of when he sees the explanation. I rose also to point out to the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), that so far as his constitutional argument is concerned, it has not a thread of foundation in fact. So far as justice and the merits of the Bill before the House are concerned, there is not an honest man in the country but will acknowledge that on the two cardinal principles on which the Bill is based, upon the principles of equity and justice and fair play, this Bill should pass, and upon these principles alone should the representation of the people be fixed.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). I do not intend to take up a great deal of time in discussing this Bill.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Question.

Mr. FOSTER. Go ahead; you have lots of time.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I shall take time to congratulate the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) on his courage in moving his amendment, although I cannot congratulate him on the strength of the arguments with which he has supported it. If there was anything unconstitutional in the Bill, then, of course, it should be rejected, but, as the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) has pointed out, when the Bill was under discussion last year, there was no one among all the legal gentlemen opposite who ventured his legal reputation by stating that this parliament was not at perfect liberty and within its perfect right at any time to readjust the representative bounds contained within the province. They were challenged time and again, if there were any who would venture to take that ground, and none of them ventured to take it. That being the case, we have a Bill before us which it is within our competence to pass, and therefore we are to consider whether it is such a Bill as should be passed. Let us look then at the history of this Bill, and the causes which have led the government to bring it in. In 1871, when the decennial census was taken, in regard to the representation in the various provinces the principle of recognizing county boundaries was insisted upon by the then leader of the government, Sir John Macdonald, who pointed out in very clear and strong language the advantages that accrued from maintaining county lines when we were adjusting the districts for representation. When the Conservative party departed from the principle in 1882, they did not attempt to justify the departure except on the ground, as they alleged, of maintaining representation by population. On that occasion the Conservative party cast the consideration of county boundaries to one side altogether, and therefore we justly speak of the Bill they then passed as a gerrymander Bill. In that Bill no principle seemed to be observed except the principle that was worked out by some of those gentlemen in secret, when, taking note of the political complexions of the various localities, they detached townships from counties and united them with other counties in such a way that you have to-day in the province of Ontario more than one constituency constituted of parts of three different counties. You can readily see that if you are at liberty to disregard county boundaries altogether, and select here and there without anything to tie your hands at all, you have an opportunity to gerrymander, if you choose to take

that undue advantage. Some hon. gentlemen may say, is there not an opportunity, in dividing a county into two or three ridings, so as to arrange the divisions as to give an undue advantage to the party in power? I admit that there would be a possibility of that, but it would be limited wonderfully as compared with the opportunity afforded where you are at liberty to disregard county boundaries altogether and take portions of different counties to form one electoral district. But there is no possibility of a gerrymander in this Bill as introduced—why? Because the Liberal party, anxious only that the principles of justice should be subserved, that the balances should be held fairly between the two political parties, though having the same right as the Conservatives had to keep the division of the counties within their own hands and make that division in a way to favour themselves, have by this Bill put that power out of their own hands. They provide that a county entitled by its population to one member should have one member; that a county entitled to two members shall have two members; that a county entitled by its population to three members shall have three members; and that the counties shall be divided into two or three ridings respectively, as the case may be. But the government, instead of following the example of hon. gentlemen opposite and keeping the division of the counties in their own hands, select three of the highest judges in the land, and hand over to them absolutely the division of the counties into ridings, giving them no more instructions than this: Where a county is entitled by its population to two members or to three members, divide it into two districts or three districts, as the case may be, being guided alone by its population according to the census of 1891, and the contiguity of the different portions of each riding to each other. The government do not reserve to themselves the right to review the decision that is arrived at by the judges, but they declare by the Bill that the decision of the judges shall be at once proclaimed and become part of the law. That is the Bill, and if it is constitutional, I ask any hon. gentleman on what ground does he urge that it should be thrown out? He says, because you will have a census taken within two or three years, and then, under the constitution there must be a redistribution of seats. Every one knows that that is provided in the constitution, but it is in order to maintain the relative representation of the different provinces in this Chamber. But the right to regulate the bounds of the constituencies within the various provinces between the different censuses, not disturbing the representation of the respective provinces, is perfectly within our competence; and hon. gentlemen opposite are stopped not only because no legal gentleman will venture to say that

Mr. PATERSON.

this is unconstitutional, but by the fact that they themselves have passed Bills of a similar nature at other times than immediately succeeding a census. Then, we are asked, why do you bring this Bill in again this year, in view of the fact that you tried it last year, and it was rejected? Rejected by whom? Not by this House. It was carried by a large majority in this House, which is composed of the elected representatives of the people. I do not say a word, I think it would be undignified to say a word, more than is necessary in condemnation of the action of another branch of this legislature which has powers of its own. The question of representation is one that is pre-eminently within the judgment of the peoples representatives in this Chamber, and their decision we have the right to expect will be respected in the other Chamber. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite how they can consider it consistent with their dignity, as representatives of the people, to view with pleasure, the prospect of this measure being defeated in the Senate—a body not elected by the people, not responsible to the people. They are, in fact, practically making an appeal to this body, not responsible to the people, to override the will of the people, as expressed in this House. In the resolution of the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster) is embodied this idea: We will not take up time discussing whether this is a proper Bill or not, but let it go to the other Chamber and be killed there. These hon. gentlemen are wise in their generation, and they adopt this policy, because they cannot find anything to say against the measure. Their sole hope lies, not in argument or reason, but in the other Chamber, which they think will repeat what it did last session. In taking this view, they show very little respect for that body. They appear to think that it is impervious to reasoning and to the logic of facts. But is it not possible that the Senate, though it saw fit to defeat the Bill in one session, might, having in the interim had the experience of by-elections, in which the principle of this Bill was endorsed by the people, come to the conclusion that it has the approval of the people and refuse to again act contrary to the popular will. I trust that we are not to suppose, as hon. gentlemen opposite apparently do, that the other Chamber is composed of men who are not amenable to reason and justice. I am not prepared to admit that just yet.

We are asked: Why do you bring forward this Bill again when it was thrown out by the other House? To this I would reply that we do so because we have a direct mandate from the people to introduce a measure such as this, and do our utmost to have it carried into law. When the Liberal party attained power, they did so on a platform, and it is the duty of the government, elected on a platform, to give effect

as far as possible to the principles there laid down. One of our planks was the measure we are again submitting to this House, which met with overwhelming acceptance in this Chamber, but was defeated in the other. And that measure we are bound to push to a successful issue. Because it has met one defeat is no reason why the government should not make every effort to have it passed, and if unfortunately the Senate should throw it out again this session, it would be the bounden duty of this government to introduce it again next session.

Hon. gentlemen opposite may perhaps be elected on a certain platform, though I never knew them to have one yet, and when in power violate their pledges and promises, but not so with the Liberal party. We propose to carry out our pledges. One of the planks of our platform was the abolition of the Franchise Act. That touched representation in this House as closely as this measure does, and the other Chamber passed that Bill. They recognized the fact that it stood in a different position to the Yukon Railway Bill, which they threw out on the ground, I believe, that the people had never pronounced upon it. They recognized, however, that the people had pronounced in favour of this measure for the abolition of the franchise. They knew it was one of the planks of the Liberal platform and passed the measure.

But here is another Bill quite on a par with the one I have mentioned, and equally pronounced upon by the people, equally insisted upon by the people, which seeks to apply a remedy to glaring injustice. The government have the right, it is their bounden duty, to press that Bill on the attention of parliament from session to session until it becomes law. Let me point hon. gentlemen opposite to the iniquities of the Election Act of 1882.

Mr. HAGGART. Oh.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. No wonder the ex-Minister of Railways groans. When that Bill passed the House, these hon. gentlemen opposite, whose offspring it was, hung their heads for very shame. There were twenty-two amendments moved by the then opposition, each one of which recited a glaring and palpable iniquity. But in dumb silence these hon. gentlemen voted down amendment after amendment. Their only argument was: 'Call in the members,' and they voted each amendment down by 99 to 42. What were the iniquities of that Bill? I tell you, Mr. Speaker, that in that measure of 1882 every principle that should guide parliament in the redistribution of seats was laid aside. Its only object was to cripple one of the great political parties in this country. Its iniquity burns in my mind until this day. We sat here as members of this House, differing politically

but meeting each other socially as men of the world, preserving the amenities and the courtesies that should always prevail among gentlemen. But when after weeks of quiet searching and steadily working at the map, the then government announced the measure, its object was at once evident. Although these hon. gentlemen were three to one in the House, yet Liberal after Liberal was steadily aimed at; and a government which had a two-thirds majority in this House strove to politically kill by this measure men they were not able to put to death in any other way.

The Hon. David Mills, who sat to your left, Mr. Speaker, an able and distinguished member of this House, was singled out, and every principle of justice outraged in order to put him to political death. The very county that I represent, which had been formerly Conservative and won over to the Liberals, and was becoming more strongly Liberal, was gerrymandered by having two townships that gave 300 or 400 of a Liberal majority taken from it and thrown into South Oxford which had already 300 of a Liberal majority. Gillies of Bruce—he too was struck at, in violation of the principle laid down of fair representation by population. The ridings of that county were made disproportionate by many thousands for the purpose of putting John Gillies to political death—and he was put to political death, by those means. Member after member on the Liberal side was struck at with a view of putting him out. Speaking here where men ought to be gentlemen and ought to like British fair play, I will tell you what we saw in this House. We saw the hon. member for North Perth, at that time, a friend and fellow-townsmen of the late James Trow, the genial Liberal whip—since gone to his rest—sitting in this House, and, lacking courage to face his own constituents, strengthen himself by throwing a Liberal township out of his own riding into North Oxford, where the Liberals had a thousand majority before. It was not a manly thing to strengthen himself in that way. Still, that might have been pardoned, lacking as it was in manliness. But that same man was a party to arranging that his neighbour in that county, the late James Trow, should be put to death politically, by having a Liberal township, having a majority of two or three hundred taken from his riding and thrown into North Oxford as well. These were the things that aroused indignation. And today we find hon. gentlemen opposite, rising in their places, or at least we found them last year, and arguing that the Bill of 1882 was not an unfair Bill, because of these counties that had been gerrymandered, many of them sent back Liberal representatives. So they did. I came back myself. Why? Not because of any grace of favour on the part of the

men who introduced or carried that Bill; I came back because, though they had made the old Liberal riding of South Brant into a Tory riding, there were enough honest Conservatives there to resent such unfair tactics. They said: This is not fair fighting; we will not stand it. And they sent me back with a majority of hundreds. So it was in many other ridings. Gillies fell by the way, but under the indignation aroused by the Bill, some other members came in. But as that indignation wore away and party associations regained their influence, some of those Liberals who were first returned, have been defeated, and the Conservative party has gained the benefit of this gerrymander. That Bill of 1882 took a deep hold upon the people, Liberals and Conservatives alike. There is something in a Canadian that makes him like British fair play. Canadians do not like the idea of tying a man's hands behind his back and then challenging him to fight. They did not view with favour those who were striking at men in this House, and trying to put them to a political death—members as they were of a small minority, comprising only about one-third of the members of the House. From that day down, the Liberal party denounced that Bill. On every platform they denounced it, and pledged themselves, if they attained power, to go as far in the direction of undoing the wicked part of it as they were able to go. The Liberal party endorsed its representatives in that respect, and declared with no uncertain sound, that this was one of the first acts they looked for, should their party gain the majority. When it came to the redistribution of 1892, the Conservative party then in power, did not remedy the injustice, but increased it, in spite of the protest of the Liberals. The denunciations went on up to the time of the great Liberal convention in Ottawa, where the platform of the Liberal party was laid down; and one of the planks in that platform was that this gerrymander Bill of 1882, should be repealed, as far as it was in their power to do it. And because of that, this Bill is before the House now, to be pronounced upon by the people's representatives. If it be defeated this time, instead of it being a reproach that we brought a Bill which was defeated in another Chamber, a second time, I can only say that the people who sent us here will expect that next session the same Bill will be introduced, because it is only right that injustice shall be wiped out, and fair play shall be established. I have pointed out how the Bill of 1882 was framed. You have before you to-day a Bill framed in the spirit in which Liberals frame Bills; not a Bill based upon the determination to make use of a party majority to carve out constituencies for party benefit. There is no member on the other side who can say that Bill is aimed against him or against any one. The government has put it out of

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its power to do this thing. The division of these counties is left in the hands of three of the highest judges in the land. That is the distinction between the Bill of 1882 and this Bill. And I trust that every gentleman who values his privileges and his rights as a representative of the people of this country, will see that this Bill is judged on its merits. If the Bill be bad, let it be rejected, but if it be right, let it be made the law so far as this Chamber is concerned. And out, I say, upon any elected representative of the people who can view with complacency, much more with delight, the will of the people set aside in a matter which concerns themselves by a body which is not responsible to the people.

Wisely the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), says: We will not take up much time in discussing this Bill; for if the discussion were continued, the iniquity sought to be remedied by this Bill, would be pointed out, as I have pointed them out briefly, and the Bill we now propose, would so appeal to the people, that hon. gentlemen opposite would not dare to face their constituents in the discussion of it. We were told last year that this was a monstrous Bill, and I think we heard the same expression to-day. Sir, I ask hon. gentlemen representing some of the gerrymandered constituencies and famous Bill. I would like some one to go on the platform and to tell the people that the Bill we are now introducing is an infamous Bill. I would like some one to go into the township of Burford or the township of Oakland, in the county of Brant, and tell the people that an infamous measure was introduced in the House, that had for its aim and object only to declare that these people have the right to vote in the county in which they dwell. I would like to know whether the member for Perth will care to go into his riding and say that there was a Bill introduced into the House that sought to give the people dwelling in the county of Perth the right to vote within that county, and that he considered that an infamous measure. Would he dare to do it? No, the men of South Easthope and of North Easthope would resent anything of that kind. If this Bill is an infamous one, these gentlemen will have to show in what respect it is infamous in the presence of the men who, from the time their political liberties were taken from them by that Bill of 1882, have been asking for redress, for justice. These men will have to declare to them why it was they rejected it, and why they went the length even of declaring it an infamous Bill that sought to give the people merely the right to cast their votes within the municipal county in which their whole political interests lie. I will not take up the time of the House further. To say that because that Bill passed by an overwhelming majority in this House and was set aside last session by

another Chamber, that therefore, it should not be introduced again, is beside the question. I say we have nothing to do with that; it is even more obligatory upon us to send that Bill there again. I do not wish at all to dictate to these gentlemen of the Senate, but I can imagine a body composed of fair and judicial men recognizing the fact that it is a Bill that retains the essential principle of representation in this House, and recognizing the fact that it was pronounced upon favourably by the people in the election of 1896, when they installed this government in power, that it was presented to them last year endorsed in this House by a large majority, endorsed by the people of the country time and again in the by-elections that have been held; and when it goes to that House again under these circumstances, I would fain believe that there is a majority there who will recognize what is proper under British constitutional government, and who will agree that the will of the people should not be set aside again. But if they should do that again, I contend that the duty of this government and of this House will be at the next session to reintroduce this Bill, and to continue introducing it until right, and justice, and equity prevail in this land, as they ought to do.

Mr. ALEX. McNEILL (North Bruce). I do not intend to prolong the discussion. I may say that we are all delighted to observe the vigour with which the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat (Mr. Paterson) is still able to denounce us. Mr. Speaker, I did not raise a point of order, because we had too much of that this afternoon, but I was reminded very much of a former occasion when my hon. friend opposite was even in better voice perhaps than to-night, and when I did rise to a point of order and asked the Chairman of that day whether it was in order for an hon. member of this House to make quite so much noise. Well, I think those of us who heard the discussion in this House last session, and who heard the hon. gentleman make the speech last session that he has made this session, might say in view of that exhaustive discussion, I think, without very much offence to the hon. gentleman, that after all what he has been saying is 'sound and fury signifying nothing.'

I just wish to say one word with regard to the very grave constitutional question which has been touched upon by my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and by my hon. friend who has just resumed his seat. I do not think it would be right for us to allow the violent attacks which have been made on the other Chamber by these gentlemen to pass without one word of comment. Now, the position of affairs is simply this: That these hon. gentlemen opposite who know the constitution under which we live, who know that under

that constitution we have a second Chamber, who know that the right and duty of that second Chamber is to revise the legislation of this House, to alter it when it requires alteration, and to reject it when they think it ought to be rejected, who know that the second Chamber has an absolute right to deal with a question such as this, who know that the Lord Chancellor of England, as was pointed out to them last session, a Liberal Lord Chancellor, in a controversy in reference to a matter exactly like this, stated that no member would venture to say that the House of Lords was not absolutely within its right in dealing with such a question as this—I say that these gentlemen knowing all this, threatened the other Chamber, they denounced the other Chamber. What they say practically amounts to this, that if they cannot be allowed to carry out their sweet will in this country they are prepared, if they are able, to tear down the constitution about our ears. That is the position of things, and I for my part do not feel inclined to allow the matter to pass without comment.

Now, so far as their talk about introducing the measure a second time is concerned, what has that got to do with it? They may introduce the measure a second time, a third time, a fourth time, a fifth time, if they like, but that does not add anything to the strength of the measure which they introduced in the first instance. They seem to imagine that there is something in introducing the measure a second time. There is a great deal in introducing it a second time, if it has been introduced a second time with the support of the people at the back of it after the people have been consulted with regard to it. But introducing a measure a second time adds no weight to the measure whatsoever when it has not received the popular sanction. The hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat tells us, that the government are prepared to introduce it next session also. They introduced it last session nearly about the time of taking the census; they introduce it this year still nearer the time of taking the census; and they say that they are prepared to introduce it next year when the census will actually be in course of being taken. While the census is being taken they are prepared to introduce this measure which deals with the condition of things existing at the census of 1891. Now, if it was necessary to introduce the reductio ad absurdum argument, the hon. Minister of Customs has done so. I do not wish to continue the discussion.

Mr. ANDREW SEMPLE (Centre Wellington). Like the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), I promise to be brief. I heartily approve of the measure that has been introduced by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), the Representation Act, for

the purpose of repealing the gerrymander Act of 1882. If the government had not introduced that measure they would have been wanting in their duty to the people. That has been a live question at every election; and just as the Conservatives in western Ontario wished to say as little as possible about this measure, the members of the opposition in this House are following out the same tactics at present. It has been pointed out by the Minister of Customs that Sir John A. Macdonald, when he brought in the redistribution measure of 1871, pointed out that he was desirous of maintaining county boundaries; and he mentioned only two cases in which that principle was departed from, and they turned out not to be a success, according to his statement. He went on to say that when a county had a population sufficient to give it one member it should have one member; where it had a population sufficient for two members, two members should be given; if the population was sufficient for three, three members should be given, while at the same time county boundaries should be the dividing line. The Liberal party desires to follow the same principle still. It is one of the fundamental planks in their platform. They know that an injustice has been done them by the infamous measure known as the gerrymander Act of 1882; and no wonder that my hon. friend from North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), when he rises to talk on that question, should go a little further than is prudent. He felt keenly because the people of western Ontario, who have been the victims of the gerrymander, know how it has affected them. Now, Sir, that is not all. There is another question that underlies that, of vital importance. We are told by history that Canada was granted constitutional government between 1840 and 1850. That state of things continued as long as the Senate were elected, but when the Senate were not elected a change took place. One of the greatest orators in the British House of Commons, the late John Bright, pointed out that the people would regret the adoption of the system of appointing senators. There is an issue that the people will have to meet at the next election, and it is as to whether the Dominion of Canada is to be governed by the people, or by an irresponsible body like the Senate. Such action as that taken by the Senate last year was not known or heard of until the present government came into power. We remember very well that when Sir John Thompson introduced and put through the Bill known as the Criminal Code, a very long measure, which took considerable time to consider in this House, which, when it was finished, about the end of the session, was sent to the Senate, and which the other Chamber had time to take it as read, and with due for-

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mality it passed at once, and that was considered sufficient. Hon. Conservative members of this House, when they knew what was going on manifested great confidence in the Senate last session. They knew very well that there was a Conservative majority in that Chamber, and it was for that reason they had such great confidence in it, for it is really a Conservative machine. It is only fair to say that there were two Conservative Senators who considered it to be their duty to vote for the measure, after expressing their belief that this House had a perfect right to pass such a measure. It was an act of justice, and no attempt was made to take advantage of the Conservative party when the redistribution was referred to a commission of judges. I believe, Sir, that there will always be a gerrymander unless the duty is imposed upon judges to make the redistribution. Why should hon. gentlemen opposite be afraid of justice? I think when this measure comes to be discussed before the people they will take issue on the question whether this country is to have responsible government or is to be governed by an irresponsible and obsolete body like the present partisan Senate. As I mentioned before, both parties were in favour of the Redistribution Act of 1871, when the measure was passed. Since that time the Patrons of Industry, a large body of celebrated farmers, composed of Conservatives and Liberals alike, have endorsed this measure; the independent Conservatives, led by the late Mr. Dalton McCarthy, favoured the measure, and, I think, as it was passed by nearly two to one in this House last session, it was a very high-handed act for another body to veto that measure when it did not concern them, and when its passage was a simple act of justice.

Mr. DAVID HENDERSON (Halton). Mr. Speaker, I have no doubt that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Semple), who has just resumed his seat will hail with delight the day when the Bill, before the House, becomes law. He knows very well, that, in the arrangement of the county of Wellington, a township adjoining his riding must, of necessity be attached to his riding, which now belongs to South Wellington, a township which, in itself will, at the time, give a Liberal majority of some 300 or 400. It will make the riding a safe seat for the hon. gentleman who has just addressed you.

Mr. McMULLEN. How do you know? How can you tell what the judges will do?

Mr. HENDERSON. I know this for the same reason that the hon. gentleman knows, who so recently addressed us. I had intended rising for a few moments after the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), but, I confess, that, although, I usually am able to contain myself very well,

I felt rather too nervous to get upon my feet. The roaring of the hon. gentleman sent a thrill through me that almost frightened me. I do not know what his object was, whether he thought he was going to force hon. members on this side of the House into submission by frightening them, but, it seemed to me that he had some such idea in his mind. I understand that the hon. Minister of Customs has a special object also in wishing to secure the passage of this Bill. In the Bill it is proposed that the county of Brant, which is a small county of 33,000 population, shall have two representatives; consequently, there will be two very small ridings, and no doubt the hon. Minister of Customs expects that when that change takes place he will be able to stand on the banks of the Grand River, and at a single meeting, address the whole electorate of South Brant. The hon. gentleman is a busy man, this will be of very great advantage indeed to him, and if there is an hon. member in this House who would be able to do that, and I am sure it is the hon. Minister of Customs. Although the constituency is miles square, I think it will come very largely within the compass of the hon. gentleman's voice. But, Sir, I am of the opinion that, the hon. gentleman, even with the magnificent voice which he possesses, will have to shout a great deal louder than he has done to-night before he will convince the honest yeomanry of Brant that they are entitled to a representative for 16,000 people, when, in the county of Simcoe, he is only willing to give one representative for 30,000 people. The hon. gentleman complained that there were ridings made out of three counties or portions of three counties. Well, Sir, if he complains of that he must also complain of what his friends are doing in Ontario. While he reflects upon the Conservative party in this House for making a riding out of three different counties, he, at the same time, must censure Sir Oliver Mowat and those who have been associated with him in the province of Ontario for the last twenty-five years for doing about the same thing. The Minister of Education in the province of Ontario, at the present time, sits for a riding which is made out of parts of three counties in that province, a portion of the county of Lincoln, a portion of the county of Welland and a portion of the county of Haldimand. What is right in one instance should be right in another. The hon. Minister of Customs fully endorses what Sir Oliver Mowat did; he endorses every action, right or wrong, and in the eyes of the hon. minister he was always right. I think there is very little in the argument when he talks about ridings being made out of three counties, when his friends in Ontario, for the last twenty-five years, have been permitting the same thing. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMul-

len) made the statement that when we departed from county boundaries we violated all the principles of justice between party and party. I confess that I was surprised to hear the hon. gentleman make that statement because, he knows very well that the government of Ontario did exactly what he condemns, that they did make a riding out of parts of two counties. It was on this point that I interrupted him, or was disposed to contradict him, because it is a well known fact, and I will give one instance of it. Take Cardwell in the province of Ontario; that riding was hewn by the government of Sir Oliver Mowat out of two counties, taking a portion of the county of Simcoe and a portion of the county of Peel. I may be answered by saying, that the county of Cardwell had existence since confederation, and that Sir Oliver Mowat did not do that. But I draw the attention of the House to the fact that the riding of Cardwell in the Dominion parliament is not the same riding as the county of Cardwell in the local House.

Mr. CLANCY. It was changed in the local in 1885.

Mr. HENDERSON. As the hon. member (Mr. Clancy) says it was changed in 1885, and it was changed deliberately in violation of the principle that is contended for by hon. gentlemen opposite. I have no sympathy with any such cry as the invasion of county boundaries. I believe it is a higher object for us to endeavour to establish ridings somewhat even in the representation as to numbers, and where the convenience of the people is considered it is much better that we should establish a principle of that kind rather than a hide-bound adherence to county boundaries. The province of Ontario has not thought fit to observe county boundaries. Never since confederation has the Ontario legislature adopted that principle, and even where they did hew out ridings within county boundaries, there was as iniquitous a gerrymander as could be perpetrated. That principle, as I have said, has not been observed by the Ontario legislature, and we know that the legislature stands a great deal nearer to the county councils than does the Dominion parliament. There might be a reason why the provincial legislature should adhere to county boundaries, because they have to deal with county councils and the formation of counties, but they have violated the principle from confederation down to the present time, and in view of this fact there can be very little indeed in the argument that in establishing representation for the Dominion House we should adhere to county boundaries. I have no hesitation in voting for the amendment of the hon. the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), more especially as I do not consider it wise or prudent to interfere at the present time with the existing state of affairs.

Mr. PETER MACDONALD (East Huron). Mr. Speaker, I hope this will be the last time that I shall have the opportunity of giving a kick to the old gerrymander Bill. I have always taken a great deal of pleasure in expressing my indignation at such a law, and I think I have said in the House before, that it is one of the most iniquitous laws ever placed upon the statute-book of Canada. I believe that in 1882 the Conservative party designed it for the purpose of enabling them to carry the elections which immediately followed. In fact, I need not guess at that, for I know that some of the strong supporters of that Bill, openly confessed such was the case. The late Dalton McCarthy, who it was said framed the Bill, stated on the floor of this House that it was the intention of the Conservative party at that time to make political capital out of it. There was no other man in the Conservative party who was more within the confidence of Sir John Macdonald than the late Dalton McCarthy, and there was no Conservative who knew more about the intentions of the party than did that lamented gentleman. In my own hearing in this House he stated, that in forcing such legislation, the Liberal-Conservative party, of which he was a supporter, committed what he believed to be a great blunder, even from a political standpoint. I am certain that I can give you abundance of testimony to prove that the Bill was not framed with the intention of doing justice to the Liberal party, because after the Bill received its first reading here, the different Conservative associations throughout the Dominion were called upon to meet to consider if they would endorse the details of the Bill. The convention from my own county assembled in the town in which I was living, after the Bill reached the committee stage in this House. There assembled from the various parts of the county those who understood the voting capabilities of the different municipalities, and after several hours consideration, the convention determined to change the Bill wholly and entirely from that which was presented to the Committee of the Whole. The first draft of the Bill, divided the county of Huron into South Huron, Centre Huron and North Huron. The county then had a population of about 67,000, which could be divided into three constituencies, giving a little over 22,000 each, the unit of representation. That did not suit the Conservative party of the county of Huron, and the convention appointed a deputation to come to Ottawa for the purpose of assuring Sir John Macdonald that in the interests of the party a change would be necessary to carry two of the three ridings of that county. Although, Sir, we had an aggregate majority of 800 Liberals in the whole county of Huron, still these Conservative party men sought to carry two out of the three ridings by the gerrymander. The very next day

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after the deputation reached Ottawa, Sir John Macdonald rose in his place in the House and stated that he wished to move that another division of the county of Huron should take place, and I suppose hon. gentlemen will be astonished to learn that the new division created was the same as that determined upon by the Conservative convention held in the town from which I come. You will, of course, understand that this deputation did not come 400 miles to Ottawa for the purpose of giving advice which was not in the interests of the Conservative party. Well, the Bill passed as the Conservative deputation recommended. Instead of retaining the county boundaries of Huron, what did they do? Let me reason it out and show the object they had in view. There were three municipalities taken from the county of Huron, two of which were put in North Middlesex, and one of which was placed in South Perth. In 1878, North Middlesex returned Timothy Coughlin by nine majority, but that was considered as too close, and so they determined to give him more strength for his election in 1882. They took off from the southern portion of the county of Huron, the Township of Stephen and the town of Exeter, which in 1878 gave a Conservative majority of 115, and they placed them in North Middlesex, in order to strengthen Mr. Coughlin. Mr. Coughlin, in 1882, was elected not by nine of a majority, as in 1878, but by 109 majority, the largest portion of that majority having been taken from the county of Huron to strengthen him. Then they put Osborne township into South Perth, and at the same time they took away from Mr. Trow, who then represented South Perth, South Easthope, which in 1878 gave a majority of 193 to Mr. Trow. They placed that 193 Liberal majority in North Oxford, and then, in order to even up things, I suppose, they gave to Mr. Trow the township of Osborne, which in 1878, gave 60 Conservative majority. They took away from Mr. Trow on the one hand, 193 Liberal votes, and they gave him 60 Conservative votes on the other hand. Although Mr. Trow carried that constituency in 1882, there is not one single individual here who will say that it was by reason of the gerrymander he carried it. Sir, as the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) has said, the decent people in that constituency rebelled against such an injustice, and although many of them were Conservatives, they decided to vote for Mr. Trow to vindicate him against such an outrage. Let us look at another case. Mr. Hesson represented North Perth. His majority was getting smaller every time he ran; it was supposed to be in danger. They took North Easthope, which gave a Liberal majority of 309 in 1878, and gave it to North Oxford, and they said to Mr. Hesson, 'Now, you can afford to lose Wallace, which gave you a

majority of 60, in 1878, and we will give that to North Wellington, by which we shall be sure to defeat Mr. McMullen, and in return we take from you 309 Liberal votes.' In one place they took 193 Liberal votes from Mr. Trow and gave them to Mr. Thomas Oliver in North Oxford, and they took 309 Liberal votes from Mr. Hesson, and gave them to Mr. Thomas Oliver, who in 1878 carried North Oxford by 803, thus producing in North Oxford a Liberal majority of 1,300 votes, neutralizing and destroying the influence which the Liberal party should have had in that part of the country, in that election. Does any gentleman with one single jot of sense of justice in him say that that was not done with a design? Will a single member get up here and say that was not done for the express purpose of electing the Conservative candidates? They made three divisions in the county of Huron. Instead of having a north, a south, and a centre division, as we expected, they divided the county into a south, an east, and a west division. By the returns of 1878, East Huron, had a Conservative majority of 93. That was considered to be safe. They made the west riding, according to the vote of 1878, to have a Conservative majority of 115, and they hived in South Huron, a majority of over 1,000 Liberal votes. Will any person try to explain this arrangement on any other principle than that they wished to gerrymander the county in such a way as to get their own friends in and our friends out. Is there any other inference that can be drawn by reasonable gentlemen from such cutting and carving? Not at all. In 1882 they did not succeed in carrying the west riding, because again the honest Conservatives in the west riding of Huron maintained that it was not fair warfare, and therefore, they refused to vote for the Liberal Conservative party, and Mr. Cameron was elected by a majority of 26.

In 1872, Sir John Macdonald and his party were strongly opposed to breaking through county lines, and Edward Blake, who spoke on behalf of the Liberal party, and many other Liberals on that occasion took similar ground. Sir John Macdonald presented strong arguments against breaking through county boundaries. In 1882 the Conservative party believed in that principle just as strongly as they did in 1872; but in order to secure the election of members of their own party, they broke through the principle which they had previously advocated. They maintained in 1882, that they had to break through county lines in order to make the populations of the different ridings as nearly as possible equal, claiming that the equalization of the population was more important than the maintenance of the county boundaries? Did they succeed in equalizing the population? I do not think a single member on the other side of the House will say that they did. Let me give you a few examples. We will take a group of four-

teen counties in the province of Ontario: East Elgin, North Essex, South Grey, East Grey, Kent, East Middlesex, North Perth, Russell, North Simcoe, East Simcoe, Centre Wellington, South Wellington, North Wellington and West Elgin. These fourteen ridings in 1882 had an aggregate population of 365,825, an average for each member of 26,345, or an excess over the unit of representation of 18 per cent. Now, let us look at another group of fourteen constituencies in the province of Ontario: Brockville, Frontenac, South Grenville, Monck, North Leeds and Grenville, West Peterborough, North Wentworth, South Wentworth, Peel, Lennox, Cardwell, South Lanark, West Hastings, East Hastings. The aggregate population of these fourteen constituencies in 1882, was 218,965, or an average to each representative of 15,625, or 43 per cent below the unit of representation. In other words, each had 10,700 less than the average of the other group. Will any hon. member who is a supporter of that gerrymander, tell us that the object of breaking through the county boundaries was to have an equalization of the county population? The very Bill itself gives the lie to the effort of any hon. member to make that assertion good. One group had 150,000 population more than the other group, yet both groups were represented in this House by an equal number of representatives. Now, there is another point which I wish to make to show you the effect of the gerrymander upon the elections. I went carefully over the returns of the election of 1891, previous to the last redistribution, and I found that the Liberal Conservative party had polled 186,000 votes in the province of Ontario, and the Liberal party 182,000 votes, a difference of only 4,000. You would suppose, under these circumstances, that the two parties would be represented in this House by an almost equal number of representatives, say 45 to 47, for we had 92 members at that time. Was that the case? No; the Liberals, instead of having 45 and 33, and the Conservatives, instead of having 47, had 59. Why should the Liberal Conservatives have 59 members for 186,000 votes, and the Liberals only 33 members for 182,000 votes? In other words, the Liberal Conservatives for every 3,150 votes polled by them, succeeded in sending a member to the House, whereas it required 5,550 Liberal votes to secure the election of a Liberal member. I would ask hon. gentlemen if that does not prove beyond contradiction—and no one, although I have made use of these figures before, has ever attempted to refute them—the unfair character of that measure, and the necessity for its repeal. It has been said by some hon. members that this subject never came before the people, and that consequently the Senate had a right to throw out the Bill. But that is not the case. In the last elections, it was one of the most important questions discussed on the pub-

lic platform, and we declared over and over again that we would not be worthy of a seat in the House if we did not bring in a measure to repeal this iniquitous gerrymander Act. This question was discussed on every hustings, and Conservative candidates were so struck with the strong feeling of the people against the Act that they dared not defend it before the people. Therefore, we are justified in our belief, that we are expressing the sentiments of the people by the Bill now before the House, and that we are bound to press it on the attention of the Upper House until we compel that House to accomplish the will of the people.

Mr. McINERNEY. I was not moved by the same feelings as the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson) expressed, when I had the pleasure of listening to the stentorian tones of the hon. Minister of Customs. The hon. gentleman may deafen me, but I scarcely think he scares me. I would recommend to the hon. minister to read again that admirable advice of Hamlet to the players, in which he says :

O ! it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings.

I think I may be permitted to say that the hon. minister put a good deal more squeal than skill into his argument. I do not wish to say anything offensive to the generous, good-hearted, boisterous Minister of Customs, but I think I am warranted by the tone of his speech to-night in making those few remarks.

Turning to the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Davies) it seems to me he should be the last man to find fault with the leader of the opposition for having criticised him concerning his political meanderings. Why, the hon. minister himself has boasted of his ubiquity. He calls himself the Minister for Everywhere. He came to the county of Kent a few short months ago, to hold a meeting in a little village called Kingston. He came in company with the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals, or rather the Minister of Railways and Canals came from the north, and the Minister of Marine from the south ; and when Cleopatra went to meet Antony, she went not in any such splendour as the Minister of Marine did when he went to meet the Minister of Railways—each of them in a palace car going down to the small village of Kingston, over 27 miles of a branch railway, and each of them with a brass band. That is the way the two hon. gentlemen attacked the very humble village of Kingston.

Mr. FOSTER. Two palace cars ?

Mr. McINERNEY. Yes, two brass bands, two palace cars, and two ministers, but

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

only one small meeting. When the Minister of Marine and Fisheries got to the meeting he began his remarks by saying that he might be called the Minister for Everywhere. Why, he said, one day I am in London, the next day in Washington, the following on Lot 7, Prince Edward Island, and here to-night in Kingston. I may be rightly called the Minister for Everywhere. Well, two or three days later the hon. minister's Attorney General was defeated in Prince Edward Island, and also another gentleman nominated by him. And I may be permitted to say that if things go on in the Island, as they have been doing of late, instead of being called the Minister for Everywhere, the hon. gentleman may be soon called the Minister for Nowhere.

The Minister of Marine invoked two great principles in support of this Bill—representation by population and county boundaries.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I did not refer to representation by population at all.

Mr. McINERNEY. I understood the hon. gentleman to have done so.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman is mistaken.

Mr. McINERNEY. Well, county boundaries and division by judges, were, I think, the two great principles on which the hon. gentleman insisted. They were the corner stones of this great Bill. The Liberal party stand in the white light of a great principle in Ontario and denounce it in the maritime provinces. They shrink into the shadow of the principle when they come into the maritime provinces, as I can prove by the hon. gentleman himself and by other hon. members on that side. They say that they wish to maintain county boundaries, and they do it in Ontario, but what about New Brunswick. They go into the county of the city and county of St. John, represented by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Tucker, and there denounce that principle, because they divide the county of the city and county of St. John into two constituencies, and in that way destroy the very principle they invoke in Ontario. Then in Ontario they say where any county has more than one representative, we will see that it is divided by judges into electoral ridings. That they proclaim as a party principle in Ontario. But when they go into Prince Edward Island, they denounce that principle, because that province is divided into electoral ridings already, and instead of leaving it as it is they say : We will bring the province back to the old plan and have two representatives for Queen's, two for Prince, and one for King's. In that they ignore the principle of representation by population. They will not divide Prince Edward Island according to population, as it is at present.

and denounce the principle of dividing counties having more than one representative into two or more districts.

There has been something said to-night about the constitutionality of this Act. I am not here to make any argument on its constitutionality or unconstitutionality; but I am here to say that it is very inexpedient at this stage to pass such an Act. Whether it can be argued that the constitution allows it or does not, I say it is highly inexpedient and improper.

The hon. Minister of Marine denounced the method of playing shuttle cock and battle dore with this question. But what is his party doing to-day? He says they made a pledge to the people that the moment they got into power they would pass an Act doing away with the iniquitous Redistribution Bill. Why did they not introduce it in 1896? They let 1896 pass, and 1897 pass, and 1898 pass before they introduced this measure; and when they came down as near as they could to the end of their term in 1899, the last session they expected to have in this House before dissolution, they introduced this measure. They introduced it for the purpose of having it defeated, and they introduce it now for the purpose of having it defeated. The hon. gentleman made some veiled threats as to what would happen if a certain other body threw out this Bill. But he failed to declare his threat as he intended to make it when he started. He said the Bill would be introduced again. That is not a very violent threat; I expected to hear a threat of another kind, and a constitutional threat such as this government ought to make, that if the Senate threw out this Bill they will do what they should have done when the Senate threw out the Yukon Bill—appeal to the country. And if the great electorate of this country say that the provinces should be divided in the way these hon. gentlemen propose, they would come back with a mandate from the people which the Senate, I think, would obediently bow to. But what argument have they advanced that was not advanced last year? Do they expect to bulldoze and frighten the Senate of this county? An irresponsible body,' says the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), echoed by the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson). An irresponsible body? Is George T. Fulford an irresponsible man—one of the gentlemen whom they appointed to the Senate the other day? Is Charles Burpee, from the province of New Brunswick, and are these other men whom they have put into the Senate, irresponsible men? Are they in this way to coerce and bulldoze the Senate into passing measures that cannot stand upon their merits to be judged by the laws of reason and justice? If there were a reason for the Senate throwing out the Bill in 1899, there is a stronger reason to-day. In one short year the time will arrive when

another census has to be taken. Within ten months from this very moment the taking of the census of 1901 should be started. And shall it be said that a few short months before the census should be taken, the government can force through a measure to redistribute the seats in this fashion, when they would be forced by the constitution, after the census, to redistribute the seats on a constitutional plan? The argument is against them. If the Senate was justified in 1899 in throwing out the measure, it is doubly justified at this late day in throwing it out. I am not here to read the mind of the Senate. It is a reasonable body of men representing great interests in this country, a body created under the constitution to guard the rights and interests of the different provinces from which they come; and the Senate will be recreant to their trust and false to their duty if they allow a measure to be passed which invokes a principle in Ontario and denounces it in New Brunswick. It is plain to any man that the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) was going to carve out a constituency for himself in the county of St. John by this Bill last year, being afraid to face again the electors of Queen's and Sunbury. He thought to split the riding of the city and county of St. John into two parts, leaving to the hon. gentleman who represents the city of St. John a very large constituency, 10,000 electors, and a constituency of about 1,000 electors for the hon. minister himself. That was the object then, and there was no other object that I know of. I have shown that the Liberal party is not consistent in the introduction of this measure. The Minister of Customs. I think it was, said that they were carrying out their pledges, that it was one of the pledges they must carry out, and one of the last they must carry out. 'Consistency thou art a jewel'; but the jewel of consistency does not shine upon the breast of the Liberal administration. This is a needless measure, it is a measure that contradicts itself in its clauses; it invokes one principle in Ontario, another principle in New Brunswick, and another principle in Prince Edward Island. In its working, if it does justice in one part of the Dominion, it must do injustice in another. Why should Prince Edward Island be treated as it is proposed to treat her? I supposed the hon. gentleman from the county of Queen's (Mr. Martin) would stand up and denounce the measure. Does the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries think he is strong enough to carry with him a colleague from the county of Queen's? Does he think he will save the hon. gentleman from Prince, who was elected with a majority of 40 odd, with 176 spoiled ballots in the ballot boxes? Does he think he will have him elected by having tacked on to him the other hon. gentleman from Prince

(Mr. McLennan)? Or has the minister been warned by the shadow that has fallen across his path in the last two elections in Prince Edward, where the railway and bridge were to be built, and where the threat was made that if his candidates were not elected they would lose the subsidies? And more than that, a paper was sent around among the electors and this paper they were asked to sign, declaring they would vote for the government candidate, being told if they did that they would be sure of the subsidies. But his candidates were defeated, and to-day the government of Prince Edward Island stands in this humiliating position—they have no attorney-general in the government and dare not open a constituency in the hope of electing one. Talk about responsible government; talk about being responsible to the people! In Prince Edward Island, where responsible government was established, we have a government carrying on affairs with a man holding a portfolio who was defeated at the hands of the people, but who says he can hold on in spite of the constitution and in spite of the people for ten years longer. There is responsible government for you, written in the way the Minister of Marine and Fisheries writes it. But I am here to say that, unless things turn out vastly different in Prince Edward Island in the future from what they have in the past, the very recent past, the hon. gentleman may not be here at the beginning of the next parliament, even to pass a redistribution Bill which will be constitutional and according to law.

Mr. JOHN McMILLAN (South Huron). I cannot allow this vote to be taken without giving my reason for the vote I am about to give. I live in one of the counties which was gerrymandered. In the riding I represent, one of the most base and spiteful gerrymanders took place that ever was perpetrated. One of the representatives of Huron at that time was a gentleman of very high standing. He had been the representative of that riding for a length of time, and had received the nomination for the succeeding election. I refer to the Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright. They gerrymandered the riding he was expected to run for out of existence altogether, and tried to the utmost of their power to put him to political death.

I say a more base, wilful, shameless gerrymander never took place in Canada. A gross injustice was done to the county of Huron at that time, because there were two municipalities, the town of Exeter and the township of Stephen added to North Middlesex. The county of Middlesex had only 58,000 of a population, the county of Huron had over 66,000 of a population, yet they deducted these municipalities from the county of Huron and gave to Middlesex four representatives and Huron only three. That certainly was not justice. That leaves

Mr. McINERNEY.

us now as the member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) said, with the south riding of Huron having a very large majority. I had the honour of complimenting the leader of the government when I first came into the House and thanking him for the gerrymander, as I never would have represented South Huron but for that gerrymander. Let me say that the good Conservatives of the county of Huron to-day resent the iniquity that was perpetrated upon them, and the disgrace that was put upon the Conservative party all over western Ontario. They feel that a gross injustice was done in the county of Huron, and have always felt so. East Huron had a large majority of Conservatives until the present hon. member for that riding carried the county with the assistance of the intelligent and honest Conservatives who sympathized with him. The west riding of Huron was in the same condition. The town of Lucknow was taken entirely from Huron and added to West Bruce that already had a large majority, in order to destroy the chances of the late lamented Malcolm Cameron in the county of Huron; but he carried it again notwithstanding the gerrymander, with the sympathy of the honest Conservatives in the west riding of Huron.

After all that has been said about the gerrymander in the western part of the province of Ontario by the Ontario government, they have never broken into county lines. It is true they broke township lines, but you could not get a better division of the county of Huron into three ridings than was given by the government of the Hon. Oliver Mowat. Whether you take it in area, in population, or in the number of votes, the distribution was an equal one, and that has been shown in every election, although it has been said that they deprived the Conservative party of one representative in the local House. Such is not the case, as I proved in this House upon a previous occasion. I will just say that the people of the county of Huron, and the people of Western Canada are in strong sympathy with this measure. They know that a redistribution Act and the repeal of the Franchise Act were planks in the platform of the Reform party, and the people have endorsed those planks at every election since the gerrymander of 1882. There is not the least doubt in my mind that the government of that day perpetrated that gerrymander in order to maintain themselves in power. I know a gentleman who was one of a delegation that came from the county of Huron to Ottawa, and I heard him state that he, with two others, sat up all night in the town of Goderich with maps and they laid out the gerrymander. They met in the village of Wingham in convention, and there carried the gerrymander, and brought it to Ottawa; and the very gerrymander that those gentlemen drew out in the county of Huron in the interests of

the Conservative party, was adopted by Sir John A. Macdonald, and carried by his party. As my hon. friend for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) stated, these facts appeared in the public prints the next day after the delegation had been here. You cannot show anything of that kind having taken place with regard to the local government's in their redistributions. You cannot show that they ever hived the Conservatives to any great extent. But there is not the least doubt from what took place all over the province of Ontario at that time, that it was a scheme got up for the sole purpose of carrying the elections. As has been shown here there were fourteen ridings with an average of only 16,000 to each representative, and there were sixteen other ridings with some 26,000 of a population to the representative, showing that it was not the desire of the government to make an equal distribution of the population or to respect county boundaries. They respected nothing but the interests of the Conservative party at the next election.

Mr. J. V. ELLIS (St. John City). I maintain the same position with regard to this Bill, so far as it applies to the city and county of St. John, that I did when it was before the House last year. It strikes at the constituency which I represent; it takes away from the constituency of St. John a representative, and it divides the city and county of St. John in a manner that is most unfair according to my view of the matter. It is hardly worth while to go over the facts in detail as I did last year; but I may say that it makes one constituency in which 7,000 votes were polled last time, and makes another right alongside of it in which 1,900 votes are polled. The population of the city of St. John is 39,000, the population of the county is 14,000. It seems to me that there is no justification whatever for such a division as that in the city and county of St. John. It is very well to use such phrases as British fair play, and equity, and impartiality, and justice, but those are only catch words when applied to such a condition as will be created by this measure in the city and county of St. John. I find myself placed in a very awkward position, because, generally, I am in sympathy with my party. On this matter I do not know what it is best to do, but at any rate, I will feel bound in the interests of my constituents to vote for the six months' hoist to the Bill.

Amendment (Mr. Foster) negatived.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time (on division).

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, March 5, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

MILITIA ACT AMENDMENT.

Mr. DOMVILLE moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 60) to amend the Militia Act. He said: The Bill reads as follows:—

Whereas, it is provided by section 37 of the Militia Act that there shall be appointed an officer, who holds the rank of colonel or rank superior thereto, in Her Majesty's regular army, who shall be charged, under the orders of Her Majesty, with the military command and discipline of the militia;

And whereas, it has been contended that such officer was in the discharge of certain of his official duties independent of the Minister of Militia and Defence;

And whereas, such contention is wholly unwarranted, and if acquiesced in would be subversive of the principle of responsible government;

Now, therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

That such officer is and shall be subject to the authority of the Minister of Militia and Defence in respect of every duty, power, right, privilege or responsibility devolving upon such officer consequent upon his appointment.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

Mr. PRIOR moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 31) to amend the Militia Act. He said: This Bill has reference to the rank of officers in the militia. The present Act does not allow the government to appoint anybody to a higher rank than that of lieutenant-colonel, with the exception of one or two officers on the staff. At the present time we have a gentleman in South Africa, Col. Otter, who has had large experience. He goes there as lieutenant-colonel, and he will meet there officers from Australia with the rank of full colonel. If it is allowable for these colonies to give the rank of colonel, I think it should be allowable for Canadian officers, who are every bit as fit as those from Australia. They also allow the appointment of the rank of full colonel in the English militia volunteers. I can see no reason whatever—and I am sure I shall be backed up by militia officers—why a man should not be allowed to get the full rank of colonel in the Canadian militia as well. The Bill I propose is a very short one. It provides that sections 41, 45 and 47 shall be repealed, and it gives the Governor General in Council power to make district officers commanding full colonels, also those who are of the rank of lieutenant-colonel on the retired list, but the list shall be confined to the number of fifty. Also officers on the active list, exclusive of officers commanding military districts—this may be allowed to the number of twenty-five for the

whole of Canada. I do not think that anybody can object to these small numbers. The effect of the Bill will be to give some men who have had large experience and who have put in many years in active command a chance to rise to a rank that is benefiting. The motion is seconded by Mr. Tisdale.

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE** (Mr. Borden). I may say that in the Militia Department we are preparing a Bill to be submitted to parliament this session which deals with this very question, not precisely in the way described by the Bill as I understand it from the hon. gentleman's explanation. We do not propose any limit, as it seems to me not to be necessary. I agree entirely with the statement the hon. gentleman has made, and expect to introduce on behalf of the government, an amendment to the Act in accordance therewith.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENTS.

Mr. MacLAREN moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 62), to amend the Criminal Code, 1892. He said: This is an Act to amend the criminal law in the interest of hotel and boarding-house keepers, in cases where parties having lived at a hotel or boarding houses for a week or two, or a month or two, have unceremoniously gone away without paying their bills, leaving nothing but a trunk behind, and when the proprietor goes to open the trunk he finds it loaded with bricks or something of the kind. There are a great many complaints in my part of the country from boarding house and hotel keepers, who claim that the law as it stands at present, does not protect them from this kind of fraud.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

FRAUDULENT MARKING OF MERCHANDISE.

Mr. RUSSELL moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 63), to amend Chapter 166 of the Acts of 1886. 'An Act respecting the fraudulent marking of merchandise.' He said: This is simply to make more adequate protection than the law now affords for the ownership of trade marks.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

REGULATIONS FOR THE SALE OF FISH.

Mr. GANONG moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 64), to amend the Weights and Measures Act, as respects the sale of fish. He said: This Bill was before the House last year. The object is to make the unit of measurement correspond with the unit

Mr. PRIOR.

of sale. It applies more particularly perhaps, to the county of Charlotte; and on the second reading I will give more particulars with regard to its probable operation in that particular locality.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

THE MONTREAL RIOTS.

Mr. ALEX. McNEILL (North Bruce). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw the attention of the House and the government, to a matter of grave and immediate public concern; and in order that I may be within the rules of the House, I think, perhaps, I had better conclude with a motion. I rise with very great reluctance to refer to this subject. My reference is to the regrettable occurrences which have taken place within the last day or two within the city of Montreal, and which have culminated in a most deplorable and dangerous insult to the national flag. Fortunately, Mr. Speaker, the wise and patriotic efforts of the Mayor of Montreal, of His Grace the Archbishop, of Principal Peterson, of the Dean of Laval, and of other influential men, have secured tranquillity in the meantime; and it is in the hope that measures may be taken which will secure a continuance of that tranquillity, that I rise to address the House. Except for the insult to the national flag, the perpetrators of which will no doubt feel the weight of the strong arm of the law, what has occurred, notwithstanding all that has been said and written about it, is after all very much like what frequently occurs at Cambridge, at Oxford, at Dublin; and what is described by the college boys as a jolly good town and gown row. That is all that has taken place, with the exception of the incident in connection with the national flag, to which I have referred. But unfortunately there are those who will endeavour to describe this in very different terms on the continent of Europe, and who will endeavour to make capital out of it for the Queen's enemies.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. What are you doing now?

Mr. McNEILL. I regret, Mr. Speaker, that an hon. member should be so incapable of appreciating moderate language. I venture to say, notwithstanding the interruption of the hon. gentleman, that it devolves upon all of us to do all that in us lies, to prevent those persons from succeeding in their effort to take advantage of this incident to the prejudice of Her Majesty and to the prejudice of the empire.

To those, Sir, who have taken the trouble to inform themselves in any respect upon the South African question, it is a matter of common notoriety that President Kruger and his government have spent and are spending almost fabulous sums in secret service money. They have an enormous sub-

sidized press all over the world, and in almost every part of the world they have their secret agents. They are in England, and they are undoubtedly here in Canada. There can be no doubt, at least, there is no doubt in my mind, that these cries of 'Fashoda,' which were raised in Montreal the other night, were raised by these emissaries or some of them. I am quite satisfied that these cries do not at all represent the sentiment or feeling of our friends in the province of Quebec, not at all; I am satisfied that they were uttered by the paid emissaries of the Transvaal Republic. Now, as I have said, I think it is our duty to do all that we can to counteract these baneful influences which are being exercised among us at the present time. It seems to me that it is the bounden duty of all of us to counsel moderation and kindness of feeling at the present crisis, and to counsel, especially, also, the observation of that law and order which we, living under British institutions, pride ourselves upon possessing in a more perfect form, and to a fuller extent than any other people in any part of the world. Feeling, as I do, what I have said, most sincerely, I think it is my duty to call the attention of the House and of the government, to an article which has been published in a newspaper in the province of Quebec, within the last day or two, on the 2nd of this month.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Is that the morning *Citizen*?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. member (Mr. Sutherland) does not appear to be very judicial just now.

Mr. McNEILL. This article is from *La Patrie* and was published on the 2nd of March. It is an article, I may say, that breathes a spirit the very opposite of that to which I have referred; it is an article which, I believe, has been not a little responsible for many of these regrettable events which have taken place in Montreal, and it is an article which, if it is followed by others of a similar character, is liable to bring about a condition of affairs in Canada which all of us must deplore. Therefore, I think it essential to call the attention of the government and of the House to the article.

The offices of the French newspapers were invaded yesterday by a crowd numbering about 2,000 men of English origin.

Laval University, which was attacked yesterday afternoon, was sacked last night.

That is to say, plundered or pillaged; that is the meaning of the word used.

All this on the part of persons whose programme is evidently that of the Tory newspapers and of the 'Star' in particular.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

For some months past—

I see the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is cheering vigorously.

For some months past the 'Mail and Empire,' the 'News,' the Hamilton 'Spectator,' and dozens of other Tory journals of lesser importance, have been bellowing against the disloyalty of the French Canadians.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL.—

Some of these newspapers have publicly announced that the hour is not far off when there will be an armed invasion of Quebec.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). The *News* published that.

Mr. McNEILL. The hon. Minister of Public Works approves of that statement.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. It is perfectly true.

Mr. McNEILL—

The scenes of yesterday are the result of these appeals to passion.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

The saying is, 'Forewarned is forearmed.'

This applies to a race, warned as ours has just been, as well as to individuals.

We know now what we may expect.

That is armed invasion.

We cannot too emphatically express our regret on ascertaining that the students of a great English university should have taken part in the aggressive movement directed against us.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

Much must be forgiven to youth—

Mr. CASEY. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

—but all the same, it is a grave symptom that, willingly or not, we have diagnosed.

This is a repetition of the events of 1849.

Lord Elgin was all but assassinated in the streets of Montreal because he had consented—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

—because he had consented to render justice to the French Canadians.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

The houses of Mr. Lafontaine and other important citizens were demolished by the English Tories.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

It becomes more and more plain that the Tory spirit of those days still survives in the Tories of to-day.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

We are the great majority in this city of Montreal and in the province of Quebec.

We have but to wish for signal vengeance for these insults of which we are the victims, and it is done.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No; it is not there. Stop that.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) tells us that—

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Be careful, my friend.

Mr. McNEILL. We will accept the correction of my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works and assume that that is not a correct translation, although my hon. friend (Mr. Bergeron) beside me—

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Here is the French version word for word.

Mr. McNEILL. Will my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) please hand it over?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I will follow the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill).

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, if you would allow me to make a suggestion, it would be that we would all understand it better if the hon. Minister of Public Works would read and translate.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I will read it by-and-by.

Mr. SPEAKER. I would suggest that unless the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) consents to give place for the reading he be allowed to complete his statement and take each statement in succession.

Mr. McNEILL. Mr. Speaker, I would have been very glad if the hon. Minister of Public Works had been kind enough to correct any misstatement I inadvertently made as I have no desire, in any way, to misrepresent what he has written.

We do not advise any such anti-national policy.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

But we do advise, for instance, the organization of resistance, of vigorous resistance, to such scenes as those of yesterday.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

Our compatriots have the right to compel the respect of their persons and property, using force, if necessary.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

Truly, if this should continue, if we should tolerate the invasion and destruction of our houses and property, this country would soon become uninhabitable.

Is it not a painful spectacle to behold ourselves, so to speak, within two steps of civil war?

Mr. McNEILL.

My hon friend, the member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey), is not cheering at the present moment.

We are not the aggressors, but we are strong enough to be afraid of no one.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL—

We do not hold the majority of the population of Montreal—

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Of the English population of Montreal.

Mr. McNEILL. I am reading what I have here; 'of the English population.' I suppose the word 'population' involves that; I am very glad for the correction.

We do not hold the majority of the English population of Montreal and of the country responsible for the painful scenes that disgraced our streets yesterday.

We have reached a decisive moment. Confederation cannot be maintained if the two races cannot live in harmony, side by side.

Little need be added to what has already taken place to cause the treaty of federation to be torn up without much delay.

In contrast to that article, published at a time of great excitement in the province of Quebec, at a time when, I venture to think, wise, prudent and conciliatory counsels ought to have been inculcated in the columns of a leading journal of this kind, I desire, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, to read extracts from what has been said by His Grace the Archbishop, as I need not take up time by reading it all, and by Principal Peterson, of McGill. The Archbishop said:

He felt sure that the whole matter had arisen from a misunderstanding.

But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) cheered the statement, that the whole matter amounts to this: That we are about to have an armed invasion of the province of Quebec. Said the Archbishop:

He felt sure that the whole matter had arisen from a misunderstanding, that both parties were equally to blame, and that it ought certainly to go no further.

The Archbishop does not counsel an organization for defence and resistance by force.

He pointed out to the students that the disturbance was almost certain to be shouted abroad, that it would almost inevitably be exaggerated and misinterpreted in transmission, and used and ill-used, politically and otherwise, in a manner calculated to do harm out of all proportion to the actual affair. He therefore called upon the young men to cease all further demonstration, quietly go home, take a good dinner, and then resume their studies, which had been interrupted during the last two days.

Principal Peterson said:

It was with difficulty that he found words to express the sorrow he felt that the good relations existing between the two universities should be thus endangered. It was not a time, he said, for internal strife, and he ventured to hope that even still it might be possible for

McGill and Laval to unite in a hearty and sympathetic demonstration of the feelings that he felt were hardly less strong in Laval than McGill.

Those are the statements, Mr Speaker, of gentlemen who desire to bring about a condition of good-will and good feeling once more among these students, and, Sir, these statements are in strong contrast to the utterances which I have read from *La Patrie*, and which are calculated to inflame evil passions and to set one race against the other—if anything that could be written in the English language is so calculated.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). And you are trying to allay it.

Mr. FOSTER. You are very warlike on the other side.

Mr. McNEILL. And now, Mr. Speaker, I do not for my part hesitate to characterize that article in *La Patrie* as a wicked production.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL. Yes, a wicked production penned deliberately for an evil purpose. I say, Sir, that such an article written at such a time is little less than criminal. I speak just what I feel in this matter. I say that the publication of such an article at such a time is little less than a crime against this country. I do not know, Sir, whether President Kruger and his government have been as successful in subsidizing a portion of the press of Canada as they have been successful in subsidizing a portion of the press in almost every other country in the world.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not say that they have; I do not know. Still less do I say that this organ of public opinion, *La Patrie*, is subsidized by President Kruger. But this I do say, without any hesitation or fear of successful contradiction: That for such an article as that, which I have just read, to be circulated at the present moment amongst our French Canadian friends of the province of Quebec, President Kruger and his government would be willing to pay a surprisingly long price. It is calculated admirably—if I can use the word 'admirably' in connection with such an article—it is calculated perfectly to carry out President Kruger's work. It is calculated perfectly to cause dissension and distrust and discord among people of different races and creeds who are living, and who desire to live most happily together. Therefore, I repeat what I said before: That that article is little less than a crime against Canada. I think, Sir, that the country has a right to expect and to ask of the colleagues of the Minister of Public Works—who has been so loudly cheering to-day this article in his organ—this country has a right to expect of his colleagues that they

shall bring such pressure to bear upon him as to make a repetition of this offence impossible. If we are to have a pernicious propaganda of this kind continued, it is very difficult for any one to say what the result may be. I had hoped, Mr. Speaker, to be able to read the translation of an article which appeared in *La Presse*, another French Canadian newspaper, and as *La Presse* has by far the largest circulation of any French Canadian newspaper in the province of Quebec, it may fairly be considered to represent more correctly than any other newspaper the sentiments and feelings of our French Canadian friends. I deeply regret that I am not in a position to read that article. My hon. friend (Mr. Bergeron) beside me, had hoped to be able to place it in my hands, but unfortunately he has not been able to obtain the translation in time. That article in *La Presse* is an article breathing a spirit of kindness and a spirit of good-will, which is such a spirit as we all of us ought desire to inculcate at the present time. I am very sorry, Sir, that the fact that I have thought it right to find fault with the *La Patrie* article which breathes a spirit the very opposite of that, should have caused hon. gentlemen on the other side to suggest that I was actuated by purely party motives in bringing the matter before the House as I have ventured to do.

I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I do not blame my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) for having brought this matter before the House if he so desired, but for my part, I could have wished that he had continued his remarks in the same temper as that in which he commenced them. When he had drawn the attention of the House to this series of deplorable incidents in Montreal, no one could have found fault with my hon. friend if he had continued his remarks in the same calm manner, and for my part I would gladly have welcomed the opportunity thus given the House to, if possible, put an end to this unfortunate condition of things which has been going on for some time past in the country, and of which the events of the last week in Montreal have been the culmination. But, Sir, I believe, that when to-morrow the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) reads his remarks in cold blood, he will have no reason to be proud of himself. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) concluded his remarks with an insinuation, and although he did not dare to make an assertion, he will still have no reason to feel proud of himself that he even insinuated, that the funds of President Kruger were perhaps at the bottom of these troubles. If I were to follow the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) I would say that for my part I believe that if there has been any secret fund behind these unfortunate events which have taken place in

Montreal, this fund did not come from President Kruger, but from a nearer source at home. There is, however, one thing for which I might thank the hon. gentleman, and in which I agree with him. One of the most regrettable things about these unfortunate occurrences, is that the impression may go abroad that there is in the city of Montreal, and in Canada, a divided people, when, in reality, there is no division amongst us, and there ought not to be. I am not disposed, for my part, to attach too much importance to what took place in Montreal, regrettable as it is. I agree with my hon. friend, that we should all be indulgent towards boyish pranks. The first incident that took place was committed by the students of McGill University. I am myself a pupil of McGill University, and have a kindly feeling towards it; and when I read the account of the incident, though I regretted it, I said, 'After all, boys will be boys, for ever.' But, Sir, this demonstrates the danger of playing with fire, and the McGill students went very far in that direction; but, nothing further would have been heard of the incident, if the press of Montreal, notably the *Star*, of the following day, had treated the occurrence as it should have been treated. Instead of that, the *Star* stated that the English students had given to their French compatriots, a good lesson in loyalty. Well, Sir, we can always forgive boys for this sort of thing, or at least, we shall not feel very hard towards them; but when men who ought to be respectable, instead of putting down, with a firm, but gentle hand, such proceedings, rather characterized them as something to be commended, as a lesson in loyalty, certainly there was occasion to be alarmed. It was not at what the McGill students did that the people of Montreal might feel alarmed, but at the comment of such newspapers as the *Star*, which rather encouraged such proceedings, instead of assisting to put them down. This is all the more regrettable because the McGill students did the very thing which was to be expected of them under the circumstances: on the following day, when they saw that they had gone too far, they apologized. Principal Peterson went to the Archbishop, who is the principal of Laval University; and, of course, the end was, as has just been stated by my hon. friend, that the whole thing was a misunderstanding; and after all it should not have gone any further. I wish it had stopped there. Unfortunately, there was a demonstration in the evening. The McGill students commenced the demonstration, but, afterwards, as we all know, the Laval students carried the British flag at their head, sang 'God Save the Queen,' and when they reached Victoria Square, where stands the statue of the Queen, they cheered for Her Majesty. They showed their loyalty to the Queen and the country; but some irrespons-

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

ible parties committed the outrage, because it was nothing else, of tearing down the British flag, and insulting it.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Who did it?

The PRIME MINISTER. I do not know who did it; but I appeal to all men in this country, whatever may be their creed, and whatever may be their differences—I appeal to all Canadians to remember that at this moment, if such an insult has been offered to the British flag, there are Canadians of French blood carrying the flag in South Africa, and they were not behind their fellow-countrymen of British origin in doing their best in the last assault which brought about the capitulation of Cronje at Paardeberg. For my part, I shall not regret these incidents, regrettable as they are, if they bring to an end these deplorable incitements to race hatred which have characterized the press of our country, for the last three months. The hon. gentleman referred to an article which was provoked by these occurrences; but I ask the hon. gentleman to read this article from the *Ottawa Citizen* of this morning, and to tell me what can have caused the penning and publication of such an article. It reads as follows:

Who is to blame?

When some years ago an attempt was made to blow up the monument which certain of the loyal inhabitants of Montreal had caused to be erected to the memory of the hero of Trafalgar, the atrocious act was sought to be excused because it had been done by juveniles. A son of an ex-premier of the province of Quebec was one of those principally concerned in the outrage, and it will be remembered that the father of the youth (the late Hon. Mr. Mercier) went into court with tears in his eyes to plead for his erring son and to enter into bonds for his future good behaviour.

With the recollection of this unpleasant circumstance still before us (for such events are not soon effaced from the memory), we have now to deplore, in connection with all good subjects of the Queen, an act of even greater enormity—committed in the same city and at the hands, again, of French Canadians.

That the national ensign—that glorious Union Jack which stands before all the world for all that is great, noble and free, and under whose folds French Canadians, especially, enjoy a degree of freedom and liberty which would not otherwise be theirs—should have been deliberately torn from its place at the mast-head and trampled under foot by a small army of cheering spectators, constitutes a deed as wanton as it is significant.

It is an act aimed at the honour and dignity of the nation, and which will be felt and deeply resented by every one of the Queen's loyal subjects throughout Her vast empire.

Again, the plea is put forth that this crowning offence was committed by young people; also, that there was provocation. As to the first plea, we have the testimony of eye-witnesses that there were several thousand men present, in addition to the university students, and that these aided and abetted the latter. The other is a paltry excuse, at best, and will not hold water for one minute, for no provocation, how-

ever great, would warrant so grave and so base an act.

It is very evident that the feeling of disaffection to England, which politicians of the Mercier, Laurier and Tarte type have served to engender in the province of Quebec, is bearing fruit, with a vengeance.

It is perhaps as well as the rest of the population should know where these people stand, and what reliance can be placed upon them in a time of emergency.

On similar occasions the policy has been to put up with every indignity and say nothing, lest some one's tender feelings should be hurt; but if we may judge public feeling by what it is in Ottawa at the present moment little consideration of this sort will be shown hereafter.

The 'Citizen' will speak its mind on this as on other national issues, without fear, favour or affection.

I ask my hon. friend, how can we build a nation on this continent if such sentiments are to be uttered and perpetuated? How can we build a nation if the follies of a day, and especially those of days gone by, are recalled for ever and for ever? How can we build a nation unless we learn to forgive if not to forget, and I even say forget? I do not speak of myself, but I ask, why bring up the name of Mr. Mercier, who has been in his grave for five long years? Why should we be reminded at this day of the appeal he made for his son, when, as stated in this article, the father went into court with tears in his eyes, to ask for his delinquent son, justice tempered with mercy, and was ready to give bonds for his future good conduct? What are we to gain, if we for ever cultivate this feeling of hatred of one towards another? I have only to say, in conclusion, that I shall not regret the incidents of last week, if we can from this moment bury them for ever, and, instead of looking at the past, strive to be united for the future.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.). I do not know, Mr. Speaker, whether it will be worth the breath it takes to say it in the commencement of the very few remarks I am going to make, but I cannot see that any circumstances have arisen to call for an imputation of motives in this discussion, which, however, has so far gone on this afternoon in, upon the whole, a most temperate and praiseworthy spirit. I am quite certain that my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill), who brought the matter up, did so from no other motives than those which actuate an honest man, a good citizen, and a representative of the people in this parliament. I am sorry indeed that my right hon. friend rather impugned his motives, or if he did not directly impugn them, seemed to be very suspicious and sceptical of its being possible at all for my hon. friend to have undertaken this matter with an honest, manly and patriotic feeling. That he did so I am fully convinced, and I wish to say also that no other feeling animates me in making a very few remarks in answer to

my right hon. friend. I echo with every fibre of my heart the wish that from this day forward and for ever in this country of ours there could be an everlasting rest given to these questions of race and creed; and, Sir, if there is anything that I could do to cast those questions into oblivion for ever, I would do it and do it immediately. I am glad to be able to say that, in the main, the spirit in which my right hon. friend replied to my hon. friend from Bruce was in conformity with the opinions and sentiments expressed by my hon. friend. But when the right hon. gentleman, after having called my hon. friend to task for having made, as he said, a vague insinuation, that perhaps Kruger's gold was in Canada, suggested that he did not think it was so much Kruger's gold as perhaps the gold of another party, he sadly marred the lesson he sought to give. I am quite sure that my right hon. friend did not feel, and would not express for a single moment, the opinion that Tory gold or Liberal-Conservative gold, the gold of any Canadian, lay at the bottom of these articles, so far as giving them basis and trend is concerned, and I would not go so far as to say that Kruger's gold lay at all of the bottom of that article of *La Patrie*, which is so strongly commended, I am sorry to say, by the hon. Minister of Public Works. When the right hon. gentleman read the article in the *Citizen* and held it forth to this country as a most regrettable utterance, why, in the name of all that is fair, did he not have a single word to say against the article in *La Patrie*? Let me submit those two articles to this House and the country for a clear, calm judgment as to which was the unfair and incendiary one. Both my hon. friends say that the matter was largely a students' fracas. So it was. Students are different from most other people, in their student frolics and their demonstrations, and wherever you find university towns, you find students' processions and wherever you find students' processions and demonstrations, you find them taking a different form from the demonstrations of any other class, and meeting from all classes of the people with a far different reception than would be given the demonstrations of other classes: A certain amount of latitude is given to the students, and if the McGill students availed themselves of that latitude in a boisterous manner, to a certain extent in a rather demonstrative manner, it was still a students' demonstration, and if the students of Laval, when they turned the hose of cold water on the students of McGill, rather surprised and cooled down the ardour of the McGill men, it was still a student's prank, and if it had been allowed to remain there, nothing more would have been said or thought about it the wide country through. They were simply students' demonstrations. I believe, from the bottom of my heart, that McGill and

Laval, taken together, are as good friends to-day as they were before this little fracas took place, and are both loyal and devoted to British connections and the British flag. I will take the disclaimer made by the students of McGill, through their principal, and the disclaimer made by the students of Laval, through their dean, and say that I believe both, and that with regard to the great body of students of both universities, there is no bad blood between them, and they are both honourable students' bodies in the city of Montreal. But what happened? We would not be fair to each other, if we were not frank to each other. Do you know why the article in *La Patrie* is more thought of than the articles of some other papers, not one title so strong? It is because *La Patrie* is known to be the organ of the government, and of the party, and collaborated by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte). It is because *La Patrie* is known, by his own statement, made not more than two weeks ago in this House, to be a paper in which he not only takes a fatherly interest, but a personal interest, going even to the extent, as he said himself, of putting the pan occasionally on the fire, so that he might not forget how to cook the goose. No doubt the goose the hon. gentleman wishes to cook is the Liberal-Conservative goose; but if he puts the pan on the fire many more times, as he has done of late, he may find that he is cooking the wrong goose; the goose of the Liberal Party.

After the first trouble took place between the two university bodies, there was an article by *La Patrie*, on March 1, which was on the whole a most temperate article. It took none too strong a ground, and did not breath all the spirit of the article of the 2nd of March. Let us take the two and read them together and see the marked change.

On March 1, *La Patrie* said:

A band of young men, said to be McGill students and whose members were increased by persons of every age, all more or less excited indulged in most extravagant and regrettable demonstrations this morning, under the pretext of celebrating the delivery of Ladysmith.

What did these gentlemen do?

The mob, to the number of a couple of a thousand, gathered in St. James Street in front of the offices of 'La Presse,' 'Le Journal' and 'La Patrie.' The most violent and overheated among them tried to invade the offices of these three newspapers, shouted at the tops of their voices for the British flag, smashed windows and inflicted other damages, &c. The same crowd proceeded to Laval University, where they attempted to force the doors of that institution, and where, finally, they were satisfied to raise a flag on one of the masts in front of the university.

They were not very insistent, you see. Then, it asks the question as to why this attack on a French Canadian newspaper:

We were asked to fly the English flag from

Mr. FOSTER.

our mast this morning. We raised it of our own free will on the occasion of Cronje's surrender, and we love it well enough to unfurl it at suitable times.

They are perfectly right in doing that.

Such hostile manifestations as those of to-day may have very serious consequences, and they constitute an absolutely unjustifiable provocation. We are also convinced that large-minded and thoughtful Englishmen will be the first to condemn what was done by this handful of individuals this morning under the influence of an over-excitement which, however, they would have done better to control.

Truly, there should be a way of rejoicing over the magnificent success of the relief of Ladysmith by less aggressive, more just and patriotic demonstrations.

Now, nobody, not even a McGill student, will find fault with that statement from *La Patrie*. It was a little severe in the castigation it administered, but it administered castigation not a whit more severe than should have been administered, or than would have been well submitted to without doubt. But something took place to change the tone of *La Patrie*. There is no allusion in this article to the demonstration being a plan of Tory campaign. No political allusion is made in this article at all; it is simply treated as a students' squabble aided by certain persons who attached themselves to the body of students, persons of an irresponsible kind. But, from the first to the last, there is no intimation of it being part of the Tory programme or the result of that programme. Now, what happens in the course of that one night? In the course of that one night somebody cogitates; somebody thinks over the matter; somebody gets instructions, and somebody dips his pen in gall and writes the article of the 2nd of March, an article which is as absolutely indefensible and mischievous as the other was absolutely well conceived and to be approved by every good citizen, no matter what his party or other professions are. But the article of March 2 is very different. Now it is an invasion by a couple thousand men of English origin. Yesterday it was a handful of students at McGill with others. Laval University which was visited and a flag run up on one of the masts at the door; Laval University is now reported as being sacked last night. It was not sacked. A fraternal visit was made by the students of McGill to their brothers of Laval. The students of McGill did not want to be denied a good shake-hands with the students of Laval; and when they could not find them outside, they tried to find them inside. The moment they attempted to find them inside, the students of Laval turned the hose on the others, and the cold water which came upon them in volumes had a considerably modifying effect on the enthusiasm of the crowd. If others were with the students, they were worse than

the students probably; and, in answer to the cold douche from the hose, snowballs were thrown at the windows and some of the windows were smashed. That was not irremediable; a few dollars would pay the shot; and the students of McGill would have been glad to make the damage good. But it was far from a sacking of Laval University. Now comes the new idea:

All this on the part of persons whose programme is evidently that of the newspapers, and of the 'Star' particularly.

For some months past the 'Mail and Empire,' the 'News,' the Hamilton 'Spectator,' and dozens of other Tory papers of lesser importance, have been bellowing against the loyalty of the French Canadians.

Not a word of truth in that paragraph, not one word of truth.

Some of these newspapers have publicly announced that the hour is not far off when there will be an armed invasion of Quebec.

Name them?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I shall name them, and I shall read their utterances by-and-by.

Mr. FOSTER. Let my hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) name them.

Mr. McMULLEN. He will.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman who made such a scene in this House the other day is interrupting me in my speech—the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen). I wish to call your attention to the fact, Mr. Speaker, because I fear if he goes on a repetition—

Mr. McMULLEN. When there is a black-guard addressing the House such as—

Mr. SPEAKER. Perhaps the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) will allow the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster) to proceed.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not understand what my hon. friend (Mr. McMullen) said exactly, but I think I heard a very bad name issue from his mouth.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. The same word as you used the other day.

Mr. FOSTER. However, I do not intend to follow this up at this time. Let the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), as in his newspaper he has stated that the *Mail and Empire*, the *News*, the *Hamilton Spectator*, and dozens of other Tory papers of lesser importance, have been asking for an armed invasion of the province of Quebec, if he can, find one single word to that effect. And if he can find one single utterance, let him stand up as an honest man and say whether he is prepared to state in this House and before the country that that is indicative of the policy of the Tory party. Why, my hon. friend can find the most incendiary utterances on either side from some persons. But if a gentle-

man in this House is going to take any stray utterance on either side as being an indication of the feeling of great parties in this country, how far afield he must go—it is stretching the argument to a perfect absurdity.

The scenes of yesterday—
he says,

—are the result of these appeals to passion.

I want to call his attention to that. Only the day before *La Patrie* said that these events were the result of a number of students, a handful of individuals, who were trying to celebrate the delivery of Lady-smith. Now it is charged to the result of appeals to passion made by the Tory press. Is there any man in this House who believes that the procession of the McGill students or the counter procession of Laval students had anything to do with party politics? No one would have thought of it except some mischievous person who wishes to read into it something that he feels may be beneficial from a party point of view. He goes on:

The saying is, 'forewarned is forearmed.'

This applies to a race, warned as ours has just been, as well as individuals.

Now, I think I am fair in stating that if there have been any strong words expressed in this House, if there have been any strong statements expressed in the Liberal-Conservative newspapers with reference to the action of persons in the government or supporting the government, it has been a criticism with reference to those particular persons and their particular actions and not a criticism of the actions of a race or the feelings of race. And it does seem to be not a brave thing, but the very opposite of a brave thing, for an individual, when he is criticised for an opinion or an action of his own, to attempt to shelter himself by making it appear that his whole race or his whole religion is being attacked. Surely that is only a fair statement of the case, but this article in *La Patrie* wants to bring to the assistance of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), to the assistance of the editor of *La Patrie*, who has made statements that I wish had never been made in this country—wants to bring, if possible, a whole race by making an appeal as if it were the whole race which had been attacked and criticised. Now, surely my right hon. friend will agree with me that we never can push an argument so far as to attempt to implicate a party for the stray assertions of a single member of it, to implicate a race for the action or the policy of a single man who may belong to that race, or belong to that creed. Well, he goes still further. My right hon. friend almost wept when he thought of the indignity, the inhumanity of calling Mr. Mercier from his grave by criticisms of what took

place not many years ago with reference to his son. But, *La Patrie's* article has opened the graves of the men of 1849, laid them wide open, and has sought the occasion of a mere students' jollification and brawl, to open up the sores of a very significant action which took place in 1849. How possibly could any honest, sane man string on to a students' brawl in the city of Montreal the grave questions which led to the occurrences of 1849?

Lord Elgin was all but assassinated in the streets of Montreal because he had consented to render justice to the French Canadians.

And the parallel is drawn that they are being assassinated here in the streets, by what? The machinations, the wiles, the well-laid plans of the Liberal-Conservative or Tory party in this country. How awfully absurd it is! And the strangest thing to my mind is how any man can utter a thing like that and yet stand up amongst reasonable-minded men and hope to get their support. It is really strange how a man will hope to do that sort of thing.

It becomes more and more plain that the Tory spirit of those days still survives in the Tories of to-day.

The students' brawl, the students' processions, the students' little rows amongst themselves, are here translated into a breaking out of the Tory spirit of 1849; and the Tory spirit of 1899, which are equally alike.

We have but to wish for signal vengeance for these insults of which we are the victims.

Now, I will ask the Minister of Public Works if he will be kind enough, as he has the only copy of *La Patrie* that is in the Chamber, I believe, to give us the translation of that.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman has it now; let him read it.

Mr. FOSTER (reading):

Nous n'aurions qu'à le vouloir pour tirer une vengeance éclatante des insultes dont nous sommes les victimes.

That is stronger than the translation; for what does it say:

All we have to do is to wish to draw a signal vengeance for the insults of which we are the victims.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. But we did not advise it.

Mr. FOSTER. 'Did not advise it.' Will my hon. friend hide himself and his party behind a subterfuge like that? You whisper into the ear of a would-be assassin that to-morrow night, at midnight, at a certain place, would be a good time to do his deed, and then you stand up before honest men and say: I did not advise him to do it.

Mr. FOSTER.

You, standing out as the mentor and leader of public opinion, standing out as the Minister of Public Works, behind that leader of opinion, you offer the awful temptation, the awful incentive: All that needs to be done, as we are in a majority in the city of Montreal, is but to express the wish for signal vengeance, and it will be done. My hon. friend cannot hide himself behind the assertion that he did not wish it in so many plain words. In the French language nothing could be stronger than these words. If that was not what the writer had in view, why pen those words, why precede them by saying to the people: You are in the majority, and then to follow them by saying: All we have to do is to wish vengeance, and it will be done.

We do not advise such an anti-national policy.

And there the hon. gentleman thought to save himself and thus to save his paper. What comes next from a law-abiding citizen, from a man in a British country, from a gentleman who lives in a well-ordered city, where there is a mayor, where there are police, where there is the strong arm of the law, and where any students' brawl, or a greater than a students' brawl can be fully coped with by justice and the machinery of justice in a strong city like Montreal? What does he do? Howls for mob law, just as you would expect in the State of Kentucky. What does he say? Not call upon the police to do their duty, not ask the authorities of Montreal to see that the streets are kept clear, not invoke the power of the militia if it were necessary to see that the peace is maintained—nothing of the kind. But the hon. gentleman and his newspaper attempt to do—what? They attempt to subvert and overwhelm the civil law in the city of Montreal and to ask men, as we have just read in the preceding paragraph, to take the law into their own hands, to use force against force. What is it in French:

Mais nous conseillons, par exemple, l'organisation et la résistance, la résistance vigoureuse à des scènes comme celles d'hier.

But we do advise, for instance, the organization of resistance, of vigorous resistance, to such scenes as those of yesterday.

I have read other French newspapers with which *La Patrie* wishes to ally itself, but French newspapers of too high a standing and too great a responsibility to ally themselves with *La Patrie* for these purposes—I have read these newspapers, and any gentleman who has read them cannot but be struck with the spirit of fair-play, and tolerance, and discretion, with which they treat the question. Not so *La Patrie*. *La Patrie* says: Organize. And they did organize; and they came up that night, and the newspapers tell us that they were organized. Not the students merely, but

thousands of men with all kinds of instruments, whatever they could get, and we know from what took place that revolvers were in the crowd as well. Would it not have been far better if *La Patrie* and the Minister of Public Works had said: Mr. Mayor, you have police in the city of Montreal; keep the streets clear, keep the crowds moving, and keep damage from being done. That would have been a fair appeal to law and order. But the hon. gentleman was fanning prejudice, he was calling down to purloins for what he could get therefrom; and he told them in so many words: Bring your bludgeons, bring your weapons, and organize a defence, and go for those fellows. That is the law-abiding spirit of the Minister of Public Works, who to-day, in this House, has made himself responsible for every sentence which was uttered by *La Patrie*, and done it in the most violent way by cheering utterances such as were read one after the other. But he goes still further. He wants to have a crisis all by himself, and so he declares that we are within two steps of civil war. Why, it is a wonder that this House does not break out into loud laughter. Within two steps of civil war! Because Laval and McGill have a more or less friendly scrimmage, tear down some newspaper boards, throw some cold water and break some windows while the operation is going on. Within two steps of civil war! Is the mayor of the city of Montreal here this afternoon? If he were, he could not contain himself for laughing, because he knows that the civil authority in Montreal, backed by the English-speaking people, and backed by the French-speaking people of Montreal, is quite sufficient to keep any of these little insignificant brawls from having the first appearance of leading to a civil war. Ah, but the hon. Minister of Public Works and his paper, are not satisfied unless they do something heroic, so, now, as the hon. gentleman held before an admiring audience once, his order in council, in which there was that 'no precedent,' and said: See what I have; now he holds up the treaty of confederation and says—what does he say?

Little need be added to what has already taken place to cause the treaty of confederation to be torn up without much delay.

That is certainly the climax of absurdity. What I protest against is this: I protest, in the first place, against making out of this trivial thing, a matter of national importance. It is not necessary and there is no basis upon which to warrant it. What I protest against, in the name of my party, in the name of fair-play, in this Dominion of Canada, is against that most mischievous attempt to make the Liberal-Conservative party responsible for a students' brawl, and the breaking of some windows, which resulted from it. It is not fair; it is not

honest party warfare. It will not appeal to the people of this broad country, and it does not appeal to the hon. gentlemen who sit in this House to-day. There are hot heads in every party, there are enthusiasts in every religious creed, there are warm-blooded people in every race, and if we took the expressions which come now and again from these in a mixed country, and with a mixed people, how would we get along if we treated these as being the expressions of the will of the majority in such cases? Surely, we will not make that mistake. As a contrast to what was written by *La Patrie*, let me read what *La Presse* has said. *La Presse* was assailed on the same day and was one of the three newspaper offices which my hon. friend's paper talks about. What does *La Presse* suggest? The breaking up of confederation? The introduction of civil war? The repetition of '49? No, what does *La Presse* say with reference to this incident:

'*La Presse*' has time and again condoned and made light of the freaks of our students; it makes no exception of those which occurred this morning, notwithstanding that they were played at its own expense. Our paper has not hoisted a flag for several years back, for the simple reason that there is no flagstaff to our building.

How serious *La Presse* is in this great national crisis! But, it is, I suppose, that *La Presse* has no conscience or feeling; it does not know that this great crisis is on, that we are within two steps of civil war and that the confederation treaty is about being torn into tatters. Poor *La Presse*; some one ought to go down and point out the importance of the question.

Had any respectable citizen suggested to us the propriety of hanging out some emblem of rejoicing, at any point whatsoever of our premises, the suggestion would have been most cordially received and carried out by us, for nothing could have been more in accordance with our own sentiments and deep convictions than to manifest every sign of rejoicing for the relief of Ladysmith. We consider General White, who so long held out against overwhelming forces in a weakly fortified town, such as Ladysmith, to be a veritable hero, deserving of universal praise and admiration.

As to the idea of going into ecstasies of rejoicing over the final march, most creditably accomplished, by General Buller, the English nation is too great and too powerful to manifest, even for an instant, so hungry a craving for success. It is too well accustomed to the success of its soldiers for that. It would not take many such sermons on loyalty as that of to-day to make us regret being bound by it. We would have resisted to the death against the horde of lunatics—

A horde of lunatics, *La Presse* says. It is, according to *La Patrie*, the whole Tory party; but *La Presse* says it was a horde of lunatics.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). That may be the same thing.

Mr. FOSTER. 'That may be the same thing,' the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), says. That will depend upon who is doing the translating.

—who dared to issue a brutal word of command. We are as jealous of our liberty—that is to say as 'British' as any other English subject, and we are as much the master in our own home as the 'bulldog' in his yard.

When the excitement was over and the crowd dispersed we did not hesitate for a moment to exercise our free will to reiterate to the public, by an act easily accomplished, the assurance of a loyalty which not one of our English fellow-citizens has ever called in question. To persist through mere obstinacy in refusing to give any outward sign of our inward sympathy would have been equivalent answering one gross act of rudeness by another equally rude. The interest of public order must outweigh resentment for a silly provocation.

Now, if *La Patrie* had treated the matter in about the same manner as *La Presse*, we would never have heard anything about confederation being torn in two, about being within a step of civil war; we would not have had all these heroics, and, above all, we would not have had any such silly thing put forth, as that this little disturbance was due to a deep laid plot, all laid out by Tory hands on well ascertained principles. The absurdity which clings to this whole matter ought to be sufficient to make us, and the McGill students, the Laval students, the people of Montreal, and the people of Canada, pass the whole thing over in a right good laugh and think no more about it.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Mr. Speaker, I have no right to attribute motives to hon. gentlemen opposite, but, to any impartial observer, it looks very much as if some of the hon. gentlemen, on the other side of the House, had been animated by the same motives that have animated those who organized the demonstrations in the city of Montreal. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) has asked us not to pay any great attention to what he calls a little frolic between students and students. The facts as they occurred are these: Before 10 o'clock, before business hours, a crowd of about 2,000 men, headed by the McGill students appeared opposite the three French newspapers, *La Patrie*, *Le Journal* and *La Presse*. It is no use saying that the students of McGill were alone. There were about 2,000 of all ages, headed—I say it again—by the students of McGill. They first invaded *La Patrie* office and they asked the British flag to be raised. The British flag had been raised the day that Commandant Cronje had surrendered, and it was going to be raised again on *La Patrie* in honour of the relief of Ladysmith. There was within the precincts of *La Patrie* a judge, who, when he was in politics, I may say, belonged to the Conservative side, and who is a personal friend of mine.

Mr. FOSTER.

He told my sons: 'For the sake of your father, raise the flag immediately, because he will be accused of being a disloyal man if you do not do it at once.' I may say that if I had been there, or if any gentleman on the other side of the House had been there, and had been threatened in such a way, I would not have raised anything and no gentleman opposite would have raised it under such circumstances.

Mr. FOSTER. You would have raised Cain.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I would have been killed outright before giving in under such threats, and I believe my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) would have done the same thing. I would have raised the flag, of course, of my own free will, but not under such threats. However, the flag was raised on *La Patrie* and the crowd proceeded to *Le Journal*. They did not make any distinction of party politics; they were going for every French newspaper. The *Journal* raised its flag. In the meantime *La Presse* had had time to barricade their doors, and when my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) speaks of these little incidents he does not know the facts. The doors of *La Presse* were actually broken in and the men of *La Presse* knocked down several of the invaders with iron bars in resisting the attempt to break into their office. That is just what took place. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) may belittle such an incident; he may, as one of the leaders of the House, encourage future riots by belittling such incidents and saying there is nothing in it. I do not belong to that class of men. The majority of this parliament does not belong to that class of men who will encourage the invasion of private property by anybody. Whether we are English or French, I suppose we have equal claims to the protection of the law. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) has quoted two articles, one from *La Presse* and one from *La Patrie*, written after the incidents which I have just referred to. Two hours after the invasion of the French papers the same crowd proceeded to Laval University. Will my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) say that they did right in that and that they were only playing childish pranks? Will he say from his place in parliament that these men, whether they were English or French, were doing right in that? Sir, nobody will say so, and yet my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) encouraged them and tells them there is nothing in it. I say that that crowd in invading private property was committing a crime against civilization and against law. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) is surprised at the article that has been quoted. The article was written under those circumstances. In the evening a crowd of people headed by students from McGill proceeded to Laval University, carrying arms, carrying sticks,

carrying iron bars, and frozen potatoes in their pockets. There were bushels of frozen potatoes found on the grounds.

Mr. FOSTER. Were they Conservative potatoes?

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). If they were, they were not fit to eat.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I suppose they had been grown in a Conservative garden. As I have said, they proceeded to Laval University and they tried again to break in the doors. There were policemen inside who had made up their minds not to shoot at those who were invading private property, but decided to pour cold water on them. That is a kind of warfare which my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) should appreciate. The policemen on the inside repelled the invasion with cold water, but the policemen on the outside were obliged to use sticks and batons and arms. There were several shots fired through the windows of Laval University. There was not a whole pane of glass in the university the day after. The whole place was sacked, and yet my hon. friend was surprised that *La Patrie* wrote the article that has been quoted. I am very glad that the hon. gentleman from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) quoted the article, and I stand here to say from my seat in parliament, that there is not a man who has any courage in his heart who would permit the invasion of his property without defending himself. If there is any man who is prepared to stand quietly by with his two arms folded, when his property is being ruined, I am not that man by any means. Well, Sir, it is true that *La Patrie* has written as follows:

If we wished we could draw a signal vengeance from the insults of which we have been the victims. We do not advise that anti-national policy.

Put the two things together, please.

But we advise the organization of resistance, of a serious resistance, to scenes such as these of yesterday.

Where is the harm in that, Mr. Speaker. Is it not the duty of a newspaper, for instance, to organize resistance to an invasion of its property such as this which took place. So much is that the fact, that *La Presse*, and *Le Journal* and *La Patrie* the day after had armed men in their offices ready to defend their own property. Were they wrong or were they right?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Right.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. *La Patrie* advises this and I do not dissent in any way from that advice. If the *Star* newspaper, which is the organizer of this demonstration—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Yes, I say it on my responsibility as a minister of the Crown, that the *Star* newspaper sent flags to the McGill students—

Mr. DAVIN. May I be permitted to ask—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Yes, the *Star* sent flags, and it is from Dominion Square, where the *Star* had paid for dozens and dozens of tar barrels, that the demonstration started to invade Laval University. Let the fact be known, let the truth be known as it is.

Mr. MILLS. Is it a crime to put up the British flag?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order; sit down.

Mr. QUINN. Will the minister allow me to ask him a question?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I do not wish to be interrupted any further while I am making my speech.

Mr. QUINN. I have simply a question to ask.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Quinn) cannot interrupt unless the hon. member who has the floor permits him.

Mr. QUINN. Unless he wishes I shall not ask.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Sit down.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Quinn) raise a point of order?

Mr. QUINN. I wish to ask a question.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. If the hon. gentleman does not raise a point of order, I do not wish to be interrupted.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. member (Mr. Tarte) declines to allow the hon. member to ask a question, there is no alternative.

Mr. QUINN. Mr. Speaker—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order; sit down.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member (Mr. Quinn) has no right to the floor unless he wishes to raise a point of order.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I do not wish to be interrupted.

Mr. QUINN. I simply wish to ask a question.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member cannot go on unless he is raising a point of order. I must ask him to take his seat.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I was proceeding to say that it was on Dominion Square that the *Star* organized a demonstration of its own by burning barrels of tar. The *Star* would give a great deal to see the British flag torn down in

the city of Montreal, and I am only sorry that one man has been found foolish enough in that great city to commit such an outrage. Allusion has been made to these articles, and it has been said that Kruger with his treasury has invaded Canada. This insinuation does not deserve an answer at the hands of anybody. I altogether decline to allow public opinion to remain under the impression that there was any difficulty whatever between the students of McGill and the students of Laval. It is not the case. After the unfortunate occurrences in which the McGill students took part, the Laval students met and decided to make a peaceful demonstration. What did they do? They took an English flag and carried it at the head of their procession; they proceeded to the statue of the Queen on Victoria Square and there cheered Her Gracious Majesty. They did not do anything else, and it was in return for that peaceful demonstration that their university was invaded and sacked. The responsibility for that rests on the shoulders of whom it may. The students of Laval have not broken any doors. They have not invaded the property of any private citizens. They have paraded in the streets; they have made a demonstration, as it was their right to do; they have not done anything else. In the evening of Friday, a crowd of people organized and paraded the streets. They went to the *Star* office. The *Star* is looked upon by the citizens of Montreal and by many members of this House at the present time as one of the most dangerous enemies of this country. It is disappointed at not having carried the elections in 1896, and God knows that Mr. Hugh Graham was not very far from us a month before the election took place. There are living witnesses who know that he was trembling in the balance, not knowing on which side to throw his influence; but when he saw that the Roman Catholic clergy were trying to coerce the province of Quebec at the request of the leader of the opposition, he thought that we were lost, and went to the other side, and the leader of the opposition promised him the realm of the world. Since then he has found that the province of Quebec is inhabited by disloyal men. Well, Sir, the crowd went to the *Star* office. Unfortunately, a foolish man took down the British flag. Why did he do so? He should have known that the flag belongs just as much to him as it belongs to any other man. The English flag is my flag as well as the flag of the hon. gentleman opposite; and it is to all who love the English flag that I appeal to-day to help us to put an end to the dangerous agitations which prevail in this country. I am sure, Sir, that the insult was not meant to the British flag; it was meant to the *Star*. All the same, the outrage has been committed; and in the name of my

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countrymen, if it is one of them who has done it, I beg most humbly to apologize. As soon as I learned that such an outrage had been committed, I dictated through the telephone on Saturday, the following article, for which I am myself responsible:

Respect to the British Flag.

As much as we deplore the criminal acts committed on Thursday by the students of McGill University and those who accompanied them, as much we protest against the indescribable conduct of those who have gone to the 'Star' offices and have seized upon the British flag to trample it under their feet. For the British flag must be sacred to every citizen of this country, whatever his origin or his religious creed may be. It is the emblem of the Canadian nation, because we form part of the empire, and anybody who stains the British flag renders himself guilty of an attempt against which it is the duty of all good citizens to protest with all the energy of which they are capable. We would have nothing to say against a demonstration made by our countrymen to protest against the outrages of which they were the victims on Thursday. But was it necessary for this protestation to be accompanied by insults to Her Majesty? For an insult to the British flag is an insult to the Queen herself. We are happy to say that the students of Laval University are not at all responsible for this attempt. They carried at the head of their procession the British flag, and in passing Victoria Square they cheered for our gracious Sovereign. Unfortunately, the telegraph has already carried to England and elsewhere the sinister news that they are students of a French university who have trampled upon the British flag. The moral of all this is that it is necessary at once to put an end to any demonstration. The old and ambitious man who leads the opposition and his chief organ, the 'Star,' will bear before history the responsibility of everything that has happened. These are they who have denounced the French Canadians to the hatred of their countrymen of other origins, and have provoked the scenes of vandalism which were perpetrated on Thursday.

Mr. FOSTER. That is your own writing.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Yes, and I am holding myself fully responsible for it. Was I right or was I wrong?

Mr. MONTAGUE. As I understand, the hon. gentleman does not object to the article.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I wish to proceed without being interrupted, if possible.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I am not interrupting.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) has a very short memory for history and facts. A few days ago I had the honour to read to the House the following article from a well-known and recognized organ

of my hon. friends opposite—the *News*, of Toronto. The *News* is the evening edition of the *Mail*, a paper most widely circulated and well known as one of the accredited organs of the Tory party. What did the *News* say?

Mr. CLARKE. What is the date?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. This article appeared in the month of October:

We can tell Mr. Tarte and his friends and co-adjutors that the people of this province are thinking hard just now. They are opening their eyes to the true character of their French neighbours, and are forming conclusions that will have their fruition sooner or later in depriving French Canadians of the special privileges granted them by the Treaty of Paris.

My hon. friend is pleased with that.

Mr. FOSTER. How do you know?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No one on the other side has ever said a word against it or disclaimed it either in the press or parliament.

Unless the British Canadians of this province are cravens, they will not tolerate a condition of subjection to the French Canadians; and if, through the ballot-box there is no redress, they will find other means of emancipating themselves from the domination of an inferior people that peculiar circumstances have placed in authority in the Dominion.

Mr. CLARKE. Is that—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. CLARKE. Read the whole of it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. ex-Minister of Finance has in his own province an organization directed by Mr. Hetherington, who, if I am not mistaken, is the paid organizer of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. FOSTER. Would the hon. gentleman allow me? He knows that I have just spoken and cannot speak again. He knows that I challenged him, when he had the opportunity of replying, to make good his assertion the other day and he refused to do it. Will the hon. gentleman leave that until he and I have an opportunity to fight it out if he dares.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Neither the right fist nor the left fist of the hon. gentleman has ever frightened me.

Mr. FOSTER. Will my hon. friend—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman knows that he has often spoken after me, when I had not the right to reply to him at once.

Mr. FOSTER. You are brave when behind—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. gentleman will have more than one opportunity to answer other allegations besides these. The hon. gentleman has never denied and will not, either here or elsewhere, that Mr. Hetherington is the organizer of his party in New Brunswick. It is a well known fact.

Mr. FOSTER. It is not a fact. My hon. friend is very brave when he is up on his kopje. Let him come into the open field.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I did not interrupt my hon. friend when he was speaking. He does not stand fire well.

Mr. SPEAKER. I would suggest to the hon. gentleman to go on with his speech. The ex-Minister of Finance has denied that Mr. Hetherington is the representative of the Conservative party.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. If he denies that Mr. Hetherington has anything to do with the organization of New Brunswick, I will accept his statement. But in the hon. gentleman's county, Queen's county, he is the organizer.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. He cannot deny it.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I will proceed with my statement anyhow. Here are affidavits which speak for themselves.

Mr. FOSTER. May I ask my hon. friend one question?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. FOSTER. As a courtesy.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. FOSTER. Let me put one question.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Not now.

Mr. SPEAKER. Will hon. gentlemen please come to order and allow the hon. minister to proceed.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I think the hon. gentleman is becoming restless. He does not like to hear the truth.

Mr. FOSTER. How long will it be before you go to Paris?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, to see that order is maintained. Here is the first affidavit, dated November 11, 1899, given by Mr. Samuel E. Macdonald:

I, Samuel E. Macdonald, of the parish of Brunswick, in the county of Queen's, and province of New Brunswick, farmer, do solemnly declare that at a meeting called by having no-

tices posted in different parts of the county, stating that said meeting was in the interests of the Liberal-Conservative party, and would be addressed by Mr. Tilley, a barrister of St. John; also by Mr. H. B. Hetherington, of Queen's. Another speaker was advertised to speak, but only Hetherington and Tilley appeared; and while the speeches delivered all tended to show that the Liberal party were disloyal as a whole, H. B. Hetherington said that the next election 'would not be run on political lines, but that the question would be between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and if war was ever declared between France and England, the people here of the lower provinces would have to shoulder their muskets and go up to Quebec to fight the French Canadians before we could help England. And that the Liberal party were giving the Catholics all the offices in the gift of the Crown now, or nearly so, that is to say, out of thirty offices in the city of St. John in the gift of the government, twenty-eight Roman Catholics and two Protestants were appointed. Mr. Hetherington, in condemning the Roman Catholics, said that Police Magistrate Ritchie, of St. John, who is a Roman Catholic, was never known to make an honest decision in court when he had a Protestant to deal with. Both Mr. Tilley and Mr. H. B. Hetherington, while speaking, were advocating the nomination and election of Geo. E. Foster in the constituency of Sunbury and Queen's; and H. B. Hetherington, in closing his speech, produced a pledge calling it the Geo. E. Foster Club, the signers of which were pledged to work for the nomination and election of Geo. E. Foster in the electoral district of Sunbury and Queen's. And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the Canada Evidence Act of 1893.

SAMUEL E. MACDONALD.

Declared at Brunswick, in the county of Queen's, and province of New Brunswick, the 2nd day of December, A.D. 1899.

Before me,

SILAS S. CLARKE.

And this is another declaration:

I, Frank E. Clark, of the parish of Brunswick, in the county of Queen's, and province of New Brunswick, farmer, do solemnly declare that at a political meeting held in the parish of Brunswick, and in the county of Queen's, on November 11, in the interest of the Liberal-Conservative party, and addressed by Mr. Tilley, of the city of St. John, son of Sir Leonard Tilley, and Horton B. Hetherington, of Queen's County, and while the speeches went to show that the Liberal party were not capable of administering and carrying on the affairs of the Dominion as they should be, they also went to show that the Liberal party were not as loyal as they should be. H. B. Hetherington stated that the next Dominion elections would not be run on political lines altogether, but that the fight would be between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. He said that some people would say, 'do not raise a religious cry,' but he (Hetherington) thought it was time a religious cry was raised, as the present government were filling up every office of importance with Roman Catholics as far as possible. He also stated that if England and France had ever occasion to go to war with each other, the people of the lower provinces would have to shoulder their muskets and go up to Quebec to fight the French Canadians, as

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they would not stand by the motherland in time of war with France. Hetherington stated that it was very likely that the Hon. Geo. E. Foster would contest the united counties of Queen's and Sunbury in the interests of the Liberal-Conservative party at the next Dominion election, and before taking his seat he produced and read a pledge to the meeting; he called it the George E. Foster Club. He asked all the electors that were willing to vote, work and do all that was in their power to secure the election of George E. Foster in the united counties of Queen's and Sunbury, to come forward and sign it, and then Hetherington ended one of the wildest and slangiest political harangues ever delivered in the parish of Brunswick. And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it has the same force and effect as if made under oath, and by virtue of the Canada Evidence Act of 1893.

FRANK E. CLARKE.

And here is another:

I, Amos B. Curry, of the parish of Brunswick, of the county of Queen's, and province of New Brunswick, farmer, do solemnly declare that Horton B. Hetherington, in addressing a political meeting in the parish of Brunswick, county of Queen's, on the evening of November 11, in the interest of the Hon. George E. Foster, stated that at the next Dominion election the issue would not be Liberal or Conservative, free trade or protection, but the fight would be between the Protestants and Roman Catholics; and should ever a war take place between England and France, the people of the lower provinces would have to shoulder their muskets, and go up to Quebec to fight the French Canadians, as the French Canadians were not loyal. Some people say, 'do not raise a religious cry,' but he (Hetherington) thought it was high time that the religious cry was raised, as the Roman Catholics were being appointed to every office of importance. Before the close of the meeting, Mr. Hetherington produced and read a pledge asking the electors to sign, pledging themselves to vote and work for the Hon. George E. Foster, and do all they could to secure the election of the Hon. George E. Foster for the county of Queen's. And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing it to be true, knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath and by virtue of the Canada Evidence Act, 1893.

AMOS B. CURRY.

Declared at Brunswick, in the county of Queen's, and the province of New Brunswick, this 1st day of December 1899, before me, Silas T. Clarke, a justice of the peace in and for the county of Queen's.

I heard an hon. gentleman asking: What has this to do with the Montreal incident? It has everything to do with it, Sir. For, from British Columbia to the easternmost parts of Prince Edward Island, nearly every Tory paper is making appeals on the same line. We are not blind—

Mr. FOSTER. Quote them.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS—we can read and write—

Mr. FOSTER. I want the hon. gentleman to give the quotations.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Sit down.

Mr. FOSTER. I want the hon. gentleman to give these quotations.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. FOSTER. I want the quotations.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Let the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) keep the peace, if he can. He is making a very bad exhibition of himself. He is a leader in this parliament. He has already stood stronger speeches than I am making. I am making a very moderate speech; I am reading sworn documents. Let the hon. gentleman swallow them. This has everything to do, as I said, with the Montreal incident. It is a well known fact, for instance, that the hon. member for West York has been all through the country denouncing my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), because there is in Canada an ablegate from Rome. He has done that and more. I know, Sir, that there has been a kind of pass-word sent about, according to the sworn statements that I have read before the House. The flag that hon. gentlemen opposite are raising is the racial flag. They are trying to turn the tables upon us by misquoting articles from the French newspapers. They trust to the fact that the English population do not read French, and they can lie as much as they will. Sir, I quite echo the sentiments that have fallen from the lips of the right hon. the Prime Minister, when he stated that, perhaps, it was not so bad after all, that these disturbances had occurred. We regret them. I am glad to say that all the good citizens of the city of Montreal and the province of Quebec regret them deeply. I was in Montreal yesterday. I met scores of friends of English origin. They all shook me by the hand and they all expressed their deep regret at what the students from McGill University had done. And, Sir, I did not hesitate very long in expressing my deep and sincere regret that there should be a man, whether French or not, who dared to trample upon the British flag. I hope all men without distinction of political party, all men worthy of being British citizens, will in future unite in trying to put an end to that racial cry. As I said elsewhere, my countrymen fully understand that, they cannot go to live outside of Canada, they cannot trek elsewhere. This land is their land as much as it is the land of any one else. They were the first to come here, and they intend to stand by the old land. Sir, it is not true that I have ever raised the racial cry in the country. I say before my countrymen and before this House, that the accusation is an infamous contradiction of my whole career. I may have made mistakes, but I am a Britisher

by conviction, and, I may add, by sentiment. My forefathers fought for their liberty against British soldiers; but when the battle was over and when our liberties were granted to us, we forgot everything. We are to-day happy to live side by side with our fellow-countrymen of other origins. I say again that the charge is not true. My hon. friends opposite, have made a dead set against me. The hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) is laughing. Sir, while I was lying on what might have been my death bed on the other side of the ocean, he was weak enough—and he will regret it, I am sure, because he is not so bad at heart—he was weak enough to say that I had fled from this country. And three days ago the *Citizen* had an article stating that last year I had fled, and that I was prepared to fly again. God knows why I went away from the House last year; all the House knows that if I had delayed a few weeks longer, perhaps I would not be here to-day. Everybody knows that I had a very narrow escape with my life. Yes, Sir, I say that hon. gentlemen opposite have made a dead set against me. It is for that reason that I am in my seat to-day, because I will not go out of parliament, I will not allow hon. gentlemen to lie me out of parliament; they cannot do it. Otherwise, I say again, I would have no desire to remain, my tastes are elsewhere, but I will not allow them to drive me away by lies.

Mr. BENNETT. We want you to stay.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. The hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) cheers because I said I would stay here.

Mr. BENNETT. Yes, I am glad you are going to stay.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, I am glad to, because I am face to face with those who accuse me, and I am prepared here to defend every action of mine. I am not prepared to stand by everything that Tom, Dick and Harry may write; but articles I write myself, articles to which I put my hand, I will stand by. The hon. member for East Simcoe will perhaps hear from me later on. He likes to see me in the House, and I hope he will like to see me in his own riding.

Mr. BENNETT. Your private secretary was there last election.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I was never there; if I had been there, the hon. gentleman certainly would not be here now. Mr. Speaker, I must apologize for speaking so long. I did not expect to speak at all to-day. Again, Sir, if any more apology is necessary, permit me to apologize for the insult that has been offered to the British flag. Let all the citizens of this

country, let our English friends from all the provinces, understand well that we stand shoulder to shoulder with them. We are not obliged to hold all their views, and they are not obliged to hold all our views; but we have all the same obligation, that is, to be true to this Canada of ours, and, I add, without a moment's hesitation, to be true to that great British Empire in which we are all happy to live.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). I do not know whether the hon. gentleman who has taken his seat is more amusing in his paroxysms of loyalty than in his other paroxysms; certainly the exhibition that we have had here is a melancholy epilogue to what was on the whole a desirable prologue. But, there is one thing the hon. gentleman said which I must refer to. The moment the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) rises up, we have the same note sounded that has been sounded in *La Patrie*. Now, Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman has accused my hon. friend, the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), of raising the racial cry, and what does he do? He immediately shows that that is precisely what he has done, is doing, and will do himself. And when challenged by the ex-Minister of Finance to substantiate a statement that he had made on the floor of the House, that racial cries had been raised by Liberal-Conservatives, he reads what I will show to have been untruthful affidavits. The hon. gentleman has left the Chamber. Well, I am not surprised that he runs away, because I do not think that courage was the quality that distinguished the conclusion of the speech of the Minister of Public Works; I think, if it was parliamentary, I might use a positive expression, giving him credit for something the very antithesis of that. Now, here is a portion of a letter from Mr. H. B. Hetherington, respecting these false statements and these false affidavits which have been read by the Minister of Public Works:

In respect to myself, I am so strongly opposed to a religious or race agitation in Canadian politics that I have not failed to denounce that sort of thing in every political address that I have delivered, always being careful to avoid any language that would reflect on any man's religious belief. I have frequently addressed audiences with a fair proportion of Catholics present, and if the government press can find a single Catholic in King's or Sunbury County who will say that I attacked their religion in any way, shape or manner, I will do just what the Kingites have been boasting that they would make me do, retire from the public platform. Moreover, I will deliver my Brunswick address before any Acadian audience, and if they find anything insulting to their race (unless they consider Laurier and Tarte to be the sum total of their race), I will agree to vote for the government at the next election.

I can assure the public that no race or reli-

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gious agitation is needed in Queen's County, so far as the Liberal-Conservative party is concerned, and the only one that exists is a sickly mental mirage called into existence by government heelers for the purpose of adding fuel to Mr. Tarte's anti-Protestant and anti-British campaign in Quebec, which campaign must be having little effect, else there would be no need of resorting to such desperate expedients as the affidavits of government officials to give it some force and effect. A drowning man grasps at a straw, and a falling government appropriates the methods of the American yellow press to retain power.

I have in my hand, also, the report of the meeting that took place in Queen's County where Mr. Hetherington spoke. I wish the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) would speak in a lower tone, or if he wants to conduct that prayer meeting, in which he is engaged, he would retire, because, every word that he says comes to my ear. I would make the same request of my hon. and learned friend (Mr. Morrison).

Taking up the question of the now famous (or infamous) affidavits, Mr. Hetherington said they were false. He understood that they had been sent to Quebec and were being struck off in thousands for the purpose of making political capital in favour of Mr. Tarte. He thought it was a prudent thing to send them out of the province, for any one in the province who knew the men who made the affidavits, or the magistrate who swore them, would not be impressed by them. They could expect the statements to have a greater value among strangers. What he had really said was that the men who were trying to raise the race and religious cry in the country were supporters of the government; that Mr. Tarte especially was trying to stir up religious and race strife in Quebec for political purposes; and he (Hetherington) had never stated that a man of French descent should not be Prime Minister of Canada.

There is what he said in the hearing of persons most of which would have attended other meetings and all of whom would know what he said and the language he used. I have an affidavit in my hand, signed by eight electors, and it reads as follows:—

We, the undersigned electors of the parish of Brunswick, in the county of Queen's and province of New Brunswick, hereby make oath and say:

1. We were at the organizing meeting addressed by Horton B. Hetherington and L. P. D. Tilley on the evening of the 11th day of November, 1899.

2. To the best of our knowledge and belief, Horton B. Hetherington did not make any attack on the Roman Catholic Church or religion.

3. Horton B. Hetherington did not assail the French race in any way.

4. Horton B. Hetherington did not say that the Liberal-Conservative party intended to contest the next Dominion election on the Catholic and Protestant issue.

5. We are members of the George E. Foster Club, and there is no religious test of any kind in connection with that organization, nor is it

carrying on any kind of a religious agitation or anti-Catholic crusade.

(Signed)

HANFORD A. RYDER,
W. A. FOWLIE,
AARON B. CLARK,
ISAAC B. CROMWELL,
DAVID K. BEACH,
ARTHUR C. BEACH,
S. S. CHAMPMAN,
HORATIO A. FOWLER.

Sworn before me this 6th day of January, A.D. 1900.

(Signed) JOSEPH S. BEACH, J.P.

That disposes of the affidavits of the hon. Minister of Public Works and of the assertions respecting what took place there. But, what, Sir, is the argument of the hon. Minister of Public Works? He reads, and he does not read ingenuously, from an alleged article in the *News*, one or two sentences, and when asked by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke), to read the whole article, he does not do so. He reads from that paper, for what purpose? To show that it suggests strife and to condemn it. What is the meaning of that? If an irresponsible writer in the *News*, in Toronto, is to be condemned, if an unknown writer in the *Citizen* of to-day is to be condemned, as the right hon. Prime Minister said, what is to be said of *La Patrie*? What is to be said of the hon. Minister of Public Works? And the curious spectacle that we had before us to-day is this: The right hon. Prime Minister got up and expressed himself in proper terms respecting the deplorable occurrences which took place in the city of Montreal, and then he read, with his usual oratorical emphasis, and attached all the importance he could to it, an article from the *Citizen*, and he condemned that article in the *Citizen*, but not one word had he to say of the article in *La Patrie*, one of the most infamous articles that ever appeared in any newspaper. The moment I mentioned *La Patrie* the hon. Minister of Public Works left the Chamber. That is an occurrence to which we are accustomed. We are accustomed to hear ministers make speeches, and when we rise to reply they dart out and dart in, and their flying coat-tails are about all that we see. When the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) was reading this atrocious article in *La Patrie*, the hon. Minister of Public Works challenged the translation of one sentence, and he said that he would give the translation as it should be translated, but I put it to the House if he ever said a word about that sentence. No, he skipped it, and when I rose to ask him if he would translate that sentence he would not allow me to ask him the question: he shook his head, and then his cowardly followers—however, I suppose though used in a general way, that is not parliamentary, and I will withdraw it—well, his courageous followers cheered him to the echo when he fell back

behind the ramparts of parliamentary rules to shield himself from the exposure that he would undoubtedly have received. I know something of French, and I say that the translation, as it was read by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), substantially bears out the language as it appeared. The hon. minister says that he could have vengeance if he liked, and he goes on to counsel them not to take vengeance, but he says: Organize and be prepared, put yourselves in a position to fight, if necessary, but do not do it. Do not nail their ears to the pump. One of the most striking poems which has appeared in any language is that written by Kipling in regard to those writers in any country, who, themselves, not taking the risk of firing a pistol and shedding blood, by reason of their violent writings, counsel the dastardly deed. I say here that if bloodshed had occurred in the city of Montreal, if the streets of Montreal had flowed with blood, one need not have been surprised after that violent, that treasonable article which appeared in *La Patrie*. What an exhibition we had! While that article, treasonable, disloyal—there is no word strong enough in the English language to characterize the sentiments of the article or the man who wrote it—while that article is being read you have the hon. Minister of Public Works cheering.

Mr. SPROULE. And a lot of his friends, too.

Mr. DAVIN. You have him turning around and telling us: Three or four days afterwards I telegraphed this article and they raised the flag. Such an exhibition of hypocrisy is without parallel. They raised the flag after his language of four days before counselling them to trample it under their feet.

Mr. SPROULE. And which they did, too.

Mr. DAVIN. And which they did too. Now, Mr. Speaker, what is the cause of all this? My hon. friend from Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney), referring to the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) said that certain gentlemen should go on a counteracting mission to Quebec in order to undo the preaching of the past. Well, Sir, what is the use of putting on a poor, wretched plaster like that article which the Minister of Public Works read to us with such paroxysms that deceived no one. What is the use of his chanting these loud professions of loyalty on his lips to-day, because he has been ordered to do it? I suppose the pistol was put to his head. I suppose it has been said to him: 'You have nearly ruined us; the shadow of your loyalty is on us; we are not strong enough to get rid of you altogether, but we must send you to a foreign country; before you go do something to try and undo the vile work your violent and disloyal acts have done.' I suppose that

was said to him. And, then he writes this hypocritical article, and he dares to quote it in the same Chamber ten minutes after this other traitorous and disloyal article from his newspaper was quoted. I doubt, Sir, if so mean an exhibition has ever occurred in any legislative chamber before. We have the Prime Minister taking part in the debate and reading a lecture to the editor of the *Citizen* for his comparatively mild article this morning, and there is not one word from the Prime Minister against *La Patrie* for such an article, which had it been written in any but a British country, the editor would have been brought before the bar of a court of justice and very quickly imprisoned. Not a word from the Prime Minister against this article in *La Patrie*. Need we be surprised. We must face these things now, and take them as they are. Had we not the hon. member for Labellie (Mr. Bourassa); had we not the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet); pointing down to the Prime Minister, and when they uttered in his hearing language that many persons thought atrocious, saying: There is my Gamaliel, there is my Mentor, there is the man at whose feet I learned these things. Sir, I have the teaching of these gentlemen in 1896, sent all over the province of Quebec. Here is the campaign sheet of the Liberals then:

One of the blunders of old Tupper is Imperial federation, which signifies a more intimate alliance between England and her colonies in general and Canada in particular.

One of the conditions of this alliance will be that in times of war Canada will be called upon to pay its share of the cost in money and in men.

Thus, as England is always at war with somebody, we will have to continually tax ourselves to find money and to draw lots to furnish the men.

In return England will create these droll baronets, knights of this, and commanders of that.

But the people will remain food for the cannon.

Why all these armaments if we are not to have war?

And why fight for England?

Why fight for England? There is the banner cry sent forth with the right hon. gentleman leading throughout Quebec. And, Sir, in view of such teaching as that, need we be surprised if in a moment of excitement the results are—to use the words of the right hon. gentleman—deplorable. But, let us go back further, because now we have to face facts. What is tearing down the British flag; what is dishonouring the British flag; what are they, compared with sending a bullet through it? Did not the right hon. gentlemen say in the Champs de Mars in 1885, that he could go to the North-west, to the banks of the Saskatchewan with a musket on his shoulder? Did not he say that he could go to the Saskatchewan—near to the gentleman who comes from the Saskatchewan now (Mr.

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Davis) who is his counsellor and friend, and who goes down beside him to take hints from him as to the delightful notices he puts on the Order paper—did not the right hon. the Prime Minister say in 1885, that he could go to the Saskatchewan and shoulder a musket? And for what? To shoot at the British flag. Sir, what is shooting at the British flag with paper pellets of the brain compared with shooting at it with leaden bullets? That is the teaching of the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. Here is what *La Patrie* said in the earlier part of the South African war, and is not it the same teaching as we hear to-day?

As has been already stated in these columns, the Canadian government has not offered, either directly or indirectly, to send a military contingent to England, but the Colonial Office in London—

We know that is untrue:

—in a despatch received a day or two since suggested to the Canadian government that England would be pleased to see the Canadian subjects of Her Majesty taking part in the expedition to the Transvaal. On the receipt of this, &c.

So that going back to 1885, going to Boston in 1891, coming to 1896 and the campaign sheets I have described; coming right down to the teachings of *La Patrie* six months ago, to these we can trace what has occurred in Montreal, and over which we have hypocritical and crocodile tears shed to-day. That is the natural fruit of the teaching of these gentlemen opposite. As Kipling said in regard to the dreadful murder in the Phoenix Park:

If black is black, and white is white, and powder speeds the ball,

the responsibility of that dastardly deed is at the door of the men who instructed the poor boys, frightened the poor boys, filled them with zeal against England, taught them to defy the flag as if it were a danger to themselves and something they should malign and hate. So shall I say now,

If blood is blood, and death is death, and powder speeds the ball,

as surely as the man who wrote that dastardly article in *La Patrie* and cheered it here to-day; as surely as he wrote that; if disastrous consequences had followed and death ensued; the blood would have been at his door and the responsibility to the widow, or to the bereaved father and mother as the case might be, would have been at his door. Sir, what is the use in this House of doing as gentlemen opposite do? What is the use of getting up, and as the Prime Minister can so well do, making a nice speech now? What is the use of his going over to England to Her Majesty's jubilee, and when there are thousands there to cheer him, telling an English audi-

ence—with English flags all around and his hips touching nobles and dukes—telling an English audience: We will give our blood for you; Canada will fight for you; and then, when the hour of danger comes, he hesitates—but worse than his hesitation, when his own colleague uses disloyal language, and the organs of his own party and his own minister and adviser use language of disloyalty, fire-brand language; uttering not one word of reproof as far as we know; not one word of public reproof certainly. When I think of the jubilee and of all the glory, and all the talk, and all the praise, and I look over these four mean years, and at the state of things now, and at that government, why, Sir, all we had was a sounding prologue to sinister acts and shiftless scenes, and an epilogue of dishonour.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk). Mr. Speaker, I think that upon cool reflection the great majority of the members of this House who listened to the discussion which took place this afternoon must look back upon that episode with feelings of regret. The effect of that discussion in my opinion will not be a salutary one. The motives that may naturally be attributed to the gentlemen who precipitated that discussion will bear questioning, and the effect upon the country at large will be detrimental rather than otherwise. We are peculiarly situated as a nationality in Canada. We have two races, and their numerical strength is so nearly balanced that it is a disastrous thing to adopt a course that will pit one of these races against the other. We have racial affinities to a certain extent. To a greater extent we have points of racial animosity, and these feelings of racial divergence can be easily played upon, human passions can be easily aroused; and gentlemen who have the respect of their constituents, and are sent here to look after the interests of their constituents and the interests of this country at large, should bear in mind this peculiar condition of affairs that exists in Canada, and should be governed in their conduct by a just appreciation of what the interests of the country demand at their hands. Now, Sir, to me, I confess it with regret—I arrive at the conclusion candidly, coolly and carefully—it seemed evident that the animus of this discussion this afternoon was a purpose to make out of the incidents upon which this discussion arose party capital. That, I believe, was the animus of the gentlemen on the opposite side of this Chamber, who precipitated this discussion. It was, when analysed and when reduced to its first principles, a bald, bare

appeal to racial prejudice. Now, I have racial prejudices. I would resist French aggression, if such a thing were to occur. I believe in the English government, in the English empire, in English institutions; I wish and pray for English interests, and I do not believe that a course such as the one adopted this afternoon is calculated to promote these interests. I believe the interests of the English Empire require justice, fair-play, the recognition of the rights of all the subjects of this empire. We have at this very moment, Mr. Speaker, a warning, standing palpably before us, of the danger of exciting racial animosities and of what that may lead to. We surely do not desire in Canada here a repetition of the experience that curses South Africa at the present moment. These gentlemen on the opposite side of this House do not, I am sure, desire a civil war; and yet the course they have taken this afternoon leads directly in the direction of having that calamity befall this country. As to this talk about loyalty, I am tired of that senseless, hollow howl about loyalty. Sir, there is no disloyal element in this country. Canada is loyal from Gaspé to Vancouver, from Halifax to the North Pole. If there is a disloyal element in Canada, it consists of that handful of public men who would sacrifice to party advantage the interests of the country, and would arouse those feelings of animosity and hatred for the sake of arraying section against section and race against race, in order that they might reap some advantage from such a condition of affairs.

Mr. MILLS. You did that before.

Mr. CHARLTON. What is all this trouble about? What circumstance has given rise to this fierce and ill-tempered discussion which has occupied the attention of this House since it met at three o'clock this afternoon? Why, Sir, it has been a circumstance which is a disgrace to the English-speaking portion of the province of Quebec. It has been an assault made by the English students of the greatest university of Canada, associated with other English-speaking people, upon three French newspapers and upon a French university. Suppose, Sir, this condition of affairs had been reversed. Suppose the students of Laval and a mob of Frenchmen had attacked the English newspapers of the city of Montreal and McGill University; what would have been said about that? But it would have been no greater outrage than the one that has been perpetrated. It would not have called for any louder condemnation from the people of this country than the act that has been perpetrated has called for; and we would do well if we satisfied ourselves with lamenting this condition of affairs and seeking to allay the feelings that have been excited by this exhibition of mob violence. These matters, Mr. Speaker, require to be handled with forbearance; and

when there are assembled together in the legislative halls of a country representatives from its various constituencies, they may reasonably be supposed to be men of sense, men of discretion, men able to gauge the condition of public affairs, and men with a knowledge of the necessary conditions which should lead them to seek to palliate and smooth over and allay that spirit of violence that must be called into existence by actions such as those committed by the English-speaking students of McGill University, backed up by the English mob who associated with them in their assault on the three French newspapers and on the University of Laval. I speak thus as an Englishman. I say I do not condone this outrage; I condemn it as injuring the harmony, the well-being, the future of this Dominion; and to go on, as was done this afternoon, to add fuel to the flame, to fan the embers, to spread more widely that feeling of hatred and excitement that exists in the country in consequence of what has happened, is an act of criminality. It is an act that ought not to be perpetrated by men who wish for their country's weal in relation to this or any other matter. The dignified, conciliatory spirit of the Premier in this connection commanded my respect and admiration. There was not the slightest evidence of racial feeling or animosity; there was not the slightest evidence of a feeling of hostility. He treated the question with forbearance, dignity and manliness, and exhibited to this House and country the kind of spirit that should actuate public men in dealing with these most lamentable circumstances that formed the subject of our discussion this afternoon.

My hon. friend, the member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster), attempted to be facetious, when he spoke of the friendly visit of McGill to Laval, and informed us that the articles in *La Patrie* had led to these disturbances. My understanding of the matter was that the articles in *La Patrie* were the consequence of these disturbances, and I believe I am right, and the attempt of my hon. friend throughout, was plainly to try and implicate the government and a minister of the Crown, in these unfortunate disturbances, and thus create the impression in the public that these disturbances were due in some way to the conduct of the government, and especially the conduct of the Minister of Public Works. My hon. friend revealed very clearly the motive that actuated him. I admit that it is natural, and, within certain limits, perhaps proper for a leading politician to attempt to make political capital, and I sympathize, to a certain extent with any attempt in that line, but that attempt may be carried too far, and in my opinion it was carried too far by the hon. member for York this afternoon. In these troublous times, when the public mind is inflamed and ready to take fire, we should be careful how

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we handle firebrands, and how far we go in the attempt to make political capital for our party. We should hold the good of the country first, and refrain from taking any action, which our better judgment tells us may be disastrous to the country we all respect and love, and for whose interests we should all labour.

I can see that almost every day there is a disposition to attack the Minister of Public Works, and it is evidently a matter of very secondary importance whether the attack is well founded or not. My hon. friend is a subject of animosity to the opposite side of the House, and, to use a common expression, a dead set is regularly, systematically and persistently made upon him. Now, the gravamen of the article in *La Patrie* seems to be the advice to resist violence. Violence had been perpetrated, a mob had assailed the office of *La Patrie* and other French newspaper offices in Montreal and also the Laval University. There was consequently an enflamed and excited state of feeling in that city. It is but natural to suppose, that under these conditions, articles were written for the newspapers, which were more inflammatory than would have been the case if these newspaper editors had had some days to cool down in their feelings.

Mr. MONTAGUE. As the *Globe* has.

Mr. CHARLTON. Under the circumstances, I do not know that there is very much to condemn in this article advising resistance to violence. It might not be exactly in consonance with the spirit of Holy Writ, which commands us to turn our cheek to the smiter, but it is consonance with the spirit of manhood that a person, who is attacked in his office, or house, or home or castle, should not, if he has the spirit of Briton, sit down tamely and submit to the outrage until he can call the police. He is more likely to take a chair, or a club, or a revolver, or a musket, or a dynamite bomb, or any other weapon of offence or defence to repel the aggressor.

Mr. FOSTER. Were you ever bounced when you were in college?

Mr. CHARLTON. I am not discussing my own career in college at the present moment. As I said a moment ago, some allowance must be made for the enflamed state of feeling that will, under such circumstances, exist in a city like Montreal. And the article to which I refer is quite as temperate as articles would likely have been in the English newspapers, if the case had been reversed, and McGill University had been assailed and the English newspaper offices in Montreal either gutted or attempted to be gutted.

My hon. friend, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), has told us that realiz-

ing the condition of affairs and how necessary it was to allay excitement, he telephoned an article to *La Patrie*, the title of which was 'Respect the Flag.' That was a loyal, a commendable article, but what was the criticism made by my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin). Why, he said, it was a petty, paltry, despicable exhibition of hypocrisy.

Mr. DAVIN. Hear, hear.

Mr. CHARLTON. My hon. friend says hear, hear. No hon. gentleman on this side, it seems, can give utterance to a loyal sentiment, without infringing upon the patent which these hon. gentlemen claim as their exclusive own. They are the simon pure, the unadulterated, the genuine, the only loyalists in the country who, upon the present or any other occasion, would not hesitate to involve us in the flames of a political or any other calamity which they could call down upon the heads of their fellow-citizens, provided that would get them back into office. My hon. friend, the Minister of Public Works, procured my respect by his candid, hearty apology for the insult to the British flag. He did not say who perpetrated that insult, and it would not surprise me very greatly if it were found that somebody who wanted to make trouble, and who was not of the house of Ephraim, had trampled on the flag. However, we do not know. That remains to be ascertained. But my hon. friend apologized for the insult perpetrated against the British nationality; let the one who perpetrated it be who he may. My hon. friend has charity, enough even to apologize for some sinner on the opposite side, if the sinner should happen to be a member of that communion. There is so much said against my hon. friend, the Minister of Public Works, that sometimes I really do not know whether he is a saint or not. But there is one thing I do know, and that is he is brimful of pluck, and I admire him for that. And another thing I was told once by an old farmer—that if on going through an orchard, you find clubs lying on the ground, you will not find them around the sour apple trees; but the tree that you find most clubs under, is a good tree.

Mr. MILLS. That is old.

Mr. CHARLTON. It is an application of an old truth. A truth is not less true because it is old; and there are a great many truths that my hon. friend (Mr. Mills) ought to hear. We find the clubs lying thick around my hon. friend's (Mr. Tarte's) apple tree, leading us to believe that the fruit there is the best. Hon. gentlemen opposite would like to possess themselves of it. If they can get it fairly, I wish them luck in getting it.

I am always amused when I hear the hon. member for West Assiniboia. He reminds me of a remark made by Artemus Ward's organ grinder when he was asked what he

had to say about the monkey he carried with his organ. He said that the monkey was 'an amoosin' little cuss.' I hope I have not transgressed the rule of parliamentary debate in saying so.

Mr. DAVIN. Not a bit. I am the monkey, and you are the greater ape.

Mr. CHARLTON. My hon. friend (Mr. Davin) was greatly incensed when he rose to address the House because the Minister of Public Works did not remain. He said the hon. minister did not dare to stand fire when he (Mr. Davin) was directing his broadside. I suppose the Minister of Public Works has occasion to go out once in a while, and he will naturally choose an occasion when there is little of importance going on. If that is his idea he could not have chosen a more appropriate moment than he did. And the hon. member for West Assiniboia told us with gravity that the Minister of Public Works would not answer a question he put and that the minister's cowardly followers backed him up in that refusal. Mr. Speaker, you were a witness of the scene in the House this afternoon. I am sure you were a pained witness. You noticed, I am sure, how the amenities of debate were observed. You saw that it was necessary for a man to assert his right to speak if he had the floor. My hon. friend (Mr. Tarte) would have been interrupted with a thousand questions, and his speech would have been worse than fragmentary, if he had not claimed his right to make his speech and to refuse interruptions, as he did. Under the circumstances, I do not know whether I am entitled to say that it was an act of impertinence on the part of my hon. friend from West Assiniboia; at any rate, the refusal of the hon. Minister of Public Works to answer did not entitle the hon. member for West Assiniboia to complain of it as an outrage upon his rights and to speak of the evident manifestations of disapproval of his attempts to interrupt, as a cowardly action of the followers of the Minister of Public Works. Now, it was represented by the hon. member (Mr. Davin) that the Minister of Public Works had been subjected to a severe course of examination, had been warned that the course he pursued must be apologized for, that he must do something to extricate the party from the unpleasant predicament in which it had been placed by his unseemly and improper conduct. I did not see anything improper in the course the hon. minister had pursued. I do not think he has been brought to book and catechized for his course. I do not think he has done anything that merits the reprobation of the House. And, even so far as the newspaper with which he is reputed to be connected and the article which has been made the subject of such sound and fury by hon. gentlemen opposite, it seems to me

that it is an article such as might be expected under the circumstances.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Has the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) read the *Globe* to-night?

Mr. CHARLTON. I have not seen it. If my hon. friend (Mr. Montague) has read it, I have no doubt that he has found something in it that will do him good.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The *Globe* says that the statements of Mr. Tarte are arrant nonsense.

Mr. CHARLTON. My hon. friend from West Assiniboia took occasion to resurrect an old campaign document of 1896. This whole debate as carried on by hon. gentlemen opposite indicates a preconcerted movement to cast discredit upon the government through an appeal to race prejudice and the raking up of old party issues that have no pertinence to the subject of discussion. The hon. member for West Assiniboia mentioned that this old campaign document of 1896 in Quebec accused Sir Charles Tupper of being guilty of the blunder of advocating Imperial federation. And he brought this up with a great degree of confidence as though by doing so he had fastened upon the Liberal party the proof of his charge of disloyalty. Why, Sir, the question of Imperial federation is an open question; it is a question upon which one can exercise his own opinion without being guilty of disloyal sentiments. It is a difficult and complicated question. There is no difference of feeling in Canada as to the propriety of Imperial unity, of getting together as an empire, of the colonies standing by the motherland—that is accepted by all as a doctrine that should be sworn to by every colony and every party. But the question of Imperial federation involves various features as regards representation, and the method of uniting the colonies with the empire for legislative purposes. This whole question of Imperial federation, which was discussed years ago, is a difficult question and one upon which differences of opinion may exist without the loyalty of the party holding an adverse opinion being at all open to question. The attempt to fasten upon this party the charge of disloyalty because a campaign document of 1896 issued and circulated in Quebec spoke disrespectfully of Sir Charles Tupper and in a sense not of approval of his policy upon Imperial federation has no bearing upon the question of loyalty. It has a bearing on the question of Imperial federation and that alone.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I referred a few moments ago to the fact that we have two races in this country, two races not exactly equal in point of numbers, but nearly enough balanced in that respect to render difficult the management of the affairs of this country if racial feelings are appealed

Mr. CHARLTON.

to, or if the proper course is not taken as regards the mutual relations and the mutual interests of the two races. Now, unfortunately, a great mass of the English-speaking people in Canada know very little about the French Canadians of Quebec; and, unfortunately, most of the French-speaking people know very little about the English Canadians of the other provinces. If these two peoples mingled together to a greater extent, if they knew each other better, the greater portion of the prejudices that exist in either case against the other would be removed, and the difficulties that beset the government of this country would, to a large extent, vanish. I saw something of the French race last year when in Quebec for a long time, and I am free to confess that the impression made upon me by what I saw of the characteristics of the French Canadian people was a highly favourable one. I found them, Sir, a kindly race, an orderly people, an industrious people, a temperate people, a law-abiding people. We have there, the material for good citizens—they are good citizens. It is important that the assimilation of the two races should go on, it is important that these races should know each other better, should assimilate more thoroughly; and that desirable end can be obtained, not by pursuing the course that was pursued here this afternoon, not by appeals to prejudice, not by violent language, not by abuse; but it can be secured by a policy of forbearance, of kindness, of mutual appreciation, of mutual respect for the rights of the one to the other. That is the course to pursue to bring about that condition of assimilation that we desire to see existing between the Anglo-Saxon and the French population of Canada.

What, Mr. Speaker, are the French antecedents upon this continent? Is this population in the province of Quebec a population without a history, a population without anything to entitle it to our respect, without anything to entitle it to our recognition? On the contrary, it is a race with a history that entitles it to our admiration. It has a romantic and gallant history that challenges the admiration of every man who will examine into the antecedents of the French people upon the continent of North America before the conquest. They were the pathfinders of empire. Lasalle, Marquette, Tonty, Hennepin, and other explorers passed up the Ottawa River when this whole country was a wilderness. They made their way to Lake Huron, they made their way over all the inland seas of North America, planted their military and trading posts at Mackinac, in Illinois, on the Mississippi, upon the Ohio River, at the junction of the Monongahela, and the Alleghany at Fort Duquesne. They circled the English settlements in the rear by a cordon of military posts. They were thoroughly acquainted with the great resources and the

great future of the mighty west. While the English settlers clung to the seaboard and made their way slowly and without enterprise, without daring, into the interior, as their settlement progressed, the French though but a handful, penetrated to the far interior and became familiar with all the great geographical features of the North American continent ages before the conquest by England. When the shock of battle came and the last struggle between these two nations took place—for it seems that Providence had decreed that America was not large enough for an English nation and a French nation—when the shock of battle came they were by no means a despicable foe. They inflicted upon us a disastrous defeat on the Monongahela, and 2,000 British soldiers licked the dust in an ambush where but 500 French and Indians were posted. They defeated us at Ticonderoga, they defeated us at many points, the tide of battle went against us for two or three years. At last it turned in our favour, and the French nationality of North America ceased to exist when the gage of battle was thrown down upon the Plains of Abraham and Wolfe conquered Montcalm. But when the contest was settled, when the empire had passed from the grasp of the French king, and when English arms and English valour had secured for us the possession of the North American continent, we are obliged, when we look back over that field, to confess that our foe was a gallant one, that he was worthy of our respect. Be it remembered that this population of French Canada that gave the British Empire so much trouble in subduing it, at the time of the conquest were found to embrace but 60,000 souls, men, women and children, and this handful of French population had caused all this trouble, had caused us to put forth the utmost resources of the empire to conquer them, as conquer them we did.

Sir, the descendants of that 60,000 people who inhabited Canada at the close of the war between France and England, have feelings, they have a history, they have the natural pride of ancestry. Why should they not? When last year I looked out upon the beautiful surroundings of Quebec, when I realized that that impregnable position was the centre of French authority in America, that these people could look forth upon the mountains and upon the mighty St. Lawrence and realize the romantic character of their achievements in opening up the far west and penetrating to the distant regions with their voyageurs, establishing their trading posts and planting the foundations of what they dreamed would become a mighty empire in the future, embracing the Mississippi valley and the valley of the great lakes—I say, when I looked out upon these mountains, standing upon the plains of Abraham, standing upon the

ramparts of the citadel of Quebec, I was impressed with the thought that these people must have a pride in their past, that these people must realize that a great prize had slipped from their grasp, that they must regret this fact, that it was natural that they should; and that the only course to pursue in dealing with this population was a course of justice, was a course of generosity, was a course of recognition of their character, of the nature of their achievements, was, in short, just the course that the English government did pursue, and just the course that my hon. friends on the other side of the House this afternoon did not pursue with them. We should deprecate any exhibition such as that which was made this afternoon in this Canadian House of Commons, purely for the purpose of appealing to racial prejudice, of inflaming animosity, and of seeking thus basely to make political capital.

Now, as I said a moment ago, we should respect these prejudices, we should respect these feelings, we should respect the feelings entertained by the descendants of a gallant race who realize that they were conquered, who realize that they are in a country which is alien to the land of their forefathers; but who, realizing all this, nevertheless are loyal to their obligations to the Crown of England, who recognize the generosity with which they have been treated, and are determined to uphold the institutions under which they live. They are loyal, Sir. I repudiate any idea, any thought, and insinuation, any assertion that the French Canadian population is not loyal to the British Empire and to the British Crown. And if, Mr. Speaker, any influence could have weight in diverting this population from those sentiments of loyalty, and in estranging them from their allegiance to the government under which they live, it is exactly the course of conduct that has been pursued in this House during the discussion of this question, where prejudices have been appealed to, where false constructions have been placed upon the conduct of men, upon the conduct of editors, and where the assailants have failed to recognize the real condition of affairs, or, if they did recognize them, have sought to mislead the public by distorting the facts. As I have said, assimilation is a desirable thing. But how are we to secure it? Are we to secure it by the exercise of force, by resorting to mob violence? Will this course of conduct bring it about? Never, Sir. If we resort to that line of conduct the cleavage that exists will widen, the separation of the two races will increase, and the difficulties of assimilating these two races, instead of being lessened, will be greatly magnified.

Now, with regard to this flag incident, with regard to a mob going down the street and noticing an office or a university where

a flag is not flying. Whose business is it whether I hang a flag out on my house or not? Whose business is it whether the authorities of a university see fit to hang up a flag or not? It is an evidence of good feeling, it will secure our approval if the flag is run up. But there may be reasons for not doing it. As *La Presse* stated, they had not a flag staff; that might be a reason; they might not have a flag, that would be a reason; they might forget it, that would be a reason. But the neglect to run up a flag does not prove disloyalty; and it is an outrageous thing for a crowd to go down the street and assault a man, or assault an institution, or sack a house, because the owners of that institution, or that house does not see fit to hoist a certain colour upon their building. The negation does not prove the absence of all willingness to perform an action; the absence of the flag does not prove the existence of disloyalty, and we have no right to assume that a house, or an institution, or a man is disloyal because he has not hoisted the flag over his premises. It is none of our business whether he hoists the flag or not, and if we want to secure the hoisting of the flag we had better go to him in a friendly way, expostulate with him and say: You had better put up the flag to show how you feel. But, do not go and knock him down with a club because you cannot make him feel any more loyal by so doing.

I had great hopes, some few years ago, that we had arrived at a point where we were going to secure a unification of these two races, or, at least, that we had in operation forces that would lead more rapidly to the consummation of that result than these forces hitherto had been leading in that direction. The circumstance I allude to is this: We had, for the first time, a French Canadian Premier. We know, at least, everybody on this side of the House knew, that that right hon. gentleman was a thoroughly loyal man, that he was an English Liberal, thoroughly conversant with the history of English Liberals, and we believed, and I believe now, that under these circumstances, the bringing of the French Canadian people into more intimate relations with the English-speaking people would be facilitated, and largely facilitated, by the fact that we had, as the Premier of this country, a gentleman of the French Canadian race. I believe it has had a good influence in that direction. I assert, upon this occasion, that it is in this respect a good thing, a desirable thing, for Canada, that the constitution of the cabinet of the Dominion, since last general election, has been of the character that it has. At all events I am sorry to see, and I must deprecate the tendency to render nugatory influences that would naturally result from such a condition of things by the conduct that has been pursued in this House this afternoon.

Mr. CHARLTON.

Sneering allusion was made by the hon. member for West Assinibola (Mr. Davin) to the right hon. Prime Minister because he manifested feelings of loyalty at the jubilee, with the insinuation that when he left the surroundings which had influenced him on that occasion his feelings of loyalty vanished also. This imputing motives and this insinuating that this man and that man is not loyal is poor business, and I think it is about time that this nonsense was ended. Such an apostle of loyalty as the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) the other day, in a spirit of pessimistic alarm, with the fussiness of an old woman, suggested that the authorities of this Dominion, the opposition and the government side, should get together in solemn conclave and devise means for saving this empire from ruin. He went on to give a warning to our French Canadian friends and said that while we, the English-speaking people of Canada, might secure salvation by throwing ourselves upon the mercy of our Anglo-Saxon friends to the south of us, and uniting our fortunes with theirs—I was so paralyzed when I heard that from the hon. gentleman that I could hardly realize that I was in this House—that while we could do that, the French Canadian population of Canada had no such refuge, no such harbour into which they could sail in this hour of dire calamity. From the bottom of his heart he pitied them, and he said: We must do something to avert this calamity and save this empire from dire, condign and irretrievable ruin. I would say: Let us have confidence in our nation, let us have confidence in our authorities, let us have confidence in our people, let us have confidence in each other, let us, on each side of this House, at least, be agreed upon one point, and that is, that we all desire to see the prosperity of Canada and to promote the cause that will lead to that prosperity. I believe that is the cause of the people of both parties in this country, and I believe that hon. gentlemen on the other side of this House, who have made this assault this afternoon, for the purpose of appealing to racial prejudices, will fall short of the realization of their hopes, because I do not believe the common sense of the great Tory party of Canada will bear them out in the attempt they have made to set the two races of this Dominion by the ears. Let us have peace. Mr. Speaker, let us have harmony between these two great divisions of the population of this great Dominion, let us have the assimilation of these people as fast as we can secure it, and let us, at all events, not throw obstacles in the way of that assimilation by the senseless course that has been pursued in the Canadian House of Commons this afternoon. Let us secure the only method of operation that will result in this, and let us put aside from us the only line of

conduct that is calculated to defer or obviate the purpose of securing the union, in heart, in sentiment, in affection and in aspiration of the great races that inhabit the Dominion of Canada. The building of a nation is an important matter. We are engaged in that very task to-day. We are building a nation. We have a territory of vast extent, a territory of vast resources, resources the magnitude of which we do not yet fully comprehend, resources the magnitude of which dawn upon us, enlarge upon our vision day by day and year by year; we have a territory that will support, at the least calculation, 75,000,000 people from the products of its own soil. Now, this is the foundation, so far as material resources are concerned of a great empire, and, Sir, it should be the care, the desire and the hope of every public man in this House of Commons, of every public man in the Dominion of Canada, of every citizen in the Dominion of Canada, to promote the interests of this young nation and to secure the laying of the foundation of its future in such a manner that that future will be a great, a glorious and a prosperous one. To war against its interests, to blast its prospects, or to attempt to blast its prospects by the senseless conduct pursued this afternoon, and this kind of thing carried on and persisted in might result in a great conflagration and disaster to this Dominion—to war against the welfare of this young nation, and to attempt to blast its prospects by such a course is a huge crime against the country and a huge crime against the empire. I repeat, that, while I would stand by the empire, while, if aggression were attempted by any race in this Dominion, I would resist it, I call for fair-play, for neighbourly conduct, for respect of each other's rights, for a desire to found this nation broadly and firmly upon principles of justice and truth, on principles of liberty and British fair-play for all classes, French and English alike, and if we take this course, if we are actuated by this desire we will have no more of the scenes that have disgraced this Chamber this afternoon.

Mr. F. D. MONK (Jacques Cartier). I wish, Mr. Speaker, to be brief in my remarks, and I must say very frankly, that as a citizen of Montreal, very much interested in the fair name of that city, and in the maintenance of its peace and honour, I do not think that any very great good has been achieved by this debate. I have no doubt, that every one, with the exception of perhaps one or two, who have spoken in this House to-day, have been actuated by proper motives. I must say that the incident which occurred in Montreal, has been enlarged when viewed from afar, and it does not deserve the importance which we have given it here. It is quite true that the trouble arose originally from the freaks of students; and, that it did not develop

into more serious proportions is due to the spirit with which both universities met it. Briefly, the facts are these: The students of McGill, started in the morning upon a tramp of exultation to celebrate the victories of the British arms in South Africa. They went down town, and I believe—we did not know it then—they stopped at several places on the way. I shall give the facts to the House as I know them, in order that these facts may be properly understood. On the way down they stopped at different places and insisted that the British flag should be run up. I believe they stopped at the *Star* office, to which the minister (Mr. Tarte) has alluded, and carried away the bulletin boards, to the annoyance of the proprietors of the *Star*. Those who are familiar with Montreal, will understand the locality. They then went to the *Herald* office, and thence to the French newspaper offices, which are grouped together. There is the organ of the Minister of Public Works, and immediately beside it is *La Presse* and *Le Journal*, the organs of the French Conservatives, and there they insisted upon the British flag being run up. They then went to Laval University, on St. Denis Street, and there they insisted that the British flag should be hoisted. Now, Sir, I believe, and I understand that it was the intention that the British flag should be put up there, I believe it was put up, when request was made. Anybody who knows Laval University and who knows its history, could have no doubt whatever about its loyalty. To doubt the loyalty of that institution, indicates absolute ignorance on the part of the doubter. Here is an old institution, one of the oldest educational establishments in British North America, incorporated by Royal Charter, a university that has always been noted for its loyalty, and about whose loyalty there can be no doubt. I, Sir, speaking as a professor for many years in that university, called upon to teach over 120 law students every year, the principles of British constitutional law, I have had occasion to observe Laval students at every opportunity, and I venture to say, that a more loyal, and a more orderly set of young men, cannot possibly be found anywhere. Well, Sir, as I understand, the flag was run up, and then the McGill students pursued their course. We learned afterwards that they went to Bishop's College, and to other places, and at Bishop's College, they did what they had done at Laval University.

An hon. MEMBER. And at the Board of Trade.

Mr. MONK. Yes, they also visited the Board of Trade.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS They did not break the doors there.

Mr. MONK. Let me come to what was the cause of the real difficulty. I am loyal, and I am prepared to put up the British

flag at every opportunity, when necessary. But, Sir, I am bound to say, that I do not recognize, as a matter of principle, the right of any man, or of any set of men, to force me to put up the British flag or any other flag. In the case of Laval University, the attack was particularly aggravating. For a number of years, we have made extraordinary efforts to establish that institution upon a proper footing in the city of Montreal. We have made extraordinary sacrifices to establish the chairs of teaching there, to provide a library, and to furnish suitable material. In fact, those who are as familiar with the situation of that institution, know what zeal has been devoted in that direction. But, Sir, we have not the ornamentation we have a right to have. It has been said, that *La Presse* newspaper had no flag staff and no flag, and perhaps we may be in that situation. But the real difficulty occurred in the evening. It was in the evening and every one was quiet, when a crowd of people, I would say a mob—I am reluctant to incorporate in that mob, in any way, the students of McGill University, because I am myself a friend of that institution, a graduate of it, and the faculties of both universities are in continual and necessary communication, and our relations have always been most agreeable. In the evening, I do not know with what sinister motive, but certainly with the most blamable one, a crowd—I believe there were several students of McGill University in that crowd—a crowd, came from another part of the city altogether, and actually besieged Laval University. There is no other expression for it. Those who live in Montreal know the facts. This crowd arrived in front of the building, some four or five thousand strong, and without any provocation whatever, they endeavoured to enter the institution. Here is a building which we have reared at great sacrifices. It contains to us priceless treasures, and the mob actually endeavoured to enter the building, and would have done so, had there not been a certain number of Laval students to take up its defence; a defence which could not have availed against such a crowd without the assistance of the police, who arrived afterwards. But for that, the place would have been broken into, and would have been possibly devastated. There is no use in mincing matters. What was their object in coming there at that time of night, and why was it, when they were asked to retire, they did not do so? The only thing the Laval students did, was to turn the hose on them, whereas, from on the other side, we had every front window in the building broken. Desperate efforts were made by the mob to get in, and what would have happened if that mob—one cannot call it anything else but a mob—had succeeded in entering, I leave it to any fair-minded man in the House to say. It was absolutely necessary

Mr. MONK.

for the students of Laval University to act as they did. And every one who comes to Montreal, knows if the police had not been there the place might have been utterly destroyed, as there was great danger of fire.

Well, Sir, the following morning, Principal Peterson and Archbishop Bruchesi, the head men of both universities met, and too much praise cannot be given to Principal Peterson for the action he took in coming down to Laval University, and there explaining that he regretted greatly what had occurred on the previous evening. Nothing more could be asked or expected from Principal Peterson. He declared that he hoped the matter would not go any further, and the rector of Laval appealed to the students. I may tell you, Sir, that there was indignation in all that part of the city of Montreal, that such a thing should have occurred, and so the authorities of Laval appealed to the students, who were very numerous, not to make any manifestation. I was in Quebec at the time, and I must confess to you that I felt absolutely indignant at what had occurred. The Laval students accepted that recommendation, but in the afternoon they marched out, and what did they do? I speak of the Laval students from personal knowledge. They tramped down with the British flag at their head, carrying also the flag of the university; they went through St. James Street as far as Victoria Square, and there saluted the statue of the Queen. They then returned. It was at that moment that the outrage upon the British flag, that most deplorable act, was committed; but, Sir, it was not committed or in any way abetted by a student of Laval University; and I take this opportunity of stating that the insinuation contained in the article of the *Ottawa Citizen*, which has been quoted here, that these students are to blame for that most infamous action, is itself a slanderous falsehood and nothing else. That was the only thing that occurred as far as the students of Laval are concerned. The assault made on the university on the previous evening was a most serious one, and a number of arrests were made; and I am glad to say—and it was, I believe, commented on by Mr. Weir, the recorder—that among those arrested there were no students of McGill. Under these circumstances the matter seemed to have come to an end, and where I do blame the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) and his organ, is that after Principal Peterson and the authorities of Laval had met and the interview to which I have just referred took place, in the afternoon of the same day, when the tone of the press of Montreal generally was most commendable, *La Patrie* came out with that article. That is where the evil was. I do not put in question *La Patrie's* loyalty, but I say that that article showed a great want of judgment. It made out of

the incident a most important fact. It stated that confederation was going to be broken asunder. It incited the people, as it invariably does, to defend their rights, declaring that it was time to make a stand—a position entirely unjustifiable under the circumstances. And what do we find here to-day? I have listened to all those who have spoken. I have listened with pleasure to the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I did not think he entertained the opinions he has expressed with regard to the province of Quebec. But, Sir, most violent language was used by the hon. Minister of Public Works. This surely is not the occasion to discuss the question which he raised this afternoon—to talk to us about the attack made by the English-speaking people upon the French people. Surely the hon. Minister of Public Works, who knows the situation in Montreal, and the efforts being made there to re-establish peace must be persuaded that that speech of his was an unwise one; and I am perfectly certain that the Mayor of Montreal and all the authorities there who are doing their best to re-establish peace, will blame him for his utterances in the House this afternoon. I believe the tone of all the Montreal press during these troubles was excellent, and it is due largely to the attitude of the press that the incident finished as it did. But the Minister of Public Works, knowing what the feeling is among certain sections of the people as to the character of the attack committed by the mob on Friday evening, and holding the official position he does, comes forward and denounces the *Star* as the instigator of that outrage.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
It is true.

Mr. MONK. I say nothing meaner, more unfair, or less justifiable could have been done than that. I venture to say that the Prime Minister does not approve of that method of assuaging the difficulties that have arisen. The hon. Minister of Public Works goes on and quotes an article, in which he throws the whole blame of these difficulties on the Tory party and the aged chief of the Tory party. There is really no sense in that. Everybody knows that this difficulty cannot really be attributed, as a matter of fact, to either party. It was brought about by that descent of the mob on Laval University on Friday evening; and to say in this House that that was due either to Mr. Graham or his paper is altogether unjust and unfair, and calculated to produce great harm in the city of Montreal. Now, Sir, I listened to the closing remarks of the hon. member for North Norfolk in regard to the French race, and I cordially agree with much that he said. Another speaker has said that possibly this incident may be productive of some good. It might have produced incalculable evil if

any of these rows had resulted in loss of life or in serious wounding. But it has a lesson for us in this, that I think we must try to understand the French Canadian people. We cannot expect them to think exactly as if they had been born under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. There are many things on which they do not think exactly as the English people. There must be indulgence. They certainly cannot be taught loyalty by such actions as were resorted to on Friday evening.

Mr. BELCOURT. They do not need to be taught it, because they are loyal.

Mr. MONK. They are not an arrogant people, but they are a proud and sensitive people, and rightly so; and to endeavour to attach them to the British Empire and the British flag or to this Dominion by proceedings of that sort is the most egregious mistake and those who resort to such proceedings cannot be too strongly condemned, because they commit most unpatriotic and most un-British acts. For my part, I find that the disposition in Montreal is to act differently towards them. In this evening's *Witness*, in a report of a memorial service, celebrated in the city of Montreal for some of those who fell victims in the war now going on, the Rev. T. E. Cunningham spoke in this way:

When at last the wires flashed the good tidings that Ladysmith had been relieved, every British heart swelled with joy.

What do we find in our own city? A misunderstanding between the English and French citizens. This must be cleared away; we must not, for a moment, allow indifference to creep up between us. We have to live together under one grand old flag, and why not unite our welfare and rejoice as a unit at our victories. We English should be kind and not boastful; let us live together in harmony and kindness towards one another. Our soldiers, both English and French Canadians, have gone to the front to do their duty, and their career already has been a brilliant one. They are with Roberts and assisted in the capture of Cronje and his men. Well may we say that our boys have wiped out the stain of Majuba Hill; they have shown to the world that they belong to the old stock. They will conquer or die in the attempt.

In other words that our loyalty in the future will be more of the kind which I myself have observed when in England—quiet, sound, deep, grim and severe if you like, but a loyalty which is tolerant to all nationality and all races so long as they claim the protection of the British flag.

Mr. HENRI BOURASSA (Labelle). I quite agree with most of the remarks made by the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat; at least in the accounts he gave of the incident which we all deplore, I am sure, as much as he does. But in one respect I cannot agree with the hon. gentleman. I admit that he has done justice to the sentiments expressed by the hon. mem-

ber for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), but it seems to me that he completely overlooked the manner in which this debate was introduced and the evident intention of the hon. gentleman who started it. I am sure that all members on this side regret, just as much as does the hon. member for Jacques Cartier, the fact that such a debate should have been raised at all. But who began it? Where did the provocation come from? Who began to cast insinuations and give undue importance to this incident at Montreal? Take only the speeches we have heard this afternoon, beginning with that of the hon. member for Bruce (Mr. McNeill) who opened the debate. The loyalty and personal straightforwardness of that hon. gentleman I do not doubt; but unfortunately he has fallen into the delusion that he is the father of the empire; and therefore, when any small incident takes place in Canada or Africa or Asia or any other portion of the empire, it is immediately seized upon by him in all gravity and seriousness, as his own particular personal matter, affecting the destinies of that empire which he considers his own. I quite agree with the hon. member for Jacques Cartier that this incident has been altogether too much commented and enlarged upon, but it is not only *La Patrie* newspaper that is guilty of giving it undue proportion. What did *L'Evenement* of Quebec, a French Canadian Conservative newspaper say about it:

The deplorable scenes provoked by the blindest fanaticism, which have just occurred in Montreal, are well calculated to create the impression that we are on the verge of a civil war. They are also of a nature to lead to the belief that we no longer live in a free country.

Le Courier du Canada, another Conservative newspaper of the city of Quebec, gives expression to similar opinions:

The action of the McGill students cannot be too deeply deplored or severely condemned by all good citizens of every race. It is not by these disorderly outrages that the triumph of the British arms should be celebrated, as such scenes are calculated to light the fires of discord and racial hatred in this country.

Hon. gentlemen opposite seem to give events the proportions that suit their own peculiar views. I quite agree with the hon. member for Jacques Cartier, that too much importance altogether has been given to this incident. I do not know if he heard this afternoon the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) trying to minimize the affair as much as he could. Why, he said, there was no mob whatever; it was simply a little clash between the students of McGill and Laval Universities. But the chief organ of the Conservative party in this city, which, I believe, is somewhat connected with the ex-Minister of Finance, did not take his view. How did that paper announce the incident? Did it announce it in the tone in which it was

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referred to by the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk), and *L'Evenement* and *Le Courier du Canada*? Did it qualify, in the way these other Conservatives did, the conduct of the McGill students:

Patriotic McGill Boys.

Made Managers of Montreal French Newspapers
Hoist British Flag.

Montreal, March 1.—The demonstration here today upon the receipt of the news of the relief of Ladysmith eclipsed anything of the kind ever witnessed in this city before. The fun was commenced by several hundred McGill students, who marched through the city, notwithstanding a raging snowstorm. They visited public and other schools, where a holiday was declared, and afterwards seized all the English newspaper bulletins announcing the great event and along with many flags, carried them in triumph through the streets. There was no flag on the city hall, and there the crowd, ever increasing in size, made its way and forcibly flung the colours to the breeze. The French newspaper offices next received attention, they having neglected to display the colours. There was some trouble there, and all the reserves of police in the city were hurried to the scene.

The ex-Minister of Finance spoke this afternoon of the protection of the police and the law, but in Montreal they were not sufficient:

The mob stuck to it, however, and before long flags were flying, much to the delight of thousands who had gathered in St. James Street. All the bulletins of the French newspapers were wrecked. The crowd hooted the police, who were powerless to do anything but drive around in the patrol. Laval University was next visited, and there were fears of a clash, but the French students had no classes, and the McGill men left after decorating the building with British colours.

As the hon. member for Jacques Cartier very properly said, we have no objection to hoisting the British flag and to decorating our buildings, but we do not care to be compelled to decorate them at the dictation of a mob.

The hon. member for Jacques Cartier deprecated the idea of our attributing to Tory newspapers intentions which are not theirs. Well, let me quote for his information the *Evening News* of Toronto, which I do not think any one will say is a French Liberal newspaper. As the hon. member for Jacques Cartier has said, everything was quiet in Montreal, nobody thought of making any trouble whatever. The French, of course, did not show the same enthusiasm over the relief of Ladysmith as the English, but there was no intention on their part of preventing anybody from celebrating that event, provided he did not interfere with other people. Well, how was the incident that took place announced in the *Toronto Evening News*? It was announced as follows:

Disloyalty Causes Riot.—French Students in Montreal Tore Down the Flag.

And a little lower down :

English Students Attack Lavai.

Sir, there was no disloyalty in Montreal, as the hon. member for Jacques Cartier knows as well as I do—no more than in any other part of the province of Quebec. The disloyal men are not only the boys who gathered together and forced demonstrations on quiet and decent people, but those who are trying to make political capital for the benefit of hon. gentlemen opposite at the expense of the good feeling that otherwise would exist among all classes of our people. What was the heading of the report published the next day by one of the leading organs of these gentlemen, who say they have such friendly feelings towards the French Canadians of Quebec. I quote from the *Toronto News* again :

Gross Outrage on our Flag by Frenchmen in Montreal.

The hon. member for Jacques Cartier said he could not tell if it was a French Canadian who had torn down the British flag. The hon. member for North Norfolk could not say so either, neither could the hon. Minister of Public Works; but the *Toronto News* was better informed, and without any hesitation declares that the British flag in Montreal was torn down by Frenchmen—not even by a Frenchman, but by Frenchmen.

Gross Outrage on Our Flag by Frenchmen in Montreal.

The Union Jack Torn Down, Trampled Under Foot and Burned by Johnny Crapaud.

I would like to know if the loyal party that wishes to unite this country and the empire think they are going to conciliate the two million French Canadians of this country and help them in building up this Canada of ours by calling them 'Johnny Crapauds'? This is a display of the friendly spirit of these gentlemen.

Now, it was not my intention to speak of anything else on this occasion. But, while I am speaking of the *Toronto News*, I may say that the spirit of that paper towards the French Canadians is not displayed now for the first time. Some two years ago there was a horrible crime committed in Ste. Scholastique, in the county of Two Mountains, P.Q., and as a result a man and a woman were hanged for murder. This was entirely a criminal affair and no question of politics were involved in it. And what did the *Hamilton Spectator*, which, if I am well informed, is not more French or more Liberal than the *Toronto News*, say :

Being French, it goes without saying that the woman will not be hanged.

On the 11th March, 1899, in an article referring to the province of Quebec, which is very often present to the minds of these

gentlemen, especially since it has become a Liberal province, the *Toronto News* said :

Sir W. Laurier, in refusing the request of the prohibitionists, is not only arraying himself on the side of the minority, but is assuming that it is all right for the entire Dominion to be governed by the most backward province in the Dominion. It is only one more instance proving that the Dominion of Canada is ruled by the descendants of the conquered Frenchmen who were unwisely conceded lingual and religious privileges at the time of the conquest that should never have been granted.

On November 1st last, the same Tory English organ said :

It appears that in this part of the British Empire a man may be taken to court, tried and convicted, and all the proceedings conducted in a foreign language.

I suppose this comes from the gentlemen who have so much care for the French language.

That may be quite satisfactory to the politicians, and to those who have such abundant faith in the French people—

Evidently these gentlemen have not.

But it does not strike the average citizen of Ontario as being in line of justice to the poor Britisher. As a matter of fact, a Britisher is a foreigner in the province of Quebec—

Does my hon. friend from Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk) echo these sentiments ?

Mr. MONK. If my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) wishes to know my opinion, I would say that I think the less he talks about these things the better.

Mr. BOURASSA. I must say that the interruption is not very much to the point.

—notwithstanding that his forefathers conquered that province a hundred and fifty years ago, and it is British territory to-day.

The next day, in an article headed 'British Sovereign Law,' the *Evening News* says

It is a pity for the Premier that admiration for 'British sovereign law' does not lead him to seek its introduction in Quebec, where a man may be proceeded against in the civil courts in a foreign language, and in accordance with the French code of the last century, which even in France has been done away with.

On the 27th of November, 1899, speaking on 'French Sentiment' :

To our minds the protests of these journals, and of the most important public men among the French in the Dominion has only one significance, and that is that the French Canadians are unalterably opposed to doing anything that will assist in maintaining and strengthening the British Empire. Their desire is the disintegration of the empire, and the ultimate erection of a French state on the St. Lawrence River.

I know that, as the Minister of Public Works said this afternoon, these articles will not have a great effect upon the great masses in the English provinces. Because, I say here and am ready to say everywhere,

I have more faith in the common sense and breadth of mind of the great majority of the English-speaking population of this Dominion. But, after all, we must admit one fact. It has been stated in this House, but it seems not to be acknowledged yet by several members and it is this: the French Canadian, as a rule, reads and understands English—at least the leading French Canadian does—not only in the cities, but in the towns and villages, and even in the small back parishes, while the great mass of the English-speaking population does not understand French. I do not blame them, but I say simply that it has mischievous possibilities and it may be a part of the crude calculation of mischievous politicians to write articles in the English papers which are read by the English population, while they know that the counterpart of their utterances in the French Canadian press cannot be known, because the French papers are not read by English-speaking Canadians. It is not my intention on this occasion to state that the Conservative party as a rule is trying to make capital out of the race question. I know that my hon. friend from Jacques Cartier is a broad-minded man. I pay him that compliment here, and I have always believed and said that of him. I know that he has around him a certain number not only of French but of English Conservatives who do not like this campaign. But, unfortunately, they are tied to a certain element in that party, who wrecked their own government by treason, and who are of opinion that they can save the party they wrecked by raising the loyalty cry. I know that the best members of the Conservative party do not like it, and we have the proof of it by the mouth of the hon. member for Jacques Cartier. That hon. gentleman tries to reconcile his personal sentiments—with which I am ready to agree, and I think we could meet on every platform and agree so far as those objects are concerned—with the sentiments expressed by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), and the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster). But you cannot reconcile those sentiments; it is impossible. The honest fraction of the Conservative party cannot remain faithful to the old principles of the Conservative party and defend at the same time the kind of argument that the other portion of the Conservative party have resorted to. Every time that the bad fraction of the party arises in this House or on the public platform, or attempts in the press to raise this cry, they will be met by the true Liberals, French and English, in a proper way. The fair-minded Conservatives must take the consequences of their own position. It may be painful to them, but it is not our fault if they are in bad company. Now, the hon. member for Jacques Cartier told us very

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properly, that it was not by that kind of argument that loyalty would be taught to the French Canadians of Quebec. I think the intention of the hon. member was right; but I tell him here and now that there is no use whatever in either the Liberal party or the Conservative party trying to teach loyalty to the province of Quebec, for the people there are loyal. Their loyalty may not be the same as that of the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace). They may not understand loyalty in the same way as the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), or the hon. ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster). But I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that, for the benefit of Canada, for the benefit of Great Britain and for the benefit of the empire, it is a very good thing that the French Canadians have not taken their lessons in loyalty from that kind of people.

It is an unfortunate thing, no doubt, that the British flag was assailed in the city of Montreal; but as has been very well said, by most of the members who have spoken in this debate, nobody knows who tore it down; and there is one thing sure, that nobody resented the insult offered to the British flag, more than the French Canadians in the city of Montreal. I admit that they do not raise the British flag so often as some of the Tory loyalists do, and for the very good reason that the latter need that flag to hide their misdeeds. There are many people who are not so sure of their loyalty as they boast, and they have so many ugly things to hide that they need a big stock of flags to hide them.

Mr. Speaker, let me say that we French-Canadians love and respect the British flag, not perhaps for the same reason, not perhaps with the same sentiments, as our English friends do. The British flag does not signify the same thing for us as it does for English speaking Canadians. It is not the flag of the land of our ancestors. But if the Union Jack is not the flag of our motherland it is the flag of the union, of the alliance that has been contracted on this land of Canada, between the French and English-speaking people who desire to live in peace and harmony. We fought against that flag when we owed allegiance to the French flag, and the moment the French flag was driven from this country to old France, it carried away with it a part of our hearts; and a part of our hearts, and not the worst part, is still attached to the old flag that protected this country, when our forefathers came and settled it. But, surely, Sir, I may add, that the feeling of affection, the feeling of love, the fond remembrance of the old French flag does not at all preclude us from entertaining feelings of loyalty, love and respect for the British flag, that took its place. Our hearts are big enough, our minds are broad enough to be equally true to the

remembrance of the past and to the duties of the present. For us, the Union Jack is the flag of union in Canada. As long as its meaning is not misunderstood, as long as it is not imposed upon us as a sign of hatred, as a sign of disunion, by the hon. gentlemen opposite, I can give my word for myself, and, humble as I am, I think I can give my word for the whole of my race, that as long as it means what it has meant to all true patriots, of all origins in this country, both before and since confederation, it will be the sign of union for us. But do not make of it a sign of tyranny, do not make of it a sign of disunion. Remember that the French Canadians are a proud people; they are true to their word, they are men of heart and courage, they need not that any hon. gentleman opposite should teach them loyalty, and they will not stand insult.

The ex-Minister of Finance told us that the authorities of Laval University, and the owners of the different French papers, when they were assailed, could have had resource to the law. But suppose the arm of the law was not sufficient? Is it the new Tory doctrine, that when I am assailed in my own house, I have no right to defend myself, that I must wait for the police to come to rescue me? Sir, if a mob comes and sacks my house, the first law of this land, as well as of all other lands, and more especially in a country under British rule—the first law is the law of liberty, of self-defence, of the defence of personal and private property. The people that were assailed in Montreal pursued the proper course, it was their duty as free men, as men respecting themselves, to defend their property. If blood had been shed in the streets of Montreal, the primary fault would have been that of the men who have scattered these sentiments of disunion throughout this country for months back. I do not think that I need say any more. I hope no debate of this kind will ever again take place in this House; but I may say to the hon. gentlemen opposite, that whenever they try to raise a cry like this, whenever they endeavour, for the benefit of their party to make the appeals that they have made to-day, whenever they undertake to publish in their Tory papers in Ontario and elsewhere, the sentiments that they have furtively expressed in this House, but which they will have to disavow in the province of Quebec, they will be met on their own ground. We would be cowards if we did not meet them on their own grounds. I repeat that we are loyal, but we are self-respecting, and we will stand up for what we believe to be true and right.

Mr. N. C. WALLACE (West York). The hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), has just stated that it is a very good thing for the French Canadians to have taken their lessons in loyalty from the member for

West York (Mr. Wallace). Well, Sir, I think it would have been not injurious to the member for Labelle, if he had taken some lessons in loyalty, either from the member for West York, or from some one else who is truly loyal.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, Mr. Speaker, I challenge any hon. gentleman opposite to point to a flaw in my loyalty to my Queen and to my country.

Mr. BELCOURT. What about your Kingston speech?

Mr. WALLACE. My Kingston speech contained exactly the same sentiment word for word as was expressed by the Earl of Salisbury, who was then the Premier of England, as he is to-day. I am not surprised that such an authority should be treated with derision by hon. gentlemen opposite, by those hon. gentlemen whose sympathies on every occasion are against Great Britain, are against the flag under which they live and which affords them protection. Mr. Speaker, recent events have demonstrated the effects of the preaching of these hon. gentlemen. The doctrines they have enunciated, the principles they have preached, the disloyal sentiments they have uttered, have misled people in the city of Montreal. Why, Sir, I listened this afternoon, with amazement to the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). He said that we were bringing this matter up for party purposes. In a speech of some length, every sentence was punctuated with charges that we were trying to make party capital, when he was himself trying to make capital for his party from start to finish of his speech. Why, Sir, don't we know this gentleman? He made a speech the other day in this House, and I will only allude to it to say that it was the first loyal speech in the whole of his political career. Never before had he given utterance to loyal sentiments. Then he turns round to-day and derides the loyalty of those who contend that we should be loyal to our flag and country. He condemns every one who has a good word to say for his country. We remember the letter he wrote many years ago, when he insulted every Canadian volunteer, when he wrote a letter to a Yankee newspaper pointing out that these Canadian volunteers who had turned out at the time of the Fenian raid, who had risked their lives as loyal men to-day are doing, he stigmatized them as an ill-dressed, unkempt body of men, totally lacking in courage, lacking in intelligence, lacking in everything that constitutes a good and loyal citizen. And, Sir, when we heard his eulogy this afternoon of the French Canadian race, did we not remember what he said about his leader. I think the recollection of it is fresh in the

minds of many people. Writing a letter to a friend he said :

With a French Canadian leader like Wilfrid Laurier—

He was Mr. Wilfrid Laurier then—

—and a machine politician like J. D. Edgar, there is not much hope for the Liberal party in Canada.

That was the hon. gentleman's idea of the French Canadians a few years ago. Then he turned around, as he could easily do, and displayed the other side of the shield. As has been stated, he has been a commissioner at Washington since then, but, Mr. Speaker, that does not satisfy him. He sees something else in view. That is a thing of the past ; There is no gratitude for past favours. He is looking for some other favour, because this remarkable speech of this afternoon shows that he is looking for some other position which he very earnestly desires to secure. The hon. member for North Norfolk made a large portion of his speech on the same lines as the hon. Minister of Public Works, and that was in denouncing the McGill students. The McGill students have come in for a lot of denunciation this afternoon. Well, Sir, what were they going to do ? Here are the circumstances : The loyal people of Canada, from ocean to ocean, were celebrating three glorious events of the war in South Africa. First, we had the relief of Kimberley, then we had the capture of Cronje's army, and then the relief of the heroic garrison of Ladysmith. With these three events coming closely one after another the loyal people of Canada went wild, and the McGill students, who were not a bit behind in their loyalty, went out on the streets. The hon. Minister of Public Works says that they went to the three French newspaper offices, purposely omitting to state other places that they visited. Where did they go before they went to the French newspaper offices ? They went to Bishop's College, an English-speaking school, to the Collegiate Institute and to the *Star* newspaper office before they went to *La Patrie*. They took the bulletin boards down from the *Star*, they captured them, they carried them away, they went to the Board of Trade, they captured the Board of Trade, and they made the president, or some of the principal men there, get up on a stand and make speeches. Those that were captured in that way were delighted and they made patriotic speeches. They went to the Stock Exchange, where they did the same thing, after which they went to the City Hall, captured the mayor, put him up on a pedestal, and the mayor made a loyal speech. He proposed cheers for Buller, cheers for General Roberts, cheers for General White, and cheers for the contingents in South Africa. They all gave three cheers for the mayor, and everybody went away pleased. We

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were told that this was a most dastardly proceeding on the part of the McGill students. What was there dastardly about it ? The students were enthusiastic ; they may have bubbled over a little, but where was the dastardliness of their conduct. It was loyal conduct. Then they went to *La Patrie* office and put up the Union Jack. Is that a crime in the Dominion of Canada, or in any part of the British dominions ? It apparently was very offensive to those in the *Patrie* office. They went to Laval University and put up a flag. There was no very serious crime committed. Crowds gathered with them ; other boys joined in with them. It was a general holiday and the people were rejoicing because of the victories achieved by British arms. Well, then, what occurred ? On the next night, in the papers there was a moderate, sensible report of the proceedings, but, *La Patrie* came out with an article, which, to my mind, was like the injunction of the old priest to his flock when they had captured an informer. Hon. gentlemen know, that, in Ireland, an informer is held in great detestation, and there is no punishment too severe for him. All that the priest said was : Boys, do not nail his ears to the pump. So it was with *La Patrie* when it published an incitement to the French Canadian race to violence, an incitement to take the law into their own hands. What did they say in that article in *La Patrie* ? We do advise the organization of vigorous resistance, using force if necessary. Who wrote that ? Was it the hon. Minister of Public Works ? He has been charged with it. He has not denied it. I believe, because he cannot deny it. When it was read this afternoon he cheered it. We had the spectacle this afternoon, that, when that incendiary article was read here, almost every sentence was greeted with uproarious cheering, not only by the hon. Minister of Public Works, but by the great body of members on the ministerial side of the House. That article is characterized in proper terms in the *Toronto Globe*. What does the *Globe* say about it ? The *Globe*, in its issue of to-day, says :

In truth, the French in Canada enjoy exceptional rights and privileges under the confederation compact, and while there is so little disposition anywhere to subject these special privileges to attack, we must dissent from the statement of '*La Patrie*' that 'there is very little to add to what has taken place to rend the federal pact asunder, and that without much delay.' To be candid, in this utterance '*La Patrie*' descends to hysterical and passionate nonsense.

It is more than hysterical and passionate nonsense. It is treason to the country ; it is treason to confederation. I repeat that article is treason to confederation, treason to our Dominion. It is utterly uncalled for. What are the facts ? It tells the people to take the law into their own hands and to use mob law or violence. But it is said that

if you are attacked in your house you are entitled to defend yourself. These were not the circumstances in this case. If you are attacked in your own house you are entitled to defend yourself, but this article was not written for the employees of *La Patrie*; it was written to incite the mob, to incite people not belonging to *La Patrie*. You have civic government in Montreal, you have an efficient police force, you have, at the head of that police force, the mayor of the city of Montreal, a political compatriot of hon. gentlemen opposite; one who is, they say, negotiating to be a member of their government; one of their strong supporters in this House of Commons is the mayor of Montreal to-day. They have the control of the local government which is in sympathy with them, and the military forces of Canada are under the control of the Liberal party to-day? The Dominion government, the local government of Quebec, and the municipal machinery of Montreal—the mayor being a Liberal member in this House—are under the control of the Liberal party. Yet, with all this machinery in their hands to maintain peace in the province of Quebec, here is a Minister of the Crown calling upon the people to organize to disregard the law, to disregard the machinery in the hands of the local Liberal government, the Dominion Liberal government, and the Liberal mayor of Montreal, and to take the law into their own hands, to raise a riot, and to do what he apparently desires, and what he says in so many words he desires, viz.: Smash confederation. That is the object of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), that is the course he is taking. What followed: Archbishop Bruchesi and Principal Peterson the head of the two universities came together, and all difficulties were reconciled and everything was quieted down. After *La Patrie* knew that that was done, out it came with this inflammable article calling on the disturbing element in Montreal to take the law into their own hands, and to organize. This article appeared in *La Patrie* in the afternoon at four o'clock, and that evening law and order were set at defiance. What occurred then? You do not hear a word of this, Mr. Speaker, from the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) or from the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) who prates from the beginning to the end of his speech about loyalty, and who has not the slightest inkling of what loyalty means.

Mr. PENNY. What night are you referring to now?

Mr. WALLACE. This was on Friday night, and here is what the paper said occurred:

If the afternoon's parade was a quiet and creditable one, and seemed under the influence of

moderate and wise heads, nightfall saw another sight.

That demonstration in the afternoon was no doubt by the Laval students.

Mr. PENNY. Was that Friday afternoon?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. PENNY. There was no demonstration on Friday afternoon.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Never mind, it is all the same to him.

Mr. WALLACE. There was a demonstration, because I am reading an account of it, and here is what occurred:

Then people who had been to tea and dinner began to gather there, and mutterings grew to shouts and inflammatory speeches were made from the tops of the huge snow banks on either side of St. Denis Street. The crowd swelled every moment, and by eight o'clock numbered thousands.

There was a demand that something be done, and something was done, of which there had been vague threats heard earlier in the day.

In the mob were many Laval students, but a rougher element seemed now to predominate.

The observation in the thick of the mob throughout the whole eventful night is that the influence of many wearing the colours of Laval seemed used rather to restrain than incite the crowd.

They were evidently doing their best to keep the crowd within proper limits:

Certainly every attempt in the latter part of the night to march towards the west end was frustrated by appeals to the people to stay by Laval and act on the defensive.

At eight o'clock a leader was obtained and he marshalled the mob, carrying tri-colours, and one with a red handkerchief waving on the end of a stick. The men and boys were armed with bludgeons of all kinds, and those who had nothing else had recourse to the ruins of the Theatre Francais, and got pieces of boards and fragments of posts to use as clubs.

Taking up the 'Marseillaise' as a battle-song and with cries of 'avant! avant!' the crowd formed three or four deep, in the middle of the street, and swinging around from St. Denis Street into St. Catherine Street, proceeded west.

At St. Lawrence Street, however, which has been regarded as a sort of dividing line between English and French Montreal, the procession turned down towards Craig Street. They now filled the street from side to side, and while the 'Marseillaise' was the song most tried to sing, other songs and shouts mingled with it till there was a mighty hoarse roar of an excited multitude.

Down the Main they proceeded, up St. Lambert's Hill to St. James Street. There they cheered 'La Patrie,' and halting sang the 'Marseillaise' with a mighty shout.

Then it goes on to say:

Then the crowd surged on, and in a few minutes the advance ones came in sight of the British flag floating from the staff on the roof of St. Lawrence Hall. It was greeted with a howl of derision, but it was too high up to be reached.

On they passed, and the next halt was made in front of the 'Star' temporary business office on St. James Street. The first arrivals threw a few pieces of snow at the windows.

Then it goes on to say :

Arriving at the 'Star' office, the first act of the mob was to tear down all the bulletin boards which were just beneath the flag, and smash them to pieces. This appeased the wrath of the mob for a short time, but in a few minutes their thirst for further deeds began to reappear. Longing eyes were cast on the British flag waving on the top of the 'Star' office, but to climb up the front of a building looked like an impossible accomplishment. So for a while the flag waved gaily to and fro. The frenzy reached its height after a few minutes' contemplation of the situation by the marchers, and one bold, bad man determined to haul that flag down, or die in the attempt. With greater agility than a cat he climbed on ledges, wires and cornices, and reached the roof, amid deafening cheers from the mob below. He immediately rushed for the flag-pole, and hauled down the British flag.

This man, who was recognized by the watchman, threw the flag down among the mob.

Perhaps a British flag has never before been so treated in a British country. The treatment of that flag could not be worse, it could not be more insulting. The irresponsible character of the insulters is the only thing to be advanced in palliation of the offence.

That is not what the Minister of Public Works said. He said that one man went up for the flag and that one man was responsible. It was those whom the member for Labelle, and those other gentlemen had been educating, and it was not confined to one man or to a dozen men. There were thousands. What was done with the flag? Here it is :

The receivers tore this emblem of freedom and fair-play all over the world into shreds, spat and trampled on it, and shouted 'A bas le Union Jack.' This was indignity enough to inflict on this particular flag at this particular time, in their opinion, and when 'the man on the roof' approached the solid earth again he was seized by his enthusiastic confreres and carried along on their shoulders to the tune of 'La Marseilles.'

What occurred after that? Not satisfied with pulling down the flag, not satisfied with trampling it on the snow, not satisfied with tearing it into shreds, they took it down and burned the remnants amidst the cheers of the howling mob. Now, Mr. Speaker, all I can say is that those who have denounced as dastardly the conduct of the McGill students, have utterly failed to recognize the difference between the actions of the McGill students and Laval students if you please, and this mob I am alluding to, on Friday night. The McGill students were guilty of the crime of wanting to put up the British flag, and this howling mob were guilty of the crime in a British country of hauling down the British flag and exposing it to every indignity. They tore it into ribbons, they trampled it under foot. Yet these gentlemen opposite attempt to

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make a comparison between the doings of the McGill boys, and the doings of this mob instigated as they were by the articles in *La Patrie*, written as we believe, by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) himself. He tells us that he wrote the article the next day eulogizing the British flag. Does not everybody know that the whole history of his career is a history of hypocrisy—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. Is the word hypocrisy out of order?

Mr. McMULLEN. Not from you.

Mr. WALLACE. I am not taking my authority from the hon. member for North Wellington; I do not recognize his opinion; I am taking my authority from the Speaker of the House of Commons. I say that the whole career of the Minister of Public Works has been one of insincerity and a disregard for actual facts. He tells us, 'I am a loyal man.' We may doubt that if we like. He tells us, 'I am a truthful man.' We have always doubted that, because we know that he made a solemn declaration in the House of Commons on one occasion, and that before a court of justice he swore the very opposite, and when taxed, confronted with the statement he had made in the House of Commons, he said 'Oh, I was not on my oath then.' So I think we may fairly say that he is not a truthful man, though he asserts that he is truthful. Then he says he is an honest man. Well, if his whole career does not give a flat contradiction to that statement, I do not know what the record of a man may do.

Mr. TAYLOR. Read the *Globe* of a few years ago.

Mr. WALLACE. Read the *Globe* of a few years ago, and read his confessions in the courts. Read his connection with Mercier, the robber of public money. Read the whole of it. He said to-day that he was courageous. I never heard a courageous man constantly boasting of his courage. I never heard an honest man constantly boasting of his honesty. I never heard a truthful man boasting that he was the only truthful James the world ever produced. And so, when the hon. Minister of Public Works makes these claims, I at once put down the very opposite. He stated in Toronto, for instance, that I made the boast that I was going down with an army to capture the province of Quebec. Of course, he did not repeat that statement in the House, because he dare not do so. I might have asked him where such a statement was made. I do not ask him, because he dare not repeat the statement here. He could not make any statement outside of this House that bears the slightest resemblance to veracity. Now, Mr. Speaker. I

say it is most deplorable that the events that occurred last Friday night in the city of Montreal should have occurred anywhere where the British flag floats. There is no portion of the people of this Dominion upon whom the spirit of loyalty is more incumbent than upon the French Canadian race. Why, Sir, there is no conquered race in the history of any country that has received such special privileges, such toleration, and more than toleration, such liberal treatment, as the French Canadian race have received in the Dominion of Canada, both from the British government and from the government of Canada. They know this; they acknowledge it; they see it themselves; and, Sir, that there should be any portion of them misled, and misled by men high in authority, into disloyal courses, is deplorable. Who has led these men to trample on the British flag? Who has encouraged these men to do these things? The Minister of Public Works.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think that is not a fair statement.

Mr. WALLACE. Well, I will put the statement this way, Mr. Speaker. The article in *La Patrie*, by whomsoever written, was a direct encouragement. All through this war not a particle of sympathy with the British in their fights, in their difficulties, in those disasters that had occurred to the British arms—nothing but jubilation and rejoicing from *La Patrie*; and when at length success had crowned our arms, when our troops were victorious, throughout this Dominion, not only in Montreal, but in Toronto, in Hamilton, in every city, town, village and hamlet of this country, the spirits of the people boiled over with rejoicings over the glorious success of the British arms, and also over the signal courage which our Canadian soldiers had evinced on the field of battle on more than one occasion. These were the things that stirred the hearts of loyal Canadians; these were the things that made the loyal boys of McGill go out on the streets and throw up their caps, and, we are told, break the law. What are they to do to-morrow if another victory is announced? We are told that they are to stay within doors, that they are not to go out on the streets. If they do, and if they call on other citizens to rejoice with them, these loyal gentlemen say, we will smash confederation. The *Globe* newspaper ridicules this nonsensical course of the Minister of Public Works. That hon. gentleman has no excusers in the province of Ontario, except the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who can turn a corner about as sharply as any hon. member of the House of Commons I ever knew. I shall only say this in conclusion. There is no one who deplores these incidents more than I do. There is no one who desires to see this Dominion of Can-

ada built up in harmony more than I do. A year and a half ago I had the pleasure of spending some weeks in the city of Quebec. It is a very French city, and I met there French members of the Dominion parliament on both sides of politics; I met those who have been French members in days gone by; I met members of the local legislature; I met many other French people; and I can say that in no place where I have been, in Canada or out of it, was I treated with more kindness, hospitality and friendship than in the city of Quebec. I desire to perpetuate these feelings of friendship and good fellowship; but I say that if they are to be controlled by men of the calibre and kind of the Minister of Public Works, there is disaster before us in this country. If such men are to predominate and have sway in the province of Quebec, there will be disaster. If men of wisdom like the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk), who is known and admitted to be a loyal and patriotic citizen of the province of Quebec, and men like the Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbiniere), are to guide the French Canadian people, I am sure the races will not separate, but there will be a period when the different nationalities of this country will join in one harmonious whole. But I have no faith in the future if the Minister of Public Works and those who are with him in this racial conflict continue to dominate the public opinion of the province of Quebec.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a few words upon this unfortunate occurrence, and upon the manner in which this whole afternoon has been taken up and virtually wasted. Permit me in the first place to say that I have been a regular visitor to the province of Quebec for over forty years. I have gone there twice a year on business for over thirty years, and have spent a month each year in the city of Montreal; and in all my business experience, I must say that I never met a kinder, better behaved, more hospitable and dignified people than the French people of the city of Montreal. I hope the ex-Minister of Finance is not leaving the House, because I wish to tell him that I have never seen a smaller exhibition of peanut politics than has been given this afternoon by that hon. gentleman and the ex-Minister of Customs (Mr. Wallace). In the eighteen years I have been a member of this House, I must confess I have never witnessed such a miserable, puerile exhibition as we have had this afternoon. It was evidently instigated by the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster). It was evidently he who put up the hon. gentleman from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) to start the debate.

Mr. PRIOR. That is not so.

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. member for North Bruce was courteously and effectively replied to by the right hon. leader of the government, and then the ex-Minister of Finance, in a speech about an hour long, displayed all the littleness of character which so peculiarly characterizes him—trying to make mountains of mole hills, seeking to manufacture a little political capital out of a disturbance in Montreal between two classes of school boys. There is no doubt that the students of McGill acted very imprudently, and the best evidence of the fact that they were the instigators of the whole trouble is that the president of McGill University went and apologized like a man for what the students had done. But for men in this House to resort to the miserable device of bringing up an incident of this kind for the purpose of making political capital out of it, as the ex-Minister of Finance and the ex-Controller of Customs have done, shows a conception of political and party tactics even lower and smaller than any I supposed these hon. gentlemen possessed of. Men like the late Sir John Macdonald, whose memory we all respect, and the late Sir George Cartier, would never have dreamt for a moment of countenancing the course taken by these hon. gentlemen this afternoon. I myself believe—and I will continue to believe it until contradicted by the leader of the opposition himself—that that hon. gentleman purposely kept out of the House this afternoon to avoid having even the appearance of lending his countenance to such miserable small tactics as have been resorted to for the purpose of exploiting an incident we all deplore. I cannot come to any other conclusion, for never before have we witnessed such a humiliating exhibition. I must say that it is greatly to the credit of the government that the opposition should find themselves reduced to resort to such tactics, for if they can find no other way of attacking the government, if they can find no other charge on which to arouse public opinion against the government, and are driven to the necessity of trying to make political capital out of a miserable petty school quarrel in the city of Montreal, then the government must be a very perfect one indeed. If these hon. gentlemen have no better tactics than they have shown this afternoon, if they have no more formidable charges to make against the government, they ought frankly and honestly to confess that there is indeed a government in this country in which really they can find no fault.

I do think that it is high time we should get down to the business of the session and do the country's work. Hon. gentlemen opposite need not imagine that they are going to gain popularity by the course they have taken. The people of this country read the newspapers, and they can see through these

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small tactics; and let me tell hon. gentlemen opposite that instead of making capital by the never-ending criticisms and abuse which they are heaping on the Minister of Public Works, the people of Ontario are becoming nauseated and are resenting this continual hounding down and abuse of a man who does not deserve it. There is a public reaction of sympathy in favour of this man, who is known to be on the very brink of the grave.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. McMULLEN. He is even to-day in such a condition of health that he is hardly able to bear the responsibilities of the position he fills, and in which he is attacked in the most bitter and persistent, and determined manner. No man in Canada, in my experience, in the last forty years, has been persecuted as the hon. Minister of Public Works has been by hon. gentlemen opposite. They have stopped at nothing, they have laid hold of everything they could use. The Tory press of Canada has from day to day, and week to week attributed utterances to him that he never spoke, and done everything they possibly could to destroy him. Why? Because he was once a Tory, because he once belonged to the party of hon. gentlemen opposite, but saw the error of his ways and joined a better and a purer lot of men. He exposed hon. gentlemen opposite, he brought them into disgrace and contempt for their misdeeds, and they lose no effort to try and crush him in return. But allow me to tell these hon. gentlemen that their efforts will fail. They are making no impression on the people of Ontario. Let me tell the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) that he can preach to his hearts content about the disloyalty of the French people and particularly of the Minister of Public Works, and can vaunt to the skies his own loyalty, nobody takes much stock in what he says. The people see through him. His attacks are as harmless as water on a duck's back.

For my part, I am amazed that the ex-Minister of Finance, a man who has occupied the position of minister of the Crown for many years, should have descended so low. I am surprised that he should not try to rise to the dignity that should characterize a man who fills the position in the public eye that he does. In place of that we have had a continuation of the miserable littleness, the peanut politics adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite for the purpose of trying to make a little capital, taking up the time of the House so that no business can be carried on. I did not expect much better. I must say, from the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace). In fact, I cannot say that I expected very much better from either. When I looked across and saw the hon. member for West Assiniboia

(Mr. Davin) on one side, and the hon. ex-Controller of Customs (Mr. Wallace) on the other, and the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) in the middle, I said to myself: There is a trio who are ready to do anything, ready to say anything, ready to take any course to injure the Minister of Public Works. I hope the hon. minister will be spared to Canada, and I can tell him, though they have tried to belittle him and injure him in the eyes of the people of Ontario, that there is not a man in this House today, save and except the leader of the government, who, coming to Ontario tomorrow, would receive a heartier, more cordial and more united welcome than the Minister of Public Works. The people of Ontario realize that he is an abused man, that he has been pounced upon by men determined to preach him into his grave if possible. And, in that effort, they have descended this afternoon to the lowest step in petty politics in order, if possible, to make some impression. My hon. friend from West York (Mr. Wallace) has drawn attention to a letter that was printed in Montreal. He should know that it was two days at least after the incident occurred that that letter appeared, not before the trouble arose. Now, I say, were the English-speaking portion of this Dominion only two millions, and the French three millions, and were the English-speaking minority in Quebec treated as the French were treated in Montreal, our people would use even stronger language than was used in the papers, in regard to the necessity of rising to protect ourselves. The ex-Minister of Customs, as a member of the minority would simply overflow with a desire to avenge what he would consider the injustice practiced upon us. I find no fault with that article. Unfortunately, a gross injustice was practiced by the students of McGill College, and I regret exceedingly that anything took place of that kind. But the petty tactics adopted here to try and make a little capital out of that incident will be looked upon by the people of this country as the smallest piece of politics ever resorted to in this country. If hon. gentlemen opposite have any respect for themselves, if they have any respect for this parliament, let them quit this littleness, and let us get to work to deal with the great public questions affecting this country, instead of, as has been done on the other side, attempting to make a mountain out of a mole hill, to make political capital out of a quarrel between two schools. If this goes on, it will soon come to this, that if two bodies of school-boys going in different directions happen to meet and have a snowball fight, the ex-Minister of Finance will bring it up in this House, if he thinks he can make any political capital out of it, and the ex-Minister of Customs, no doubt, will aid him. I feel humiliated, ashamed, to think that this parliament has been used as a field for such

tactics as we have seen this afternoon. Let us quit this kind of thing, do the work of the country, or let us quit altogether.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). This House ought to be edified by the exceedingly dignified, courteous, manly and statesmanlike speech we have just listened to from the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen). This is one of the occasions in his life of which he may well feel proud. I am sure when he looks over his remarks in *Hansard*, he will have come to the conclusion that he has either taken too much to eat or too much to drink or else his biliary organs were very much out of condition. He first speaks of the way this subject was introduced by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill). I think I can fairly appeal to this House that the hon. member for North Bruce, in speaking of this regrettable incident, did so in a very moderate, dignified, and conciliatory way. I think I can fairly appeal to the leader of the government whether I am not correct in what I say in regard to that, and whether any hon. gentleman can fairly take exception either to the subject of discussion or to the manner in which he handled that discussion. Notwithstanding that, he has roused the hon. member for North Wellington. That hon. gentleman is evidently in a bilious condition. He has vomited bile for the last half hour to an extent which has almost nauseated every one in the House.

Mr. SPEAKER. I trust the hon. member (Mr. Sproule) will refrain from personal allusion.

Mr. SPROULE. If that is unparliamentary, Mr. Speaker, I withdraw it, because I wish to keep within the rules of parliament. I do not wish to follow the example of the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) who has just taken his seat. That hon. gentleman has left the House, following the example of his friend, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), no doubt remembering the good old rule, that he who fights and runs away may live to fight another day. That is the kind of courtesy extended to hon. members on this side, after they have listened to what I was going to call a diatribe, if that were parliamentary. After finishing their remarks, these hon. gentlemen rise, and whether it is through discourtesy or ignorance, I am not prepared to say, they leave the House. In my opinion, it is designedly done; after they have vomited forth all their bile, they dare not stay and listen to an answer, but leave the House.

Mr. LANDERKIN. Look around you.

Mr. SPROULE. I heard the musical voice of the hon. member for South Grey (Mr. Landerkin). When we heard this afternoon

that article read from *La Patrie* advising organized resistance, advising practically civil war, advising force against the authority of the Queen, it met with a sympathetic response by the hon. member for South Grey, the member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), and the member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), who appears from time to time in the Queen's uniform. That incendiary article was endorsed by these hon. gentlemen, of all men in this House. It comes with bad grace from men representing constituencies that I know are composed of loyal men, and these hon. gentlemen dare not go back into their own constituencies and express such sentiments as they have done to-night. The hon. member for North Wellington complained of the speech of the member for York (Mr. Wallace), which in my judgment, was very conciliatory. I do not think any one could say he was unreasonable. He tried as far as possible to minimize this unfortunate incident and to throw the broad mantle of charity over both sides. Yet his speech was described as small, petty, miserable, contemptible, and those epitaphs were repeated fifteen or twenty times. But the speech of the Minister of Public Works, was described with fulsome flattery, he endorsed every word of it, and he endorsed the incendiary article in *La Patrie*. I ask him if he would dare to read a copy of that article in his own constituency and endorse it. Sir, he dare not do it. Yet here he endorses it, condones it, and slobbers him over with slime, as a snake does his victim that he intends to swallow. The conduct of the Minister of Public Works is all right, his article in *La Patrie* was all right, there was nothing wrong, nothing disloyal in it. But he abuses the students of McGill College for what they did. The others were merely enjoying a little innocent pastime, but the conduct of the McGill students who, in their enthusiasm, displayed their loyalty over the good news from South Africa in the relief of Ladysmith, that was all wrong. But the conduct of the others was all right, even though it included the pulling down of the Union Jack, tearing it to shreds, burning it, spitting upon it—there was nothing wrong in that. The incendiary article that appeared that day and which, in my judgment, went a long ways towards exciting the people to those atrocious deeds, that article was all right. Let us remember that the editorial in *La Patrie* was written on the very day on which these disloyal acts were committed, and I believe it was that article which led to these incendiary acts, it was the result of reading that very article that appeared in *La Patrie*, and which was credited to the Minister of Public Works, and which he has not seen fit to deny up to the present time.

Now, Mr. Speaker, these hon. gentlemen appear to regard this as a very insignificant

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incident. It was not disloyal, the most of them say. Well, I would like to know what they mean by disloyal. If a crowd of people, whether you call them a mob, or a class of respectable citizens, so far forget themselves as to tear down the emblem of the country, to tear down the Union Jack, to tear it into shreds, to trample on it, to spit on it, and to burn the remnants that may be left, that is a kind of disloyalty that is condoned by the member for North Wellington, by the member for South Grey, and by the member for North Oxford. What did General White say, after he had been relieved from the siege of Ladysmith, that had lasted 118 days? He says: 'It hurt me terribly to cut down your rations,' speaking to the people who were in an emaciated condition, half starved, who had been reduced to feeding on horse flesh; but, says General White: 'Thank God, we kept the flag still flying.' But in loyal Montreal, the mob would not keep the flag still flying, and the incendiary article written by the Minister of Public Works was, I believe, largely the cause of the mob tearing it down. Yet these hon. gentlemen from Ontario are ready to condone the act, to say there was no disloyalty in it. Let them ask General White if that is loyalty, let them ask General Roberts if that is loyalty, let them ask any man in the British army, or in any part of the British Empire, if that is loyalty, and I will be much mistaken if they answer in the affirmative, if they would regard such act as a high expression of loyalty.

I say it is unfortunate that the McGill students did what they did, but I do not go so far as to say, with the Premier, that their act will result in forcing us to prevent any more demonstrations. After this we will have no more parades. Does he mean to tell me that the loyal British, in their enthusiasm, cannot go out upon the streets and carry the flag of their country? That they cannot go down to the city hall and ask the mayor to address them, that they cannot go to the Board of Exchange, and ask to be addressed there? Are we, then, to have no more parades, although in every part of the British Empire, loyal men can raise the flag of their country? Yet in Montreal they won't be allowed to do it.

The PRIME MINISTER. I never said anything of the kind.

Mr. SPROULE. I took down the hon. gentleman's words, and I hope I am not misrepresenting him. He said: 'What will it result in? It will be this, that we cannot have any more such demonstrations.'

The PRIME MINISTER. I never said anything of the kind.

Mr. SPROULE. Well, I took it down from his lips, and if I am doing him an injustice, I do not wish to do it. But I took down the

same thing from the Minister of Public Works.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. No, I never said that in my life.

Mr. SPROULE. Well, I only ask both of those gentlemen to look at the *Hansard* when it comes out, and I will stand by the records. But are we to be told in this House that loyal men of the British Empire cannot enthuse over a great victory by British arms?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Nobody objects to that.

Mr. SPROULE. Will they tell me that is loyalty? We are told the students' mob carried the British flag in front. I will tell you what a reputable gentleman told me, speaking in a hotel the other night. He said that there was a tri-colour carried at the head of the procession, a flag eight or nine feet square; and the Union Jack, about fifteen inches square, was tied to a pole and carried almost at the tail end of the procession. Is that what you expect in a loyal crowd? I do not think so. Is that what the Minister of Public Works endorses? If he does, he would not be likely to endorse it in Ontario, where, I am quite sure, the people would not relish it quite so well as some of his friends do here.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I do not indulge in breaking the doors of my neighbours.

Mr. SPROULE. I am not talking about breaking doors, I am talking about the spirit of loyalty that was displayed by the crowd who paraded the streets in Montreal with a tri-colour in front of the Union Jack, in one case, and in another case, with the Union Jack below it. I say if you call that loyalty, you give the term a different meaning from what I do. I say as long as the Union Jack is the flag of our country, it should be at the front of any procession. I do not wonder at it. When the hon. Minister of Public Works is going down the St. Lawrence, in the summer, it is the tri-colour that he puts up on the boat.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) has over and over again heard me, in the House, explain that. He has heard me say that the British flag was always given the post of honour whenever I was on board the steamer, but that, on three or four occasions, when I was visiting French people, I hoisted the French flag, but still the British flag was at the post of honour.

Mr. SPROULE. I have heard it repeatedly contradicted, and I have heard the reverse stated.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. Well, the reverse is not true.

Mr. SPROULE. I have heard the reverse stated by reputable men.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. It is not true.

Mr. SPROULE. I am bound to take the hon. gentleman's disclaimer. If he is ashamed of it now and wishes to take it back—

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS. I am not ashamed of it.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think we should accept each other's denials of statements across the floor.

Mr. SPROULE. I said that I accepted it.

Mr. SPEAKER. There are occasions when a subsequent innuendo follows a denial of a statement, which I regret very much.

Mr. SPROULE. Mr. Speaker, I am entitled to get through with my sentence before being stopped. I am bound to do that in this House as long as I am a member of it. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) is ashamed of it and takes it back for that reason—

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). Order, order.

Mr. SPROULE. What does the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) want? Does he not wish to allow an hon. member of this House to speak because he is there? Does he think that all the loyalty is in his own brain? If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte) disclaims it because it is untrue, I say all the more honour to him. But the hon. gentleman is obliged to let an hon. member speak as he is entitled to speak in this House. I want the hon. Postmaster General to understand that as long as I am here I will exercise that right notwithstanding that I may incur his bad temper at any stage.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Biliousness seems to be chronic.

Mr. SPROULE. It does on that side of the House especially. Hon. gentlemen opposite said that they had not learned their loyalty from this side of the House. No, if they had there would never have been that spirit of annexation which was displayed during the Mercier regime down there; there would never have been unrestricted reciprocity that Edward Blake said would lead to annexation if it ever prevailed. I say, thank God, that we have never talked such loyalty as that on this side of the House, and it would have been well for hon. gentlemen opposite if they had taken their loyalty from this side of the House. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) amused me when he spoke of the

subject of loyalty in this House. I have listened to the hon. gentleman for twenty-one years, and in all that time I have heard him make but one patriotic speech. He has a record, a history, and he might pray that his history should be buried in oblivion, for if there is a man in this House who is vulnerable and who may fairly be called disloyal and a traitor to his country, that man is the hon. member for North Norfolk. His letter that he wrote about the Canadian volunteers, his connection with the Americans over there, the way he has carried on his propaganda with the Americans, and his whole career from first to last, down to the present session, in my judgment, proclaim him to the world as a disloyal man. There is no question about it, nobody thinks otherwise in this country. Those that know the hon. gentleman, who have heard him speak or who have read his speeches, know that and I do not think his speech to-night will raise him in their estimation. I was amused by the fulsome eulogy he expended on the right hon. Prime Minister, after the letter he wrote to his friend, which was read by the hon. member for North York, in which he said that with a French Canadian leader and under the manipulation of such an unscrupulous machine politician as J. D. Edgar, the Liberal party could never have any future.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I never received any such letter from him.

Mr. SPROULE. I did not say that the hon. gentleman did. The hon. gentleman puts up a man of straw and knocks him down again.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The hon. member (Mr. Sproule) said the hon. member for North York.

Mr. SPROULE. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I referred to the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), a much better man. But to come back to the hon. member for North Norfolk, he wasted a quarter of an hour be-slobbering the right hon. Prime Minister over in a slimy, fulsome eulogy. It reminded me of the conduct of a snake that is going to swallow his victim and which covers him over with slime before he does it. Yet they call that political astuteness. If it is I do not know the meaning of the term. Now, I have only to say in regard to the incident which took place that it is a very regrettable one. I have nothing but praise for Archbishop Bruchesi and Principal Peterson because of the words of wisdom and conciliation they uttered and because, in the high positions which they occupy, they did all they could to relieve the embarrassment of the situation. I am sure that the better element in the city of Montreal do not endorse this attempt which has been made to make differences between races and classes of the

Mr. SPROULE.

people, and that they desire that they have seen such an attempt for the last time. I am quite sure that the people will regret it all over the country, but, I am quite sure as well, that those who read the speech of the hon. Minister of Public Works, the speech of the hon. member for North Norfolk, and the speech of the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) will say that they are entirely out of harmony with that spirit of conciliation and kind words that was displayed by those gentlemen in Montreal in endeavouring to quell the trouble down there. Then, the hon. member for North Norfolk undertook to abuse the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), who, I think, introduced the subject in the most dignified, cautious, able and statesmanlike way, and used most conciliatory language. To turn around and abuse him was wrong, because such an attack was not justified by the manner in which he treated the subject this afternoon.

Mr. E. G. PENNY (St. Lawrence, Montreal). Mr. Speaker, I was away this afternoon, and I have not really heard all that has taken place, but I have heard some of the speeches this evening, and I am surprised at the language which has been used, particularly by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. I am going to try and treat this question independently of all party spirit. I come from the city of Montreal. I have been there during the last few days, and I think I know something of what has taken place. There is no doubt that this has been a time of great trial for the city of Montreal. Hon. gentlemen sitting here, on both sides of the House, do not realize how near the citizens of this Dominion have been in conflict one with the other. It is a very serious question, and as I said at the outset, I am going to treat it from a non-party point of view; I am going to say, and I want to say it, here, from my seat in this House, that there has been too much of a political appeal made out of the race question by both sides of politics. I say that advisedly, because, if you take the newspaper writings, not only of the papers of Ontario, but also of the papers of the province of Quebec, you will find that they have been, for the last four months, inciting the people of both nationalities, and working upon their feelings to such an extent, that it almost culminated the other day in riot and bloodshed in Montreal. There is no doubt that every proper thinking Englishman in Montreal admits that the McGill students were wrong in going to the newspaper offices, that they were wrong in going to Laval University, and there is no doubt that the Laval students were wrong to a certain extent. But, Sir, it is wrong to accuse the Laval students of having gone to the *Star* office and of having pulled down the flag, for so

far as I can understand from the reports which I have heard on good authority, there were very few Laval students in the crowd, and it was not the Laval students who were guilty. The act was committed by a mob whose feeling had been worked upon, and the Laval students should not be held responsible.

Mr. SPROULE. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Penny) understood me to say that it was done by the Laval students, I wish to correct him. I did not say so, and I had no ground for saying so. I said it was one of the crowd.

Mr. PENNY. I certainly understood the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) or the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) to say it was a Laval student.

Mr. WALLACE. I made no reference whatever to the Laval students pulling down the flag at the *Star* office. On the contrary I read a report which said that the Laval students were doing their best to dissuade the others from wrong-doing. I did not even inferentially charge the Laval students from pulling down the flag.

Mr. PENNY. Then I accept the hon. gentleman's statement. Now, when we come to sift this thing to the bottom, we find that most of the McGill students who were parading the streets of Montreal were young men from different parts of the Dominion, most of them from the province of Ontario I am sorry to say, and they were not Montrealers at all. I think it is wrong that these young men, receiving their education in the province of Quebec, should enter into any offensive demonstration, or try to work up any racial feelings. We English and we French people in the province of Quebec if we are left alone, we can get on very well together.

Mr. EDWARDS. Hear, hear.

Mr. PENNY. We have lived together and we are daily getting to know each other better, and we are daily getting to understand each other better, and we are living in peace and harmony. I think I am not wrong in saying that the leader of the opposition tried to make political capital out of this South African business, but whoever tries to make political capital out of racial differences is no friend of Canada. I trust, Sir, that this occurrence will put an end to any such attempts to work on racial feelings in the future. It is a crime for any politician—I do not care whether he is on my side of the House or on the other side—to raise the cry of race and creed in this country. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) told us that he thought it was too bad that people could not rejoice at a national victory. There is no one wishes to prevent any one rejoicing in Montreal, provided they rejoice as they should. I my-

self rejoiced with my friends in Montreal, in an orderly fashion I hope, but when rejoicing comes to breaking into the offices of private citizens, and into public institutions, then it is time to cry halt. On Saturday evening a gentleman told me that he was sitting in his office on Hospital Street, in Montreal, when those who were rejoicing burst in and ordered him to put up a flag. Now, a private citizen in a private office has not a flag ready at hand at any moment, but these gentlemen abused him because he did not have one to hoist. That is what I call going too far. I again repeat the hope, Sir, that this will be the last attempt to make political capital out of race questions.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Question.

Mr. E. F. CLARKE (West Toronto). Mr. Speaker, before the question is put, and the debate closes, I desire to say a few words. The hon. gentleman from St. Lawrence, Montreal, (Mr. Penny), has been more frank than most of those who have spoken on his side of the House, because he has been frank enough to say, that too much political capital has been made by both political parties out of this South African affair, and out of the unfortunate occurrences in Montreal. He acknowledges by that statement, that if the allegations which his friends opposite have made (and which I emphatically deny) are correct, then the same charge can with equal force be levied against his political friends who sit around and beside him. But, Sir, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Penny) seemed to miss altogether the reason why the House has been called upon to discuss the occurrences that took place in Montreal during Thursday and Friday nights. He has referred to these events as if they were merely the ordinary jubiliations of students, which take place from time to time. He has condemned the action of the McGill students in so far as these actions were not in consonance with the acts of gentlemen, and in so far as they are not in accordance with the acts of gentlemen, and of good breeding, I agree with the condemnation of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Penny). But, he overlooked the fact that those representing the students, at the earliest possible moment made an ample apology to those to whom the students unintentionally offered any insult or did any injury. It was a time of rejoicing, it was a time when the spirits of young men, of students especially, would be worked up to a very high pitch, and if those whom the students visited had been actuated by the same loyal sentiments of patriotism that caused these demonstrations on the part of the students, then they would not have taken such offence as they have taken at the frolics which the students indulged in. So far as I have heard, no person in this debate has charged that the Laval students were the perpetrators of the

outrage of hauling down the British flag, tearing it into strips, spitting upon it, and then burning up the remnants. Such a disgraceful, dastardly, and disloyal act, would bring everlasting discredit upon the students of Laval University, or the students of any other teaching institution in the Dominion of Canada, if it could be brought home to them. Now, although my hon. friend from West York (Mr. Wallace) has not been given a great deal of credit for fairness by hon. gentlemen opposite who have spoken, he was fair enough to read the report which appeared in the Toronto papers with regard to the occurrences, and which report exonerated the students of Laval from the perpetration of that outrage. But, Mr. Speaker, this discussion has not taken place, and these bitter words have not been spoken in this House, because of the action of the McGill students or even of the Laval students. This debate has arisen not even because of the rioting which took place in the city of Montreal, but because of an article which appeared in an influential organ of public opinion, published in the province of Quebec, and which newspaper is believed to be controlled in its editorial utterances very largely by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte).

When the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), who introduced this subject this afternoon—and I am in the judgment of the House in saying that he did so in language which no fair-minded man could take exception to—and when he read that article, instead of hon. gentlemen opposite being ashamed at hearing such an article emanating from such a source, they applauded vigorously some of the most disloyal utterances it contained. I take it that that was the cause of this discussion, and not the occurrences in which the students of McGill and Laval universities were engaged. I say that whoever was guilty of the offence of tearing down the British flag was incited to the act to a very large extent by the article which appeared in *La Patrie*, and of which complaint was made this afternoon; and not only by that article, but by articles of a similar strain which have appeared time and again in that paper and in many other papers in the province of Quebec during the last three months. If the students of McGill University were worked up to fever heat with enthusiasm over the magnificent victories gained by British arms in South Africa on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday last, they were only giving vent to their pent-up feelings of intense loyalty to the empire, and expressing their contempt for the sentiments which had been given utterance to by *La Patrie* and other papers in the province of Quebec during the last three months. The Minister of Public Works, when challenged to name some of the representative Tory papers which had incited this bitter con-

Mr. CLARKE.

trovery, which has gone on during the last three months, named the *Toronto News* as the chief sinner in this respect. The hon. gentleman did not do himself credit in quoting extracts from the article that appeared in the *News*, because he only quoted one or two paragraphs of an article which contained twelve or fourteen. If he had desired to be fair to the *Toronto News*, he would have quoted the refutation which it published in its editorial columns, of the accusation which *La Patrie* and other papers have made from time to time, that that paper is a Tory organ, owned and controlled and managed by those who own, control and manage the *Toronto Mail and Empire*. There is no foundation for the statement that the *Toronto News* is a Tory paper. It is an independent paper, if there is an independent paper published in the Dominion of Canada, and it is acknowledged as such throughout the province of Ontario, where it has probably a larger circulation than any other independent paper. It is not printed on the same paper as the *Mail and Empire*, it has not the same type, it is not the same shape, it is not printed in the same building, it is not edited by the same men. The two papers are issued practically simultaneously, in offices quite a distance apart, and it is unfair of the Minister of Public Works, in attempting to make political capital against the Conservative party, to rake up and repeat in this House a statement which has been denied by the *News* as often as it has been made.

Mr. BRITTON. What party does the *News* support?

Mr. CLARKE. The *News* supports and has supported individuals who support hon. gentlemen opposite, and it has again and again given splendid advice to those hon. gentlemen.

Mr. BRITTON. It is the most bitter paper against this government in Ontario.

Mr. CLARKE. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon, and I challenge a reference to the columns of the *News*. I can point again and again to articles eulogizing hon. gentlemen opposite and their confreres in the province of Ontario for their administration of public affairs. Not only did the Minister of Public Works not quote the whole article of the *News* to which he made reference, but he took precious good care not to quote the article from *La Patrie* which appeared in the *News* on the day previous to the day on which the editorial to which it gave rise appeared. Let me read two or three extracts from the article of *La Patrie* which called forth the article in the *News*, from which the Minister of Public Works quoted. It was reproduced in the *News* of October 11 last. It is a long article, and I do not propose to read more than two or three paragraphs:

Violent efforts are being made to induce the government of Canada to send a military contingent to Africa. This attempt is being made by the principal organizers of the Tory party. The Montreal 'Star' has made the most fuss of any of the newspapers about this question. But we must admit that it is closely followed by several of the other important Conservative organs.

We have then the right to conclude that the policy of the Tory party is to adopt as a plank in its platform participation as a power in the European and foreign wars of Great Britain.

The Transvaal Republic is a very small state. If we are not mistaken, the last census taken in 1898 gives the following population:

Whites	245,397
Blacks	622,500
Total	867,897

It is against this insignificant power that mighty England is preparing to fight. No one will pretend, let us hope, that the mother country needs the help of its colonies to vanquish so small an adversary. It is a question, then, not of the Transvaal, but of the adoption of a policy that is entirely new and full of responsibilities—the future participation of Canada in the struggles of Great Britain on the battle-fields of Europe and everywhere else that she engages in conflict.

The last paragraph of the article quoted from *La Patrie* reads as follows :

What have we to do with African affairs? What interests have we in the Transvaal? Why should we take the money and the blood of our people to spend them in such far-away regions? We leave the question with all who are capable of reflection.

If the hon. Minister of Public Works had been as fair as we might have expected him to be, he would have read that article from *La Patrie* before he read the reply to that article which appeared in the *Toronto News*. I have referred to the fact that the *News* has refuted again and again the assertion made here and elsewhere that it is a Tory paper. With regard to this, the *News* says :

If the 'News' were not absolutely free of party direction and untrammelled by considerations of party welfare, it could not have been so outspoken on this question. It is because the 'News' is entirely independent of political control that it can express its convictions regardless of the consequences to the political parties.

If, as hon. gentlemen opposite contend, especially as the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) contended not long ago in addressing the House, the Tory party could make no political capital by introducing this subject as it has been introduced this afternoon, and by pursuing the course which it has pursued during the last three months, why does the Minister of Public Works and hon. gentlemen opposite find fault with the *News*? If it is a Tory organ, it is doing the work in creating a public opinion in favour of the Minister of Public Works, and the Tory party is making no progress by the campaign and the methods it has adopted to promote

the interests of that party and secure its return to the Treasury benches. The hon. member for the St. Lawrence Division of Montreal (Mr. Penny), said that this was a campaign inaugurated by the leader of the opposition some three months ago for the purpose of making political capital. I deny that statement most emphatically. How could the leader of the opposition make political capital out of this matter, pray? He stated his position clearly at once. He tendered advice to the right hon. gentleman who leads this House. He invited him to consider the propriety of sending a contingent at once to South Africa to aid the mother country. He pledged his support and the support of his followers in this House to the right hon. gentleman in that course. Surely, in all fairness, the hon. leader of the opposition should be given credit for his frankness, his patriotism, and his straightforward conduct on that occasion. If he had adopted the policy which hon. gentlemen opposite followed on more than one occasion when in opposition, he would have waited until he saw what course the government was going to pursue, and then take the opposite. But in his desire to promote the unity of the empire, in his desire to supplement the resolutions which were carried unanimously in this House last session, he wished to strengthen the hands of the right hon. gentleman and sustain him in giving practical expression to those resolutions. It does not rest with the hon. gentleman opposite to charge the leader of the opposition with any attempt to make party or political capital out of the sending of the contingents, because his record in this matter is above reproach, and because at the beginning of the session he placed himself and his party unreservedly at the disposal of the right hon. leader of the House. No political capital could have been made out of the sending of the Transvaal contingent to the front, if hon. gentlemen opposite had reflected the views, promptly and without quibbling, which prevailed among nine-tenths of our people. The people, from one end of the country to the other, with some few exceptions, desired to give practical expression to their sympathy with the motherland in this crisis, and if the right hon. gentleman and those who sustain him, had listened to the voice of a united people, they would have acted promptly and in doing so they would have been supported by Tories as well as Grits from one end of the country to the other. But it is because they have been apologizing for their actions for the last three months that fault has been found with them. The right hon. gentleman when first approached about this matter, told the public, through the *Globe*, that the government were powerless because parliament had made no appropriation. But were these gentlemen always such sticklers for the rights of parlia-

ment? Have they never resorted to the issuing of Governor General's warrants, in order to raise money without the authority of parliament? The plea of the right hon. gentleman that the government was powerless because parliament had made no appropriation was not accepted by the bulk of the people, and the fact that the government were forced later on to send, first one contingent, and then a second, without the assent of parliament, is the strongest evidence that the people of Canada were practically a unit in compelling the government to take the course they did.

Just one word more, with regard to the expressions of opinion given by the Ontario press during the past three months. So long as there are newspapers in the province of Quebec, especially papers edited and controlled by ministers of the Crown, which contain expressions similar to those quoted this afternoon by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), so long will those Ontario newspapers which hold the same views as the great majority of the people of Ontario, continue to denounce such expressions in just as strong and plain Anglo-Saxon as they can find.

I regret exceedingly that so much time has been taken up this afternoon in this discussion, but I repeat again, that the cause can easily be found, and it rests with hon. gentlemen opposite, on the earliest possible opportunity, to apply the remedy.

Mr. D. C. FRASER (Guysborough). If the end, which I trust all who love their country have in view, will be achieved by this discussion, our time has not been lost, and if hon. gentlemen opposite will understand that what they fondly hoped would prove favourable to them has turned out the very opposite, we shall hear less hereafter of the kind of speeches these hon. gentlemen have been giving us to-day. It might be well for us to understand that the sending of the first and second contingent and all the matters relating thereto, has nothing at all to do with the article that was called in question by the hon. member for North Bruce. But I want to call attention to a fact which strikes me as indicating that just what happened in Montreal, these hon. gentlemen intended should take place, and that consequently they alone are responsible. The best way to know whether or not men are understood, is to observe what those who have listened to them, or read their utterances, understand them to mean. And, what occurred in Montreal, does strike me, as indicating that the articles which appeared in the Conservative press concerning our French Canadian fellow-citizens were rightly interpreted by the students and others who joined them in Montreal in an assault upon French Canadians. What did they do? I suppose a large number of us here have been college students. We have taken our part in all the little fights that

Mr. CLARKE.

students engage in. I remember that in my college days, we had a few of these squabbles when the occasion presented itself, and when we thought our rights were invaded we did not even shrink from attacking the police. But if the McGill students wanted a demonstration that would indicate the feeling of the people over the success of the British arms in South Africa, what would they have done? They would have politely invited their fellow-students—for after all one university is like another—to join them in that demonstration. And I think it will be found, when the inner history of this transaction is known, that certain political agents managed the whole thing.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
The *Star's* agents.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). What happened? These men went first of all, as it happened, because it was on their way, to *La Patrie* office, and asked them to put up the British flag, and they did so. But let me say here, that no man has the right to dictate to another how he shall express his loyalty. I have no flag at home, and my loyalty has never been questioned. No man that is truly loyal need indulge in these outward exhibitions, and, in fact these outside displays very often indicate the lack of true loyalty inside. The man who needs a flag to show that he is loyal, will never be found on the field of battle, but will be found under his barn or woodshed when there is any fighting to do. What did these McGill students do. Not content with visiting *La Patrie*, they went to the Conservative journals, and what happened there? When they went to the Conservative journals, the people there answered them in language emphatic and profane that they would not do it—and they did not do it. There is nothing about that at all. But I want to show that these men understood exactly what the whole scheme of the Conservative party was; and so strong was that in their minds after the articles they had read and the speeches they had listened to, that they said: We will forget too for the time being that we are Tories and we will go for every French newspaper that we can find. I can understand well, if they felt that the Minister of Public Works and his paper were disloyal, how they would end with him; but that would not do, and that would not suit those who are trying to raise this question in this country. They felt that they must go for the French wherever they found them; they must strike at every paper published in that language; and they felt that in order to show that they were in true sympathy with this crusade they would make no exception. Was not that the best indication of how they understood what hon. gentlemen opposite have been writing in their papers and speaking for the last four months? And

was it not true that this propaganda instituted by hon. gentlemen opposite could have only one meaning, and that was that they would go against our fellow-citizens of the province of Quebec? This happened as might have been expected. In 1896, they engaged themselves that they would take under their protection the Catholic people of this country, and would fight a battle to obtain power. But the Catholic electors of Canada were too independent and too intelligent, and they spewed them out of their mouths. And now, they say: As we could not succeed in that way, what are we to do? We will go upon a Protestant crusade against the men who did not stand by us when we undertook their battle. Let me tell hon. gentlemen opposite that, as the result in 1896 was disastrous to them, the result of their present crusade will be more disastrous. No party in Canada can gain power by enlisting the Catholics on their side and no party can gain power by attempting to enlist Protestants on their side. Thank God, this country is bigger than Protestant or Catholic, and the party that only seeks an alliance—

Mr. CLANCY. It would have been a good deal bigger than the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Fraser) speech.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). That, coming from a small man, passes without notice. Physically or intellectually, I would feel humiliated if measured by the same rule. As I was going to say, they will find that, particularly at a time like this, it was in the worst possible taste for the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) to bring up this question. I submit that there are times of occasion for bringing up matters of this kind. But when on the field of battle our forces in South Africa had engaged in a fight in which Canadians, thank God, took the lead, and in which a company of men speaking the French language were mentioned particularly—and many of whom could speak no English—it was exceedingly inopportune for any man claiming to be a Canadian, particularly for any man in this House, to attempt to bring up this question. Had he no respect for the fact that French Canadians and English Canadians had stood shoulder to shoulder together in the field? Surely he could be broad enough to feel that our French Canadian fellow-citizens, side by side with their English-speaking brethren, had showed that we in this part of the empire had as good blood and as good fighting qualities as Britain could show. Surely it would be only generous for a man with noble instincts to forget for the time to attempt to make political capital out of so small a thing as the incident we have been discussing. I did think that the hon. gentleman from North Bruce had a better idea of Canadian citizenship. I did think that he at least, who has always considered himself

as everything that was honourable and honest and straightforward, as one who, even in thought, could feel nothing but what was Bayard-like, would have had the generosity, not to say the good sense, not to thrust upon this House to-day a debate of this kind. Cannot we get broader than this? Cannot we rise above this? Cannot we be greater than the pettiness that will not understand the opinions and feelings of others? I am not a Frenchman, I am a Highlander, of Highland descent; and I say that if under the same circumstances, the people from whom I sprung and the language I speak as my mother tongue, were insulted as the race and the tongue of the French Canadians were in Montreal, there would have been much more done to repel it than was done. We must learn to understand this—and he is a wise man, and he is a good man who can appreciate it—if we are to mould together the different classes of our population and bring them into the harmony that will produce the good Canadian stock of the future, made up of all these nationalities. Day by day are we treated to matters of this kind. For the last ten or fifteen years the attempt has been made—not altogether, at times, without fault by the Liberal party—to show that certain people have the Divine right to call themselves the only honest, patriotic citizens in Canada. I am not claiming for myself or the people from whom I come any more loyalty than others. It is sufficient for me to know that we find them taking their place with the others.

I venture to think that if hon. gentlemen opposite had remained silent after the manly utterances of my hon. friend from Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk), they would have consulted their reputation. He gave to this House an unvarnished description of what occurred. His judgment was correct, I think, so far as the incidents went. Of course, he could not take his seat again without being treated, as the attempt was made to treat these newspapers, had he not attempted to pass censure upon the Minister of Public Works. I am not an apologist for the Minister of Public Works—he needs none. I am not going to say a word in his favour, except this, that after the statement made by the member for Jacques Cartier, I am astonished at the moderation of the Laval students and those who participated in these scenes in Montreal. I would not like to be subjected to the same insults and I am certain I should so far forget myself, if I had to meet such an issue as to act in a different way from that in which our French fellow-citizens acted.

Let us be done with this. If hon. gentlemen opposite are ready to receive instruction at all, they cannot but profit by what has been said in this House, and not only by that but by the humiliating position in which they find themselves now. As it is nearing twelve o'clock, after a day spent in

this debate, I am sure we shall not hear the same insults, and I am certain we shall have no repetition of this unseemly scene. I cannot congratulate the hon. member for North Bruce upon his achievements to-day. If he thinks he has gained any political advantage, let him make use of it—I shall say nothing. But sure I am that in the best interests of all men who live in Canada, it has not been a good day on his part. Sure I am that it will take very many more years than he has given to that Imperialism of which he is the distinguished example, to wipe out the impression that his action of to-day has made upon me and, I am sure, upon others. So, often a man after a life of exemplary piety, by one immoral act, spoils the merit and the effect of it all. In like manner the hon. member for North Bruce, by his achievement to-day, has wiped out all the claims he may have had on us for his services in the interest of that mighty imperialism of which he is the foremost champion. Now, if we shall have achieved that much, and for ever have shut up these hon. gentlemen opposite, we shall have rendered a service to this House. I was very much amused at the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule). It was interesting to hear a lecture from a medical gentleman, and the observation of the effect of eating and drinking upon his bilious disposition was to me a matter of very great pleasure. After giving the House a lesson of the evil effect of taking more food than usual or drinking more drink than was customary, he got more bilious than ever the member for North Wellington did. When the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) mildly suggested that he was wrong in his designation of a constituency, he seemed to get into a towering rage, and assured the hon. Postmaster General that he was going to speak. Of course he was going to speak, every one expected that, and it would take more Postmaster General's than ever sat in this House to prevent him from speaking. Now, in the name of all that is good let us drop this kind of talk. Let us remember that only a few days ago the blood of French Canadians as well as English Canadians was shed on the same battlefield in South Africa in defence of the flag. Let the spectacle of that blood lead us to forego our narrowness and our bitterness of party strife. Let us forget the things that are behind, the miserable husks on which we have fed, and look forward to a brighter day when a Canadian nationality shall have been built up with a union of English, Scotch, Irish and French blood, mingled more closely than in the past. To that end let us respect the feelings, even the prejudices, of our fellow citizens. I hope that parliament will never again have such an exhibition as we were treated to to-day by the hon. member for North Bruce, rising in the House and almost shed-

Mr. FRASER (Claysborough).

ding tears for what he had to do, and then proceeding to fling into this House a shell that might well have exploded with disastrous consequences to the country. But what did that hon. gentleman care for the consequences? Did he care, does any of his friends care, who was struck? Did he bring up this question in the interest of peace, good-will and righteousness? I say I trust we shall never have such an exhibition again, and I hope the results of this discussion will cause the hon. gentlemen opposite to feel shame for what has occurred this afternoon in this House. They have brought up a discussion that might be fraught with very serious consequences, but for the good feeling and self restraint that have been shown on this side of the House. I hope our hon. friends opposite will seek some other way of bringing themselves before the notice of the country, because I do not think their efforts in this line will meet with the endorsement of the enlightened people of Canada, be they Catholic or Protestant.

Mr. R. HOLMES (West Huron). I do not propose to continue this discussion, which has already gone on too long; I wish merely to refer to a statement that was made a few moments ago, and flatly to contradict it, because I believe it was made for a purpose. In all this discussion I have noticed that anything appearing in the columns of *La Patrie* has been at once ascribed to the Minister of Public Works, the whole responsibility has been thrown upon his shoulders simply because that paper happens to be published by his son. By the same process of reasoning the *Toronto News*, which the opposition have for certain reasons repudiated as a Conservative paper to-night, can be proved to be identified with the *Toronto Mail*. The general manager of the *Toronto News* is a son of one of the general managers of the *Toronto Mail*; therefore, by the same process of reasoning exactly as adopted by the opposition, the *Toronto Mail* must be held responsible for the utterances of the *Toronto News*. I was amazed to-night to hear the hon. member for Toronto West (Mr. Clarke) get up and intimate that the *Toronto News* was not a Conservative organ, that it was not controlled by the same men who control the *Toronto Mail*.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.
Nobody believed it.

Mr. HOLMES. It is a good job they don't. I think all the newspaper men of Ontario, at any rate, know that the *Toronto News*, judged by its course, is an ultra-Conservative organ. Not only is it a most pronounced Conservative organ, but it is owned, managed and controlled by the same gentlemen who own, manage and control the *Toronto Mail*.

Motion (Mr. McNeill) agreed to, and House adjourned at 11.55 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, March 6, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 65) to incorporate the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway Company.—(Mr. Costigan.)

Bill (No. 66) to incorporate the Cowichan Valley Railway Company.—(Mr. McInnes.)

Bill (No. 67) respecting the Banque Jacques Cartier, and to change its name to the Banque Provinciale du Canada.—(Mr. Penny.)

Bill (No. 68) respecting the Nickel Steel Company of Canada.—(Mr. Wood.)

Bill (No. 69) to incorporate the Kettle River Valley Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to inquire from the right hon. the Prime Minister when I may expect the return moved for on the 12th of February, for copies of all correspondence, reports, telegrams or papers respecting the Fox Bay settlers on the Island of Anticosti. My reason for asking this question is that I had a letter this morning from a Methodist minister, referring to the promise of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) to retract as publicly as he made the charge in parliament respecting those settlers; and I am anxious to see the papers before the hon. gentleman leaves the House, as I understand from the press that he is about to do so shortly.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Without making an absolute promise, I may say that I think I will bring down those papers on Monday next.

Mr. J. G. H. BERGERON (Beauharnois). I would like to inquire from the hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) who, I understand, is taking the place of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), when I may have the return to an address passed by this House on the 26th of February, for a copy of the order in council of the 3rd of August, 1898, appointing Joseph Eno Girouard to the position of registrar of the Yukon Territory. I understand very little work is required to fill this order, and I would ask the hon. gentleman to see that it is brought down as soon as possible.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw the attention of the government to a matter of some importance, and as it may call forth a little discussion in the House, I shall finish with the usual motion. I wish to say a few words, Mr. Speaker, in regard to the most extraordinary political situation that now exists in the province of British Columbia, a state of things that is, to say the least of it, most detrimental in its effects on all kinds of business industries in the country, and also, to my mind, calculated to lower the dignity of the Crown and to kill a great deal of the respect the people now have for constitutional government. I will first read an article that appeared in the *Toronto Globe* of the 3rd instant, in regard to the prorogation of the legislature in the province of British Columbia:

Victoria, March 1.—A scene unprecedented in the history of the province and in all probability never before seen in a British governing colony, occurred this afternoon, when the members of the legislature deliberately rose and left the House when the Governor came down to prorogue the House. When the House assembled, Mr. Prentice moved that the legislature had no confidence in Mr. Joseph Martin, who has been called in by the Lieutenant-Governor to form a cabinet. This motion passed almost unanimously, two members refusing to vote and two more being absent.

The Governor then entered the Chamber, preceded by his suite of naval and military officers, and took his seat on the Throne. As he did so, the members rose in a body and filed out of the room. For a moment neither the Governor nor the audience understood what was taking place, and it was the galleries which first seemed to grasp the significance of the step. Then they burst into prolonged cheering, mingled with derisive laughter. The Governor turned pale and his hand shook, but he proceeded with the reading, although obliged several times to desist. As he concluded and was leaving the Chamber, some one shouted, 'Three cheers for the Queen,' which were heartily given. As soon as he had retired the members filed back again to the Chamber. Mr. Price Ellison, waving his hat in the air, shouted, 'We are the people,' at which there was tremendous applause.

Mr. Harry Helmcken proposed a long resolution assuring Her Majesty of the continued loyalty, the remainder of the resolution having reference to the victory at Ladysmith. This was passed amidst cheering, and the House broke up with cheers for the Queen and Buller, and singing the National Anthem.

According to that despatch, which I have just read, all the members left the legislature when the Lieutenant-Governor took his seat on the Throne, but, such was not the case exactly because, although they nearly all went, one gentleman held the fort. That gentleman was a gentleman who, I am sorry to say, is better known than he is respected in British Columbia, and I think I am right in saying, in the Dominion of Canada.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. PRIOR. I refer to the Hon. Joseph Martin. He is the gentleman, who is, at the present time, the Premier of British Columbia. It must have been most edifying to see the Governor come down in all the pomp of his position, attended by a large staff of military and naval men, to read the speech from the Throne, to see him lift his hat and give his speech to this one solitary individual, on whose shoulders he had seen fit to place the responsibility of the government of British Columbia. I can only say that I am extremely sorry that the gallant gentlemen who came from Her Majesty's ship, were ever invited to attend at such an exhibition. I believe that every right-minded man in Canada will agree with me in saying that it is deeply to be regretted that any such occurrence has taken place. But, it has taken place, and I can only say that I am sure that the loyal and law-abiding members of parliament in British Columbia and the citizens of British Columbia would never have been guilty of putting such a slight on Her Majesty's representative, offering such an insult to the Crown as was offered there, unless they had lost all respect and confidence in the representative thereof, or had, in their own minds anyway, come to the conclusion that the gentleman who occupies that high position is utterly unworthy of the position which he holds. Now, there was no disloyalty in the hearts of those gentlemen, as was shown by their action when they returned to the Chamber, when they passed, as I read, resolutions of loyalty to the Queen and of confidence in the Crown. Well, Sir, two or three days afterwards, when the House again met, we find the Premier, or the gentleman who had been Premier—I suppose he was then—Mr. Semlin, offering the following resolution. I read now from the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, of February 28th, a statement of what took place on February 27th:

Hon. Mr. Semlin then rose, amidst expectant silence, in which, although he spoke in an unusually low tone, his words were heard in all parts of the Chamber.

'Mr. Speaker,' he said, 'I rise to a question of privilege. On Friday last I moved that this House be adjourned until to-day. This was in order that the government, which had just sustained a defeat in the House by a majority of one, might see if some arrangement could not be come to by which the business of the country might be gone on with. Such an arrangement was come to, as I believed, and I advised His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to that effect last evening. I informed him that the government had effected an arrangement by which the government was assured of effective control of the House, and was ready to go on with the despatch of business. This forenoon, however, I received a communication from His Honour to the effect that he declined to be further advised by myself and my colleagues, and had already sought, or would forthwith seek, other advisers. In connection with this com-

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munication, I should like to have an expression from the House as to whether or not I had properly advised His Honour in reference to the situation, and as to whether this government had effective control of the House. For this purpose I beg to move the following resolution, which is seconded by the hon. the Attorney General:

'That this House being fully alive to the great loss, inconvenience and expense to the country of any interruption of the business of this House at the present time, begs to express its regret that His Honour has seen fit to dismiss his advisers, as in the present crisis they have the effective control of the House.'

'I do not know that I need to make any further comment. The facts of the situation are as I have here represented.'

That resolution was put to the House, and although the government had only been defeated by one, it was carried by a majority of seven. I think, perhaps, it would be as well for me to say a few words as to what actions of the Lieutenant-Governor have brought about this state of affairs. There is evidently an impression abroad in British Columbia that the Lieutenant-Governor seems to think it his duty to govern the province, not by the advice of his ministers, his constitutional advisers, but according to the manner he himself thinks best. Last session I called for the correspondence between the Dominion government and the provincial government in regard to the dismissal of the Turner administration by Lieutenant-Governor McInnes, some eighteen months ago. His dismissal of the Turner administration was under extraordinary circumstances. I shall not enter into the matter fully now, but I may say briefly that at the time of the dismissal a general election was going on, and the full returns had not come in. The Turner administration had eighteen supporters, and the opposition had eighteen; but there were pending two elections, the results of which no man could foresee. Of course both parties expected that they would get either one or the two seats. His Honour did not see fit to wait until the returns from these elections were received, but he dismissed the Turner administration, giving, amongst other reasons, that they had lost the confidence of the people although there was not a majority against them in the legislature. His Honour also said that the Turner government had lost the confidence of himself; that some of its members had been guilty of misrepresentation to him about certain matters, and of trying to deceive him in regard to certain warrants. Now, Mr. Speaker, any gentleman who knows Mr. Turner and the gentlemen who composed his government, must know perfectly well that there is no more honourable and honest man to be found in Canada than is Mr. Turner. He and his ministers are perfectly incapable of being guilty of any such crime as was charged against them by the Lieutenant-Governor. His Honour, then, did not see fit to call upon the leader of the

opposition, but he called on the Hon. Robert Beaven, a gentleman who at the time had not a seat in the House, a gentleman who in past years had the honour of being Premier of British Columbia, but who in that very election had come out at the bottom of the poll in his election, thus showing that he had not the confidence of a majority of the people even in his own constituency. Mr. Beaven undertook the task of forming a government, but in a day or two he had to go to the Lieutenant-Governor and announce his failure. Lieutenant-Governor McInnes then called upon the leader of the opposition, Mr. Semlin, and that gentleman formed a government, amongst those to whom he offered a portfolio, being Mr. Jos. Martin. Things went on in this way for some months until they got fighting amongst themselves, and the Premier saw fit to call upon Mr. Martin to resign his portfolio. Mr. Martin, I believe, refused to do so, but stated that he would abide by the wishes of the supporters of the government, and a caucus having been called, the press announced that at the caucus it was unanimously decided that the Premier was right and that Mr. Jos. Martin must resign his position in the cabinet for good and sufficient reasons. Ever since that took place, Mr. Martin—and it will not surprise any one who knows the gentleman—has been swearing vengeance against his former colleagues. The other day when the British Columbia government brought down a Redistribution Bill, they were beaten by a vote of nineteen to eighteen; amongst the nineteen, of course, being Mr. Jos. Martin. Now, Mr. Speaker, although the Premier was beaten by one vote on this Bill, he informed the Lieutenant-Governor that he could command a majority in the House, and I have no doubt that had he been left to himself he might have done so. Although several communications and personal interviews took place between the Lieutenant-Governor and his Prime Minister, His Honour saw fit to dismiss the Semlin government, for reasons very similar to those for which he dismissed the Turner government. It was stated in one newspaper that he charged them with fraud, and whether this is so or not, all the papers agree that His Honour said he had lost confidence in his advisers. The Lieutenant-Governor then did not call on any gentleman who was supposed to be leader of the opposition, or any gentleman who had any following in the legislature, but he called on Mr. Jos. Martin to form a cabinet. Mr. Jos. Martin accepted the task, and has now, I believe, formed a portion of his cabinet, two gentlemen having accepted portfolios—one his own brother-in-law. I need not tell the House that Mr. Semlin is a gentleman who has lived in British Columbia for many years, and I have yet to meet the first man to say a word against his honesty and his

integrity. He is not perhaps a brilliant man, but he is a straightforward and honest citizen. At all events, Mr. Speaker, the Premiership of British Columbia is at the present time in the hands of a man whom most of us look upon as thoroughly irresponsible. Everything political in that province is now in a perfect state of chaos, and it seems to me that if the right hon. the leader of the Federal government has the power, or if his government has the power to step in and do something in this crisis, it is their duty to do so. I will not say one word in regard to the constitutionality of the acts of the Lieutenant-Governor, because it would be impertinent on my part to do so. I am not qualified to give an opinion on any such subject, but I am glad to say there are gentlemen in this House who are thoroughly well up in constitutional practice, and who I trust will give this House the benefit of their knowledge on this subject. Anyway, I can say, that the present state of affairs in British Columbia is perfectly unbearable, and if it can be stopped it should be stopped. It seems to me that if this condition of things is allowed to go on, it will bring the whole system of constitutional government into disrepute in British Columbia. Even if His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor is strictly within his rights—I assume that he can dismiss his government at any time—still, it must be seen that he has shown very little tact indeed. In conclusion, I trust, Sir, that it will not be long before something is done by whoever has authority to give us good, stable, honest government in British Columbia.

Mr. McINNES. Hear, hear.

Mr. PRIOR. I am glad to hear that loud cheer from the hon. member from Vancouver (Mr. McInnes) applauding that sentiment. However, at the present time, Sir, the state of affairs in British Columbia is injuring that province, and the capital which should flow in to British Columbia from Great Britain and elsewhere, for the development of our mines and other industries, is prevented from being invested for the time being. As I have said, Mr. Speaker, the state of affairs in British Columbia at the present time is unbearable and intolerable.

I beg to move the adjournment of the House.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I must confess to my hon. friend that I do not at all appreciate at this moment the motive which has induced him to bring this matter to the attention of the House or of the government. The question which exists in British Columbia to-day is certainly a very serious one, but my hon. friend knows that it is not an unconstitutional one. It is to-day in the hands of the people of British Columbia.

The Lieutenant-Governor has acted within the precincts of his power. Whether he has acted wisely or not is a question which is submitted, not to this government, not to this parliament, but to the people of British Columbia. The Lieutenant-Governor, in the exercise of his authority, has taken a very serious step, I must admit, and one which I presume he has not taken except after due and serious reflection. He has taken the step of dismissing his responsible advisers, who, it may be claimed in one sense, though they had been defeated on the previous day, had still the confidence of the House; but he has found advisers ready and willing to take the responsibility of his action. Now, it has been determined more than once, and the question is no longer in dispute, that under such circumstances the remedy is in the hands of the people themselves. It is for the people of the province of British Columbia to declare whether they approve or disapprove of the action of the Lieutenant-Governor. I apprehend that under such circumstances as those which exist in British Columbia to-day, it is the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor, at an early date, to dissolve the House, and to summon the electors at the polls and submit to them with as little delay as possible the question which he has himself, by his conduct, placed before them. It is not, in my judgment, within the duty of the Dominion government at this moment to interfere. We may have our views on the action of the Lieutenant-Governor. The hon. gentleman says that he has acted unwisely. At this moment it would not be prudent nor advisable for me even to offer my own personal opinion on the matter; I should not say a single word to prejudice the question. We may have our views, I say, as to the advisability of the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor and as to the method in which he has proceeded; but all this is in the hands of the people of the province. If they approve of the action of the Lieutenant-Governor, in my judgment, that is an end of the question. If they disapprove of it by returning to the House of Assembly a majority opposed to the present government, it is obvious that the Lieutenant-Governor will be found to have taken a very serious step. But until the people have pronounced on the matter, I submit very respectfully to the judgment of the House that it is not for this parliament, and still less for this government, to offer any opinion as to what has taken place in British Columbia. On two previous occasions in this Dominion Lieutenant-Governors have dismissed their advisers—Mr. Letellier, in 1878, and Mr. Angers, in 1891. In the case of Mr. Angers the matter was not at all brought to the attention of this parliament. In the case of Mr. Letellier, the matter was brought to the attention of the federal government of that day, and that government took a

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certain action which was not, in my opinion, justified by the event. The opinion has prevailed in all these cases that when the province is blessed with representative institutions and has responsible government, the remedy must be held to rest primarily and finally in the hands of the people of the province themselves.

Motion (Mr. Prior) to adjourn, negatived.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—VACANCIES IN CANADIAN REGIMENTS.

Mr. ALEX. McNEILL (North Bruce). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask my right hon. friend a question. I suggested to him the other day the advisability of filling up the vacancies in our Canadian regiments at the front, and I would like to ask him whether the statement which I see in the press this afternoon be correct, that the government have determined to fill up the vacancies if the Imperial authorities are favourable to their doing so.

The PRIME MINISTER. The Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) is absent to-day, and I would advise my hon. friend to renew his question when he is present.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to call the attention of whoever has charge of the matter to the fact that the Public Accounts Committee has not yet been summoned.

The PRIME MINISTER. I will bring it to the attention of the chairman.

DOMINION LANDS ACT AMENDMENT.

The PRIME MINISTER moved second reading of Bill (No. 18) further to amend the Dominion Lands Act. He said: The main object of this Bill is to provide that the volunteers who are now engaged in South Africa shall not lose any of their rights or privileges in the matter of homestead entry, by the fact of their absence. The Bill is also intended to amend the Act in one or two other particulars. I think we had better go into committee on the Bill, and then I will explain the clauses as we reach them.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time, and House resolved itself into committee thereon.

(In the Committee.)

On section 1,

The PRIME MINISTER. This Bill is of a character which I suppose will interest hon. gentlemen from the North-west, and therefore I would specially invite their attention to it. Their experience is valuable

in the discussion of such a measure. At present the law provides that a patent for a homestead shall not issue to any person who is not a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization. It is proposed to amend the law by adding this proviso :

Except in the case of the death of a settler, who, although he had completed the conditions of his entry for his homestead, died prior to the issue of the patent therefor, and whose legal representatives are the citizens of a foreign country.

At present a foreigner cannot get his patent for a homestead until he becomes a British subject. That is a very wise provision, but that alien may die before he has acquired citizenship, before he has become naturalized, and yet may have completed all the conditions of his homestead entry. At present his property cannot go to his family or legal representative should they not be British subjects, and the department thought it was only fair and just that his children or representatives, even though they should be foreigners, should get the benefit of this man's labour. It seems hardly equitable that in the case of a man who settled in this country and obtained a homestead and who cultivated and improved and made a home of that property, but who, unfortunately, died before he had time to become a British subject—it seems unfair and harsh that his children should not have the benefit of his labours.

Mr. FOSTER. This is not limited to his children.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). His legal representatives.

Mr. FOSTER. The purpose of the law is evidently that only a citizen, whether he be a native citizen or an alien who has gained citizenship, shall hold a patent for land. It would certainly be only fair that, under the circumstances mentioned by my right hon. friend, this man's representatives, if they intended to become citizens, should not suffer the loss of what he had really earned. But supposing the legal heir is a man who lives in some foreign country, this amendment would allow him to hold that patent, although he would neither be a citizen nor an alien in the process of being naturalized. That goes against the principle of the law.

The PRIME MINISTER. To some extent it does, but at the same time this is a contingency that is likely very seldom to occur. If it were the general rule, I would be of my hon. friend's opinion, but it is an exception, and a rare exception, to the general rule. I submit that when a man has taken up a homestead, and opened up a farm and put buildings on it and otherwise improved it, it is only right that his labour of years should go to his legal representatives, wherever or whoever they may be.

Mr. FOSTER. Supposing he had completed the conditions and obtained his patent, he would then have had the claim for which he was striving, and could leave that property to any person, whether a citizen of this country or not. The amendment does not seem, therefore, unfair.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Suppose the man dies before being naturalized and leaves his patent to his legal representative, living, say, in Germany. That legal representative may continue to live in Germany and hold on to the property until the increase in value will make it worth his while to sell. He could simply hold the property as a speculation and prevent other people working it.

Mr. DAVIS. If an alien has put in a number of years, but dies before taking out his patent, I think it would be a hard thing for this man not to have the right to leave the results of his labour to his family, even if they do not live in this country. The hon. gentleman who preceded me said that the legal representative might live in a foreign country and hold the land here until it increased in value. Well, this is not a case in point at all, because, if the party living abroad had a right to this land, he would certainly have to pay taxes, and as it increases in value he would have to go on paying taxes. That is all that the people in the North-west Territories expect. Any speculator, whether he lives in Germany or anywhere else, if he buys land and holds it year after year, sometimes for fifteen years, his case is different from that of a railroad corporation which does not pay taxes. So far as the clause is concerned, I think it points in the right direction.

Mr. DAVIN. It seems to me that this is a matter not of very much importance. If I thought it were and it would have any extensive effect, I would oppose it, because I think it is a wrong principle. But I do not think it is of very much importance, so I am not going to offer any opposition. Before leaving that clause, I beg leave to move that at the end of the clause, these words be inserted :

Any person entitled under this Act to receive his patent shall receive his patent notwithstanding any bonds for the payment of seed grain indebtedness that he may have entered into.

I move this, seconded by Mr. Clancy. The object of the amendment is to get rid of the grievance, that the seed-grain bonded indebtedness forms at the present time in the North-west. Last session, at the instance of the Minister of the Interior, parliament passed a Bill which sounded to the House and to the country as though that grievance had been got rid of. But when the new law came to be administered, it was construed by the present deputy minister in this way—that where the prim-

ary debtor was a man who had received his patent, the bondsmen for such primary debtor are not held under the existing legislation, but if the primary debtor had not got his patent, then the bondsmen are still held. So, if it goes on, a man can delay taking out his patent, and these men who have signed his bonds are still held. The parliament of Canada and the government of Canada having really endorsed the principle that the bondsmen should not be held, I think it is a pity that things should go on as at present. I would call the attention of the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), and the hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) to this point. They will find the Act of last year in the statutes of 1899, chapter 18. That law reads as follows, it is an Act of one clause :

The Governor General in Council may discharge from liability persons who are liable to the Crown as sureties upon bonds given to secure repayment for seed grain furnished by the Crown to persons in the North-west Territories, in every case where, upon inquiry, it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that land owned by or entered as a homestead by the primary debtor is liable and is, in the opinion of the said minister, sufficient security for the sum owed by the primary debtor.

When that Act was passed, every man who was bondsman for a primary debtor in the North-west Territories, thought he was relieved; but it turned out that such was not the case. And so, men who are bondsmen for others, when they apply for their patents, are met by the statement first, that so much is owed by themselves for seed grain, and when they pay that, they are met by the statement: You cannot have your patent, because you are a bondsman for others. There was a great deal of talk about this matter. I wrote to Mr. Smart, the deputy minister, and he wrote a letter to the effect that the primary debtor had not his patent, and, under the circumstances the bondsmen could not be relieved. We may as well put in this clause, and by so doing we get rid of the bonded indebtedness at once, as the people of the North-west Territories and Manitoba thought this parliament intended to do last year by the Act I have read to the House. I hope that my hon. friend (Mr. Sutherland), who has charge of the Department of the Interior, will distinguish his occupancy of that important position by allowing this addition to the nature of the clause, and thus meet the desires of the people of the North-west Territories.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am sorry that I cannot accept the amendment of my hon. friend (Mr. Davin), and I am sure, that on reflection, he will agree with me, that he could not expect his amendment to be taken into consideration at this moment. I may say at once, that I am not sufficiently familiar with the

nature of the grievance for which my hon. friend seeks remedy by this amendment, to offer an opinion upon it. I do not say that the remedy proposed by his amendment is wise or unwise; I prefer not to express an opinion upon that. But my hon. friend will agree with me, I am sure, that it is not conducive to good legislation to introduce in a Bill of this character, a provision that is altogether apart from the purpose contemplated by the Bill. The Act as passed last session, may be sufficient, or it may not be sufficient. Let us assume that it is insufficient—and in the view of my hon. friend it has that character—the best way, surely, is to amend the Act which was passed last session, and make it sufficiently comprehensive if it be not so now, rather than introduce an amendment of this kind into a Bill, where it should not come in. I am sorry to say to my hon. friend, that for these reasons I cannot accept his amendment, though, if he brings it as an amendment to the law of last session, the government will be prepared to consider it—I do not say accept it, but consider it.

Mr. DAVIN. The suggestion thrown out by the Prime Minister, puts me in this position—if I bring forward a Bill, amending the Act of last session, he must use his influence that none of his followers shall raise a point of order. It would be out of order on my part, as a private member, as the right hon. gentleman knows, to bring in a Bill dealing with a question like that. But if I understand him to say to me, that if I prepare a Bill and have the first reading moved, then he will consider the question, whether or not the government will take it up.

The PRIME MINISTER. I understand from my hon. friend that he has views which are not shared by the department upon this question. But if he holds views that are shared by the department, and if he is satisfied that the department will supplement the Bill of last session in the way he suggests, the department will see that the proper legislation is introduced, if he does not introduce it himself. If he does introduce legislation, and the department is satisfied that it is in the right direction, and remedies a grievance which, in the opinion of the department, exists, I will see that the government carries out the measure. But at present I understand that my hon. friend is at variance with the department: Mr. Smart and he do not agree as to the interpretation of the statute passed last session. They do not agree at present, but I did not gather from my hon. friend whether, upon the main question, that is upon the necessity of remedying what you may call a grievance, Mr. Smart agreed with him or not. If Mr. Smart agrees with him, and if the views of the

department are sound, it would be easy to remedy the discrepancy. But if there is between my hon. friend and the department a difference of opinion which is irreconcilable, the only thing he can do is to try to convince parliament.

Mr. DAVIN. I am not in a position to say that Mr. Smart differs with me as to what would be the right policy. Mr. Smart has to administer the law as he finds it. I am not sure that even the Minister of the Interior differs with me as to what should be enacted. I could not say whether he agrees with me or is opposed to me. When I was pressing certain views before him in regard to seed grain in 1898 and 1899, he was just as non-committal in regard to what he did last year before he did it, or rather up to the time that he came across the floor of the House and kindly told me that he was going to meet my views on the seed grain question. But when the Bill came down I found that it did not meet my views, it only met my views in part. Therefore, I cannot say whether the Minister of the Interior differs from me as to what the policy should be; I cannot say that he has given me any hope that, if he were here, he would enact the two other parts of the policy that I originally placed before him. On the other hand he has not said a word that would indicate that he had put his foot down and would go no further. I have had experiences in the past with Ministers of the Interior, who went a little distance with me, and then went the whole distance. For instance, when Mr. White was Minister of the Interior in 1887, I proposed to deal with the second homestead in a way that I thought proper, and Mr. White told me that he would not consent. But after having heard my argument he told me that he was impressed by it. I asked him then: Why won't you carry it out? He pointed down to a very important figure that was just next to him and said, That was the danger. He said to me: I hope you are not going to oppose my Bill. I said: I would have to do it. Then I said to him: Here, change one figure, give us one year, and he gave one year. It took me four years to get the complete legislation which I thought necessary. So I have no reason to suppose that the Minister of the Interior, having gone so far, if he were here, would not go the full distance. Let me say here that there is no reason why the sub-clause I propose should not come in here. It is just as germane, if my right hon. friend will allow me to say so, to this Act as the amendment that he has proposed. In fact I may state that if I did not regard this amendment which has just passed, as one that would be very trifling in its consequences, I would have opposed it, because it is contrary to the principle of the Act which amends it. But

I did not oppose it. However, the right hon. gentleman having gone thus far, am I to understand that, if I bring in a Bill to amend the legislation of last session, he will say to me that he refuses to accept the Bill on its merits and not on the point of order?

The PRIME MINISTER. I would suggest to my hon. friend to discuss the point with the officers of the department. I am sure Mr. Smart will be happy to see him and discuss it with him, and if they come to a conclusion the whole matter can be arranged then.

Amendment (Mr. Davin) negatived.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I would like to draw the attention of the right hon. gentleman to this point. I think it is desirable that the persons who settle upon lands in the North-west should either be British subjects or become British subjects by naturalization; and in fact the whole policy of the Bill points to that conclusion. I agree that it is right and fair to issue a patent to the heirs of a person who has completed the conditions of his entry, with this qualification, that I think the time should be limited within which he may complete his entry and become a British subject. Otherwise you will have this result, that a man who has completed the conditions of his entry has no inducement to become a British subject by naturalization, because if he does not become a British subject by naturalization the property goes to his personal representatives just the same as if he had become a British subject. Now, in order to carry out the idea that I have suggested, we might add after the word 'died' the words 'within three years thereafter and,' or some language of that kind. The man should have an opportunity of becoming a British subject by naturalization, and if he does not do so within the time assigned, then the property shall not pass to his heirs. The object of the amendment I suggest is to offer an inducement to these settlers to become British subjects, because it is the policy of the whole Act that they shall become British subjects. It seems to me such an amendment as I suggest will be more in consonance with the spirit of the Act, than the adoption of the sweeping measure which the right hon. gentleman has proposed.

The PRIME MINISTER. Speaking under correction—because I do not profess to be very familiar with the Act—I think there is already a provision in the Act that the proceedings for completing the entry and obtaining the patent have to be taken within a certain time.

On section 3.

The PRIME MINISTER. The object of this clause is this. At the present time,

under subsection 5 of section 44, a settler may obtain advances of money and give a lien upon his homestead, although he has not yet completed his entry and is not yet entitled to obtain the patent. I call attention to the section, which is as follows :—

But if the settler has acquired a right to receive a patent for the land so charged and does not apply for the issue of the same, the holder of such charge may obtain such patent, or certificate for patent, in the name of the person entitled to receive the same, or of his legal representative, and thereafter the said charge shall become a statutory mortgage on such homestead.

It is proposed to amend this section by adding the words :

In which case the patent may issue in the name of the settler, even if he is not a British subject.

The practice as it is followed out is this : A man becomes a settler and he gives a lien for an advance of money on his homestead. But he leaves the country, he disappears, and then his creditor has the right to obtain the patent to be issued in the name of the settler. Then, the creditor, when the patent has been issued in the name of the settler, is entitled to exercise all the privileges that the lien gives him over the homestead. But, it so happens that sometimes a settler, who has not completed his entry, gives a lien for advances of money and then leaves the country. The creditor cannot obtain the issue of the patent to his debtor, and, therefore, the creditor loses his advance, because the debtor has left. Under such circumstances, the object of the amendment is that the patent should issue to the defaulting debtor, or the alien, so that the creditor may have the privilege of exercising all the rights which the lien gives over the homestead.

Mr. FOSTER. I would ask the right hon. gentleman if he has in each case contemplated the performance of the conditions that are necessary to entitle him to a patent ?

The PRIME MINISTER. Yes, the section which it is sought to amend reads as follows :—

But if the settler has acquired a right to receive a patent for the land so charged and does not apply for the issue of the same, the holder of such charge may obtain such patent, or certificate for patent, in the name of the person entitled to receive the same, or of his legal representative, and thereafter the said charge shall become a statutory mortgage on such homestead.

Here is a settler who receives an advance of money, he is a British subject, he leaves the country, he does not pay his debt, he has performed all the conditions ; then, the creditor comes to the agent and obtains the issue of a patent in the name of the debtor who is entitled to it, and the creditor

can exercise all his rights. But it turns out that the settler has performed all his duties, but he is not a British subject. He is an alien. The creditor who has made that advance cannot secure the issue of the patent in the name of the debtor because he is an alien. Under such circumstances, we think the patent should issue to the alien so that the creditor can exercise all the rights under it. This is a case that meets the equity of hon. gentlemen opposite, I am sure.

Mr. FOSTER. Is that not a pretty wide open door ? Suppose that you have some of these settlers actually aided very largely by foreign people ; take, for instance, the settlers that have been coming in this last season, who are very largely aided by outside parties ; although I do not know the economy I suppose these outside parties are really holding the prospective lands of these settlers as collateral, or as security for the advances they have made. In that case it may be that it will shortly come to be a wholesale transaction and you may come to have a very large number of persons taking advantage of it. Individually, I do not wish to be too strict, and admit of no exceptions, but it seems to me that this is a door which might be opened very widely indeed, and might practically, in the case of certain classes of settlers, result in the lands being, in the majority, patented to aliens rather than to British subjects.

The PRIME MINISTER. I should not say that. This is a contingency that will arise only in the case of aliens having had an advance of money. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) will agree with me when I say that we cannot discourage aliens under such circumstances from obtaining advances of money. A settler will be in need of money to carry on his improvements, and we should not discourage him. If we are to encourage him efficiently we must provide that the party who has made the advance must be sure of his title. A settler, under such circumstances, has obtained a homestead, he has completed all the conditions, he is entitled to the patent, but, for some reason, he does not take out his patent. Then, the company comes along and asks for the issue of the patent. The patent is issued and the company is entitled to dispose of the property. I do not think that, under such circumstances, it would be fair to prevent settlers from obtaining these advances. You would discourage settlement if you were to do so, and it is only to provide that settlers may be enabled to obtain these advances that this amendment is asked for.

Mr. FOSTER. My right hon. friend is inverting the conditions. Somebody made that law in the first place and laid it down as a meritorious condition of the law that this land should go into the hands of British subjects and not of aliens. If an argument such as this was allowed to have weight at

that time, that it would prevent a man coming in as a settler unless he could obtain advances from his friends in Germany, Austria or the United States, and that unless you make it possible for a person to give a lien on his prospective piece of ground, you are going to make it very difficult to get settlers in; that was a strong argument, but it did not have any weight when this law was being made, because the very principle of the law was that we should not have the land held by aliens, but by British subjects. If an alien comes to this country and takes up land, he must perform the conditions and stay there until he gets his land. There must have been some good reason for that provision. You may have a foreign society sending in 6,000 people into one place in the North-west Territories, advancing them a certain amount of money, and under this clause of the Act you might have these aliens, foreigners, outside people virtually in the end, becoming the patentees or getting, as patentees, half or three-quarters, or may be the whole of the land, and there would not be one of them that had become a British subject, and there would not be one that had a lien on the land that would be a British subject. It would be putting the whole matter in an inverted position, and I am very much afraid, when there are aggregate settlements that are being made by different foreign elements, that we will open a door which will practically do away with that substantial provision of the law which, I am certain, had very good reasons for its being placed there. I do not think the argument of my right hon. friend, that in such a case you make it a little difficult for the man who gave the advance to get it paid back to him, ought to have undue weight if it subverts the other principle, and I am afraid it would.

Mr. DAVIN. This is a case which illustrates the undesirability of departing from principle. We have already departed from principle and I have not opposed it because the effects would be so small; but in this case great scandals and great evils might result. It would be an undesirable thing that a great company should be able to give aid to a lot of paupers. The right hon. gentleman knows that it is a rule of logic that the extreme hypothesis tests the proposition. Therefore, take the extreme hypothesis that a rich company sends a horde of paupers to perform certain duties, and these men may be thoroughly nomad in habits and destitute of all the qualifications of good settlers, then this rich company would own the land. You would have the very grievance that one of the clauses in the Liberal programme levied its thunders at, namely, the land not in the hands of settlers. I would suggest to the right hon. gentleman, to drop the amendment.

The PRIME MINISTER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin), takes a wrong conclusion from the criticism—the legitimate criticism I must say, of the hon. member (Mr. Foster), the law already provides against that.

Mr. DAVIN. I know.

The PRIME MINISTER. If the hon. gentleman knows, then his argument is not relevant. This Bill only applies to a very few cases. It does not apply to a foreigner, but the lien must be registered on the homestead. I believe that under such circumstances the company is bound to dispose of the land in favour of a British subject. The criticism of my hon. friend (Mr. Foster), seems to be legitimate, and I would ask that this section be held for further consideration.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I would ask that the Prime Minister shall look to the drafting of this clause. I would suggest that it should read in this way:

The holder of such charge may obtain such patent or certificate of patent in the name of the person entitled to receive the same, or his legal representatives, whether they are British subjects or not, and thereafter the said charge shall become a statutory mortgage on such homestead.

You can tell what it means by that, but it is very awkwardly expressed as it is.

The PRIME MINISTER. We will let it stand.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Very well.

The PRIME MINISTER. I invite the attention of the gentlemen from the North-west to section 2. I am not sufficiently familiar with the Act, to say whether or not it is too broad, and, therefore, I invite discussion upon it. Section 38, of the Dominion Lands Act, was amended in 1897. The original clause provided that no man could complete his homestead entry unless he was a resident upon the homestead itself. But it was found that a young man, the son of a settler, would take a homestead and that it was preferable for him to reside with his parents, instead of residing on the homestead, but that he should continue to perform the duties prescribed by law. The exception was made by the amendment in 1897, that he could reside with his parents. This amendment was in the right direction. It is proposed now to add the following section:

If the settler has his permanent residence upon farming land owned by him in the vicinity of his homestead, the requirements of this Act as to residence may be satisfied by residence upon the said lands.

Suppose a settler takes a homestead and before he has completed his entry, he buys another farm in the neighbourhood, which has a house, and resides on that new farm; the intention of the amendment is to allow

him to reside on the neighbouring property, rather than compel him to have a residence on his homestead. I am prepared to receive suggestions from members from the North-west Territories as to that.

Mr. DAVIN. I agree with this amendment. I think it will really liberalize the Act in a direction that is desirable.

The PRIME MINISTER. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIS. With reference to this clause I would suggest an amendment. If the settler can acquire a homestead by living on some other land he has purchased, he should be prepared to cultivate a little more land, and I would move, seconded by Mr. Oliver, that the following words be added to the amendment offered by the Prime Minister :

Providing he cultivates not less than forty acres.

The PRIME MINISTER. I would ask the hon. gentlemen to discuss this amendment with the officers of the department. In a technical matter of this kind, I would not undertake to adopt such an amendment. The Bill need not go through committee to-day.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). The words 'in the vicinity,' are extremely vague.

Mr. DAVIS. In the west 'the vicinity' means in the township.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). It would not necessarily have that meaning in law.

The PRIME MINISTER. It is no doubt vague, but the Act has to be construed liberally, and I think we can leave it to the agent, to determine the vicinity.

Mr. DAVIN. Perhaps it would be desirable to have a limit.

The PRIME MINISTER. What do you call a limit ?

Mr. DAVIN. A few miles would be a fair limit.

Section agreed to.

On section 4,

Mr. FOSTER. I do not see why the words, 'South Africa' should be in the clause. That would necessitate particular legislation at any time. I would suggest that it be made to read, 'on active service outside of Canada.'

The PRIME MINISTER. The words 'active service' would be quite sufficient. I move to strike out the words 'South Africa.'

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. INGRAM. The government have recognized that the residence of the gentlemen going to South Africa becomes broken under the Dominion Lands Act, and you are

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

making provision in this Bill that if they hold property they shall not lose it by reason of their absence. Under the election law their residence is broken by their going to South Africa, and there is no provision giving them the right to vote. In order to pave the way to a Bill which I have before the House, I would suggest that this section be amended by inserting in the second line after the word 'it,' the words, 'or in the Election Act or the Franchise Act.' If you do not do that, the men who have gone to South Africa and whose residence is therefore broken, will be deprived of their votes whenever a certain residence is required.

The PRIME MINISTER. The view presented to the House by my hon. friend is a very praiseworthy one. I do not dispute it, but this amendment does not come at the proper moment nor in the proper form. In my opinion, it is not in order, because my hon. friend has before the House a Bill in which the very provision he now proposes is to be found. But, because this is the case, it does not follow that the idea of my hon. friend should be rejected. On the contrary, there is great merit in it, and the Minister of Justice is preparing a Bill in which it will be provided for.

Mr. INGRAM. I am quite willing to withdraw the amendment on that understanding, as I only moved the amendment to pave the way for my Bill.

Mr. BOURASSA. If the words 'South Africa' are struck out, the latter part of the section will be practically the same as the first part. What is the use of keeping in the section the two clauses which are alike unless it is meant to provide for active service anywhere ?

The PRIME MINISTER. My hon. friend will see that there is a difference between the two clauses. The first clause reads as follows :

Notwithstanding anything in the said Act or in any Act amending it, the time during which a settler is absent from his homestead while he is a member of a military force enrolled under the authority of the Minister of Militia.

He may be engaged under the authority of the Minister of Militia without being on active service. The other clause is to cover the case of his being called on for active service, as is the case to-day.

Mr. BOURASSA. I understand that the last part of the section was introduced to cover the special case of our volunteers in South Africa, while the amendment proposed by the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) would make it apply to any active service anywhere.

Mr. DAVIN. So it ought.

Mr. BOURASSA. I cannot agree to that, and I want to enter my protest against it now.

The PRIME MINISTER moved that section 6 be struck out.

Motion agreed to.

Committee rose and reported progress.

REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 13), respecting representation in the House of Commons.

(In the Committee.)

On section 1,

Mr. WALLACE. This proposes to violate the whole principle of representation by population. For instance, the city of Toronto has to-day, it is estimated, a population of 225,000, and no doubt it will have much more when the census of 1901 is taken. The city of Toronto will have one member for every 45,000 citizens, but the county of York has one for every 22,000 or 23,000 citizens. Take the county of Brant. Some say its population is 33,000, and others that it is 36,500.

Mr. CLARKE. 33,000.

Mr. WALLACE. Brant with its 33,000, would be entitled to two members of parliament, while 45,000 in Toronto are only entitled to one member. Toronto is a strong Conservative city, and Brant is a strong Liberal county; and therefore, you have not only the principle of representation by population utterly set at defiance, but set at defiance presumably because the city of Toronto commits the crime of being Conservative in its tendencies, while Brant enjoys the merit of being Liberal. That same feature goes through the whole of the Bill, and I can only enter my protest against it. Take the counties of Bruce and Grey and the county of Simcoe, and you will find the same anomalies and the same undesirable state of affairs existing. When the revision comes to take place, the principle of representation should, in the future, even more than in the past, be made the basis. Hon. gentlemen opposite say that the Conservative party when in power did not make it the basis. I think that in that they made a mistake. They could easily have advanced their political fortunes and made a redistribution based on the principle of representation by population. In years gone by that was not of so much importance as to-day, because the cities, and notably the city of Toronto, had members living in them, representing a large number of constituencies outside, and it was said that these men, living in Toronto, were really representatives of it. Whatever force that may have had, and I do not think it should have much, because it could not be contended

that because a man lived in Toronto he was refusing to represent the special ideas of his constituency. But we are getting more cosmopolitan in our views, I hope, as the years go on, and recognize that we are not only the members for a constituency looking for favours for that constituency, but members of parliament legislating for a great Dominion, and therefore should not confine our patriotism and ideas to the particular constituency we may represent. This Bill, from one end of it to the other, does not recognize the principle of representation by population at all, and I believe the hon. Postmaster General has said so, and does not desire that it should. From one end of it to the other wherever the principle now prevails, it is destroyed by this Bill. That feature alone should condemn it. We are against the Bill altogether. In the year 1901, twelve months from the first of next month, the census of the whole Dominion will be taken. When that is ascertained, then it will be the duty of the Dominion parliament to pass a Redistribution Act. That Act will be most widespread in its results. We will have Manitoba and the North-west Territories and British Columbia, perhaps doubling their representation in this House. We will have a movement of population in the province of Ontario, of which an account must be taken. And this great centre of population, Toronto, with its 225,000 people to-day and increasing year by year, and these other cities where the people are congregated—we have to take these into consideration, and redistribution on these lines will have to take place. Yet, in the face of this, in the face of the fact that this has all to be done within eighteen or twenty-four months, based upon information that we should begin to gather in a year, it is proposed by this Bill that we shall have a redistribution now, that everything shall be turned upside down for the purpose of one general election; and then when the regular distribution takes place in the following year we shall have a tumbling of the constituencies again. For these reasons, to my mind, the Bill before us is quite unjustifiable. The Bill is unnecessary, it is unfair in its workings, and the fact of passing it now is unfair to the people of Canada, whom it proposes to disfranchise very largely for the purpose of securing political advantage to hon. gentlemen opposite.

On subsection *d*,

Mr. CLARKE. May I ask if it is intended to make two constituencies of the city of Hamilton?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is intended to allow Hamilton to adhere to its former practice. Hamilton has always voted as one undivided constituency sending two members. It is intended to adhere as nearly as possible to the existing system.

Mr. CLARKE. Then, that principle is to continue?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. We shall adhere as nearly as possible to the practice that now obtains in the various ridings.

Mr. CLARKE. Will that apply to the constituency of West Toronto, which, for many years, has been one constituency, returning two members? And if not, why not?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The riding of West Toronto has had a varied practice, sometimes one way and sometimes the other.

Mr. CLARKE. Since it was given two members it has had the same practice.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to ask the Postmaster General on what basis or principle it is that he has a double constituency in one city and single constituency in another city, both in the same province. He speaks of conforming 'as nearly as possible' to the existing state of affairs. What is meant by that?—'as nearly as possible,' measured by party and political considerations, or 'as nearly as possible' on some principle that can be defined and defended?

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon gentleman (Mr. Foster) is virtually condemning himself if he charges the government with inconsistency in keeping double constituencies in some places and single in others. He was a member of the cabinet when the last distribution Bill was passed, forming the constituencies as they are to-day. If hon. gentlemen opposite want an answer they should put the question to themselves. Why did they, in the distribution of 1891, continue the city of Hamilton as a double constituency returning two members, while, in other cases, they made a division? I quite agree with the Postmaster General that it is desirable that where elections can be had in municipalities such as the city of Hamilton, and where no direct demand has been made by the people of the city for the making of the division, the existing practice should be followed. Hamilton has been to some extent at a standstill for some time, but in the city of Toronto great developments have taken place which have affected the constituency of West Toronto. Then, this Bill, of course, will make changes with regard to West York. A portion of the city of Toronto, which is now in West York, will be left in the city of Toronto for electoral purposes under this Bill; and this makes it necessary that a division should be made. Consequently, the government proposes to give the city five members instead of four.

Mr. CLARKE. Well, will there be two two-member constituencies in Toronto?

Mr. MULOCK.

Perhaps the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), can tell us that?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It can hardly be said that West Toronto, or the portion of West York that will now become part of the city of Toronto, has ever been represented otherwise than by a single member. Under this Bill a very considerable population will be transferred from the county of York to the city of Toronto for electoral purposes. The fringe of population that now constitutes part of the riding of East and West York has never been in any constituency represented by two members. On the other hand, the city of Hamilton has, I think, always voted as one municipality. The west riding of the city of Toronto has rarely voted for two members at one riding, for, from confederation for a long period it had but one representative. So, there is no departure from the rule. I do not know how otherwise you could have arranged an additional member for the city, unless we set apart a piece of the city of Toronto and say that this is to be West Toronto and is to return two members. Even if I were to ask my hon. friend (Mr. Clarke) to redistribute the city of Toronto, how could he set apart one portion of the city as West Toronto, a constituency to return two members? Probably if the Bill had been proposed that way we should have been asked to justify such an extraordinary proposition—namely, the cutting off of a piece of the city and calling it West Toronto, and leaving the rest of the city for the judges to divide into three ridings. If we are going to allow the judges to divide the city we must let them divide the whole city.

Mr. CLARKE. Will you allow the judges to determine whether it would be better to have two two-member constituencies in Toronto or not? We are asking the question, what principle the government is applying in this redistribution. For *Hansard* is full of declarations and statements of hon. gentlemen opposite when previous Redistribution Bills were being considered, as to the vicious principle of having two-member constituencies at all, if it is possible to avoid them. To-day they have charge of a Redistribution Bill, and we find that in some parts of the country they are continuing the two-member constituencies, while in others they are abolishing them. Why do they do that? Why, for instance, do they allow this city to continue to be one constituency and return two members?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I will make a proposition to the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke). Is he prepared to select a portion of West Toronto that will be properly represented by two members, if so the government will be prepared to consider that proposition. We do not want to appear to select such a portion, but

prefer to leave it to the judges to determine the whole question.

Mr. CLARKE. There are three cities in the province of Ontario, which, up to the present time have had two-member constituencies in them. It is the intention of the government, under the Bill, to leave two of these cities just as they are. The city of Ottawa is still to continue to be represented by two members elected by the city at large. The same rule will apply to the city of Hamilton. I think it is fair to ask the Postmaster General if that rule is to be applied to the representation of the city of Toronto, and, if not, why not? The Postmaster General knows as well as I do, and any hon. member who knows anything about Toronto, knows that it would be an easy matter to subdivide the city into three constituencies returning five members, two of them two members each and one one member. Might I ask the Postmaster General, that being the effect, why he does not apply some such rule as that to the city of Toronto? Here we are proceeding by making five single constituencies in the city of Toronto, instead of having two two-member constituencies and one one-member constituency. Why are the rule and precedent departed from one in one case, in the case of Toronto, that are adhered to in the cases of Ottawa and Hamilton?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Hamilton is one municipality having but two members. The hon. member probably would be the first to raise an objection if we proposed to cut out a piece of the city of Toronto and say that that portion should be represented by two members. But I have made a very fair proposition to my hon. friend. We are not wedded to this system, we want this measure to meet with public approval; and if he will submit to the government a proposition for giving three members to a portion of the city of Toronto, the west, it will receive careful consideration.

Mr. CLARKE. It would be presumption on my part to make such a proposition to the government. Will the government make a proposition that the judges shall be at liberty to subdivide the city of Toronto if they deem it advisable to do so, so as to continue the representation as at present?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Either the government must have an opinion, or the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman would not be willing, I fancy, to let the government select the portion of West Toronto that would be represented by two members, nor is he willing to give me his approval. Under the circumstances, I have nothing to do but to ask him to accept the proposition of the government. If he has any better proposition, we will be pleased to consider it.

Mr. CLANCY. The hon. member for Toronto (Mr. Clarke) asks the Postmaster General a very plain question, namely: Is he prepared to leave it entirely in the hands of the judges, without any instructions, to say whether Toronto shall return five members without a division, or in any other way they please? Here is the hon. gentleman's answer: The government must have one opinion and the member for Toronto another; and he sits down without answering the question. Unless the Postmaster General studiously and purposely desires to avoid the answer, then, I can tell him that he has put himself in a false position.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I think there is a manifest objection to very large constituencies. For example, supposing he advances a proposition that the city of Toronto should be one single constituency and send so many members.

Mr. CLANCY. Nobody has made a proposition of that kind.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Permit me to illustrate the contention. My hon. friend would at once concede that that was an unwise arrangement. I am sure he would. Then, that unwisdom would continue 'pro tanto' to the half of the city. If it is not desirable that a constituency should embrace the whole of a city the size of Toronto, then it is in a degree inadvisable that there should be a constituency representing an unreasonable number of people.

Mr. CLARKE. Why not apply that principle to the representation of Hamilton and Ottawa?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I have already informed my hon. friend that in Hamilton we are adhering to the principle of not disturbing existing arrangements more than necessary. Hamilton has had its way, and it is a recognition of local custom to allow Hamilton to vote as it always has voted. In the city of Toronto we have to arrange for another member, and considering the growth of the city and the addition being made to it, it seems but fair that the whole city would be divided into five separate constituencies. But it is not desired to do anything unfair, and I can only repeat that if my hon. friend does not like our proposition, let him put forth a better one.

Mr. SPROULE. He puts forth what he regards as a better one when he proposes to leave it to the judges.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). There is a difference. Hamilton is an entire municipality returning two members. The city of Toronto, under the Bill, is one municipality, and is being given five members. The hon. gentleman will see that the cases are not parallel. His proposition, I understand, is to take a municipi-

pality that is to be represented by five members and divide it into four constituencies.

Mr. CLARKE. No ; I did not say that.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Well, that is the effect. It is to have three portions of Toronto represented by one member each, and another portion of the same city represented by two members, which is an entirely different condition of things to that of the city of Hamilton.

Mr. CLARKE. No, I asked the question, with the greatest possible deference to the Postmaster General, What principle he would apply in the city of Toronto? We have had one constituency in Toronto represented by two members, and we have had the constituency of Hamilton and the constituency of Ottawa represented each by two members. I ask him whether it was the intention, in giving the city of Toronto additional representation, to continue this principle of two-member constituencies. Now, the Minister of Customs can see that that principle can be applied just as easily to the case of Ottawa and Hamilton as it can to Toronto ; and I am asking the Postmaster General to allow the judges to determine whether there shall be three constituencies in Toronto, two of them returning two members each, and one constituency returning one member. Surely that is a simple proposition, and I am asking why, if the government will not consent to that proposition, they still continue in the case of other cities of Ontario entitled to more than one representative—why they still continue these cities as single constituencies ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Does the hon. gentleman propose that it should be left to the judges to determine whether these electoral districts shall be divided, or whether they shall return two or more members each ? If so, that would be a point well worthy of consideration by the government. For instance, if the hon. gentleman thinks that the smaller counties, instead of being divided, should vote for two members, if he thinks that is a better line to proceed upon, why, that could be considered. But as it is contemplated in the Bill, the counties are all divided. The difference between Hamilton and Toronto he will see is this : Hamilton has not been disturbed in its population, there is none being taken from the neighbouring county and attached to it, it is the same municipality it was. But in the case of Toronto a portion of a municipality is to be represented hereafter by a city representative, or a large number of people that previously was not there. That is the reason it was given another member, and that removes it from the same category as Hamilton. But if the hon. gentleman's idea is that it is better to leave the matter to the judges, that in all cases, instead of defining that

the counties and cities shall be divided into two or three ridings, it shall be left to the judges to determine whether such division should take place, well, that would be a case for consideration.

Mr. WALLACE. Does the Minister of Customs say that the principle of including a city municipality by itself is a proper one ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Yes. I think we are following that.

Mr. WALLACE. Why do you not do it, then, in the city of Ottawa ? A portion of the city of Ottawa is in the county of Russell and a portion is in the municipality of Ottawa ; yet his whole argument was that the city of Toronto should be by itself, because it is going to take in parts of East and West York. And when I asked him the question, he said : Yes, that is the proper thing to do. But, in the city of Ottawa it is not the proper thing to do. If it is the proper thing to keep a portion of the city of Ottawa in the county of Russell, New Edinburgh, and the hon. Minister of Customs thinks that it is—

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. We are not dealing with the city of Ottawa.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentlemen are dealing with those parts where they will get a political advantage. That is the game. And they cannot get a political advantage by dealing with the city of Ottawa, so they deal with those places where they can.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) is assuming that. I do not know whether there would be any political advantage to his party or to the other party in touching Ottawa, but, the hon. gentleman knows that there is no attempt made to rearrange all the constituencies. This is repealing the worst features of the gerrymander Act of 1882. I do not know if the hon. gentleman is in a position to say that the city of Ottawa, as now constituted municipally would necessarily return a Conservative, and I am not in a position to say that it would necessarily return a Liberal. It does not always follow that the traditional feelings and sentiments of a constituency will remain the same. We are dealing with the question of the hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Clarke), who thinks that he sees that there is a discrepancy in leaving Toronto, which has an additional member, having an additional population added to it in the position in regard to having it divided as we do the counties, and different from that of the city of Ottawa and the city of Hamilton. I think the hon. gentleman can see the distinction that is made. He does not recommend that the city, with five representatives, should have four constitu-

Mr. PATERSON.

encies, but he asks the question if we would not allow the judges to determine, under this Bill, whether they will divide the various constituencies mentioned there, whether it shall be in their option to divide them if they see fit, or, where you have a county entitled to two representatives, whether it would be in their judgment to say whether they shall give that county two members or shall divide the constituency. That is the question of the hon. gentleman as I understand it.

Mr. CLARKE. I asked the question only in so far as the representation of the city of Toronto was to be concerned. I asked the hon. gentleman if he and his colleagues had considered the propriety, or had determined, whether the city of Toronto should be divided into three, four or five constituencies, whether there would be two two-member constituencies or whether one constituency returning one member, and whether the judges would subdivide the city so as to bring about that result, that is, to have two two-member constituencies and one constituency returning one member. I do not mean to consent at all to the proposition that the city of Toronto is only entitled to five members. There has been added to it, or will be added to it when this Bill becomes law, a large population from the county of York that ought to entitle the city of Toronto to one member, at least, more than it has at present. But, the city of Toronto, has made very substantial increases in its population since the last representation Bill was passed. As the hon. Minister of Customs knows very serious complaint was made by himself and his friends when they occupied seats on this side of the House against the former Redistribution Bills of 1882 and 1892, because they did not deal fairly by the western part of the province of Ontario. The argument was made by hon. gentlemen opposite that a very grave fault rested with the old Bills because the constituencies in the eastern part of the province had larger representation than they were entitled to according to the population. The city of Toronto has increased its population by probably 25,000 or 50,000 inhabitants; that is the city of Toronto as represented, at present, in this House, since the last Redistribution Bill was passed. Hon. gentlemen opposite are not doing the city of Toronto justice when they add population from the county of York and only give the city an additional member. I hope hon. gentlemen will recognize the claims of the city of Toronto to further representation in this House because of the increase that has taken place in its population since the last census and since the last Redistribution Bill was passed. While I am on my feet, I must say that I think a very great injustice is being done to the constituency of Algoma, a constituency of such immense length and breadth,

and which has increased so greatly since the last census, in not giving that district increased representation. Instead of the city of Toronto having five representatives, it is entitled to six or seven, and with these portions of West and East York, which are added, it is entitled then to have the same representation as other constituencies in the province of Ontario have in this House, and according to its population it is entitled to at least eight representatives. I think that the city of Toronto is being very unfairly dealt with in so far as the number of its representatives is concerned, as well as being unfairly dealt with in being singled out to have the double member constituency which exists there, wiped out, when the double member constituencies in other cities are allowed to remain.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Mr. Chairman, there is no desire to do an injustice to the city of Toronto. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Clarke) will remember that when the Bill was first introduced last year it was proposed to give Toronto four members. Representations were made, and they prevailed; it was seen, that, with the large additional population in that city, another member should be given.

Mr. CLARKE. But you added to that population entitled to another member.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Clarke) will not say that a great injury has been done to the city of Toronto in view of the fact that it is to have five members. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) puts the population of the city of Toronto within the old limits that formed the city at 225,000. Five members would be one for every 45,000. That is the representation that Toronto has had during the past ten years.

Mr. CLARKE. The population was not as large when the last redistribution was made.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Toronto with 180,000 or 181,000 of a population had four members.

Mr. CLARKE. 140,000.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson) is mistaken because that included the population of the two Yorks, and there were, therefore, six representatives.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. 180,000.

Mr. CLARKE. No, that included everything.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I stand corrected that far. But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Clarke) with a natural pride in his city, is assuming that the population of

Toronto will be 225,000. Of course, we do not know that. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) seemed to be very much struck with a particular county when he spoke of the county of Brant. I may speak more particularly of that county, as my fortunes are not connected with it at the present time. The hon. gentleman spoke of it as having 33,000 souls, and he said that the city of Toronto is to get 225,000 souls. We are proceeding in this on the census of 1891, and I remember now that while I professed to stand corrected, and was willing to stand corrected by hon. gentlemen opposite, the figures of 180,000 for the city of Toronto, were as shown by the census of 1891.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. 174,000.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. 174,000, is it? This Bill proceeds on the principle of the population of 1891, although, with the local feeling of pride in the men from our various counties, we would like to have the populations larger. But, the hon. gentleman will admit that his argument is not very fair when he claims 225,000 of a population for the city of Toronto, which, he says, it would amount to now if a census was taken, and says at the same time that the county of Brant has only 33,000 of a population. The county of Brant had nearly 37,000 in 1891. If the hon. gentleman is going to institute comparisons, he must do so fairly, and if he takes the estimated population of Toronto at the same time, then he should take the estimated population of Brant at the same time, which I venture to say has eight or ten thousand added to it, and instead of being 36,000, would be perhaps forty-five thousand, or forty-six thousand, or perhaps more. Toronto with five members and a population of 225,000, shows one member for every 45,000, and under the law passed by the Conservative government, there was therefore, one representative for every forty-five thousand inhabitants.

Mr. CLARKE. The hon. gentleman is, I think, mistaken. If he consults the census of 1891, he will find that the wards comprising the city of Toronto, for representation in the House of Commons, contained a population, if my memory serves me right, of 144,000. The representation, therefore, was one member for 36,000 of the population.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Clarke), makes that statement with more local knowledge than I have, and of course I accept his statement. He says that some portions of the county of York were left out at that time, which were subsequently brought in.

Mr. CLARKE. St. Alban's Ward, for instance, was not included in the population

of the city of Toronto, in that census, because it was attached to West York. St. Matthew's Ward, was not included in the city, because it was part of East York, and St. Paul's Ward was identified with East and West York in the census. Its population did not belong, or does not belong, to the city of Toronto, for the purpose of representation in this House. The following wards were included in the city at that time: St. David Ward, St. Lawrence, St. Thomas, St. James, St. John, St. George, St. Andrews, St. Patrick, and St. Stephen's. The population of St. Matthew, St. Paul and St. Alban's Wards, was not included, and that is where the Minister of Customs is mistaken in his figures, as to the population of the city of Toronto for representation in this House. The minister claims, and I hope he is right, that the population of the city of Brantford and of the county of Brant, has substantially increased since the last census. I am guided largely in my estimate of the increase of population of the city of Toronto by the statements made from year to year, in the City Directory, as to the number of householders that directory shows. I think it is a pretty good guide when making a rough calculation as to the increase of population. There is absolutely no certainty as to the population of the city of Toronto until we have the census taken. Neither can we determine correctly what increase has taken place in the city of Brantford, or in the county of Brant. I submit with the greatest possible respect that these are very strong reasons in themselves why the government should not attempt to pass a Redistribution Bill affecting these centres of population throughout Ontario, without having more definite information as to what the population of these various constituencies is. Especially do I contend, that the statements made by the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) are strong reasons why this Redistribution Bill should not be proceeded with. Not the slightest attempt has been made under this Bill to restore county boundaries, about which so much has been said by gentlemen opposite, in the counties of the province of Ontario, lying east of the county of Ontario. The counties east of Ontario County, will still continue to be over-represented in this House, if the arguments of hon. gentlemen opposite are to have any weight. If, as is undoubtedly the case, large additions have been made to the population of the cities and towns in Western Ontario, there is all the more reason why, if hon. gentlemen opposite have the opportunity, they should do justice to that portion of the province. I am not prepared to say that they are not disposed to do this justice, but I do say that they cannot do justice to the representation of these centres of population, without ascertaining what the population is. Some of the statements made by

the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) are strong arguments why the government should not persist in pushing this Bill, until after the census is taken, especially as it only affects half the province of Ontario. Fifteen months from now, the government will have the first returns from the census and they can then, with the official figures before them, do full justice, if they do so desire, to the constituencies throughout Ontario. I submit that the government should not persist in this Bill unless they are prepared to do justice to constituencies like that of the city of Toronto.

Mr. SPROULE. I understood the Minister of Customs to say that the intention of this Bill was to restore county boundaries, and the outlines of cities, and if that be the case, why was not the same principle applied in this Bill to Toronto, as was applied to Hamilton and Ottawa. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson), seemed to argue in a very lame way, that there were incidental circumstances connected with Toronto that did not appear in the case of the other cities; but the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), caught him in his own trap, by showing that exactly the same conditions did obtain in all. The Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), also told us that the object of the Bill was to restore county boundaries.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. As far as we go.

Mr. SPROULE. Yes, but why did you not go further? What was to prevent you applying the same principle to eastern Ontario as you did to western Ontario. East of the county of Ontario, although the principle of county boundaries is violated in many constituencies, there is no attempt to interfere with the existing state of things. You apply the principle so long as it suits your purposes for political reasons, but where your political chances are against observing the principle, you do not apply it. These gentlemen opposite, are very fond of the principle of county boundaries, when it suits them politically; but if it tells against them, they do not put it into force. They will find it very hard to convince the people of the country that the principle of county boundaries is a correct one, if that is the way they act. If it was right to divide the city of Toronto into five constituencies, why did not you divide the cities of Hamilton and Ottawa into two constituencies each? I know the reason, although hon. gentlemen opposite may not be inclined to admit it. The reason is, that it did not suit the political prospects of the government to do so.

Mr. McMULLEN. I want to draw attention to one point which was referred to by the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace). He objected to this Bill because it

does not observe the principle of representation by population. If we look at the population of the constituencies in the last election, we shall find that Cardwell had 15,382 with one member, Carleton 16,534 with one member, Cornwall 27,158 with one member, East Durham 15,374 with one member, Frontenac 13,445 with one member, Grenville 12,929 with one member, East Grey 26,225 with one member, Hamilton 47,245 with two members, Kent 31,434 with only one member, North Leeds and Grenville 13,521 with one member, and the south riding of the same county 22,449 with one member. It was not found convenient to make any readjustment there. Lennox had 14,900 with one member, while Lincoln and Niagara had 27,043 with one member. Toronto West had 73,862 with two members, while Toronto East had 43,565 with one member. I simply want to draw attention to these figures to show that the late government did not consider the question of representation by population in 1882 or in 1891. The question of the political aspect of the constituencies was the chief thing they considered, and whenever it was necessary to take a township from one county and put it into another, in the interests of the Conservative party, that was done. They gerrymandered the whole province of Ontario in that way. In 1891 the only change they made was to wipe out one county and add it to two others. The province had been so completely gerrymandered in 1882, that the members opposed any change, and the question of population was left out of sight. East Simcoe had a population of 35,801, while North Simcoe had a population of 28,203.

Mr. CRAIG. What does the hon. gentleman say the population of East Durham was?

Mr. McMULLEN. 15,374.

Mr. CRAIG. That is not correct. I think the hon. gentleman is talking about West Durham.

Mr. McMULLEN. Well, I have the census returns here. The population of the east riding is 17,053, and the west riding 15,374. The figures I have given show distinctly what the intentions of the government of that day were. In the last two adjustments they did not take the question of population into consideration at all—why? Simply because it did not suit them from a party point of view.

It being six o'clock, the committee took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

(The House resumed in committee.)

Mr. McMULLEN. In answer to what the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace)

said before the House rose, I wish to give a few figures. That hon. gentleman claims that the readjustment should be according to population. I wish to show that that principle was grossly violated in the readjustments that took place in 1882 and in 1892. Take, for instance, the county of Cardwell, which, in 1891, had a population of 10,534, while West Hastings had a population of 27,143. There was no change made in either of these ridings in 1891, and why? Simply because the gerrymander of 1882 was so perfect that the Conservative party could not find any way to change it, so far as these counties were concerned, with any benefit to themselves. Representation by population was abandoned—it was not considered. South Middlesex had a population in 1891 of 18,806, while East Middlesex had 25,569. Here were two constituencies lying alongside each other with over 7,000 of a discrepancy, and, after all, there was no attempt made to adjust the population in these two ridings. Again, for the reason of the gerrymander Act of 1882, it could not be improved upon in the interest of the Conservative party. Then, take East Northumberland, with a population of 14,947, by the census of 1891, while North Wellington had 24,956—within a fraction of 25,000—or over 11,000 more than East Northumberland. But they could not make the constituency that I represent any better in their own interest than it was, nor could they improve East Northumberland from their point of view, so they left them both as they were. Then, take the constituency of West York, which my hon. friend (Mr. Wallace) himself represents. In 1881 that constituency had a population of 18,834, while in 1891 it had a population of 41,857. Was there any attempt to readjust this and give representation according to population? No. Why?

Mr. TAYLOR. The people were already very properly represented.

Mr. McMULLEN. The reason was that if the hon. gentleman who holds that seat were left to a riding made up of the west part of the county of York alone, this constituency would spew him out of its mouth at the first opportunity. In order to keep him in, a portion of the city of Toronto, and West Toronto Junction, is kept in as part of his riding, and though the population had increased to 41,857 by the census, no change took place in 1892. And yet the hon. gentleman could get up this afternoon and preach about representation by population as the guiding star in readjusting the constituencies. Now, take East York. In 1881, it had a population of 22,853, and in 1891 a population of 35,148. Was there any attempt to readjust there? None whatever. Why? Because the hon. gentleman who sits in this House to represent that constituency did not want any readjust-

Mr. McMULLEN.

ment. The Bill now before the House will go back to county boundaries.

Mr. SPROULE. It does not go back to county boundaries.

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes, the Bill before the House is for that purpose. Hon. gentlemen opposite claimed the right to take minor municipalities, regardless of county boundaries, and put them where they pleased. Their nominal reason was to produce equality of population in the different constituencies. But their real object in pitchforking these minor municipalities from place to place was to gain party advantage. And now that the government of the day are making an effort to set aside that vicious law, that unjust and scandalously ridiculous Bill of 1882, which was a disgrace to the men who hatched it, and a disgrace to the House that passed it, we are met with the declaration that we are now gerrymandering the country. All we seek is to right the wrong that was done.

On subsection (f).

Mr. CLANCY. I would like to ask the Postmaster General what rule he has laid down in framing this Bill, when he makes two constituencies in the county of Brant having in round numbers about 32,000 of a population, while, in the county of Kent, with a population of about 60,000, there are also only two constituencies? Even were you to have three ridings in Kent, they would have an average population of 19,000 as against an average of 16,000 in Brant. But the hon. gentleman proposes to make two constituencies of about 29,000 each in one municipal county, and in another, to make two ridings of something like 16,000 each. I would like the hon. gentleman to tell the committee how, even in his wildest flights of imagination, he could justify a course of that kind. If his idea is representation by population, this Bill is clearly at variance with that notion. If the convenience of the people is considered, I would like to know the facts upon which he bases his conclusion that this will accomplish that object.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. My hon. friend (Mr. Clancy) rather strained the figures in presenting his question. It would be as well to be as accurate as we can in dealing with the subject. I understand that the population of the county of Brant is 36,445.

Mr. CLANCY. No.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Yes.

Mr. CLANCY. If my hon. friend (Mr. Mulock) will permit me, we will settle that question right here. He is proposing to revert to county boundaries and to voters' lists prepared in each municipal county. We have the province of Ontario as the

guide, and, notwithstanding that the Minister of Customs whispered across to the Postmaster General that the population of Brant was 36,000—

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I have the figures here, and my hon. friend (Mr. Clancy) can see for himself.

Mr. CLANCY. I have no doubt that my hon. friend (Mr. Mulock), has the figures and I have no doubt also that the Minister of Customs did whisper the number to him, as I have said. We have the census of 1891 for the two Brants, and what does that give as the voting population. It simply gives for North Brant 11,865, and South Brant 21,323, or 33,217. But my hon. friend wants to pad out with Indians, he wants to count in a class of population that has no more to do with the elections than the stock in his barnyard. These Indians were never counted in the province of Ontario for the purpose of determining the voting population or of shaping the size of each constituency, and this for the obvious reason that they had no vote. It is manifestly dishonest to count these people in. But if the hon. gentleman can gain any consolation by counting in the Indians, and thus making it appear that there is 36,000 of a population in North and South Brant, he is welcome to all the comfort that may give him.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). In discussing this Bill, I suppose it is as well to accept corrections. I am sorry the hon. member for Toronto, is not here now. The population of 180,000 in Toronto, if I am correct, was arrived at in the census of 1891, by adding to that city, the portions of East and West York that belonged to it.

Mr. WALLACE. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. We have under this Bill, five members for a population of 180,000, which is 36,000 per member. The population of Toronto was 144,000, in 1881, the hon. member for West York tells us, with four members.

Mr. WALLACE. I did not give any such figures.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Well, the hon. member for Toronto did, and in that he was correct, I believe, Toronto then, had four members, or one representative for every 36,000, and this Bill provides for a similar proportion. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Clancy), in order to make a case—and his case is very weak—simply strikes off 4,000, in order to make the population of Brant 32,000. But this Bill is founded on the census of 1891, which the judges must take cognizance of, and that census shows a population of 36,445 souls in the county of Brant. It does not alter that circumstance at all, for the hon. gentle-

man to say: I will cut off 4,000, because there are many non-voters there. There are thousands of non-voters in every county, is the hon. gentleman going to count them all out? How many non-voters are there in the county of Kent?

Mr. CLANCY. No Indians.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I am speaking about non-voters, and the hon. gentleman spoke of the Indians, simply as a non-voter. The Indian is a consumer and was considered good enough by the hon. gentleman's government to be given a vote, and did vote, and if the Ontario government were to bring the Indians within municipal institutions, they would again have the right to vote. The hon. gentleman must also remember that the population of the county of Brant is greater than what it was in 1882, when his friends gave that county two members. It had two members long before confederation, and after confederation down to 1882, when its population was smaller than it is at present.

Mr. CLANCY. How does that affect the argument?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Very materially, I think, because the hon. gentleman says we are making no improvement and are not proceeding on fair lines. But even striking off the 4,000, there would be still a larger population represented by the one member, than in many ridings, under the present law.

Mr. CLANCY. That does not affect it.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. No, nothing affects the case at all, but I am stating the facts. Why does the hon. gentleman not select the county of Norfolk, which is smaller in population considerably, than Brant, and yet we give two members to Norfolk. Norfolk has barely a few hundred more votes than Wentworth. The hon. gentleman says that the government is seeking by this Bill, political advantage. Well, Wentworth, from confederation down to the present, has invariably returned two Liberal members, and we have every reason to believe that if that county were given two members, it would return two Liberals. But being a few hundred smaller in population than Norfolk, we give it only one member, while we give two to Norfolk, which for years has returned the gallant colonel opposite, and may do so again. If we were seeking political advantage, and were willing to do only one-hundredth part of what hon. gentlemen opposite did, we would give two members to Wentworth, and only one to Norfolk. The hon. gentleman knows that South Norfolk would likely return the gallant colonel opposite, who now represents it, and if we wished to follow the example of hon. gentlemen opposite, and strike at our opponents in this House, we

could do it in the case of South Norfolk, without committing anything like the manifest injustice that they committed.

Their pretense about equalizing population is too ridiculous. It is impossible to equalize the population down to a man, or a hundred men. The hon. member for West York sits in this House representing 45,000 people, while the adjoining constituency has only 18,000 of a population. You will have some discrepancies under this Bill, but none such as exists at present. It is possible to do some little gerrymandering within the limits of counties, but impossible to gerrymander to anything like the same extent within county bounds, as these gentlemen were enabled to do when they disregarded county bounds, and went into two or three different counties to pick out townships and place those townships where it best suited their party. And this they did under the hypocritical pretense of equalizing the population. Let me ask this question. When they introduced their Bill the municipal county of Oxford had a population of 49,857. That could have been divided into two ridings just as easily as many other counties were divided with about an equal population. Then there was no necessity of disturbing that, but what did they do? Why, they took two townships out of Oxford, namely, Dereham and Blenheim, with a population of 9,631; and they put Dereham into the riding of North Norfolk because it had a Conservative majority, and they thought it would help to put to political death the member who had represented North Norfolk continuously from 1872 to that time. Blenheim, the other township, with its three or four hundred Liberal majority, they put into North Brant, which they were making a Liberal hive. Now, out of that county which, if it had been divided, would have had made two constituencies with about the proper population, they took 9,631. What else did they do? Having taken 9,631 from a population that was just about entitled to two members, they went into the county of Perth and took North Easthope out of one riding of Perth, and South Easthope out of the other riding, and went into Brant County and took out Burford and Oakland, and they threw all these four townships back into Oxford to bring Oxford's population up. So they took 9,631 souls out and put in 9,639; they made a difference of 8. And hon. gentlemen opposite will sit there and say it is fair. No, they were not all there then, very few members opposite are to blame for that. But can they not see what a hypocritical cry it is to say that they were actuated by a desire to equalize the population, in face of the figures that I have given? Blenheim, with a population of 5,606, was taken out of Oxford and put into Brant County; then Burford and Oakland with a population of 5,797 were taken

out of Brant and put into Oxford to equalize the population. Now, what is the necessity for that? I need not tell hon. gentlemen opposite that it was because they had a large Liberal majority. They know that nothing but the most extreme partisan desire on their part to secure a political advantage would ever have led honourable men to commit themselves to such a scheme. Gentlemen opposite think sometimes that I speak a little warmly on this subject. Well, I do speak warmly, because never in all my parliamentary life, have I ever seen so infamous an act. I challenge any one to point out where, in any representative body, such an outrage on justice, on all that is fair and right was ever committed. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite, having a sense of what is right and proper, if they can explain in any other way the action taken at that time. What do I say? They took Blenheim out of Oxford and put it into North Brant, where they were going to make a hive, and which could have carried a Liberal before. But because Blenheim had four or five hundred of a Liberal majority, and a population of 5,606, they put it into Brant; then they took Burford and Oakland, having 5,797, out of Brant and put them into Oxford. There is only 193 difference, and so these counties are broken up in that way.

Middlesex had a population of 64,453; that could easily divide into three ridings, and would give about the proper unit. They did not need to interfere with it at all. But they took the township of Euphemia from Lambton, and South Dorchester was taken from Elgin, and Stephen was taken from Bruce. That is the way they did with a county that, if it had been left alone, within county bounds, would just divide into three ridings, having about the exact unit of population. In 1892, Grimsby, in the county of Lincoln, with a population of 2,705, was transferred to South Wentworth, and the township of Pelham, in the county of Welland, with a population of 2,554, was transferred to Lincoln to replace Grimsby. Walpole is taken out of Haldimand and is replaced by Wamfleet, belonging to Welland. The township of Whitechurch is taken out of North York and is replaced by transferring West Gwillimbury from South Simcoe to it. The township of Wallace is taken out of Perth and replaced by the township of Usborne, taken out of Huron, the only difference in the population of these two townships is that Wallace has 711 more than Usborne. That is all done to equalize population.

Sir, I could run through the whole Bill in that way. It violated every principle of justice, of truth, and of common decency, and that Bill has been upon the statute-book ever since. These gentlemen ask us: Why do you bring this Bill in again to-

day? They say: You introduced it last year and it was thrown out by the other Chamber, and this Bill will meet with a like fate. We do not know whether it will meet with a like fate or not; but the reason we bring it in is because parliamentary institutions and constitutional government, all that is fair and right between political parties, yea, and the interests of the country, were sacrificed by that Bill of 1882. The Liberal party denounced it on every hustings from that time down to this; its abolition was made a plank in the platform of that party ever since. When in 1893 the great Liberal party met in convention in this city they put the repeal of that law as one of the planks in the platform of the party. And, Sir, in obedience to the will of the people, in fulfilment of the pledges that we gave to the people, this Bill is now introduced. If it should be cast out again by the Senate, why, it must be introduced again, and every constitutional means must be used in order to accomplish our pledge to the people, every constitutional means must be resorted to in order to rectify that wrong.

In face of the figures that I have given the hon. gentleman asks: Why should we give two members to the county of Brant that has only 32,000 population? It cuts off 4,000 people that were always recognized as belonging to it; but in 1891, the census referred to in the Bill, it had 36,445 souls. But even taking him on his own ground that there are only 32,000, and that would be a population greater than several members sitting in this House now represent under their Bill passed in 1882. But why do we give it? I have pointed out to you that without straining the representation that is necessary at the present time in this House, we could give to Wentworth two members and each member would represent more people than are represented by several gentlemen sitting in this House today. We could have done that, and in all human probability, from the fact that never from confederation down has Wentworth returned a Conservative to this House.

Mr. SPROULE. You forget Major Carpenter represented it.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Yes, I stand corrected; Major Carpenter got in by one vote after the gerrymander.

Mr. WILSON. In two parliaments.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. It was after the gerrymander. That was not the county of Wentworth municipally.

Mr. WILSON. Major Carpenter was returned in 1887.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. That was after the gerrymander of 1882. It was

done for that very purpose. He came in through the gerrymander. I do not want to speak of this infamous Bill of 1882 too warmly, but it is a Bill that we cannot speak of and use mild terms. Wentworth, with Ancaster township in it, sent here year after year honest Joe Rymal, one of the best representatives ever sent here from Wentworth, who was struck at by men who had a majority of three to one. They took the township of Ancaster, with 300 of a Liberal majority, out of his riding, attached it to North Brant, where there were hundreds and hundreds of Liberals, to put good honest Joe Rymal to a political death, and under these infamous circumstances they carried it by one when they had accomplished it. I say that by straining a point we could give two members to that municipal county, and in all probability, judging by its past record, two Liberals would come here. The government have framed this Bill in the interest of right, although, instead of dividing the county of Norfolk, and giving it two members, by which it is possible that a Conservative will be returned in the person of the gallant colonel, and that he will continue to represent that county, we could have given that county one member who would have been a Liberal, and in that way we could have given two members to the county of Wentworth, who would have been, in all probability, two Liberals. That is the principle on which this Bill has been formed and carried out. I have pointed out to hon. gentlemen opposite some of the enormities of the other Bill, some of the injustices that are to be remedied by this Bill, and I have pointed out the fairness of this Bill, which seeks to rectify these iniquities. There is no desire on the part of this government to strike at any hon. gentleman who sits on the other side of the House. They cannot point to a line in this Bill which seeks to strike at any hon. gentleman individually who sits on the other side of the House, as they sought to do in our case. Though we had the same power as they had to sit down and carve these counties as we liked, we say: No; we will declare that in certain counties where there is a population that entitles them to one member, because we are guided by the principle of population, as nearly as you can approach it, although it is difficult to approach the exact unit for each hon. member who sits in this House, where there is a county which has a population that entitles it to two members, or where there is another county with a population that entitles it to three members, then, we declare that these counties that are entitled to two members shall be divided into two, that those which are entitled to three members shall be divided into three, and, while there would be opportunities for gerrymandering to a lesser extent than if we were to disregard county boundaries, we do not seek for that opportunity. We

lay down these general lines and say we will take three of the highest judges in the land, we will give this to them to deal with, their only instruction being to be guided by the last decennial census of 1891 and to do what they think is right. We do not retain the power in our own hands of asking them simply to make a report to this House, which we could change, if we so desired, but we give absolute power into the hands of the judges, and when they have finished their work, their decision is proclaimed in the *Canada Gazette*, and it becomes a part of the law. We hand the whole thing over to them. I am glad to observe that hon. gentlemen opposite are not disposed to oppose this Bill to any great extent. An attempt to oppose this Bill would only expose the iniquities, as I have endeavoured to point them out, of that Act that are sought to be rectified. If it be as hon. gentlemen opposite have ventured to say, that this Bill will be thrown out by another Chamber, I ask them how do they know what another Chamber will do? I am not prepared to say that they will do it again, because they have done it once. When the Franchise Bill went to that Chamber they recognized that it was one of the planks of the Liberal party, which had triumphed at the polls, that this party had a mandate from the people, that that iniquitous Franchise Act was to be repealed. They said that it stood on a different principle and upon a different ground from the Bill in reference to the Yukon Railway, which they threw out because they said that Bill had not been pronounced upon by the people. If the people had pronounced in favour of that Bill, the Bill would have passed, as I understand it, from their line of argument. But the Franchise Bill, they recognized, had been passed upon by the people, and that being the case, it received their assent. Well, here is a Bill that deals entirely with the representation of this House. This Bill was passed upon by the people; we have a mandate from the people, we sent it to them, and they said that the people did not care for this. A whole year has elapsed, and there have been elections after elections, held in different parts of the country, in which the principles of the Liberal party have been appealed to, and in all these cases, in forty-five elections, I think, every one but three, declared in favour of them. This Bill will go to the other Chamber with that endorsement. I am not prepared to say that they have not the power to disallow this Bill, but a Chamber which is supposed to act judicially will be guided by principles of right, and while, then, they might have thought that we had not a mandate from the people in the consideration of this measure, there can be no mistake in the mind of any man now that there is a mandate from the people in favour of this Bill passed by this House.

Mr. PATERSON.

I venture to say that if this Bill should be rejected a second time under the circumstances I have detailed, British statesmen, at any rate, would acknowledge that in their parliamentary experience they had never seen the House of Lords attempt to do anything of the kind. If there had been a case, I venture to say, in the English House of Commons, the reserve power that they have in the constitution would have been brought into effect with the least delay, and they would have created peers enough to see that they passed that Bill. There is no doubt about what would be done in England to-day. But, it is not a question to be discussed, or debated, in this House at all. We are here with our duty to perform, with a mandate from the people, renewed again and again, that we should put this Bill through if it is in our power. The government, aided by those who believe in justice and fair-play in this House, believe that this Bill will pass this Chamber and that it will then go to another Chamber, which will take the responsibility of dealing with it in the way which to them seems just and right. We ask for the consideration of the Bill on its fair merits, and, I may say, that while there are little discrepancies and little differences in populations in one riding or another, these are only such as are incidental to every Bill, and must necessarily be in every Bill. But, there is no discrepancy as to the great central thought and purpose that we have in view as to the evils which we are seeking to remedy, and, in seeking to remedy, in which we simply say that men who were torn from their own constituencies in which their municipal interests lie, where they meet together as jurymen, in judicial matters, in their own county councils, that these men who have a desire to vote with and be recognized as part of their own community for Dominion purposes as well as for local, municipal and judicial purposes, shall be placed in the position in which they have demanded to be placed in a loud voice at the polls, which they have sent us here to secure for them, and which, I believe, this House is prepared to concede as that which is just and fair and right. If there be any objection that is valid we are prepared to consider it. It is true we have not gone over the whole province of Ontario, but we say and we believe that the people of this country will be satisfied if we rectify the grossest and the most glaring of the injustices perpetrated by the gerrymander of 1882. Hon. gentlemen may point to a few instances in Eastern Ontario, with which this Bill does not interfere, but they must remember that if we leave these counties as they are, we do so, not because the Liberal party have reason to believe that it would be against their interest to interfere with these counties. We

must remember that the counties untouched by this Bill are the ridings and counties which were carved out by the men who passed the gerrymander Bill of 1882, in order to give them a party advantage. Hon. gentlemen opposite cannot say that in leaving these counties as they are, we are doing something unjust, because we leave them exactly in the position in which hon. gentlemen opposite constituted them in 1882, animated as these gentlemen were then with the spirit of obtaining party advantage. I think I may say without being uncharitable, that these counties, as in the case of the others, were constituted in 1882 so as to do the best party service to the Conservatives. There are many men in this House, now, who were not here in 1882, and they cannot have a proper conception of the iniquities of that Bill and the manner in which it was forced through. I believe there are many honourable and fair-minded men on that side of the House, who, when they know the whole facts of the case, and when they read this present Bill with fairness written in every line of it—the government divesting itself of its power to gerrymander, and leaving it to three of the highest judges of the land absolutely to determine these matters—there are, I say, many fair-minded gentlemen opposite, who, in their hearts, if not by their votes, would support this measure. These constituencies have been shackled for years, the voters have been crying for deliverance, the Liberal party has promised deliverance if it came into power, and that Liberal party recognizing that when a party obtains power it is its duty to carry out its pledges—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. If hon. gentlemen do not know what it is to belong to a party that does recognize it as a binding duty to carry out its pledges as far as it can—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. If hon. gentlemen opposite do not know what it is to belong to such a party, gentlemen on this side of the House do. If unfortunately, in their attempt to carry out their pledges the Liberal party may be balked once, or even twice, then the principle which animates them will sustain them in their endeavour again and again, until they succeed, and until justice and equity and right prevails in this country.

Mr. CLANCY. If one had any doubt before as to whether the hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson) was right or wrong, that doubt would be dispelled by such a speech as we have just heard from him. Why such profuse professions of honesty from the Minister of Customs, and why such heat over a

matter of this kind. Sir, the exaggerated manner and the extravagant language of the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) must convince any sensible man that he cannot be sincere in his statements. Let me call attention to a very novel feature of this exhibition. We have had for the first time in the history of the world a set of martyrs without persecutors, and we have a set of gentlemen opposite who squeal before they are hurt. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson) is acting the part of a martyr here, but he has overacted the part to-night, as he always overacts every part he plays in this House. Let me appeal to him and to the Postmaster General as well, to review the facts as they stood before 1882. What was the condition of things in this group of constituencies which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson) speaks of, in 1878, before we had what he calls this infamous gerrymander. At the elections in 1878, there were forty-three members representing the same group of counties, and the Liberal party elected twenty-two and the Conservative party elected twenty-one. Now, let me call your attention to what took place after that. Following upon the census of 1881, the Redistribution Act of 1882 was passed, and in consequence of the increase of population in this same group of counties, they got five additional members which gave them forty-eight representatives in place of the forty-three they had in 1878. Let me ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson), who has been talking so loudly to-night, what was the result of the elections in 1882 in these counties, after what he calls the infamous gerrymander, which struck down every Liberal, came into operation. Why, Sir, hon. gentlemen will be surprised to hear that out of the forty-eight members, the Liberals elected thirty-two and the Conservatives only sixteen. I challenge the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), and I challenge the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), to deny that. If they have any explanation to offer for that, I will sit down while they give it to the House. Is it not childish for these hon. gentlemen to rise in this House, and talk about one township being taken out, and another township being put in, and about men being driven from office, when the real facts are such as I have just announced. Why does not the Minister of Customs answer that? Why does he sit there in dumb silence without answering? Sir, if he does not answer he ought to sit dumb for ever in the future.

Mr. COWAN. You would not have had one of the forty-eight if you did not gerrymander it. That is what gave you the sixteen.

Mr. CLANCY. My hon. friend (Mr. Cowan) talks on this occasion, as he usually talks, with a good deal of effrontery, and

with little knowledge. What happened when this Redistribution Bill came before the House in 1882? The Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) told us they had twenty-two resolutions, each and every one of them setting out the iniquities of the Bill.

Mr. COWAN. Was that when the Conservatives stole Bothwell?

Mr. CLANCY. I will later on give some information to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Cowan). Let me ask the Minister of Customs first, did any one of these twenty-two resolutions propose to abolish the constituency of Bothwell? Not a bit of it. He told me that I sit for a constituency as the result of the gerrymander. But, Sir, the man who sat for my constituency in 1882 was the Hon. David Mills, the present Minister of Justice in the Liberal cabinet, and did he propose any resolution to abolish the riding of Bothwell? No, Sir, he did not. The Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) told us that the present government had now submitted a fair Bill and that they were going to select the highest judges in the land to administer it. I tell the Minister of Customs that he has handcuffed, he has shackled, he has gagged the judges under this Bill, and he tries to shield himself behind the judges. That is a strong statement to make, but I will prove it from the Bill itself. Does the Bill propose that the judges shall have a free hand to equalize the population as best they can? No, the hon. gentleman carves out two little constituencies of 16,000 each for another gentleman and himself in Brant county. They make two constituencies in another county where there are about 60,000 people, and yet the hon. gentleman says the judges will have a free hand to equalize the population and to serve public convenience. In every essential respect the hon. gentleman has tied the hands of the judges. They are not free to deal with population; they must follow the provisions of the Bill; they are entirely hampered, and their hands are tied. Why did the hon. gentleman take in the county of Bruce? County boundaries are not broken there. Is he undoing a wrong? The hon. gentleman has no excuse of that kind. The people of this country see too clearly that the hon. gentleman cannot frame a Bill directing the judges what they are to do, and then tell them that they have a free hand. That is so palpable that no man can be deceived by it. One would imagine that a Bill of this kind would be based on some fair ground of public policy. In the first place, hon. gentlemen have taken an immoral course, politically speaking, in attempting to introduce legislation of this kind. I appeal to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), who is a good lawyer, and I ask him if he believes that it was in the minds of those who framed the Confederation Act that in addition to readjusting the representation after each decennial census, that the counties might

Mr. CLANCY.

also be readjusted without any impropriety whenever it suited the whim of the political party in power to do so. I ask the hon. gentlemen, if that was present in their minds, and if so, why measures were not taken there and then to provide for that? Will the hon. gentleman answer? He will answer when I get through. Now, it does not make any difference whether it is within the powers of this parliament to readjust the seats now or not. If it had the power a thousand times, it is unfair to do it. It sets an example once and for all, that each political party may in turn, whenever it suits its purpose, attempt to undo what it considers the wrongs committed by the party previously in power. Who wants to set an example of that kind? Yet this is the outcome of this Bill. This parliament has the power to disfranchise every man in Canada of fifty or sixty years of age, if it thinks proper to do so, on the ground that it does not consider them any longer fit to vote. We had an example a session or two ago of the power of parliament, when it became a crime for the judges to be old. Hon. gentlemen wanted to get rid of a few county judges to make room for their friends, and what did they propose? They did not propose to impeach them for any act of wrong-doing, but they proposed by a Bill to make it a crime for a judge to grow old. I say that one act is quite as consistent as the other; but both are wrong in principle. It is perfectly idle for any hon. gentleman to declare that the parliament of Canada has a right to deal with this question, and that is a justification for going on. I repeat, no more vicious policy can be laid down. I do not know what the Senate may do; I am not in the secrets of the gentlemen who compose that Chamber; but I can only say that men with less wisdom and standing, having the least notion of fairness, would not listen for a single moment to the proposition to establish such a precedent as this would be for one or other of the great political parties. Now, with regard to this cry about the inequality of population, I will take the standard laid down in the province of Ontario, and compare it with the state of affairs in the Dominion, and see whether the population under the Dominion Act is not, after all, much more fairly equalized than under the Provincial Act. After the hon. Minister of Customs had gone over a long list, he sat down without putting his hand on one case where a Liberal was defeated as a result of the redistribution. I will first take Brant and North Wentworth. In the Dominion one had 23,000 and the other 21,000; in the local, North Brant had 11,865 and South Brant 21,352. In the county of Bruce there are three constituencies for the local and three for the Dominion; the former had 22,800, 22,000 and 19,000, and the latter 20,800, 21,000 and 22,000; they are more near

the unit. The Postmaster General laid it down, when introducing the Bill last year, that the unit would be included between 19,000 and 22,000. The county of Elgin for the local was divided into 18,000 and 24,900, and for the Dominion 26,700 and 23,900.

Mr. INGRAM. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, East Elgin was formerly represented by a Conservative; but after the gerrymander of 1882 it was represented by a Liberal at the two succeeding elections.

Mr. CLANCY. The county of Grey was divided into 24,000, 24,300 and 22,800 for the local, and 26,300, 26,200 and 23,600 for the Dominion. The county of Huron had 20,800, 23,300 and 22,500 for the local, and for the Dominion 18,900, 19,000 and 20,000. Lambton had 23,000 and 34,000 for the local, and 24,000 and 23,000 for the Dominion. The county of Lincoln had 25,000 for the local, and 27,000 for the Dominion. The county of Middlesex had 22,000, 18,000 and 19,000 for the local, and 25,000, 19,000 and 17,000 for the Dominion. Norfolk had 15,000 and 14,000 for the local, and 22,000 and 19,000 for the Dominion. Ontario had 20,000 and 25,000 for the local, and 20,000 and 19,000 for the Dominion. Oxford had 27,000 and 22,800 for the local, and 26,000 and 22,000 for the Dominion. Then let us take Perth. One of the Perths has 29,000 and the other 22,000 in the local, and 26,000 and 29,000 in the Dominion. I might go through the whole of those constituencies and show that the inequality of population is infinitely less in the Dominion, under the redistribution of 1882, than under the local Act of 1885. When the hon. gentleman points to the small constituencies, does he not see that he is making an argument against himself? Does he not see that he is showing how utterly impossible it is to equalize the population when you adhere to county boundaries? Whatever the size of the constituency may be, if it is too small for two members and too large for one, how is he going to remedy the difficulty? He cannot. The only way of doing it, is to deal with the constituencies apart from county boundaries, and that can be fairly done without injuring the one party or the other. These hon. gentlemen profess to have introduced this Bill for the purpose of undoing wrong. The wrong done, according to them, was the disturbing of county boundaries, and they wish to restore these boundaries. I would ask the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, what about St. John County and St. John city. I am told that St. John County and city have for many years constituted one county, electing two members.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. St. John's County and city have always returned two members, but they occupy this anomalous position, that the people of the county only vote for one

member and the people of the city vote for two.

Mr. CLANCY. But the hon. gentleman knows perfectly well that St. John city and county returns two members, and it does not make any difference whether one votes for two and the other for one. Will he give us next an explanation about Bruce? The county boundaries of Bruce were not disturbed in any sense in 1882 or 1892.

I have only to say, in conclusion, that I hope the people of Canada will never sanction such a measure as this, introduced on the eve of a new census. Why cannot these hon. gentlemen wait another year? Are they afraid of what may take place in the meantime? The directions to the commissioners are as follows:

The letters patent appointing the commissioners shall direct them, in making the divisions, to consider the distribution of population according to the latest census of Canada, the public convenience, and such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice.

But by the same Bill they provide that the judges must follow out the lines laid down in the Bill, and then after thus tying the hands of the judges, these hon. gentlemen declare that they are in the hands of the judges and helpless. They take by this very Bill all the power from the judges and lay down an arbitrary course which the judges must pursue, and yet now they seek to shelter themselves behind these men. The dodge is too transparent a one to deceive anybody.

Mr. McMULLEN. In reply to my hon. friend, I wish to say that in 1882 Kent was divided into two constituencies—Kent and Bothwell. Both had about the same population; but, in order to defeat the Hon. David Mills, they took from Bothwell, Howard, Orford, and the village of Ridgetown, which gave a Liberal majority of about 300, and put them into West Elgin, where there was already 600 Liberal majority, and then to make up the population of Bothwell, they took Sombra and Dawn from Lambton, which gave a Conservative majority, and put them into Bothwell, and this was all done to defeat Mr. Mills. My hon. friend occupies a seat by virtue of a gerrymander, and if there is any man in this House who should hesitate to defend the present law, which we are seeking to amend, it is that hon. gentleman. He knows that he sits there by virtue of the gerrymander of 1882. He knows that by means of that Act, he succeeded in robbing the Hon. David Mills of his seat, and in depriving this House of the benefit of the ability and statesmanship of that distinguished leader of the Liberal party, and giving us instead a mere shadowy reflection of a man and a mere voting nonentity. It is not to be surprised that the hon. gentleman should try to defeat the Bill before the House. He feels anxious

because he knows as well as the man on the gallows, with the rope around his neck, that his political fate is sealed should this Bill pass. He knows that if we go back to county boundaries, he is certain to be left at home.

Did the hon. gentleman read the clause in the Bill now before the House? What is it?

2. The letters patent appointing the commissioners shall direct them, in making the divisions to consider the distribution of population according to the latest census of Canada, the public convenience, and such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice.

'To do substantial justice.' And the hon. gentleman says they will not do it.

Mr. CLANCY. I did not say any such thing.

Mr. McMULLEN. I would like to know how the judges are shackled by that clause. We simply ask by this Bill to go back to the rule of county boundaries, to undo the villainy done in 1882, and give the judges an opportunity, within the limits of county boundaries, to adjust the constituencies as they think right. My hon. friend (Mr. Clancy), draws attention to the divisions in Ontario. The divisions in Ontario may be unjust; if so, they should point that out on the floor of the legislature, and demand redress and insist upon it. I do not say that the Ontario government are perfect or that they may not have done wrong; but I do say that the place to readjust that is on the floor of the legislature in Toronto. Let the hon. gentleman tell his friends of the opposition in that legislature to assail the government for being unjust, and to claim their rights there. No doubt my hon. friend realizes that by virtue of the abominable Act of 1882, men have won seats in this House, and that if we revert to a just system, the political career of those gentlemen is ended. My hon. friend from East Elgin (Mr. Ingram), has said something with regard to the Act of 1882 returning a Liberal for West Elgin.

Mr. INGRAM. And for East Elgin.

Mr. McMULLEN. I do not remember exactly the circumstances—

Mr. INGRAM. I will jog the hon. gentleman's memory, if he will permit me. Dr. Wilson was the member in 1882, Mr. Thomas Arkell represented the riding in 1878, and he was defeated after the gerrymander of 1882, by Dr. Wilson, who was again elected in 1887, and who considered that he had a strong hive as a result of the gerrymander.

Mr. McMULLEN. No doubt, public indignation was the cause of this Dr. Wilson's election, and when that feeling worked off the electors returned to their old party lines. Now, I contend that it is no wonder that

Mr. McMULLEN.

the Reformers get heated and intemperate when this Bill of 1882 is discussed. For the last 18 years we have been under the harrow; we have been suffering from a gerrymander that has cost time, trouble and money. All we ask is justice. We are ready to meet the Conservatives on any platform in any constituency on equal terms; but when we are brought before gerrymandered constituencies, with minor municipalities pitchforked here and there, to suit the exigencies of the moment and the interest of the Tory party, it arouses our indignation. There are but a few gentlemen now sitting on the other side of this House who were guilty of taking part in passing the Act of 1882. I believe there are men on the other side to-night, who would not be guilty of voting for such an Act. I have a better opinion of them than to think they would. And there are men on this side of the House who would scorn to vote for a gerrymander Act in the interests of the Reform party. We do not want any advantage; we want honesty, we want uprightness, we want fair-play, we want justice—and we want nothing else. I am amazed to hear my hon. friend (Mr. Clancy), say that the judges are shackled and will not do what is right. I cannot find any clause in the Bill that will lead any man to the conclusion that the judges have not ample liberty to do as they think best within the limits of county boundaries. I admit that is impossible to divide counties so that there shall be an equal number of Reformers and Conservatives. Some counties will give very large Conservative majorities, and some very large Reform majorities. We expect that. But it is not the object of this Bill to try to diffuse the Reform party through the province, so that they will carry ridings by narrow majorities and give the Tories, so that they must carry by enormous majorities or not at all. The idea of this Bill is to undo the wretched, scandalous Act of 1882, and get back to uprightness and honesty in elections to this House.

Mr. CLANCY. I am going to say a word, as to the reliability of the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen), who has just taken his seat. During the short time I have been a member of this House, I have never known him to be guilty of an act of generosity or courtesy. In his ravings—I say properly, his ravings, because he is constantly talking for victory and not for truth—I have never known him to show to an hon. member on this side the courtesy of listening. There can be no stronger evidence of weakness and consciousness of wrong, than that a man should be unwilling to listen to, or to answer a fair question. I asked 'What about Bothwell?' Did the hon. gentleman speak without knowledge, when he said that I hold that seat by virtue of the Redistribution Act of 1882? If not, he knows

that he is guilty of having committed a crime, that no hon. gentleman in this House should commit, and that is an attempt to falsify a case. What is the position of affairs as to Bothwell? From 1867 to 1896, Hon. David Mills polled a majority of votes in every election in the electoral district of Bothwell. His friends may say that in 1882, Mr. Mills was, for a time, out of the House. That is true. Owing to a return that had not been made in one of the polling subdivisions in the township of Camden, he was deprived of his seat.

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

Mr. CLANCY. 'Hear, hear.' says an hon. gentleman. But there were no stolen ballots, there was no burning of ballot boxes, no switching of ballots.

Mr. COWAN. But you gave the returning officer, who stole the seat from Mr. Mills, a gold watch for doing it.

Mr. CLANCY. Why, what was that case? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Cowan), is a lawyer, and let me, as a layman, point out to him something that he ought to know, if he pretends to have followed the history of that case. There was one subdivision that was not counted. There was an appeal made to the county judge to count in that division and he did so. Appeal was taken to the Superior Court, which held that the returning officer was perfectly within the meaning of the law, although he did an injustice to the man who polled the greater number of votes.

Mr. COWAN. Where did the gold watch come in?

Mr. CLANCY. I can tell the hon. gentleman that he is not likely to get a gold watch for having pursued the course that he is pursuing to-day. I say that the Hon. David Mills polled a majority of the votes.

Mr. COWAN. What about the watch?

The CHAIRMAN. Order.

Mr. COWAN. I do not desire to violate any rule of order. I thought the hon. gentleman had started to explain the transaction about the gold watch, and was neglecting to do so. I am simply drawing his attention to it.

Mr. CLANCY. I was not discussing a gold watch. I do not propose to go into the highways and byways to throw mud with the hon. gentleman. If he wants to throw mud I am not going to follow his example, but will leave him in undisputed possession of the field. Now, I repeat that it is absolutely at variance with the truth for any hon. gentleman to say that the Hon. David Mills did not poll a majority of votes in the riding of Bothwell from 1867 down to 1896. In 1891 he had no less a majority than 551. Yet the hon. gentleman declares

that I hold a seat by that means. I tell the hon. gentleman that he has made a statement that, if he has any regard for truth, he will withdraw, because it is absolutely destitute of a particle of foundation. I challenge any hon. gentleman to say that an election ever took place, from 1867 down to 1894 inclusive, in which the Hon. David Mills did not poll a majority of votes in that riding. Now, what is the conclusion? Why, it is that the so-called gerrymander did them no injustice at all. The hon. gentleman accused me of saying that the judges would not do right. I did not say any such a thing. I said their hands were shackled. Are the judges free to say how many representatives Kent is to have? Are they free to say that any constituency can be changed otherwise than in the manner prescribed by the provisions of this Bill? Is that not shackling the hands of the judges? Is it not idle to give the judges a commission to register what the hon. gentlemen have laid down in the Bill? I say they have not a free hand, and to hold up a Bill of this kind and to say it is a fair one, is merely to advocate a sham. The government of the day have entrenched themselves behind the Bill, and they want to find shelter behind the judges.

Mr. SEMPLE. I am glad that the government have determined to give the people of this country a chance to have a fair Redistribution Bill. I believe it is within their power to set a precedent for all the other provinces, and at the same time do justice to western Ontario, that was so disgracefully gerrymandered in 1882. The question has been asked: Why does this Bill not extend to eastern Ontario? The reason is that eastern Ontario was not affected by the infamous gerrymander of 1882, and therefore it is unnecessary to make a change there at the present time. The counties to be affected by the present Bill are Brant, Elgin, Kent, Lambton, Norfolk, Ontario, Oxford and Perth, which are to be divided into two ridings each. The counties of Huron, Bruce, Grey, Middlesex, Simcoe, Welland and York are to be divided into three electoral districts, each to return one member. Eight counties are to return sixteen members, and seven counties are to return twenty-one members. I think that the fairest way to redistribute the representation in these counties is to put them into the hands of the judges with instructions to make the ridings as compact as possible and the population as nearly equal as possible in each. Some hon. gentlemen object that it is too near the time of taking another census to bring in a measure of this kind. But if a fair Redistribution Bill is brought in before an election takes place, that is all that is required. The government in bringing forward the proposed measure are doing it at the proper time for all practical purposes.

It has been stated that the county of Brant, for instance, would only furnish about 16,000 population for each representative. Now, I find that Grenville South returns a Conservative member with a population of only 12,929; Carleton, with 16,534, returns one member; Cardwell returns a member with 15,382; Leeds and Grenville have 13,531; Lennox, 14,900; Peel, 15,466; and Peterboro West, 15,808. It is impossible to give each riding exactly the same population, but that is immaterial. All that is wanted is justice, and this Bill is a fair endeavour to obtain justice. When the gerrymander Bill was passed in 1882, we heard a good deal about the Upper House which, we were told, was established to check hasty legislation and to protect minorities. Were they found doing so? I think not. When the Franchise Bill passed it cost this country over a million dollars to operate it during the time it was in force. Did the Upper House do anything to check that hasty legislation? I think not. The Liberal party in western Ontario do not require an unjust measure to enable them to meet their opponents on fair and equal terms. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Clancy) said that the fact that the Reform party did better after the gerrymander, was a proof that the gerrymander was not unjust. It is no proof whatever. The fact is the Conservative party had begun to go down grade, they were losing supporters every day. With all the aid this gerrymander gave them they were losing ground. The Reform party now simply wants what is fair, and I am glad to know that the government are endeavouring to have justice done and to bring forward a measure which will be fair to Conservatives and Reformers alike. I believe the judges will act fairly. The government have made no attempt to trammel them in the slightest. They are simply told: Here are the counties with their population. Divide these into ridings as compactly as possible, and make the population in each as equal as possible. That is all that is required of the judges. We have confidence in them, because we know that in the election courts they have acted fairly and given satisfaction to all classes. If the Senate were composed of as good material, and were as independent as the judges, it would be a good thing for the country. But, as events have happened during the last number of years we are justified in concluding that the Patrons of Industry were about right when they put in their platform the plank that the Senate should be abolished.

Mr. McMULLEN. I just want to say a word or two in reply to the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Clancy). The hon. member for Bothwell attempted to leave the impression on the House that Mr. Mills car-

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ried that constituency in 1891 by 500 of a majority. Is that not what the hon. gentleman said? The hon. gentleman was not honest enough to tell the House that there were three candidates in the field in that campaign. Did he say that No, that would not suit his purpose. There were two candidates in opposition to Mr. Mills, and that accounts for the fact that he got the majority that was mentioned. The hon. gentleman kept it a secret that while Mr. Mills had a majority in 1891 of 500, and that while, in 1896, he carried it over his head, there were three candidates in the field. He should have told the House that Mr. Mills had two candidates in opposition to him in 1891, and that that was the reason for the result as it occurred.

Mr. BRITTON. Mr. Chairman, as my constituency is not affected in any way by this Bill, I can, perhaps, discuss it. In two or three minutes, without any heat in the matter, as a question of this kind ought to be discussed. There is one thing I have noticed, and it is that at no time, while this question has been under discussion, has any one attempted to justify the Act of 1882 on its merits. From first to last we have heard from hon. gentlemen opposite that it was not such a terrible thing as the Liberals had said, because it did not accomplish the object which the Liberals said it had in view. That is one reason they gave against the arguments of the Liberals, and the other thing, although you could not call it an argument, was, that they pointed to the action of the Ontario legislature in some redistribution Act of theirs, and said that the Ontario gerrymander is so much worse than the one of the House of Commons in Canada that they are not to be compared in the same day. I do not admit that, but it seems to me that neither of these can be, by persons who want to argue the question fairly, considered as an answer to what has been alleged, from 1882 down to the present time, and what has never been answered by hon. gentlemen opposite, that the Act of 1882, and the subsequent Act of 1892, were infamous gerrymander Acts. No one could have heard the statement made by the hon. Minister of Customs, in which he gave specific instances of Liberal townships having been torn away from where they belonged and placed in other ridings where they did not require Liberal votes, but he must have been so impressed that he must at once have admitted that it was an unfair advantage to take of any party, that it was not fair fighting, that it was hitting below the belt, that, as has been said on many occasions, it was playing with loaded dice. These things have not been answered. The hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Clancy) has spoken of the fact that in subsequent election campaigns more Liberals were returned than before, or, that more Liberals were

returned than were expected to be returned. Can that fairly be considered to be an answer to the charge? If a man intends to poison, and if the poison does not take effect, is it any answer to the charge to say that the man who intended to poison did not accomplish the object? Is it any answer to say that the object was not accomplished by these things which were done, which are not now justified by any single member of the House? But, we are not left here purely and simply to argue the question of facts, which are not disputed, but, we have it from an hon. gentleman who was long a member of the Conservative party and who, before his lamented death, admitted on many occasions—I do not know whether he did so in this House or not—but, in his public utterances in all parts of the Dominion, he admitted and he repented of it, that he had assisted in the passing of this infamous gerrymander Act. I refer to the late hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), who said that whatever he might have done as a party man, he was sorry to have been guilty of any such thing. So, we have had it admitted by a leading man who was for a long time a member of that party, and nobody has attempted to gainsay it, that this Act was an infamous one. If so, is it wrong on the part of this House to try, even at a late date, but as soon as ever they have the opportunity, to undo the wrong that was then done? It seems to me not. It seems to me only natural that it would be done by the Liberal party when they got into power, and if they cannot accomplish it, more's the pity. If for reasons beyond their control, they are unable to do what they promised to do, and it cannot be accomplished, more's the pity. They have, at all events, attempted to do it. If they are right in undoing this wrong, which is practically admitted has been done, can this be done in any fairer way than by this section of the Bill which is under consideration? There are two tribunals that are able to do the work that is to be done by this Bill. One is ourselves; that is, the House of Commons. We are here to do a certain part of this work. Hon. gentlemen take their part in that. What we do not do ourselves in reference to constituencies we leave to an independent tribunal called commissioners in this Bill, under consideration, and these commissioners are to be judges of the land. Now, the hon. member for Bothwell says that these judges are shackled and hampered. He has no complaint that other work, that is not, by this Bill, committed to these judges, should be committed to them. He has no complaint of that, because the work is only to be done by two sets of parties, one by the legislature, by members of the House of Commons, and the other by these judges. If he were complaining that we do not do more work ourselves, then I could under-

stand that ground of complaint. If the government did not want to be absolutely fair they, perhaps, might meet him and say: We will parcel out these constituencies by parliament. In order to avoid the objection which would be made in this House and by the newspapers and the people outside of it: You have a majority in the House and you can carry this thing simply by the majority that is at the back of the government; and it is not by reason or argument, but simply by the force of the majority that the government have that you are going to divide the constituencies in the country. The government say: No, instead of doing it in that way, we are going to commit to the judges the work that is to be done. So, at the risk of taking up time, I will just read the first part of section 2, which bears upon that:

Where—

Or, in other words, whenever.

—under the foregoing provisions, any county or city is to be divided into more than one electoral district, such division shall be made by a board of commissioners, consisting of at least three persons, being judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature for Ontario, &c.

Then, subsection 2 of section 2, which was read by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), is as follows:—

The letters patent appointing the commissioners shall direct them, in making the divisions, to consider the distribution of population, according to the latest census of Canada, the public convenience, and such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice.

Yet, in the face of language like that, as broad as it can be, leaving them an absolute power with the knowledge that they are to acquire, without the aid or assistance, in any way, of the government of the day, or anybody else, to do absolute justice in this matter, hon. gentlemen opposite get up and say that the judges are shackled, that they are not left to do as they might do under other circumstances. In the face of the plain words of the statute, there is nothing in an argument of that kind. It is fair enough to argue that as a matter of expediency, this Bill should not be passed before the decennial census is taken. I have given the reason why the government should pass this Bill now, and that is because it is the first opportunity they have had of redressing a great wrong which has been committed, and a wrong against which the country has pronounced time and time again. The constitutional question has been practically abandoned both here and elsewhere. This is not a question of adjustment or representation as between the different provinces of the Dominion, but it is merely a question of regulating the boundary lines of electoral divisions without changing the adjustment of representation between the provinces so

far as this parliament is concerned. The constitutional question has been abandoned by these gentlemen opposite, and their only argument now is to say: You had better leave well enough alone until after the census, when there will be a Bill to deal with the representation and the adjustment of the constituencies. But in the meantime these gentlemen opposite want to profit by the wrong perpetrated in 1882. Well, Mr. Speaker, I do not think we should allow that wrong to be persisted in any longer.

On section 2:

Mr. QUINN. Would the minister give a resume of what these different clauses mean, because they are somewhat difficult to understand, as they are set out in the Bill?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). The language of the subsections appears to be extremely simple. They provide that the division of these various counties shall be made by three judges of the Supreme Court in the province of Ontario; that they shall be appointed under a royal commission, that they shall proceed upon certain defined principles to carry out the Act; that they shall have regard to the last census of 1891, and shall have regard to the convenience of the electorate and to what is in their judgment substantial justice. If there is a vacancy by death or otherwise it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to fill up the vacancy. The verdict of the majority of the three judges shall be the verdict of the commission. I do not know that I can add anything to that.

Mr. QUINN. There does not seem to be any definite method by which the commissioners shall proceed to the distribution of a city. They are not bound to follow the wards, or the electoral subdivisions as they exist now, nor are they given any direction by which they shall decide what would be the population or the geographical limits of what they declare to be the different electoral districts of the city. I think there should be something more in the Bill in order that members of the House at the present time should know exactly what are the limits of the districts they represent, or which they may be called upon to represent hereafter.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). I am afraid that if we have to restrict the judges, we would be charged with having interfered with their perfect freedom of action. We do not desire to interfere with the judges. My hon. friend (Mr. Quinn) does not agree with his colleagues upon that point. We agree with those who say that the judges should have a free hand. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Quinn) desires to restrict the powers of the judges in any respect, the government will give careful consideration to any suggestion he

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has to make. For our part our policy is to leave the matter in the hands of the judges under the instructions that will form part of their patents under the provisions of this Act, namely, that in making the divisions, they shall, so far as in their power lies, do substantial justice. It does not appear to me necessary to adopt precautions to ensure that the judges shall do substantial justice. It would seem to most men that they are more likely to arrive at what is fair and just, than would perhaps a partisan tribunal such as this House, or any political body.

Mr. QUINN. That is where I join issue with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock). I understand from his explanation that the judges are limited by the commission which they shall receive.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. They are instructed.

Mr. QUINN. And the instructions they receive will be the result of the deliberations of the cabinet.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Oh no.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The cabinet cannot put any limit to their powers.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Would the hon. member (Mr. Quinn) read subsection 2.

Mr. QUINN. I have read it, but I do not see that the geographical limits of the divisions are defined.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The judges do that.

Mr. QUINN. They do it subject to the commission which they receive from the Governor in Council.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Not at all.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). There would be nothing remaining for these judges to do if this parliament should fix the geographical limits.

Mr. QUINN. Of course there would. The judges are to fix the geographical limits according to the commission which they receive.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. According to the instructions in the Act. The commission says nothing except what is in the Act.

Mr. QUINN. I do not see what the instructions are here. It says:

The letters patent appointing the commissioners shall direct them, in making the divisions, to consider the distribution of population according to the latest census of Canada, the public convenience, and such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice.

Now, what is substantial justice?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. They are the judges.

Mr. QUINN. Substantial justice to whom?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. To the people of Canada. This is a mandate from parliament to them.

Mr. QUINN. Does the minister say that there shall be no instructions given to the judges as to the geographical limits of these divisions?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. There shall be no instructions whatever given to the judges except what is set forth in the Act. That will be their instructions, and they will be bound to obey the mandate of parliament. The government have no right whatever to incorporate anything in the commission, except what the Act warrants, and it would be an impertinence on the part of any government to attempt to control the judges in trying to obey the instructions of parliament as set out in this Act.

Mr. QUINN. Now, let us take one case. Subsection (e) of section 1, says:

The electoral district of the city of Toronto shall consist of the city of Toronto, and shall be divided into five electoral districts, each of which shall return one member.

These, as I understand, are the only instructions which the judges shall receive, that is, that the city of Toronto shall be divided into five electoral districts, each of which shall be represented by one member; so that in the hands of the judges will be placed the geographical limits of each of these districts without any instructions from the government in their commissions. Do I understand that?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The geographical divisions will not be placed in the hands of the judges. The judges will be able to ascertain the limits of the municipality of the city of Toronto, which they will take judicial notice of. They do not require to be instructed on that point. There are local Acts setting forth the limits of the municipality. They begin with that. They then have the order of this House to divide that municipality into five divisions, each division to be represented separately. They are also instructed to have regard to the last census, and to the public convenience. There cannot be the same public inconvenience, I presume, in the city, that there would be in a rural municipality from a disregard for compactness; but at the same time they would doubtless have regard to the ward system. They might or might not. They would be quite at liberty to disregard it if they thought proper, their sole limit being to do substantial justice. That, they are bound to do, and less than that I am sure my hon. friend would not wish them to do.

Mr. McNEILL. Might I ask, are they to have regard to the balance of parties?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. What is there in this Act to suggest such a thing?

Mr. McNEILL. I want to know whether that is in contemplation at all or not.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. My hon. friend is a lawyer, himself, and he knows full well from the perusal of this Act, that that question need not have been put. He knows perfectly well from what the Act says that the judges cannot take any cognizance of such a thing as that. I am somewhat surprised that my hon. friend would assume that the judges could be induced to have any regard for anything except the mandate of parliament set forth in section 2.

Mr. McNEILL. I may just say to my hon. friend that so far as being a lawyer is concerned, I am sorry I can scarcely plead to that soft impeachment at the present time, whatever I may have been thirty years ago. But what I wanted to have from my hon. friend, was just a little more clear definition of what the scope of these very wide words embodied in the act, 'substantial justice,' might be, and I wanted to know whether there was any intention that these words should cover any regard to the balance of parties.

Mr. QUINN. If my hon. friend will permit me, perhaps he can answer both questions at the same time. As I understand, then, by the Act, the city of Toronto is divided into five electoral divisions. The judges are given the city as it stands, and they are told in their commissions only this, to subdivide the city into five electoral divisions. Am I correct in assuming that they are not to take cognizance of what existed before or what exists to-day as to these electoral divisions, but they are simply to take the city in its concrete form and subdivide that according to their own ideas, considering the distribution of population according to the latest census of Canada, the public convenience, and such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice? As I understand the term substantial justice, it is to give to each individual the same voting power. That is to say, the judges are told: 'Here is the city of Toronto; you will subdivide that into five electoral divisions in such a way, having regard to the population of the city, the different interests of the city, the wards, and other limitations, that each individual in the city shall have an equal amount of representation in the parliament of Canada.' Is that what I understand the Act to mean?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I cannot undertake to determine what construction the judges, in their wisdom, might place

on the term, substantial justice. But if I were to be arguing a case before the judges, it would perhaps be a fair argument to point out to them that substantial justice would involve as nearly as possible a fair representation of interests, having due regard to population. It will not be possible to have the population of the constituencies absolutely numerically the same. If, for example, they thought it wise to adhere to the ward system, and determined not to split a ward in two, they might do so, if they thought that would do substantial justice. They might think it would be better in the interests of a fair representation to use the ward system. If they did that, there must be more or less inequality in representation. They might think it advisable to try to divide the city in such a way that the different classes would be represented in the same constituency. They might think it wise to adhere, as far as possible, to the existing divisions. These and other considerations it would be for them to give as much weight to, as they saw proper. These would be fair arguments to present to them by those who wished to press upon them that these considerations would be necessary to the doing of substantial justice; but they, in the end, would be the supreme judges of what substantial justice would be. It is a question for the House to say, whether it shall itself do what it considers substantial justice, or leave that to some other tribunal. If hon. gentlemen opposite think it would be better for this House to do substantial justice, I am sure the government will endeavour to meet their wishes, instead of referring it to a judicial tribunal. We have not sought to use that power heretofore. Perhaps, if this House or the other Chamber should determine that this principle of the Bill is not a wise one, we may in the end, be driven as a House to do substantial justice, by defining the limits of the divisions ourselves. For the present we prefer, if possible, to exhaust all efforts in the direction of this Bill, and to mark a new departure as one of the safeguards for the fair representation of the people—a safeguard heretofore without any precedent, but one, I think, which ought to have the hearty endorsement of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. QUINN. My hon. friend the Postmaster General, says that if I thought, for instance, that it was in the best interests of justice that the ward system should be adhered to, I could advocate that before the judges. But I see nothing in the Bill providing for the appearance of anybody before the judges.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. My hon. friend misunderstood me. I was merely putting a hypothetical case. I said, for example, if any one were permitted to appear before the judges, and advanced certain views as to what, in his judgment,

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would be substantial justice, the judges were free to give what effect they thought proper to his argument. If the judges desire to hear people, I presume they will do so. It will be for them to determine what course they will pursue.

Mr. QUINN. Then the matter of doing substantial justice is left entirely in the hands of the judges. They are to take into consideration the population and whatever else may influence them in accomplishing substantial justice, without interference from the government or other parties.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. There will be no interference from the government. It will be for the judges to decide whether they will invite the public to appear before them or not.

Mr. QUINN. That is perfectly satisfactory, so far as I am concerned. There is only one other question I wish to ask. I do not see anything in the Bill which defines who the judges will be. I presume they will be in the selection of the Governor General in Council.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Last year the names were mentioned, and there is no intention to change the personnel of the court.

Mr. CLARKE. What are the names?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. My recollection is Sir George Burton, Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal; Sir John Boyd, Chancellor of Ontario; Mr. Justice Falconbridge, of the Queen's Bench. Those we propose to submit again.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend says that there is no intention at all that the judges shall take into consideration the balance of parties, but make such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice. Nothing could be more unfortunate than that the judges should in any way be dragged into a position that would lead the public to suppose that they were in any way concerned in the balance of parties; and in view of the declaration of my hon. friend, I would suggest the addition of these words, to make the matter quite clear:

And such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice, irrespective of any consideration of the balance as to political parties in the several constituencies.

If these words were introduced, I think they would prove a great relief to the judges themselves, besides carrying out the view which my hon. friend has expressed so distinctly.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I have no objection to adding these words, if it is thought necessary to add them. But I should think that the very declaration on behalf of the government, approved of by hon. gentlemen opposite, is in itself sufficient to make it quite clear to the judges that

no party considerations are to move them. If on reflection, on the third reading, my hon. friend thinks it worth while to put these words in, I should probably accept his suggestion, but I hardly think they will be found necessary.

Mr. McNEILL. Expressions used on the floor of the House with reference to a Bill are scarcely a guide to the judges in determining the meaning of specific words.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The objection to the hon. gentleman's amendment that presents itself to my mind is this, that when the judges are told to do substantial justice, that ought to exclude every consideration that conflicts with substantial justice.

Mr. McNEILL. It depends entirely upon what substantial justice means. One man may hold it to mean one thing and another another. I think that these words, at all events, can do no harm. Then I am to understand that if I move for their insertion on the third reading, my hon. friend will accept them?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Perhaps I rather too hastily assented to the suggestion of my hon. friend. It did not immediately occur to me that such a clause was quite unnecessary. When the judges are told to do substantial justice, that excludes regard for any other consideration. How could they do substantial justice, if they were to consult the relative strength of the parties in any constituency. In fact, such a clause might be regarded as a reflection on the judges. The only object we have is that the judges shall deal with this subject as judges, in the fullest sense of the term, regardless of all considerations except the providing of the fairest system of representation in accordance with the power vested in them by this Bill.

Mr. McNEILL. I think that the difference between my hon. friend (Mr. Mulock) and myself is, after all, somewhat substantial. I am sorry he has receded at all from the frank position he took a moment ago when he said he would accept these words. These words, I think, could not possibly do any harm. Now, my hon. friend says it is only substantial justice that the judges are expected to do, and that the introduction of these words might seem to be a reflection upon the judges. But my hon. friend will see that it is quite possible that a matter might be referred to the judges as to what would be a fair division, taking into consideration the balance of parties, and, in that case, they would have to do substantial justice having reference to that matter. I do not say it would be a wise thing, I say it would be a very unwise thing to draw the judges into such a consideration; but it is quite evident that such a reference might be made to the judges or to any other court that was appointed.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. How could it be made?

Mr. McNEILL. I do not see that it is necessary to say to my hon. friend how it could be made. I think any one can see that it could be made. If when reference was made, it was with a direction to make a fair division, not only as to the population and geographical distribution of constituencies, but as to the different political views, so that these different views might, as much as possible, have expression in parliament—that is a point that could perfectly well be referred. I do not say it would be an easy thing to determine, but I say it is quite conceivable that such a reference might be made.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) want it?

Mr. McNEILL. What is the good of my hon. friend (Mr. Paterson) saying that? If he wishes me to say nothing more and does not wish me to discuss this matter with the Postmaster General—

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I beg the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill's) pardon. I was not asking for the purpose of interrupting him, but in all seriousness.

Mr. McNEILL. Then, it is evident that the hon. gentleman has not listened to what either the Postmaster General or I have said. In discussing this question, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock) said that it could not be intended, while I say that it might be intended and it ought not to be intended, and I have proposed an amendment to prevent the possibility of it. And yet the hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson) wants to know if I want such a reference made. Of course, I accept his statement, but I am sorry that I have so poorly expressed myself that he did not understand me, and that my hon. friend the Postmaster General has been equally unsuccessful.

Now, I wish once more to ask my hon. friend (Mr. Mulock), in all friendliness and sincerity, to allow these words to be added to the clause. I am sure we have both the same object in view, and I think it is well to make the matter clear.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I would like to say, on the legal point, that the Postmaster General's argument, to my mind, was simply conclusive. Here you have general words directing the judges to do substantial justice. My hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) suggests words limiting the general words. The judgment and discretion of the judges is not to be ample and unlimited, but it is to be limited, and he says: We want to limit you to do justice between the two parties. But there may be large commercial interests, large agricultural interests, large city interests which they must consider as distinct from party interests, and if you are pointing out that

they are to consider only the interest between parties—

Mr. McNEILL. That is exactly what they are not to do.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. If you point that that is what you have in mind, you necessarily exclude the general interests that they ought to consider. You are trying to put a limitation upon the powers of the judges.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend (Sir Louis Davies) and I entirely differ. He says I am trying to put a limitation to the scope of the power to the judges which ought not to be placed upon it—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I think that would be the effect of your words.

Mr. McNEILL. Then, my hon. friend thinks that this thing which I wish to exclude ought to be included?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I think it is included.

Mr. McNEILL. Because he says I am trying to put a limitation upon the discretion of the judges which ought not to be put upon it. Therefore, he says that this limitation should not be placed upon the discretion of the judges, or, in other words, that the judges ought to be allowed to take into consideration the balance of parties in the constituency. I am glad we have elicited so much, because it is an important matter. The hon. gentleman has now taken the ground that the judges ought to be allowed to take into consideration the balance of party. He said in so many words: You endeavour to exclude a matter which I think ought not to be excluded. The very point I take is that it ought to be excluded, that the judges ought not to be allowed to deal with such a matter. If you allow them to deal with such a matter you will—

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. You misunderstand my hon. friend (Sir Louis Davies). What he said was that by naming the exception, you are cutting down the effect of the words 'substantial justice.' That is the point the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) desired to make. I offer a suggestion to my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill): We both have the same objects in view in this measure; and if he will consider the subject before the third reading, I will give him ample time to move an amendment, if he is not satisfied with the measure, and, in the meantime, perhaps, he and I may be able to agree upon a form of words that will meet his views and yet not cut down the full scope of the words 'substantial justice,' which is what we desire should be done by the judges.

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

Mr. McNEILL. I am satisfied that the judges themselves would be most anxious that there should be no ambiguity in regard to this matter, and that all questions of party balance should be strictly excluded from the scope of this reference.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. We are at one on that.

Mr. McNEILL. That being so, I venture to say that a limitation of the scope of the general words is exactly what the judges would desire. But there is no use in prolonging the discussion. I think we understand one another, and I hope my hon. friend (Mr. Mulock) will agree to the suggestion I make, on the third reading.

Mr. QUINN. I desire to ask what is the meaning of the words 'latest census of Canada' in the section. Perhaps I can elicit the information best by explaining what I mean by the question I put. I see that the section reads:

The letters patent appointing the commissioners shall direct them, in making the divisions, to consider the distribution of population—

There is no comma there, but I put a comma for the moment.

—according to the latest census of Canada, the public convenience, and such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice.

I presume that is the proper reading of the section. But what is the object, in all fairness, in considering the population according to the last census of Canada when that is ten years old? Why not allow the judges a free hand and to distribute these divisions taking into consideration the distribution of population as it exists, and not merely according to the figures of the latest census of Canada? I fancy that Toronto, being a progressive city, would have a civic census taken annually, and in that way a very fair idea of the population could be arrived at. Now, any great injustice that will be done in a distribution of this kind will be in the large cities. Why not, then, take the annual census of these cities and let the judges redistribute these seats according to that census, and not ask them, intelligent men, men of superior standing, to redistribute these cities according to the census that is laid down in the Bill. The thing seems to me to be farcical. If we were drawing up a comic opera or something of that kind, I could understand these words. But, in a serious statute of this parliament, to say that the judges would be bound to consider, not the population of Toronto as it exists to-day, but the population of Toronto as it existed in 1891, is absurd. Now, I anticipate the answer that my hon. friend will give; he will say: We have no guarantee that this redistribution will not take place before the next census. But we have no guarantee, on the

other hand, that it will not take place immediately. We have consequently no guarantee that the redistribution of the city of Toronto will not take place according to the census of 1891, instead of the census as it exists to-day. I therefore ask what is the meaning of the words: 'according to the latest census of Canada?'

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The reason moving the government to introduce this measure is that the redistribution Bills of 1882 and 1892 did violence to their sense of justice, and should never have been put upon the statute-book. The Act of 1882 should have been remedied after the census of 1892. If justice had been done to the people of Canada, the Act that we are now trying to pass would have been passed in 1892. On what data would the House then have proceeded? On the census of 1892. This Act should have been on the statute-book now; if it had been passed in 1892 it would continue to be in force until the next census. As the ten years roll on and you draw towards the end of the decennial period, the increase of population my hon. friend refers to has gone on and produced inequalities that call for a redistribution before the next census. I ask my hon. friend therefore to consider, in dealing with this matter, that we are doing what parliament ought to have done after the last census. Of course in a sense, the judges will have regard for what has taken place to some extent in this respect. For instance, in the city of Toronto they will consider, no doubt, the enlarged area. Toronto to-day is different in area from what it was in 1891.

Mr. CLARKE. How?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. There have been extensions to the boundaries.

Mr. CLARKE. No.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Well, there might have been, and I think there have been.

Mr. CLARKE. There has been a great increase in the population of Toronto, but you don't take that into account in this Bill.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The Bill considers the population. It transfers to the city of Toronto a certain population that was represented by the members of East and West York. As this population is for representation purposes transferred to the city, the city is given a new member so that the representation may keep pace with the population. It leaves the number represented by each member about the same.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. I have not had an opportunity of saying anything in regard to this measure, and I think it is my duty to express my approval of the action of the

government in introducing this Bill in order to remedy the injustice that was done to a large portion of the province of Ontario by the gerrymanders of 1882 and 1891. The county which I represent was one of the points where the Conservative government of that day displayed their ingenuity in hiving the Grits. I have been amused this evening listening to the hair-splitting which has been indulged in by some members on the other side of the House with regard to what the duty of the judges should be under this Act. It is a great pity that some man in the House on the Conservative side, in 1882, was not inspired with the same sense of justice. If they had been as anxious in 1882 to secure justice to the people of Canada and to have an Act passed which would secure that justice, they never would have introduced and passed the Act of 1882, by which they sought to tie the hands of the Liberals in the province of Ontario in a large number of constituencies, in more constituencies than are affected by the present measure. Now, I think that when the Liberal party came into power in 1896 they were pledged up to the hilt to take this matter in hand just as soon as they secured position on the Treasury benches.

When the Act of 1882 was passed the whole section of Ontario which was affected by this Bill was aroused to intense indignation. Not only the Liberals of the sections which were affected were indignant, but a large number of fair-minded Conservatives went over to the Liberal ranks; and that is the reason that the Conservative party did not profit by the measure which they passed in 1882 to the extent that they had anticipated. I know that was the case in the constituency which I represent. When that gerrymander was made in 1882, I was the nominee of the South Riding of Wentworth, having been nominated unanimously by the Liberal convention there in succession to Mr. Rymal, who previously represented that constituency. The Conservatives carved that constituency in such a way as to be almost absolutely certain that they would defeat the Liberals in South Wentworth. I went to sleep in my house in the township of Ancaster, in the constituency of old South Wentworth, that had never for fifty years returned a Conservative to represent them, either in the old parliament of Canada or in the parliament constituted after confederation, and woke up next morning in North Brant. The people were solid for the Liberal party, not by a large majority, because our majorities there used to run from twenty three up to seventy-five or one hundred. It was a fighting constituency, and we had to fight for the triumphs which we always won. In 1882, when Mr. Rymal represented South Wentworth in this House, although Sir John A. Macdonald, the then leader of the House,

professed to have a great friendship for him, he deliberately fixed that constituency not knowing at the time that Mr. Rymal was not to be the candidate, in order to defeat the man whom he chose to call his best friend on the Liberal side of the House. In order to do that they took out the Liberal township of Ancaster which gave me a majority of 400 at the first election that I ran there, and they put it into the county of North Brant. They fixed South Wentworth so as to be almost certain that the Liberal candidate would be defeated there. But as I said before, the indignation of the people of South Wentworth was so great that hordes of Conservatives came over to the Liberal party and they returned Mr. Springer as their representative. They returned a Liberal as the representative of South Wentworth in spite of the gerrymander. And this was done in almost all the counties where the gerrymander was passed by the aid of liberal-minded Conservatives. There are liberal-minded men amongst the Conservatives; I have many friends amongst the Conservatives whom I esteem for their honesty in having at that time become so indignant with the action of their party that they refused to aid their party in committing this great injustice upon the people of this country. We succeeded in returning Mr. Springer as our representative, but, when the election was over, after Mr. Springer sat in this House for four years, in the next election, when it was found that the feeling had worn off the minds of the people in regard to the injustice that had been done, they returned Mr. Carpenter as their representative. This was the effect of the gerrymander in South Wentworth, and it is only one of a number of gerrymandered constituencies in the country. The Conservatives did not get the benefit of the gerrymander at the first election which they had been led to expect, but after that first election the indignation wore away. I remember when the gerrymander Act of 1882 was passed, Mr. Rymal, who represented South Wentworth in the House, had a map of the constituency drawn; he held it up in the House and said that it was no harm for any man to get down on his knees and worship it, because it bore the image of nothing in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth, and that is the shape of the constituency that I represent. They were not satisfied with what they did with North Brant in 1882 and they fixed it a little better in 1892. They wiped out North Wentworth altogether as a constituency, they put the Tory townships of Wentworth into South Wentworth in the expectation that they would defeat the hon. Speaker of the House, but the indignation of the people was aroused and South Wentworth, which was to have been a Tory constituency, gave 200 of a majority for

Mr. SOMERVILLE.

Mr. Bain at the last general election after the gerrymander of 1892. My constituency was made up of the township of South Dumfries, in the county of Brant, half of the township of Brantford, in the county of Brant, the township of Blenheim, taken as was described here to-night by the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) from the county of Oxford, and the township of Ancaster taken from South Wentworth. Then in 1892 they took Beverly out of North Wentworth, and renamed the county over again as North Wentworth and Brant, splitting Wentworth and giving the Grits. I may say that I have had the honour of receiving the nomination in my constituency, unanimously, for the last four terms, and that the people there have always looked to the Liberal party to see that this gerrymander, that this great injustice, which was done to the Liberal party in 1882 and 1892 should be redressed as soon as the Liberal party came into power. At every meeting I have ever attended in my constituency since 1882, at each of the four elections that have taken place, one of the principal planks in the platform of the Liberal party has been that as soon as the Liberals came into power the gerrymander would be repealed. I say that the Liberal party would not be true to their pledges to the people if they did not undertake to abolish this gerrymander Act because, since 1882, at every session I have attended in this House, the Liberals have pronounced against the iniquitous injustice which was done to them and to the people of the country by the Conservative government in 1882. As was said here to-night, the Liberal party were pledged up to the hilt, not only by the statements of individual members when they addressed their constituents in reference to this subject, but, the Liberal press all through the province insisted, that, as soon as the Liberals came into power, they should abolish this iniquitous gerrymander Bill which was passed in 1882. At our great Liberal convention, a convention the like of which never was held in the Dominion of Canada—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. Hon. gentlemen may laugh, but, it is a fact, that there never was in the Dominion of Canada such a representative gathering of a party held for the purpose of deciding upon the policy of the party, as that which was held in Ottawa in 1893. At that convention it was decided that this should be one of the principal planks in the platform of the Liberal party, and the Liberal government which we all think has done so much to redeem the pledges that were made to the people—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. This is one of the pledges that we made, and we made other pledges that have already been redeemed and the redeeming of which has been in the interest of the people of the country.

Mr. QUINN. Name, name.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. The Franchise Act.

Mr. MILLS. The plebiscite.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. There are plenty of pledges we have redeemed.

Mr. QUINN. Free trade as they have it in England.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. That calls to my mind the fact that the Liberal party never were pledged to free trade. It was just like many cries which had been raised by the Conservative party in this House and through their journals. The Liberal party never were pledged to free trade, and any man who talks that, talks nonsense, because, he knows, if he knows anything, that free trade is an absolute impossibility. We were pledged to reduce the taxation of the country and our government have reduced the taxation. Now, in regard to the gerrymander, as I was going on to say, in 1892 they carved up some of the constituencies. I suppose it is no breach of confidence to mention an incident that occurred on that occasion. I remember coming out of the House the night that the Bill was introduced, and I met Mr. Bowell. He is an old friend of mine; I have known him intimately for forty-five years. He tapped me on the shoulder and said: Somerville, we thought you would not be elected next year, as you only had a thousand of majority and we wanted to make sure that you would come back, so we have given you Beverly township. They wanted to hive the Grits. I say that the Liberal government would not have been worthy of the confidence of the Reformers of the Dominion of Canada if they had not introduced this Bill to do away with the gerrymanders of 1882 and 1892. In redeeming their pledges they have shown their consistency, and I cannot understand for the life of me, how any man, who has a sense of fair-play and of justice, will get up in this House and say that this is not the proper time to make this change and talk of what is fair and honest. An injustice was done in 1882, and the Liberals have never had an opportunity of wiping out that injustice until now. This Bill shows that the government propose to do justice to the people of those constituencies and to the people of the whole Dominion. In doing this justice they are not doing any injustice to the Conservatives. What did the Conservatives do in 1882? I know for a fact that they had knots of wire pullers in almost every county in the

province of Ontario making maps to show just how they could fix up constituencies to insure the return of the Tories. I will give the committee an instance of that. In the constituency which was at that time represented by Mr. Bain, the present Speaker of the House, they proposed to make a change. They proposed to take the village of Burlington and the township of Nelson out of Halton and put them into North Wentworth. North Wentworth had always been a fighting constituency. I have been in that constituency nearly all my life. I have taken part in elections there for forty-five years, and I think I know all about elections there. I know that we never could secure a large majority there. It was like South Wentworth; we were always able to win but it was after a hard battle every time. The Conservatives never gave up, but they fought a manly battle, and when they were down they got ready for the next fight and kept getting ready until the next election. They consulted the Conservatives in North Wentworth in regard to the changes which they proposed to introduce, and they sent up to a man who had been the Conservative candidate there and who was to be the Conservative candidate. They asked him to give them his ideas about taking Burlington and Nelson into North Wentworth in order to secure his return. To his credit, be it told, he was honest enough to say: If I cannot win North Wentworth without doing such a mean thing as that, I won't win at all; and he refused to consent to allow the government to take Burlington and Nelson into the riding of North Wentworth. As I said before, there are Conservatives and Conservatives. He was one of the Conservatives I admire. He was a fair-minded, plucky man. He did not want to strike under the belt, as the Conservative gerrymander Act did strike. I shall conclude my remarks, Mr. Chairman, by saying that I entirely endorse the action of the government. This Bill shows the fairness of the Liberal government. The Conservatives, when they passed a Redistribution Bill, consulted their constituents to find out what they could do in order to carve up the constituencies, so that they might get the advantage over the Liberals; but here we have this Liberal government introducing this Bill to do away with a great wrong, and they are so fair and so just that they actually lean over to the other side, by offering to allow the judges to make the division of these constituencies. Do you suppose, Mr. Chairman, that if the Conservatives had to re-gerrymander the constituencies of Ontario, they would attempt to do it in such a just and honest way as is proposed by this Liberal government. Well, if there are the same class of Conservatives in this House to-day as there were in 1882, they would not do it. So, Sir, the Liberal government deserve credit for the fairness

which they have displayed in their efforts to do away with the injustice of the gerrymander Acts of 1882 and 1892. If the Senate throws out this Bill this year, which I hope they will not, they will aid in perpetuating this outrage on the electors of Canada. If, on the contrary, the parliament of Canada passes this measure, the people of this country will say that we have wiped out one of the most flagrant disgraces that ever was passed into law in this or any other civilized country in the world.

Mr. QUINN. The committee is delighted to find that our hon. friend from Brant (Mr. Somerville), has found his voice again. There was a rumour some time ago, that the hon. member (Mr. Somerville), was quite dissatisfied that he did not have the honour as a minister of introducing this Bill. I believe he is quite satisfied now, inasmuch as he is promised one of the seats to become vacant in the Senate.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. Just allow me, if you please. I do not want anything at the hands of the government, and I would not accept any office they might offer me in any place whatever.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. QUINN. I am very glad to hear he would not accept any office, because a position in the Senate is not considered an office. At any rate the hon. gentleman (Mr. Somerville), has become a decoy or an apologist for a Bill, which I must characterize as an act of political brigandish, as admitted by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock). The hon. gentleman does not attempt to excuse it in any way. He does not base it on any principle of honour or justice, as regards the subdivision of the city of Toronto, but he says that in 1882 Toronto was subdivided by what he calls a gerrymander Act, and that consequently the members of this House must carry themselves back to 1892, must become Rip Van Winkles for years, and must pass an Act based on a census taken ten years ago. He also asks the judges to become Rip Van Winkles, and he tells them they must close their eyes to the increase in population of such centres as Toronto, and that they must sub-divide the city according to the population at that time. If that is the principle upon which this Act stands, it is the most iniquitous, the most absurd, the most ridiculous, the most farcical proposition that could be put before this House. If that is the best excuse the Postmaster General can give for this Act, then let him rely on the majority behind him, but do not let him plead that there is anything in this Bill except vengeance for an imaginary wrong. The words 'substantial justice' are ridiculous and absurd when incorporated in this

Bill, and placed in conjunction with the idea that to carry it into effect, we must close our eyes to the progress that has been made by the different constituencies of the country, during the last ten years.

Mr. CLARKE. My hon. friend from Brant (Mr. Somerville), has referred rather scathingly to the divisions which were made in the province of Ontario, by what he called the last gerrymander Act. It seems to me that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Somerville), was not quite fair in the statements he made, because he did not give the result of the redistribution of seats in his district as far as population is concerned. Prior to 1892, Wentworth had one representative in this House, and if the hon gentleman looks at the population of that county, and compares it with the population of other counties having one representative also, he will find that the redistribution of both Wentworth and Brant was a necessity. Had he given us the population of the constituencies which were created under the Acts of 1882 and 1892, we would be able to form a better judgment, as to whether these Acts were as unfair as he alleges. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Somerville), tells us that the government would not be doing itself justice if it did not take the earliest opportunity to undo the wrongs which were perpetrated under these two Redistribution Acts; and he expresses his satisfaction with this present Bill, as a measure of justice to the province of Ontario. Now, Sir, one of the principal objections taken to the Acts of 1882 and 1892 was, that they did not give a fair representation to the western part of the province of Ontario, and attention was directed again and again to the fact that the constituencies in eastern Ontario, in proportion to their population, were over represented in this House. Yet, let me call the attention of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Somerville) to the fact, that that inequality, that injustice, if it is an injustice, remains uncorrected in the present Bill. The hon. gentleman expressed his satisfaction with the provisions of this Bill, in that it is righting the wrongs which he claims were done to the province of Ontario. If this Bill is to do justice to the province of Ontario, it certainly should give us representation by population under reasonable conditions, and yet, if this Bill becomes law, the western part of the province of Ontario, will continue to labour under the disabilities which hon. gentlemen opposite asserted it laboured under by the Acts of 1882 and 1892, and that too, notwithstanding the fact that that portion of the province of Ontario, west of the county of Ontario, has largely increased in population since these years. I think that my hon. friend, whom I believe to be thoroughly upright and honourable, should insist that if justice is to be done to the province of Ontario, the west-

Mr. SOMERVILLE.

ern part of the province should receive that measure of justice which they claim it was deprived of under the former Acts. My hon. friend says that we ought to be satisfied because the government have relegated to the judges the arrangement of the constituencies in the various counties. If the government had said that the western part of the province of Ontario, from the county of Ontario westward, shall be entitled under this Bill to a certain number of representatives, and had appointed a commission of judges to apportion that representation, there would be less objection to the Bill than there is at the present time. But the government, in this Bill, first of all, set out the counties, and then they leave to the judges the purely formal business of subdividing those counties into constituencies. The relegation of the subdivision of counties to the judges was not always a plank in the platform of hon. gentlemen opposite. They denounced the suggestion when it was made a few years ago in this House, that judges should subdivide the constituencies; and yet my hon. friend asks us to approve of the measure now before us because the judges are asked to subdivide counties which the government in this Bill have already formed. In 1892, when the last representation Bill was before the House, this question of the appointment of judges to make subdivisions in counties was considered, and the right hon. gentleman who now leads the government expressed his opinion as follows, as reported in *Hansard* of the 31st of May, 1892:

In some quarters the suggestion has been made that the duty of redistribution should be referred to a commission of judges specially appointed; in other words, that parliament should divest itself of its powers in this most important particular. Sir, I am bound to say at once that this is a proposition which my friends and I would not favour either upon this or any other subject. I am bound to say that we would not entrust to any this duty and privilege which properly belongs to parliament. Moreover, this proposition implies a singular want of confidence in parliamentary institutions. It implies that in a matter of this kind a majority would never be able to rise above the low temptation of strengthening themselves at the expense of their opponents.

If that was the view entertained in 1892 by the right hon. gentleman who leads the government, why should we be asked to compliment and congratulate the government because they have adopted in this Bill the views and principles which he then unhesitatingly condemned? Just one word more, Mr. Speaker. The Liberal party claim that one of the prime conditions in this Bill is that the municipal boundaries of counties shall be restored. Well, admitting that that is a sound principle, may I ask why it has not been applied to all the counties of Ontario? If it is a correct principle to adopt, why should it

not be applied to the constituencies in the eastern part of the province? They are left just as they were under the redistribution Acts of 1882 and 1892; and if these Acts were unjust and unfair in that they gave over-representation to the people living in the eastern part of Ontario, why does not the government right the wrong that was done to the western part of the province by those measures? It seems to me that the more we consider the propositions contained in the Bill, the more objectionable they become. Before taking my seat, I might ask the hon. Postmaster General whether he persists in retaining subsection (c) of section 1 of the Bill in its present shape, that is, that the judges shall be compelled to subdivide the city of Toronto into five electoral divisions, or whether he will not allow the judges in their wisdom, if they so determine, to subdivide the city of Toronto so that it shall elect five members by making three electoral divisions, two of which shall return two members and one one member?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The proposition of my hon. friend is rather an involved one, but I will promise that the government will give it careful consideration. I am sure that more than that my hon. friend would not ask.

On section 3.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, before you declare that section carried, I wish to say that I do not intend to make a speech upon it or to go into details. I rise merely to protest against the changes proposed to be made in regard to the province of Quebec. It strikes me that the government ought to be generous enough, considering the great contingent they have from the province of Quebec, not to make changes in those counties which wipe out nearly all the support given to our party in that province.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL moved that section 4 be struck out.

Motion agreed to.

On section 5,

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) Before that clause is adopted, I wish to make a few remarks. It will be observed that subsection (c) provides that the electoral district of King's shall consist of the county of King's, and shall return one member, while the other two subsections provide that the electoral district of Prince shall consist of the county of Prince, and shall return two members, and that the electoral district of Queen's shall consist of the county of Queen's, and shall return two members. You will observe the anomaly existing here, that the county of King's shall return only one

member, while each of the other two counties shall return two members. It was my intention a few minutes ago to move an amendment to subsection (c), to strike out the words 'one member' and substitute the words 'two members.'

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I understand the hon. gentleman has an amendment to propose.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) No.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. An argument then. As it is getting late, would it suit my hon. friend if he were to reserve it for the third reading of the Bill.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) I have no objection, provided I have the same privilege of discussion on the third reading.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. My hon. friend will have the same opportunity except, of course, that we will not be in committee.

Mr. MARTIN. Before this clause is carried, I would like to discuss it, but provided we can discuss it fully on the third reading, I shall reserve my remarks until then.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. You can discuss it fully on the third reading.

Bill reported.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11.25 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, March 7, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 70) to incorporate the Gaspé Short Line Railway Company.—(Mr. Lemieux.)

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.)

DOMINION FISHERIES EXHIBIT AT PARIS EXHIBITION.

Mr. GANONG (by Mr. Wilson) asked :

Who is going to Paris in charge of, or in connection with, the Dominion fisheries exhibit at the Paris Exhibition ?

Has the officer so appointed any technical, practical or scientific knowledge of the economic fisheries of Canada ?

If so, what experience has he had in connection with the fisheries ?

If not, why has he been appointed to take charge of this exhibit, representing so important an industry ?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). In reply to the question, I beg to say that the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries has gone to Paris in charge of the fishery exhibit, that that gentleman has a technical, a practical and a scientific knowledge of the fisheries of Canada, that he has had experience in connection therewith, and that it is for that reason that he has been appointed to do this work.

PROTECTION OF THE APPLE TRADE.

Mr. PETTET (by Mr. Rogers) asked :

Is it the intention of the government to introduce any legislation this session for the inspection of apples or protection of the apple trade ? If so, what scheme is proposed ?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). The government has this question under consideration.

ALLOTMENT OF CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY LAND GRANTS.

Mr. RICHARDSON asked :

What portion of the land grant of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for its main line was allotted to the company from lands in the province of Manitoba ? What portion of the lands granted to the Canadian Pacific as a subsidy for its branch lines was allotted to the company from the lands of the province of Manitoba ?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. In the main line belt between Red River and the western boundary of the province the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has selected 1,487,785 acres, and south of the main line belt between Red River and the western limit of the province the company has selected 389,000 acres, making a total of 1,876,785 acres in the province of Manitoba. 2. About 500,000 acres have been practically selected within the province by the company on account of branch line subsidy.

REMOVAL OF INDIANS FROM SONGHEES INDIAN RESERVE.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Has the government arrived at any settlement with the British Columbia provincial gov-

ernment in regard to the removal of the Indians from the Songhees Indian reserve?

2. Has the provincial government been in correspondence with this government about said matter since last session?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. From the best information I am able to get, I beg to say: 1. No. 2. No.

CABINET REPRESENTATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Is it the intention of the right hon. the Premier to give British Columbia direct representation of the cabinet during this parliament?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am sorry to inform my hon. friend (Mr. Prior) that I am not prepared to take him into my confidence to-day, and therefore, I cannot gratify his curiosity.

MACAULAY POINT CLAIMS.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Has the hon. the Minister of Militia come to any decision in regard to the 'Macaulay Point claims'? If not, will the several claimants be allowed to bring their claims before the Exchequer Court?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). In the absence of the hon. Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden), I beg to read the answer to the question: Yes. The claims are inadmissible.

INDEBTEDNESS OF QUEBEC HARBOUR COMMISSION TO GOVERNMENT.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. How much do the Quebec Harbour Commissioners owe the government for money loaned?

2. How much do they owe for interest on said loan?

3. Does this interest appear anywhere in Public Accounts? If so, where?

4. If not, why does it not appear?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). 1. \$3,748,519.62. 2. \$1,305,315.01 to 30th June, 1898. 3. In the balance sheet, page xvi of the Public Accounts for the year ended 30th June, 1899. 4. No interest was charged for the year 1898-9. The further amount due for interest would be \$149,940.78, making the total amount due for interest to 30th June, 1899, to be \$1,455,255.79.

POSTMASTER OF PICTON.

Mr. CORBY (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Since what date has the postmastership of Picton been vacant? Who is now discharging the duties of the office? Has the recommendation of any person been made to the Postmaster General for the position?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. The postmastership of Picton has been vacant since the 3rd of August last. 2. Mr. F. G. Belch is at present discharging the duties of the office. 3. Recommendations being regarded as more or less of a confidential nature it is not the practice to make them public, and I therefore have not considered it necessary to make inquiry in the department as to whether or not any recommendations are on file in connection with this particular office.

CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION BY J. G. SNETSINGER, M.P.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Has any claim been made for compensation or damages by J. G. Snetsinger, Esq., M.P., in respect of a mill property or water power at or near Sheik's Dam, on the Cornwall Canal? If so, what is the amount of the claim? Has any amount been awarded or paid to Mr. Snetsinger in respect thereof?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Yes, a claim has been made by J. G. Snetsinger, Esq., M.P., for compensation or damages in respect of a mill property and water power on the Cornwall Canal. The amount of the claim is as follows :

Water power and land	\$20,000
Mill and machinery	12,000
Damages to general business by loss of mill	10,000
Total	\$42,000

The following amounts have been awarded and paid to Mr. Snetsinger :

Water power and land	\$ 8,000
Mill, machinery or loss of business	12,000
Total.....	\$20,000

Interest thereon was paid.

DREDGING CHANNEL OPPOSITE BERTHIER.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

1. How much dredging has been made in the channel opposite Berthier?

2. Who had the contract?

3. Has he got it still?

4. Was the contract awarded after tenders had been called for?

5. Who has been doing the work for the contractor?

6. How much money has been spent and paid for such dredging until now?

7. What is the real amount of work done in area, in depth, and at what cost per yard?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). 1. 152,793 cubic yards. 2. Work was done at various times by various parties as follows: In 1894 and 1895, A. St. Pierre. In 1897, G. R. Barthe. In 1898 and 1899, J. E. Robillard, and partly by A. St. Pierre. 3. There is no contract

in existence. 4. No. Work was arranged for in the same manner from 1894 to date, viz.: at the rate of 25 cents per cubic yard for the work done in 1894, and \$7.00 per hour for all work done subsequently. 5. The different parties themselves to whom the work was given. 6. \$28,003.75 from 1893-4 to present date. 7. A channel was dredged having a width of from 75 to 100 feet, a depth of from 8 to 8½ feet, and a length of 15,250 feet. In 1893 the cost was 25 cents per cubic yard by agreement. From 1894 to 1898 inclusive, the average cost per cubic yard has been not quite 17 13-14 cents.

PAYMENTS TO THE ST. JOHN, N.B., SUN.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked :

How much money was paid to the 'Sun' newspaper of St. John, N.B., from 1882 to 1896, inclusive, and how much was paid to the newspaper during the period that George E. Foster was editor?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The answer is as follows:—

	Advertising.	Printing, &c.
1881-82 .....	.....	.....
1882-83 .....	.....	.....
1883-84	\$ 809 60	.....
1884-85	1,834 39	.....
1885-86	1,292 90	.....
1886-87	2,091 89	\$ 9,289 50
1887-88	2,240 68	11,573 16
1888-89	1,441 49	10,829 55
1889-90	1,360 65	12,308 00
1890-91	1,293 49	12,709 96
1891-92	1,000 16	12,869 89
1892-93	1,042 09	8,048 72
1893-94	720 85	9,849 21
1894-95	640 30	10,004 85
1895-96	605 30	10,071 99
Total advertising ..	\$ 16,373 79	\$107,554 83
“ printing ..	107,554 83	
Joint total	\$123,928 62	

The above is as far as the information can be given from the reports of the Auditor General. The statement of advertising is not given for 1881-82 or 1882-83, nor of printing for 1881-82 to 1885-86 inclusive. For these years the payments are not collated. To obtain them would require an examination of the books of the various departments and outside offices. The government has no information respecting the editorship of the paper.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—PURCHASE OF SADDLES.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

1. What number of saddles have been purchased by the government either for the Canadian government, for the British government, or for Lord Strathcona, since July 1, 1899?
2. From whom were they purchased?
3. What were the prices paid?

Mr. TARTE.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. 300 regimental cavalry saddles for Canadian government. 2. Adams Bros. 3. \$37.50.

CLAIMS ON ACCOUNT OF RAILWAYS BY NOVA SCOTIA GOVERNMENT.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

1. What portion of the claims made by the government of Nova Scotia upon the federal government for a refund of subsidies paid to railways, has been referred to arbitration?
2. When was it so referred?
3. Why was not the whole claim referred?
4. Who are the arbitrators to whom this claim has been referred?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. The claim of the government of Nova Scotia, which it has been agreed shall be referred to arbitration, is that which relates to the portion of the Intercolonial Railway which was formerly known as the Eastern Extension Railway. 2. The formal reference has not yet been made. 3. In the latest statement of claim of the Nova Scotia government, the portion of the former claim, relating to the Western Counties Railway, was not included. 4. The arbitrators have not been officially appointed.

THE REGINA LEADER COMPANY.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

Is the government aware that the corporation of the 'Leader' Company of Regina, N.W.T., was constituted as follows:

Incorporation of the 'Leader' Company.—Charter dated March 5, 1887. Capital stock, \$20,000, divided into 4,000 share of \$5 each. Shareholders incorporated: Nicholas Flood Davin, 2,000 shares, paid \$1,000; Daniel Mowat, 1 share, paid \$5; Alexander Lawson Lunan, 1 share, paid \$2.50; James Henry Benson, 1 share, paid \$2.50.

First Directors: Nicholas Flood Davin, Daniel Mowat, Alexander L. Lunan and James Henry Benson.

Chief place of business: Regina, N.W.T.

And if the said Nicholas Flood Davin is one and the same as the present representative of Western Assiniboia?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The government is aware that there appeared in the issue of the 1st of February, 1887, of the Regina Leader newspaper of Regina, North-west Territories, and in other issues thereafter, a notice over the names of Nicholas Flood Davin, Daniel Mowat, Alexander Lawson Lunan and James Henry Benson, to the effect that Nicholas Flood Davin, and the others just named, would apply to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Territories to grant a charter to the Leader Company, Limited, the capital stock of such company to be \$20,000, in shares of \$5 each, and the persons named to be the first or provisional directors; but the government has no information as to

the apportionment of the stock. 2. It has always been understood that the gentleman first named in the said notice is the present representative of West Assinibola in this House.

SERVICE LIMIT FOR COMMANDING OFFICERS.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

1. What, according to the regulations in force in 1898, were the service limit for commanding officers of independent squadrons, batteries and companies?

2. What commanding officers of independent squadrons, batteries and companies were retired thereunder in 1898?

3. What commanding officers of independent squadrons, batteries and companies, who had exceeded the regulation tenure were retained in 1898, and the reasons for retention?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. The regulations in 1898 as regards the service limit of commanding officers of independent squadrons, batteries and companies, were as follows :—

All appointments as commanding officers are for a tenure of five years. Any extension of tenure will be for three years, and will only be granted upon the recommendation of the D. O. C., who should submit his recommendation one month before the expiration of the tenure.

General Order 83 of September, 1898, amended the foregoing regulation by substituting the words 'An extension of the ten-year command may be granted in special cases' for 'any extension of tenure will be for three years.' 2. None, as Major-General Gascoigne was of opinion that it was not in the interest of the service to apply the regulations to commanding officers of independent units until they should be entitled to retire with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. 3. Major Boulanger, commanding 1st Field Battery; Lieut.-Col. Drennan, commanding 5th Field Battery; Lieut.-Col. Dibblee, commanding 10th Field Battery; Lieut.-Col. McLean, commanding 14th Field Battery; Lieut.-Col. Van Wagner, commanding 4th Field Battery; Lieut.-Col. Amyrault, commanding 15th Field Battery. These extensions were recommended in the interest of the service.

COLLINGWOOD HARBOUR.

Mr. McCARTHY asked :

Is it the intention of the government this year to place a sum in the supplementary estimates for the purpose of deepening the Collingwood Harbour, so as to give a depth of twenty feet of water, in order that vessels of the deepest draught sailing the upper lakes may enter it?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). The subject is engaging the best attention of the government.

CUSTOMS COLLECTION AT MOOSEJAW.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Who has been appointed collector of customs at Moosejaw, port of entry? Is it Mr. J. K.

Stevenson? Who recommended him? Were there other applicants?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). Mr. J. K. Stevenson has been appointed as acting sub-collector of customs at the outport of Moosejaw. He was recommended by parties in whom I have confidence. No other applications were before the department at the time when the appointment was decided upon.

GRAIN DELIVERED AT COLLINGWOOD HARBOUR.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The hon. gentleman from East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) has called my attention to the fact that a point was omitted in reply to his question the other day. With the permission of the House, I will now say that 393,744 bushels of grain were received by water during the season of 1899 at Collingwood from Chicago, Duluth and Fort William.

BALGONIE AND HEDNESFORD MAIL CONTRACT.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

Has any action been taken by the Postmaster General in connection with the transaction referred to in the following extract from the supplementary report of the Postmaster General for 1896?

Balgonie and Hednesford.

This contract was let without tender at \$125 per annum, while there was in the department a tender for \$90 per annum. The loss resulting amounts to \$140 for the contract term.

The agreement by which this service was fixed was made with Mr. Wm. Cockwill from April 1, 1895, the rate being \$125 per annum. Shortly after this agreement was entered into, tenders for a contract from July 1, 1895, were invited, due to be opened May 17. The tenders received were not considered, as the contract was given to Mr. Cockwill at the rate he was receiving, viz., \$125 per annum.

Tenders received:

H. Edmonds	\$ 90 00
J. Putz	94 00
H. Richardson	125 00
W. Cockwill	125 00
A. Meier	175 00

(Correspondence.)

Ottawa, May 18, 1895.

My dear Sir Adolphe,—I have just received the inclosed from a great friend of ours. If you can manage to give Cockwill the carrying of the mail you will do well. I know the lad; he is almost a hero. I have known him bring the mail from Leon Creek in the face of a strong wind and the glass 30 below zero, one of the most extraordinary feats that probably have ever been performed.

Yours truly,
N. F. DAVIN.

The Honourable
Sir A. P. Caron, K.C.M.G.,
Postmaster General,
Ottawa.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). The contract for this service, which

began on the 1st July, 1895, expired on the 30th June, 1899. On the 1st June, 1898, the removal of the post office at Hednesford increased the distance the contractor had to travel from twelve to sixteen miles, and the rate of pay was increased from \$125 to \$150 a year. Before the contract expired, tenders were invited for a new contract, and the contract was awarded to the lowest tenderer, Mr. Wm. Cockwill, at the rate of his tender, \$125 a year. The new contract went into operation on the 1st July, 1899.

MAIL TRANSFER SERVICE AT BROCKVILLE.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

Has the Postmaster General taken any action in connection with the transaction referred to in the following extract from the supplementary report of the Post Office Department for 1896 ?

Mail transfer service at Brockville.

This is a service for transferring the mails between the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railway trains at Brockville, the mail bags being trucked across the platform between the trains, and has been performed since the 1st of April, 1882, by Mr. James E. Cavanagh, under contract renewed from time to time, the contract price being \$370 a year. On the 1st January, 1891, an increase of \$36 was provided by a contract of that date, the two services aggregating \$406 a year. Whilst these contracts were current, application was made by contractor J. E. Cavanagh to the late government to be appointed transfer agent in respect of the transfer service which he was required to perform under his contract, and in January, 1895, he was appointed such transfer agent at \$400 per year.

Mr. J. E. Cavanagh, after his appointment as agent, continued to do the work just as before, drawing pay therefor at the rate of \$400 a year as agent. In August of the same year (1895) the contractor, with the consent of the government, was allowed to treat the contracts as still in force and transferred them to one P. G. Cavanagh, a locomotive engineer residing about fifty miles from Brockville, and the government then paid to Mr. P. G. Cavanagh the contract price from the time Mr. J. E. Cavanagh had been appointed agent, and this double arrangement of one man as agent and another as contractor, each being paid to do the same

work, continued until the defeat of the late government, the late government paying to J. E. Cavanagh, as agent \$400 a year, and to P. G. Cavanagh, as transferee of the contract, \$406 a year, though the work throughout the whole time was done by J. E. Cavanagh, so that \$806 was being paid for a service originally contracted to be done for \$406.

On the 26th October, 1896, the present government cancelled J. E. Cavanagh's appointment as such agent, since which time he has continued to do the service under his contract for \$406 a year.

(Correspondence.)

Ottawa, 24th August, 1894.

My dear Sir Adolphe,—I write you on behalf of one of my constituents who transfers the mails from the trains at the Canadian Pacific Railway and Grand Trunk Railway stations to the Brockville post office—Mr. James Cavanagh. I am very anxious that he should be appointed transfer clerk at that point, a position for which he is well fitted and which is much needed, as I gather from those who are in a position to know. I shall be very glad indeed if you can have this arranged for me, and oblige

Yours faithfully,

JOHN F. WOOD.

The Honourable

Sir Adolphe P. Caron, K.C.M.G.,
Postmaster General,
Ottawa.

Ottawa, 27th August, 1894.

My dear Mr. Wood,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th inst, recommending that Mr. James Cavanagh, who is engaged by contract by this department for the transfer of the mails at the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk Railway stations at Brockville, be appointed transfer agent at that place.

In reply, I am to say that before Mr. Cavanagh could become eligible for this appointment he would have to pass the civil service examination, and having qualified himself in this way he would be obliged to relinquish his contract with the department on receiving such an appointment.

Yours faithfully,

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

The Honourable J. F. Wood,
Comptroller of Inland Revenue,
Ottawa.

That the government inspector assumed that the contract had been superseded by the contractor's appointment as transfer agent appears from the following report of that officer :—

For the Postmaster General, Ottawa Division. Monthly Report of Variations in the Mail Service Expenditure, discontinued.

	Cost of Service.	Contracter.	Date of Arrangement.	Frequency of Service.	Length of Route.
	\$ cts.		1895.		
Brockville and Station Transfers	370 00	J. Cavanagh.	Jan. 15.	As required.	20 yards.
Brockville and Station Transfers.....	36 00	J. Cavanagh.	Jan. 15.	As required.	20 yards.

Mr. Cavanagh has been appointed transfer agent from 16th January, 1895.

F. HAWKEN,
Post Office Inspector.

Mr. MULOCK.

Brockville, Ont, 31st January, 1895.
To the Honourable J. F. Wood, Q.C., M.P.,
Comptroller of Inland Revenue,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir,—I am informed that Mr. James Cavanagh, who is the present contractor for transferring the mails from the Canadian Pacific Railway trains to the Grand Trunk Railway trains, at Brockville station, has been appointed transfer mail agent at said station.

Will you be good enough to use your influence in my behalf with the Postmaster General to have the said contracts transferred to me under the same conditions as now held by Mr. Cavanagh.

Hoping that my application may receive favourable consideration,

I am yours faithfully,

P. G. CAVANAGH.

Ottawa, 18th April, 1895.

My dear Mr. Wood,—I am in receipt of a letter addressed to you by Mr. P. G. Cavanagh, in which he asks that the contracts held by Mr. J. E. Cavanagh for the station mail service at Brockville be transferred to him.

In reply, I beg to say that the matter will have the attention of the department.

Yours faithfully,

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

The Honourable J. F. Wood, Q.C.,
Comptroller of Inland Revenue,
Ottawa.

Ottawa, 25th April, 1895.

My dear Sir Adolphe,—I shall esteem it a favour if you will personally look into a matter as to which I have been corresponding with your department for the past year, but, I regret to say, with little or no satisfaction.

Mr. James Cavanagh has for some years held the contracts—1st, for carrying the mails to and from the Brockville post office; 2nd, transferring the mails from the C.P.R. to the G.T.R. at the station; and 3rd, transferring between the Grand Trunk trains.

About a year ago, after more than one conversation with Mr. Hawken, Post Office Inspector, who agreed that Mr. Cavanagh had too much to do, having regard to the want of convenient arrangements at the station, that officer recommended, or agreed to do so, that Mr. Cavanagh should be made transfer clerk at the station, and that the contracts should be transferred to another person. Mr. Cavanagh's brother was ready to take the contracts so as to leave to the present holder more time to remain between the arrivals of trains and watch them carefully as ought to be done. Although this was the arrangement it seems impossible to have same carried out, for what reason I know not.

I earnestly hope the matter may be settled without any further delay.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN F. WOOD.

Sir A. P. Caron, K.C.M.G.,
Postmaster General,
Ottawa.

Ottawa, 26th April, 1895.

My dear Col. White,—I inclose herewith a letter from Mr. James E. Cavanagh, of Brockville, in relation to his position as mail clerk at the railway station. I am very anxious that this matter should be settled, and I think his letter fully explains the position of affairs. The idea of appointing him transfer agent was to benefit his condition, but not to deprive him of the benefit of his services previously render-

ed. Please give this matter your early attention and oblige,

Yours faithfully,

JOHN F. WOOD.

(Inclosure.)

Brockville, 25th April, 1895.

Hon. John F. Wood, M.P.,
Controller of Inland Revenue,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Wood,—In reference to the subject of our conversation re transferring of contracts, I might say that it was always my contention that the enormous amount of mail matter transferred at this station was more than I could handle alone. I wrote to Mr. Hawken on March 13th, 1893, asking to be released from my contracts (as my letter of that date will show), stating that the mail matter had such an enormous increase of late that I was obliged to employ an assistant. The amount paid per contract was in no way adequate to the amount of labour and time involved—hence my anxiety to have contracts cancelled at once and call for new tenders, so that I would have a fair opportunity to compete fairly for the work under the altered condition of affairs. Mr. Hawken advised me to retain the contracts until the time expired, when, he said, he would have me appointed transfer agent, and that the contracts would be given out. Then I would have the contractor to assist me. I have been appointed agent, but, as you are aware, the contracts haven't been given out, and I am worse off now than ever.

Under the contract system I got through with the mail trains at 4.30 a.m. Under the present system I am obliged to wait until 6.50 a.m. to put mail matter on mixed train going west, making it almost impossible for me to get to bed before 8 a.m.; and as I am obliged to be at the station again at 1.30 p.m., you will readily see that it is impossible for me to get the amount of rest that nature requires one should have. When I had the contracts, the G.T.R. staff performed a portion of the service that my contracts didn't cover. Now that I am under the direct control of the Post Office Department, it seems as though Mr. Hawken has changed his mind about giving out the contracts, and not only expects me to perform the service which I did under the contract system with an assistant, but also expects me to perform service which had previously been performed by the G.T.R. staff. I can't do it, and there is not a man between Montreal and Toronto who can. It is simply ridiculous for Mr. Hawken to expect it. Ottawa has two agents; Toronto has two and three assistants; Montreal has one (there is no night service there) with two or three assistants. Now there is as much mail transferred at this point as there is at Toronto or Montreal, in fact more, as the output of the Printing and Supply Department is all transferred at this station. Why should I be expected to do this work alone, when there is such provision made for the places named?

Since I have been appointed agent I have been carrying the mails to and from the C.P.R. night trains and Brockville post office as under contract. My quarter ended March 31st. I received two cheques that were due me, but cheque for the performance of this service has been omitted. I wrote to Mr. Hawken calling his attention to the fact; up to the present I haven't received cheque, or a reply to my letter. I am very much in need of the amount due me, and if I wouldn't be asking too much of you, or infringing too much on your valuable time, I

would ask you to lay my claim before the Postmaster General with a view of having my claim adjusted, and I will feel deeply obliged to you.

Yours faithfully,

J. E. CAVANAGH.

Ottawa, 15th May, 1895.

My dear Col. White,—I beg to inclose herewith letter I have just received from Mr. J. E. Cavanagh, of Brockville, with inclosures re mail contracts at that place, and would request that you will try and have matters arranged, if possible, in accordance with his views.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN F. WOOD.

Col. W. White,
Deputy Postmaster General,
Ottawa.

Ottawa, 16th May, 1895.

My dear Mr. Wood,—Referring to the letter you inclose me from Mr. J. E. Cavanagh, of Brockville, respecting the transfer of his contracts for service at Brockville station on account of his having been appointed mail transfer agent at that place, I beg to say that Mr. Cavanagh is evidently under a misapprehension in regard to these contracts. When the question of changing the character of his relations with this department was under consideration, it was not for a moment supposed that the effect of the change was simply to increase the cost of the service at that point by \$400 per annum. The intention of the department was to cancel the contract under which Mr. Cavanagh attended to the transfer duties, and to allow him to continue them as one of its officials. If Mr. Cavanagh with this explanation would prefer to revert to the original arrangement, his wishes in that regard might be carried out, but the department does not propose to allow two men's pay for the work to be done at Brockville station.

I regret exceedingly that it is impossible to carry your recommendation in this matter into effect.

Yours faithfully,

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

(Transfer of mail contract.)

Post Office Department, Canada,
Mail Service Branch,

Ottawa, 5th July, 1895.

(Memorandum for the Post Office Inspector at Ottawa.)

The Postmaster General authorizes the transfer of the contract for the mail service of Brockville station, exchange of mails, Canadian Pacific Railway and Grand Trunk Railway, the name of the present contractor being James E. Cavanagh, and that of the proposed contractor, Peter G. Cavanagh. The transfer to date from 1st January, 1895. Cost of service, \$370 per annum. Contract terminates 31st December, 1897.

The inspector will be so good as to transfer this contract accordingly.

ARTHUR LINDSAY,
Superintendent.

(Transfer of mail contract.)

Post Office Department, Canada,
Mail Service Branch,

Ottawa, 5th July, 1895.

(Memorandum for the Post Office Inspector at Ottawa.)

The Postmaster General authorizes the transfer of the contract for the mail service between

Mr. DAVIS.

transfer from train No. 4 to train No. 3 on Grand Trunk Railway at Brockville Junction, the name of the present contractor being James E. Cavanagh, and that of the proposed contractor, Peter G. Cavanagh. The transfer to date from the 1st January, 1895. Cost of service, \$36 per annum. Contract terminates 31st December, 1897.

The inspector will please be so good as to transfer the contract accordingly.

ARTHUR LINDSAY,
Superintendent.

(No. 933.) Post Office Inspector's Office,

Ottawa, 15th October, 1896.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 2nd inst., in regard to the transfer of mails at Brockville railway station, I beg leave to state that up to the 16th January, 1895, James E. Cavanagh was contractor for transferring mails between the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk Railway mail trains at Brockville, distance of 20 yards, for which he was paid the sum of \$406 per annum (two contracts, \$36 and \$370), and on that date he was appointed temporary transfer agent for the performance of the same work at a salary of \$400 per annum—Departmental letter No. 441, dated 16th January, 1895.—On the 5th July, 1895, the Postmaster General authorized the transfer of the above mentioned contracts from James E. Cavanagh to P. G. Cavanagh, to date from the 1st January, 1895, it being understood that J. E. Cavanagh would transfer the night mails and P. G. Cavanagh would attend to the day mails. Having learned previous to 5th July that this transfer was to take place, I made an inquiry into the matter and found that P. G. Cavanagh was a resident of Smith's Falls and would not, in all probability, take any part in the transfer of the mails at Brockville station, and that the whole thing was merely a scheme to supplement the salary paid to J. E. Cavanagh, and I accordingly brought the matter verbally to the notice of the Deputy Postmaster General.

James E. Cavanagh held another contract for the conveyance of mails between the Brockville post office and the Canadian Pacific Railway station four times a week, distance one mile, at 15 and 10 cents per trip, amounting to about \$106 per annum. This contract was also transferred to P. G. Cavanagh. William Curry of Brockville is also a contractor for the conveyance of mails between Brockville post office and the Canadian Pacific Railway, 12 single trips at 21½ cents per trip, amounting to about \$140 per annum. These two 'bona fide' contracts might, I think, be advertised as one contract, as I believe the work could be done at less cost.

I might here state that J. E. Cavanagh has a contract with the Grand Trunk Railway for conveying the mails between the Brockville post office and the Grand Trunk mail trains, for which he receives the sum of \$450 per annum. He has been doing this work for more than fifteen years.

I have the honour, &c.,
F. HAWKEN,
Post Office Inspector.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). The appointment of Transfer Agent Cavanagh was cancelled and the contract continued to be carried on at the contract price of \$406 a year. On the expiry of the contract, the service was put up for public tender and awarded to the same contractor, Mr. J. E. Cavanagh, at the contract

price of \$250 a year, instead of the amount which was previously being paid, amounting to \$806 a year, \$406 under the contract, and \$400 as Transfer Agent.

COLONIAL NAVAL RESERVE.

Mr. BOURASSA asked :

1. Has the attention of the government been called to the declaration made last week in the British Commons by the Right Hon. Mr. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty, which declaration was reported as follows by the Associated Press:

Colonial Naval Reserve.

The Admiralty was considering how it could organize a naval reserve in conjunction with the colonies. He explained that with an adequate organization the government could get a very valuable contingent from Canada and Australia. The negotiations with Canada were very well advanced. Canada had asked that the period of training be reduced, but a final decision on the subject had not been reached?

2. Have any negotiations been conducted, or are there any going on at the present time between the British government and the Canadian government, or any member of said governments in relation to the subject mentioned by Mr. Goschen?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The attention of the government has been called to the report of the declaration said to have been made by Mr. Goschen; but the government do not think it would be wise to take official notice of a report of that kind, without having seen the words of the minister himself. In the meantime, I may say that no arrangement has been made and no negotiations have been carried on, but there have been informal communications between this government and the Imperial authorities on the subject.

THE MILITIA AND THE ANNUAL DRILL.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked :

What are the respective numbers of infantry, cavalry and artillery who took part in the annual drill in the years from 1890 to 1899 (inclusive)?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). For the Minister of Militia and Defence, I beg to answer the question as follows :

The total number, by years, of cavalry, artillery and infantry, who took part in the annual drill in the years 1890 to 1899 (inclusive) are as follows :

1890	19,259
1891	16,862
1892	1,279
1893	18,557
1894	18,574
1895	20,877
1896	18,349
1897	26,729
1898	25,296
1899 (exclusive of Military Districts 3 and 4.....)	25,163

No records have been preserved from which it can be readily ascertained what the numbers of the respective arms were, and to compile the return would involve a great deal of work at a time when the staff is already overworked.

INSPECTORS OF BOILERS.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Do the government permit their inspectors of boilers to purchase old boilers that have been condemned, have them repaired and sell the same, giving a guarantee that they will pass inspection for a number of years, or are the government aware that this is being practised?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The government does not permit steamboat inspectors to purchase or trade in boilers or steamboat machinery, or to be in any way peculiarly interested therein, and the government is not aware of any case in which an inspector has violated this prohibition.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

Mr. RUSSELL asked :

1. What was the total number of Canadian volunteers in connection with the first contingent which the Imperial government intimated its willingness to receive from the government of Canada for service in South Africa?

2. (a) When was such intimation received by the government? (b) Did it suggest a day for the sailing of the force?

3. What time elapsed between date of commencement of the work of enlistment and the date of sailing?

4. What arms, uniform and other equipments were provided for it by the Canadian government?

5. Did the Canadian government comply with the suggestion of the Imperial government as to the number of men to be so supplied? If not, in what respect was there a departure from such suggestion?

6. Did the Canadian government offer the Imperial government any additional force? If so, when, and to what extent? Has such offer been carried out?

7. On what dates did each Canadian contingent sail for South Africa? When did it arrive at the Cape? What was the strength of each Canadian contingent, and how equipped?

8. What are the total respective numbers of officers, men and horses composing the Canadian contingents already sent to South Africa?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). 1. 500 by War Office despatch, dated October 2nd, 1899. 2. (a) 14th October, 1899. (b) Yes, not later than October 31st. 3. 14 days. 4.

First Contingent.

Rifles, Lee-Enfield, with bayonets, swords and scabbards	1,000
Revolvers, Colt's	50
Maxim guns, complete	2
Aliming tubes	20

Rounds of .303 ammunition	160,600
" blank " 	1,100
" revolver " 	6,000
Ammunition boxes	40,000
Axletrees	20
Blankets	2,400
Drawers, pairs	2,000
Shirts, under	2,000
" gray flannel	3,000
Socks, pairs	3,000
Tents	80

Infantry.

Frocks, serge	2,200
" khaki	2,600
Trousers, serge	2,400
" khaki	2,600
Great coats	1,250
Caps, field service	1,500
Helmets, white	1,200
" covers	1,200
Tuques	1,200
" 	120
Coats, hospital	30
Boots, ankle	3,500
Shoes, canvas	1,550
" hospital	80
Leggings, leather	1,600
Jerseys or sweaters	1,010
" " 	503
" " 	500
Chevrons	500
Badges, 'maple leaf,' for helmets, caps, frocks, great coats .....	....
Brass numerals, letters, &c.....	....
Tailors' trimmings .....	....
Khaki duck .....	....
Cloth and serge .....	....

5. No. over 500 men were sent in excess of the number suggested by the Imperial government. 6. (a) Yes. (b) 2nd November, another contingent was offered to be sent at once, without stating the number. (c) Yes. 7.

Ship.	Sailed.	Arrived.
Sardinian.....	Oct. 30, 1899..	Nov. 29, 1899.
Laurentian.....	Jan. 21, 1900..	Feb. 17, 1900.
Pomeranian.....	" 27, 1900..	" 26, 1900.
Milwaukee.....	Feb. 21, 1900..	On the sea.

The strength of the contingents is as follows :

1st contingent, comprising the 2nd (Special Service) Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment, officers, 41; other ranks, 978. 2nd contingent, comprising, (a), Canadian Mounted Rifles. Officers, 38; other ranks, 704. (b), Brigade Division, Field Artillery. Officers, 19; other ranks, 520. Totals: Officers, 57; other ranks, 1,224. Equipment of 1st contingent, given in No. 4, above.

Second Contingent.

Field batteries, complete with harness...	3
Rifles, Lee-Enfield, with bayonets, swords, &c	722
Swords for rifles	1,000
Bayonets, Snider	136
Cavalry swords with scabbards	113

Mr. FIELDING.

Scabbards	186
Revolvers	960
Aiming tubes	18
Maxim guns, complete	4
Shot and shell, cordite, with fuzes.....	9,000
Rounds .303 ammunition	575,300
" revolver ammunition	75,000
Aiming tubes	75,000
Saddles	650
Ammunition boxes	523
Axletrees	53
Blankets	6,311
Horse blankets	1,275
Suits, shirts and drawers, knitted	2,550
Shirts—flannel	3,875
Tents	150
Wagons for transport	24
Wagons, light	14
Spare wheels and axles .....	....
Sets Oliver equipment	1,000
Palliasses	1,300
Sights—telescope	15
Rubber sheets	1,225
Serge trousers, rifles	1,700
" artillery	1,400
Khaki frocks, rifles	1,700
" artillery	1,300
Serge frocks, rifles	1,600
" artillery	1,300
Khaki pantaloons	3,000
Serge	900
" 	800
Cloaks	1,500
Waterproof coats	1,400
Cowboy hats	750
" 	900
Hat strings	1,650
Caps, field service	1,500
Chain straps	1,500
Tuques	1,500
Ankle boots, pairs	2,600
" " 	1,750
Canvas shoes	1,400
Puttees	4,000
Jerseys	1,500
Badges, numerals and letters .....	....
Serge cloth .....	....
Khaki duck .....	....
Tailors' materials .....	....

Sundry articles of equipment as follows: Axes, pickaxes, bags, (kit, nose and saddle), belts, brushes of different kinds, bandoliers, water bottles, buckets, blacking, bugles, brooms, combs, chevrons, horse collars, forage cards, saddle covers, candle boxes, wire cutters, hay forks, field dressing, figures, flannellette and khaki serge, signalling flags, gloves, grease, grindstone, handkerchiefs, holdalls, housewives, hoof pickers, horseshoe nails and shoe cases, halstraps, iron branding sets, insoles, knives, forks, clasp knives, camp kettles, boot laces, lanyards, letters for shoulder straps, lanterns, mantles, mess tins, mauls, forage nets, pull throughs, picketting pegs, pipe clay, draught poles, ammunition pouches, razors and covers, ropes, halters, soap, sponges, spurs, spoons, rifle slings, sursingles, spades, straps, scissors, trumpets, towels, valises for artillery and cavalry, wax, cotton waste, shoemakers' outfits, armourers' outfits, butchers' outfits, carpenters' outfits, saddlers' outfits, stationery outfits. 8. Officers, 98; other ranks, 2,202; horses, 1,191.

**PAYMENTS TO SIR CHARLES TUPPER,
SIR CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER,
AND GENERAL CAMERON.**

Mr. DOMVILLE asked :

What sums have been paid each year out of the Dominion treasury to Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, M.P., and General Cameron, son-in-law of Sir Charles Tupper, for salaries, allowances, travelling expenses? What is the total amount paid?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The hon. gentleman will observe that he has given no dates in his question, and, therefore, it would be difficult, if we had the information at hand, to make the statement. I would suggest, however, inasmuch as he contemplates a lengthy statement, that it would be more convenient to have it by way of a return.

Question dropped.

**NUMBER OF POST OFFICES IN
CANADA.**

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

How many post offices were there in Canada on March 1 in each of the years from 1890 to 1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). The number of post offices in Canada on the 1st of March of each year from 1890 to 1900, was as follows :

On March 1, 1890	7,898
“ 1891	8,022
“ 1892	8,236
“ 1893	8,424
“ 1894	8,610
“ 1895	8,785
“ 1896	9,011
“ 1897	9,177
“ 1898	9,254
“ 1899	9,293

The number of post offices established, or being established on 1st March, 1900, is 9,570.

MAIL MILEAGE OF CANADA.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

What is the yearly mileage of mails which are now being carried in Canada? What was the extent of such mileage on June 30, 1896?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). The answer is as follows :

Service.	Year ended 30th June, 1896	Year ended 28th Feb., 1900
Railway	14,915,784	16,735,965
Water.....	1,013,083	1,496,088
Ordinary land.....	14,622,806	14,927,548
	<u>30,551,683</u>	<u>33,132,601</u>

These figures show an increase in the two periods of the yearly mileage carriage of mails as follows :

Miles.

Increase in ordinary land service.....	304,732
Increase in water service	456,005
Increase in railway mail service	1,820,181

Total increase in yearly mileage.. 2,580,918

POSTAL NOTES SYSTEM.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron) asked :

When was the postal note system established in Canada? What has been the total yearly number of postal notes issued and paid since its establishment?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). The postal note system began with the issue of three denominations 25, 50, and 70 cents between the 29th July and the 4th August, 1898; the last issue of the 16 denominations was not completed until the latter part of January, 1899, there has therefore been only one complete year. The total number of postal notes issued up to 31st January last was 1,231,686. The total number of postal notes paid up to the 31st January last was 903,092.

CEMENT FOR SOULANGES CANAL.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

1. How much cement was bought for the construction of the Soulanges Canal?
2. Was it bought by tender?
3. Who was or were the lowest tenderer or tenderers?
4. From whom was it bought and at what price?
5. Was there any formality to be used before the cement would be accepted and paid for?
6. Were such formalities always adhered to?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). In reply to the first question I beg to say: 224,569 barrels. To the second question, 215,654 barrels were bought by tender, and 8,915 barrels, which were urgently needed before the opening of navigation, were bought in the market without tender. To the third question, the lowest tenders, taking into consideration the quality of the cement of their kind, were invariably accepted. To the fourth question: It was bought from Francis Hyde & Co., Clarence de Sola, Bellehouse, Dillon & Co., The Rathbun Co., W. McNally & Co., and James Battle, at the following prices: Portland cement, \$1.96, \$1.99, \$2.09, \$2.17, \$2.40 to \$2.41, \$2.44, \$2.50, \$2.52, \$2.54, \$2.55½, \$2.57, \$2.60, \$2.68, \$2.69, \$2.70, \$2.72, \$2.80, \$2.95. Natural cement, \$1.16, \$1.26. To the fifth question: Yes. To the sixth question: Yes.

CUSTOMS SEIZURE BY B. H. DODGE.

Mr. MILLS asked :

What was the nature and circumstances of the seizure made by B. H. Dodge, of Kentville, Nova Scotia, which resulted in a payment to

him of the sum of \$600.04? What office did said Dodge hold, at the time of said seizure, under the government of Canada? When and where was the said seizure made? What was the total amount resulting from said seizure, how was it divided, and to whom?

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS** (Mr. Paterson). In reply I beg to say that the seizure was made at Kentville by B. H. Dodge, in a case of smuggling, while he was sub-collector at Kentville, in April, 1883. The net proceeds of the seizure were \$1,800.13, and the only award made there-out has been the usual award of one-third to the said seizing officer.

POST OFFICE BOXES RENTS.

Mr. **WILSON** asked :

1. To whom does the rent of the post office boxes and drawers go in places where the government have a public building?
2. If to the Postmaster, why?
3. Who fixes the rent?
4. When in public buildings, what general principle controls the revenues from these boxes?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mulock). In reply, I beg to say: 1. One-half the rent of boxes in buildings owned by the government is received by the department and the balance is assigned to the postmaster. 2. As a supplement to his salary and with a view to the more effectual renting of the boxes. 3. The rent is according to usage in different places subject to the control of the department. 4. This question is not understood.

SCHOOL LANDS, N.W.T.

Mr. **DAVIN** (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Whether any school lands in the North-west Territories were put up for sale by auction last year? Where were these lands situated? How much in each case was realized? How much on an average per acre?

Mr. **SUTHERLAND**. No school lands in the Territories were put up for sale by auction last year.

HAY AND OAT CONTRACTS FOR IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

Mr. **HALE** asked :

Who has the contract or contracts for supplying hay and oats in Canada for the Imperial government in South Africa? How were such contracts let (if any), by tender or otherwise? What prices are being paid therefor at place of delivery? Was any hay purchased in St. John and in Carleton county, New Brunswick? If so, from whom was the same purchased and price paid therefor at place of purchase?

The **MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE** (Mr. Fisher). By request, my department has been acting as agent for the Imperial government for the purchase of hay in this country for use in South Africa by the war

Mr. **MILLS**.

office; and believing that the purchase of such hay in Canada was for the benefit of our farmers and hay dealers, I have allowed Prof. Robertson to conduct this work as the agent of the Imperial government. The details, such as are here asked for, are in the hands of the Imperial government.

DISMISSAL OF R. K. BRACE.

Mr. **MARTIN** asked :

Why was Mr. R. K. Brace, Gas Inspector in the province of Prince Edward Island, dismissed? Were any charges preferred against him? If so, what was their nature? Were charges substantiated? Was there an investigation? If so, before whom, and who were the witnesses?

The **MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE** (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). In reply, I beg to say that the services of Mr. Brace, late inspector of gas at Charlottetown, have been dispensed with, on the grounds of economy, and the duties of inspector of gas given to Mr. E. Davey, inspector of weights and measures, without increase to his former salary.

HILLSBOROUGH BRIDGE.

Mr. **MARTIN** asked :

1. Has the survey for the proposed Hillsborough bridge, in the province of Prince Edward Island, been completed?
2. Has the site for the bridge been decided upon? If so, where is it proposed to build it?
3. What amount, if any, has been expended on surveys since the 30th June last? What amount has been paid engineers and for ordinary labour (separately)? What amount has been paid for tugs, boats, scows and lighters? What are the names of the owners, and the amount paid to each of them?
4. What material, if any, has been purchased for construction? What is the cost, from whom purchased, and if by private contract?
5. Has a plan for the bridge been completed? If so, when?
6. What is the estimated cost?
7. When is it proposed to begin construction?
8. Will tenders be called?
9. Has the contract or agreement between the federal and provincial government of Prince Edward Island relating to the construction of the bridge, been executed? If so, when?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). In reply, I beg to say: 1. Yes, surveys for the site of the proposed Hillsborough Bridge have been completed. 2. No, the site has not been finally settled upon. 3. The information is not on record in the department; but it will be obtained from the general office of the Prince Edward Island Railway in Charlottetown. 4. No material has yet been purchased for the construction of the bridge. 5. Plans for the bridge have been prepared by chief engineer and submitted to department, but cannot be finally approved until the question of the site is determined on. 6. The estimated cost can

only be ascertained, approximately, after the site has been decided upon, and it would not be expedient to publish an engineer's estimate pending a call for tenders. 7. It is hoped the work of construction will be commenced during the ensuing summer season. 8. Yes, it is the intention to invite tenders. 9. No, but it has been the subject of discussion between the two governments and proposals are now awaiting the approval of the Prince Edward Island government.

MAIL SERVICE IN THE YUKON.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Has the Postmaster General received a memorial passed by the citizens of Dawson City, Yukon Territory, in regard to the mail service through that place, and which reads as follows :—

'That the Canadian Development Company have a contract for daily delivery of 700 lbs. of mail each week, but that the average weight of the mail matter transported each week, up to the 19th January, from the outside, has been 350 lbs. 'We are reliably informed,' continues the memorial, 'that under the instructions of the department, limiting the carrying to letters only, much matter upon which first-class postage has been paid, has been withheld and will not be delivered until the approaching summer. This works a great hardship on those depending upon the mails for documents and papers absolutely essential for the proper carrying on of business. Many of us are also subscribers to periodicals which are now withheld, although first-class postage has likewise been paid thereon. We would, therefore, respectfully request that relief be afforded us to the extent of forwarding up to the full quantity specified in the contract, all matter upon which first-class postage has been paid, and that, if necessary, to insure the sending of all first-class matter, an enlarged or supplementary contract be forthwith entered into. Your petitioners would also submit that all matter, of whatsoever class, consigned to the postal service, be promptly forwarded to its destination, as in many instances, periodicals, books, pamphlets, &c., are as essential to business interests as is correspondence.'

'The memorial is signed by the committee, consisting of H. W. Yeamans, chairman ; C. G. K. Nourse, L. R. Pulda, F. W. Clayton, secretary, and attested by Thos McMullen, President of the Dawson Board of Trade ; T. McMullen, assistant manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce ; D. Doig, manager of the Bank of British North America ; L. R. Fulds, general manager of the Alaska Exploration Company ; Yeamans & Chisholm, agents of the Empire Transportation Company ; J. B. Wood, manager of the Trading and Exploring Company (Ltd) ; William H. Haron, agent of the Alaska Commercial Company ; P. H. Amos, of the Amos Mercantile Company ; G. N. Byrne, of the Yukon Corporation Company (Ltd) ; J. J. Healy, general manager of the North American Transportation and Trading Company ; J. W. Burke, of the Yukon Saw Mill ; T. B. Cook, of the J. Ladue Gold Mining and Development Company ; Chas Milne, Yukon manager of the Parsons' Produce Company ; R. B. Craig, for Alex. Macdonald ; D. D. Buchanan, of the McLellan & McFeely Company (Ltd.), and W. H. Parsons, of W. H. Parsons & Company.'

2. Is it true that the Postmaster General has ordered that letters only be carried, and that papers and documents upon which first-class postage has been paid has been purposely kept back for delivery next summer, although the contract quantity is not being carried by the contractors ?

3. Is it the intention of the Postmaster General to give instructions that 700 lbs. of mail matter must be forwarded daily, as per contract ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). With reference to this question I have to state that the department entered into a contract, to begin at the close of navigation last fall, with the Canadian Development Company for mail service between Bennett and Atlin, and Bennett and Dawson. The question appears to refer to the winter service, and with reference to that branch of the contract, therefore, I would state that it provides for a weekly, not a daily service, between Bennett and Dawson, and a semi-weekly service between Bennett and Atlin. It provides that the weight per week of mails to be carried between these points shall not exceed 700 pounds. It could not be told, until after a reasonable trial, what the letter mail weight would amount to, and accordingly, for the winter service the mail was limited to letters only. It was, however, ascertained that the letter mail did not exhaust the limit provided by the contract, and, accordingly, on the 26th day of December, 1899, the public and the postmasters were notified that a limited quantity of newspaper matter would be carried by each mail, the weight of newspapers to Dawson being limited to 500 pounds per week, and that to Atlin to 300 pounds per week.

On the 21st February last, nearly two months after the order had been given, the petition above referred to was received.

There is no information in the department to show that any mail matter, offered as letter mail, had been refused transmission. No officer had any authority to refuse transmission to any letter matter.

TIGNISH BREAKWATER, P.E.I.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's), (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Has a new contract been let on the Tignish breakwater, Prince Edward Island ; or is work being done by day labour ? If by contract, to whom, for what work, for what amount, and when to be completed ? Who is the inspector ?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). By examination of last year's budget, the hon. member will see that \$3,000 was voted ; of which amount \$1,500 was authorized to be expended for repairs to old work, repairs to be made by day labour. Everestus Gallant, foreman. The balance of appropriation, or \$1,500, to be expended in procuring material for an extension. A supplementary vote of \$2,000 is recommended in this year's estimates to complete the extension.

CASCUMPEC HARBOUR.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's), (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Does the government intend doing anything to improve the entrance to Cascumpec Harbour, Prince Edward Island, so as to make it a safe harbour of refuge for shipping according to the plans of the late government ?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). My attention has been called, by the hon. member for Westmoreland (Mr. Powell) to this question which is now receiving my best consideration.

MIMINEGASH HARBOUR.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's), (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Is the work at Miminegash, Prince Edward Island, completed ? If not, what do they intend doing there, and when and how ?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). The contract for a new extension was completed on the 11th of August last.

REPORT.

The report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries for the year ending 30th June, 1899—Marine—(Sir Louis Davies.)

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

Mr. G. E. CASEY (West Elgin). Before we pass to notices of motion, Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask a question with regard to certain papers that have been promised for some time, and that we were led to expect were ready some time ago. I have no doubt they are ready by this time, and I take this opportunity of asking the government about them. I refer to the papers in connection with the Pacific cable matter. And in order that this subject may be brought up, I will conclude with the usual motion to adjourn. The subject referred to is one of sufficient importance, I think, to justify its being frequently brought up and insisted upon. Since it was last discussed in this House, the delay caused by the action, or rather by the inaction, of the Colonial Office and the Imperial government has been the subject of considerable criticism in the press of this country, both ministerial and opposition, and the newspapers have united in thinking that a bargain once entered into between the Imperial government, and Canada and the Australasian colonies, should be carried at once to a conclusion. It has been pressed upon the home government and upon the public here, and pressed properly and with force, that at a time when Canada is making such sacrifices for her sister colonies and for the preservation of the empire, a question of this Imperial importance should not be shelved or retarded.

Mr. TARTE.

The question is one of Imperial importance but it is also of special Canadian importance. Its importance from an Imperial point of view may be left to the home authorities, but its importance from a Canadian point of view is a proper subject for discussion here, and a proper reason for pressure being brought to bear by this government upon the Imperial government to carry out the understanding long ago arrived at. In order to develop our trade with the Australasian colonies, it is necessary that we should have direct telegraphic communication with those colonies, so arranged also that there should be a port of call between here and Australasia at which vessels could stop for orders in regard to the disposal of their cargoes. The scheme as proposed in this House, as carried through this House, and as agreed to by all parties in the bargain, meets these requirements. We have already a line of steamers to those colonies, failing in business for want of this telegraphic communication. I say, therefore, that it is a matter of direct commercial importance to Canada that this scheme should be carried through ; and it is the duty of this government to be most pressing with the Imperial government in their representations in regard to it.

We have done our share ; the Australasian colonies have, in part, done their share ; the British government has agreed to do its share ;—and yet we are no further on than we were a year ago. The British parliament was in session last year after the necessary legislation passed this House in regard to this matter. Legislation was required from the British parliament to carry this scheme to completion. But that legislation was not obtained by the British government. We want to know why that government did not obtain that legislation last year, whether they propose to procure it this session, and, if not, what is the reason for the delay. Of course, if these facts are not within the knowledge of this government, they cannot tell us. But public opinion in this country is reflected even as far as Downing Street, and we have only to make public opinion felt there to make Downing Street understand that the people of Canada are putting only one construction upon that delay,—namely, that the Colonial Office, which is the advisor of the Imperial government in this matter, is in no hurry to have this scheme gone on with, and is not anxious that this scheme should succeed. Even Downing Street, which I blame rather than the responsible part of the political machine, must know that the public opinion of a colony like Canada, a colony which has almost ceased to be a colony, and has become an important partner in the great British combination, cannot be neglected in a matter of this kind.

I wish to ask the government, therefore, to give us all the information they have in regard to the following points:—In the first place, why cannot the cable scheme go on immediately, as it was hoped and expected it would when we passed the necessary legislation for it last year? In the next place, has the Imperial government proposed the necessary legislation, or have they promised to propose and secure it during the present session of the Imperial parliament? Again, who form the Cable Commission constituted by representatives of the different colonies of the empire; when did they meet last; when are they expected to meet again; and what has this commission done at meetings that have already taken place, towards the furtherance of the object for which they were appointed? And, above all, I want to know what instructions this government has given to our representatives upon that board, and what have they represented to, and urged upon, the home government in regard to this question. I think it is the duty of this government to clear their own skirts in the matter, to make the fullest possible explanation of what has passed between them and the home government upon this subject. An unaccountable delay has taken place, and either one government or the other may be responsible for it. It is the duty of this government to show that they were not responsible for that delay by making the fullest possible explanation. In order to do this it will probably be necessary for the minister who has this matter specially in charge, if he has the papers ready to present to-day, as I hope he has, to read some of the more important of those papers, especially those in which he may have urged his views upon the home government, and the answers of the home government thereto. It will be necessary for him to read those to us, and to give a pretty full explanation of the present situation generally as he goes along:

I hope, too, that in this matter he will not feel his hands tied or his tongue tied by too much consideration for what may be called technically 'confidential communications.' It seems to me, Sir, that communications between two governments in regard to a matter which has already received the consent of both, which has been followed by legislation here and in other colonies, which is not in any stage of negotiation or preliminary consultation—that public correspondence of this kind cannot be properly described as confidential. We all remember that a report of a commission appointed on this subject in 1896, on which the colonies and the mother country were represented, was withheld for two years out of consideration for the whim—I cannot call it anything else—of the Colonial Office on the subject. We do not want that to be repeated. If there is anything the public should know in any com-

munications that have taken place since, I think we have a right to know it, whether the Colonial Office has given special leave to have it published or not. If this matter were under discussion, if there were anything diplomatic in connection with it, anything that might hurt the scheme or hurt either of the governments if it came out, then this otherwise public correspondence might be called confidential in that juncture. But, as I say, this is a matter in the nature of a settled bargain, and the only correspondence that can exist must be as to the carrying of it out, and I think any such correspondence is not in its nature confidential, and should not be treated as such. I shall urge, therefore, on the minister to put a very free interpretation on his liberty to present to this House and to read the correspondence that exists on the question. I do not want to take up the time of the House any longer, and shall leave it to the minister to give as full an explanation as he can from his personal knowledge and from the documents, and, if possible, fully to read the documents in the case. I beg to move the adjournment of the House.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). In reply to the hon. gentleman, I will state that with reference to his suggestion that we are no further on than we were a year ago with this scheme, I am not able to agree with him. The scheme is either much nearer success or failure to-day than it was a year ago. I am not able to say what the issue in the end will be, but I have not lost hope in its being successful. The hon. gentleman directed to me yesterday a communication informing me that he intended to ask certain information, and I have tried to gather the information for him in accordance with his letter. First, however, with reference to his observations as to what is or is not confidential. Some communications are confidential from their very nature; some are confidential because one party to the correspondence concerned does not consent to the other party publishing it. With reference to the correspondence that has passed between this government and other governments, whether Imperial or colonial, I have to say, that having gone through the correspondence of all classes, I have come to the conclusion that what I have in my hand at this moment is all that it would be wise to disclose. At present the negotiations between the various governments have not reached finality in one respect, I refer to the application of the Eastern Extension Cable Company for concessions in Australasia; and it would be prejudicial to the scheme if it were publicly made known here what were the various attitudes of all parties to these negotiations. It is, therefore, as a matter of prudence, in consequence of the scheme being yet in the balance, that anything is withheld; not

from any technical regard for what is confidential, although, of course, that view would have to govern as well. My hon. friend, in his communication to me, asked to be informed as to the present situation of the cable question, and more particularly asks: Has the home government secured the necessary legislation? On that point I can only speak from general information, not having kept a record of all the legislation of the Imperial parliament. But my own impression is that there has not yet been legislation in the Imperial parliament on this subject. I am led to that view because, as is known through the press, the Imperial government made the proposal that there should be a temporary commission appointed for the purpose of ascertaining tentatively what could be accomplished in the way of this scheme, with the view ultimately of the report of that commission being dealt with by legislation. A session of the Imperial parliament has not yet gone by; and I am, therefore, looking forward to the Imperial government applying to the Imperial parliament this session for the necessary legislation.

My hon. friend asks who constitute the commission. The Canadian representatives are Lord Strathcona and Lord Aberdeen; the Australian representatives are Sir Julius Solomon, the Hon. W. P. Reed and Sir Andrew Clark; the representatives of the home government are Sir Francis Mowat, Sir G. Murray and Lord Selbourne, Sir Francis Mowat being chairman. The hon. gentleman asks when the last meeting of this commission was held. I can only speak from the published reports; I think the last meeting was held a week ago last Tuesday.

Mr. CASEY. Does not the government get the reports?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. By degrees. With reference to the inquiry: 'What instructions have been given to our representatives?'; they are set forth in communications which I have here from the Premier to the High Commissioner. 'What information have we about the Australian colonies?' The bulk of the information is also contained in correspondence which I have. I may say that since this matter began there has apparently been a change in the application of the Eastern Extension Cable Company. They, first of all, asked the Australian governments for certain concessions to go into effect at once. Those concessions I alluded to when my hon. friend interrogated me upon the subject a short time ago. The application for concessions has undergone a change. I think the opposition of the various governments to the concessions first asked, from the Canadian, and, I think, from other governments, bore fruit; and the Eastern Extension Cable Company, instead of now pressing for concessions to take effect at once, has varied

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them, asking that the concessions shall take effect when the Pacific cable is laid. The full text of those concessions is not before us, and I am giving my understanding of them from cable despatches. These concessions are to the effect that the Eastern Extension Company may, when the Pacific cable is laid, establish offices and carry on business, perhaps under limitations, I do not know, we have not detailed information. But, at all events, they ask for certain facilities for carrying on the cable business in Australia. My hon. friend asks me the present position of the matter. On the 11th of January, 1900, the High Commissioner cabled the Premier of Canada in these words:

Had further meeting Pacific Cable Board Tuesday. Matter progressing satisfactorily. Have also had meeting with Agents-General New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand and Queensland respecting proposal Eastern Extension Company. Except first-named, they have telegraphed their governments most strongly deprecating acceptance, as result would seriously cripple Pacific cable, and stating, at my request, Canada concurred their views.

A portion of this cable contains matter of a confidential character. On the 15th of January, the Premier replied to that cable, setting forth the views of the Canadian government upon that proposal.

Mr. CASEY. Is that confidential or can it be read?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is not confidential.

Mr. CASEY. May we have it read?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I have no objection. On the 15th of January, the Premier communicated, by letter, to the Premier of Victoria, the views of the Canadian government, and in this letter he states:

Ottawa, January 15, 1900.

Dear Sir,—I beg to state that the Canadian government cannot but regard this proposal as another attempt on the part of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company to obstruct the construction of the Pacific cable, they doubtless hoping that their proposal might be received with such favour as to lead to the withdrawal of Victoria from the Pacific cable scheme, as the first step towards its breaking up.

My hon. friend seems to think that perhaps this government had been derelict in its duty and had not presented a proper argument, or perhaps had not been properly active. I beg to assure him that any such view of that kind, so far as the government is concerned, is without foundation. The Premier goes on to say:

The Canadian government attaches very great importance to the early construction of the proposed Pacific cable, and would deplore it if the scheme, which has for so many years engaged the attention of the Imperial and colonial governments, should now be put in danger, as it doubtless would were the proposal acceded to.

Even assuming that the granting of such concession might not prevent the construction of the Pacific cable, it would, at least, seriously impair its earning power, and thus stand in the way of the lowering of Pacific cable rates. Whilst the reduction in the Eastern Telegraph's rates would, for a brief period, be an advantage, it would doubtless be at the cost of a permanent injury to the success of the Pacific cable scheme, either by preventing its construction or impairing its usefulness by occasioning higher rates. Once the Pacific cable is constructed there would appear to be no advantage to the public, but rather the contrary, in the existence of a duplicate cable system with private capital, operating in Australia. But, however that be, there is no doubt in the minds of the Canadian government that the granting of the concession asked for would seriously prejudice the Pacific cable undertaking, and they confidently hope that the magnitude of the interests involved in the successful accomplishment of the Pacific cable scheme will justify the various governments in making all reasonable sacrifices in order to the completion of so important a national enterprise.

As requested, I have given to the Postmaster General of Canada the duplicate set of the papers sent me for that purpose, and invited his opinion upon the proposal, and confidently inclose copy of his letter to me upon the subject.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) WILFRID LAURIER.

Prime Minister, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

Mr. CASEY. What letter is that which is referred to ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is the view that is taken by the Canadian government on this question. It is presented in a paper from myself to the Premier and adopted as the view of the government. It was communicated to the Premier of Victoria, and to the High Commissioner for the information of our representatives on the Pacific Cable Commission at London.

Mr. CASEY. May we have that ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is somewhat extended, but if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casey), wishes it, I have no objection, if the hon. gentleman will permit me, to give the salient points, as this document is somewhat lengthy, I will omit the most of it. It is dated the 8th of January, 1900. After setting forth what the papers state in regard to the application of the Eastern Extension Company, which I have mentioned before, for certain concessions to enable that company to do business in Australia, this paper proceeds as follows :

Whatever be the precise details, I think it may safely be assumed that from the beginning the concessions asked for will be of a nature to enable the company to acquire and control a considerable portion of the Australian cable business, with a not unreasonable probability of the company being able, from time to time, to secure still further concessions. The question then arises, will the granting of such concessions have any, and if so, what effect upon the Pacific cable scheme. Conceding the importance of the proposed reduction in rates, and the construction of the proposed cable from the Cape, yet it appears to me that the early carrying out of the Pacific cable scheme is of such paramount im-

portance that its success should not be endangered by the establishment of any state of affairs which might result in the Pacific cable scheme losing any support which it now enjoys. Let it be supposed that the Eastern Extension Company obtains the concessions or others of a like nature, will they not naturally seek to turn the new situation to their own advantage? Their first aim undoubtedly is to defeat the Pacific cable scheme, or, that failing, to acquire such a foothold in Australia in advance of the completion of the Pacific cable as will seriously impair the financial success of the Pacific cable enterprise. What use then would the Eastern Telegraph Company, in the first instance, be likely to make of such concessions as it now asks? With its cable from the Cape to Australia constructed or about to be, its offices opened in leading cities in Australia, with patronage in the way of appointments, contracts, &c., at its disposal, the company will, from its new vantage ground, be in a splendid position to promote, throughout Australia, an active and powerful propaganda with a view to affect public opinion adversely to the Pacific cable scheme. Through the press and otherwise, it will seek to prejudice business men, public men, and the general public, against it. They will be in a position to point to their Cape cable, constructed or about to be; their actual as well as prospective reduction in rates; to make strong statistical statements going to show that the country must suffer financial loss by reason of the inefficiency of traffic to support two lines, and to urge that the altered conditions call for delay in the construction of the Pacific cable in order to enable the public to determine whether any longer there exists any sufficient reason for their burdening themselves with that enterprise. Add to this the many other arguments that may be suggested, such as fair-play to private capital, opposition to state ownership, &c., and it is not unreasonable to think that many, hitherto supporters of the Pacific cable scheme, may come to the conclusion that after all it would be well to go slowly; and the proposition for delay, so often a favourite mode of escape from dealing definitely with a vexed question, might carry the day. Such a presentation of the argument would be greatly strengthened if it happened that the Pacific Cable Board were to sanction the proposition of the Eastern Extension Company. In some quarters such action would be represented as practically a decision in favour of the Eastern Extension Company, and against the cable company; and would give immense encouragement to the Eastern Extension Company in its campaign against the Pacific cable scheme, and in all probability would result first in delay, and ultimately in defeat. During the many years involved in the development of the Pacific cable scheme, and so long as its success was problematical, the Eastern Extension Company appears to have confined its efforts towards blocking the way. The present proposal of the telegraph company is quite in line with its fixed policy to defeat the Pacific cable scheme, and appears to me a very transparent attempt to break up the partnership between Great Britain, Canada and Australian colonies, by inducing some of the subsequent withdrawal from the Pacific cable undertaking. Considering the difficulties and delays already encountered in advancing the Pacific cable scheme to its present position, it would appear to me most unwise to expose it to the slightest unnecessary risk. I therefore think that the consideration of the Eastern Extension Company's proposal should not be entertained.

Whether after the Pacific cable is constructed and thoroughly established it would be wise to entertain such a proposition, it is not necessary at this time to determine; but if one can venture to anticipate the future, it would appear to me as unnecessary to have a private cable company competing with the people's cable as to have a separate post office system under private ownership and control.

In the event of such a proposition being submitted to the Pacific Cable Board, I would point out that, according to the Pacific Cable Act, the board has no power to deal with such a subject, its powers being limited to the promotion of the scheme for the establishment and maintenance of direct cable communication between Canada and Australia. As, however, it is probable that the proposal may be brought before the board, I would suggest that, if the views herein expressed, meet with your approval, a copy of this letter be forwarded to Lord Aberdeen and Lord Strathcona, with the request that they may be pleased to give effect to them at the board on behalf of the Canadian government.

To advert, for one moment, to the Pacific cable scheme, I beg to state that there appears to be no reason for delay in calling for tenders, and as the necessity for the cable is constantly becoming more urgent, I would advise that Canada's representatives on the board press for such steps being taken as will, at the earliest possible moment, result in a contract being entered into for the construction of the cable.

Yours faithfully,

W. MULOCK.

The Right Honourable

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G.C.M.G.,
Premier of Canada,
Ottawa, Ont.

My hon. friend will thus see the view that we have taken on the proposition. The rest of the papers are simply following up actively the attitude set forth in this paper. As I mentioned a moment ago, the Canadian government forwarded this memorandum as an instruction to our representatives on the commission, and they also communicated it to the Premier of Victoria. On the 25th of January, the Prime Minister of Canada cabled the governments of New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand and Queensland, protesting against the granting of even this modified concession. On the 22nd of January, the Premier of Canada also cabled the Premier of Victoria :

Would sincerely hope that project of Eastern Extension Telegraph Company will not be accepted. Any kind of delay at this moment might be fatal.

On the 22nd of January, the Premier of Canada telegraphed the High Commissioner urging that the cable be put under contract at the earliest moment. On the 23rd of January, we received a cable from the Premier of New Zealand, as follows :

New Zealand will not accept Eastern Extension Company's offer and have protested against Australia accepting as inimical to Pacific cable.

The government of Canada also received a cable from the government of Queensland

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on the 22nd of January, 1900, wherein that government declared it would lend no countenance to the Eastern Extension Cable Company's demand. On the 4th of February, the Canadian government cabled the New South Wales government, as follows :

Canada strongly objects last proposal of Eastern Extension Cable Company or any other that will remove control of telegraph business from local governments and give Eastern Telegraph Company free hand in competing with Pacific Cable. Will you kindly communicate to Australasian Premiers.

On the 20th of February, the Canadian government cabled to the Premier of New Zealand :

Canadian government consider granting terminal facilities to Eastern Extension, even when Pacific cable laid, will seriously prejudice financial prospects and impair usefulness of Pacific cable scheme. Proposed concession material alterations of conditions under which governments formed Pacific cable partnership and may endanger scheme. Hope no change without consent of every partner.

The government received a reply from New Zealand, as follows, dated 24th of February :

Pacific cable ; quite concur.

On the 25th, another cable was received from the Premier of New South Wales, as follows :

Press cablegram here to effect that Premier New South Wales stated definitely had decided agree Eastern Company's terms. Have wired Victoria and New South Wales urging matter remain in abeyance until Pacific Cable Board's opinion on situation received.

We followed that up on the 21st by cabling to the High Commissioner, as follows :

Canadian government always regarded Pacific cable scheme intimately associated with welfare, not merely of colonies favouring same, but whole empire. In that view government considers Eastern Extension proposal, which appears to endanger scheme, as one not concerning colonial government only, and therefore, Canadian government looks for active influence of Imperial government to the end that no government consent to any change of conditions without sanction of partner government. We consider proposed concessions to Extension material change in basis on which Canada joined in Pacific cable scheme.

The Premier of Victoria on the 22nd of February took this view in a cable to the Canadian government :

Victoria government proposes if Cape cable laid and rates immediately reduced to give terminal facilities Eastern Telegraph Company only when Pacific cable completed. New South Wales apparently favours proposal. No contract yet signed. This arrangement will ensure fair competitive conditions for government cable suggested monopoly for Pacific route both novel and untenable. Rest assured Victorian government will not depart from Pacific compact.

Mr. McNEILL. What is the date of that?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. That cable is dated the 22nd of February. My hon. friend will observe that there, for the first time, an Australian government has taken the ground that the granting of the concession to the Eastern Extension Cable Company to carry on a business which it had not when we went into the scheme, is not a material departure. It is only necessary to state the situation to see that it is a radical change in the conditions under which the various governments entered into that partnership. At the time we joined the partnership, at the time parliament dealt with it, there was no existing right to the Eastern Extension Company to land a cable or to do a cable business in Australia. The Australians control the land telegraph, and they control the landing, and they control the receiving offices, and upon these receiving offices must depend the earning power of the Pacific cable. Therefore, to set up a rival telegraph system throughout the colony of Australia, is to establish a competition which is wholly unnecessary, and which must seriously impair the earning power of the Pacific cable itself.

Mr. CASEY. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL. Hear, hear.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is idle to pretend for a moment that any of the governments—I am sure that the Canadian government never for one moment contemplated such a condition of affairs when it agreed to pledge the credit of this country to the extent of about two and a half million dollars to go into this scheme. When we went into the scheme; when I laid the estimate before the House last session it was in the view that the conditions then existing, and as modified by the construction of this cable, would continue to be the conditions. I furnished to this House, with some little detail, the estimated earnings from our cable, never assuming that the Australian colonies would have permitted to be established a rival cable system throughout Australia. If they do that, it appears to me that they destroy the foundation upon which this whole scheme was based, and there must be a revision of the scheme before it can go on; or at least, parliament must again be taken into the confidence of the government and in the altered conditions determine whether or not it will adhere to the scheme. It is one thing to go into a scheme of this kind, involving a very considerable liability, with a good financial prospect before us; but it is another thing altogether to go into such a scheme, if its financial outlook is materially altered for the worse.

Mr. McNEILL. Our guarantee at that time involved no financial liability at all, according to the opinions of the best experts.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. My hon. friend is perfectly right. According to the testimony of the board that sat in London in the fall and winter of 1896-7, presided over by Lord Shelborne, they then estimated—I speak within the mark—that the enterprise would be self-sustaining in about the third year; but that was not on the theory that the Eastern Extension Company was to be established and in active competition with us; and when the Premier of Victoria—I speak with all respect for his view—suggests that it was never contemplated that the Pacific cable should enjoy a monopoly, I do not think the term monopoly applies to an enterprise under the control of the people themselves. The proposal of the colony of Victoria, appears to involve the duplication of capital, and the dividing of the earning power, and it must have the effect either of making the Pacific cable enterprise financially unprofitable, or of causing it to maintain such high rates as will practically make the scheme of no great value to the public. The great object of this scheme, apart from its Imperialistic character, as I understand, is to reduce rates so as to promote trade between the various parts of the empire connected by it; but if by duplication of the service, the Eastern Extension Company is permitted to transact business as well, if by such a concession as is demanded now, the scheme is made a financial failure, or the rates have to be maintained at an unduly high figure, there will be great disappointment, and I think it would be our duty to take parliament into our confidence before determining how far we should proceed with the scheme. Hon. gentlemen will see, therefore, that we are at a very critical stage of the scheme. It is somewhat expensive to interchange views by cable with people in the Antipodes; but at all events, this was the reply sent to the Premier of Victoria, by the Canadian government, to that cable:

February 22, 1900.

Fully understand proposal that terminal Eastern Company begin only when Pacific cable completed. Still Canadian government consider such concession endangering success Pacific cable scheme, and must injure it financially. Fail to see necessity for competition with government cable. Regret to stand in way of any immediate advantage to Australia, but cannot share responsibility involved in granting concession, which Canadian government considers may endanger Pacific cable.

On the 26th of February, the government received the following cable from New Zealand, dated the 25th of February:

Press cablegram here to effect that Premier New South Wales stated definitely had decided agree Eastern Company's terms. Have wired Victoria and New South Wales urging matter remain in abeyance until Pacific Cable Board's opinion in situation received.

The Premier cabled this information to the High Commissioner, and received from

Lord Strathcona, the following cable dated the 26th of February :

Pacific Cable Committee on Friday passed the following resolution unanimously :

'That this committee would urge that no concessions should be made by any Australian governments to the Eastern Telegraph Company, as a condition of laying a cable between Africa and Australia until this committee has had an opportunity of considering and reporting on the effect of such concessions upon the financial prospects of the Pacific cable scheme.

This is very important, because it appears that the representatives of the various governments on the commission have agreed to this proposition. Whether the governments themselves intend to carry it out, remains to be seen. To that cablegram, this government replied as follows to the High Commissioner in London, on February 26th :

Trust Cable Committee resolution will prove effective to secure delay in granting proposed Eastern concession, which my government regard material departue, and if carried out, likely imperil whole scheme. As protection against other similar movements, suggest your committee consider proposition that no government in Pacific cable scheme hereafter consent anything affecting it without consent of other partner governments.

We deem it advisable to take that attitude. It is first one movement, then another movement, and it may as well be understood on the threshold, whether the various governments intend to exercise the best of faith towards each other and towards the scheme, and to enter into no obligations or changes of conditions, without consultation with, or the consent of those likely to be affected. That is the final attitude of our government as to the relations that ought to exist between the various partners in this scheme. The High Commissioner on the 1st of March cabled the government as follows :

Following telegram, dated Melbourne yesterday, appeared in 'Times' to-day: 'Details now arranged of an agreement between governments New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, Western Australia, and Eastern Extension Company in connection projected cable between Australia and Cape.

Then the government received the following cable, dated the 2nd of March, from the Premier of New South Wales :

Eastern Extension proposals seems some misapprehension. We are ready and anxious to carry out our undertakings re Pacific cable; admitted all sides this cannot be completed for three years, probably more. Meantime Eastern Extension offer immediate reduction our rates to four shillings, or about 16 per cent, and by sliding scale coming three years to two shillings and sixpence as business increases; also lay cable Cape to Adelaide, and then reduce present excessive Cape rates from seven shillings and threepence to two shillings and sixpence word. No concession asked for or given until Pacific cable completed; they want direct offices so as to compete on equal terms, and in meantime any reduction whatever to remain until Pacific cable laid. Our present agreement ter-

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minates April 30, and if no fresh one made, company can, instead of reducing rates, increase them up to eight shillings a word.

You will observe that in this despatch, it is stated that the cable could not be completed for three years, or perhaps a longer period. On receipt of that information, we at once took steps to ascertain its accuracy and communicated with the leading manufacturers of the world, the men probably to whom the commission would have applied to make the cable. In reply, we received two despatches from manufacturers of great standing in London. One despatch spoke of eighteen months; the other, from Siemens & Co., said that a cable could be laid within a year. However, we did not care, in our cable to the Premier of New South Wales, to insert the year limit, but gave the manufacturers the benefit of the longer term.

Mr. GILLIES. Can the hon. gentleman give any other names outside of Siemens & Co., to whom application was made for contract to tender?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. There was only one other firm. I do not remember the name, but could get it from the department, and will send for it if the hon. gentleman likes.

Mr. GILLIES. Not at all.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I remember that the Siemens proposal said twelve months, and the other, I think, said eighteen months or thereabouts. The cable that this government sent to the New South Wales government was as follows :

Have ascertained from best manufacturers, Pacific cable may be made and laid within eighteen months. Its advocacy has already greatly reduced Australia cable rates. Its completion will doubtless occasion further reductions and if several governments stand together will lead to further cable extensions likely to meet Australian and other governments cable requirements beyond anything private capital likely to afford. Deeply regret appear opposing temporary advantage offered Australia. Hope Australian colonies will postpone consideration of Eastern Extension Company's proposals until Pacific cable in operation.

You will observe that the Australian position to-day is somewhat embarrassing. They fear that on the 30th April, they will be to some extent at the mercy of the Eastern Extension Company, and owing to that unfortunate circumstance are perhaps disposed to accede to terms that otherwise they would not for a moment consider. They very properly attach a good deal of importance to communication between the Cape and Australia, and the Cape, and the Eastern Extension Company proposes to establish cable communication between the Cape and Australia. That, of course, is a temptation to the Australian governments, but we hope that the construction of a Pacific cable will not be

the end, but only the beginning, of joint government action. We look to not merely successful cable communication between Canada and Australia, but to cable connection with Hong Kong and the Cape, and thus form a girdle around the empire, uniting every part of it together under government control. If we look forward to such a policy—and it is one well worthy of the consideration of parliament and the people of the empire—we cannot devote our attention for a moment to anything of greater importance than this very scheme. It appears now to be wavering in the balance, and the efforts of the Australian government, the home government and Canada, during the best part of a generation, to consummate this enterprise, appear about to be destroyed. Supposing for one moment that one of the governments chooses to withdraw from this scheme because of material alteration in its basis, that will involve beginning de novo, and worse, because you would commence again with our rivals more fortified and with the governments interested less likely to be zealous. If the scheme should now fail because of the defection of one of the governments or if some material change made by one of the governments should call for a reconsideration of the whole scheme, you will begin under great disadvantage to try and bring the governments of the empire together for the purpose of reviving the enterprise. If we are to succeed, it can only be by holding to the conditions that existed when the Canadian and the various other parliaments gave their adhesion, or if they must be changed by not changing them save with the common consent of all. So far as Canada is concerned. I doubt, important as this scheme is, if the Canadian public has fully grasped its practical importance and consequence. I confess that when I began to study it myself, I was not as zealous as I am to-day, but as I studied it, and began to realize its immense possibilities, I came to the conviction that there is no enterprise before Canada to-day more fraught with good than this scheme. Once we establish cable connection with Australia, a short line can be easily constructed from Australia across by the islands to Singapore, where we come in contact with a branch of the Eastern Cable Company extending from Singapore to Hong Kong; and although last session, it was for a moment thought that the Imperial government had parted with the right to secure concessions in Hong Kong, it is quite clear, from the reading of the contract granted by the Imperial government to the Eastern Extension Company, that that contract in no way interferes with the various governments acquiring cable connection with Hong Kong. The Imperial government has the right to expropriate the Eastern Extension Cable

Company from Hong Kong southerly to where a connection would be made with it from Australia to the mainland, and if they do we would have cable communication between Canada and Hong Kong and the markets of China and Japan. And as the whole commercial world is endeavouring now to get into China and Japan, and we enjoy geographical advantages over other countries, we have a special interest in the early completion of the most direct cable communication between Canada and Australia, as a key to the situation of cable communication between Canada and the east. The connection between Canada and Australia, important as it is, is but the beginning and not the end. Important as it would be for the governments of the two extremities of the empire, it sinks into insignificance commercially as compared with its advantage in giving us more direct communication with the great markets of the east. So that Canada has an enormous interest in this enterprise, and if there is anything that can yet be done to promote its construction and secure the early completion of the cable it behooves every Canadian to help in doing it. We sent a despatch, which I do not find among the papers, in connection with the last cable despatch sent to the Premier of Victoria, to the High Commissioner urging the commission to put the cable under though last session, it was for a moment. We believe there will be no safety for the scheme until this is done. Once it is under contract, perhaps, it may give hope to the others and induce them to forbear wrecking this enterprise, at least until they can test the efficacy of the Pacific cable scheme. My hon. friend (Mr. Casey), in the commencement, intimated that perhaps this government had been derelict in its duty, or in some way not sufficiently zealous or active in connection with this matter. If there has been any such indifference on our part, I am not aware of it. I think I have brought the case down to this moment, practically. Although I have not given you all the literature on the subject, I have given the substance of that which may fairly be given to the public at this stage.

Mr. McNEILL. I suppose the papers will be laid on the Table, so that we may have an opportunity of looking over them?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Yes. As I mentioned—my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) was not here at the moment—I have gone through all the papers, and some of them, for reasons I have already stated, on account of their nature or of the parties to them, could not fairly or wisely be produced to-day. There is a very large number of papers. I have culled out those which tell the story up to the moment, and, to-morrow, if the House will give me permission, I will place upon the Table all the

cables up to yesterday and all the correspondence I have referred to.

Motion (Mr. Casey) to adjourn, negatived.

DUTY ON TOBACCO.

Mr. JOSEPH A. GILLIES (Richmond) moved :

That, in the opinion of this House, the present high duties upon tobacco should be reduced.

He said : The notice of this motion has been on the paper since the 5th of last month. I placed it on the paper early in the session in order that the Finance Minister might give every possible consideration to the subject before bringing down his budget. I do trust that by this time the hon. gentleman has given it the consideration that the question merits, in view of its importance to the people of the province from which we both come as well as of the other provinces, particularly down by the sea. I may say at the outset that I have no personal object to serve in presenting this motion and submitting to the House considerations in favour of the change therein proposed. I have only one object to serve, and that is to have the position of the numerous consumers of this article considered, and, to some extent, ameliorated by a reduction of the very high duties now in force. I cannot forget that in the days not long gone by, when the party now sitting on this side of the House controlled the government and gentlemen now on the Treasury benches sat upon your left, Mr. Speaker, those hon. gentlemen went up and down the length and breadth of this country denouncing as too high the duties then levied upon tobacco. The Minister of Finance himself, I am sure I am correct in saying, was not the least strong in his denunciation of these duties, and his were not the least among the great promises as to the reduction that would be made in the then existing duties when they would attain power. My hon. friend from Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) also—his gallant and generous breast was filled with indignation at the hardships to which the people of his county and of the counties of the eastern provinces generally were subjected by the heavy taxes upon this article of general consumption. They said : Put us in power, and the moment that is done the duties upon this article will be cut in two, or even more largely reduced. I have listened to such words myself from leading members of the opposition of that day, who now occupy seats on the right of Mr. Speaker. As the opportunity is now afforded them, I hope they will aid me in bringing about the state of affairs that they promised us should be brought about if their party came into power.

I do not purpose delaying the House with a lengthy speech ; I desire only to lay be-

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fore the government a few facts and figures that will, I trust, lead to their agreeing to the reduction of taxation that I am now urging. Although I am in favour of the reduction of the duties upon tobacco, I recognize the advisability of giving such protection to the domestic leaf as will encourage the cultivation of tobacco to the greatest possible extent. But I may add that no care in cultivation, no expenditure of capital, no skill in manufacture will enable a class of tobacco to be grown in Canada equal in quality to the foreign leaf. The reasons for this must be apparent to any hon. gentleman. Our climate is against the raising of a fine leaf to such a degree as to render it for ever impossible, no matter what skill and care in cultivation is bestowed upon it. There is no cigar tobacco, for instance, equal to that of Cuba ; there is no smoking tobacco equal to that of Virginia and North Carolina ; and there is no chewing tobacco—so experts tell me—equal to that of Kentucky. And, from the time tobacco came into general use, not one of these districts has been able to rival the other in tobacco peculiar to the other. When such variety exists amongst states almost in the same latitude, and apparently with the same climatic conditions and influences, how is it possible to rival the excellence of all of them in a climate such as we have in Canada ? The consumption of Canadian tobacco in Canada will be limited entirely, at any rate outside of the province of Quebec, to those who, on account of its cheapness, will accept an article of inferior quality, and the balance of consumption of tobacco will be of the foreign leaf. Now, my object is to show the government that the large increase made by them in the duties that obtained under the last government led to nothing except it be the imposition of a direct tax upon the consumers of tobacco, and also to excessive smuggling. Now, the duty under the old government, was 25 cents a pound. Hon. gentlemen opposite were pretendedly pressing for a reduction for several years, and when the present government came into power, I was astonished to find that the first change made in the tariff, was greatly to increase the duty on tobacco, increasing it from 25 cents to 39 cents a pound. I contend that the increase of 14 cents a pound, in the excise duty, bringing up the duty to 39 cents per pound, is more than is necessary to protect and encourage the cultivation of domestic tobacco. While they have succeeded in reducing the manufacture of the foreign leaf, they did not reduce the actual consumption of tobacco in this country, and the deficiency is made up of smuggled tobacco. Now, Mr. Speaker, take a pound of foreign tobacco, and see what is the result. I wish to address myself particularly to the hon. gentleman who is in charge of the Inland Revenue Department, and who will be able to bear testimony to the correctness of the statement that I am now making.

Foreign leaf tobacco is sold at 18 to 20 cents per pound, and on this is imposed a duty and excise amounting to 35 cents, or almost double the value of the tobacco, so that ten pounds of smuggled tobacco brings a profit of \$3.50, or if brought into this country for the use of the person himself or his friends, a piece of tobacco more than double the size may be had for the same money. The result is that on the borders of New Brunswick, the Eastern Townships, the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, the Territories and British Columbia, the trade in Canadian manufactured foreign leaf is continually decreasing while every train, every vessel or ferry brings into Canada in small quantities American tobacco and the ramifications of this smuggling on a small scale would be surprising to those not actually acquainted with the extent to which it has been practised in this country. I suggest that a lower excise will be sufficient to give ample encouragement to the domestic leaf and by reducing the difference between that imposed in the United States and that to which we are subject in Canada, would to some extent check the continually increasing smuggling which operates to the injury of the Canadian manufacturer and in loss to the public revenue and damage and injury to the consumer.

The public records show that the consumption of tobacco in Canada to-day is less than it was ten years ago. That, however, is no proof that the actual consumption of tobacco in Canada is less than it was ten or fifteen years ago. The fact is, that, although the trade returns show a less importation and consequently less amount paid into the revenue than there should be because smuggling is carried on on a larger scale, and that is due entirely to the increase in the duty. I must ask your permission to read a few figures; I will not read many, because I know that they are tiresome, but I will read a few to show that the present system is certainly defective. I find from a certain schedule of returns made to the Department of Inland Revenue, that in 1884, the total quantity of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes, taken for consumption, was ten million pounds. In 1898, the last year for which I have the figures, it was nine million pounds, showing that a less quantity was used in 1898, than was used fourteen years previously. For the year 1884, we find that the total quantity of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes manufactured was 10,940,000 pounds, and in 1898, 10,519,000 pounds; showing that about the same quantity apparently was taken at those two periods, although the population had considerably increased. I will give another statement for the years 1887 and 1898. In the first year the total amount of tobacco manufactured in Canada, was 8,752,035 pounds, and in 1898 we find that it amounted to only ten

million pounds, a quantity entirely out of proportion to the increase of population. Taking the three years of 1887, 1888 and 1889, we find that 27,581,000 pounds were manufactured, while in the three years of 1896, 1897 and 1898, the amount was 28,000,000 pounds. These figures show that the manufacture of tobacco does not keep pace with the consumption that actually takes place, and the people and the public revenue both suffer in consequence. Well, how is the balance supplied? Simply by smuggling, which involves a large loss of revenue. If we look at the United States, we will find that the consumption of tobacco, as shown by their returns, is increasing year by year, simply because the excise duty was reduced and the consumption, paying duty, became proportionately greater. The very moment that the excise duty was reduced then the temptation to smuggle was less, and consequently a less quantity was smuggled, and the revenue benefited thereby, and the people paid less taxes accordingly. Let me illustrate that point. In 1878, in the United States, I find that tobacco paid an excise duty of 24½ cents, and the reports show that there was a consumption in that year of 108,824,843 lbs. In 1879 the excise duty was further reduced to 21½ cents, and in that year the consumption, as shown by the published reports, was 120,398,000 lbs. I will not weary the House with many of these figures, but I may say, that, in the following year the excise duty was reduced to 16 cents and the consumption was swollen enormously. In 1883 the excise duty was reduced to 13 cents, and the consumption went up to 170,000,000. In the following year the excise duty was reduced to 8 cents, and the consumption, as shown by the reports, went up to 174,000,000. The excise duty was kept at 8 cents in the United States, until 1891, when the consumption rose to 253,000,000 lbs. Then it was reduced to 6 cents a pound, as it is at present. For last year, 1897, the returns of the United States show the enormous consumption of 274,000,000. That shows that the lower the excise was the less temptation there was to smuggle; that the whole quantity consumed found its way into the public reports, and that the whole quantity consumed paid duty. I think this may be of some assistance to my hon. friend the Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière) when wrestling with his colleagues at the Council Board over this question, and while he is seeking to bring them to a clearer reason as to the enormity of this imposition upon the ordinary smoker.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Gillies) will pardon me; he gave statements for one or two years of the rate of duty and the consump-

tion during these years in the United States, but he omitted to give several years. I want to ask him if he has a tabulated statement showing the consumption during the years when the rates of duty were changed in the United States?

Mr. GILLIES. Yes.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman did not give it; I watched him closely and tried to follow the points of his speech. Has the hon. gentleman the consumption for those years in which the duties were reduced?

Mr. GILLIES. My hon. friend (Sir Louis Davies) is not as sparing of the time of the House—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Gillies) will put in *Hansard* it will serve my purpose.

Mr. GILLIES. My hon. friend is not as sparing of the time of the House in the way of quoting figures as I desire to be.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman will see that so far as his argument is concerned, it is unsupported unless he gives the duties in those years and the results.

Mr. GILLIES. The hon. minister is correct, but I did not want to weary the House by quoting a lot of figures. I have the figures referred to by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and perhaps, I had better go over them. Beginning with the year 1878, when the excise duty was 24½ cents a pound, in the United States, the public returns of that year show a consumption of 108,824,843. In the following year the excise duty was reduced to 21½ cents, and the consumption went up to 120,398,458 lbs. In the following year the excise duty was reduced to 16 cents, and the consumption went up to 136,275,000 lbs. In 1883, the excise duty was reduced to 13½ cents and the consumption went up to 170,000,000 lbs. In the following year, 1884, the excise duty was reduced to 8 cents and the consumption went up to 174,000,000 lbs. In 1885, at the same rate, the consumption went up to 180,000,000 lbs. In the following year it went up to 191,000,000, in 1887, to 206,000,000 lbs., in 1888, to 209,000,000 lbs, in 1889, to 221,000,000 lbs, and in 1890 to 238,000,000. Then, in 1891, the excise duty was reduced to 7 cents a pound, and in that year the consumption went up, as shown by their reports, to 253,000,000 lbs. In the following year, 1892, the government of the United States reduced their excise duty to 6 cents a pound, at which it now is, and the consumption went up to 263,000,000. In 1897, the last year for which the figures of the United States consumption are available to me, I find that the consumption went up to the enormous quantity of 274,

000,000 lbs. The House will see that it went up from 108,000,000 lbs. in 1878, under the several reductions in the duty, to 274,000,000, lbs. in 1897. Now, I use that as an argument to show that these increases have taken place in the United States while the excise has been reduced, whereas, with ourselves, our consumption is practically stationary, while our excise duties are being enormously increased. Therefore, my argument is that if you reduce the excise duty on tobacco you will be benefiting the government and you will also be benefiting the consumer. I hope I have made this clear to my hon. friend (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). My hon. friend who is in charge of the Inland Revenue Department, assisted as he will be, by the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), will have no difficulty in appreciating the nature of this direct tax. I will mention a few instances, and if they will keep them carefully before them, when adjusting this part of the question, I think they will be of considerable assistance to them. The tax was increased by 14 cents a pound by the tariff of the present government, or a cent a fig more than the old duty. In my own county there is a class of people, the fishermen, that use this article of luxury, to some people, and to them a necessity, to a very large extent. The last report of the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries shows, that, in my own county, there were, in 1898, 56 vessels, with 358 men and 1,405 boats with 2,277 men, showing that there are 2,635 men engaged in the very precarious undertaking of the fisheries on that wild coast. These people, as I have told the House, are large consumers of tobacco of the coarser grades, and a duty of one cent a fig or 14 cents a pound has been put upon these people by the increase that was made on this article by the present government. The ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) is now in his seat and he will agree in what I say—

Mr. COWAN. I do not just catch what you say. Do you say that there is a tax of one cent per day—

Mr. GILLIES. My hon. friend (Mr. Cowan) will remember that when the present tariff was brought down in 1897, a tax of 14 cents a pound was put on a certain class of tobacco, and that is the very class of tobacco that the people of the lower provinces are constantly using. Now, this tobacco is divided into 'figs'; 12 figs to the pound. That is more than a cent a fig on that tobacco, but for the purposes of argument I will call it one cent a fig. Now, Sir, in my county, and in the other counties by the sea, every fisherman will ordinarily use one fig a day, and that means at least a cent a day; day in and day out, that each man has to pay additional in consequence of the 14 cents a pound that was imposed as duty upon tobacco by the pres-

ent government. These are facts, and no one can contradict them. According to the official report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, I have 635 fishermen in my county, and those fishermen have to pay in the aggregate, \$26.35 day in and day out, additional on account of the extra 14 cents a pound imposed upon tobacco by the present Grit government. Let us consider what that extra tax will mean in a year. It is only a question of arithmetical calculation to ascertain and a very easy one it is. This \$26.35 extra a day, means for, 635 fishermen in my county, \$9,618.75 a year additional taxes that they pay over and above what they were paying before the present government came into power. That enormous extra amount of taxation is only on the one item of tobacco. Let us consider another fact. If this government will last for five years, the fishermen in my county will have to pay the sum of \$48,000 extra, and hon. gentlemen can readily understand what that tax means. It is oppressive, unreasonable and unjust. Now, take the county of Victoria, C.B. My hon. friend who represents that county (Mr. Bethune), is now in the House, and he will remember how anxious the Conservatives were to return him at the last elections. He will also remember how annoyed he was, because he was then full of good Conservative doctrine, when the Liberal tariff came down, about the additional tax of 14 cents a pound upon tobacco, and how anxious he was at that time to protect his people against that tax. Since that time his allegiance to the party that sent him here has been seduced. We find from the report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries that in his county of Victoria, there are 856 fishing boats manned by 1,365 men. Now, these men pay \$13.65 per day and every day, out of their earnings in additional taxation in consequence of this added duty on tobacco imposed by the present government.

Mr. FORTIN. May I ask my hon. friend (Mr. Gillies), has the price of tobacco increased since that duty was imposed?

Mr. GILLIES. I will answer that very readily. The duty has increased the price by just 14 cents a pound, and my hon. friend (Mr. Fortin) will get that answer everywhere to the question he asks. Let me tell him this. Under the Foster tariff the fisherman, when he went in for his plug or fig of tobacco in the store in his district, paid 5 cents for it, but the moment the present government came in and they increased the price, he had to pay 6 cents for the same plug under the Fielding tariff. That answers the question, and it shows how false the government have been to the people in their pre-election promises. There is, as I have said, an additional one cent a day imposed on the man who con-

sumes one plug or fig of tobacco. When my hon. friend (Mr. Fortin) interrupted me I was dealing with the county of Victoria and I was saying that in consequence of this additional increase over the old or Foster tariff, the fishermen of that county paid \$13.65 a day, day in and day out. That means, if you figure it up, an increase of \$4,972 a year more than formerly, which the fishermen of the county of Victoria have to pay in consequence of the tariff on tobacco imposed by the Liberal government. My hon. friend (Mr. Bethune) must of necessity support me in this motion, and he must of necessity use his great influence (now) with the government in bringing about the reduction that my motion seeks to secure. In the county of Inverness, represented in this House so ably by my hon. friend (Mr. McLennan), I find from the return of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, that in that noble county there are 25 fishing vessels, manned by 130 men, and there are 790 fishing boats, manned by 1,700 men, showing altogether that 1,831 men from the county of Inverness are engaged in the fisheries. The same rule that applies to my county and to the county of Victoria applies to the county of Inverness, and so the fishermen of that county pay \$18.31, day in and day out, in consequence of this new tariff on tobacco imposed by the Liberal government. That amounts to \$6,693.15 a year over and above what they were paying under the Foster tariff, and during the lifetime of this government, if it lasts for five years, it will amount to \$34,465.75 or something about that. I hope, therefore, that my hon. friend from Inverness (Mr. McLennan) will join the hon. member from Victoria, N.S., (Mr. Bethune) and myself, in impressing upon the government the desirability of bringing about the reduction of the duty on tobacco which I am now seeking by this motion. Well, there is the county of Guysborough. I could not for the life of me pass this great county without bringing it to the notice of the House. What does the county of Guysborough pay because of the Liberal tax on tobacco? I can imagine my hon. friend (Mr. Fraser), who represents that county, striding up to the Council chamber and there demanding that this reduction be brought about. It is a reduction that he promised would be brought about. When the gentlemen who occupy the Treasury benches were out of power, my hon. friend from Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) went throughout the land, and he promised that should the Liberals get into power the duty on this very article of tobacco would be largely reduced. Now, Sir, when the Liberals came into power, and when they increased the duty on tobacco, it must have met with the pronounced disapprobation of my hon. friend (Mr. Fraser) and he will, I hope, join with the members from Victoria, N.S., (Mr. Bethune) and Inverness (Mr. McLennan)

and myself, in demanding from the government that this reduction shall be made. What do the figures from Guysborough County show? I find from the report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, that there are 25 vessels engaged in the fisheries, manned by 128 men, and that there are 2,235 boats manned by 2,622 men, showing altogether that 2,700 men in Guysborough County, go down to the sea in boats engaged in the hazardous occupation of getting their living from catching the fish that are to be found in the great waters there. What does that show? It shows that these 2,750 men, day in and day out since this government imposed that additional duty, have paid \$27.50 a day, making the large sum of \$10,037.50 additional taxation imposed upon the people of Guysborough on the article of tobacco alone by this munificent government. What does that mean? It means that if Providence or the people allow this government to live out their legal term of five years, the people of Guysborough will have paid, in addition to what they paid under the old regime, \$50,187.50 on the article of tobacco alone.

Mr. TAYLOR. If Guysborough pays that much, how much will be paid by the whole Dominion?

Mr. GILLIES. My hon. friend puts a question that is very pertinent, and it is only proper that I should answer it. That very question was answered last session by the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière), who stated in this House that the taxes on tobacco altogether amounted to \$3,566,461, and that \$971,285, or a million dollars in round numbers, represented the increase imposed by this government over and above that imposed by the late government. That answers the question of my hon. friend. My hon. friends from Guysborough, Victoria, Inverness and Antigonish must join me in demanding, with no uncertain sound, that this reduction be made. My hon. friend from Antigonish (Mr. McIsaac) gives to this government, I hope, a conscientious and unerring unswerving support; and, although his county is not so largely engaged in the fisheries as the counties of Richmond, Victoria, Inverness and Guysborough, he will, I am sure, see that it is to the interest of a large and deserving class in his county that this reduction should be made, and that he too should join the noble band who will act together in making this demand.

Mr. McISAAC. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to say that to-day in Antigonish and the other counties he mentions, the fishermen and others can buy for 5 cents a plug of tobacco of the same size and weight as the one that cost 8 or 10 cents under the old tariff.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's, P.E.I.) That is not true.

Mr. GILLIES.

Mr. McISAAC. I can produce the tobacco.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's, P.E.I.) It is not the same weight.

Mr. COWAN. It is better tobacco.

Mr. GILLIES. Will the hon. gentleman make the statement that the same quality and quantity of tobacco sold at a certain price under the old tariff can now be bought at the same figure under the new tariff?

Mr. McISAAC. Yes. I say that the fishermen in my county and in the others are satisfied that the plug is of the same size and weight, and they can get for 5 cents what they had to pay 8 or 10 cents for under the old tariff.

Mr. GILLIES. My hon. friend is entirely mistaken.

Mr. McISAAC. I am prepared to go to the country on that issue.

Mr. GILLIES. My hon. friend is entirely mistaken, and if he goes to the country on that issue, he will stay in the country. The hon. gentleman knows, if he knows anything, that the fig sold for 4 cents or 5 cents apiece under the old tariff now sells for 5 or 6 cents apiece; there is a cent difference between the two prices. The hon. gentleman will find that to be the case in his own county and in every county in the province. Now, in that county there are 303 men engaged in the fisheries. Though it is more largely an agricultural than a fishing county, still the farmers as a class are largely smokers, as well as the fishermen, and I trust that the hon. gentleman will join me in making this reasonable request of the government. These 303 fishermen pay \$3.03 additional taxation for every day in the year, or \$1,099 per year, so that the fishermen of his county will have paid during the lifetime of this parliament \$5,495 of additional taxes on this one article alone. My hon. friend will find that I am strictly and entirely correct in my statement.

Now I come to the counties of Queen's and Shelburne. I find from the report of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries these facts: That in Queen's there are employed eight fishing vessels carrying seventy-one men, and 460 boats employing 508, and that the county of Shelburne has eighty fishing vessels, manned by 768 men, and 1,701 boats taking 2,140 men. This departmental report then shows that in these two counties, represented by the Minister of Finance, 2,908 men go down to the deep to draw their living therefrom. And what is the fact, Mr. Speaker. That these 2,908 men now pay daily into the government coffers of the county the sum of \$29.08 of an additional tax under the Fielding tariff, above what they did under the Foster tariff. What does this mean? It

means that the fishermen, represented here by the Minister of Finance, pay every year an additional taxation upon tobacco alone of \$9,670.88; or, if the present government should live for five years, they will pay additional taxation, in consequence of their sending him here, amounting to \$48,354.40. This in my judgment is a sorry return for favours conferred. It is now the duty of the hon. Finance Minister to stand by me when I ask that this outrageous and grinding tax be reduced.

I have nothing further to say in this connection except that I do trust that the government will make this reduction in the tax on tobacco which is loudly demanded all over the country, and especially in the lower provinces. That we should be subject to this additional taxation from a party who, when in opposition, promised to bring about large reductions in taxation, was something not to be expected even from them. I therefore make the motion, Sir, which has been placed in your hands.

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). Mr. Speaker, the motion presented by the hon. member is: That in the opinion of this House, the present high duties upon tobacco should be reduced. I wish to say that I will leave this question to the judgment of the House, and I will merely now draw the attention of the House to the result which the increase in the duties has produced. In 1897, the tax which my hon. friend complains of—10 cents a pound on leaf, and 14 cents a pound on stemmed tobacco—was imposed. The leaf tobacco with the stem on, is naturally of less value than when the stem is removed, and, therefore, the customs duty on the former is 10 cents, and on the latter 14 cents a pound. This law was introduced in 1897, and what has been the result? In 1896-7, only 668,000 pounds of Canadian tobacco passed through our inland revenue factories. In 1897-8, 1,900,000 pounds passed through our factories, and were manufactured, or three times as much as in the first year. In 1898-9, 2,461,000 pounds Canadian tobacco passed through our factories. I am not making now any reference to the enormous quantity of tobacco cultivated by our farming community since this encouragement of 10 cents per pound was given. It is impossible to precise exactly the amount, but my hon. friends from Ontario and Quebec will be able to furnish an estimate of the enormous quantity grown in these provinces. My hon. friend from Richmond (Mr. Gillies), said it was impossible to smoke Canadian grown tobacco. I can hardly suppose he is sincere in making a statement of that kind. He will find a great many connoisseurs who will flatly contradict him. If there is any industry in this country which deserves encouragement, it is the cultivation

of Canadian tobacco. I know of none which has a better future. Look at the magnificent results that have flown from the encouragement we have given to our dairy industry, although that is an industry with which one would naturally suppose every farmer and his wife were as familiar with as with the air we breathe and in which they could be taught nothing. Yet we see what beneficial results have fallen from the means taken by the government to encourage our people in perfecting that industry. Well, I think that the cultivation and curing of tobacco are susceptible of still greater improvement. Tobacco is one of those tropical plants imported into this country, which so far has not received the careful cultivation or curing that it deserves. I am confident that if we continue our experiments, we will find that with care in the choice of ground and cultivation, and especially curing our tobacco, if it will not acquire the rich flavour of Havana tobacco, it will fully equal Kentucky or Connecticut or Vermont tobaccos which are grown nearly under similar circumstances. At present our farmers understand fairly well the cultivation of that plant, but their weak point is in the curing, and that is the department we are attending to at this moment.

My hon. friend from Richmond deplored the fate of the poor fishermen who were obliged to pay an extra cent out of their hard earnings every day to pay for the tobacco they use. He says that in ten days the tax would amount to a pound of tobacco, and three pounds in a month, and thirty-six in a year. Well, I must say that those men do not deserve any sympathy if they will indulge in the extravagance of smoking imported tobacco, when they can use the Canadian grown, which is much more wholesome and palatable. If I had expected this discussion, I would have brought here samples of the Canadian tobacco, and would have shown the hon. gentleman that owing to the improvement in its quality we are now able to manufacture what is called combination tobacco, containing a certain proportion of imported and a certain proportion of home grown, which is sold for one-half the price that was formerly charged. I wish my hon. friend would make a trial of it. I will be very glad to give him some of that tobacco, if he is so happy as to be a smoker; and after he has tried it, I think he will say that we can do something with our Canadian tobacco. And we are only beginning. This is only the third year. And when we think of the thousands and thousands of men who have been encouraged by our legislation of 1897 to devote attention to this cultivation, would it be fair now, after so short a time, to withdraw that encouragement? Would it be advisable to do so, now that we see by the official returns, with which my hon.

friend is well acquainted, that such rapid progress is being made. The first year the produce raised was 600,000 pounds, the second year, 1,900,000 pounds, and last year, 2,461,000 pounds. There must be people to smoke and chew that tobacco. There would not be 2,461,000 pounds of Canadian tobacco put through our factories if there was nobody to smoke or chew it. The figures show that the taste for this tobacco is growing, and it shows that we are improving and certainly shall attain good results if we are patient enough to persevere. They show that we can grow tobacco as well as the neighbouring northern states, in which the conditions are nearly or quite the same as our own. It is true, our summers are very short; but they are so hot while they last that we can ripen the tobacco perfectly well. As I said, I am ready to take the opinion of men who have had experience in these matters, and who can speak with authority. These men tell us that with a careful selection of seed and soil, with intelligent cultivation, and especially with skilful curing, we can produce as good tobacco as our neighbours in the northern states, even if we cannot produce as good as is grown in Havana, which I do not suppose we can.

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

AFTER RECESS.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 21) respecting the Hereford Railway Company.—(Mr. McIntosh.)

Bill (No. 22) respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

THE BRANDON AND SOUTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

House resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 25) respecting the Brandon and South-western Railway.

(In the Committee.)

On the preamble,

Mr. RICHARDSON. Before the preamble of the Bill is adopted, I wish to make a few remarks with regard to the Bill itself. I propose at the proper time to move certain amendments to the Bill, one respecting bonding privileges, but, in the meantime, I wish to make a statement. The Bill is entitled 'An Act respecting the Brandon and South-western Railway Company,' and is in the nature of an amendment to a Bill passed in this House in 1890. The design of the original Bill was to construct a line of railroad from Deloraine, a point on the Canadian Pacific Railway, down to a coal mine some seventeen miles south. The Bill also gave the power of extending the line north-west as far as Brandon, a distance of about seventy or

Sir HENRI JOLY DE LOTBINIERE.

eighty miles. There is a land grant in connection with this original charter of 6,400 acres per mile. If that land grant applies on the entire extent of the road as originally laid down in the charter, you will understand that it would be of very considerable value. If that is given, you will see that this railroad will have a land grant almost sufficient to pay double the cost of the construction of the road. I am informed by the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) that this land grant only applies for seventeen miles. If you allow \$3 per acre, that would be something over \$19,000 per mile for seventeen miles of this road. But the point I wish to make is this: The amendment now before us is not for the purpose of reviving a charter, but for the purpose of enabling the company to build a series of branch lines through that country, the approximate aggregate length of which is some four hundred miles. I observed, when the Bill was before the Railway Committee, that it was tacking a dog on to a tail. Of course, we have no objection to the construction of as many railroads as possible in that country, provided that they are obtained under proper conditions. I asked, when the Bill was before the Railway Committee, if it was not a scheme of the Canadian Pacific Railway, or if the promoters were not acting in concert with the Canadian Pacific Railway; and the promoter, Mr. Waddell, said he had no such arrangement. However, I took the trouble to look up the original Bill which was passed in the year 1890, and I find clause 11 reads as follows:—

The company may enter into an agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for conveying or leasing to such company the railway of the company hereby incorporated, in whole or in part, or any rights or powers acquired under this Act, as also the surveys, plans, works, plant, material, machinery and other property to it belonging, or for an amalgamation with such company, on such terms and conditions as are agreed upon, and subject to such conditions as to the directors seem fit.

Now, I made the point then, and I wish to emphasize it now, that if we are to grant this charter which is to cover such a large extent of the province of Manitoba, I do not think it is desirable that we should allow this clause to remain in the Bill. I also mentioned at the time in the Railway Committee, and I mention it here, that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had then on the Order paper, and it was brought up at the last meeting of the Railway Committee, a Bill of its own for the purpose of constructing 500, 600 or 700 miles of branch lines in the province of Manitoba. Now, you will see if we allow this clause to remain in the Bill, and if we give the Canadian Pacific Railway these other large powers, they will practically have the power to gridiron the entire province, there is nothing left for anybody else. I do not wish to appear in the light of blocking

railroad construction, but I think we should not hand over to the Canadian Pacific Railway the entire province. The Manitoba government, as you know, was recently defeated, and according to my judgment, its defeat was largely owing to its position on the railway question. The government which attained power, headed by the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald, attained power on a platform the eleventh plank of which reads as follows :—

The government ownership of railways, as the circumstances of the province will admit, and the adoption of the principle that no bonuses should be granted to any railway company that does not give the government of the province control of the rates over the lines bonused, together with the option of purchase.

That government got into power practically on the plank of government ownership of railways. Now, I assume if we leave that clause in the original charter, this series of lines will fall into the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway; and if this parliament is going to give to the Canadian Pacific Railway power to occupy every foot of the available space in that country wherever a railway might be built, how are the people of Manitoba to be able to carry out the platform of government ownership of railways? I do not wish at this time to discuss the general question of government ownership of railroads beyond saying that I believe the people of this country have become so thoroughly aroused on the question of transportation, and on the evil of the domination of the interests of the country by railroads, that they will shortly rise in their might and insist upon absolute control of the railroads in this country. I think I am making a moderate statement when I say that for the past fifteen or twenty years this country has been largely controlled by railway companies, and I believe this parliament will make a fatal mistake if it fails to rectify the error at the earliest possible moment. I am here to plead in the interests of the people of Manitoba that this parliament shall not commit the grave error of handing over to the Canadian Pacific Railway that entire country.

In the Railway Committee I heard the argument used that this would give competition in railroads. Now, I believe just as firmly as I believe that I am on my feet, that the intention is that this railroad and this series of railroads shall be handed over entirely to the Canadian Pacific Railway within a very brief period. We have a Bill which will, no doubt, pass the Railway Committee at its next meeting, to give the Canadian Pacific Railway power to build another 500 or 600 miles of railroad in that country. The difficulty of the situation is this: Suppose the Northern Pacific, or the Mackenzie & Mann combination, or any other company which is ready to offer competition in that country, wishes to construct

a line of railway; they find at once that this powerful corporation jumps into the breach and attempts to construct a road, thereby heading them off. No later than last year we witnessed the spectacle in the province of Manitoba of the Canadian Pacific Railway actually putting a gang of men to work at a point near Hartney simply because the Northern Pacific had started to build at that point, and in order to bluff the latter company from building its line. The committee will understand that while the traffic might be sufficient to sustain one railroad in a certain section of that country, it certainly would not be sufficient at the present time to sustain a second one running parallel to and close beside it. And that is one of the reasons why I am on my feet at the present time to discuss this question, as to granting of such unlimited powers. In the Railway Committee, the other day, I suggested that this company should not be allowed to amalgamate or dispose of its interests, to the Canadian Pacific Railway, or to any other railway in the country, and I propose, while this Bill is under consideration, to move an amendment on that line. At the right time, as the clauses of the Bill are discussed, I propose to move amendments, one especially, with respect to the bonding of the railway company. You will probably remember, Sir, if you were present in the committee, that we had an interesting discussion in reference to the bonding powers of railways generally. There seems to have never been laid down any definite rule in this House, and this House has nothing to guide it in regard to the amount of fixed charges which should be allowed to a railway company. I believe I could prove, if I set myself about to procure evidence, that a line of railway can be built on prairie ground, in Manitoba or in the North-west Territories, at something like \$7,000 or \$8,000 per mile. If that be so, why should we allow railway companies to have unlimited bonding powers and unlimited stocking powers? Let us take, for instance, the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway. We allowed that railway company to stock to the amount of \$65,000,000. Now, I am informed, and verily believe that not more than \$7,000,000 or \$8,000,000 of that vast amount of money actually went into the construction of the railway. What was done with it? I will tell you. I quoted on the floor of this House last session, a statement, which exists in the sessional papers at the present time, showing that a vast amount of this stock was distributed amongst the promoters of the railway themselves, who received it at the rate of 25 cents on the dollar, and that in five years, these gentlemen, who had distributed this stock to themselves, at 25 cents on the dollar, received, in dividends, 20 per cent more than they had paid for their stock, and that they paid themselves

6 per cent on the par value of the stock, or 24 per cent on the actual amount they paid for this stock. That is an absolute outrage, because it means that the people are taxed for all time in high freight rates in order to pay interest on a vast amount of money that never went into the road, and which should not form a charge thereon. Unless this House limits the fixed charges on these railways, how are we ever going to be able to secure reasonable freight rates? How are we going to be able to control freight rates on any railway unless this parliament sees to it that the fixed charges do not exceed the actual, or almost the actual cost of the railway? It is for that purpose that I propose, later on, to move an amendment to reduce the bonding privileges to an amount which will, certainly, be almost within the actual cost of the railway. Why should promoters of railway companies secure the power from this parliament to bond their railway for two or three times the amount that the railway actually costs? What is the result? When the cost of the railway is paid, the balance of this vast amount of money, that we enable them to raise in this way, is put into their own pockets, and it is no wonder, as I said in the Railway Committee, the other day, that we make millionaires and peers of the realm who are able to live in their palaces in the old land, while those who pay for it are obliged to wrestle with exorbitant freight rates.

Mr. ROSS ROBERTSON. I know that the House does not share my opinion as to the importance of the question raised by the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), as regards the over-capitalization of railways. The question may not be as important as I think it is, but in my judgment it is as important as the editorials in *La Patrie*—yes, I may say, as important as the gerrymander Bill of the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), by which he would trample down the principle of representation by population. This House has time to spare, I might say, time to waste, in discussing the editorial articles in *La Patrie*, or in trying to further the hon. Postmaster General's designs, for carving up the province of Ontario. The House has given little time to this all important question of over-capitalization of railways. I am speaking as an Eastern Canadian, and, so far as my voice can carry, I want the people of the west to understand that there are people in Ontario, yes, people in Toronto, who are entirely out of sympathy with this system of allowing roads built in Manitoba and the west, to be bonded for three and four times their cost. It is an outrage that the Railway Committee should serve continually as the well-meaning accomplice in a crime against either the widow or the orphan into whose hands the bonds may fall, or against the people who will be bled for freight and

Mr. RICHARDSON.

passenger rates, high enough to pay interest on the watered stock. If this parliament once permits bonds to be issued to a value far exceeding the cost of the road, future parliaments will not be able to reduce freight rates below a point which will pay interest on the bonds purchased in good faith. The question of the innocent third party comes in. The people who buy bonds issued by the authority of this parliament, have a good case against a proposal to reduce freight rates. The people who supply this road with this traffic also have a good case, because, like practically all railways in Canada, this line will be built without cost to its promoters. I say that the question raised in this Bill, is a big question, worthy more attention than it gets from the leaders on either side of this House. The government of all the talents which sits on the other side of the House ought to be able to devise something better than this rule of thumb method of fixing the bonding powers to be granted to a railway company. I know that the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), is very ready with his promises. Whenever the hon. member for Lisgar, or the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver), urges the Railway Committee to insert a specific safeguard in a specific Bill, the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals suggests that the end can be reached by a change in the general law. The hon. minister helps the chairman of the Railway Committee, and the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale), to jump on every proposal for an immediate reform. They hit the people of the west with a club; the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals hits them with gold bricks. The effect is the same in each case. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals is always making large promises of improvements in the general Railway Act, but the general Railway Act is still doing business at the old stand, and Canada is as far as it ever was from having a government which will provide that railways built largely, if not wholly, at the public cost, shall be honestly capitalized in justice to the people who must be dependent on these lines.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Chairman, I think the statements made by the two former speakers will find a ready echo throughout the provinces of this Dominion, and they will receive more consideration than they have heretofore received. There is no doubt, Mr. Chairman, that in this, the country has been going in the wrong direction. In the opening up of the country, and for the building of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, inducements had to be offered, because our country had to be opened up. The government of the late hon. Alexander Mackenzie had spent thousands of dollars in advertising and in trying to get capitalists to put their money into this great enterprise, and to build this great railway from

one ocean to the other, which was essential to the integrity of the Dominion. It was a work of immediate and urgent necessity, and the government which succeeded that of Mr. Mackenzie, I think, made an admirable bargain, taking the circumstances into consideration.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, these hon. gentlemen who say 'Oh, oh,' had five years of power in which they tried to make a better bargain, but they had to declare themselves utterly and hopelessly defeated in their project.

Mr. WOOD. I suppose the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) will admit that if there was a much better offer made to the government at that time, then they would have accepted it?

Mr. WALLACE. I will admit that there was a much better offer made by a bogus corporation.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Chairman,—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. I will have to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wood) to take his seat.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wood) raise a point of order?

Mr. WOOD. He says it was—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Sit down.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. WOOD. I want to ask Mr. Chairman—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Does the hon. gentleman want to make a point of order?

Mr. WOOD. I submit that the word 'bogus corporation' is not parliamentary.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I will have to rule that the words 'bogus corporation' as used by the hon. member, is parliamentary.

Mr. WALLACE. I would be delighted to give the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Wood) an opportunity to interrupt me, only that I am now talking serious business. I repeat that the offer to which the hon. gentleman refers was a bogus offer, made by a bogus corporation, for political purposes only. Why, Sir, these very men had spent \$12,000 advertising in various papers of this country and in the old country for people to make a proposal for the construction of this road. Then, Sir, after infinite pains, the government had made a bargain and induced a syndicate of competent men to come along and make an offer. After that was done then came along a number of gentle-

men most of them without any experience and made an offer which they knew the government could not accept. It is true that Mr. Gibson, of New Brunswick, was in it, and that he consented to put his name to it. I speak of the president of the road, Mr. H. S. Howland, with great respect. He had no knowledge of the building of railways, he had no opportunity of knowing what the enterprise was that he was to be engaged in. Besides that, I am not saying now anything but what every one knows, when I say that he had no money to put in the enterprise. They knew they could not get the contract. What results would have followed if the government had gone in with the bogus company which my hon. friend thinks was all right? The result would be an indefinite prolongation of the time for the construction of the road, and it would have entailed, as we know, serious disasters on the country, as well as the contractor for that road. At a time the best conditions that could be made were made.

Mr. DOMVILLE. What has that to do with this?

Mr. WALLACE. I will tell you. While in the early days the road was a necessity for the maintenance of confederation, for the development of the North-west, for the sending of the sons of our own country out there instead of allowing them to go to a foreign country, we might have made an admirable bargain. But, Sir, the conditions have all changed and a good plan twenty years ago is not a plan that we may be able to commend to-day. This country finds itself drifting into granting enormous bonuses for railways. We find ourselves giving them large grants of land and permitting them to have bonding powers, two or three times the value of the cost of the construction of the road. The hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) says, and I have no doubt he is right, that railways can be constructed through the prairie country of Manitoba and the North-west Territories at from \$7,000 to \$8,000 per mile. Well, Sir, I say it is utterly indefensible to give these companies the power to bond these roads for two or three times that value, and, as well, to give them subsidies by the Dominion and local governments for a large portion of the cost so that the promoters of the road do not pay one dollar of their own money for its construction. That is the kind of proposal we have perpetuated in this Bill. This road goes pretty near everywhere. They say there is going to be competition. We have been proposing amendments to these various railway Bills as they come before us from time to time, and we have been met by the statement from the Minister of Railways that he was desirous that we should not press these amendments, because he thought it would be better that they should be incorporated in a General Railway Act applying

to all railways, which he promised to have passed. We recognized the fairness of that proposition, and so the several amendments which were considered desirable to these railway Bills were not pressed. We accepted the promises of the minister that he would incorporate such amendments in a General Railway Act, so as to make them applicable to all railway corporations. He has made these promises but he has not fulfilled them. Year after year we have been treated in the same way, the Minister telling us that these amendments would be incorporated in a General Railway Act, but he has never yet implemented these promises.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). I would like to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) to specify the particular terms to which he alludes, and when they were made.

Mr. **WALLACE**. The Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair) made promises last session and the session before, and I would like to know when these promises will be supplemented. Now, about that railway we were talking about, it proposes to go almost anywhere, and this charter gives it power to go anywhere it likes. More than that, when was this charter first granted?

An hon. **MEMBER**. 1890.

Mr. **WALLACE**. Yes, and ten years afterwards we have a proposal to extend this time limit. I might say that this speculative charter might be for the purpose of putting pressure on the Canadian Pacific Railway, but I do not know. But I do say, that a railway that has had a charter for ten years, and an amendment which extends its charter three years more from the first of November next, meaning four seasons of construction, I say that that is something that we should not tolerate. The railways of this country should be commercial enterprises, built because there is a necessity for them, and because there is a reasonable hope of returns being received, and no man should put a dollar in them without reasonable hope of having it returned. They should not be built for speculation, getting subsidies from the Dominion and subsidies from the provinces, and floating bonds, and as we know in the case of the Dauphin Railway, getting a railway that does not cost the promoters one dollar. We know that certain railways have got thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars, and we know that they have been able to distribute back portions of that enormous amount which they have received for construction.

Mr. **DAVIS**. Who gave them the land?

Mr. **WALLACE**. The Dominion government gave them the land, and the giving of the land at that time was something that was perhaps to be commended; but the first subsidy given to them is no justifica-

Mr. **WALLACE**.

tion for the subsequent subsidies and the guarantees given by the Manitoba government which enabled them to reap the enormous benefits and advantages to which I have alluded.

Mr. **DAVIS**. The difference between the Manitoba government and the other government is that it did not cost the Manitoba government a cent, while your government gave away the land.

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Order.

Mr. **WALLACE**. The hon. gentleman cannot keep quiet. The giving of the first subsidy was perhaps a commendable act; but the giving of the second subsidy by the Manitoba government, knowing that the first subsidy had been given, was not a commendable or justifiable act. That was boodling; and we know that the Manitoba government got part of the assets back, and that these same gentlemen were in the last elections with their money-bags, assisting the Manitoba government to retain power against the will of the people. It is time that a stop is put to these proceedings, and that this parliament comes down to business principles, and says that railroads shall have to be justified by commercial necessity, that they will have largely to use their own money, that they cannot come on the Dominion or on the provinces either for large subsidies of land or money. It is time that we had a firmer grip upon, and a fuller control over these railways. We have the Railway Act, which we can amend, and we shall do no injustice to any railway company by so amending it as to control the freight rates of all the railways of this country, and show them that it is the people who are ruling the country and not the railways.

Mr. **WOOD**. I shall occupy the time of the House only for a moment to correct one of the wild statements made by the hon. member (Mr. Wallace) who has just taken his seat. It is not new to hear these wild and extravagant remarks from that hon. gentleman; that is his usual practice. He imagines when he is addressing this House that he is addressing some of the clubs in the country to which he is accustomed. The members of this House and the people of this country are better informed than he thinks they are. The statement which he makes that the company that offered to build the Canadian Pacific Railway for a much smaller sum than was paid to the company who got the contract was a bogus company, is a statement unworthy of any hon. member of this House. There was an endorsed check for \$1,500,000 placed at the disposal of the government by that company; and the hon. gentleman has the temerity to suggest that such men as William Hendrie, of Hamilton, one of the leading Conservatives of this country, and

Edward Gurney, of Hamilton, another leading Conservative, would be connected with a bogus company. Now, Mr. Chairman, the statement I make here I make because I know the facts. I had the honour of being connected with the company myself, I contributed a small portion of the money, and I can say that the money that was placed at the disposal of the government was solid, hard cash, and that there were no bonds or anything of that kind.

Mr. WALLACE. Who provided it ?

Mr. WOOD. Men provided it who were able to do so, and I say it is unworthy of the hon. gentleman to say that leading Conservatives as well as leading Liberals composed a bogus company for the purpose of preventing the building of that road. I have simply to say that the statement is not true and never was true.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Some reference has been made to myself personally by both the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Ross Robertson) and the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace). Both of these gentlemen have felt that it was germane to the question under discussion that they should make an attack upon me and express the opinion that it was my duty to have implemented the many promises which they allege I made last session and the session before with respect to the introduction of railway legislation of the class they refer to. Now, I presume that both of these gentlemen imagined that they had some foundation upon which to rest that complaint, and I take it that they would not be unwilling to give us the grounds upon which they rely. I extended an invitation to the hon. member for West York to say upon what occasion I had made any of the promises he refers to, and I ask him to give the committee some little idea of what these promises were. The hon. gentleman was unable to support his allegation. He was unable to tell either the nature of the promises or any of them, or the occasion when any of the promises were made. Now, I am entirely unable myself to recall what the hon. gentlemen, either of them, can allude to. Certainly, I have no recollection of having made any explicit statement, or even any general statement, with regard to the proposed legislation beyond that which was introduced last year, and to which I made a very vain and unsuccessful effort to overcome the opposition of hon. gentlemen opposite, or some of them at least, in order to secure its passage. Let me add that I cannot exactly see the point of the observations of either of the hon. gentlemen. They have made no suggestions to the committee. I doubt if either of them was present when this Bill was under consideration by the railway committee. If they had been there,

they would have heard a discussion upon the question of the amount of bonds and stock that it would be proper for parliament to authorize this company to issue. They would have heard suggestions as to the amount made both by myself and by the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson). They would have heard the hon. member for Lisgar express his willingness to make the amount of stock and bonds larger than what even I had suggested; and it is very difficult for me to understand just at this juncture the point of the complaints which the hon. members are making, after having before the Railway Committee given their full assent to the figures which were finally adopted by the committee. I cannot myself see the point of it at all; there may be some point in it, but it is certainly obscure.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Will the hon. minister permit me to say a word? The hon. minister says that I expressed a willingness to go beyond the figure he suggested. I think he misunderstood me. My own opinion was this, that the figure he named was sufficient, and I intended to contend for that, but the committee decided to increase it to \$15,000. I make this statement because I intend to move that the amount be reduced to the figure the hon. minister suggested.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The amount I suggested was \$12,500 a mile, but \$15,000 a mile was the amount finally agreed upon. It is all very well for hon. gentlemen, when this matter comes before parliament, to pose as defenders and protectors of public rights and interests, but they are making a very sorry exhibition after all, and I doubt whether there are any people in the country who can be gulled, to any appreciable extent, by such pretensions. These gentlemen were members of the Railway committee, and if they held these very strong views with regard to bonding powers, why did they not attend the meetings of the committee and urge their views upon it. Had they done so, it would be proper for them now to ask this House to revise the action of the committee, but they did not.

I am open to no charge in this connection. No doubt I am amenable to many, for I do not mean to say that I have discharged my full duty as a member of this parliament, but I am not open to the charge these gentlemen have made. I am not open to a charge of an indisposition to scan closely and give the benefit of my voice and vote towards restraining corporations and keeping them within reasonable and proper limits. I do not assent to the proposition that railways can be built and equipped in any part of the country for \$6,000 or \$7,000 a mile. It is perfectly absurd to name any such figure. We know that to-day it would

cost more than half that amount to rail one of these roads. These hon. gentlemen make no provision for equipment or bridges and for making the roadbed and all the other necessary work. I thought that \$12,500 a mile was enough to allow this company to issue bonds for, and I do not think it is an excessive amount. If you wish to have railways built in this country, you have to allow a little consideration over and above the actual amount it costs, because these small roads cannot sell their bonds at figures which will yield par or anything like it. All these undertakings have to be helped forward or else we will not have them at all, and there is nothing more essential for the proper development of this country than to encourage within reasonable bounds, the building of railways.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman has not quite stated the case correctly. He says that you cannot build a railway through this country for \$6,000 or \$7,000 per mile. Nobody said you could. What I particularly referred to, was the building of railways through a prairie country.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I wished my remarks to apply to a prairie country.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. minister said \$6,000 or \$7,000, but our figures were \$7,000 or \$8,000, and we were talking of building railways through a prairie country. It is true that the price of steel rails has gone up, but I am speaking of the past.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. And we are dealing with the present and future.

Mr. WALLACE. But these gentlemen were dealing with the past, when steel rails were bought in this country for \$19 per ton, the lowest rate, I suppose that steel rails were ever purchased for. The hon. gentleman has challenged us to say what promises he has made and not fulfilled. One which occurs to me, was his promise, when we had the question of the location of railway stations before the Railway Committee, to provide for that in a General Act. Has he done so?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Will you allow me to answer the question?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, but not to make a speech.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I made every effort it was possible for a member of parliament, to carry out that promise, for I pressed the Bill down to the last moment, and it was only defeated by the strenuous opposition of the leader of the opposition.

Mr. WALLACE. Then where is the Minister of Railways and Canals, leading this

Mr. BLAIR.

House in railway legislation? He is directed by the opposition, and the leader of the opposition is the one who leads the House and the Minister of Railways and Canals is helpless. I think if I were placed in that position, I would resign. If I had lost the confidence of the House, I would resign. The hon. minister tells us that he proposed something of an important character and that the leader of the opposition killed the Bill. A nice Minister of Railways and Canals, and a nice government we have to-day! He challenged this side to name a single thing—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do, and you have not made good the challenge.

Mr. WALLACE. And, he was not aware that we knew he had made this promise, and had failed to carry it out.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Did you help me to carry it out?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. You did?

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. minister said, we should have attended the meetings of the Railway Committee. I can tell the hon. gentleman, that no member has attended those meetings of the Railway Committee more regularly, than I, except the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule). I did not attend the last meeting, because I was unable through illness, but I believe that was the first meeting of the Railway Committee I was absent from, for several years. I was there and expressed my views, and the hon. minister cannot lecture me at any rate.

One instance I have given, and I can give other instances of promises the hon. minister has made and succeeded in evading. Why, the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) had a Bill with regard to drainage under railways, and the Minister of Railways and Canals was in a dilemma. He wanted to defeat the Bill, but was afraid to openly come out against it, so he selected two members of the House, who, in the exercise of their judgment, had previously condemned the Bill, and who were Conservatives, and put them on a select committee of five members, the other three of which were Liberals. He appointed these two gentlemen, knowing that they would take the same position on a special committee, as they did in the House, and would only require the assistance of one Liberal member to kill the Bill, which would enable the hon. minister to say: I was in favour of the Bill, and did my best for it, but there were two Conservatives on the committee, who killed it. Just as he tells us to-night that the leader of the opposition killed his well-meant efforts to get good legislation through this House.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. He took advantage of the lateness of the session to kill it.

Mr. WALLACE. The session is never concluded until the government's business is done. There is no end to the session so long as there is business to be done. And a government that is in earnest, and has its business ready, can control the House, but the Minister of Railways and Canals, according to his own statement had lost the control and confidence of the House. He could not get his legislation through. They have a majority of fifty on that side, they say, but notwithstanding this majority he could not get his Bill through this House. If it had been a government deal for millions—a Yukon deal, a Rainy River deal, a Drummond County deal, there would have been no difficulty in getting his supporters to rally as one man and carry it through the House by a triumphant majority. But with good legislation it is different. The hon. minister says: I was so desirous of getting it through, but the wicked leader of the opposition would not let me; he got up and spoke against it and the Bill had to go to eternal smash. What a confession to make. Then he challenges anybody. We will have another list, I hope, of things he has promised in the railway committee and elsewhere, when he said he was going to legislate on certain lines, and he was going to carry certain measures through the House. Even on this Bill, I am told, the proposal was made that a general Act would do the whole thing, that it was better to have a general Act than an amendment to one railway charter—and the thing was disposed of. And so the old game goes on. The Minister of Railways and Canals is claiming all the virtues and accomplishments; and when he cannot do anything he turns around and blames somebody else, and declines to assume the responsibility for himself.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I desire to say just one word. The committee will have noticed that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) following in the footsteps of the hon. member for East Toronto (Mr. Ross-Robertson) charged me with having made various promises of legislation in amendment to the Railway Act. When I called on the hon. member for East Toronto to tell the nature of the promises, and when they were made, the hon. gentleman was silent. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) becomes coached in the meanwhile, and when I resume my seat he gets up and says that the minister made a pledge that he would amend the Railway Act with regard to the authority to control the locations of stations. When I point out—

Mr. WALLACE. Will the hon. minister allow me—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The time for Private Bills having expired, I leave the Chair.

PRIVILEGE—PARAGRAPH IN WINNIPEG FREE PRESS.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Lisgar). Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I rise to make a brief personal explanation. I received from Winnipeg to-day the following telegram:

Winnipeg, March 7.

R. L. Richardson, M.P., Ottawa:

The 'Free Press' Ottawa special to-day says, under the heading 'Represents Railways': 'Mr. Richardson, M.P., appears before the committee as a special pleader for corporations.'

The article then reads as follows:—

'Mr. Richardson reported that he was there in the interest of the railway companies, so that no more roads would be built than would pay the companies for building them. He said that he had letters from the Northern Pacific and Mackenzie & Mann opposing the Bill on the grounds that there were enough roads in Manitoba now.'

To that I give an absolute and unqualified denial. I did not say that I was there as a pleader for railroads, and I am sure that any reasonable man who was present in that committee would not hesitate for a moment to say that this is an entire misrepresentation of the position I took in that committee. I never said I had received a letter from the Northern Pacific or Mackenzie & Mann, or any one else in regard to the construction of railroads. I was seconding a motion of the hon. member for East Assiniboia (Mr. Douglas), who asked that a map should be placed before the railway committee in order that the members might see where these different railroads that were asked for in the charter ran. In urging that the map should be provided, I made the point that it was desirable that the committee should see whether any of the lines asked for interfered with existing lines, or whether they ran so close to those lines as, in a measure, to destroy the value of existing property. I think that no man who has watched my course on the railway question in this parliament, would think, for a moment, that I have ever been a special pleader for railway corporations.

Mr. BERGERON. What paper is that from?

Mr. RICHARDSON. The *Free Press* of Winnipeg, a paper which has practically become a by-word in that county as being the organ of the Canadian Pacific Railway, so, the object of this paper in attempting to discredit me will be understood by members of the House.

GRAIN TRANSPORTATION TO THE SEABOARD.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Bennett :

That, in the opinion of this House, it is advisable to take a definite line of action with regard to the question of transportation of the grain and other commodities of the North-west Territories, Manitoba and the United States, with a view of centring the same to the greatest possible extent in Canadian channels.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). In continuing this debate, I propose briefly to deal with the various routes which we are now using and the requirements of those routes, the proposed routes which may take the place of those now in use, and the necessities of them to facilitate the transportation of our goods from the west to the east. I am quite sure that you, Mr. Speaker, and the House will agree with me, as does the country, that transportation of our produce from the west to the east by the cheapest possible route and by the most expeditious way is one of the important requirements of the country to-day. For, in proportion as we can reduce the cost of transportation we give a larger profit to the producers of the goods and reduce the cost to the consumer as well. We have for a long time been struggling with this important question, and very heavy expenditures have taken place in the country for the purpose of improving our means of transport. Up to the present time we have spent on our canals \$70,750,000, for the purpose of enabling the transportation of our produce to be carried on cheaply and expeditiously, and we have also spent \$139,000,000 upon our railways largely for the same purpose. It is true that a very considerable proportion of this expenditure was not incurred for the purpose of making lines between here and the west, but a very considerable proportion of it was used for that purpose. The question at the present time is, what routes shall we use, or what routes have we that we may use? We have, at present, at least, two alternative systems of highways, and we can fairly draw comparisons between these two. It might be in the interest of the country that we should use both of these, or it might be that we should direct our attention particularly towards improving the one without making a large expenditure on the other. But we have looming up at the present time a third alternative route which is claiming a share of the attention of this House and of the country; and it will be my purpose to inquire for a short time which of these should receive the most attention at our hands. We have first what is called the alternative route of the all-water routes by the lakes and by the St. Lawrence, coming through the Welland Canal down the St. Lawrence River to

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Montreal, and thence to the seaboard. We have the all-water route that is proposed by the Georgian Bay, or the Ottawa and Montreal Ship Canal. I would like to say one word with regard to this, because I consider it a misnomer to call a canal a ship canal that only proposes to give 14 feet of water, because no ship could be navigated in that depth of water. The question is whether we will take that route up or not, whether it will be preferable to do so considering the large expenditure that would be required to make it available; or whether we should direct our attention to any other line. The second one is a water route by the lakes and thence part of the way by railway. We have at the present time a number of lines of railways extending to the Georgian Bay all competing for this trade. We have the advantage of a considerable strip of water from the Georgian Bay to Port Arthur on Lake Superior, and to Duluth and Chicago, and to all the western ports for the purpose of handling not only the trade of our own western country but that of the United States as well. Now, the question for us to consider is which one of these routes will we take up and improve and make useful for our ends. Then the last one is the all-water route by way of the Georgian Bay, which is called the Georgian Bay and Ottawa Ship Canal.

Let me make a comparison of these various routes in distance and in cheapness. If you did not take the trouble to look it up you might be inclined to think there was a considerable substantial advantage in distance in favour of the Georgian Bay route by what is called the Georgian Bay Ship Canal. We were told the other night by the hon. member for Pontiac (Mr. Poupore) that this route has an advantage over all the others of several hundred miles. He says :

Certainly five or six hundred miles shorter than by any other Canadian route between these two points, that of the west and of the east.

Now, if that be a fact it would be a substantial advantage. But I have taken a little trouble to look up the records so as to satisfy myself how far that is the fact. This question was discussed a few years ago in the Senate, and we have the records of the engineers who have taken the trouble to go over the route, in a comparatively perfunctory way, I presume; but at least they made the measurements so as to establish the advantages of that route over the other. Now, what do we find? Instead of that route giving an advantage, as the member for Pontiac said, of some 500 or 600 miles from Chicago to Montreal, I see that this map gives it as 340 miles only. From Chicago to Montreal is 950 miles. By the Welland Canal from Chicago to Montreal the distance is 1,290 miles, or a difference in favour of this route of 840 miles. From

Duluth to Montreal is 1,050 miles by way of the canal, and by way of the St. Lawrence it is 1,390 miles, or a difference of 340 miles. From Port Huron to Montreal is 660 miles, and by way of the St. Lawrence route it is 700 miles, showing a difference in favour of the Georgian Bay route of only 40 miles. I give these figures because I believe them to be as nearly accurate as any figures that are available to-day. I take the other map which is before me, and I find that it corresponds exactly with that. I wish to draw the attention of the House to that in order to show that there is not a great advantage in this route over the others with regard to distance, and if any saving could be made in mileage, in proportion to the distance, it is comparatively a small saving.

Then again I will compare this route with the routes we have already. I said one of the alternative routes was the all-water route to the Georgian Bay and further eastwards by way of the various railways. We are carrying a large portion of our grain to-day by these same routes. I made a clipping from a very interesting article that I saw a short time ago, criticising these different routes, and which professed to give the distances between the various points, and so far as I had an opportunity to verify those figures, I believe them to be correct. What is the advantage in the proposed Georgian Bay Ship Canal over the other routes? The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) told us that he intended to put an item in the estimates for the purpose of improving the French River, so that the navigation of the Georgian Bay might be extended 49 miles further down towards Montreal. I went into an inquiry as to what it would cost to make these improvements so as to make the navigation available for that purpose; and I found that in these 49 miles there must be at least three locks. There is a fall in that distance of 62 feet, which is a very substantial fall to overcome. These three locks with the improvement and deepening of the channel, I am told, would cost a very large amount of money. I have no sufficiently accurate data to enable me to estimate very closely what it would cost, but one engineer told me that it must cost somewhere from \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000; another said more and another said a little less. But whether it is the larger or the smaller amount, at least it is a substantial amount. Now, I do not think that would be a sufficient reason why we should not take up that route, because if you bring navigation 49 miles further down towards Montreal it might be available for all time in the future, and there might be other considerations that will compensate for a portion of that outlay besides the advantage of the navigation. But I say we would have to spend a very substantial sum of money for that purpose, and after we had spent it what would we

accomplish in the way of shortening the distance. The distance from Fort William to North Bay is 550 miles. It is also 550 miles from Fort William to Owen Sound; so you bring navigation no nearer this way from Fort William, whether you go by Owen Sound or by North Bay. The distance from North Bay to Montreal is 364 miles, making, in all, from Fort William to Montreal, 914 miles. Now, we incur this expenditure of \$1,500,000 or \$2,000,000 for making a route that is only 914 miles long when we already have a route by way of Parry Sound that is 907 miles long, or exactly seven miles shorter. I think the country will agree with me that it would not be the part of wisdom to incur such a large expenditure for such a doubtful return, because, if we cannot succeed in making the route shorter, we are not likely to reduce, very much, the cost of transportation, as compared with the other. But I may be told that you have an expenditure for one which is an all water route, and for the other, which is a part rail and a part water route, and that an all-water route is always cheaper for the transportation of grain than an all-rail route. What is the difference? When we have only 375 miles by one route, that by way of Parry Sound, and 364 miles by the other, it cannot cost much more for the transportation of grain when you have 375 miles as against 364 by way of the canal. Let us take the Midland route. From Port Arthur to North Bay, the distance is 550 miles, and from Port Arthur to Midland it is 574 miles. From Midland to Montreal the distance is 381 miles, so that the whole route from Port Arthur to Montreal, by way of Midland, is 955 miles, while by the Georgian Bay Canal it is 914 miles. Take the Owen Sound route, which is operated to-day, as are the routes by way of Midland and Parry Sound. From Port Arthur to Owen Sound the distance is 550 miles, from Owen Sound to Montreal 460 miles, or, in all, 1,010 miles, while the short route by way of North Bay is 914 miles, or a little less than 100 miles shorter. Take the Welland Canal route, and I find that it is 1,390 miles. If you go from Chicago by the Georgian Bay route the distance is 980 miles. It is no shorter than by the route from Port Arthur, or from Chicago by way of the Sault to Parry Sound, or from Chicago by way of the Georgian Bay to Midland and then to Montreal. So that, practically, there is very little difference between these routes at the present time. It may be said that we cannot successfully handle the products of our country by a water and rail route as successfully as by an all-water route. That may be so, but, it is a fact which cannot be denied, that we are handling the produce successfully to-day. In that connection the information given us by the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) will be found in his answer

to the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), who asked: How much grain was handled by these various routes? The answer was that, last year, 13,098,398 bushels of grain passed over the Parry Sound route. This route is the shortest of any one of the three, being 907 miles, while, as I have said, the Georgian Bay Canal route is 914 miles between the same points. Then, by the Midland route, which is 955 miles, we carried, last year, 11,258,144 bushels of grain, by the Owen Sound route we carried 2,674,202 bushels of grain, by the Goderich route we carried 2,131,557 bushels, by the Sarnia route 3,636,791 bushels, by the Collingwood route 560,000 bushels, making, in all, by the present routes, water and rail, 33,359,192 bushels, giving, as I say, the very strongest evidence that we are successful in handling the produce of our western country by the routes which we have, notwithstanding the very imperfect condition in which they are, and which might be very much improved by the expenditure of a little money. How much grain did we receive by water last year? I have shown the House that we carried by rail and water, part rail and part water, 33,000,000 bushels from the west, but we only carried by water 12,582,933 bushels. How much grain was received at Montreal last year by water and rail? 17,162,026 bushels. I give these figures to make a comparison between what can be done by our canals and done by our railways and waterways, combined so as to enable us to determine which class of route is the preferable one and which is the best for this country to support. Then, we have another very interesting question, and it is this: Why do we want these routes improved, and why do we want a shorter route. We want a shorter route for the purpose of attracting the trade that is going by way of the great cities of the United States, New York and Buffalo, to ocean navigation, and which is exported from the country in that direction. We want to attract that trade to Montreal. It has been very frequently discussed in this House and in the country, but never, in my judgment, has it been as plainly put before the House and the people as it was the other night by the ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart). He gave what, in my judgment, was data which enables us—and I am glad to say that after comparing the figures I find them correct—to estimate whether or not, as a great many people imagine, the large bulk of the western grain of Canada and the United States is exported out of the country by way of Buffalo and New York, instead of by way of the St. Lawrence Canals and Montreal. He gave the figures, which were somewhat startling, which were, nevertheless, correct, and which, in my judgment, are very important, because they give us information that we can get from no other source. It is said

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by a great many people that this grain goes by way of Buffalo and New York because the harbour of New York is better than the harbour of Montreal, and that, although the distance is greater from New York to Liverpool, grain can be carried more cheaply, because insurance rates are higher by way of Montreal, and that at New York they have better facilities for shipping than we have by way of our own city of Montreal. But, when we try to ascertain how much grain goes through that channel, we meet with the startling fact that there were only last year 18,970,646 bushels of wheat exported from the country by way of New York. How much was carried by way of Montreal? 17,162,000 bushels, and we may fairly assume that that went to Montreal for the purpose of being exported to Europe through that channel, the same as the other did from New York. Now, if that be a fact, and it is a fact, because it is taken from the trade and navigation returns of the United States, we cannot say, even with all the disadvantages under which we have been labouring with our routes, that we have been otherwise than fairly successful in competition with the routes through the United States. They were handling 17,000,000 bushels of grain through the port of Montreal for export, while they only handled 18,000,000 bushels of wheat through New York. But some will say, you only give wheat for New York, while you give all kinds of grain from Montreal, and if you take the export of wheat, barley, peas, and corn, you will find that from New York, there were 72,000,000 bushels exported in all. Through that port of New York, there was exported as well, 1,668,000 barrels of flour. If you convert that into wheat, it would represent 7,560,000 bushels of wheat, or in other words, New York exported wheat to the amount of 26,000,000 bushels, while in round numbers, we exported from Montreal 17,000,000. The comparison is a fair one, but at the same time it does not show so very much in favour of the port of New York. We will naturally be asked the question: What becomes of this grain which goes to Buffalo and New York? Well, it goes to supply the home consumption in the great cities of New York, Buffalo, Baltimore and Philadelphia, and other cities on the Atlantic coast, in the vicinity of which they are not producers of grain. They are consumers in these populous cities, and the home consumption absorbs a large percentage of the grain supplied by the Western States, as well as the grain that comes from Western Canada. It is not exported through these channels because of the advantage these cities have over other routes, but it is taken there because there is a demand for local consumption and so the surplus goes through these channels. It has been said that the grain is exported through these channels because of the cheaper transportation. Well, I think

the transportation is about as cheap by way of Montreal from Port Arthur, Duluth or Chicago, as by way of Buffalo, and New York. It is at all events about as cheap, for some time to come, unless there is great improvement in the Erie Canal, or in the railways that carry the grain from Buffalo. It is carried now from these ports to New York, at about 3½ cents a bushel, and I am told it is carried from Port Arthur and Chicago to Montreal, at from between 3½ and 4 cents a bushel, and has been carried at that rate during the last season or the season before. If that be the fact, there is not so much difference in the price of carriage between the American and the Canadian route. I contend that with a little improvement on our present waterways, and with better facilities in our harbours like Montreal and Collingwood and Owen Sound, we can carry the grain as cheaply to the port of Montreal as they can carry it to the port of New York. I contend that we can successfully compete with them for that trade the moment our contemplated improvements are made. There is one substantial advantage the Americans have over us, that perhaps we cannot provide a remedy for, and that is, the fact that they have return cargoes in most of the lines imported for consumption on this continent. But, Sir, as the development of our east goes on, there is no doubt that we will be sending more of our manufactured goods to the western country.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). It is only a very small percentage.

Mr. **SPROULE**. I am very glad to hear that, because it is an important element in the consideration of the question before the House.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). I do not think it exceeds ten per cent.

Mr. **SPROULE**. Then it is so much more in our favour.

Mr. **WOOD**. Can you get the same rate of freight from Montreal, as you can from New York, for grain, to Liverpool or to London?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. No, you cannot.

Mr. **SPROULE**. I will deal with that question later. Perhaps you cannot get the same rate, but still there is a fairly good rate. As the development of the future goes on, and as the east develops, we will supply a larger quantity of the goods westward, and, therefore, we will get a return cargo for these vessels, and that will help reduce the freight rates. I believe, Sir, that when we improve our transportation facilities, as we propose to, we can carry the produce of

the west quite as cheaply as they can from the port of New York at the present time, or as they are likely to be able to in the immediate future. It may be said that you cannot carry grain as cheaply by the railways as by the canals. It is my opinion, that as from year to year we improve our railways, putting on heavier rails, and drawing larger loads by heavier engines, we will be able in the future to carry freight on railways more cheaply than at present. I believe that the fact of there being several railway competitors for freight to the port of shipment, ensures that we shall have cheaper rates for our grain. I am, however, far from saying that it is not in the interests of the country, that we should have canals, because I believe that canals are the most successful competitors to railways, and so long as we have canals which give us competition during the season of navigation, we will at all events have active competition against the railways. For that reason I would advise the improvement of our canal system as rapidly as possible. I advocate this for the reason that I believe that canals will be valuable in the future for the purpose of affording competition, although I believe that in time to come, they will not be so valuable to the country generally, as they have been in the past. However, I believe that our waterway system will always be a great competitor, will always tend to reduce railway rates, and for that reason I am in favour of its development. Now, let me ask what are the improvements we should make? It seems to me there are certain improvements we should make, and that there is certain expenditure we might with safety incur. A beneficial expenditure might be made by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), in improving our harbours on the Georgian Bay, for instance, because some of them at the present time are not available for the needs of the country. Take the harbours of Collingwood, Meaford, Owen Sound, Goderich, and others, and they ought to be improved, and improved at once, and I believe that a wise expenditure of public money in their improvement would give good results to the country. Well, Sir, in my opinion we should go further, and I say, that one of the great needs of the hour, is the improvement in facilities for transportation in the harbour of Montreal. One of the members from Huron gave us valuable information the other day in instituting a comparison between the cost of handling grain at Montreal and at Buffalo and New York. He told us that some of these vessels which were carrying thousands of tons of freight, were compelled to lie at Montreal for days, sometimes, before they could get their cargo unloaded; while if they went to Buffalo or New York, they could be unloaded in a few hours. That tells us in the most unmistakable

language that it is the part of wisdom to direct our attention to the improvement of the shipping facilities of that harbour and the building of proper elevators. I am glad to know that the present government, through the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is endeavouring to do that, and I am quite sure that his course will be endorsed by the people of the country, although they sometimes do look with a little apprehension at what is being done, fearing that the contract that is being entered into may not contain sufficient safeguards to protect the rights of the people. They know that scaly transactions have sometimes taken place in the past, some are uncharitable enough to say at the hands of the Minister of Public Works, and therefore they are anxious that every necessary provision should be made in this transaction for safeguarding the interests of the people. I would not be so uncharitable as to say that he is not quite as anxious as we are that these safeguards should be provided. That is one of the urgent needs of the present time, because if vessels going to that port with full cargoes are detained there for hours or days before they can be unloaded, it is a very serious loss in the earning power of the vessels, and just as their earning power is reduced, they are compelled to put up the rates for handling the produce. Then, we require greater harbour facilities. I am glad to know that some efforts are being made in this direction, but I do not think the government are moving with the alacrity which the interests of the country demand, and it is necessary to spur them on. The harbour facilities at the port of Montreal are very inadequate compared with those of other ports. We require elevators at Montreal to handle the grain to advantage. We require greater facilities for shipping other lines of produce. I am speaking now particularly of grain, but I am told that the same argument applies to the shipping of butter, cheese, cattle and every other line of produce shipped through Montreal. We are very much behind the times. Great improvements are needed there, and the sooner we make them the better it will be for shippers, producers, and the country at large. It is our duty to direct our attention to the making of those improvements which we are able to make. The hon. member for Quebec West (Mr. Dobell) mentioned another matter in which great improvement is needed; that is, the very heavy rates of insurance when shipping by the St. Lawrence from the ports of Montreal and Quebec. When he was speaking, the question suggested itself to my mind, how many of these disadvantages can we remedy by our own efforts and is it not our bounden duty to remedy such as we can at the earliest possible date? The hon. gentleman suggested what in my judgment was a remedy for that; that is, that we should become

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our own insurers, even though we should have to come to the government for assistance. In my judgment that is not an insurmountable problem, and it should be taken up at the earliest possible date.

Mr. DOBELL. May I say a word on the subject of insurance? I was told only yesterday by the Traffic Manager of the Canada Atlantic Railway, that if some change were not made in the insurance rates by the 1st of September of this year, they would not be able to carry any more grain to Montreal or Quebec, but would have to send it all to Boston. The rate up to the 1st of September from Montreal is more than three times the rate from Boston, and after that date it is five or six times the rate from Boston.

Mr. SPROULE. I thank the hon. gentleman for the information, which adds force to the argument which I have been presenting to the House. This is one of the things that we have in our own hands, and why should we sit idly by and see the trade of our country suffer when we can provide the remedy ourselves. The government may say, we are not in the insurance line. The government of a country ought to be any line by which they can help the people. They may say it is a difficult thing to do; but it is the duty of a government to surmount difficulties; it is for that they are elected, and a government that is not prepared to grapple with difficult problems because they are difficult is a government unworthy of this country. This is one of the difficulties we can remedy, and the government ought to direct their attention to it at the earliest possible date. Then, we can make improvements in other ways. I am told by those acquainted with the St. Lawrence that one of the causes of the high rates of insurance is the need of a better lighted channel, so that it can be safely navigated both by day and by night. This is one of the needs that can be supplied by the expenditure of money, and the government should direct their attention to that. I am also told that the St. Lawrence channel is very irregular and zig-zag, and that at many points it could be straightened; otherwise it is impossible for vessels to navigate it at the speed at which they should travel. This is one of the things that can also be remedied by the expenditure of a little money. The government may say, we are spending money every year in the widening and the deepening of our canals. I know they are, and they deserve credit for all they are doing. I only call attention to these things so that the government may be spurred on to do what can be done by using a little more energy and spending a little more money. If we reduce the cost of insurance, enlarge and straighten our channels, and increase our harbour facilities, then and then only will it be possible to transport the produce from

the west to the east at the minimum cost. But we are confronted to-day with another proposal, to which we are asked to give our grave attention, that is, the Georgian Bay Ship Canal. I do not wish to be too hard on this project, which has been before this House for a long time, because if that canal were built there would be substantial merit in it.

Not altogether for transportation, because I do not think there is so very much in it over our present routes, but there would be a substantial merit in the water power that could be developed for the purpose of generating electricity and of being used in a thousand different ways for the advantage of the people. But it must not be forgotten that we have already spent large sums on our canals. We have already spent \$70,750,000 in building and improving our canals, and we are face to face now with the project of building the Georgian Bay Ship Canal. We are asked to take up that scheme, but before doing so we ought to inquire whether it is worth the money it will cost. We do not know what the cost will be, because we have no correct data to go by, but we do know that the promoters of that scheme made a proposal last year that the government should guarantee 2½ per cent interest upon \$25,000,000 of bonds for twenty-five years.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). The gentlemen who are promoting that undertaking have found it necessary to revise their figures to such an extent as to increase the amount of bonds they would have to issue, and they ask the government to guarantee them to the extent of \$35,000,000, reducing the number of years to twenty.

Mr. SPROULE. I was about to mention that. The proposal I have given was the one they made last year, but I see by a newspaper called *The Events*, which is inspired, no doubt, either by the hon. member from Pontiac or the gentleman who has this scheme under his control, that they have increased their demand, and now want \$35,000,000 of bonds guaranteed at 2½ per cent. That means a very large annual expenditure, and it is only guess work. It is held by some fairly good judges that even that large amount will not build the canal. The question is, would we be justified in beginning an undertaking which will involve such a heavy expenditure? In my judgment, with the other indebtedness we have on our hands to-day, we would not. We must not forget that we have various other routes which require only a small expenditure to enable them to be successful competitors with this route, as they would carry the grain nearly, if not as cheap. It may sound big to call this Georgian Bay route the ship canal, but a ship canal with

only fourteen feet of water is not entitled to the name.

There are besides many short lines of railways that require to be built, and which are knocking at our doors for government aid. These roads are wanted in districts where there are no railway facilities; and if we spend the money in furnishing railway facilities to the people in these remote sections, we cannot have it to spend on this canal.

I am far from saying that if this canal were built, it would not be a valuable highway of commerce and give considerable returns, but I do not think the returns would compensate us for the heavy outlay. No doubt the time will come when we will take up that scheme, but I do not think there is sufficient demand to warrant our incurring the expenditure to-day. We have now a number of routes competing for the same trade. We have the lakes and the St. Lawrence route through the Welland and other canals. We have the water route to Owen Sound, and thence eastward by rail. We have the water route to Midland, and thence eastward by rail. We have the water route to Parry Sound and eastward by rail—the water route to Goderich and eastward by rail, and also to Sarnia and by rail east and to Meaford and Collingwood. All these routes are complete, with the exception of certain improvements that require to be made in the harbours of Collingwood and Meaford, and they are all carrying the trade at present. It only requires a small outlay of money to improve these routes so that they will be available and valuable for the successful carrying on of the trade.

The Minister of Public Works wants to improve Port Colborne harbour. No doubt that harbour will be of more value, if improved, but I do not think that the necessities are so great as to justify the heavy outlay its improvement and the building of an elevator will involve. Some say the expenditure will amount to \$1,500,000, others \$2,000,000, and others \$5,000,000 to do the work properly. While we have these other routes, I do not think we would be justified in spending this large amount in improving the harbour of Port Colborne and building an elevator. The large bulk of our grain in the future would be carried by Georgian Bay, and then by railways eastward instead of through the Welland Canal. If there were any obstacle which could not be overcome in any other way, we might be justified in spending \$2,000,000 for the purpose of improving Port Colborne harbour and building an elevator, but we have been told by the hon. member for South Grenville (Mr. Reid), a man who is in the business, that at present the facilities for transshipment at Buffalo give all the advantages we could have at Port Colborne, even after the expenditure we are asked to

make. If we desire to discharge the grain from large vessels into smaller ones, we need only go twenty miles across the lake to have the best facilities for handling the grain in the cheapest and quickest way. It can there be put into the elevator and thence into small boats which can go down the Welland Canal and carry it down the St. Lawrence just as it could be done if we had a harbour at Port Colborne. So that we can take advantage of the harbour. Though it may not be in our own country, it is so close to us that it enables us to control the transportation of the produce as well, or nearly as well, as though we had made that heavy expenditure on Port Colborne, built the elevators there and provided the other equipment for that harbour. I do not wish to be understood as being entirely against improving Port Colborne harbour. I am against it to this extent—that the heavy outlay necessary to make the improvements would not bring an adequate return over what we should gain with the facilities that we have at the present time, nor would it result, to any considerable extent, in cheapening the cost of transportation, or helping to carry it on more successfully than we are doing at the present time. Nor do I think we should be justified, as I said before, in building the Montreal, Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal. That is too large an undertaking. No doubt, it will be built some time in the future, when our finances are all that could be desired. They are not bad at the present time, but there are demands upon our resources for work that is immediately more important and that will give a larger return than would be gained by money expended in the building of that canal.

To conclude—in my judgment, what we ought to do is, as far as possible, to perfect the St. Lawrence route. We are doing that now by building our canals and deepening them. We ought to perfect the route as much as possible by straightening and deepening the channels, improving the lighting and making other facilities for navigation better than are now provided. We should reduce the cost of insurance, which can, I believe, be done; build the elevators at Montreal, improve that harbour, and make facilities for transportation better. Doing this, you will do what, in my judgment, should be done in the interest of the country, leaving these very heavy undertakings until a future time. When these things are accomplished, we shall have accomplished what we can to improve the means of transporting our produce from the west to the east and vice versa. We shall then be able to transport goods at a cheaper rate than we can to-day, and shall compete successfully with the routes now carrying grain to Buffalo and New York. I say when it is looked into carefully, the competition we now offer to Buffalo and New York is very fair and commendable, not-

Mr. SPROULE.

withstanding the imperfect conditions under which we are labouring at the present time. When the improvements I speak of are made we shall compete much more successfully, we shall do what the country expect of us in bringing about the greatest good by the smallest expenditure of money and enable the people to carry on the transport of the country through our own channels to the seaboard and thence to Europe, where the most of what we export is consumed.

Mr. J. H. BELL (East Prince, P.E.I.) The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) who has just taken his seat, has advised the government to spend a large amount of money upon the equipment and maintenance of the canal system. The other evening we had the pleasure of listening to an admirable address from the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) who gave the government advice along the same line. He advocated the spending of from one to twenty millions upon Port Colborne, five millions or so upon Montreal, and a number of scattered millions upon the route from Port Arthur to Quebec. Now, I need hardly say that the people of the province that I represent look with suspicion, I may say with alarm, upon such proposed expenditures. There are two reasons for this. One is that, owing to our isolated position, we do not and cannot possibly derive any direct benefit from that expenditure. The other reason, and the main one, is that when we entered confederation, it was understood and agreed that \$25,000,000 only was to be expended on the completion of the canals; and our provincial debt,—the amount that was placed to our credit, was calculated and settled upon that basis. The people of Prince Edward Island naturally say: If you expend now \$10,000,000 more upon canals, the result is that we in Prince Edward Island have to contribute, say, one-fortieth of the amount or about \$250,000. The people of Prince Edward Island consider that a violation of the terms of union. We, of course, cannot expect to stop the wheels of progress for Canada; but if the government of Canada persists in spending large sums upon canals against our protest, we ought to receive some equivalent in lieu of that expenditure. We have necessities in Prince Edward Island that require to be provided for. We require piers along our shores, breakwaters for our harbours, dredging in our ports; and I trust that when these matters come up for consideration, this proposed expenditure on canals will be taken into account, and that the government will be prepared to do justice to us in Prince Edward Island. I hold in my hand the report of the commission on canals for the state of New York, issued about one month ago. In that report there is a proposition to spend \$63,000,000 upon the canal system of the State of New York; and the commission recommends that that expenditure

shall be assessed, not against the state of New York as a whole, but against those counties of the state of New York that derive special benefit from the expenditure. If such a recommendation is deemed just and expedient in regard to the counties of the state of New York, the argument is much stronger when applied to the isolated position of Prince Edward Island. If the principle which is recommended by the commission were applied to Canada, the expenditure proposed for our canals would fall, not upon Canada as a whole, but the largest percentage of it would fall upon the province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, that will receive the largest share of the benefits. These, by reason of the deepening and equipment of the canals will receive benefit in the shape of two cents or more per bushel upon every bushel of grain that they export; they will receive corresponding benefit in the shape of a diminution in the freight rates of goods that they import. The next largest percentage of expenditure would fall to Quebec and Ontario. They will derive a benefit from the carrying trade that will be largely in their hands, their cities will be built up on the course of the water route, a large number of their people will be engaged in the transportation of grain. The least percentage of assessment would fall to the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but no portion should fall upon the province of Prince Edward Island.

But Prince Edward Island, having joined the confederation, we must needs look at this question not alone from a provincial standpoint. We have to look at it from a national standpoint. And so regarding it, there are two facts that press themselves upon our attention. The first is that we have expended seventy million dollars upon our canal system. That canal system is now one of the main assets of Canada, and it is the manifest duty of the government to protect that asset, to preserve it for the benefit of the present and future generations, and to preserve it in a reasonable state of efficiency. There is another fact to be kept in mind. We are side by side with the people of the United States, we are rivals of theirs, and they are rivals of ours. We are both seeking for the larger share of the carrying trade of the great lakes. The people of the United States have been striving, are striving, and will continue to strive, by every means, and sometimes by questionable means, to preserve in American channels the great bulk of the carrying trade. They passed obnoxious legislation in the shape of coasting laws, the object of which was to legislate trade into American vessels and into American channels. They compelled us to build a second canal at the Sault. We were entitled to the benefit of the canals of New York State, under the Washington Treaty: they forbade us the

free use of them. They took off the tolls upon their canals, to draw trade from Canadian waterways. And what are they proposing to do to-day? To expend sixty-three million dollars on the canal system of the state of New York, to give a further monopoly to the American route. So, from a Canadian standpoint we are obliged 'volens volens' to protect our national interests. For that reason, I say, that any reasonable expenditure involved in keeping Canadian trade in Canadian channels ought to receive the cordial support of this parliament.

But there is another phase to this question. The most interesting phase is its commercial aspect. Looking at it from that aspect, I agree with everything that has been urged with regard to the magnitude and importance of that trade. Its magnitude is indicated first, by the fact that it gives employment and sustenance to over 50,000 people, and profitable investment for hundreds of millions of capital. It is measured by the fact that in 1898 21,224,664 tons of freight passed down the Sault Canal, valued at over two hundred million dollars. It is measured by the fact that the annual profits of this carrying trade exceeds fifteen million dollars. It is measured by the fact that last year 273,000,000 bushels of wheat, or its equivalent in flour, was brought to Buffalo from the upper lakes. These figures give us a glimpse of the magnitude and importance of the trade. It is manifestly the duty of the government to do everything reasonable to obtain and preserve to Canada as large a portion as possible of the carrying trade of the lakes.

I was a little amused by a statement made by the last speaker, with regard to the number of bushels of grain exported from the city of New York. The other evening we had a similar statement from the member for Lanark (Mr. Haggart). He contended we were interested, not in the number of bushels that reached Buffalo, but the number exported from the city of New York. I agree with that proposition. But the hon. gentleman went further, and said that the total number of bushels of grain exported from New York last year was nineteen millions, and that all the grain exported from all the ports of the United States amounted to seventy million bushels. That statement has been repeated by the hon. member for East Grey. His figures are, he says, absolutely correct. So far as I understand the matter, those figures bear their own refutation upon their face. If these figures are true, the Conners Syndicate has a heavy contract on its hands. The syndicate is bound, under the terms of its contract, to divert to the port of Montreal twice as much grain as is exported from the city of New York, and half as much grain as is exported from all the cities of the United States. That contention is absurd. I turn to the report of the Commission on Canals, to which I have referred,

and in that report we have a statement of the grain trade of the city of New York. It shows, speaking of the rail and water movement of grain at the port of New York, that the number of bushels of grain received in 1898, was 161,000,000, and that the number of bushels exported in that year was 124,000,000. This does not take into account the equivalent in flour; it is solely the receipts and the exports of grain. The exports of grain from the city of New York are 80 per cent of the receipts. Now, if these figures be true, and I have no doubt they are, as they are the latest returns we have—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. That is for the year 1898.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). Yes.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The statement for the year 1899 is a little less than that.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). Yes, but the difference is not material to the argument.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). What I mean to say is that it is not possible that only 19,000,000 bushels is the annual export of grain from New York.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No, that is wheat. There were 19,000,000 bushels of wheat during the present year. There is quite a falling off this year in the wheat export.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) I cannot say what the rail and water movement of grain has been for 1899. This is the latest statement I have been able to find.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. That is down to 1898, but it does not include the year 1899.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). No.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. There was a break this year owing to some special cause.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). At any rate, there is no question about the magnitude or importance, of the carrying trade of the great lakes, and there is no question about the duty of the government to do everything in its power to divert as large a portion of that trade as possible through Canadian channels. In discussing this question, we can consider it best by comparing the respective advantages and disadvantages of the Canadian and American routes. Starting from Duluth or Port Arthur, the Americans have a decided advantage in the matter of the vessels employed in the trade. In 1898 they had sailing vessels, 960; steam vessels, 1,764; canal boats and barges, 532, making a total of 3,256, having a tonnage of 1,437,

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500 tons. Our vessels on the lakes, engaged in the carrying trade, are only a very small percentage of that amount. The Americans by their coasting laws, have endeavoured to legislate American trade into American channels. This with a large majority of the vessels, gives them a decided advantage at the start. What shall we do to meet that condition of things? We cannot, of course, take the Americans by the throat and compel them to abrogate their vexatious coasting laws. But we can nullify the effect of these coasting laws by encouraging the building of a Canadian fleet. In what way? At the present time a great deal is being done in that direction without the intervention of government. At Hamilton a number of vessels for the lake service are being built; Mr. Booth is purchasing three or four large vessels for his trade between Depot Harbour and Chicago, the Connors Syndicate are building 15 vessels adapted and equipped for the trade upon the lakes. No doubt these examples will be followed by others. No doubt our 14 foot channel and improved waterway will necessitate and create a Canadian fleet. But if our changed conditions do not bring us a sufficient fleet, then, I think it may be very well for the government to consider a proposition made last year, a proposition which I do not think will involve expense or liability, a proposition to guarantee the interest on a sum of money, for the purpose of fostering the building of a Canadian fleet upon the Canadian lakes, the government to provide against liability by taking the security upon the fleet so constructed.

The next point at which the Americans appear to have an advantage is in the port of Buffalo. They have there a deeper and better harbour, than at Port Colborne, better docks and better elevators for handling and transshipping grain. Now, in what way are we to meet that advantage. What can Canada do? The hon. member (Mr. Bennett), who introduced the resolution, asked for the policy of the government upon that question. He himself did not propound any policy. He wanted the government to announce theirs in order, if possible, to subject it to adverse criticism. But the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) had a policy. His was that we were to spend upon Port Colborne, from one to twenty million dollars for the purpose of constructing elevators, building a breakwater, deepening the harbour and improving it generally; in other words for putting it upon an equality with the port of Buffalo. Now, Sir, I cannot help coming to the conclusion that such a policy in regard to Port Colborne is rash and inconsiderate. Why so? The last speaker (Mr. Sproule), advised the government to go into the construction and operation of elevators. The hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Mac-

donald) gave similar advice. Sir, I do not approve of that policy. Elevators are part of the transportation system. They should be built and operated by the same persons who build and operate the boats that carry the grain. The government has no right to go into the business of transportation. If the government begins to build elevators, they are establishing a precedent that is extremely dangerous. They are entering on a policy in which they will not know where to stop and cannot stop. The same rule that will apply to elevators here will apply to Montreal, to Port Dalhousie, to every port on the route between Port Arthur and Quebec. That is not the only reason why I oppose this large expenditure at Port Colborne. It is impolitic because we do not know the conditions under which the trade on the great lakes in the future is to be carried on. If the trade is to be carried on by large vessels carrying 300,000 bushels of wheat, if these have got to come to Port Colborne, if grain has to be taken into elevators, then it will be necessary to equip Port Colborne harbour by building a breakwater, and deepening a portion of the harbour. But no man can tell in what manner or by what kind of vessels the carrying trade of the future is to be conducted. We have now a 14-foot channel, and that 14-foot channel to my mind is going to revolutionize the mode of carrying grain upon the lakes.

Mr. SPROULE. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell) say in what way it is going to revolutionize the carrying trade on the lakes? The whole trend at present is towards larger boats.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). That is the point I am coming to. To my mind our carrying trade of the future is going to be different from that which now exists between Duluth and Buffalo. Look at the condition of things as they now exist at Port Colborne. Suppose to-day you have a vessel carrying 100,000 bushels of grain in Port Colborne harbour. She has to discharge 25,000 bushels, and that 25,000 bushels has got to be taken by an elevator out of the vessel into a railway car, and carried across to Port Dalhousie. When you come to Port Dalhousie you have got to go through the same process,—the elevator has to be used to transfer the grain out of the car back into the vessel. The vessel goes on to Kingston or Prescott. What happens there? A similar process. The elevators take the grain and put it into the barges convenient for carrying it the rest of the way to Montreal. Is all that done for nothing, for the love of doing it? Why the elevator charges alone amount to a very considerable sum. The hon. member for Huron stated that they amounted to about one-eighth of one per cent.

Mr. SPROULE. That is about it.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). According to my researches I find that the elevating charges at Buffalo amount to .625 or nearly two-

thirds of a cent per bushel, and at New York to .5 or about half a cent per bushel. Here you have the elevator charges at Port Colborne, at Port Dalhousie, at Kingston. They amount to 1½ cents at least on every bushel of grain that goes through these elevators. That is an expensive luxury. More than that, look at the cost to run the grain by rail from Port Colborne to Port Dalhousie. The Grand Trunk Railway charges 2 cents a bushel upon all grain transported over that 26 miles of road. Take that into account with the elevator charges, and you have ample reason why the grain trade in the past has avoided this route. That is the condition of things existing to-day; that is the condition that will exist so long as you have the grain carried by the larger vessels.

Now, I come to the point raised by my hon. friend. He asks, in what way will the grain trade of the lakes in all probability be carried on? I say in all probability, because we can only speak of probabilities; we cannot speak of certainties. We can only say that a fourteen-foot channel in our canals is bound to work a change in the mode of carrying the grain on the lakes. Exactly what shape that will take it is impossible for any man to forecast. But the probability is that you are going to have a steam vessel carrying about 80,000 bushels with two consorts accompanying her in tow—composing a fleet of three vessels laden with a quarter of a million bushels. This fleet will start from Port Arthur or Duluth, will pass down the lakes, will enter the harbour at Port Colborne, will pass through the Welland Canal without breaking bulk, will pass down through Lake Ontario, will sail past the elevators at Prescott and Kingston and will go straight on to Montreal or Quebec, without elevator charges and without the expense of carrying the grain by rail from Port Colborne to Port Dalhousie. To my mind, that is the way in which the grain trade is going to be carried on in the future. That is the way in which the present canal system of Canada will revolutionize the carrying trade on the lakes. But this mode of carriage has other advantages: it involves the cheapest mode of building vessels, the least expenditure on coal, and the least outlay in the payment of men; it yields the greatest profit for the least expenditure. For these reasons, to my mind, the strong probability is that the grain trade of the lakes will be conducted in the manner I have indicated.

Mr. SPROULE. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to tell him that a few years ago 20,000 bushels of grain was considered a vessel load; but to-day there are vessels carrying 250,000 bushels. Every year they are increased in size, and so far as my information goes, no one would attempt to take a vessel with consorts of smaller boats through Lake Superior.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). All I can say is that is the way in which a large proportion of the grain-carrying trade at the present time is conducted. Of course, it is subject to accident. The vessel which has the propelling power is liable to be driven ashore, or the vessel in tow is liable to break away; but these accidents are so rare that they need not be taken into account. A slight addition of insurance will cover any possible loss. I say, therefore, that this is the mode in which the carrying trade of the lakes will probably be conducted in the future. If that be true, what follows? This follows, that the policy of the government with regard to Port Colborne has to be in conformity with and subject to the conditions of the carrying trade. If the carrying trade is to be done in large vessels with a capacity of 200,000 or 300,000 bushels, then you have to provide a sufficient harbour at Port Colborne; you have to expend public money upon piers and breakwaters. But if the carrying trade is to be conducted in the way I have indicated, then the manifest policy is to do nothing at Port Colborne, except, perhaps, construct a breakwater. There is absolutely no need of any large expenditure. The hon. member who introduced this resolution asks about the government policy at Port Colborne. I do not know what that policy may be, but to my mind the very policy they have pursued is the policy that ought to have been pursued; it is the waiting policy and the watching policy. It is to watch to see in what manner the trade of the lakes is going to be carried on, and then to adopt such means at Port Colborne as will meet the exigencies of that trade.

Some hon. gentleman, in discussing this question, has proposed that the government should abolish the tolls on the canals. I look forward to the time in the near future when there will be a largely increased traffic upon these canals, and when the receipts from tolls will be much in excess of what they are to-day. When that time arrives the government would do right to reduce the tolls to the level of their working expenses; but to say that they should be abolished entirely is a proposition, which I am satisfied, the people of this country are not prepared to accept.

The next consideration is with regard to the Erie Canal. That canal has the disadvantage of being longer than ours—about five times as long. That operates in favour of the Canadian route. Again, the ordinary loaded fleet, on the Erie Canal, consisting of a steamer and three consorts, carries 40,000 bushels, while a steamer with two consorts on our fourteen-foot channel will be able to carry 250,000 bushels. That will give us a tremendous advantage.

Now, let us pass to the port of New York. The Americans contend, and with justice, that the port of New York has many ad-

vantages over that of Montreal. One advantage is, that the port of New York is open all the year round, whereas the port of Montreal is open only for six months of the year. Of course, it is impossible by any action of this government to overcome our natural disability. But have we not been overlooking a winter port that has great claims to our consideration. I refer to the port of Quebec. Those vessels that will pass down the canals and through the lakes without breaking bulk, those vessels that we expect to carry a quarter of a million bushels to the fleet can pass down as easily to Quebec as to Montreal, and with very little additional expense. The city of Quebec has besides, other advantages. In New York, the C.P.R. has to pay perhaps \$200,000 a year for wharfage accommodation, and of course that expenditure is charged back against the exporters and producers of grain. But in the city of Quebec, besides a deep and commodious harbour you have wharfage accommodation of the very best character to an unlimited extent, and which you can obtain almost for the asking. In that respect, Quebec enjoys a considerable advantage over New York. But that is not all. A large portion of the risk in sending vessels from Montreal to Liverpool is incurred between Montreal and Quebec; but if these great grain carriers, to which I have referred, instead of stopping at Montreal, go on to Quebec, you overcome the difficulty, you get rid of the dangerous channel and the additional expense of insurance. There is still another advantage to the credit of Quebec. We all know that the great lakes are drying up. The amount of water in them is less now than in former years. This is due partly to the drainage by the Chicago and Erie and other canals. But the main cause of the diminution is the clearing up of the country, and the consequent drying up of the streams that run through cultivated lands to supply the lakes. The result is that the water in the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Quebec is yearly becoming less—will yearly continue to decrease.

By taking Quebec as our winter port we avoid that difficulty. We will then have a port that is independent of the supply water from the lakes and of water in the channel between Montreal and Quebec. Quebec is a port which lies on the direct route between the upper lakes and England. We have been looking for ports in Halifax and St. John, but these are away from the direct route, and the long line of railway that connects them will always be a disadvantage. The port of Quebec, too, as I understand it, is a port that is open for ten months in the year. The navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is possible for that period. If that be the case, then you have in Quebec a winter port which is almost equal to that of New York.

From the best information I can get, with the exception possibly from the middle of February to the middle of April, the Gulf of St. Lawrence is navigable all the year, and vessels in the carrying trade would require only a slight protection of iron to enable them to navigate the lower St. Lawrence and the Gulf during the winter months. When you take account of all these considerations you will conclude with me that Quebec has a larger claim as a winter port upon our consideration than any other port in Canada, and I trust that the people of that city will soon wake up to the strength of their position and the importance of their heritage.

There is another matter to which I would like to refer, and that is the question of insurance. It is alleged that New York has an advantage in the matter of insurance rates. That is true, but not to the extent stated. My hon. friend from Quebec (Mr. Dobell), said the other day that there was a discrimination in rates between the city of New York and the city of Montreal amounting in some cases to three per cent.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. All the ports on the southern side of the boundary line, New York included, are on the same footing.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). The ex-Minister of Railways (Mr. Haggart) undertook to correct my hon. friend and said that the discrimination was not 3 per cent, but only one per cent.

Mr. DOBELL. May I explain that. It is 1 per cent during the summer months, up to the 1st September. After the 1st September it is 3 per cent, and later in the year, after about the 20th October, it is often 5 per cent and 6 per cent. I was within the mark when I spoke of 3 per cent. I am speaking from personal knowledge, having had to pay the extra rate.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). With all deference to the opinion of these hon. gentlemen, I contend that they are both in error. The statement they are making is not only erroneous, but calculated to leave a bad impression in Canada and elsewhere regarding the respective merits of the New York and Montreal routes. Why do I say that? I have here in my hand a schedule of insurance rates on flour. Although it is not a schedule of rates on grain, yet it will give us a fair idea of the discrimination against the port of Montreal. By way of New York, the rate to the United Kingdom is 50 cents—that is 50 cents on \$100, or half of one per cent. By way of Montreal, on the Allan Line up to September 1st, the rate is 20 cents extra, or $\frac{2}{5}$ of 1 per cent. So the discrimination against Montreal is not 3 per cent, it is not one per cent, it is $\frac{1}{5}$ of 1 per cent. After the 1st of September, the discrimination is 30 cents, or three-tenths of one per cent, by the Allan Line. By other

regular lines, up to 1st September, the discrimination is 30 cents, and after the 1st of September, it is 40 cents.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Is there not a good deal of difference on the tramp steamers?

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). I have been speaking of the ordinary rates on regular lines. But a tramp steamer of low grade, going out of New York, would be charged as much insurance or nearly so as it would out of Montreal—both would be charged high rates, dependent on the grade of the tramp steamer and the season of the year.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. There is in Lloyds, a discrimination against us north of the boundary line on the Atlantic coast.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). The rates I have quoted are those from a marine insurance agent practically acquainted with the business. The rates on flour were the only rates he had available, and I assume that the rates on flour are much the same as rates on grain. If that be true, the highest discrimination against Montreal is $\frac{2}{5}$ of 1 per cent. Still a discrimination does exist; and it is the duty of the government, as the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), has said, to do what it can to lower the rates of insurance from Canadian ports. That hon. gentleman has suggested that the proper course for the government to take is to go into the insurance business themselves. From that proposition, I dissent. The government have no right to deal with matters of insurance. They have a right, however, to do all in their power to bring the insurance rates by way of Montreal down as low as those by way of New York, by the only way that is open to them—namely, by reducing the number of casualties that happen on the route between Montreal and Liverpool. And how are they to accomplish that? By improving the channel—by improving the system of fog signals, and buoys and lights on the Lower St. Lawrence. When they have done that, they can go to Lloyds, and ask them to look at the record showing fewer casualties, and Lloyds will lower the rates.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. They have increased the rates for St. John, and we have no casualties from that port at all.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). I am aware there is a slight discrimination against the port of St. John.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Against all the ports north of the boundary line.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). I wish to refer to a point mentioned by my hon. friend (Mr. Sproule). While the New York route has advantages, yet, notwithstanding these,

grain can be put on board ship at Montreal as cheaply as it can be taken by way of Duluth and Buffalo, and the Erie Canal, and put on board ship at the city of New York. To prove that, I have here the rates for 1898.

	Per bushel. cts.
Via Duluth to Buffalo	1·80
Buffalo to New York	3·125
Charges at New York	1·075
Total	6·00

On the other hand, we find the charges via Montreal, are as follows :

	Per bushel. cts.
Charges from Fort William to Prescott...	4·08
Prescott to Montreal, f.o.b., ocean steamer.	1·75
Wharfage, Montreal	0·17
Total	6·00

Mr. SPROULE. Is the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell, P.E.I.), aware that wheat has been carried at rates away below that this season ?

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) It may be so, I have not the figures for this last season. I wish to point out, however, and it is a matter of pride that even with all these adverse conditions, we have been able to do as well as we have in Canada. This is what obtains at the present time, but the question is, what about the future ? The ex-Minister of Railways and Canals, in his speech the other day, said that a small fraction of one per cent is enough to divert grain from one route to another, so sensitive is the carriage of grain. He spoke the truth. But what shall we say with regard to the change in the lowering of the freight rates that is going to be the result of the opening and operating of a fourteen-foot channel ? Is there any man who is able to forecast to what extent the lowering of those rates will be ? Under the mode of carrying on the lakes and canals that I have suggested, it is manifest you are going to have a vast reduction in your freight rates. It is not going to be a fraction of one per cent. It is going to be two cents per bushel at least, and perhaps three, on every bushel of grain transported. It is possible—yes, probable—that the six-cent rate from Duluth will be cut in two. At any rate, there is going to be a vast reduction. The result is going to be what every one foresees, a diversion of a large portion of the grain traffic into Canadian channels. Why, we talk about the Conners Syndicate, and say it is going to divert grain. I say it is not the Conners Syndicate that is going to divert the grain, it is the changed and improved conditions of our canal system. The fact is, grain will be diverted over the head of and in spite of the Conners Syndicate. Of course, the Syndicate saw their chance, and they were will-

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.)

ing and anxious to go into the carrying trade. They saw that the changed conditions would naturally tend to divert a large portion, probably the largest portion of the grain carrying trade of the lakes to the city of Montreal, and so they were eager for the chance to build elevators at Montreal and ships for the carriage of grain upon the lakes. Sir, it is not only the Conners Syndicate that are looking into our future. I want to call your attention again to this report upon the canals, issued by the state of New York. The people of New York see clearly the altered conditions, and they are growing apprehensive of the result in the near future of the deepening of our canals to fourteen feet. Read between the lines and listen to this quotation from this report of the commission :

The state of New York must be prepared to face from this time on a serious competition in the export trade over the St. Lawrence route. The Soulanges Canal, which was the last link in the improvements around the rapids of the St. Lawrence River, has been completed during the year 1899, and nominally opened for business. It will be actually open for business with the spring of 1900. This chain of improvements gives a waterway from Lake Erie through the Welland Canal, Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence River and its canals capable of carrying boats or barges of about 2,200 tons capacity ; the size of the locks is 270 by 40 by 14, admitted vessels 255 feet long, and 12 to 14 feet draft, depending on the advantage of Lake Erie. The expenditures for construction and enlargement of this route during the last fifty years have been over 56 millions dollars, a sum which bears the same ratio to the wealth of Canada as 100 millions would bear to the state of New York. The distance from Lake Erie to Liverpool by the St. Lawrence route is about 450 miles shorter than by any route across the state of New York. It is certain that the Canadian government will do everything in its power to realize every possible advantage from this enormous expenditure. Already propositions have been submitted by a group of Chicago and Buffalo capitalists to the harbour commissioners of Montreal and accepted by the latter, the result of which will be to divert about 35 million bushels of grain from the New York route. These propositions involve the immediate construction of at least 15 barges of the maximum size which can be used on the canal, and costing \$100,000 each, in addition to elevators, warehouses and other structures in the harbour of Montreal, costing more than 4 million dollars. These propositions contain no exclusive privileges, and it is open to another group of capitalists to make similar arrangements for the diversion of other large amounts of the grain which now passes through New York.

Sir, the people of the state of New York see the change and improved condition of the Canadian canal system, and they apprehend that a large portion, perhaps the largest portion, of the grain trade will be thereby diverted ; and in order to meet this contingency they have advised that the sum of sixty-three million dollars should be spent by the state of New York upon the system of canals. The people of Canada recognise

the magnificent advantage we now possess, and rejoice in it. It is for the government of Canada to do all that is within their power to give to the people of Canada the full benefit, the full fruition, of that immense traffic upon our lakes that now appears to be fairly and fully within our grasp.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved the adjournment of the House.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Might I ask the hon. gentleman what the government will take up to-morrow.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I think the Bill founded on the contingent resolutions will probably be reached; also the third reading of the Redistribution Bill.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11.25 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 8, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 71) respecting the Dominion Cotton Mills Company (Limited).—(Mr. Mills.)

Bill (No. 72) respecting the Merchants Bank of Halifax, and to change its name to the Royal Bank of Canada.—(Mr. Russell.)

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—INSPECTION FEES.

Mr. GAUVREAU (by Mr. Gibson) asked :

How much are the inspectors of weights and measures entitled to charge each country merchant on making their visit of inspection? What is the salary of the inspectors, and to whom do the sums of from five to six dollars, collected by them from our country merchants, revert?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). 1. The fees for the inspection of weights and measures are regulated by order in council, and all inspectors are governed thereby. The amount, therefore, collected depends upon the number and description of the scales and weights inspected. 2. The salaries of inspectors vary according to the importance of the divisions. 3. All moneys collected are deposited to the credit of the honourable the Receiver General.

ELEVATORS FOR THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

Mr. A. H. MOORE (Stanstead). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to draw the attention of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) to what I consider to be a defect in the internal economy of these buildings. In the departmental buildings we have a more convenient way of getting to the upper flats than by climbing long and tedious stairways. When we come to this House, to discharge our duties as patriotic representatives of this great country, and loyal subjects of the Queen, I think the government might provide elevators to facilitate us in the discharge of our duties. I would ask the government to consider the matter of furnishing elevators, and also to try and improve the ventilation of the building, as an hon. gentleman beside me has suggested.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS (Mr. Tarte). Since I have been in office, I have endeavoured to serve my Queen to the best of my ability—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS—in the way of supplying elevators for Her loyal subjects in this House. I have provided elevators for the East block and the West block, and I quite agree that we should have a couple more elevators.

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I beg to lay on the Table of the House certain papers, telegrams, &c., respecting the Pacific cable.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I had a motion on the Order paper for these, and I understood it was moved in my absence.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I sent the papers to the Secretary of State's office for the necessary endorsement, under the impression that it was an Order of the House, and I received them back again with the statement that the Order was not passed. I find, however, that the Order has been passed.

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. GEO. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) There were some returns ordered by the House on the 5th of February, ten of them, I think, and although they do not require much time in their preparation, they are not down yet.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier.) Will the hon. gentleman send me a list of them?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, if the Prime Minister sends the list back; it is the only check I have on him.

Mr. J. A. GILLIES (Richmond). I would like to ask the Minister of Railways and Canals when a return ordered on the 12th of February, will be brought down? It was ordered twenty-four days ago, and as it refers to an important matter in which the public are concerned, I would like the minister to bring it down at the earliest moment.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Will the hon. gentleman state what return he refers to?

Mr. GILLIES. It is in connection with the earnings of the Intercolonial Railway, in the eastern part of Nova Scotia—at Sydney and North Sydney.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. That has been sent for to Moncton, but it has not yet been received here. The very moment it comes, I will expedite it.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). On the 7th of February, an Order of the House was made for copies of all correspondence between any officer of the Interior Department, and any officer of the North-west Mounted Police, in the inside service at Ottawa, respecting the giving of contracts for supplies for the North-west Mounted Police, since the 23rd of June, 1896. Will the right hon. the Premier tell me when that return will be placed on the Table?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I will send and see.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax). I would like to direct the attention of the Minister of Railways and Canals, to an Order which was made two sessions ago, or early last session, for the papers and evidence relating to the dismissal of Peter S. Archibald, from the position of Chief Engineer of the Intercolonial Railway. The evidence exists, because the hon. gentleman quoted it in a speech two sessions ago, before it was brought down. I intended to have brought the matter up last session, but I did not discover that the papers had not been brought down until so near the end of the

Mr. MULOCK.

session, that it was useless then to mention it. I spent two or three hours going around to the different officers of the House who might know anything about them, and they informed me that so far as they knew, the papers had not been brought down.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) That recalls to mind that last session and the session before, I started in to get returns from the different departments with reference to those precious smelling commissions which were to try employees of the different departments, and dismiss them when they could be proved to have been Conservatives, and I have only been successful in getting about half of them from the departments. In the interests of uniform and full statistics, I would like those that have not been brought down, to be brought down.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I think there were no returns moved for answering the description of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, all moved for last session and all passed—for every department. The Order was a general one to the government to bring down the information as to all these dismissals, the expenses, and all that.

REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock), moved third reading of Bill (No. 13), respecting representation in the House of Commons.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the third time.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER. I declared the motion carried, after I had waited in vain for some time.

Mr. FOSTER. There are two gentlemen on their feet.

Mr. SPEAKER. Shall the Bill pass, and the title be as in the motion?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I must say, that for the first time in my life I have heard the statement of the Chair—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am violating no principle of order. I say that for the first time in my life, in this House, I have heard the statement of the Chair, that the Bill was carried, when his immediate attention was drawn to the fact that an hon. member was on his feet, wishing to speak to the motion. It is the first time that I have seen an hon. member, under such cir-

cumstances, refused permission to go on and make his speech. Of course, technically, your statement may be correct; but from the first day this House was organized, a statement of that kind from the Chair, has always been considered subject to the wish of any hon. member to speak. On this occasion, it appears that two hon. members were anxious to settle between them who had the floor; and while they were agreeing which should speak first, the Chair undoubtedly, not having observed that, declared the motion carried. Under the circumstances, I think it could hardly be adopted as the practice of this House.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I think Mr. Speaker was clearly within the rules of the House, as he waited for a long time, before declaring the motion carried. But there is no disposition at all to shut off the discussion in any way. If any hon. member wishes to speak on this question, I shall be the first to ask that he be given the opportunity. But, I want to say to my hon. friend, that the Speaker wished to do his duty fairly to both sides of the House.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not question that.

Mr. FOSTER. The difficulty arose in this way. The hon. member from Prince Edward Island, spoke to me on Friday, saying that he wanted to speak, and I told him that he would have an opportunity to do so, on the third reading, and I was trying to catch his eye, when the motion was put, and the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), was waiting to see who had the floor.

Mr. SPEAKER. I wish to correct my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition. I want to say distinctly, that I had looked for both of those hon. members who had intimated to me that they wanted to speak on this motion, but neither of them paid any attention to the Speaker. It was not until after that transpired, that I declared the motion carried, and then I saw the hon. member for East Simcoe rise to his feet.

Mr. McNEILL. May I just explain, Mr. Speaker?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. McNEILL. I suppose, Mr. Speaker, that these unseemly cries are raised in order to give the government a little time to bring down their business.

Mr. SPEAKER. I cannot tolerate a statement of that sort. I must ask the hon. gentleman to withdraw it.

Mr. McNEILL. I will say, then, that no doubt these unseemly cries are made for

the purpose of facilitating discussions in this House.

Mr. SPEAKER. I cannot tolerate that statement. I am within the judgment of the House, but I think suggestions of that kind should not be made.

Mr. McNEILL. Then I withdraw the statement.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Chair, chair; sit down.

Mr. McNEILL. Mr. Speaker, is that order?

Mr. SPEAKER. I must ask the hon. gentleman to respect the Chair, and at least take his seat. If the hon. gentleman has any personal explanation to make, I should be pleased to hear him.

Mr. McNEILL. I must confess that I feel somewhat at a loss at the present moment. I had just declared that if I had said anything which ought to be withdrawn, I was quite prepared to withdraw it. If I did not resume my seat, it was because I supposed I still had the floor. I certainly never have set the example in this House of disrespect to the Chair, and this is the first occasion it has ever been suggested that I did so. I wish to assure you, Sir, that nothing was further from my thoughts. I just wish to explain how it was that this misunderstanding arose with regard to the third reading of the Bill. I am seated in such a remote part of the House that often I can scarcely hear what is said, and I did not catch what you, Sir, were saying. That is why I looked hard at you, Sir, at the time; and as soon as I found out exactly how the matter stood, I rose to my feet.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. gentleman wishes to address the House on this measure, he can do so by consent of the House.

The PRIME MINISTER. We are on the third reading.

Mr. McNEILL. I desire to move the amendment of which I gave notice—an amendment to the second subsection of the second clause. The clause reads:

The letters patent appointing the commissioners shall direct them, in making the divisions, to consider the distribution of population according to the latest census of Canada, the public convenience, and such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice.

That is the clause, as it stands in the Bill, and I propose to add the following words:

Irrespective of any consideration as to the balance of political parties in the several constituencies.

We have already discussed this question in committee, and I have no desire to further

take up the time of the House, but submit this amendment and leave it to the government to say whether or not they are prepared to accept it.

Mr. SPEAKER. It is moved by Mr. McNeill :

That the House resolve itself again into committee with instructions to add the subsection 2 of clause 2, after the word 'justice,' the words following: 'irrespective of any consideration as to the balance of political parties in the several constituencies.'

Some hon. MEMBERS. Explain.

Mr. McNEILL. The clause as it stands without amendment is, in my judgment, ambiguous and open to the construction that the judges might take into consideration this question of the balance of parties in order to make a distribution best calculated to do substantial justice. I think it would be most unhappy if the judges were placed in any such position, and it is well that we should add words to make it perfectly clear that any such consideration is removed altogether from the scope of reference to the judiciary.

The PRIME MINISTER. I must express to my hon. friend my surprise that he, of all men, should move such an amendment. He has always been supposed to be the Britisher of all Britishers. But where does he find any precedent in British legislation for such an amendment? He will look in vain through the statutes passed by the British parliament, from its earliest days to this date, to find any reference in them to political parties. This amendment of the hon. gentleman is an American idea; it is an importation from our neighbours. You will find it in American legislation, but not in any British legislation, and I must repeat that I am astonished to find my hon. friend, of all men in the world, advocating it. He is no longer himself. From day to day he poses as the apostle of everything that is British in this country; he is the father, and perhaps the mother also, of everything British in this country. But oh, what a fall is there—down from that height to the idea of introducing American legislation and referring to political parties by name in our statutes. That is a thing unheard of in British legislation, and I do not think that my hon. friend will, on reflection, continue to press his amendment. The words of the Bill are that its object is to do substantial justice. To whom? Not to any political party. Political parties are ignored, so far as this legislation is concerned. It is to do substantial justice to the electors themselves, to see that their rights are not in any way prejudiced, and the words convey all that is necessary to enforce what we have in view.

Mr. McNEILL.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not think that the mover of this amendment has been affected by any disposition to view American precedents with favour or come down to their system. I am afraid that he has been simply impelled by his strong sense of justice to come down to the position of hon. gentlemen opposite in order to meet the very extraordinary conditions of things which has been presented in connection with this measure. It will be in the recollection of the House that the hon. mover of the Bill indicated, when it was first introduced, that the object and aim of the government was to do anything but substantial justice between the two political parties. I do not intend to take up the time of the House discussing that point, and I think perhaps, under the circumstances, my hon. friend would consult precedents, with reference to legislation in this House at all events, by accepting the explanation of the right hon. Prime Minister that the term 'substantial justice' is intended to apply to the whole of Canada and thus cover the position taken by my hon. friend. I hope that he will be good enough to accept that view of the case, because he wants to stick as close as possible to Imperial precedents, and I think, after the explanation of the right hon. First Minister, my hon. friend would do well to accept that interpretation of the clause.

Mr. McNEILL. I may say that I did not move this resolution without having consulted at least one of the most distinguished legal members in this House, and he, at all events, thought that those words were not improper words to use. I think that his view on the subject is probably as sound as that which has been expressed by my right hon. friend, whose partiality for English precedent. I am most happy to find, is to-day so very much stronger than it was only a short time ago. It is very gratifying to me to feel that, if I have been the apostle, as he calls me, of British institutions in this country—I beg to say I have been but one very humble worker among very many apostles—I have made so admirable and distinguishable a convert as my right hon. friend. Of course, I do not wish to press the amendment, in view of the absolute statement the right hon. gentleman has made. I can only say that I feel satisfied that, so far as the judges who have to deal with the matters are concerned, they would like some words inserted here which would make it perfectly clear exactly what the scope of the reference to them is. I say that the words here are ambiguous words, absolutely ambiguous, and all I asked was that they should be made clear. And I must say that I am surprised that the government, having in view, no doubt, that object which they allege they had in view, have thrown any ob-

stacles in the way of the adoption of such a form of clause as may remove this ambiguity. If my right hon. friend did not like this form of words, it would have been easy to adopt some other form that would carry out my wish.

Amendment (Mr. McNeill) withdrawn.

Mr. BENNETT. When, last year, the Senate of Canada, in their wisdom, saw fit to veto the Bill that had been passed in this House, it was expected that, owing to the strong grounds the Senate took on that occasion, the last would have been heard of this Bill until the proper time for the introduction of such a measure—after there had been a census of the Dominion. However, the administration have seen fit to introduce the Bill which is now before us. The Postmaster General, to whom was entrusted the carrying of the Bill in this House, has stated two great reasons for this measure. The first is, that it would restore rights to the people, and the second, that it would afford the government an opportunity of carrying out the last of their unredeemed pledges. If this Bill were introduced only to redeem a pledge of the government, I think the country will feel that they might as well let this go with the other unredeemed and unfulfilled pledges that they have made to the people. It is something new to have the Postmaster General appear in a jocular role. When he tells the House and the country that the intention in introducing this Bill is to redeem a pledge, the country will see that he is treating the whole matter in jocular fashion.

As to the first ground for the introduction of this Bill, I do not propose to discuss it at any length. It has been an acknowledged principle, in the past at all events, that there should be a redistribution at the end of every decade, and when the government undertake to introduce such a measure at this time, the only reason that can be fairly assigned is party advantage. If it is acknowledged that at any time a Redistribution Bill can be brought in this House and carried here and in the Senate, then, whenever a government desire to gain party advantage, they have only to introduce a Bill similar to this. Had the government introduced a Bill on this occasion to deal with only one or two, or even three, constituencies, the measure would simply have been laughed out of the House. To be fair to hon. gentlemen opposite, however, it must be said, as will be in the memory of members of this House, that, on one occasion when they had the opportunity, they endeavoured to pass a Representation Bill. I refer to the famous case of Centre Huron. The government, in order to obtain a political advantage, was prepared to deal with that one constituency and leave all others alone. Any hon. gentleman who scans this

Bill throughout will see plainly that the government have deliberately aimed at one object and one alone—wherever they think they can obtain party advantage they deal with a constituency, but where there is no opportunity to gain party advantage, they studiously leave it alone.

Let us take, in the first place, the question of principle. It has been argued that the first and greatest point in such a matter is to have regard to population. But this Bill simply makes that a perfect laughing-stock, hon. gentlemen opposite being careful to look ahead and see how their party interests are affected. The city of Quebec has a population, according to the last census, of some 63,000. That city has three representatives, or an average of about 21,000 for each constituency. Now, though 21,000 is supposed to be a proper number of people to be represented by one member in the city of Quebec, yet, when we come to the city of Toronto, with over 200,000, they provide that every representative must in effect represent over 40,000 people. Why is that principle laid down in the case of the city of Toronto and the exception made in the case of the city of Quebec? But that is only one of many cases we can instance of the great disparity of population under this Bill. Having regard to the fact that so many absurdities do exist, as I admit they do, in respect of population, as in the case of Toronto and Quebec, why have not the government gone to the root of the matter and taken constituencies, not only in one province but in the others, and dealt with them all on a fair business basis? The fact is that the government does not wish to have a redistribution on the basis of the next general census, for the reason that after the next census is taken and the redistribution is made on the basis of that census, hon. gentlemen will have, to their own consternation, half a dozen new members west of the province of Ontario. These will be distributed over Manitoba, the North-west Territories and British Columbia. This is a change this government would rather avoid—and the fact is notorious—they know that the west is a unit against them, and they are anxious that there should be no further representation from the west before a general election takes place.

Now, the Postmaster General and other hon. gentlemen endeavoured to make a strong point of the contention that under this Bill they are going to have equality of population. Let us take for review some of the counties in Ontario. Hon. gentlemen opposite now hold the constituency of Algoma. In 1891, the population of Algoma was 41,856, but since that time it has greatly increased. If they wish to have regard to population, why do they not assign two members to Algoma. On the other hand, the constituency of West Durham, with a little over 15,300 people, is repre-

sented by one of their own friends. They think that in West Durham 15,000 people should have a member; but when they go over to the large constituency of Algoma they say it is absurd to have more than one member for constituencies of over 50,000 of a population. An hon. gentleman suggests that the size of the constituency is so abnormal that even in the local House they have seen fit to assign to it two members. Now let us take more absurdities in the province of Ontario, as hon. gentlemen are pleased to call them, and which, under this Bill, they are not at all endeavouring to correct or change. Algoma has 41,856 of a population; Durham West, 15,374; Frontenac, 13,445; Lennox, 14,900; North Norfolk, 19,400; South Norfolk, 17,780; West Northumberland, 15,000; Peel, 15,466; West Peterborough, 15,808; while the large county of Simcoe with a population in 1891 of 84,000, or an average of 28,000 for each riding, is only to be assigned three members under this Bill. Now hon. gentlemen contend that under this Bill they are endeavouring to do away with disparities of population; but they only reveal to the public the fact that no regard whatever is had to the question of population, and that their whole aim is to obtain a party advantage by a division of the constituencies where they to-day are interested in gaining party advantage. Now, so far as county boundaries go, what has been done in that regard? In West Ontario they endeavour to change the constituencies, but in East Ontario they do not go into them at all. Well, the whole principle of the Bill is that counties should not be broken in upon or interfered with. All I can say to that contention is that the Bill on the very face of it has an utter disregard for population, and in the next place it has an utter disregard of observing county boundary lines or a semblance to it.

But it is in the province of Quebec that the greatest injustice is wrought as compared with other provinces. In the province of Quebec it is notorious that there are over a dozen ridings each with a population under 15,000 souls. Now, why don't the government interfere in the case of Quebec? Why do they not consolidate two of such ridings, or three of them, or whatever the circumstances of the case might require, in order that there might be a semblance of an approach to fair-play? The simple reason is that hon. gentlemen think that at the present time they are strong in that province, and they hope in the future also to be strong in that province; and where they see seats in the province of Quebec that they are looking upon with alarm, there they deny to the electors the privilege of having what they should have at the polls, that is, a proper representation of population. Sir, you may go from one end of this Dominion to the

other and compare the populations of the different ridings, and absurdity heaps upon absurdity; and yet these hon. gentlemen pretend to have started out to rectify wrongs. Take a case, for instance, in New Brunswick. There is the riding of Albert, with a population of 10,000, represented by a friend of hon. gentlemen opposite. They say it is perfectly right that the people of Albert should have one representative in this House; but when they go to the adjoining riding of Westmoreland with upwards of 45,000 of a population, they say there should be only one representative for that riding. Why, on the very face of it the whole Bill teems with absurdities, and shows that these changes are proposed not for the purpose of equalizing populations, not for the purpose of keeping within county boundary lines, but solely for the purpose of gaining party advantages.

Then with a great flourish of trumpets the government announce that this Bill is to be different from all other Bills, that it is not going to be backed up by a partisan majority, but that they are going to hand over to the judges the power of rearranging the constituencies. Well, so far as that goes it is all very well on the face of it. But the trouble is that the judges have nothing to do in the premises, because they are simply given the counties and they are told to carve out two, or three, or four constituencies, as the case may be, not having regard to population at all except within those county boundary lines. What will be the result? The small county of Norfolk with 35,000 people, will have two representatives, and many others I might mention, Brant for instance, with only 17,000 or 18,000 souls in each constituency. These will be afforded two members, but in the other cases they will not be afforded representation at all according to their population.

Now, Sir, to my mind, the proper time to have introduced this Bill would be after a census has been taken. The hon. gentlemen to-day are right on the eve of taking a census, and for that reason they should wait until the census is taken and then deal with the question on its merits. What are the judges to have before them? They are to have the figures of ten years ago, and on these figures they are asked to change and to bring about this whole representation. Personally speaking, I would prefer the Bill to become law for the reason that it would give me a party advantage, as I would lose certain municipalities which are politically adverse to the party that I represent. But on the broad principle that it is an interference with the rights of parliament in the past to make these changes session in and session out, I propose for one to record my vote against the Bill. Why, Sir, if this Bill goes into effect what will be the result? Assume that there was

a change of government, that next session or the ensuing session a Conservative administration came into power; it might be appealed to by its friends to do exactly what this Bill is doing, that is to patch up certain constituencies, to interfere with certain constituencies; and the result would be a spirit of unrest and disquiet throughout the whole country. No man would ever be sure of a constituency owing to the fact that these changes would be made session in and session out. We have heard a good deal in the course of this debate of threats held out to the Senate. Well, I suppose the Senate have not changed out of fear of hon. gentlemen opposite, and, I presume, they will do their duty in the future as they did on a former occasion when they vetoed the action of the hon. gentlemen in reference to an amendment that they passed at the wrong time in reference to Centre Huron. For these reasons, and for others that have been adduced during the discussion of this Bill, I shall vote against it becoming law.

Mr. J. H. BELL (P.E.I.) When this Bill was in committee it was understood that at the third reading an opportunity should be given to discuss subsection (c), of section 5, of the Act. Subsection (c) reads:

That the electoral district of King's, which shall consist of the county of King's, shall return one member.

It was my intention to move to strike out the words 'one member' and substitute the word 'two members.' But, upon further reflection, I came to the conclusion that such an amendment would be introducing a dangerous principle into the Bill now before the House. The object of this Bill is manifestly not for the purpose of increasing representation, but for readjusting it. To attempt to increase the representation would therefore tend to prejudice and possibly defeat the measure. I therefore concluded that it would be expedient merely to call the attention of the government to the special circumstances of the case and urge them at the proper time,—after the next census, to mete out justice to Prince Edward Island. I desire, in discussing this question first to emphasize the fact that our delegates, when considering the terms of the union in 1864, in the city of Quebec, insisted upon having a representation of six members in the House of Commons of Canada. They laid that down as the 'sine qua non' of entering the union. They insisted that unless they got six members they would prefer to stay out of confederation. The reasons assigned for taking that position were, first, We have three counties, we must have two members for each—no other political arrangement, no other division, no other representation will suit our circumstances. The counties had existed, as such for many years, they had their county institutions, their separate identities. The people of Prince Edward Island

would never be satisfied to have these separate identities broken. Therefore we must have two members for each county. Second, We are a small province, yet we have important interests to conserve, we will not enter confederation unless we have a respectable representation of six members. That is the lowest representation that we consider will give us status or voting power or influence.

Mr. CLARKE. What is the population of the island?

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.). I am coming to that. They said in substance: In order to guarantee us a fair influence and safeguard our interests we must have at least six members in the Commons and four in the Senate. In order that there may be no mistake about this proposition, which I consider of the utmost importance, I will read from 'Confederation Documents,' by Joseph Pope, extracts from the statements of the several gentlemen who represented Prince Edward Island at that conference. Mr. Haviland, one of the delegates said:

Prince Edward Island would rather be out of the confederation than consent to this motion. We should have no status. Only five members out of 194 would give the island no position.

Mr. Palmer, another delegate, said:

Representation by population is not applicable when a certain number of provinces are throwing their resources into one confederation, and giving up their own self-government and individuality. When a colony surrenders that right, she should have something commensurate in the confederation. . . . Why give up so great certainties for an uncertain benefit where we have only a feeble voice? . . . I never understood that any proposition at Charlottetown was to be binding as to representation by population.

Mr. Whelan, another delegate, said:

I do not think, however, I could say that I was satisfied with the representation of five in the Federal House of Commons. We are in an isolated position. Our resources are not large, and our people would not be content to give up their present benefits for the representation of five members. It may be said that confederation will go on without Prince Edward Island, and that we shall eventually be forced in. Better, however, that than that we should willingly go into the confederation with that representation.

Col. Gray, another delegate, said:

I am instructed by my co-delegates to say that the provision of five members is unsatisfactory. Prince Edward Island is divided longitudinally into three counties . . . We cannot divide the three counties into five members.

Mr. Coles said:

Mr. Galt had proposed six members for Prince Edward Island. I approved that rather than Mr. Brown's motion, because it allows us to give to our three counties two members each.

Mr. Pope, another delegate, said:

I agree in all that has been said by Col. Gray and Mr. Coles. But the circumstances of

Prince Edward Island are such that I hope the conference will agree to give us such a number as we can divide amongst our three constituencies. Nature, as well as the original settlement of the island, has made three counties, and it would give rise to much difficulty if we had to adjust five members to the three counties. I cannot ask it as a matter of right, but one of expediency, as one without which it is impossible for us to carry the measure in Prince Edward Island. I, therefore, ask for six members.

These extracts prove my first proposition, namely, that the delegates insisted upon two members for each county, and for two reasons; first, that we had three counties and no other representation would suit; second, because unless we had a representation of six we would not have a proper status in the Commons. I want now to make another proposition—one that follows necessarily and logically from what I have enunciated, viz: that the reasons assigned for six members when we entered confederation apply with equal force to our future representation. They apply equally to the year 1864 and to the year 1900, and to all future time. Take the first argument used: We have three counties, and, therefore, must have six members. This was an argument which was not intended to apply temporarily; it was not a reason as permanent as county boundaries, expedient to suffice till another census. Then take the second argument: We are a small province, we are going into a large confederation, we demand six representatives to give a proper status. If that argument applied with force to the circumstances as they existed in 1864, with greater force does it apply to the circumstances of to-day, a larger population for Canada, and a larger representation in the House of Commons. My next proposition is this: That at the time we entered confederation, we did not have on the basis of population sufficient to entitle us to six members, and since that time, we have never had on that basis sufficient to give us six. That to my mind, is a most important consideration. Prince Edward Island entered the union in 1873. The population in 1871 was 94,021; the population in 1881 was 108,801; and the population in 1891 was 109,078. What was the unit of representation? I need not say that the unit of representation is found by dividing the number 65 into the population of Quebec. The unit of representation in 1871 was therefore 18,330; in 1881 20,090; and in 1891, 22,900. Now, if we divide our population by the unit of representation, we get the following results: In 1871, on the basis of population, we were entitled to five members, plus 2,371 persons; but as that surplus did not amount to 9,165 (which was half of the unit of representation), it did not count in our favour. In 1871, on the basis of population, we were, therefore, only entitled to five members. In 1881, we were entitled to five members, plus 8,441, but as

this surplus did not amount to 10,045, it did not count to entitle us to six members. How did the matter stand in 1891? We were then entitled to five members, minus 5,422, but inasmuch as that deficiency did not amount to half the unit of representation (11,450), it did not count against us. So I have proved the second proposition. Now, Sir, we came into confederation with six members. How do you account for that? I have shown that we were only entitled to five on the basis of population. Why, then, did we come in with six? The answer to that question solves the whole difficulty. We came in with six because of the reasons assigned by our delegates in 1864. We came in with six not because we were entitled to six on the basis of population, but because we became entitled by the terms of the contract. We came into confederation on special terms. What is the distinction between general and special terms? Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, united in 1867, came in under general terms. The general terms were embodied in the Confederation Act. That is the original contract. By that contract if there be a diminution of population in one of the four provinces, there must be a diminution in the representation of that province, and if there is an increase in population, there must be a corresponding increase in the representation. These are general terms, and apply only to Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Special terms apply to all provinces coming in after 1867 to Manitoba, to British Columbia, and to Prince Edward Island. There is a provision in the British North America Act, that when any province shall thereafter desire to come into the union, it shall set forth its special terms by petition. That petition is presented to the Imperial Council, and by an Imperial Order in Council, the province is federated on the terms that set out in the petition. If there be any variance between the general and special terms the latter necessarily control. Now, Sir, I want to call your attention to the wording of section 12 of our petition. The first portion of the section states:

The population of Prince Edward Island having been increased by 15,000 or upwards since the year 1861, the island shall be represented in the House of Commons of Canada by six members.

Notice particularly the wording. It says that there has been an increase of population since 1861 of 15,000. That would give an alleged population of 95,857 in 1873. Our petition sets forth, 'We have a population of 95,857, consequently we are entitled to six members.' That is no reason at all on general terms—on a basis of population. Why? Because you would then have to take into account the comparative population of the other provinces. But Prince Edward Island simply contended, and the contention prevailed, that because we have a population of 95,857, therefore we are en-

titled to six members, no matter what the unit of representation may be. I submit that that argument is directly in line with the propositions I have already enunciated, and confirms and strengthens them. And it goes to show not only that we were entitled to six members when we entered confederation, but that we were to be entitled to six for all future time. The argument boldly and bluntly is : we have a population of 95,857, therefore we are entitled to six members. If that argument availed in 1873, it applies with greater force to-day. Our population has not increased like that of the other provinces, but in 1891 it stood at 109,078. Now, I want to call attention to the latter part of section 12 :

The representation to be readjusted from time to time under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867.

What does that mean ? That clause is, to my mind, open to two constructions. One is in line with my argument, namely, that it refers simply to an increase of representation and not to a diminution. Now, I think I can strengthen my contention on that point by referring to Manitoba and British Columbia at the time those provinces were confederated. British Columbia came into confederation in the year 1870, and it came in on special terms. At that time it had a population, exclusive of Indians, of 10,586. This would entitle it under the general terms of union to a representation of one member ; but it came in with six—one for every 1,764 of its population. In 1881 the population was 49,459. It was then entitled to two members under the general terms, and yet it was allowed to retain six. In 1891 its population was 98,173, which entitled it to four members, but it was allowed to retain six. I am not pointing out these facts for the purpose of complaining against British Columbia. It had a right to dictate and insist upon its own terms. I am pointing them out to show that far better terms were accorded to British Columbia than to Prince Edward Island. I am pointing them out to show that British Columbia neither at the union nor since was entitled on the basis of population to six members, yet it has been allowed to retain six. There is a clause in the British Columbia petition providing :

British Columbia is entitled to be represented by six members, the representation to be increased under the provisions of the British North America Act.

That is exactly the provision, only expressed in more definite terms, which I contend was intended, under sec. 12 of the petition of Prince Edward Island. There is nothing said here as to what would happen in the event of a diminution of population. Suppose the population of British Columbia had gone down ; supposing no mines had been discovered, and the inhabitants had gone elsewhere, what would have happened ? British Columbia would still have

claimed that she was entitled to be represented by six members in the Commons. But it would only be a matter of argument or inference.

Now, let us look for a moment at Manitoba. She was not brought into the union by an Imperial order in council, but by an Imperial Act. Nevertheless, she came in on special terms. What were they ? The population of that province in 1870 was 10,586, and the unit of representation was then 18,330. Thus, Manitoba was entitled only to one member on the basis of representation by population. Nevertheless, she came in with four. In 1881 she had a population of 65,954, the unit of representation was then 20,090, which entitled her to three members, yet still she was allowed to retain four. Manifestly Manitoba has been far better treated than Prince Edward Island.

Section 4 of the Act confederating Manitoba states :

Provided that, on the completion of the census in 1891, and of each decennial census after, the representation of the province shall be readjusted according to the provisions of section 51 of the British North America Act.

That is exactly the provision in the Act governing the admission of Prince Edward Island. But how has it been construed in the case of Manitoba ? It has been so construed that she was not only entitled to four members when she came into the union, but to four members thereafter until her representation should be increased. That is the interpretation which I am seeking to have placed upon an exactly similar section governing the representation from Prince Edward Island.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Did not the population of Manitoba, in 1881, and again in 1891, justify her having four members under the readjustment clause ?

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) No, in 1881 her population was 69,954, and that entitled her to three members only.

Here then are three provinces—British Columbia, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island all coming in on the same footing—on special terms. It would be manifestly unjust to apply to the case of Prince Edward Island a principle—a mode of interpretation which is not applied to the others. Let us be fair all round and apply the same interpretation to the Act of Confederation in each case. If we do so we will not attempt to diminish the representation of Prince Edward Island.

But suppose for argument's sake we put a different construction upon this section. Suppose we interpret it to imply a diminution in the representation. Look at the consequences that will then follow. The first is that our representation of five members will soon be further reduced. Take the figures for 1891. We had not then a population sufficient to entitle us to five units of representation by 5,422. If that condition

of things goes on, if the unit of representation increases as it has done, if our population remains stationary as in the past our representation will be reduced from five to four. At the next succeeding census it will be still further reduced and so on until it is wiped out altogether. We will then have only our representation in the Senate to safeguard our interests.

I ask hon. gentlemen, in view of the facts I have presented do they think that such a condition of things was contemplated by any one at confederation? Insist on such a construction of the terms and you will not only do a wrong to Prince Edward Island, but produce a state of feeling disastrous to confederation. The people will never submit to such an injustice. Further, if we put such a construction upon the terms of union the necessary implication will be that our delegates who agreed to the terms were either fools or knaves. They were fools if they could not forecast our stationary population and the rapid increase of the rest of the Dominion. We had no mines or fertile unsettled lands to attract immigrants. Or if they saw all this and yet for some temporary purpose or to gratify some personal ambition, they signed away our right of representation and sacrificed our permanent interests—they were knaves. But such imputation no man will willingly cast.

Further, if we put such a construction upon the terms of union with Prince Edward Island it will be out of harmony with the express conditions laid down by our delegates when discussing the terms—out of harmony with the reasons assigned for giving us and allowing us six members from 1873 to 1891—out of harmony with the declaration of section 12, that a population of 95,857 entitled us to six members—out of harmony with the construction put upon similar British Columbia and Manitoba statutes—out of harmony with every intention of the parties to the contract and opposed to every principle of common fair-play and justice.

Again, if we put such an interpretation as will be conformable to the views and wishes of the people of Prince Edward Island we are not creating a precedent that can be taken advantage of by any other province. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec, came into confederation on general terms specified in the Confederation Act. There is no question as to how that Act is to be interpreted. But the others—Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, or any province that you may carve out of the North-west Territories, or the province of Newfoundland if it comes in—any province that has come in or may come in after the year 1867, has come in or will come in on the special terms set out in its petition seeking confederation. There is no danger therefore of establishing a dangerous precedent.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have presented this

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.)

matter as clearly as I could, and as briefly as I could, consistent with the importance of the question. It is a matter of supreme importance to us. It is a matter of life or death politically. I press these considerations upon the attention of the government. I appeal to them on behalf of the people of Prince Edward Island for justice; I have every confidence that I shall not have appealed in vain.

Mr. MARTIN. I have listened with a great deal of attention to the hon. member (Mr. Bell, P.E.I.) who has just sat down. He has brought before the House a question of great importance to the province of Prince Edward Island. By the terms of confederation, the province of Prince Edward Island was entitled to six members, the number to be readjusted after each decennial census. After the census of 1891, it was found that the province had not increased at the same ratio as the province of Quebec, and consequently the representation of Prince Edward Island was cut down from six members to five. I sympathize very much with the argument the hon. gentleman has presented to the House. I think he has admitted that it is impossible, under this Bill to secure to the province of Prince Edward Island the six members which he claims, yet he supports the Bill, and as he has put a notice on the Order paper in reference to this question, I would rather have had it discussed separately. I was sorry that so many members of the government, including the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), were absent when the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell, P.E.I.) was making his speech. I was especially sorry that my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), though he is now in his seat, was absent during the greater part of the speech of my hon. friend (Mr. Bell, P.E.I.)

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I was not absent.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) took his seat when the hon. member for Prince was about half through.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) is mistaken.

Mr. MARTIN. The hon. gentleman was certainly not in his seat. I was sorry also that the noise in the House during the time the hon. member for Prince was discussing this subject, combined with the low tone in which he spoke, prevented my getting the benefit of his whole argument, which, I have no doubt, was presented with great ability. But, inasmuch as this Bill does not provide any change in the representation as between the provinces, the discussion the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell, P.E.I.) has introduced will be of very little effect as far, at any rate, as this Bill is concerned. He appears to be contented with discussion. The

hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries was in this House in 1892 when the last Redistribution Bill was passed; and if there is any one to whom blame should be attached that the representation of Prince Edward Island has been decreased from six to five, the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries is the man at whose door that blame should be laid. In 1892, when the last Redistribution Bill was before the House, was the time for the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), to stand up and plead the cause of Prince Edward Island, if we were entitled to six members. We know that he is a great authority on constitutional law; and if the argument that was presented by my hon. friend from East Prince (Mr. Bell) has any foundation at all, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is culpable, he was neglectful of the interests of Prince Edward Island, in 1892, when the Redistribution Bill was introduced. I do not see that at any time he raised the question. The speech of the hon. gentleman has no effect as regards the operation of this Bill, for the Bill leaves Prince Edward Island practically with five members, as it was before. But there was, perhaps, a reason why the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, in 1892, did not wish for two members for King's County. He knew, very well, that if there were two members for King's County, those two members would be Conservatives; and I suppose that is the reason why he has not been very alert in this matter or very attentive to the hon. gentleman for East Prince, when he was addressing the House.

But the hon. member for East Prince sees an anomaly in Prince Edward Island under this Bill. Prince Edward Island is divided into three counties; the population of King's County is 26,000; of Prince, 36,000; and of Queen's, 45,000. Those are the figures in round numbers. If there were two members for each of these counties, there would be no great difficulty in allocating them as between the counties. But Prince Edward Island, having lost one member, when you had to divide five members between three counties, there was no fairer way to do it than was done under the Bill which was introduced in 1892. Notwithstanding what has been said here by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, that Bill was accepted in Prince Edward Island as a fair one; and in the election of 1896, though the hon. gentleman has stated on the floor of this House that the Bill was distasteful to the people of Prince Edward Island, it was never discussed during the campaign, but was accepted as a fair Bill dividing the island into five ridings, as fair as it could be, having regard to representation by population. Now, how is the representation divided under the Bill of 1892? The riding of King's has a population of 21,694; East Queen's has a population of 23,464; West Queen's has a popu-

lation of 22,210; East Prince has a population of 20,723; and West Prince, 20,987. That was as fair a division of Prince Edward Island into five ridings as could possibly be obtained. Although the hon. gentleman raised a dust about it here, there was never any fault found with it in that province.

Now, if you go back to county lines, I will point out to the House, that you will create in Prince Edward Island, a great anomaly. King's County has a population of 26,000 under this amendment, and it will have one member. Prince County, which has only 10,000 people more than King's, will have two members; Queen's County will have two members also. But when you come to the voting power of these counties, that anomaly is actually still greater. The voting power in Queen's is only 9,927; the voting power in King's County, according to the voter's lists at present, is 7,120; and in Prince it is 8,198. That is to say, Prince County, with only 1,000 more than King's County, will have two members. It means, that in Prince County, one member would represent 7,120 votes, and the other member will only represent 1,000 votes; or in other words, in Prince one member would represent 4,000 people, and in King's, one member would represent 7,000 people.

The Minister of Marine and Fisheries stated in the debate which took place on this question last year, that three townships were dumped into the riding that I have the honour to represent, which gave a majority of 300 votes to the Conservative party. Now, Sir, when the hon. member addresses himself to this subject again, I hope he will speak with some accuracy. I know it is very difficult for the hon. gentleman to speak with accuracy in regard to figures. I know if he can get within a couple of millions of the fact, when he talks about the debt of the Dominion, it is doing pretty well for him; and when he talks about majorities he is satisfied if he can get within a few hundred of the number. Now, instead of it being a fact, that I went into the election in my county with a majority of 300 in my favour, I will show this House that I went into that election with only 40 votes in my favour. That will be apparent from the figures that I am going to quote on the basis of the election of 1892. The three townships in King's County which were added to Queen's, showed the following results: In the election of 1892, Mr. John McLean, who ran as a Conservative, got 433 votes; and Dr. Robinson, who ran in the Liberal interest, got 400 votes. In those three townships, there was a difference of only 33 votes; so that instead of, as the Minister of Marine and Fisheries says, 300 votes being dumped into East Queen's from King's County, the actual fact is, that there were only 33 votes, and I believe that the hon. gentleman was afraid to contest that riding for fear of those 33 votes.

But, there is another thing. I am going to show that the division which has been made in Prince Edward Island gave no party any advantage whatsoever. When I tell you the majorities in each of those ridings, you will see that every riding is very close. We will take first the riding of King's. The majority that the Conservative member had in King's County, was only 15 votes. Does that show that there was any attempt made to gerrymander that province, so far as King's is concerned? It was that close that there was only 15 votes between the candidates. Take, then, the riding of West Queen's. The hon. the Minister of Marine and Fisheries said in this House that he had had a majority of 374; but he is inaccurate as usual, because he only had 334. But I suppose that is about as near correct as we can expect him to get when talking about figures. What was his object in misrepresenting that vote? His object was to show that the Redistribution Act of 1892 was not fair, because he got a large majority in his riding. But he misled the House, because his majority was not nearly as large as he said it was. Take East Queen's, which I have the honour to represent in this House. True, I had a majority of 354, but according to the returns from the election held in 1892, the majority in my favour, when I went into that riding, was only 40. Although I increased it from 40 to 354, that was not the result of this redistribution. Take East Prince; the hon. gentleman who is now Senator Yeo, was returned for East Prince by a majority of 116. He was, of course, a very strong man. His successor, the hon. member for East Prince (Mr. Bell), who spoke this afternoon, came in with a very much smaller majority, which shows that the riding is nearly balanced, and that there is no advantage for either side. As far as that is concerned, it has returned two Liberals on both occasions. Take West Prince; the majority received by Mr. Hackett, who is not now a member of this House, was only 45. Since that time, in a by-election, that majority was reversed, and in place of having a Conservative member returned for West Prince, we have now the hon. gentleman (Mr. McLellan), who sits on the Liberal side of this House, not with a very large majority, to be sure, but, he is a member of this House. This shows that in every riding in Prince Edward Island, as created under the Bill of 1892, there was no attempt to do anything but that which was in accordance with British fair-play. The result of every one of these elections showed it. Hon. gentlemen pretend to worship the old system of county lines, but, I think, it is the most barefaced hypocrisy. There are no municipalities in Prince Edward Island, as in Ontario, and the argument for county lines has no force in Prince Edward Island. While, as has been said here by the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson), and the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr.

Mr. MARTIN.

Clancy), hon. gentlemen shout for county lines in this House for the Dominion, we find the legislature of the province of Ontario breaking through these lines without any compunction. When these hon. gentlemen are in opposition and have not a majority at their back, they pretend to be very good, they pretend that they have no political object in view, that they are great purists, but as soon as they get into power, and they have been in Ontario for a long number of years, they have no compunction about breaking through these sacred county boundaries in that province. In the city of Ottawa, under this very Bill, they have shown a disregard for those county boundaries for which, they say, they have so much regard. The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries told us, in speaking upon this Bill, the other night, that there were two cardinal principles in it, one of which was the appointment of judges. I would like to know, if that is a cardinal principle, why, judges are not appointed for the province of Prince Edward Island? Why limit them to Ontario? Is it a cardinal principle that only applies to one province and not to another? It is a cardinal principle as far as it applies to Ontario. It is not a cardinal principle when it does not apply to Prince Edward Island. Another cardinal principle, according to the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, is county lines. I have shown that hon. gentlemen have not adhered to that principle, in the province of Ontario in regard to representation in the local legislature, that they have not adhered to it under this Bill. They have not adhered to it in Ontario, excepting in places where it suits them, and where it suits them they pretend that it is such a sacred right that they make a fetish of it and fall down and worship it. They say of course that business is business. Well, it seems to be in this as in other things. When party gain is the object they throw principle to the winds. I am going to point out that a tradition of the Liberal party from time immemorial was representation by population. There is no attempt, as far as I can see, in this Bill to adopt that principle. I will quote what Hon. George Brown said in regard to representation by population. Here are the debates on confederation, and Mr. Brown, at page 994, said:

I think the hon. gentleman has risen for a very poor purpose. And in place of accepting his explanation as correct, I dissent from it in toto. The position of the matter is quite the opposite of what he states. He says this is a different thing altogether. I totally deny that it is. I say this is simply what we asked for, only in another form. The measure we asked for was representation by population. We got that. (Hear, hear.) And the hon. gentleman is the last man to object to this, which is the very basis on which he agreed to go into the Brown-Dorion administration—representation by population being the basis, accompanied by such checks and guarantees as might be shown to be necessary.

I could give statements by Mr. Mackenzie and others in the same strain, but I do not think it is necessary, because it is nothing new for the Liberal party to depart from the principles which they held in opposition and to throw them to the winds as soon as they get to the government benches. There is another thing that I wish to draw your attention to, Mr. Speaker, and it is to the fact that the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, while addressing himself to this subject the other night, threatened the Senate. Judging by the way that the hon. gentleman shook his fist, and the war-like appearance he put on, I think the Senate must have trembled under the weighty threats of the hon. gentleman. I am sure that every fibre in the bodies of the senators must have trembled when the hon. minister raised his fist and threatened what would be done to them if they opposed this Bill. The hon. minister, while addressing this House in 1892, brought the House back to the introduction of the great Redistribution Bill in England in 1884, and he said that both parties had met in conference and came to an agreement in regard to the Bill which was to be presented to the House. Did he read what the Earl of Kimberley said then as to the privileges of the Lords, which I will quote here ?

Your lordships have undoubtedly the most perfect right to reject the Bill, and to reject it with the direct view that the result may be a dissolution of parliament.

Lord Rosebery said :

Every member of this House who has spoken upon this Bill has taken it for granted that this House has a perfectly indefeasible right to reject it.

The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries stands up in this House and predicts that the Senate is going to reject this Bill. I am not in the confidence of the Senate. He must think that, this year, the reasons which he advanced in this House for the passage of the Bill will have only half the weight that the reasons had last year. Last year the census was two years off, and this year, the fact that the census will be taken in a year hence shows that the bringing down of this Bill by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) is merely an insult to the House, a great loss of valuable time—as well as great expense to the country. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries is on record as predicting that a Bill just such as this would be introduced to this House. I quote from *Hansard* of 1892, page 3241, the words of the Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies), which shows that the minister is prophetic sometimes. He said :

Experience has shown to us that if the dominant party for the time being, when legislating on a matter affecting the very foundations of representative government, ignore the existence of their opponents—

The liberals are now doing this.

—and say, we will arbitrarily proceed to decide

in this way or that way, the result has been and may be again almost to annihilate one of those parties; and when the party which is excluded for the time being happens by a combination of accidents to be returned to power—

That is just what happened. The present government has been returned to power in the way the minister predicted in 1892. He predicted that they would be returned by a combination of accidents, and that is what happened.

—that party will be, perforce, driven to adopt the same unjust and unfair system, and will introduce a Redistribution Bill not founded on justice or on the lines of the constitution.

The Minister of Marine and Fisheries predicted that in 1892. He predicted that such a Bill as we have before us would be introduced here, and that it would not be founded on justice. While the constitutional law of the Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) may be at fault, as we would expect it to be, yet the hon. gentleman might have stood up in this House to plead the cause of Prince Edward Island for six members. The hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies), in 1892, was apparently the only constitutional lawyer in the House from Prince Edward Island, and it would appear that he neglected the interests of his province at that time. The hon. member for East Prince (Mr. Bell) has done his duty to his province in bringing this matter before the House, and I am sorry, in the elections that are near, and which must come soon, that the province of Prince Edward Island will have to be satisfied with less than six members. I dealt with the question last year at such length that it is unnecessary for me to repeat what I said then. I do not believe that the government are in earnest with regard to this Bill, they are only marking time. They know it is not in the interests of the country, and they know that it is not such a Bill as Canada requires to-day. The census of 1891 are no basis on which to formulate a Bill for the proper representation of Canada in this House, and I am sorry that the time of the House is wasted in considering it. I see the hon. gentleman from St. John, N.B. (Mr. Ellis), in the House. Last year they stuck to the division in regard to his constituency, and they thought their proposition was right, but this year they have humbled themselves and they have wisely struck the provision with regard to St. John out of the Bill. There was no regard for county boundaries when that clause was put in the Bill; but the hon. member for St. John, N.B. (Mr. Ellis) brought the government to its knees. I would ask the Minister of Marine, if he has any influence at all with the government, to try and induce them to stike out the clause with regard to Prince Edward Island. He would be doing his province a good service if he would do that. I think it likely that if we had a lengthy discussion on the Bill, the

government would amend it in such a way as to make it fairly acceptable to the people of Canada, but at the rate of progress in making those amendments we might fairly despair of making it a good Bill. There might be some justice done in the case of western Ontario, where this Bill proposes to gerrymander the Conservatives out of the House. I believe the honest people of Ontario will resent such a proposition as is contained in this Bill, and that the Bill will recoil on the heads of the government. It is my opinion that this is the most barefaced attempt at gerrymander which perhaps has ever been perpetrated in this House, notwithstanding what we heard from the Postmaster General and the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) about the iniquities of the gerrymander Act of 1882.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). I agree with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) that a great deal of time has been wasted unnecessarily in the discussion of this Bill, and no one has wasted more time than he has and to such little purpose.

Mr. **MARTIN**. I spoke for only twenty-five minutes.

Mr. **MILLS**. He woke you up, anyway.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. The arguments with regard to the province of Prince Edward Island were all advanced last year when the Bill was introduced. With respect to the argument of my hon. friend from Prince (Mr. Bell), I listened to it with very great attention. I was not, however, able to follow him in the conclusion which he reached. He contends that under the terms of the union between Prince Edward Island and the Dominion of Canada, and especially under the terms of the 12th clause, that the island is entitled to retain its representation of six members which originally was given to it. The argument of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell) was very carefully prepared and submitted to the House with a great deal of skill, but I myself am not able at present to agree with his conclusion, nor was I able to agree in that opinion in 1891. It did seem to me, whether I was right or wrong, that the latter part of section 12 was conclusive on that point. The whole section 12 reads as follows:

The population of Prince Edward Island having been increased by 15,000 or upwards since the year 1861, the island shall be represented in the House of Commons of Canada by six members.

If the clause had stopped there it might be argued that Prince Edward Island should continue to be represented by six members; but the latter part of the section says:

The representation to be readjusted from time to time under the provisions of the British North America Act.

My interpretation of the latter part of the clause is that when the census was taken in 1891, the representation should be re-

Mr. **MARTIN**.

adjusted the same as in any other province of the Dominion. My hon. friend (Mr. Bell) has referred to the British Columbia clause, but he will notice that the British Columbia clause, instead of providing that the representation of that province should be readjusted from time to time as the Prince Edward Island clause did, went on to provide that the representation should be increased under the readjustment, and not merely 'readjusted,' as is the wording of the Prince Edward Island clause. It did not express in terms, as the Prince Edward Island clause did, that the representation was to be readjusted. However, I am very glad that my hon. friend has presented the argument which he has to the House, because the Department of Justice will have an opportunity to read it carefully, and to see whether or not they can come to a conclusion different from that which the Minister of Justice arrived at in the year 1891. If they do, or even if they have any reasonable doubt on the subject, the matter can be submitted to the Supreme Court under the law which provides for a reference of that kind. For myself, I may say that I entertain the same opinion that I did in 1891, and I am very much afraid that the words of the clause are conclusive against us. At the same time, I am perfectly willing that the matter should be carefully considered by the Department of Justice. So far as the representation is concerned, Prince Edward Island, having a representation of only five members, the question was: How was the island to be divided to give a fair representation? Was the principle of population to be the only one to govern, or were the county boundaries which had existed in the island from time immemorial, to control? We contended that county boundaries should be maintained there as in other parts of the Dominion. We knew not why the principle that was held sacred in other parts of the Dominion should not be held sacred in Prince Edward Island. For over one hundred years these county boundaries have been in existence in the island, the people have been accustomed to meet in the county towns on grand juries and for other purposes, and there was no reason that we could see why those boundaries should be ignored, townships taken out of one county and put into another, and electoral districts carved up for the mere purpose of promoting the interests of the political party which happened to be in power when the readjustment was made. The hon. gentleman talks about injustice. He ought to be ashamed to stand up in his place and talk about injustice. What was done in order to carve out a constituency to enable him to come to this House? Three townships were taken out of King's county and dumped into East Queen's, and township 24, which, geographically, was in West Queen's, was taken away and dumped into East Queen's; and the hon. gentleman would not have

been here if these four townships had not been torn from the geographical divisions to which they naturally belonged, and transferred to the division where they had no business to be.

Mr. MARTIN. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to say a word?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Again, on the other side, three townships were taken from West Queen's and transferred to East Prince, where the people were never accustomed to go, and Summerside was made the county town, though for over a hundred years Charlottetown had been the county town. What do we propose to do? We say that the county lines shall remain as they have always been since confederation, when Queen's, Prince and King's each returned two members; and when we lost one member, owing to the decrease in population in 1891, the county that should lose the member naturally should be the county having the smallest number of voters. Which is that county? Queen's county had a population of 46,000 within 25, which was more than sufficient to give it two members, and nobody would question its right to have two members. The population of Prince county was a little below what was necessary to give it two members. It had 36,470, a few short of the number; but King's county had a population of only 26,633, only 3,600 more than the unit. The natural subdivision, therefore, was to leave Prince county with two members, and Queen's county with two members, and to give King's county one member. That is what we have done. There is no tearing away of townships from their natural geographical division. Every township remains where it should remain; the electors vote in their own county. Not a man is taken out of the political division where he has always been accustomed to vote, and which has existed for over a hundred years. That is a complete answer to all that the hon. gentleman has said. We seek no political advantage. We want to leave the electors of King's county to vote in King's county, we want to leave the electors of Queen's to vote in Queen's, and we want to leave the electors of Prince to vote in Prince; and in giving two members to Prince, two to Queen's and one to King's, we act on the same principle by which two members are given to the county of Cape Breton, represented by the hon. leader of the opposition, two members to Pictou, and two members to Halifax. The hon. gentleman, showing an ignorance that I was ashamed of, coming as he does from Prince Edward Island, asks: 'Why do you not apply the principle of appointing judges to Prince Edward Island?' The hon. gentleman ought to know, if he has read the Bill at all—I do

not think he can have done so—that there was no occasion for applying that principle to Prince Edward Island, because the counties there were not subdivided, and the judges' aid is only invoked when the counties are subdivided. In Prince Edward Island the controlling principle of county boundaries is applied; the other principle is not applicable. It is only when the population is so large as to necessitate a subdivision of the counties that the judges are called to do the work which, if hon. gentlemen were in power, would, I fancy, be done by the politicians. There could be no possible objection taken by anybody to calling in the judges to do that work, because we could be sure that substantial justice and fair-play between the electors and the different parties in the state would prevail; and, therefore, we introduced that principle. I discussed the principle of maintaining county boundaries on the second reading of the Bill, and I have now shown its application to Prince Edward Island. The hon. gentleman has not been able to present a single argument to the House that the application of this principle to Prince Edward Island would work injustice to either political party.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, having expressed my opinion in reference to this measure on the second reading, I do not intend to occupy the time of the House at any length, further than to say that having given the subject and the discussion on both sides of the House the fullest consideration, I am still confirmed in my opinion that the government are not serious in proposing this Bill as a piece of practical legislation. They may have some latent object which they have not fully disclosed, but my impression is confirmed, from the mode in which the hon. Postmaster General introduced the Bill, and the mode in which it has been dealt with, that there is no serious expectation on the part of the government that it will ever become law. I was not in the House when the hon. Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) spoke, but from what I gathered, he gave utterance to a threat against the Senate in case that body should venture again to reject this measure. I learned that with a great deal of surprise, because I think the precedent has been incontrovertibly established that the Senate has a perfect right to exercise its judgment on this as on every other measure.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman has misunderstood the position I took. I said that if the principle we sought to apply to the subdivisions of counties were not accepted by the Senate, it might happen that the government would adopt, at another time, another mode of subdivision.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Of course, I accept the hon. gentleman's correction, but

I think the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) suggested that if the government were not able to carry this measure through the Senate, they would have to adopt some other means of reaching the end in view. At all events, such an inference might fairly be drawn from some of the remarks of hon. gentlemen opposite. I do not think there is any real controversy in this House as to the absolute right and power of the Senate to exercise its judgment upon a measure of this kind as upon any other measure. If we go to the mother country, we will find that question settled beyond controversy. We will find that the House of Lords has maintained, and that both parties have admitted, its absolute right to deal with measures of this kind. But I might remind hon. gentlemen opposite that the Senate acted under a threat last year. It acted under a threat made by the government that before the House rose, they intended to submit a measure for the purpose of reforming that body in such a way as to enable the will of this House to prevail, although opposed by a majority of the Senate. I may say that my right hon. friend adopted that policy knowing that under the British North America Act—which is virtually a treaty between the provinces of this Dominion and the central power of the parliament of Canada—he could not take the first step towards changing the constitution of the Senate without having first secured the absolute authority of all the local legislatures. He therefore adopted the policy of calling upon the local legislatures to pass resolutions in favour of the principle that he had declared with regard to the Senate. Some legislatures did pass such a resolution, but the result has not been very encouraging to the government. I do not intend enlarging on that point because it is really not before the House, but wish simply to draw my hon. friend's attention to the fact that he has obtained one verdict, and a very important verdict, of the people on that question as well as others. The legislature in which he had a greater power, control and influence than almost any other legislature in the Dominion, passed a resolution which my right hon. friend submitted for its consideration and support, and committed itself to the policy propounded by him with regard to the Senate. Well, what has become of the majority in that legislature? There has been an appeal to the people, the sovereign voice of the people has been heard, and that legislature, which four years ago had but six opponents to the Liberal party out of forty members, is to-day almost entirely Conservative, the Liberals having been almost swept out of existence. The powerful party which had an overwhelming majority in the legislature a year ago, and passed my right hon. friend's resolution, has now almost completely disappeared, and its leader is so discredited

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that his own followers are abandoning him. I will not dwell longer on that subject, but I rose for the purpose of making a proposal to my right hon. friend, and especially the hon. Postmaster General, which I hope will receive every favourable consideration. One of the great grounds on which the party in power in this House claims that there ought to be a Redistribution Act is that political influences were so used as to lead to a gerrymander, especially in Ontario. They have gone some length in the direction of showing that the redistribution of seats should not take place by the mere political action of one party or the other, who may be in power. They have committed themselves very strongly to the position that the judiciary, for which we have all such high regard, should be introduced into this question, so as to prevent such an Act from having the party character attributed by hon. gentlemen opposite to the Act of 1882. I think I may say that I have established by the most incontrovertible evidence that they were entirely wrong as to the character of that Act, that the last general election proved beyond controversy that a minority of Liberals in the province of Ontario had succeeded in electing a majority of the representatives from that province; and that is entirely fatal to and disposes at once and for ever of any charge of the country being so gerrymandered as to favour the Conservative party. But, as I say, I do not intend to repeat myself in regard to that. I believe that there is something in the suggestion made by hon. gentlemen opposite that the redistribution should be so carried out as to prevent the charge, whether well-founded or ill-founded, being made by either one party or the other, that political influence had led to unfairness in the carrying out of such a measure. The present Bill accomplishes no such purpose; for, though the judges are introduced into it, they are so manacled, their hands and feet are so bound, as to prevent their exercising any practically effective choice. This Bill takes away any judicial authority from anything they could do. All they are allowed to do is, within certain boundaries and under certain restrictions, to make certain constituencies. So, while you place the judiciary in a position to have them charged with acting unfairly and not from an independent standpoint, you absolutely deprive them of the power of vindicating themselves against such a charge. This, I think, is a most vicious principle to introduce into the Bill.

But the great cardinal objection on this side of the House—and I am not without hope that our words of dissent will find an echo on the other side—is the inopportune time at which this Bill is proposed. This objection, as my hon. friend from Prince Edward Island has so well said, is twice as strong this year as it was when the Bill was introduced last year. Last year we were two years away from a census, we are now only

one year away. Absolutely, this parliament before it rises has to deal with the provision for taking the census; and, instead of that census having any effect on this Bill, we are told—in fact, the Bill says so—that the only cognizance they can take of the great question—as everybody admits it to be, whether they say it should have a commanding influence or not—the question of population, is to refer to the census of 1891. Hon. gentlemen may not admit that representation by population is the supreme consideration, and may say that long-established boundaries and other things may be taken into consideration, but nobody questions that a leading and vital question in the whole system of constitution and government in Canada is this question of representation by population. That being the case, can anything more unreasonable be asked of this House than to commission a number of learned judges, in whose independence of action we have all confidence, to undertake the redistribution of constituencies according to the census that took place in 1891, when every intelligent man in the country knows that the movement of population has entirely changed the condition of things, and would render any distribution they could make on the basis of a census that served its purpose nine years ago, an absolute absurdity.

I do not intend to detain the House at this stage of the Bill, but shall read a resolution which I think ought to commend itself to the approval of hon. gentlemen opposite. One of the objections that they, no doubt, have to postponing redistribution is that there is a strong probability that after the census of 1901 is taken, as hon. gentlemen opposite, I think, agree pretty well, those who are sitting on your left, Mr. Speaker, will be on the other side of the House, and the distribution will take place under their management.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am afraid we shall not be able to settle that question here just now, but will have to defer it a little. It is not very far off, but I think that hon. gentlemen opposite will be glad to know that hon. gentlemen on this side of the House are prepared to go the length of saying that it would not be an unwise act for the parliament of Canada to adopt the great principle consecrated by the combined action of both parties in the mother country of removing this question of the redistribution of seats from political influence altogether. I do not hesitate to say that, regarding this proposal that has occupied a little of our time, as not a very serious one, I wish to submit to the consideration of the House, and especially hon. gentlemen opposite, a measure which, I think, ought to command their hearty and united support, and which I frankly express the hope, if not the expectation, will com-

mand that support. I will read the resolution, which will speak for itself:

That all the words after the word 'That' in the original motion be struck out, and the following substituted instead thereof:

In the opinion of this House, it is expedient to introduce in place of the present Bill a measure based on the following provisions: First, that a commission to consist of the chief justices of the highest courts of judicature in each of the provinces of Canada shall be appointed for the purpose of fixing the boundaries of each constituency entitled to elect a member or members to the House of Commons in each province of Canada, and to determine the number of members to be elected for each constituency in accordance with the British North America Act.

That such commission, in so doing, shall consider the distribution of population according to the then latest census of Canada and the public interest and convenience, and shall particularly have regard to the principle of representation by population, and also have regard as far as practicable to the boundaries of counties, municipalities and cities.

That such commission shall be appointed as soon as possible after the completion of the next census and shall complete their work with all convenient speed.

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

AFTER RECESS.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, a stranger sitting in the gallery, this afternoon, when my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper), placed in your hands, Sir, the amendment before the House, who had also been in the gallery when the discussion on the Redistribution Bills took place in 1882, and 1892, would have been surprised indeed to see the hon. gentleman at the head of the Conservative party coming down as he did, with the proposal contained in his amendment. This is no longer the language that we heard in 1882, or 1892; but, it is altogether a new proposition for the redistribution which must take place from time to time, according to the letter of the constitution. As to the merits of this amendment, I do not say a word at this moment, but I will call the attention of my hon. friend at once, and of the House likewise, to the fact that this amendment has actually no relevancy to the Bill before the House. It is altogether and absolutely foreign to the subject in hand. The subject which we have to dispose of is whether or not there shall be immediately, not after the next census, but immediately, a new redistribution of seats in the province of Ontario for the purpose, as was asserted, on this side of the House, last year, and reiterated again this year by my hon. friends, who are standing behind us, of remedying the wrongs inflicted upon the people by the redistribution of 1892, and still more, by that of 1882. But, the amendment does not provide anything at all which comes in contravention of any of the provisions which are contained in this Bill. This Bill has been

fought with great tenacity by hon. gentlemen opposite, for two reasons. The first reason was urged last year, more vigorously than this year, that the Bill was illegal, that this parliament had no authority to pass such legislation at the present time. The hon. gentlemen contended, with great force last year, and the contention was maintained again this year, that parliament was absolutely powerless to pass such legislation, in fact, that the power of parliament on the subject of redistribution was limited to the conditions declared in the Confederation Act, and that a redistribution could only take place after each decennial census. The hon. gentleman contended for a long time, and with great tenacity for the truth of this proposition. Failing in this, he took a new line of defence, and the new line of defence which he took was, that, although we might have the power to pass such legislation, still, it was not opportune to do so, in fact, the hon. gentleman held that it was extremely inopportune, for the reason that we were very near a new census, and that a new redistribution must take place within two or three years. Anybody would have expected, after the measure had been fought one session, and again this session upon these two lines, that, if an amendment were to be moved by the opposition, it would have proclaimed either of these two propositions, that it would have asserted that it was illegal, or that it was opportune to pass such legislation, but the amendment does not assert anything of the kind. It does not affirm that the measure which we propose is illegal, nor does it assert that it is inopportune, but it asserts, simply, that certain rules should be laid down under which a redistribution should take place, not now, but after the next census. Such an amendment can be passed or not, but if it were passed, it could not affect this measure. I have only, for my part, to congratulate the House upon the fact, that, at last the opposition have come to a better understanding of the principle which is to guide the House when a redistribution is to take place, which we have long maintained, and which we maintained in 1882, and again in 1892, that a redistribution should be made by a judicial authority upon lines laid down by this parliament. These hon. gentlemen took issue with us: they would not hear anything of the kind. They insisted, in 1882, that the redistribution, instead of being made by judicial authority, should be made by the authority of parliament, and they said the same thing in 1892. Here is, at least, a confession that upon both of these occasions they have, in their own estimation, abused the power of this House. My hon. friend stated this afternoon, that he was quite sure, that, when the electors were consulted, there would be a change of seats, and the hon. gentleman and his followers would come to this side of the House. It seems to me, if the hon. gentleman were as sure, as he

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pretends to be, that, after the next election the parties would change places and that the opposition would occupy the seats of power, the hon. gentleman would cling to the ideas that he, and his followers, had in 1882 and 1892, that they would insist upon doing their own redistribution, but realizing that their prospects are the reverse of bright, they pretend, that, if a redistribution is to be made, as it shall be made then, by the party now in power, it shall be made, not by that party, but by the authority of the courts. We have introduced in our legislation, a measure of redistribution by judicial authority. We have gone as far as we thought we could go under the present circumstances. The hon. gentleman says: We adopt the principle, but we want to go one better at the proper time. At the proper time, it will be quite opportune to discuss the measure as to how far judicial authority will be extended or restricted, but, at all events, for my part, I am thankful that we, at last, have the two parties in this House committed to the principle of redistribution by judicial authority. This was one of the things which the hon. gentleman stood by to-day.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), tell us when they supported that?

The PRIME MINISTER. We supported it last year; we introduced it in this Bill also, and my hon. friend opposed it last year, although, this year he seems disposed to come to this view. My hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, this afternoon, thought that he would derive some comfort from the fact that there has been an election in the province of Manitoba, and that this election turned out to the profit of the Conservative party. My hon. friend told us this afternoon, that if the Liberal party has been defeated in Manitoba, it is on account of the attitude and of the policy of this party in regard to the Senate. It seems to me that it is not very many days ago, not more than two or three weeks ago, that, I heard, and everybody heard, my hon. friend say, that, if the Liberal party had been defeated in the province of Manitoba, it was not on account of the policy of this party on the Senate question, but upon the tariff question and upon the Yukon question. It was because we had not carried out our pledges in regard to the tariff. It is true that my hon. friend, after having stated that a Liberal newspaper had said that the contest was between Mr. Greenway on the one side, and Sir Charles Tupper on the other side, my hon. friend hesitated to say that it was not so, that it was not between Mr. Greenway and my hon. friend, but he said that it was between Mr. Greenway on the one side, and Mr. Hugh John Macdonald on the other side. I have only this to say, that I am not much scared by the result of the elections in Manitoba. It may be that the statement

which we had the other day from my hon. friend, is true, that the people of Manitoba are disappointed on the question of the tariff, but I want to know from my hon. friend, if they voted against Mr. Greenway because they were not thoroughly satisfied with the tariff, what they would expect from the hon. gentleman? Why should they take office from us and give it to him? Does my hon. friend remember the colloquy which once took place between Charles II. and his brother, the Duke of York. Charles II. was not a very good man, but he had some redeeming points in his favour, whereas the Duke of York had no redeeming qualities at all. Charles II., at all events, was clever, and one day when the Duke of York came to him and offered him his protection against possible assassination, Charles replied: Don't be afraid, brother, no one will kill me to make you king. So I say to my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper): No one will kill this government to let him get into power. I am not at all scared at what the results of the elections in Manitoba may predict for us. Coming back to the amendment, Sir, I have to ask the House to consider that it really is not an amendment at all to this Bill. It does not provide an alternative measure to the Bill which we propose, and upon which we determine to have a redistribution now, and not after the next session. The amendment provides simply for the redistribution of seats after the census, and I have only to say to my hon. friend, that when the time comes we shall be prepared to discuss it, but at the present time, I have only to ask the House to vote it down.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Whatever the amendment proposes or does not propose, there is one thing very certain, and that is, that it does not please the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) or his supporters. The right hon. gentleman has discussed the amendment with scarcely that fairness and that completeness which such an important amendment deserves. This House is very often stirred by party strife, and there are two subjects which engender that party strife more than any other subjects we discuss; one, the conduct of our elections, and the other, the rearrangement of our constituencies. I think I am within the judgment of the House when I say, that the resolution proposed by the leader of the opposition, if adopted by the government of the day, would be the most potent factor which this parliament has adopted in all its history, for the removal of that party strife, and that party contention, and that party bitterness which so often characterizes the conduct of the sessions of the Canadian parliament. The right hon. gentleman expresses his great surprise that such a resolution should be moved by the hon. the leader of the opposition, remembering his attitude in the past. Well, Sir,

the same charge has been flung against the hon. the leader of the opposition upon many an occasion, but I have yet to see the occasion in this parliament when that hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) was shown to have been inconsistent in his long career in dealing with public questions and with public policy. But, Sir, if a stranger, coming to the gallery after the absence of a number of years, would be surprised at the resolution moved by the leader of the opposition, how much greater would he be surprised on listening to the statements which have been made by the leader of Her Majesty's government; cheered as they were by his supporters. Why, Sir, I asked the right hon. gentleman a question as to when he advocated the re-legation of the redistribution of seats in the Canadian parliament to the judiciary, and the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) answered me as though that had always been his policy. Will the Prime Minister permit me to read these lines from *Hansard*, the record of the proceedings of this House. They are the report of an address delivered by a gentlemen who was then Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, leader of Her Majesty's opposition, but who is now the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of Her Majesty's government. These are the words uttered by him some six or seven years ago:

In some quarters it is said, and the suggestion is made, that the duty of redistributing the seats should be left to a commission of judges, specially appointed for that purpose. I am bound to say, Sir, that this is a proposition that neither myself nor my friends can accept.

That is the language of the leader of the government in 1892, and the man in the gallery who listened to that speech and who returned here in the year 1900, whatever be his surprise at the amendment moved by the leader of the opposition, would be struck dumb at the forgetfulness of the right hon. the leader of the government, in claiming here to-night that he had been the exponent of judicial redistribution through all the years of his history. That is not merely a bald statement made by the right hon. the Prime Minister. It is a statement argued out, and he goes on to say in his argument that parliament has the power over this matter; that parliament has only once relegated its powers to a judicial tribunal, and that is in relation to the trial of election petitions. This matter of the redistribution of seats in parliament is a matter over which parliament, he contended, should have control; and, therefore, he refused to accept the policy which is suggested in some quarters for the re-legation of these matters to a judicial tribunal, instead of the House of Commons itself dealing with them. But I am still further surprised at the right hon. gentleman. The Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) has told us that this Bill is introduced to carry out

a pledge to the electors, to carry out a pledge to this House. I am here to-night to say to the Prime Minister and to his Postmaster General, that this Bill and the manner of its introduction into the House, is a flagrant violation of the terms of a distinct promise made to this House by the right hon. gentleman when he was leader of the opposition here. That is a pretty strong statement, but it is a statement which is borne out by the facts. How was this Bill arranged? Who drew it up? Was it drawn by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), or by the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), assisted by their colleagues? Where was it conceived, where was it constructed? It was either constructed in a party caucus or in a party council, and I say to the Prime Minister that when he did that, and took that means of framing this Bill, he gave the falsehood to a declaration of principle which he made in this House not later than eight years ago. Very fortunately, we have here the resolution which was moved by the right hon. gentleman himself, in 1892, when the late Sir John Thompson moved the second reading of the Redistribution Bill. The Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) then was dealing on broad lines. He wanted the Conservative party in the House of Commons, then having a large majority, to forget its partyism, to adopt broad principles, to be generous for fair Canada, to let partisanship go and let Canada be on top. Here is what the right hon. gentleman proposed, and here is what the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), and the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), and the minister without portfolio (Mr. Sutherland), and all the leading Liberals voted for. I fancy that the stranger who sat in the galleries and saw these gentlemen voting for that resolution, would have been still more surprised when he heard of the manner in which this Bill was constructed, which this parliament is asked to adopt in the session of 1900. Here is the resolution which was moved by the Prime Minister:

Resolved, that Bill (No. 76), intituled 'An Act to readjust the representation in the House of Commons,' be referred to a conference or a committee, to be composed of both political parties, to agree upon the lines or principle upon which a Redistribution Bill should be drawn for presentation to this House.

That was a sacred promise given to the House, as to the policy of the right hon. gentleman and his supporters—the most direct promise that could be given; and here on the division list are the names of the gentlemen who supported it. Did the right hon. gentleman carry that pledge out? Was that committee or that conference called before this measure was introduced into the House of Commons, in order that partnership might be done away with? Not at all. The right hon. gentleman forgot it as he has forgotten other promises with re-

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gard to matters of public policy, and this Bill is a party Bill. Would the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) like to see the resolution I have quoted? I shall be glad to send it to him, because he voted for it.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). It is quite aside from the point we are discussing.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The Minister of Customs can see very much more clearly than I can.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The House can see it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Well, let us see how far aside I am from the point. A Redistribution Bill is introduced by the government in 1892, and the leader of the opposition proposes that the Bill shall be referred to a conference of both parties. I say that to be consistent the Prime Minister when he introduced this Bill should have done the same thing, and the Minister of Customs, with that clear intelligence which is cheered on the other side of the House, says that is quite aside from the mark. Well, Mr. Speaker, I am quite willing that the clear-sightedness of the hon. gentleman and myself, on that point at least, should go to the judgment of the House. Now, I thought that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) chose a very unfortunate moment in which to utter a prophecy which he made to the House this afternoon. He prophesied that if the Conservative party got into power, the House would find them adopting the strongest party tactics in the construction of a redistribution measure.

Mr. GIBSON. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. My hon. friend says 'Hear, hear;' but no sooner was the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries on his seat than the leader of the opposition rose to propose a motion, the adoption of which would for ever remove this party strife-stirring subject from the confines of the House of Commons, and place it where no party strife would be stirred as the redistribution would be done each ten years as the constitution requires. Well, Sir, what else did we find this afternoon? We found in the speech of my hon. friend for East Prince (Mr. Bell) an argument why this Bill should be dropped. That hon. gentleman declared that an injustice was done in Prince Edward Island. It is true, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries disagreed with him on that point. But supposing the statement of the hon. member for East Prince is correct. Here, we will say, is an injustice being done to Prince Edward Island by the Bill of 1892, in so far as the representation of that island in the House of Commons is concerned; and here is a Bill dealing with the representa-

tion of this Dominion in the House of Commons, and the hon. gentleman is absolutely unable to move an amendment which meets the case of that province. He is estopped by reason of the fact that the constitution proposed only to redistribute at each decennial census period. No better argument has been offered in this House, it appears to me, to show that this is not the time to introduce such a Bill, that it is not opportune, that the constitution never intended that a Bill of this kind should be introduced between the decennial periods. The right hon. leader of the government has said that the chief objection of this side of the House is that this parliament has not the power to pass such a Bill. The hon. gentleman is at fault again.

The PRIME MINISTER. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman says 'Hear, hear.' I have not heard on this side of the House the contention that this parliament had not the power to pass the Bill. This parliament, I think, undoubtedly has the power to pass the Bill.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman surely can see that there is a difference between having the power to pass the Bill and this being the right time to pass the Bill. What this side of the House has contended, and is still contending, is that there is a time under the law when a Redistribution Act may properly be passed, namely, after each decennial census when indeed it has to be passed; and that no government unless it is anxious to obtain a party advantage, will pass such a Bill as this only one year previous to the decennial census period, when another Bill dealing with the same subject must necessarily be passed. That is the point that has been emphasized on this side of the House, and I venture to say that parliament has never before witnessed the extraordinary spectacle of a government legislating upon a subject so close to the time when they will be compelled, under the constitution of the country, to legislate upon it again. The Prime Minister, when he was dealing with this subject on another occasion, referred to the only matter with regard to which parliament had delegated its powers to the courts, that was, the trial of election petitions. Now, I do not think there could be two subjects more closely allied than the trial of election petitions and the redistribution of seats in the House of Commons. They are both questions upon which party majorities are likely to support and favour their friends. We know something of the history of the trial of election petitions in this House. No matter which party happened to be in power, nobody who lost by the decision was satisfied, I fancy, with the

result. That subject was removed, and very wisely removed, from the House of Commons to the courts. Since that time we have had very little fault found with the decision of the judges in regard to contested election matters; and I venture to say that if the resolution moved to-night by the leader of the opposition were adopted, we should find in future years that instead of this everlasting bickering, disputing and quarrelling over the readjustment of constituencies, everybody would be as satisfied as they are to-day with the decisions of the courts upon contested election matters. Why will hon. gentlemen not adopt this resolution? There can be only one reason, that is, that they are anxious to pass this Bill—why? In order to gain a party advantage in the contest which must soon be upon this country. There is no other possible reason. No harm could come to any one by the adoption of the resolution. We all have perfect confidence in the judges of Canada. We all have perfect confidence in the chief justices of the various provinces of the Canadian confederation. We have that confidence to such an extent that we are not only willing to leave them to decide between individual and individual, or corporation and corporation, but between political parties, as well, confident that they will have due regard for the great national interests of this Dominion, and I repeat that the refusal of the government to adopt this amendment can only be due to one reason, namely, that they desire to get a party advantage in their next appeal to the constituencies. That may be a good reason for hard and fast party partisans, such as the right hon. gentleman and his followers, but I see before me, on the other side, men who are not elected as hard and fast party men. I see the hon. member for Prince Edward (Mr. Pettet), the hon. member for West Bruce (Mr. Tolmie), the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Rogers), the hon. member for Cardwell (Mr. Stubbs), the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), and also the hon. member for Albert, N.B. (Mr. Lewis), and the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Puttee), men who were elected on independent platforms, who pledged themselves not to be hard and fast, hide-bound party supporters, but to vote for what they believed to be in the best interests of the country. I want to ask these hon. gentlemen to-night whether they think they are serving their independent friends or keeping their independence pledges when they refuse to support a resolution which has for its object the removal of this very vexed question altogether from the arena of politics and the placing of it in hands which will do justice to both sides. There can be only one reason for opposing this amendment, and that is party advantage. These hon. gentlemen opposite have all the time claimed that they have no desire to

make party advantage by this Bill, but only to remedy an injustice. They have now an opportunity of showing that they do not desire to make party advantage, and they can show this by adopting this amendment, and thus taking the matter entirely out of politics and placing it in the hands of the judiciary.

The right hon. gentleman gave us no reference to the conferences which were held when the last redistribution took place in the House of Commons in England. On a previous occasion, however, he discussed at very great length, and so did the hon. Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies), the beautiful proceedings, as they termed them, which took place in the House of Commons of England when that Redistribution Bill was introduced. After conferences had been held and a committee formed, that Bill was introduced as a result of the labours of that committee, acceptable to both parties. Will the right hon. First Minister permit me just to leave a thought with him? I would like to submit to the House that 'this redistribution should not take place according to the whim or fancy or the selfishness or the arbitrariness' I fancy that must refer to my hon. friend the Postmaster General—'whoever that majority may be, but that it should be carried on a fixed, determined and well-understood principle, to be applied on this and all other similar occasions.' That is the purpose of the amendment moved by the leader of the opposition, namely, that no longer a mere majority shall control, that no longer a self-interested majority shall control, that no longer an arbitrary majority shall control, but that fair-play and fixed principles shall be the rule, and the redistribution be done in that fair spirit and upon those fixed principles. These are the words spoken by the right hon. gentleman himself in the session of 1892, and I commend them now to himself, as well as to the members of his government and those hon. gentlemen who support him.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). I agree with the right hon. leader of the government that there seems to have been some progress made in the direction of fairness by hon. gentlemen on the other side. They have profited somewhat by the education we have been endeavouring to give them, and are reaching by degrees, though rather slow degrees, to something like fairness in the measures they propose. I agree with the right hon. leader of the government that a very great change seems to have taken place in their opinion since last session, with reference to this Bill, which they now seek to wipe out of existence by this amendment. We do know—and the denial of the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) does not alter the fact—that last year it was argued by a higher authority in the party opposite than

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that hon. gentleman—one whose opinions, it is true, have in times past been set aside by his followers, but who, after all, is recognized as more the leader of the party than the hon. member for Haldimand—it was argued strongly that we had not the legal or constitutional right to introduce this Bill, and the right hon. leader of the government is perfectly justified in drawing attention to the present change of front. This amendment was probably placed in that hon. gentleman's hands by the one who has just spoken, and to whom, if I am rightly informed, is due the credit, along with the hon. member for South Lanark (Mr. Haggart), of drafting this resolution. Although I cannot speak by the book, yet from the manner in which the hon. member for Haldimand defends the amendment, I have no doubt that he is the one who suggested it or had a good deal to do with the drafting of it. The hon. gentleman has spoken of the inconsistencies of the right hon. leader of the government and his party in connection with the question of redistribution, but I think he will find that in all the resolutions proposed by this side of the House, on that subject, the leader of the government did take the ground that it was not desirable that a party should take advantage of its numerical strength to pass a Bill arbitrary and unjust in its provisions, and he will find nothing in the Bill now submitted to the House, and which the hon. gentleman is seeking to wipe out of existence by his amendment, contrary to that principle. On the contrary, it embodies that as its fundamental principle.

Hon. gentlemen opposite say that the only object for the introduction of this Bill by the government is to take party advantage. But no gentleman on the other side has been able to point out wherein we seek party advantage. To say that there is party advantage in this Bill is equivalent to a declaration from the man who says it that he knows that the present state of things is iniquitous and unfair. That is necessarily involved, because if it is right and just that these constituencies as now adjusted should remain as they are, the judges will do what is right and fair in the readjustment, and these hon. gentlemen opposite need not be afraid. But the hon. gentleman says, and thinks he makes a great point of it, that we seek to gain party advantage, and he tells the hon. member for Winnipeg (Mr. Puttee), the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Rogers), and others, who were elected on independent platforms, that they assume a vast responsibility if they vote down this proposition of the leader of the opposition to refer this matter to the judges and remove these questions from the arena of party strife. But I think he has given these hon. gentlemen the best reason possible for voting down the resolution. Why? Because this resolu-

tion, while declaring that reference to the judges is the only fair and right principle, proposes that the application of that principle shall be postponed for a year or two, while the Bill which the resolution is intended to defeat says: We will give it effect to-night so far as this House is concerned.

As to the proposition made in 1892, the resolution that was introduced by the leader of the government was in connection with a Redistribution Bill properly so called, and with a redistribution as required under the Act after the decennial census. This Bill is not a Redistribution Bill in that sense; it is a Bill to repeal the iniquitous law that was put on the statute-book in 1882, and virtually renewed in 1892, and that has remained ever since against the protests of the Liberal party and the Liberal government. The amendment proposed by the leader of the opposition is no amendment to the Bill. Whatever virtue is in it will be a subject for consideration at the proper time, and I am not called upon to express an opinion with reference to it. But it has nothing to do with this Bill, which is not a Redistribution Bill as required by the constitution after taking the census, but simply to repeal the Gerrymander Act of 1882 and 1892. And now that we propose to repeal one of those infamous gerrymander Acts, hon. gentlemen opposite, by this declaration say that the matter ought to be left to the judges, thus declaring, in effect, that they are cognizant that the majority who sat in the House in 1882 and 1892, by virtue of mere party strength passed unjust and unfair measures. That being the case, our contention is fully established that this Act is simply to repeal the worst features of a measure infamous in its nature. If there is any strength in the argument of the hon. member for Haldimand, it goes to prove that.

We were told by the hon. leader of the opposition that the Senate were quite within their rights when they threw out this Bill. And he spoke of the English House of Peers and the powers they exercise. Well, I venture to say now, as I said the other night, that if the House of Lords in England were to throw out a measure that had been introduced in the House of Commons after it had been pronounced upon by the people in a general election, and if that Bill were introduced at a second session after by-election after by-election had been held in which almost without exception on this principle had been endorsed by the people at the polls, and the House of Lords were again to throw it out, the British government would not hesitate to use the reserve power in their hands to create enough new peers to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their representatives. But the hon. gentleman says that the proposition for joint vote would change the relative

positions of the provinces, and would be a violation of the Confederation Act. I suppose he would not argue that that would apply to the creation of new peers in the House of Lords. And I suppose that if we were allowed to indulge in the creation of new peers, as long as the proportion of representation of the various parts of the Dominion were maintained there would be no violation of the constitution or of the forms of the Upper Chamber. The resolution that has been moved simply indicates to me, that while the leader of the opposition, last year, in a shameless manner it seemed to me, if that be a parliamentary expression.—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I take it back if it is not parliamentary. I do not wish to use any expressions that are too strong. But I do say that the House witnessed an extraordinary scene last year when it saw the hon. the leader of the opposition in this House, a leader of the minority of the people's representatives, able, from his place in the House, to address senators sitting in the gallery of this House, and virtually give them instructions to cast out the Bill passed by the people's representatives. That was a scheme which I trust will not be repeated. We remember that he stated in the early part of this debate, when this Bill was first introduced: We do not intend to debate this Bill, and I ask my friends not to pay any attention to it whatever; if you will simply read my speech of last year you will see all that is necessary to be said in reference to it. Why was that? If you read his speech of last year you will see what he said, that he wound up his speech by virtually addressing the members of the other Chamber sitting in this gallery and telling them what they were to do with that Bill. Sir, is it possible that word has been brought to him by the messengers of his party? Has there been anything like a conference with the members of that judicial body who are supposed to do what is just and right, and have they given the hon. gentleman to understand that they do not consider it consistent with their dignity, with the importance of their House, with their consciences, in fact, a second time to reject this Bill simply because last year the leader of the opposition told them to do so? Have they told him that he must give them some kind of a herring to draw across the trail? Have some of his friends suggested to him, has the member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), perhaps, suggested to him, that the best way to do it would be to work in something that looked like a judicial rearrangement of the boundaries and all that, and providing that this shall not take place for two or three years from now, something that will give the members of the Upper House a peg upon

which they may hang their coats? I can imagine that something of that kind has transpired. At any rate, we find the hon. gentleman abandoning every position they took last year. We do not find them now addressing the members of the Senate, we find them introducing a resolution which they declare, in the words of the member for Haldimand, is for ever to take these vexed questions out of the party arena. The independent members of the House are appealed to, and are asked to vote for this righteous principle that they have introduced: whereas, if they vote for this amendment it will have the effect of wiping out this Bill, which proposes to give immediate effect to this righteous principle instead of waiting two years to do it. I leave the question for the consideration of the House.

Of course, as to the merits of the Bill there is no use going over that again. No man can stand up and defend these Bills of 1882 and 1892 that we seek to repeal by the present Bill: no man with any sense of shame will stand up and defend them. If there is, then, on the statute-book Acts so iniquitous that men dare not defend them, and if there is before the House a proposition to repeal those Acts, and in repealing them to do no injustice to any one, to leave the arrangement to three of the highest judges in the land, where is the gentleman who will take the ground that he would be justified in casting out this Bill? Why, Sir, they talk about representation having regard to population as one of the things they will ask the judges to consider when they propose this Bill of theirs. Very well, we also require here that the judges have some regard to the population of the county, we propose that it shall be done in such a way that the judges will do substantial justice. That is precisely what is required of the judges under the Bill that we have before us. Therefore, any gentleman who is in favour of that principle, who believes that it would be a good thing in a redistribution, when we come to consider the necessity for a redistribution, then he can support it. But, in the meantime, we are considering, not a Redistribution Bill but a Bill repealing some of the iniquitous clauses of the Bills that were passed in 1882 and 1892, that shackled the free expression of the people of this country. All we ask is that this Bill shall be given effect to, and that these judges shall enter upon their work at once, and that entering upon their work, they shall discharge it in the fair and impartial spirit that has ever characterized our judges. They will enter upon it not shackled, not bound, not in any shape controlled by this government, otherwise than is laid down in clause (b). But when they have regard to population within county bounds, they are not to disregard county bounds, as was

done by hon. gentlemen under their specious plea of representation by population.

I pointed out the other night, as a sample of their work, one case which I will only mention on this occasion. The county of Oxford, that had about 49,000 souls, and could have been divided into two ridings, with just about the proper unit, they gerrymandered in this fashion: They took one Liberal township out of North Perth and threw it into Oxford, another out of South Perth and threw that into Oxford. Then they went into South Brant and took out two townships and threw them into Oxford, making an addition of a little over 9,000 in the population. Then they took out of the county of Oxford the township of Blenheim and put it into North Brant, and they took out the township of Dereham and put it into North Norfolk, thus overturning a whole chain of townships, which resulted in what? Not in equalizing the population, because there was just a difference of eight between the population they put in and the population they took out. Hon. gentlemen can see from this example—and that is only one of many similar iniquities in those Bills—how great is the necessity of the Bill that we have introduced remedying these glaring defects. We ask the House to remedy those defects and those iniquities, and to carry out the will of the people of this country. When this Bill is assented to, I for one am not prepared to assume that another Chamber receiving it for the second time will throw it out for the second time; I am not prepared to say that they will assume the responsibility of placing themselves in a position of saying that this parliament shall not give effect to a Bill remedying the injustice and the grievances that have existed from 1882 down to the present time.

Hon. gentlemen opposite have sought to argue that we should not do anything until after another census has been taken. Sir, that consideration does not enter into this question at all. This Bill was introduced at the earliest possible moment that we were able in order to give effect to the will of the people, and if it has been delayed, it is because we had not power to deal with it. Now that the power is in our hands we propose to act, and it is no reason at all that because we are within a year or two of taking the census, when a redistribution of the various provinces must take place, we should not, meanwhile, repeal those unjust clauses that I have mentioned, and remove from the statute-book that which has been a blot upon it from 1882 down to the present time. I quite agree with what the leader of the government has said, that whatever virtue there may be in the amendment of the hon. gentleman, this is not the proper time to discuss it. The amendment does not at all touch the main principle of the Bill, because the Bill

proposes to repeal an Act of this parliament that is to be found on the statute-book of Canada, that has existed up to the present time with reference to the representation in this House of certain portions of the province of Ontario and of the province of Quebec, and of some other constituencies. The proper time to consider this amendment will be when a redistribution will have to be made; but, in the meantime, I hope the House will not entertain the proposition which this amendment involves of wiping out this whole Bill, because the Bill calls for immediate action to remedy an existing evil, and suggests that certain measures shall be taken with reference to an entirely different matter to the subject of the amendment.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), who has just taken his seat, has addressed the House in his usual style. He has accustomed himself so much to mistaking sound and fury for good solid argument, that he believes he is making an impression on the House and the country. I view the statements made by the hon. Minister of Customs and by his leader, the right hon. First Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), as showing that they are very much nonplussed in the first place, by the amendment of the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), and that, in the second place, they are very angry that the hon. leader of the opposition should have proposed such an amendment. Whatever virtues they may have claimed for themselves, whatever credit they may have taken, we can see in this House, and in this country, that they have been guided and actuated in this infamous gerrymander Bill by only one motive, a motive repeated time and again by the hon. Minister of Customs. What was that? He said: We are going to undo the work of 1882 and 1892. The work of 1882 was no gerrymander; it was a righteous redistribution of seats in the province of Ontario, and the proof of that lies in the fact that hon. gentlemen opposite cannot point to a single hon. member on the other side of the House, who occupied a seat before 1882 who was dispossessed of his seat by the redistribution of that year. Every one of these hon. members retained his seat. They gained six seats in the province of Ontario as a result of this redistribution which we made to our political disadvantage. The hon. Minister of Customs had the hardihood to-night to challenge any hon. gentleman to point out where there is any party advantage in this Bill. Does it not seem, from beginning to end, with party advantage? Does he not know himself, and we have repeated it in this House over and over again, that he proposes to take the county of Brant, with 33,000 people—

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Wrong.

Mr. WALLACE. With 33,000 people, which he dishonestly calls 36,500, as I shall prove to the House, and proposes to give that 33,000 people two members, or one for each 16,500 people, while, for the city of Toronto, with 225,000 people, or more, he proposes five members, or one for every 45,000 people in the Conservative city of Toronto, and one for every 16,500 people in the Liberal county of Brant. But, he says, that there are 36,500 people in the county of Brant. A more dishonest statement, politically, never was made in this House. What have they done? There are 3,500 Indians in that constituency; they had the franchise under the Dominion Franchise Act; they have taken that franchise away from every one of these men. There is not a man who has a vote, but, for the purpose of counting the population, they include the whole of these Indians. The hon. Minister of Customs says that this is an honest presentation of the case. He had the hardihood to get up and justify that course. There never was a more flagrant attempt to mislead the House than to count in these 3,500 Indians, who were disfranchised by the hon. gentlemen opposite, who are not permitted to vote, who had the right of the franchise, and, we know, and the hon. Minister of Customs knows, because I have heard him make the statement in this House, that they exercised their franchise intelligently, that they are an intelligent community, but, they have been deprived of their vote, and, notwithstanding this, the hon. gentleman counts them, in order to show that there are 36,500 people in that constituency.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). Will the hon. gentleman permit me a word?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, but the hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson), is not willing to extend that courtesy to others.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace), imputes to me dishonesty; I know he does not mean it offensively, because I count in the Indian population, and he says that it is not fair.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Political dishonesty.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Even political dishonesty should not be charged against me, because I did not count them at all. It was the men appointed by the Conservative government who counted them in 1891, and the Conservative government that published the census which counts them.

Mr. WALLACE. This is the excuse, this is the reason, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson), gives. Because we took a census in 1891 we counted them. The House and the

country are aware of the fact that the local legislature took away the right to vote. The hon. Minister of Customs, endorsing that action and bringing in a Franchise Bill, dishonestly, politically, tells us that it was because they counted them in the census. That just exposes the wrong-doing of the hon. gentleman. But, Mr. Speaker, he says further, that there is no party advantage in this Bill. I say that from beginning to end every clause in it has a party advantage.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. How about the county of Norfolk?

Mr. WALLACE. They have not disturbed every constituency, but wherever they have disturbed a constituency they have done it for a party advantage, and I will challenge the hon. gentleman to name a constituency that he proposes to change in which I cannot point out a party advantage for the Liberals. Take the county of Simcoe, take the city of Toronto, to which I have alluded, and I say that there are flagrant cases of which the case of the county of Brant is a counterpart. Why should the city of Toronto be disfranchised? Hon. gentlemen tell us that the Conservative party did not give the full representation that the city of Toronto is entitled to. This shows that the Conservative party did not want to take a party advantage, because if they had done so, they could have given Toronto far more members and done it upon the principle of the people being represented according to their numbers. They were urged to do so. Now, another point in regard to that. They followed the principle of representation by population, although the hon. Postmaster General in his speech on this Bill pooh poohed the idea that such a principle should guide them at all. This is the principle that guides so far as the provinces are concerned, it is the principle that should guide so far as the electoral districts are concerned, so far as it can possibly be done. If you ignore that you will have the door open for every kind of wrong-doing; you will have the door open for the hon. Minister of Customs to get back to Brant. He said to us to-night that they have been preaching this principle throughout the country. They have. I suppose there has not been a session of parliament that we have not listened to the speech that we heard twice delivered in this session already, by the hon. Minister of Customs. You cannot go over this country and meet the hon. minister on any public platform, but he harangues his audience with this old story, and this old misrepresentation of the facts of the case. He says: The people gave us orders; they gave us commands. What orders did they give them? There were two other hon. gentlemen who made this their stock in trade, their political capital throughout this country. The hon. gentleman who formerly represented Bothwell, now the hon. Minister of

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Justice (Mr. Mills), and the hon. Minister of Customs. What happened? They say that they preached this doctrine. The people did not believe them, or, for other more cogent reasons, they left both of these hon. gentlemen at home at the last election. They were either tired of their preaching, or they did not believe them, and both of these hon. gentlemen were left out in the cold. The hon. Minister of Customs got a temporary refuge in the north riding of Grey by means that we know, on this side of the House, were the most reprehensible. By a system of corruption, by bribery, by personation, by fraud and by forgery, the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) got his seat. We know the whole history of it. We know where the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) was and how long he was there. We know that he was in the back room of an hotel in Owen Sound day after day, and night after night, while we were fighting the battle on the public platform. He was not on the stump as we were but he was negotiating in close touch with the vilest of the earth; with those men who have been shown to have been guilty of all kinds of villainies.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. What part of the hotel were you in?

Mr. WALLACE. What do you ask?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. What part of the hotel were you in when you saw the Postmaster General?

Mr. WALLACE. I can tell the minister (Mr. Paterson) that I was not where the Postmaster General and his gang were, and I ask if the Minister of Customs can say the same thing. Was he fraternizing with the gang? Well, whether he was or not he got the benefit of their villainy, and he sits in the House of Commons to-day by virtue of the rascalities practised in North Grey at that election. But, Sir, the Minister of Customs has received notice to quit. We have had another election in the north riding of Grey, and the minister knows he is not any longer wanted in that county. He does not think he will run there. Things are not looking well for him, and so he wants to cut out for himself a nice little constituency in the county of Brant, and consequently he supports this iniquitous Bill. That is the reason you see him on every occasion shouting out in the House: We are going to have the iniquities of the Bill of 1882 repealed. Well, Sir, that was not an iniquitous Bill. It was a fair Redistribution Bill, and the results of the elections held since prove it. A gerrymander Bill is that by which a minority of the voters get a majority of the representation. But in every election held since 1882, the Conservative party had a majority of votes, and did not have a majority of members corresponding to that majority of votes. This

shows that the Act of 1882 was not a gerrymander, and it shows further, that the majority of the electors were in favour of the Conservative party. But the Minister of Customs says: Oh, we will observe the sacred doctrine of county boundaries. Well, Sir, there never was such a flagrant attempt to mislead the people as is found in that declaration. Where are the county boundaries adhered to? Will the Postmaster General or the Minister of Customs tell me where they are adhered to? What is the state of affairs in the county of Carleton? Why, there are two townships of Carleton in the constituency of Russell, two other townships in the constituency of North Lanark, and the balance is in the county of Carleton. Therefore, this one county is in three different electoral districts. There you have a violation of every principle upon which this Bill is said to be constructed. Then, gentlemen opposite say: West Toronto had two members, and we are going to abolish that and we will make single constituencies in the cities. The hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke) asked the Postmaster General on what principle they were doing that, and he could not tell. It was pointed out that the cities of Ottawa and Hamilton have two members each and that they are not divided. The Postmaster General was unable to tell why the government should do that in West Toronto and not do it in Ottawa and Hamilton. He was obliged to confess that he ignored the principles that he laid down. The Minister of Customs told us to-night, that if the English House of Lords received the opinion of the electors after rejecting a Bill, then when it came up for consideration the next time they would reverse their decision if it was not in accord with the opinion of the House of Commons. He attempted to cite this as a parallel case. Well, there is no parallel whatever between the two. In the first place, there would have to be a general election in the interim to ascertain the will of the people, and if that general election showed that the will of the people favoured the House of Commons, then the House of Lords might give way. The Minister of Customs tells us that although we have not had a general election since, we have had by-elections.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. There was a general election.

Mr. WALLACE. There was no general election since this Bill was introduced in 1899.

Mr. BENNETT. There was one in Manitoba.

Mr. WALLACE. Oh, yes, there was one in Manitoba, and they say there is going to be one in Ontario, and if there is a general election in Ontario these gentlemen across the floor will hitch themselves to the machines, because they dare not go into an

election without it. The Minister of Customs tells us that the by-elections demonstrated public opinion. Do not we know from the evidence of the election courts that every one of these by-elections were carried by fraud? Do not we know the minister's own case? He knows it a great deal better than we do. He knows particulars about which we would be delighted if he would unbosom himself to the House and told us them. He knows all about the election in North Grey. It is clear to every one that the North Grey election and the other elections which were won by hon. gentlemen opposite were not won honestly, and instead of these gentlemen boasting about carrying these elections, they ought to hang down their heads in shame as honest men would do. The Minister of Customs says: that the only difference between the Bill and the amendment is that our amendment goes into force some two or three years hence and their Bill would go into force right off. There is a greater difference than that. Their Bill while it professes to give the judges the power, actually ties the hands of the judges, shackles them and perpetrates the iniquity of saying that the county of Brant shall have two members and the city of Toronto five, and the city of Ottawa two, and so on; but the amendment moved by the leader of the opposition will give full power to these judges to divide all the constituencies as they see fit. More than that, under the amendment the judges will have before them the information necessary for them to proceed with their duties, and that is an important matter. That is a vital point in the premises. It is useless at the present time to proceed on the basis of a census that is nine years old. The movement of population has been very great during these nine or ten years. The just and the fair and the honourable principles of redistribution is to take cognizance of this movement of the population, but the judges are absolutely precluded under this Bill from doing anything of the kind. It takes this vexed question out of the hands of parliament and leaves it to a judicial tribunal. It is true, the hon. the First Minister boasted to-day that he was doing so, and insinuated that that was always his policy. Why, Sir, a few years ago, in regard to the proposal to have judges do this work, the right hon. gentleman said:

In some quarters the suggestion has been made that the duty of redistribution should be referred to a commission of judges specially appointed; in other words, the parliament should divest itself of its powers in this most important particular. Sir, I am bound to say at once that this is a proposition which my friends and I would not favour either upon this or any other subject. I am bound to say that we would not entrust to any this duty and privilege which properly belongs to parliament. Moreover, this proposition implies a singular want of confidence in parliamentary institutions. It implies that in a matter of this kind

the majority would never be able to rise above the low temptations of strengthening themselves at the expense of their opponents.

He was entirely opposed to the judges doing the work. We propose now that it should be left entirely to the judges, not only in the province of Ontario, but in every province of the Dominion, and I have no doubt that is the true policy. As the leader of the opposition pointed out, everything indicates the probability of the Conservative party having control of the redistribution two or three years hence; but we are not anxious to have a political advantage from the fact, as we were not in 1882 or 1892. Therefore we are willing to-day to remove the whole subject from the political arena and refer it to the judges. We have been told by the Minister of Customs that last year we opposed the judges intervening. What we did last year was not to oppose the judges intervening in the broad and proper way, as is proposed in the amendment to-night; but we objected to pretending that the judges were regulating this matter when it was regulated by the government themselves, and the judges were simply registering their decrees; for that is all the power they place in the hands of the judges. Now, Sir, in the resolution proposed to-night there are two important features. The first is that the judges are to recognize the vital principle of representation by population, that the same number of people anywhere in this Dominion shall have the same representation in parliament as nearly as that can be accomplished, and the second is that they are to recognize, so far as it can be done while keeping the principle of representation by population in the forefront, the principle of county or municipal boundaries. This will have the effect of giving a fair representation to the people. It will change many of the political boundaries of to-day. It will upset many of the constituencies. But, if it is going to be fair and equitable representation, every loyal citizen of the country will bow to it. I have no hope, however, that hon. gentlemen opposite will consent to that. They prefer to follow the Mowat gerrymander of Ontario, as iniquitous a scheme as was ever planned, to rob the Conservatives of their franchise in every portion of the province, and to give a political advantage to the Liberal party. Why they made up the county of Dufferin out of four or five other counties which were pretty evenly divided, making a Tory hive of the county of Dufferin, giving it 1,400 or 1,500 of a Conservative majority, and leaving the other four or five constituencies strongly Liberal. They carried out the same principle all over the province, and that principle is embodied in the Bill before the House, though not so thoroughly or completely. But this Bill is equally wrong, because it proposes to disturb the constituencies to-day, although one year from the

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1st of April next a census will be taken giving the basis on which the representation must immediately afterwards be readjusted. What is this done for? It is for the purpose of giving the party in power a political advantage in the general election that must soon come on, because these gentlemen are afraid to meet the constituencies that elected them in 1896. They know that they have failed in their pledges to the people, they are afraid to meet the people they met in 1896, and they are proposing by this Bill to have the constituencies gerrymandered to suit themselves in the hope of being again returned to power. But, Sir, I have faith in the good, sound sense of the Canadian people. I have faith in the wisdom and the justice of the Senate doing their duty.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. We have had from the Postmaster General, the Minister of Customs and other hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, veiled threats against the Senate, that if they ventured to do what they felt to be their duty, and not what these gentlemen want them to do, what dire calamities will happen to the Senate. We were told last year that hon. gentlemen opposite were going to have a Bill to abolish the Senate or to readjust the conditions between this House and the Senate; but their courage has failed them, because they know that in this matter and others that have come before the Senate, that body has nobly done its duty and nobly justified its existence as a great power in the legislation of this country, as it will continue to be, notwithstanding the efforts of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. McMULLEN. I have listened with a good deal of amusement to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace), who has just taken his seat. I know his constituency pretty well. I know the vote that was cast for him at the last general election, and he knows perfectly well that if this Bill passed, and he were sent back to West York by itself, with Parkdale in the city of Toronto taken off, he would be relegated to the town where he has lived for many years, to stay there. He knows that perfectly well, and he is labouring very hard to defeat this Bill. The hon. gentleman yells very loudly about the principle of representation by population. The hon. gentleman has a history as a member of parliament. Let me read a resolution which the hon. gentleman is on record as having voted against. In 1892, when the question of redistribution was before the House, the late Mr. McCarthy moved in amendment:

That the said Bill be not now read the second time, but that it be resolved: that the redistribution of the seats of the members of this House, should, as far as practicable, be based on equality of population, due regard being had

to the community of interests existing in localities, a full and fair expression of public opinion, and the permanence and stability of constituencies.

My hon. friend's name I find recorded against that resolution. I find the name of 'Wallace' in the noes. I also find the name of the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), who spoke so strongly this afternoon in support of the principle of representation by population being the guiding star of the government, in opposition to this amendment. I can understand why the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) is so determined in his opposition to this Bill, but it is amusing to notice how quickly these hon. gentlemen can turn round. In 1882 and 1891 they argued strenuously that the redistribution of seats should be made by themselves, and opposed every effort of ours to appoint either a commission of judges or some other independent commission to do the work. They claimed the power to do it themselves, and they did it. They tied the hands of Reformers behind their backs, and want us to go again before the electors with our hands still tied, and are very much chagrined because we are determined to get rid of this infamous law, one of the most unjust ever introduced into this House, and which has led to more acrimony and ill-feeling and bitterness than any other. These hon. gentlemen are placing their whole confidence in the Senate. They propose to hang on to the Senate coat-tails. The hon. member for West York has a great deal more confidence in the Senate than he has in the people. He believes that the Senate will stand by him and reject the Bill again, as it did last year, notwithstanding the fact that forty-five constituencies have been appealed to since the general elections, and out of these forty-five, the government have carried forty-two. Could anything show more clearly that the country is behind the leader of the government? It is interesting and amusing to watch the courtesy and attention which our hon. friends opposite are paying to the senators just now. They doff their hats now whenever they meet a senator. They know that unless the Senate stands by them, the vicious gerrymander of 1882 is going to be abolished. Let me refer to what an hon. gentleman, who once sat in this House, a man of high character and great ability, whom hon. gentlemen opposite held in the highest respect for years, a distinguished member of the bar, as well as of this House, said with reference to the gerrymander Bill of 1882. I am now referring to the late lamented Mr. Dalton McCarthy. I heard that hon. gentleman declare in this House that one of the acts of his life he was ashamed of was his vote for the gerrymander Act of 1882.

Hon. gentlemen opposite claim that this Bill does not give representation by popula-

tion, but we do not pretend that it does. What we are seeking to do is simply to abolish the vicious gerrymander Acts of 1882 and 1891. We do not propose to redistribute any further than is absolutely necessary to undo the wrong that these hon. gentlemen did, and many of them will, in their cooler moments, admit that the Acts of 1882 and 1891 committed gross injustice. Take my own riding, they took the township of Wallace out of the county of Perth and put it into the county of Wellington, simply for the purpose of trying to bring about my defeat. What they did in my county they did also in the county of Frontenac. They also gerrymandered the Hon. David Mills out of this House, and the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), and the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and many others. There was no honesty or fair-play about that Act, and if, in addressing this House concerning it, we have shown a good deal of heat and indignation, we have had good cause. We have been suffering under the harrow of this abominable Act for eighteen years, so that it is no wonder we sometimes have given vent to expressions which it would have been better we had not used.

What does the hon. leader of the opposition propose? I frankly confess that a commission of judges might be looked upon as a very fair means of redistributing the constituencies. But is it fair that the hon. leader of the opposition should claim the right to name the judges? Is the government of the day to be deprived of that right? The hon. leader of the opposition claims the right to suggest how the redistribution shall be made and who shall make it. In this he is arrogating to himself a function of the government, and surely cannot expect that the government is going to abnegate one of the functions in his favour. I shall be glad indeed to see some proper, fair and decent arrangement come to whereby redistribution would be made without any further gerrymanders. I know that it is not the intention of the leader of this government to gerrymander. He is not made of the metal to gerrymander. His followers are not pressing him for a gerrymander—there is not one of them who wants it. What we want is to undo the vicious Acts of 1882 and 1892. And the hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor) knows in his own heart that this Bill of 1882 was one of the most abominably wicked things that he ever lent his countenance to. No man who has any fair-play in his constitution, no man who is built with any honesty, will get up in this House and advocate the abominable Bill passed in 1882, which was designed to tie the hands of Reformers behind their backs. If the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) was subjected to the injustice that we have been subjected to for years, would he quietly endure

it? He certainly would not. Now that he is asked to part with the advantage he has enjoyed for eighteen years, he rages like a bear. But he need not fear. A man of his distinguished ability, popularity and eloquence, will surely be able to find a seat. I am sure that the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) loves him so much that he will gladly resign and give him his seat. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) will not be able to keep West York—that is very true. But after all, if in his sober sensible moments he considers the matter, I cannot but believe that there is honesty enough in him to confess that the Bill of 1882 was an unrighteous Act, and we have the right to undo it. The amendment that the leader of the opposition has moved, I contend, is no amendment at all. It does not touch this Bill. This Bill is simply designed to right a wrong that has existed for years. When the census is taken, it will be time enough to discuss by what authority the readjustment is to be made. If it is decided to do it by the judges, I for one, will not object. So far as I am concerned, I am willing that my constituency should be readjusted by a commission of judges, and am ready to take whatever they believe should fairly constitute the riding I represent. I believe that every Reformer would be ready to adopt the method proposed. But that does not touch the evil that now exists; there is no other way to reach that evil than by the course now proposed.

The hon. member for West York called the attention of the House to a number of irregularities in connection with the representation, and pointed out that representation by population is not considered by this Bill. I wish to read to the House some of their constituencies in 1892. Take eight constituencies east of Toronto:

Lennox.....	14,902
Brockville	15,855
Prince Edward.....	18,892
Frontenac	13,445
Grenville South....	12,931
Leeds and Grenville.....	13,523
Northumberland West..	14,947
Peterborough West.....	15,808

Here we have eight constituencies with a total population of 120,330, or an average of 15,308. Now, let us take eight constituencies west of Toronto. As most of the constituencies I have already referred to are Conservative constituencies, so those that I now read are Liberal constituencies:

Essex North....	31,523
Essex South.....	24,022
Kent.....	31,434
Bothwell.....	25,595
Oxford North.....	26,131
Perth North....	28,909
Waterloo North	25,325
Waterloo South.....	25,148

In these eight constituencies there are 218,087 people, or an average of 27,011 to each

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constituency, as against 15,038 in those previously referred to. Now, I would like to ask the hon. member for West York why it was that in the redistribution of 1892, the government of that day left these constituencies in that condition? The reason was simply that the gerrymander of 1882 was so perfect in its operation that they could not make any change to their own advantage. The hon. member for West York laughs. He knows that what I say is true. He wishes to keep the law as it is in order that the Conservative party may reap the advantage of it once more in a general election. But they need not think either to blind the eyes of hon. gentlemen on this side, or to blind the eyes of the people by professing now that they are anxious to leave the whole matter to a commission of judges, and let the distribution take place in that way.

Now, they say that under this Bill the judges are shackled, and they call this a gerrymander Bill. I do not see how any man of common decency can rise and declare this to be a gerrymander Bill. It does not bear any of the marks of the gerrymander. We are going back to the condition of things before there was a gerrymander, to the condition of things that existed before 1882. My hon. friend the ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) shakes his head. That hon. gentleman knows that up to 1882 county boundaries were respected. He was one of the old followers of the late Sir John A. Macdonald, and he knows that Sir John was one of the great advocates for retaining county boundaries when the redistribution of 1872 was made. He gave his reasons for it. He said that the people of the county found who were their men of ability, first electing them councillors, then reeves, and then wardens, so the best men in the county were brought to the top and eventually elected as members of parliament. But when, in 1882, his followers began to see that an advantage could be had by a gerrymander, they got him to swallow himself, to discard the principles he had advocated in 1872. And so the gerrymander Act of 1882 was prepared, and Sir John A. Macdonald was urged and pressed by deputations to make this, that or the other change. Deputations came from all parts of Ontario, and every constituency was arranged and rearranged in the effort to secure a party advantage. One day a township was put into a county, the next day somebody objected, and it was taken out; and so they were pitchforked back and forth like pawns on a chessboard. We did not know one day what the next day would bring forth. I remember it very well. Townships were thrown back and forward with an eye of making the best possible use of them, or else for the purpose of hiving townships that were likely to vote against the government. That was the

course they adopted. Now, I say it is time that work should be undone, and we want to undo it. I say here that if the Senate persist in interfering with the representation of this House, still some means will be found for the purpose of bringing about a repeal of that iniquity. We are bound not to drop the Bill, we shall force it through this House, and every means possible will be adopted to bring about a repeal of these abominable and iniquitous Acts. There are men in the Senate who know perfectly well that the Act of 1882 was a grossly fraudulent Act, one that never should have been passed. They know that, and yet there are men who are dishonest enough still to stand up and swallow an Act that is so discreditable to them, and to interfere with the rights of the members of this House. We have no desire to be on bad terms with the Senate, but they must not interfere in matters that we consider they have no right to interfere with. If they do so, they may bring about a collision that may possibly hurt them. It is hard to tell what may happen. I have no desire to threaten them, but I say that we are bound to stick to this Bill, and to bring about a readjustment of the condition of things established in 1882 and 1892; and if they persist in retaining those Acts on the statute-book, then we should have to consider very seriously what other steps to take. We do not want anything but justice, but we are bound to have justice if there is any possible means of getting it.

Mr. CRAIG. We have listened to some rather peculiar speeches here to-night on this question. I am not at all surprised at anything that the member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) may say; but I was surprised to hear the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) talk as he did about the Senate. Perhaps he hardly knew what he was saying, he was talking very fast, and I will just remind him of what he said. I noticed that he referred to the Senate as a body supposed to act judicially. He said that this amendment introduced by the leader of the opposition, was no doubt framed on this side to give the Senate some excuse for defeating the Bill. Now, Mr. Speaker, I consider remarks of that kind are nothing but insulting to the Senate. For a member of the government to say that the Senate, a body that stands so high in this country, requires some excuse to be made for them by members of the opposition in order that they may defeat a Bill of this kind, I consider is an insult to the Senate, and I don't think that a remark of that kind should be made in this House. He went on to say that he considered there was nothing in the argument used on this side, that as a census will shortly be taken, and a new redistribution will have to be made, therefore, this Bill should not be passed. Well, it just occurred to me when he made that remark, that if

he were in opposition, and we were proposing a Bill of this kind, there is no gentleman would use that reason more loudly and more strongly than himself.

Now, with reference to the member for North Wellington, a great part of his speech was really in abuse of the Senate. I will just mention a very few remarks that he made about the Senate. He said the Conservative party were going to hang on to the Senate in this matter. He said the Senate were going to stigmatize their record.

An hon. MEMBER. What did he mean by that?

Mr. CRAIG. I don't know, I suppose he meant something offensive. He said also that the Senate were partisans; that the members of the opposition showed every kindness and courtesy to the Senate. At the close of his speech he said that the Senate must not interfere in matters that the government side thought they had no right to interfere with. Now, Sir, if these remarks were made by a member of the government we might attach some importance to them, but we need attach very little importance to them, when coming from the member for North Wellington, who latterly seems to speak with very great emphasis on every occasion when he has an opportunity of defending the government, he cannot find words strong enough to defend them; and therefore we must make a great deal of allowance. I do not know why he should be so energetic in his defence of the government on every occasion. I do not know why it is that he is almost the only man outside of the government on that side who does defend the government latterly, but he seems to be the chosen man to do this. I say that if any other member made remarks of this kind about the Senate, we might be very much surprised, and the Senate themselves might consider the matter seriously. But I will just suggest to the Senate, if I might be allowed to do so, that considering who made these remarks, the best thing to do is to pay no attention to them; and I have no doubt that that is just what they will do.

The member for North Wellington commenced by saying that he was very much amused at the member for West York (Mr. Wallace). Well, I am sure that the member for West York has no objection to affording all the amusement possible. The member for North Wellington often looks as if he needed something to amuse him. He went on to remark that the member for West York would be defeated if this Bill passed. I would like to know how he reconciles that statement with the statement made by the Minister of Customs, who challenged any member on this side of the House to point out any member of this parliament who would be injured by this Bill, and here the hon. member for North Wellington says that if this Bill passes the member for West

York will be defeated. Now, if the government could accomplish the defeat of the member for West York by passing this Bill, they would be doing a great deal for themselves. But, I do not think that the member for North Wellington is right. But, he shows, that in his opinion, this Bill is designed for party purposes, and he thinks if it passed, it would accomplish a party purpose in the defeat of the member for West York.

Mr. McMULLEN. It is designed to do justice.

Mr. CRAIG. If he considers it justice to defeat the member for West York, then I do not know what his views are on a great many questions. He went on to say that this Bill had been endorsed by the people, because, out of forty-five by-elections the government had carried forty-three. I do not admit that that is any argument at all. I might say that many of these elections were carried by means not entirely creditable to members on the government side of the House, but I am not going to say anything about that at all. The party in power, as a rule, carries all the by-elections. I look back to 1891 and 1892, when the Conservative party was in power. They came in with a majority of about 25, and after a couple of years, they carried enough by-elections to have a majority of 60 in this House. Yet, when they went to the country they were defeated. I think the same thing will follow in this case. These gentlemen have been carrying these by-elections, we admit, but we do not admit that because they carried them, the people have endorsed all their programme, and all the schemes which they promised to support in this parliament. The hon. member went on to say that the object of this Bill is to undo the wrong done by the Conservative party. Well, of course, if we were to take the hon. member for North Wellington as a judge, I do not suppose the Conservative party ever did anything right. I have never heard him admit that anything they did was right, and of course, they would try to undo anything that has been done by the Conservative party. I do not pretend to know anything about the Bill of 1882, because I have never studied the Bill, but, I have heard it said by men who have studied the Bill that it was not the outrageous Bill that the hon. member claims it to be. I have heard it said by men whose opinion I would just as readily take as that of the hon. gentleman, that it was not a measure especially in the party interest. I do not think that the hon. member is a good judge in matters of party, or that he is competent to give an unprejudiced opinion. I have not heard him give one in this House yet. I think there are a great many hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House whose opinion I would take a great deal sooner than I would take

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his. I think he is a very strong partisan, and I do not think that his saying that a great wrong was done is any evidence to show that a great wrong was really done.

Mr. McMULLEN. Mr. McCarthy said so.

Mr. CRAIG. It is all very well to say that Mr. McCarthy said so. Mr. McCarthy said so after he had left the Conservative party, but, when he belonged to the Conservative party he did not say so. Mr. McCarthy, himself, prepared the Bill of 1882, and then turned around after he left the Conservative party, and said so. I do not want to discuss him because he is dead, but I do not accept him as an authority on that question any more than I accept the hon. member for North Wellington.

Mr. McMULLEN. You accepted him as an authority on equal rights.

Mr. CRAIG. No, I did not accept him as an authority on equal rights altogether. Why should I accept him as an authority on equal rights when he came down to my constituency twice before the election and did all he could to defeat me on the equal rights question. The hon. member for North Wellington went on to say that he had no doubt that there were members on this side of the House honest enough to confess that that Bill was wrong. I do not know about this, Mr. Speaker, but I do say that it would be a very good treat to hon. members on this side of the House to hear the hon. member for North Wellington confess that anything done by the Liberal party was wrong. I do not know whether we have honesty enough to confess when we do anything wrong, but I do know that we have never heard that hon. gentleman confess any wrong that has been done by the Liberal party. He went on to say that the hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Mills), was defeated in consequence of the Bill of 1882. I do not know how that was, because the hon. Minister of Justice sat in this House after 1882 until 1896. I do not know how the hon. gentleman can argue that the hon. Minister of Justice was defeated as the result of the Bill passed in 1882. He was here until 1896, fourteen years after the Bill passed, and how can the hon. member get up and say that his defeat was the result of a Bill, when he sat here fourteen years after that Bill was passed? The hon. member for North Wellington tells the hon. leader of the opposition and hon. members on this side of the House that they want to govern the country now, although they are in opposition. He says that the Liberal party ought to govern the country, and he appeals to us not to try by means of this amendment in which, he says, we want to name judges, fix the method of redistribution, and do everything. What about the members of the Liberal party when they were in opposition? I have heard them many times

bring in amendments saying how things ought to be done. They wanted to govern the country then. I admit that we do want to govern the country, and I think we could govern the country a great deal better than it is governed by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. In this matter we are not asking to govern the country; we are asking a very simple thing. We are asking the other side of the House to agree to a fair proposition, a proposition which they can hardly say a word against, which they cannot find fault with and to which, they tell us, at some future time, they will agree. They say this because they think the proposition will meet with the approval of the country. This is a matter which ought to be taken out of the control of party and settled by the judges. They say that they are not willing to do it now. The hon. member for North Wellington took very high ground in regard to the right hon. leader of the government and the members of the Liberal party when he said it was not the intention of the leader of the government to gerrymander, and that no member of the Liberal party had any desire that he should gerrymander. This is a very interesting statement to have made in this House on such very good authority as the hon. member from North Wellington. If the hon. gentleman were less of partisan than he is, if he knew the meaning of the word gerrymander, if he could realize that the Liberal party could possibly do anything wrong, then, I might be willing to accept his statement. That statement comes from an hon. member on the other side of the House who has never admitted any wrong done by the Liberal party, and who stands up and says that they have no intention to gerrymander. That is to say that when they bring in a Bill here, no matter what that Bill may be, we do wrong to say that it is a gerrymander. What is a gerrymander? It is a redistribution of the constituencies to gain a party advantage. The hon. gentleman has admitted, as I mentioned a few moments ago, that if this Bill were passed they would gain a most important party advantage. The hon. gentleman admitted, that, if this Bill were passed, the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) could not be elected to a seat in this House, but, that he would have to look for another seat somewhere else, and that they would carry his seat. Not only that, but they intend to wipe out the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Clancy) as well. Yet, they talk about this not being a gerrymander. Further than that, what did we find the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Ellis) saying the other night? The government agreed to change this Bill, and accepted the amendments proposed. They were proposing to give a member to a city with 40,000 population and another

member to a county with 14,000 population.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). That is not so. There was no gerrymander, no party advantage in that.

Mr. CLARKE. Why was the change made in the Bill?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. It was not on account of any party advantage.

Mr. CRAIG. The hon. member for St. John objected to it anyway. He thought it was a gerrymander. If he thought it was fair why did you not leave it the way it was. I do not pretend to know the reason why it was done. I suppose the member of the government who got that change made knew why it was done, and I suppose it would have remained as it was proposed in the Bill if it had not been for the protest of the hon. member for St. John. It is absurd for the hon. member for North Wellington to get up here and say that the hon. members on that side of the House are so pure that they would not think of having a gerrymander. They used to talk this way in old times when the elections were on. The *Toronto Globe* not very long ago, within a year, or so, said that neither party at that time could say: 'I am holier than thou.' The *Globe* had to admit that they were just as bad as they said the Conservative party were. The Conservative party did not admit that they were as bad as they were charged by the *Globe*, but the *Globe* said: We must admit that we are just as bad. It is absurd for the hon. member for North Wellington to get up in this House and say that the leader of the government would not condescend to gerrymander, and that no hon. member on the other side of the House would ask him to gerrymander; that is to say, they would not ask him to redistribute in order to gain a party advantage. The people of the country will not believe any such thing, and nobody in the House except the hon. member (Mr. McMullen) believes it—I even doubt if he believes it himself. The hon. gentleman told us that there were eight constituencies east of Toronto that had an average population of 15,000 each, and he cited this to show how badly the Conservative party did the work in 1882, and remarked that they did not change it in 1892. Let me ask him: Why does not this Bill rectify that wrong? If the object of the Bill is to rectify wrongs, why does it not do so in this case? That it does not do so shows that the argument of gentlemen opposite falls to the ground. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) went on to say that he did

not know how any man of ordinary decency could call this a gerrymander, and in the same breath he brags that it will gerrymander the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) out of the House. I think, Sir, I have replied to all the remarks of the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) that are worth replying to, and I shall now state a few reasons why I am opposed to the measure. One great reason given by the Liberal party for introducing this Bill is that they promised it. Well, Sir, that need not be any reason; they need not trouble their conscience about that. They have made a great many promises they did not carry out. They promised a free trade tariff, they promised they would respect the independence of parliament, they promised economy, and they have broken every one of these promises. A great deal is sought to be made out of the fact that the judges have something to do in this matter, and the Postmaster General told us:

On this occasion as last year the government have adopted a departure which is the first instance in which any parliament in Canada has voluntarily transferred to a judicial tribunal the distribution of the seats. That principle will meet with the approbation of the people of this country as it met with the approval of an overwhelming majority of the House last session.

That kind of language seems very plausible on the face of it, and the people of the country might be deluded if we were not here to point out the facts. Why, the judges are limited in a great many ways by this Bill, and the powers given them under this Bill do not compare with the powers given them by the amendment submitted by the leader of the opposition. We find that the judges are limited to counties that will have more than one electoral district. In fact, they will only have to deal with the city of Toronto and sixteen counties in Ontario. The judges are told not to divide that according to the population; the Bill simply tells them: You must make three electoral districts out of that county, or two, as the case may be. The government tells them what to do. Now, that is a very simple matter, and I do not see why they should require judges to do it. I am not sorry, however, that they propose to have the judges do it, but I maintain that the judges are limited and confined in their action. The crucial point of the whole question is that the judges are bound to take the census of 1891. I contend that, under such circumstances, the judges are not able to do substantial justice, and that when you limit them to a census ten years old you take it out of their power to do substantial justice. They cannot take into account the increase of population, and that very provision takes away from the judges the power to do a great deal of good which they might otherwise do. Any-

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how, why should we make these great changes on the census of 1891, when another general redistribution must be made after the census of 1901. That is a question which the government is not able to answer. It is all very well for gentlemen opposite to stand up in this House and say that great wrongs were done to the people—I presume they mean to the Liberal party—by the Redistribution Acts of 1882 and 1892. I can very well imagine that the people of the country will object to having these constituencies disturbed to-day and then having them disturbed again in two years hence when the general Redistribution Bill must be brought down.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Would that necessarily follow?

Mr. CRAIG. I do not say it must follow in all cases, but it may follow, and in some cases it must follow. I am satisfied that the people of the country will contend that they do not want all these changes made in the constituencies in the short space of two years. I have no doubt in my mind that the sole reason why the government want to make the changes, is to help them in the approaching elections. They might as well admit that fact because everybody knows it. They want to make these changes before the elections in order, if possible, to help them out of their difficulties. They seem to be afraid to appeal to the same constituencies as they appealed to 1896. I might discuss the reasons why they are afraid. I might show that they have broken their promises. I might show that they have been extravagant and not economical, but it is unnecessary for me to show that, because the people of the country know it. It does seem to me that the sole reason the government wish to pass this Bill is not to redress the wrongs done to the people of this country, but to make some provision to try and hold themselves in power. The Minister of Customs and the hon. member for North Wellington tell us that they do not want to gain a party advantage by the Bill, but every one knows that that statement is absurd, and every one knows, too, that they would drop the Bill in a moment if they did not think they were going to benefit by it. The people of the country do not believe so much in the purity of intention and the high-mindedness of the government as they do that hon. gentlemen opposite want this Bill to gain an advantage for themselves. They are afraid that if they do not make these changes before the elections come off they will not have the opportunity after the election, because then the redistribution will be done by the Conservative party. No objection is made to the principle of the amendment of the leader of the opposition on the other side of the House, but it is said that it does not apply in the

present case, because it proposes that the commission shall not be appointed till after the census is taken. Well, we hold that this is a good opportunity to commit both parties to this principle. The Conservative party are willing to be committed to it, and we ask the Liberal party if they are not willing to be committed to it also, and to remove this whole matter from party strife. I am sure of one thing, that the country generally will approve of an amendment of this kind. The Premier says that the Conservative leader should do so-and-so if he were consistent; he says that this amendment is not consistent with the previous record of the Conservative leader. Well, I do not know that the leader of the government should make any charge of that kind against the leader of the opposition. I do not know that consistency is such a shining virtue in the leader of the government. I have heard a great many things said by the leader of the government when in opposition which he will not say to-day, which he has not carried out to-day. I have heard members on that side of the House say that \$38,000,000 was a most extravagant sum for this country to spend, and yet they turn around and defend \$51,000,000 or \$52,000,000, or more. I do not think the leader of the government need twit the leader of the opposition about consistency. Apart from all that, is it a crime for a man to be inconsistent, to change his opinion after a few years, and adopt a plan that would be better for all parties? If the leader of the opposition proposed something worse he might be charged with inconsistency; but if he has proposed something which is admitted on all hands to be better than has been proposed hitherto, why charge him with inconsistency? There is nothing in that charge at all. The leader of the government says that this amendment does not apply in this case. Well, I intend to close by saying that we want to make it apply in this case, and if the leader of the government will accept this amendment, it will apply.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). Will you add it to the Bill as an additional clause or clauses?

Mr. **CRAIG**. What we want is this. We want the House not to postpone this matter, but to lay down the principle now that we believe that no readjustment should be made except in the way proposed, and that it should not be made till after the census is taken. That is a sound view, and I guarantee that if there were no parties in this House, no man here would controvert that view; but when there is a party advantage to be gained, we do not expect hon. gentlemen opposite to adopt it. We expect them to stick to this Bill, and to use all possible means to secure its passage, not simply through this House, for we know they can do that, but through the Senate.

We have heard of some of those means to-night. We have heard the Senate accused of being a partisan body. Such means will not work. I do not undertake to prognosticate what the Senate will do; but I have confidence that the Senate will do what it believes to be in the best interest of this country.

Mr. **ROGERS**. Mr. Speaker, I did not intend to speak on this matter to-night, and would not have done so had not the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) referred to the independent members. I expressed my views last session on this subject, and I do not want to reiterate what I said then, for I am tired hearing the same things repeated so often in this House. I must say that listening to the debate on this subject both last session and this session, particularly this session, I have been impressed by the half-hearted manner in which hon. members of the opposition have entered into it. They have not seemed to me to speak as if they were really in earnest, or they would have gone into it with more vim. The hon. member for Haldimand went into it pretty strongly, as he generally does into any subject he discusses. He appeared to think that he had some strong grounds, and I think he had grounds for a good, strong talk on this amendment. Some hon. gentlemen on the opposite side have asked what petitions have been presented from corporations or other bodies asking for this measure. I answer, as I did last year, that 175,000 members of the Patron organization asked for it.

Mr. **BERGERON**. Where is the Patron organization now?

Mr. **ROGERS**. Here is one of them.

Mr. **CASGRAIN**. Last of the Mohicans.

Mr. **ROGERS**. The platform of the Patrons asked for:

Conformity of electoral districts to county boundaries as constituted for municipal purposes, as far as the principle of representation by population will allow.

That plank of the platform of the Patrons was never disputed by anybody in the election contest. It is quite evident that it was felt all through this country that a grievous wrong had been committed, or that plank would never have been there. I must say that in the eastern part of the province of Ontario we did not feel the wrong so much as the people in the western part, where they were very much disturbed about it. The press never denounced that plank in our platform. The great *Mail* newspaper, when it was a great paper, standing for independence in this country, stood by that platform. The great *Star*, when it was an independent paper, never denounced it, but said that it was the best platform ever put before the people of this country. Surely that is mandate enough from the

people. The farmers did not like to be pitchforked from one county to another. They resented it as an insult. They could not see why one township should be taken out of one county because it was Conservative, and taken from another county because that county was Grit. They felt that this was equivalent to saying that they had no intelligence of their own. I often wondered why gentlemen went into those constituencies and talked to the farmers if they believed they were so strongly Tory or Grit. They never dared to insult a city constituency in that way, by taking a ward from one constituency and putting it into another because it was Grit or Tory. I am very proud to say that they did not attempt such a thing in the eastern part of Ontario. They knew the people there would not stand it. It was done in one instance by the Ontario government, which took a township from my county and added it to the city of Kingston; and many votes were lost to the Reform party by that insult, and the people never ceased to agitate until it was put back again.

That only corroborates what I have just said that the people resented the injustice and hoisted the authors of this infamous law with their own petard. I do not wonder at it, and if anything like a gerrymander were being attempted now, I would oppose it most strongly. I know that the feeling of the country is very strong against this method of gerrymandering, whether it be practiced by Conservative or Liberals or in Dominion or local politics. It may be asked why the independent members vote for this Bill. We do so because we came to this House pledged to vote for a measure that would abolish the gerrymander Act. That was one of the planks in our platform, and now that the government have brought in this legislation, we would be derelict in our duty were we to vote against it. I am pleased to see the wording of the resolution proposed by the opposition, and if this Bill were not on the same lines, I would not give it my support. But it is, and I hope the time will soon come when both sides will agree that this question of redistribution should be left to the decision of an independent commission of judges. It is said that the Senate will throw out this Bill. Well, I do not like to make any threats, but that august body is not in the best of grace with the farmers, and should it take the course suggested, it will sink still lower in their opinion. It has been said that the cities have not a fair representation. I cannot see on what grounds that claim is made, and I do hope that in the next elections one of the issues will be that the cities will not be given the same representation according to population as the rural constituencies. The cities enjoy representation which the rural district have not. They have their boards of trade, and their members and their trade unions and

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other organizations, and my experience is that really the principal duties of members from the cities is to introduce delegations that wait upon the government urging something to be done that will advance the interests of these great centres of population. You hardly ever see a deputation to the government from the rural constituencies. They depend entirely upon their members, and, in many instances, their members do not do their duty very well. Many members who represent rural constituencies live in the cities, and many senators as well, so that the cities in this respect have really double representation. It has been also urged that representation should be increased. Well, Mr. Speaker, the feeling of the country is very strong against any increase in our present number of members. The feeling is very strong that we have too many as it is. Instead of increasing the number of members, it would be a popular act for the government to decrease it. I am well aware that that cannot be done without amending our constitution, but the time will come when a change must take place, because, as the country grows, you cannot continue having our representation based on that of Quebec. If the members of this House were reduced in number one-third, it would be much better for the country. I feel it my bounden duty to support this Bill as it is, and my people would consider me derelict in my duty if I did not.

Mr. OSLER. I very seldom, Mr. Speaker, listen to a debate in this House without being sincerely thankful that I was not a member of it before 1896, because if one were to believe half what is said on the one side and the other, those members who were in the House previous to 1896, must, to say the least, have been a pretty bad lot; and I think it would be only fair to have a little placard put on the members who have come in since then, so as to show that they are not so black as those who were here before, and it would, I think, be a very good departure if we were to enact the rule that no wickedness should be referred to that was more than ten years old. I am one of these who came in after this wicked gerrymander Act and I must say that I cannot see any reason for the Bill we are now discussing. As I listened to the magnificent thunder of the hon. Minister of Customs, I could not help thinking that if he were only in China he would get the highest salary paid in that empire, because they pay a man there according to the noise and thunder he makes, and there was plenty of noise, if there was nothing else, in the hon. minister's reply.

What is the reason given for this Bill which was introduced, not immediately after the general elections, but last year for the first time? The reason given is the necessity of remedying the alleged iniquity

of the old gerrymander Act. But the Bill now introduced is not based on any principle. It is not based on representation by population or on county boundaries. It is simply intended, as far as I can make out, for party purposes. I cannot see that it has any other object. It seems to me that that was very well shown when, on the objection of the hon. member for St. John, the government at once wiped out a particular clause affecting his constituency. It was further shown by the remark of the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) who said that the opposition of the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) to this Bill was easily understood, since, if it became law, he would be wiped out of parliamentary existence.

It is urged that the government, by this Bill, wish to fulfil an ante-election promise. In that case it would be the only one they have ever attempted to fulfil. They promised free trade, and have adopted protection up to the hilt. They promised economy and have been wildly extravagant. They promised purity of elections, and in my humble judgment, they have in every case endeavoured to shield the men who are a conspicuous disgrace to their country as guilty of having stolen constituencies. I cannot see that this Bill has any other object than party advantage. The Senate threw it out last year, and the country approved of their action. To bring in a Bill of this character a year before the general elections, and a year before the census, shows simply a desire to handicap the opposition and give to government a most unfair advantage.

Mr. HEYD. Mr. Speaker, my hon friend (Mr. Osler), who has just sat down, congratulates himself that he was not a member of this House before 1896, as those who were in the House before that time evidently were a bad lot. He will have an opportunity to-night of either disapproving or approving of their conduct in 1882 or 1892. If he approves of what they did, by voting against the Bill that is before the House, he is just as bad as they who first originated the measure that this Bill is intended to repeal. We have heard a great deal said to-night in this debate and have had allusions made to peculiar speeches. Well, it is a peculiar question that we are speaking about. There is a peculiar amendment now before the House. There would be nothing peculiar about it had it been introduced in 1882, when our friends on the other side had the power to enforce it. Had they proposed it then, we could have regarded their proposition as being honestly made; had they introduced it even in 1892, we might have regarded it as an honest attempt to remedy an injustice that they had perpetrated ten years before. But, when they had the power they failed to bring forward such a resolution, and now that they are powerless to put it

in force, they introduce it in the form of an amendment. It looks to me very much like a confession of weakness on their part. It would never have emanated from that side, if they had the power to enforce it; but they think if they can induce the House to adopt that amendment, they can cripple the government that will be in power after the people give their mandate in the next election. They feel, from their experience in 1896, and from the subsequent by-elections, that they will not have the power to redistribute the constituencies of this country, and they would like to spike the guns of the present government so as to prevent us from using the kind of material that they so successfully used in 1892 and 1882. We have heard also a great deal about purity of elections. I hope that when a general election comes on, we shall have purity of election. They accuse hon. members on this side of improperly gaining their seats. Why, Sir, I gained my present seat through the corruption of the Conservative party, and am a standing testimony to the fact that the Conservative party in South Brant were corrupt. The gentleman who was elected before me was unseated by the courts. He was a Conservative, and I was elected to succeed him. It is amusing to hear the speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite justifying the gerrymander of 1882 and 1892, and proving it to be an honest attempt on the part of the then government to do justice to the people of the country. It is amusing even, to listen to the speeches of our friends on this side, dealing with one after the other of flagrant instances of violations of the first principles of honesty and justice. What is the use of wasting so much time in trying to prove or disprove a matter of that kind, when we have the evidence before us, of one who took a principle part of the scheme of 1882? We have the testimony of one of the malefactors who took part in arranging affairs then, and if his testimony is to be believed, it is not necessary for the friends on this side to waste time trying to convince our friends on the other side of the impropriety of their conduct, or the country at large, who require no more convincing, that the object of the gerrymander of 1882 and 1892, was to secure a return of the Conservative party to power. I have in my hand what is said to be a confession of one who took part in the gerrymander of 1882. I do not know the gentleman myself. But the paper he is connected with, gives his statement an air of reliability. And, it appears in the *Montreal Herald*, and reproduced in the *Toronto Globe*, papers that are responsible, so that if they are guilty of libel against some of the most eminent men of this country, they can be made to suffer for it. These newspapers being responsible for any statement they made against the character of any individual, it strikes me that if these statements

were untrue, an attempt would be made to disprove them. John Hague, editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, in a signed article in the *Montreal Herald*, writes as follows :

On the 15th of September, 1881, I received a note from a member of the Senate, who represented the government of Sir John Macdonald in Toronto, asking me to call upon him at a certain hour. I was informed that in compliance with the constitution the government proposed to rearrange the constituencies of Ontario.

I do not need to read the whole of this article, but only those portions pertinent to the matter engaging our attention.

I was informed that what the government wished to effect was a rearrangement of the electoral districts, so far as possible recognizing a common unit of representation. This, however, was to be made sufficiently elastic to allow the grouping of different sections of the districts so as to detach Conservative voters from places where they were in excess of the needs for a majority and the attachment of such voters to districts where the new accession would turn the scale at an election in favour of a Conservative candidate where a Liberal one had hitherto been returned. Electoral districts which were hopelessly Liberal were, if possible, to be abolished, or the constituencies so arranged as to put the Liberal voters all together in one district, especially where they could be drawn away from a district where they menaced the Conservative candidate. The process was afterwards called 'hiving,' which is quite appropriate, though while the work was being done for the Act of 1882 this word was never used.

He prepares the chart.

After making a colossal chart I took each electoral district and its surroundings in hand and wrote upon each the number polled for each party at the two previous elections, the total number of electors, with the majority in each case. I coloured each district so as to show at a glance its political complexion. I then made a thorough study of the official returns of the two last elections, and took out hundreds of statistics for comparison and readjustment. Some of the districts were most difficult to alter so as to secure the results desired. It was said the configuration of some of those represented nothing on earth, in the heavens, or the waters under the heavens. Quite true, they simply represented an effort to fix the boundaries of electoral districts according to two rules : first, on the principle of equal representation to equal numbers of voters ; second, on the principle that electoral districts should be arranged to serve the interests of the party in power when they are rearranged. These rule do not work well together, hence the highly eccentric shapes of some of the districts on the chart I have constructed. When nearly complete it was taken down to Ottawa.

Now, to do this work, he says :

I was assigned to a room close to that of the Minister of the Interior. Into that room I was instructed to prohibit the entrance of any one, even of a cabinet minister, unless brought in by the senator. I remember the petty rage of one minister to whom I refused admission. One day the hon. Mr. Aikens, the Minister of Inland Revenue, came in and saw the chart, upon which

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he made no comment. His silence elicited the remark : 'Why, Aikens, I am surprised at a strait-laced fellow like you being in such company,' to which Mr. Aikens gave his usual placid smile. One by one several members were consulted as to the changes made in their districts, amongst others being the late J. C. Ryckert, Col. O'Brien and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell. The latter made a little fuss over some feature, but it passed off. When the final touch was put to my chart it was shown to Sir John Macdonald. After closely examining the work done on the boundaries, the statistics written on the face of the map and the schedule I wrote on its side, showing the result of the changes, Sir John exclaimed : 'That takes a great load off my shoulders.' The gerrymander Act, as it was called, was simply the chart I had constructed, expressed in legal language. The changes were estimated to have given an absolute gain to the Conservative party of four seats, and a better fighting chance in a number of others.

I remember remarking at the time that all such arrangements proceeded on the very doubtful assumption that future elections would proceed on the same lines as past ones, and that each party in the future would command the same support, no more and no less, than it had previously done. On my saying this to Sir John, he said : 'Quite true, but constituencies are governed a good deal by tradition, and Grits are very conservative in sticking to their party.'

Mr. BERGERON. Who wrote that ?

Mr. HEYD. Mr. John Hague, the editor of the *Journal of Commerce*.

Mr. BERGERON. He is dead.

Mr. HEYD. His statements are living, and the men are living, and they do not apparently deny it. I never knew a Conservative yet to be engaged in anything discreditable that he did not deny it. That has been my experience. Now, the *Herald* still lives, and it goes on to say :

In the department is a large map, measuring about six by ten feet, and representing the province of Ontario and the Quebec counties of Ottawa and Pontiac. The map itself is a well-finished one, prepared by the draughtsman of the Post Office Department in 1891, and representing the counties as they exist municipally. Over this are carefully drawn the lines of the constituencies as gerrymandered by the Act of 1882. The work is finished with a nicety of detail. Each township, town and village is there, with the voting strength of the two parties marked in blue characters. The available vote and the actual vote polled are each marked. Then follows the Conservative vote, marked (c), and the Reform vote, marked (r). Altogether the chart is a most ingeniously contrived and neatly executed piece of political machinery, evidently designed for use in the gerrymander of 1892, when an attempt was made to make the work of the sweeping gerrymander of 1882 more complete by calling into requisition the surgical knife to supplement the axe used in hacking to pieces the county organizations, in order to stifle the electorate and 'hive the Grits.'

Mr. BERGERON. What is the date of that paper ?

Mr. HEYD. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. BERGERON. I think it is taken from the *Hansard* of last year, it was read last year by somebody.

Mr. HEYD. Well, it is a good thing, and we can afford to repeat it, because a great many statements are repeated more than twice in this House of less importance. Now, I want to allude very briefly to the death-bed repentance of our friends on the other side.

Mr. BERGERON. That was denied on the other side.

Mr. HEYD. Their death-bed repentance always will be denied, because they never repent, they only profess to repent. They introduce an amendment to-night which professes a change of a degenerate heart. Still we believe in conversions when they are accompanied by restitution. The way for our friends on the other side to convince us of the honesty of their motive is to restore to the people of this country the constituencies that they stole, and after having made restitution we will believe in their repentance, and that they are sincere in offering this resolution. My own opinion is, and I have already expressed it, that the government are altogether too honest in dealing with our friends on the other side. I believe if I had the power that I am satisfied the present government will receive from the people when they once more appeal to them, I would give our friends on the other side a little bit of their own medicine, and after an application of it, such as the Acts of 1882 and 1892, it would not require thirty Grits to assist them in filling that side of the House, because there would only be practically a Grit House here.

Mr. HENDERSON. I assure you, Mr. Speaker, that after having listened year after year to hon. gentlemen on your right with reference to the iniquities of the Redistribution Bill of 1882, I am surprised beyond measure to find that the sole object of that Bill was to enable the Conservatives to gain four seats. It seems to me that the iniquity and viciousness of that Act must have been greatly magnified. They tell us that it is a vicious Act, and that their object at present is to undo that vicious Act. If that is the sole object of the government to-day, why should they go further and interfere with constituencies like that of Welling, which to-day has the same boundaries as it had at the time of confederation? Why should they interfere with a constituency like Cardwell that was created by the fathers of confederation? I say that if their sole object is to undo what they call the vicious Act of 1882, they should not go beyond the legislation of 1882; certainly they should not interfere with the legisla-

tion that was enacted at the time of confederation and approved by both political parties in this country. Whilst we have heard a great deal about this viciousness and iniquity perpetrated in 1882, it is seldom indeed that we hear of any particular act specified. True, we have heard of two or three to-night. We are told that an iniquity was perpetrated in 1882, inasmuch as the constituency of West York was not gerrymandered, and that the hon. member who now sits for that constituency is permitted to retain his seat in the House, it being a fact that the constituency remains almost as it was at the time of confederation. We are told that if the new Bill becomes law the hon. member for West York will no longer be a member of this House.

Then we have heard frequently the complaint with regard to the riding of North Wellington. We have been told that it is some 75 miles long, and so narrow that the hon. gentleman could step over it. Well, that is rather a misleading statement when we understand that at the extreme east end of his riding there is a triangular township so narrow at the one end, running to a point, that I am sure a gentleman of less capacity than the hon. member for North Wellington would have no difficulty in stepping over it, he would simply require to step over a point. He tells us that his riding is composed of parts of three different counties. I am sure that is also misleading. The Redistribution Bill of 1882 did not create the riding of North Wellington out of three counties, but the Ontario government after that riding had been created, made a new county, gerrymandered three counties and made another county for their purposes, which included a portion of the riding of North Wellington. As the hon. gentleman now says, it had the effect of putting his riding into three different judicial counties. I say that the Bill of 1882 was not responsible for that, the Ontario government alone being responsible for the difficulty that he complains of. Now, we have been told that another of the vicious acts of the Redistribution Bill of 1882 was to gerrymander out of existence the riding of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, then Sir Richard Cartwright. My answer to that is that Sir Richard Cartwright did not own the riding in the county of Huron. In 1878 he was defeated, as we all remember, in the riding now held by my hon. friend to my right. Being defeated he looked around the country and borrowed a constituency in the county of Huron. He succeeded in getting the sitting member to resign in order that he might find a seat in this House. So that, as a matter of fact, he did not hold a riding in the county of Huron; he simply had borrowed one, and when the lease expired, another hon. gentleman living in that riding claimed the right to represent

it, and he was obliged to go elsewhere. He went to Centre Wellington, where he was met by our friends and rightly so. He made a strong appeal to Centre Wellington, but he was driven back, at the point of the bayonet, forced to retire and go elsewhere to seek a constituency. After that he returned to the county of Huron, and succeeded in getting another hon. gentleman, who now sits in this House, to resign for him. So, I contend that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce had no right to claim that he was gerrymandered out of his constituency. As I said before, the constituency was simply a borrowed one, and when the lease expired, he was compelled, by his own political friends, to surrender it to the hon. gentleman who claimed it. I wish to state briefly the reasons why I support the resolution which has been moved by the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper). I do so because I believe the adoption of the principle contained in that resolution will remove forever this question from the political arena. It has been said here to-night that there are two vexed questions that should not come up in this House. One is the question which has been relegated to the courts of this country, the trying of contested elections. This, I believe, is another one. If the Bill before the House passes into law, we will simply have a continuation, year after year, of the difficulty that we have had in the past. Only a portion of the province of Ontario is dealt with this year, and next year, perhaps, we may have a Bill dealing with the remaining portion of the province of Ontario. Then, the province of Quebec will have to be dealt with by a similar Bill, and all the other provinces throughout the Dominion, so that year after year we will have this vexed question brought up in this House. I approve of the resolution proposed by the hon. leader of the opposition, because it will, once and for all time, remove this question from the arena of party politics. I approve of it also because it will prevent the provincial legislatures from interfering with the franchise of this House. We know that in Ontario, as well as in the other provinces, they have power to create new counties. They have done so in Ontario, and I have no doubt they have done, or will do, the same thing in other provinces. They will change the boundaries of counties, or create new counties. If they do so, under the provisions of the Redistribution Bill proposed by the hon. Postmaster General, an interference will be had with the rights of this House, and we will be handing over to the provincial governments the right to say what shall be the size and extent of the constituencies to be represented by hon. gentlemen in this House. I approve of the resolution of the hon. leader of the opposition because it adopts, first, the principle of population and of convenience. I approve of it strongly for

Mr. HENDERSON.

that reason. I have so expressed myself before, and I feel it now more strongly than ever I have done. I believe that representation by population should be a very strong factor in dealing with the representation of this House, that the convenience of the people ought to be considered and that constituencies should be arranged so that the people would be as nearly together as possible who are represented by the same member in this House. At the same time while it does adopt the principle of representation by population and the principle of the convenience of the people, in electing their representatives, by reason of the closer community with each other, it does not overlook the principle of county boundaries. I am not at all wedded to the principle of county boundaries. I am prepared, at all times, to go beyond the limits of county boundaries so long as I can secure constituencies that are fair, containing an equality of population, and where the people are living together in communities closely allied to each other so that they will be better represented by the members whom they send to this House. Then, I approve of the resolution proposed by the hon. leader of the opposition because it takes the legal course of postponing action until the time has arrived when a Redistribution Bill can be legally passed. This, I consider, is a strong reason, and I know that with me it is a very strong factor in enabling me to decide the course I should pursue on this occasion.

Mr. CLARKE. Mr. Speaker, at the risk of losing the good opinion of the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), I am impelled to rise in my place in the House and say that the Bill under discussion is nothing else than a gerrymander Bill of the very worst kind. As far as the Bill affects Ontario, it is intended to do the government as much good as possible and to do the opposition as much harm as possible. The hon. member for North Wellington says that the government were compelled to introduce this measure because they felt constrained to redeem the pledges they had made to the people when they appealed to them during the campaign of 1896. When that appeal was made, Mr. Speaker, and when previous discussions took place in this House on the question of the representation of the people in parliament, hon. gentlemen opposite made certain statements and laid down certain principles which they are departing from in this Bill. If they were honest in endeavouring to redeem their pledges they should attempt, at least, to carry out in the provisions of this Bill the principles which they declared again and again, ad nauseam, were sound and correct principles of representation. Now, it is claimed as a virtue for this measure, that it restores county boundaries. This is a most misleading assertion. County boundaries are

restored in certain portions of the province of Ontario where the government hope to obtain an advantage by so doing. County boundaries are not restored in other portions of Ontario, because the government cannot see that it can gain any political advantage by making a change. If the principle of county boundaries is a sound one it should be applied to the whole province of Ontario. The principle of county boundaries is only applied to the province of Ontario from the county of Ontario westward. The counties in Ontario east of that county remain as they were under the gerrymander of 1892. Why is that, Mr. Speaker? In my humble judgment, it is because the government made substantial gains in the constituencies in the eastern part of the province during the election of 1896, and so they leave that portion of the province, which is over-represented, according to their statements, just as it was prior to the last general elections. They claimed support, too, Mr. Speaker, because they approved of the principle of representation by population. But, when the opportunity is offered, by being entrusted with the administration of public affairs, to give effect, in the passage of a Redistribution Bill, to the principle of representation by population, they ignore that principle altogether. They have made no attempt to adhere to it, and in carving constituencies in the western part of the province of Ontario, they have entirely ignored the principle of representation by population.

If it was a sound and good policy, if it was in accordance with the principles supported by hon. gentlemen opposite, that county boundaries should be restored in the province of Ontario, I ask these hon. gentlemen why the counties of Russell, Carleton, Leeds and Grenville, Lanark, Addington and Peterborough, are allowed to remain as they were under the Redistribution Acts passed in 1882 and 1892? If the principle is a sound one, why not apply it to the whole of the province of Ontario, and not to a particular part of the province? Again, Mr. Speaker, it was claimed by hon. gentlemen opposite that it was a vicious principle to have two-member constituencies, and yet hon. gentlemen have perpetuated that principle in this Bill. My hon. friend from North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), who can find no fault with this Bill, made certain declarations in this House when the Bill of 1892 was under consideration, and in the course of his remarks, the hon. gentleman is reported to have said (*Hansard* of 1892, vol. ii, page 3566):

When we were readjusting the representation we should have made all single constituencies. Wherever it was convenient for the government to keep double constituencies, so that they could elect two men of the same political stripe to support them they have kept these constituencies in existence.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I appeal to the House if that is not exactly the principle which has been adopted by this government, and yet the hon. member (Mr. McMullen) has not a fault to find with the provisions of the Bill, and he challenges any person who can lay any claim to decency to rise in his place and oppose it. Why does the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) support this Bill, which continues these same two-member constituencies? Why wipe out the two-member constituency which existed in Toronto, while it allows the two-member constituencies to remain in Hamilton, in Ottawa, in Pictou, in Cape Breton, in Halifax city and county, and in St. John city and county? The government did make an attempt to adhere to their principles as far as they affected St. John city and county. But the other day, when the representative of St. John objected to the division, the government restored that city and county as one constituency returning two members. The government went even further than that. The representation of Prince Edward Island consisted of five members, each representing a single constituency, but the government abolished that arrangement of constituencies and introduced the principle of two-member constituencies, which they again and again denounced in this House as a vicious principle. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) declared last session that the Bill was so fair and so just that it would meet with the unanimous approval of the people of the country. He said:

Let me express the hope that this Bill will become law, because I believe it is a fair Bill in itself, and bears the word justice written on the face of it.

The hon. gentleman's conception of what justice means to-day differs a great deal from his conception of what justice meant when he made speeches in this House again and again in days gone by, against the principle of two-member constituencies, and in favour of the restoration of county boundaries; for he is found supporting a Bill now which ignores the principles for which he then contended. If there was one thing more than another in the Bill of 1892 which was found fault with by hon. gentlemen opposite, it was the injustice which they claimed was done to western Ontario, by not giving it the representation which its population entitled it to. What has been done by this Bill to give western Ontario that measure of justice which hon. gentlemen opposite declared it was entitled to? Nothing whatever. Three constituencies have been wiped out, and only three new ones created. Is that fair? My hon. friend from Halton (Mr. Henderson) referred to two of these constituencies, one of which has been wiped out altogether, and the other has been gerrymandered into a different constituency, although since confedera-

tion it had retained the same divisions and the same townships. If western Ontario is under-represented, if it was not given that representation in this House that its population entitled it to, surely hon. gentlemen opposite are now bound to do justice to that portion of the province? But, Sir, no attempt has been made under the provisions of this Bill to right the wrong which they claimed existed in the case of western Ontario. One gentleman opposite made reference to three or four constituencies having a very small population and which were represented by Conservatives, and he compared them with constituencies having a larger population in western Ontario which were represented by Liberals. Let me draw attention to some constituencies with a small population which are not changed by this Bill. The constituency of Frontenac, with a population of 13,445, has the smallest population of any constituency in Ontario. The city of Kingston, connected with the county of Frontenac, has a population of 19,263, and under the census of 1891, these two constituencies have an aggregate population of 32,708, and yet they are represented by two gentlemen on the floor of this House. The hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Rogers) expressed his satisfaction with this Bill because he said it carried out the desires of the Patron organization. Well, surely the Patrons of this country desire that the principle of representation by population should not be so completely ignored as it is under this Bill? Surely the Patrons of the province of Ontario are men of sufficient intelligence to know that the franchise being broadened out now until it is practically manhood franchise, the same number of men in one part of the province of Ontario are entitled to equal representation with the same number of men living in another part of the province? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Rogers) could not, if he tried, find fault with this Bill, because it gives to the county of Frontenac, which has the smallest population of any constituency in the province, one representative in this House. The city of Kingston and the county of Frontenac, with a joint population of 32,708, have two members in this House, while the Bill gives to the great rural constituency of Algoma, with a population of 40,000, only one representative. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Rogers) tells us he supports the measure because it restores county boundaries. He referred to the fact that there was such dissatisfaction in his own county because the township of Kingston had been taken from it, and attached to the city of Kingston, that the government of Ontario were compelled to restore the township of Kingston to the county of Frontenac. My hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Clancy) drew the attention of the House to the cause which prompted the Ontario government to restore the township of Kingston to the county of Fron-

Mr. CLARKE.

tenac. The government of Ontario never hesitated to depart from the principle of county boundaries, where they could benefit themselves by doing so.

Mr. MONTAGUE. They even cut townships in two.

Mr. CLARKE. Yes, they put one part of a township in one electoral division and another part in another, and so long as they could gain a political advantage, they never bothered about county boundaries. The Ontario government allowed the township of Kingston to be attached to the city of Kingston until they found the experiment was a dangerous one, and did not inure to their advantage. It was only because a Conservative carried the city of Kingston with the township of Kingston attached that they made the change and restored the township to the county of Frontenac. The sense of fair-play of the hon. gentleman who represents the Patrons in the House of Commons, is I presume so just, so accurate, and so fine that he is prepared to leave the people of the province of Ontario who reside in the city of Toronto with one representative to 36,000 or 40,000 of the population while the people of Frontenac and the city of Kingston get two representatives for 32,708. That is the sense of justice of the hon. member for Frontenac, and that is one of the reasons, I suppose, why he supports this Bill so heartily. I have heard statements made in this House as to the injustice that was done to the Liberals of Ontario by the Bills of 1882 and 1892; but I must say that I have not been able to satisfy myself, by an examination of the population of the different constituencies, and the returns made by those constituencies to this House, that such injustice as is complained of was done under those measures. In the Bill before us to-day, there are fifty-one constituencies of the province of Ontario affected. These constituencies have a population of 1,254,554. Their unit of representation is therefore 24,600, and they are represented in this House by thirty-one Liberals and twenty Conservatives. The unit of representation for the Liberals is 22,186; the unit of representation for the Conservatives is 28,338. The twenty Conservatives represent a population of 566,767, while the thirty-one Liberals represent a population of 687,787; and yet these constituencies are claimed—in the form into which they were changed by the Acts of 1882 and 1892—to have been gerrymandered and carved out of all kind of shape for the purpose of giving a party advantage to hon. gentlemen on this side of the House. Why, Sir, it is found on an examination of the figures that each Conservative who represents one of these twenty constituencies represents 6,152 more of a population on the average than each Liberal who represents one of the thirty-

one Liberal constituencies, and yet the assertion is made again and again by hon. gentlemen opposite that the Bills of 1882 and 1892 permitted gross injustice and stifled public opinion by the way in which the constituencies were gerrymandered! I think that these figures show that on the principle of representation by population the Liberal party were dealt with equitably and fairly in the constituencies which are now being carved up in the hope that hon. gentleman opposite may obtain some party advantage. Now, Mr. Speaker, there are thirty-three constituencies in eastern Ontario which are not affected by this measure. These constituencies, according to the census of 1891, contain a population of 646,997, so that the unit of representation in them is 19,606. One of the principal objections made by hon. gentlemen opposite to the Bill of 1892, so far as the province of Ontario was concerned, was that a great injustice was done to the constituencies in the western part of the province by the over-representation of the constituencies in the eastern part; and I point now to the fact that in the thirty-three constituencies in eastern Ontario not affected by the Bill, the unit of population is 19,606, while in the fifty-one constituencies in western Ontario, which they have interfered with, the unit of representation is 24,600. They have not attempted to do justice to the western part of the province of Ontario, if the late government did not do justice to it in its Redistribution Bills, and they have allowed the statements which they made time and again as to the over-representation of eastern Ontario to fall to the ground by not remedying the wrongs they then complained of. In every paragraph and in every line of this Bill, as far as it affects the province of Ontario, the hand of the designing and clever politician can be seen. No principle is adhered to, either as to county boundaries, as to representation by population, or as to single constituencies. County boundaries are restored where it suits hon. gentlemen opposite to restore them. The unit of representation is adhered to as far as it suits hon. gentlemen opposite to adhere to it. The principle of single constituencies as against double constituencies is adhered to as far as it suits hon. gentlemen opposite to adhere to it. But where the government hope to gain an advantage every profession they made in this House with regard to previous Bills has been cast to the winds. If the representation which the government have from eastern Ontario in this House were not substantially larger than it was in the previous parliaments, the constituencies of eastern Ontario would have been deprived of some of the representation they now have; but it is because the government made substantial gains in the last election in this part of the province that they have left those constituencies as they were. With

regard to the amendment proposed by the hon. leader of the opposition, my hon. friend from South Brant (Mr. Heyd) finds fault with my colleague from West Toronto (Mr. Osler) for supporting it, because he says that by doing so he is condoning the evils of the previous measures. I cannot see how any member of this House who desires to see the subdivision of the provinces removed from the political arena, can object to the amendment made by the leader of the opposition. If that is admitted, the time of the parliament of Canada will not be taken up as it has been again and again for weeks and months in the past in disputing over this question of the division of constituencies and the representation of the people in this House; and if hon. gentlemen opposite have such confidence as they profess to have in the honour and integrity of the judiciary of the country, they can surely have no objection to appoint the chief justices of the different provinces to make the subdivisions for them. For these reasons I shall support the amendment most cordially, and I hope that it will receive, though I doubt it, the support of a majority of the members of this House.

Mr. TISDALE. As hon. gentlemen opposite, especially the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) have seen fit to attack the redistribution of 1892 so strongly, and as other branches of this subject have been fully discussed on both sides of the House, I propose to detain the House for a short time to say a few words in regard to the redistribution of 1892. I am especially surprised that the Minister of Customs should attack that measure, because I say without fear of contradiction that the redistribution, it effected, was as fair as it was possible to make it, and was perfectly equal in its political effect. It was felt, and it is beyond question, that Toronto was entitled to at least one additional member. It was felt also that Nipissing, where there were thousands of people without representation, should be represented, and, therefore, to make two new constituencies it became necessary to abolish two old ones. What did we do? We took Niagara Peninsula and we made Lincoln County for my hon. friend who now represents it, that if he had not got that help, he would not have had a seat in the House in 1896, because if the constituency remained as it was before then, he would have been defeated. We put Monk with Haldimand and made it stronger Conservative and we abolished Haldimand held by a Conservative and North Wentworth held by a Reformer. We put the township of Walpole in South Norfolk, which equalized the population, because South Norfolk only had 17,000 before, and we made it 22,000. Walpole was, and is a Reform township, and it gave a majority

against me in 1896. If a fairer Redistribution Bill could have been made, as far as Ontario is concerned, I would like to know how. If, therefore, hon. gentlemen opposite cannot find stronger arguments to attack the Redistribution Act of 1892, I only hope they will pass a Bill that will be as fair, when the opportunity is given them. We have heard many reasons urged in support of the changes now proposed, but no one can contend that this Bill, with the facts baldly stated, can show as fair a redistribution as the Act of 1892, with regard to the province of Ontario.

Mr. GIBSON. In reply to the hon. gentleman's remarks concerning the riding I have the honour to represent, I must say that if they would give me the county of Lincoln as it is, I am willing to take my chances. But the townships of Grimsby and Caistor were put out of Lincoln to suit Mr. Ryckert, when he was a member of the House.

Mr. MONTAGUE. That does not affect the fairness of the Bill of 1892.

Mr. GIBSON. Oh yes it does.

House divided on amendment of Sir Charles Tupper.

YEAS :

Messieurs

Beattie,	Ingram,
Bell (Addington),	Kaulbach,
Bell (Pictou),	Macdonald (King's),
Bennett,	McInerney,
Bergeron,	McIntosh,
Borden (Halifax),	McLennan (Glengarry),
Broder,	McNeill,
Cargill,	Marcotte,
Casgrain,	Martin,
Clancy,	Mills,
Clarke,	Montague,
Cochrane,	Moore,
Corby,	Osler,
Craig,	Pocpore,
Davin,	Powell,
Earle,	Prior,
Foster,	Robinson,
Ganong,	Roche,
Gillies,	Sproule,
Guillet,	Taylor,
Haggart,	Wallace, and
Hale,	Wilson.—45.
Henderson,	

NAYS :

Messieurs

Angers,	Holmes,
Archambault,	Hurley,
Bazinet,	Hutchison,
Belth,	Johnston,
Bell (Prince),	Joly de Lotbinière
Bethune,	(Sir Henri),
Blair,	Lang,
Borden (King's),	Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),
Bostock,	Lavergne,
Bourassa,	Legris,
Bourbonnais,	Lemieux,
Britton,	Livingston,
Brodeur,	Logan,
Brown,	Mackie,
Burnett,	McIsaac,
Calvert,	McLellan (Prince),
Carroll,	McLennan (Inverness),

Mr. TISDALE.

Casey,	McMillan,
Comstock,	McMullen,
Copp,	Malouin,
Cowan,	Marcil,
Davis,	Meigs,
Dechêne,	Mignault,
Demers,	Moret,
Domville,	Morrison,
Douglas,	Mulock,
Dupré,	Parmalee,
Edwards,	Paterson,
Erb,	Penny,
Ethier,	Pettet,
Fielding,	Proulx,
Fisher,	Puttee,
Fitzpatrick,	Ratz,
Flint,	Richardson,
Fortier,	Rogers,
Fraser (Guysborough),	Ross,
Fraser (Lambton),	Russell,
Frost,	Rutherford,
Gauvreau,	Somerville,
Geoffrion,	Stenson,
Gibson,	Sutherland,
Godbout,	Talbot,
Gould,	Tarte,
Graham,	Tolmie,
Guité,	Tucker, and
Heyd,	Turcot.—91.

PAIRS :

Ministerial.

Opposition.

Christie,	Roddick,
Cartwright (Sir Rich'd),	Tupper (Sir Charles),
MacPherson,	Rosamond,
Charlton,	Tisdale,
Davies (Sir Louis),	Tupper (Sir Charles
	Hibbert),
Bertram,	Hughes,
McGregor,	McCleary,
Semple,	Klock,
McGugan,	Klepper,
Campbell,	Ferguson,
McHugh,	Reid,
McClure,	McDougall,
Haley,	Maclean,
Ellis,	Robertson,
Desmarais,	Monk,
Dupré,	Blanchard,
Dyment,	McAlister,
Landerkin,	Kendry,
Préfontaine,	Pope,
Sifton,	Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Dobell,	Hodgins,
Featherston,	Carscallen,
Savard,	Dugas,
Scriver,	MacLaren,
Maxwell,	Seagram,
Fortin,	Chauvin,
Leduc,	Quinn,
Harwood,	Morin,
Oliver,	Tyrwhitt,
Costigan,	LaRivière,
Wood.	Gilmour.

Amendment negatived.

Motion (Mr. Mulock) agreed to, Bill read the third time and passed.

ADJOURNMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. FOSTER. Before the House adjourns, I would ask the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), what business he proposes to take up to-morrow?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). We will take up Bills.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like also to ask, if the Minister of Finance has any announcement to make as to the probable time of the budget.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). No; announcement will be made very shortly.

Mr. FOSTER. I would also like to know if the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), has his report ready?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I will call his attention to it.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 12.25 a.m. (Friday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 9, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 73) respecting the Restigouche and Western Railway Company.—(Mr. McAlister.)

Bill (No. 74) respecting the Northern Commercial Telegraph Company, Limited.—(Mr. Domville.)

Bill (No. 75) to incorporate the Quebec Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. Brown.)

Bill (No. 76) to incorporate the Canadian Loan and Investment Company.—(Mr. Clarke.)

Bill (No. 77) to incorporate the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.—(Mr. Roddick, by Mr. Clancy.)

Bill (No. 78) to amend the Gas Inspection Act.—(Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière.)

Bill (No. 79) to amend the General Inspection Act, so as to provide a grade for flax seed.—(Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière.)

THE AUER LIGHT.

Mr. GIBSON moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Patent Act.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Explain.

Mr. GIBSON. The object of this Bill is to enable gas companies and others interested in the products of gas to compel the Auer Light Company to sell their product at a reasonable price.

Mr. SPEAKER. I would call the attention of the hon. member to the fact that this is not a private Bill, but an amendment to the Patent Act, and it requires notice.

Mr. GIBSON. I will give notice of it.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR AND THE MOUNTED POLICE.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 80) respecting the members of the North-west Mounted Police force on active service in South Africa. He said: The object of this Bill is to apply the provisions of the Civil Service Superannuation Act and the provisions of the Mounted Police Pension Act to members of the Mounted Police force who are now in South Africa, notwithstanding their absence.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

PARIS EXPOSITION.

Mr. A. MARTIN (P.E.I.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Agriculture if he has made provision for the representation of all the provinces at Paris, and particularly what appointment is to be made from Prince Edward Island. If so, what are the names?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). The whole of the staff to the Paris exposition has not yet been selected. In making a choice of those who are to represent Canada, I have been guided by people of expert knowledge in certain classes or branches of the exhibition, so that those we appoint will be able to give explanations with regard to the Canadian exhibits. I have also been guided by an attempt to have all parts of the Dominion represented, so that those requiring information with regard to any portion may be referred to some individual of our staff from that part of the country. Up to the present there have been no appointments from Prince Edward Island.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. In connection with the rumours that the Minister of Public Works is about to leave his duties in Parliament and go to Paris for the purpose of taking a position in connection with the ex-

position, I think the time has arrived when it is extremely desirable that the government should take the House into its confidence in reference to the proposed arrangements. It is well known that this exhibition is going to involve the expenditure of a large sum. That I do not at all complain of, although I am sorry that, from present appearances, the exposition is not likely to be so important as we thought it would. The position that the hon. Minister of Public Works is going to occupy in connection with it, and the fact that another officer holding a high position of the public service will be allowed to leave his duties and discharge those devolving on him there, make it very desirable this matter should go a little beyond the newspaper paragraphs and rumours, and the House informed what the government propose to do.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The hon. gentleman has been informed by the hon. Minister of Agriculture that the arrangements are not completed, but are in process of completion. It is expected they will be completed in a few days, and then full announcements will be made.

DOMINION LANDS ACT.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved that the House resolve itself into committee on Bill (No. 18), further to amend the Dominion Lands Act.

Mr. DAVIN. I would call the attention of the right hon. gentleman to the fact that he threw out the suggestion the other day that we should consult the Deputy Minister of the Interior. I have submitted a clause to him, but have not yet heard from him. Probably it would be as well to defer until Tuesday going into committee.

The PRIME MINISTER. Let the motion stand.

EXPENSES OF CANADIAN VOLUNTEERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved the second reading of Bill (No. 59) to provide for the expenses of the Canadian volunteers serving Her Majesty in South Africa.

Motion agreed to; Bill read the second time, and the House resolved itself into committee thereon.

(In the Committee.)

On section 1,

Mr. FOSTER. It was understood that we should take up the items and have ex-

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

planations upon them. The first item I find is that of pay. With reference to the pay of the first contingent, I have looked over the papers brought down, and do not find amongst them any authorization to pay the difference between the Imperial and the Canadian rates. It is laid down in the Militia order 211, October 14, that they are to be paid at the rate fixed for the Canadian infantry in the militia regulations for the permanent corps, to the date of their embarkation, and then to be paid at the British rates.

Now, this is providing a sum to make up the difference, as I understand it, between the Canadian and British rates of pay after the troops have embarked for South Africa.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). When they have entered the Imperial service.

Mr. FOSTER. But I cannot find any authorization, either by the order in council, or in the militia orders, providing for payment of that kind. I should think that that could not be done simply by a militia order which was not authorized by order in council. What does the hon. Minister say on that point?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. There has been no payment of the difference made since the arrival in South Africa; and the authority is contained in the Act that is now being passed.

Mr. FOSTER. Then, the only authorization and the only pay that is now being made is the pay at 40 cents per day. That has been paid to them according to the militia order 211?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. And no payment as between the 40 and 50 cents has been made to them up to the present time?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. None.

Mr. FOSTER. And no other authority has been given either by order in council or by militia orders?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No.

Mr. FOSTER. Just on the other point—does it require an order in council, or can the minister provide by a militia order for the payments of them at any special rate, as, for instance, he seems to have done with regard to fixing the rate at that of the permanent corps?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. We have the authority already by order in council establishing the permanent corps rate. But if we were paying any rate not specially provided for in the Act or by some order in council, we should have to have some special order in council.

Mr. FOSTER. But is not your authority simply the authority for the payment of the permanent corps?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Do you consider the volunteers legally on the basis of the permanent corps, so that you can pay them under the general order, or are they not volunteers? As I understand it, the permanent corps are the soldiers at the schools. Is not that correct?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Then, unless the minister has authority from the council, it seems to me he cannot pay simply by a militia order any number of soldiers who are not in any of the permanent corps?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That point may be well taken, but I think that the 50 cents a day, the amount named in the Militia Act, we would have authority to pay. I may explain a point which I did not explain the other night. The reason why we considered the first contingent part of the permanent force was this—we were sending a regiment to South Africa recruited from all parts of Canada, without any special name, not any part of the strength of the militia of Canada. And, in case that regiment should win laurels—take colours from the enemy or win distinction of any kind—it was thought advisable that the regiment should have a home, so that when they returned these things might be stored and kept as mementoes. So, the idea was suggested, and I thought it was a good one, to make this contingent a part of the permanent force of Canada. That is the reason we took the course we did with reference to the name. As to the question of pay, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) raised, I was advised that we had power to do what has been done. The question did not come before me in quite the form in which he has presented it. It may be necessary to have an order in council.

Mr. FOSTER. It is rather important that this matter should be settled. I would like to have the attention of the legal officer of the government, as well as of the Minister of Militia. I am not a militiaman, but as I understand it we have two different branches of the service. We have

what we call volunteers, and we have what we call a permanent force, each of them established by law. Our volunteers are volunteers by virtue of a certain enactment, and the permanent corps are a permanent corps by virtue of a certain enactment. You are not able to transfer from one to the other as an entity or in regard to remuneration by mere order of the Militia Department, I take it. The volunteers, as I understand it, when they are out, are paid at the rate of 50 cents per day; the permanent corps are paid at the rate of 40 cents per day. Are these volunteers who have gone to South Africa part of the permanent corps or are they volunteers? If you consider them a permanent corps, by virtue of what authority do you do so? It cannot be that by mere act of the department you can double the permanent force whenever you please. I do not think there is any authority for that.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. minister will see where he stands in this respect, if my premises are sound. He is bound, if he has the authority here to treat these as volunteers, to pay them the legal pay of volunteers—50 cents per day, and he had no authority, by mere militia order, as I understand it, to make their pay 40 cents per day and he had no authority, as I understand it, to say that 1,000 or 2,000 or 2,500, when they were enrolled should be a permanent force—that is, he could not do it by militia order. So, I think my hon. friend (Mr. Borden) has not taken all the steps to give this contingent a proper legal standing in respect to these matters. If they are to be looked upon as volunteers under the Act, then he had not the right to fix their pay at 40 cents, because the law says that the volunteers shall have 50 cents.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Payment has not yet been made under the clause. Let me call my hon. friend's (Mr. Foster's) attention to the third section of the Bill. I think that subsection (d) would make it clear. I would ask if my hon. friend does not think that gives the necessary power for the future, whatever may have been the status in the past?

Mr. FOSTER. Clause 3 reads as follows:

The word 'expenditure' in this Act includes—

(a) Expenses of every kind in connection with the raising, enrolling, arming, equipping, provisioning, despatching and transporting of the said contingents up to the time of their arrival at the place of debarkation in South Africa;

(b) The payment of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men composing the said contingents up to the time of such debarkation, at the rates authorized by the regulations and orders of the Department of Militia and Defence;

(c) All separation allowances paid to the wives and children of the married non-commissioned officers and men;

And so on. That is legislation which has not yet passed; and my point was with reference to what has preceded that.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. But we have not paid yet.

Mr. **FOSTER**. My point is as to the pay under the preceding law and regulations. First, as to what footing these are on: Are they to be a permanent force, or are they volunteers? Once you decide they are volunteers—I think that must be the decision—then the law fixes the remuneration at 50 cents. So that up to the time this legislation takes effect, the Minister of Militia and Defence is bound to pay them on the basis of volunteers, that is, 50 cents a day. I have not looked up the law, but I think there must be some definite basis laid down in the law as to the rate of pay of the volunteers, and the rate of the permanent force.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. It appears to me that this question is a very important one. I take it, the position is that this entire force that has gone to South Africa are volunteers; they have not been sent there as a permanent force by the government, but they have been permitted to volunteer. That is my understanding of the position. The government have arranged and agreed that they should have the same rate of pay they had before, and consequently any balance between that which they receive from the Imperial government, and the amount that they were receiving as a portion of the permanent force, should be provided by parliament. In the next place, do the mounted police stand in precisely the same category? The mounted police are in the employ of the government, and are receiving a certain amount of pay. The same arrangements have been made with them, they have been allowed to volunteer their services by the government, in South Africa, and the government undertake to see that their pay is not decreased, that they should have the same amount they would have received if they had been discharging their duties in the mounted police. Then, you have a third class, parties who are neither in the permanent corps or in the mounted police, but private citizens, who have also volunteered; and the intention of the government, as I understand it, is to provide that they should receive the same amount of pay as the others. I understand that many of these private citizens who have gone to South Africa have given up positions worth five times the amount they will receive in the the force. I am sure the government will not allow them to suffer any more than they would the permanent corps or the mounted police. It seems to me that there should be no question about it, that the government are bound to take such action, whether by orders in council, or department regulation of the Militia Department, or by Act of

Mr. **FOSTER**.

Parliament if necessary, as will remove all possible doubt as to their power to pay these sums which it is intended to pay to the various parties. It appears to me that in a Bill of this kind, there should be no question, that the government should take such steps as will assure them the authority for making the payment of every dollar of this money that is required to carry out the engagements which the government have made.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. I do not think there is any practical difference between us. The ex-Minister of Finance did suggest that, perhaps, it was necessary to have had an order in council, rather than a regulation of the Department of Militia, to enable us properly to make these payments; possibly there is something in that. But as to the practical question, there is no doubt that the intention is that these men shall receive the sum of 50 cents per day; that is certainly the intention of all of us. Of course if there be a shadow of doubt about it, that doubt must be removed, but so far we have not had any reason to doubt. But it is only right that it should be looked into, so that there should be no doubt that the intention of the government and parliament shall be carried out.

Mr. **WALLACE**. The Minister of Finance tells us that the payment of the volunteers is to be 50 cents and all charges of maintenance.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. We make no deductions.

Mr. **WALLACE**. That the volunteers and privates receive 50 cents a day in addition to all the clothing, maintenance and all the other expenses?

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. Clothing, maintenance, and so forth, while he is in South Africa, of course, all come under the charge of the Imperial service. That question is not raised at all. He will receive 50 cents a day, part of which he will receive from the Imperial government, and the balance from the Treasury of Canada.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. And that is independent of maintenance and other expenses?

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. We do not deal with the question of maintenance, that is dealt with by the Imperial regulations.

Mr. **WALLACE**. The reason I mentioned that point is, that the English soldier, I think, gets a shilling per day, but there are some deductions from that amount for maintenance.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. There will be no deduction here as between the Imperial pay and the 50 cents.

Mr. WALLACE. Therefore, if 6d. were deducted for maintenance, there would be 12 cents coming to him from the Imperial government; and then I understand the balance of the 50 cents, 38 cents, would be made up by the government of Canada—or whatever the balance of the 50 cents might be. I would like to have an answer from the minister on that point.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I was looking at the law. Would the hon. gentleman state his point again?

Mr. WALLACE. The British government pays the British soldier a shilling per day, say 24 cents. I am told that under the English regulations, a portion of that is deducted for maintenance. If that be the case, it would be the same with our volunteers going over there, that same amount would be deducted from them for maintenance, because they are placed, so far as the British government is concerned, on precisely the same footing as the regular soldier enlisted in the British army. Now, suppose 6d. were deducted for maintenance, that would leave 12 cents in cash to be paid the Canadian volunteer by the British government. Now, I want to understand if the Canadian government will make up what is required to bring the pay up to 50 cents per day, for the Canadian volunteer, in addition to all maintenance.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not think there is any deduction from the British soldier, for maintenance.

Mr. WALLACE. I am told there is.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I must contradict my hon. friend. I am afraid I am not well up in military matters, but my impression is that the British soldier receives a shilling a day over and above maintenance.

Mr. WALLACE. The ex-Minister of Militia and Defence (Sir Adolphe Caron), tells me differently, so does the member for Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior). But if it be so, do we understand that the Canadian volunteer and private gets the 50 cents a day, in addition to all living expenses, clothing and other things, the same as if he were in Canada? That is a proposition easily stated and easily understood, and we would like an answer from the minister on that subject.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I would like to say in connection with this matter that the indefinite language used in subsection 3, of section (d), was complained of when the resolution was introduced. I think it might be very well considered in connection with

the point raised by my hon. friend. At that time, I pointed out that there was no information before the House as to what the regulations and orders of the Department of Militia and Defence were, and I understood that when the Bill was introduced, there would be a definite statement of the amount to be paid. If that were done, it seems to me, that it would remove the difficulty which has been suggested by my hon. friend from West York (Mr. Wallace). There should be a definite sum stated. I think the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) told us, at that time, that there would be a definite amount of money mentioned.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Not necessarily in the Bill.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Well, it must be mentioned somewhere; it must exist somewhere so that parliament can have access to it, and know what it is dealing with. If it is not to be mentioned in the Bill, then, I think, it should exist in some order or regulation of the Department of Militia and Defence, which should be laid before the House so that we would have some information as to what we were doing. I would suggest to the hon. Minister of Finance that the Bill should be amended in that way. There is another suggestion I would like to make, and it is in regard to the difficulty as to the payments which will be made before this Bill goes into effect. The only difficulty is that the Bill is not made applicable to payments that shall be made before the Act goes into operation. If you provide in the Bill that the whole Act shall relate, not only to payments made after it goes into operation, but before the Act goes into operation. I think you will remove the difficulty. The difficulty is that the Act only applies to payments made after it goes into operation; therefore, it will not cover payments which have been made in the past and which will be made before the Act receives the assent of His Excellency the Governor General.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. This Bill legalizes these payments.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). No; it does not, as far as I can see; at least, so far as section 3 is concerned.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Section 1 covers these payments.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I do not think my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) is right, but, if he is right, I do not see that there is any difficulty at all. If the Bill applies to payments made before it goes into operation, there will be no difficulty; otherwise, it should be made applicable to these payments.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. This does not fix the pay expressly, but I agree that it should be fixed, and that parliament should legislate in the light of a fixed amount. Under the regulation of the Militia Department, it expresses the pay of the permanent force, which we all agreed was a mistake and did not carry out our intention. I agree that the regulation should be amended before this Bill passes this House. That can be done very quickly, and we will then be legalizing the rate of pay which is provided in the regulation laid before the House.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to have one word or two in answer to one question, so that we can understand the position of the force. I would like to know from the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence on what footing these Canadians are at present and have been from the time they were enrolled. Do the department and the government consider them as part of the permanent force, or militia on active service? That is a fair, plain question. Let us know where we are.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Mr. Chairman, I explained a few moments ago, the reason why this regiment of volunteers for service in South Africa was given the name it was given. It was so that it might have a home, a regimental headquarters. It was not intended, nor did it increase the strength of the militia of Canada at all; in fact, the difficulty as to whether this force was a part of the militia of Canada is overcome by the making of a special contract with these men. They were not all, by any means, militiamen; they were taken from all parts of the community; they were volunteers, and a special contract was made with them for service in South Africa, on certain conditions and at certain rates, so that they are certainly not part of the active militia of Canada.

Mr. PRIOR. Were they not all sworn as militia regiments on service?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No, not at all. They were sworn under a special oath and agreement made with these men, and not at all the oath under which our men are sworn into the militia.

Mr. WALLACE. What was the length of time?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Six months, or one year, if required.

Mr. McNEILL. I understand the Minister of Militia and Defence to say that these men are absolutely volunteers?

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax).

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. McNEILL. Would the hon. minister give an answer to the question of the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace)?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. In reference to that point, I would say that I was not aware of what the hon. gentleman had stated, but my view of the object of this Bill is that parliament intends to give power to pay the volunteers who have gone out to South Africa, the difference between the amount they will receive from the British government and our Canadian pay.

Mr. McNEILL. The amount in cash?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I do not say cash, because I think the committee will agree with me that if our volunteers are receiving 24 cents a day, with the advantage they are getting of the right to a pension, the same as British soldiers, they are probably getting the full extent of the 24 cents, and Canada should only be called upon to pay the difference in money.

Mr. HAGGART. Would the hon. minister be kind enough to tell us under what authority the men were sworn? He says that they are not militiamen, that they are not members of the permanent force; are they sworn under the Militia Act, or under what authority have you sworn them?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. We have authority, I presume, in this country, and the right to recruit men here for service in South Africa for the British government. I do not think it requires any special Act or authority to do that. A special contract was made with these men, just the same as my hon. friend (Mr. Haggart), I presume, could make an arrangement with the British government, with the consent of the government of this country, that he would send men forward, making a special arrangement with them to serve the Imperial government in South Africa. They were not sent forward as militiamen. We simply expedited their going, and we made a contract with them which we thought was necessary and proper.

Mr. HAGGART. They are Imperial volunteers sworn in under the Imperial Act?

Mr. McNEILL. In regard to this other matter that the hon. minister was in the act of explaining, from what fell from my hon. friend, is the committee given to understand that, suppose, for example, the 24 cents were to be taken up in maintenance, the government would hold themselves

responsible for the payment of only 25 cents or 26 cents, not of 50 cents ?

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE**. I do not understand that the men find their own living. I understand that they get the 24 cents and their rations besides. I never heard of any such suggestion as that.

Mr. **McNEILL**. I am putting a supposititious case. I am assuming that the statement made by the late Minister of Militia (Sir Adolphe Caron) is correct, and that there is a large deduction made from the shilling a day, for maintenance. Suppose that statement be correct, are our volunteers in South Africa to have an amount provided by this government, which will bring their pay up to 50 cents a day, clear of all deductions. That is to say, suppose that certain deductions from the 24 cents a day are made by the Imperial authorities, will this government provide that the Canadians shall receive 50 cents a day, clear. Now, that is a very simple question for the minister to answer.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. It is based on an alleged statement made by the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Adolphe Caron), who has not taken the responsibility of guaranteeing that statement to the House.

Mr. **McNEILL**. And suppose that the hon. member for Three Rivers never made such a statement, we are entitled to have an answer to that question from the government.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. The government has decided, and I think wisely, that the members of the permanent force and of the mounted police, as well as the other volunteers should receive 50 cents a day in South Africa, exactly the same as if they were volunteers on active service in Canada. The Canadian volunteer on active service here, is maintained in every way by the government, and in addition to that he gets 50 cents a day clear. The government have wisely decided that the position of that volunteer shall not be any worse because he is on service in South Africa, rather than in Canada. Now, the point raised at the present time is a new one. The Canadian government assumed that the British government would pay a shilling a day to each volunteer, and so the Canadian government proposed to pay the difference between the shilling a day and the 50 cents a day. It appears now that we have been labouring under a misapprehension, because the pay of a shilling a day by the Imperial government is subject to certain deductions, and in fact only amounts to about eight pence a day.

Mr. **DOMVILLE**. Less than that ; about four pence.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. Well, we will say, for the sake of illustration, that it amounts to eight pence ; but whether it amounts to eight pence or six pence or four pence, it will be seen at once that this government should keep good faith with the volunteers who are serving in South Africa, they will require to contribute a larger amount than if the Imperial pay of a shilling a day was not subject to any deductions.

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Hear, hear.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. That is the point before us now, and I am sure it is perfectly understood by the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden).

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. I submit that we ought not to allow ourselves to drift into hypothetical discussions. We ought find out exactly what the facts of the case are, and then we will be in a position to consider the matter properly. We will find out what the facts are, and we will discuss the matter in the light of knowledge before the Bill is passed.

Some hon. **MEMBERS**. Hear, hear.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. I have correctly interpreted the intentions of the government I believe.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. We certainly expected to give them the extra 25 cents a day.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. No. You certainly intended that they should receive 50 cents a day without any reduction whatever.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. Quite so, but we understood that an extra 25 cents a day would cover the amount.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. We trust that when the facts are ascertained the government will take such measures as will absolutely secure to each volunteer 50 cents a day without any deduction.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. We will get the facts.

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE** (Mr. Borden). My information is that while there are deductions in time of peace, there are no such deductions in time of war in the British army. However, I will look into the matter.

Mr. **DOMVILLE**. The deductions are what are called necessaries in the men's kit, and the British soldier as a matter of fact never gets more net pay than about four pence a day.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. Perhaps those deductions may not be made during war.

Mr. **DOMVILLE**. I do not know how that might be.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. There is no doubt that these deductions are made in time of peace, but I have never had to deal with these matters in time of war, so I do not know how that may be. It seems clear that we wish to pay our Canadian volunteers in South Africa 50 cents a day free from all deductions, and we should take precautions to ensure that. If these deductions from the Imperial pay materially reduce the shilling per day, of course, our government would have to make provision to pay a larger amount.

Mr. WALLACE. The Minister of Militia stated in reply to a question from this side of the House, that it was an advantage to the Canadian volunteers to be placed on the same basis as the British soldier, because they would be given the Imperial allowances for pension and so on. I do not think that a man who enlists for twelve months as does the Canadian volunteer would profit anything from those allowances that would be worth consideration. The Minister of Finance explicitly stated the other night, that the pay of the Canadian soldier would be made up to him so as to amount to 50 cents a day. That is all we want. We simply want the promise of the Minister of Finance carried out, that the Canadian volunteer, no matter what deductions shall be made by the British army regulations, shall get 50 cents a day cash in addition to his maintenance, clothing and other necessaries. That is the whole question, and that is a question that I think can be decided now, when the government have this Bill under consideration. Instead of waiting for further information about any matter, let the government simply implement the promise which was made by the Finance Minister explicitly and without any reservation.

Mr. McNEILL. We are not asking the Finance Minister or the government to legislate in the dark or on a hypothesis. We are simply asking that they shall declare that there shall be no deduction made in the cash payment of 50 cents a day to our volunteers.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Before we deal with the question of deductions, we must know what they are and what they are for, and I think it would be a mistake to deal with that question in the dark, for that is what it amounts to. I stated the other night that the intention and the desire of the government was that the minimum pay to the soldier should be 50 cents a day, and I certainly understood that that was over and above his maintenance; but if there are deductions, and these are for things which the soldier in Canada would be obliged to pay for out of his 50 cents a day, let us ascertain what they are. It is easy to find out before we arrive at a later stage of the Bill. The desire of the

Mr. DOMVILLE.

government is to deal with the soldiers in a liberal and generous spirit.

Mr. FOSTER. That is satisfactory as far as it goes, but what is the reason the Militia Department do not know this?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. They do know it.

Mr. FOSTER. What is the reason that after they have been working on this matter for three months or more and have matured their legislation and brought it down to the House, and it has been here a week or more, the Minister of Militia cannot tell exactly what is the usage, so that this matter shall be made clear? It seems to me that that is the first thing the Militia Department is for. I am quite sure that if the Finance Minister were bringing down a Bill of his own, and a question arose as to interest or percentages or brokerages payable on the English market, he would have the knowledge and would be able to say exactly what it was. What is the reason the Militia Department have not the information in regard to this matter, but we have to wait until we get the exact facts? As the Minister of Finance says, they can easily be obtained, and, so far as that section goes, we cannot legislate until we ascertain the basis on which we are legislating. There is another point which I wanted to mention, that is, as to the status of these men. I do not know yet what they are; but I gather from what the Minister of Militia has said that they are not of the permanent corps, and that they do not belong to the militia force. It seems to me that under the Militia Act you have power to pay to only one or other of these classes of soldiers; but you have been paying to a body or troop or company of men who belong neither to the militia nor to the permanent force. Then, under what authority have you been paying, for the last two months or more a large sum of money to a set of men who, you yourselves say, have no legal status as though they belonged to permanent corps? You say that they are simply Imperial volunteers. Then, if you have just been recruiting for the Imperial army, you must look to the Imperial authorities for the pay of the soldiers until you get some authority to pay them. But you have had no authority to pay, either by order in council or by legislation. That is what puzzles me now. How has the Minister of Militia drawn his money up to the present time, and by what authority has he been paying a force which has no entity at all, so far as our enactments are concerned?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not think my hon. friend has been quite fair to the Minister of Militia. The minister stated positively that his information was that there were no deductions in time of war, and therefore the remarks of the hon.

ex-Minister of Finance are the result of misunderstanding. But as the hon. gentlemen opposite say that this may be a mistake, we think, in deference to them, that we should look into the matter further. With regard to the status of the soldiers, I do not think we are called upon to worry ourselves whether they belong to the permanent force or to the militia, under the Militia Act. When they are enrolled it may be necessary for us to consider the Militia Act; but for the purposes of this Bill we are not bound to consider them as belonging either to the permanent force or to the militia. It is sufficient for us to know that they are soldiers of Her Majesty serving in South Africa. Where did we get the authority to pay them? Nowhere except in a Governor General's warrant; and we are coming here to-day to get the House to legalize and confirm every step that we have taken. I do not think my hon. friend is correct when he says that we are bound to give a definition of these forces. I do not think it is necessary that they should be regarded as either of the militia or the permanent force of Canada. They are soldiers of Her Majesty, serving in South Africa, and subject in all respects to the Imperial regulations, and in this Act we are taking all the power necessary to pay them.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think my hon. friend has quite understood the point I took. I am not saying that you cannot provide in this enactment what you please with reference to the pay. Nor am I saying that you ought to give them a name. My point is that the Minister of Militia, without any warrant by legislation or by order in council that I can find, has undertaken to pay a body of men who are not legally recognized in the statutes of Canada either as militiamen or as men of the permanent force. He has undertaken to pay these men a certain sum of money per day—under what authority? He has no order in council for it.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No legal authority, unless you consider the Governor General's warrant to be that.

Mr. FOSTER. You can consider the Governor General's warrant as appropriating a certain amount of money in gross for certain expenses; but surely there is no authority for the Minister of Militia to say that 50 cents or 40 cents or 20 cents a day shall be paid to a certain set of men whom he calls into existence. If there is any authority at all under a Governor General's warrant, that must be further carried out by an order in council as to details, and I find no order in council authorizing that. My hon. friend sees the point?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I do not see the point quite

as the hon. gentleman does, because I do not see that an order in council gives any more legality to the payment than an order of the Militia Department. An order in council is no more effective than an order from the department, unless it is founded on a statute. I can only repeat what the Finance Minister has said with regard to this matter. We are coming here for authority to sanction what the minister has done, and the only question is that we should clearly understand what he has done and the amount he is going to pay. It is understood that we are to pay 50 cents instead of 40 cents, which was inadvertently placed in the resolution, and the order of the minister will be made to conform to the understanding of the House. By subsection 'd.' we get the authority of this Act to pay it, and this section will be our authority for what has been done and what will be done in future. Regulations either have been made or will be made prescribing that 50 cents per day shall be their pay, and if there are no abatements made in times of war, there is no question to be raised at all. These men are not a permanent corps under our statutes. They are not mounted police or volunteers, and therefore it might be argued that there is no statute authorizing any payment to be made to them. That is why the Bill is introduced—because there is no legal authority to justify paying them.

Mr. McNEILL. The payments have been made?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Yes.

Mr. McNEILL. They have been made on the basis of the permanent force?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Yes.

Mr. McNEILL. That is to say, 10 cents less than the sum intended?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Yes.

Mr. McNEILL. Have you any authority in this Bill to make good the difference?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. When the regulations provide 50 cents, the difference of 10 cents will be paid.

Mr. McNEILL. You will have authority to pay the difference then?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Certainly.

Mr. BOURASSA. This discussion shows, what I have always contended, that the government has been outside the law from beginning to end, and have come to this parliament asking us to bring them within the law. In other words, after the man is hanged, we are asking for a trial.

When the hon. member for South Lanark (Mr. Haggart) asked under what authority the Minister of Militia had acted, that hon. gentleman replied that he had acted under the broad law, if I understood him rightly, that Canada was supplying volunteers to the British army. I would like to know if it is to be the policy of this government that whenever a war breaks out, we are to supply any quantity of men and any amount of money, on Governor General's warrants, and incur any amount of expenditure in buying rifles and equipment, and then come to parliament and ask parliament to vote this expenditure simply because it is done for Great Britain. I am ready to do my share for Great Britain, but I think a little more respect should be paid to parliament.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I think that the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat is unnecessarily distressing himself about this. The government have done nothing in this matter except what they always do when they issue Governor General's warrants.

Mr. BOURASSA. As I understand it, Governor General's warrants are resorted to only in matters within the ordinary province of government, such as work generally authorized by parliament, and concerning which expedition is necessary.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). They are not necessarily restricted to that at all. If the hon. gentleman will look at the statutes, he will find that the words used are 'unforeseen expenses,' which will include this, as well as a great many things dealt with by such warrants in the past. There does not seem to be any legal difficulty in the situation at all. These men were enrolled under the Imperial statute, and have become part of the British army, but inasmuch as Canada wanted to do something for the empire at a critical time, the government undertook to provide for their transportation to Africa and a portion of their pay. In order to do that, they resorted to Governor General's warrants, depending on parliamentary sanction afterwards. Therefore, they have not proceeded outside the law one iota more than in any other case of Governor General's warrants.

There is one thing I would like to suggest to the Minister of Finance. He says that this Act is an Act of indemnification which provides on the face of it for payments made in the past. Such is the case in section 1, so far as the \$850,000 is concerned, but if the hon. gentleman will look at section 2, he will find that such is not the case. Therefore, such portions of the \$1,150,000 provided by section 2, as may be paid before this Bill becomes law, will not have the warrant of this Act, and I would suggest, as a matter of precaution, and in order to have the thing done legally and pro-

Mr. BOURASSA.

perly, that there should be a little change in the second section so as to make it conform with section 1.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. If we had expended the total sum of \$850,000 provided in the first section, the suggestion of the hon. gentleman would have greater force, but I understand that we have not.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). The point is this. Will you or will you not, before this Act comes into operation, require to expend any portion of this \$1,250,000. If you think that you may, you ought to insert this provision regarding indemnification in subsection 2.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. We presume that the Act will be assented to quickly, otherwise the hon. gentleman's criticism would have more weight.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not desire to open up the very large question which the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) has referred to, but I do not wish to allow, for a second or third time, one remark of his to pass without entering my protest, and that remark is this, that this expenditure is made for Great Britain. I desire to say that this expenditure is not made for Great Britain alone, but just as much for Canada.

Mr. FOSTER. The title of the Bill is somewhat misleading. It is 'to provide for the expenses of the Canadian volunteers serving Her Majesty in South Africa.' From that I took the idea that this was to provide simply for their expenses in South Africa, but when we come to the preamble, I see that the Bill is to provide for expenses incurred as well before the volunteers got to South Africa.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The words in the preamble: 'For the purpose of equipping and forwarding,' seem to me to cover the ground.

Mr. FOSTER. The words should be 'equipping, paying and forwarding.' Otherwise you will have no legal basis for paying the volunteers from the time of their enrolment until they leave Canada.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I have no objection to inserting that word in order to make the intention beyond doubt.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The Bill as drawn covers that point. If the first section had been confined to the language of the preamble alone, the hon. gentleman's point would be well taken. But the next clause provides for payment of expenditure incurred or to be incurred. Part of the expenditure incurred has been the paying of the men as explained by the Minister of Militia.

Mr. FOSTER. Certainly, your preamble ought to conform with the section.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. There is no objection.

Mr. INGRAM. We have had placed in our hands an estimate up to June 30th, 1900, for this service. I wish to ask an explanation, with respect to the purchasing of horses. I find that 1,210 horses have been purchased. It says that all the returns are not in, but the average price paid for horses, was \$135, which, for 1,210, would amount to \$163,350. Again, I find, for the transport of 1,210 horses from different parts of the Dominion to Halifax, care and maintenance, to the date of sailing, \$25 per horse, a total of \$30,250. Below that I find another item for the cost of transport of troops, horses and supplies, to the port of embarkation, \$94,250. I would like to learn something of the mode by which the government purchased these horses, who were authorized to purchase them, and whether a limit of price was set, beyond which they were not to go in paying for horses, and how does it come that under these different headings, there seem to be two charges for transport for these horses. Either this is mixed, or I am.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Most of the horses were brought first to Toronto. One of the regiments was formed there, under the command, temporarily, of Colonel Kittson, the commandant of the Royal Military College. So, there were certain charges in connection with bringing horses to Toronto.

Mr. SPROULE. Where from ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. From different parts of Ontario.

Mr. SPROULE. The horses were bought in Ontario ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes. Then, there were the freight charges from Toronto to Halifax, which would be a separate railway charge, then, of course, there would be the rate from Halifax to South Africa. With regard to the squadrons which were recruited in the North-west, the horses were bought in different parts of the North-west Territories, and brought together, I think, at Regina, and then were brought to Ottawa, and rested here for a short time, and then on to Halifax. In the same way the transport was divided, I suppose, into two parts, the first prior to their assembling, and after that from the point at which they assembled in the first instance to Halifax, the point of embarkation.

Now, with regard to the purchase of horses, I can only say that it was done under the orders of the Major General commanding the forces absolutely. The only orders, were

the orders which were published, and which have been laid on the Table of the House. I understand that the horses were purchased in the open market. On the strength of the publication of the orders, certain horse dealers, or anybody, who saw fit, got together horses which might be considered suitable and brought them to certain centres, before boards appointed by the Major General commanding, consisting of Colonel Kittson, veterinary officers, the permanent corps officer at Toronto, and, I think at Kingston, and in the North-west, the veterinary officers of the North-west Mounted Police. The horses were brought to this board, or in some cases, the board went out and saw the horses at certain points and purchased them at what they considered to be their value. So far as I am personally concerned, I know nothing whatever about the men from whom they were purchased, or whether good value was got or not. I believe, though, that, on the average, the horses were very suitable for the purpose that they were purchased, at a fair valuation, and that the country got value for the money paid.

Mr. INGRAM. The hon. minister has not said whether the government instructed those who bought the horses not to go beyond a certain limit.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The limit was \$150 in Ontario, and in the North-west Territories, it was lower. The average price paid, in the North-west, was \$87.

Mr. INGRAM. After the horses were decided upon and purchased to the satisfaction of the officers whom the government appointed, were any horses rejected, and others subjected ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I think there were a few horses found unfit to be sent forward. There were more horses purchased than were necessary to be sent out. Or rather, as we were sending to South Africa, a certain number of our own horses—I mean the horses owned by the permanent force—new horses had to be purchased to be substituted for these.

Mr. INGRAM. Would the hon. gentleman say by whose authority they were thrown out, or objected to ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. By the board at Halifax. There were several horses that were sick—pneumonia—and quite a number of horses had to be left behind at Halifax. Most of them or all of them have recovered.

Mr. INGRAM. After the horses had been bought at Toronto, or these other centres where they were assembled for the purpose of being inspected by this board, did any-

body take the responsibility of rejecting these horses and buying others in their places ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No.

Mr. INGRAM. Any member of the board ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No.

Mr. SPROULE. I would like to know if these horses were purchased by commission ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Not that I am aware of.

Mr. SPROULE. The parties who purchased, were sent out as agents of the government ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The government had no agents.

Mr. SPROULE. If they were not purchased on commission, some person, either an agent of the government, or some private individual, must have purchased them and handed them over to the government. Which way was it ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. There were no commissions paid. I tried to explain the matter. The militia order, under which these horses were purchased, was published in all the newspapers, as public news, and immediately those who were interested presented themselves to the board, or to Colonel Kittson, and offered to bring horses, either their own or others that they would assemble ; and Colonel Kittson advised them he was prepared to look at the horses, and any horses that were suitable, and were offered at a right price, he would purchase. But there was no one appointed agent of the government, and I understand from Colonel Kittson, with whom I talked the matter over afterwards, that no one else purchased horses for him, or for the government. Of course, people were asked to bring their horses forward, so that they might be examined, and those who were found suitable at the price, were purchased.

Mr. BERGERON. Where was Col. Kittson located ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. At Toronto.

Mr. SPROULE. It must have been Col. Kittson, then, who purchased ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Col. Kittson was the officer who organized the regiment at Toronto, and he purchased the horses there, he is responsible. In the North-west, Col. Herchmer was the officer.

Mr. SPROULE. I have been informed that from \$45 to \$65 was all that could be

Mr. INGRAM.

paid to the farmers for horses for which the government, it seems, are charged \$135. Some of them must have cost the government over \$135, and some below, because this is the average. There was no need of looking at horses while they could only pay for them \$45 to \$65. So it seems that some person has been making a little side haul out of it, otherwise they have been disseminating false information, which is not only detrimental to the country, but to the farmers.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I can only say that if the hon. gentleman will acquaint me with the name of any one who made a statement of that kind, I will be very glad indeed to have it. He had no authority from the government to make it.

Mr. SPROULE. I do not think the party had any authority directly from the government.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No, nor indirectly.

Mr. SPROULE. But he must have had from some authorized agent of the government, or otherwise he would not make a gratuitous statement not founded on fact. I made the statement in the House nearly a month ago that such was the case, and I made it within a few days of hearing the statement made to me that \$45 to \$65 was the highest amount the government would pay for horses. I said to this man : If you expect to get horses of the class that are required for this purpose for any such money, certainly you will not get them in Ontario, because no man in Ontario that has horses suitable for that purpose would sell them for anything like that money.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I can only say that authority was given to pay as high as \$150 ; there was no restriction whatever so far as the eastern provinces are concerned. The matter was under the control of the general commanding officer, and specially under the control of Col. Kittson, an honourable officer, who was assisted by Mr. Hall, of Toronto, the permanent force veterinarian, who, I believe, is a thoroughly honest and respectable man. They have been assisted by an officer of the permanent force, Capt. Pierce, of Toronto, who is now in South Africa, and who, I believe, is a thoroughly honourable gentleman. These were the men who had absolute control of the purchase of horses, without any restriction whatever except that they were not to go beyond the maximum of \$150. The hon. gentleman says he made this statement in the House before ; I could not have been here, for I did not hear it. If there has been anything of the kind suggested or rightly inferred in the remarks that he has made, I would like very much to be placed in possession

of a little more detailed information, so that I can pursue the matter, and I promise I will do it to the fullest extent. I cannot believe that my hon. friend's information is correct, unless he says he knows it himself.

Mr. SPROULE. I say the statement was made to myself. I understood the government were paying up to \$140 and \$150, and I was asked to give information to several parties who wished to bring their horses out, but this party made the statement to me that they could not go above \$45 to \$65. Then, following that I noticed in one of the Toronto papers, a statement that the horses could not be got in Canada, that there was not a supply of the right quality, and the purchasers were obliged to go to the United States or elsewhere. Well, I said, if these are the prices that are being paid, I do not wonder that they cannot get the horses, because you cannot pick up horses of that quality for anything like that money. But when I had that statement from the party who was buying on the market at the time—not an agent of the government, because I do not think he was, but he was buying them for that purpose—when I had that statement from him, and when I saw the other statement in the Toronto paper, that the supply of horses could not be got in Canada, I thought it was a great injustice to the farmers of Canada, because many horses in our section of the country worth \$150 could be found. But our farmers would never pretend to bring out horses of this quality and sell them for \$45 to \$60.

Mr. DAVIN. Could the minister tell us where the horses have been bought?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Every horse has been bought in Canada, they are all Canadian horses.

Mr. OLIVER. I would like to ask the minister if the rate of pay set down in the schedule placed before the House, of 75 cents a day for mounted men, is the rate that is being paid the whole body of mounted police?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That is the North-west mounted police rate.

Mr. OLIVER. It says here that each man of the mounted rifles gets 75 cents a day. I want to know if they get 75 cents a day now, and will they get 75 cents a day?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. With reference to the local purchase of horses, it has been stated publicly, that although they were purchased in Canada, a number of them were brought out from Montana.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That may refer to Lord Strath-

cona's horses, with which we have nothing to do.

Mr. BERGERON. Do I understand that all the horses bought in eastern Canada were bought through Col. Kittson, and at Toronto?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No.

Mr. BERGERON. That would explain the question asked by the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Sproule). Col. Kittson could not be everywhere, somebody must have brought horses to him from the different provinces. I understand some were bought in Quebec and some in the maritime provinces. Did their owners go up to Toronto to see Col. Kittson, or did he go down himself to buy the horses?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. At Montreal, the purchase of horses was under the direction of the district officer commanding there, I think his name is Gordon, and a number of officers under him; the same at Halifax and St. John. But by far the largest number of horses were purchased under Col. Kittson. Of course, a certain number were purchased at other points, but they were all purchased under the direction of Col. Kittson, and other officers of the Militia Department.

Mr. BERGERON. So it might happen without the knowledge of the government that what the member for Grey complained of was true, that some horses were bought for \$65 for which the government paid \$150?

Mr. RUTHERFORD. The statement of the member for Grey is easily explained. Some private individual, wishing to speculate in horses, went into his neighbourhood and offered to buy a certain number at \$40 to \$65, with the intention of taking them to Toronto, and take his chances of selling them to the government. It was purely a matter of private speculation.

Mr. SPROULE. That is not what I wanted to get at. Either there was information given to the public that horses were wanted at the city of Toronto, or there was not. Now, if proper information had been given in the way of an advertisement, you could have attracted there hundreds and hundreds of horses of that quality, direct from the owners. But if there was no information given, except an order to some of the militia authorities of Toronto, and they went around amongst a few of their own friends and picked them up, I do not wonder they are charged at the prices we see to-day, and yet the farmers only get the small price for them that I have stated. It was for the purpose of bringing out that information that I asked the question the other day. I also wish to know if the hon. minister will tell us how

many horses were picked at Toronto, and if there were any advertisements put in the papers that these horses were wanted and would be purchased if brought in there?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I do not know how many horses were purchased there; I cannot tell the hon. gentleman now, as I do not remember. The largest number were purchased in the neighbourhood of Toronto. In regard to advertisements, I think I have said, two or three times, that the Militia Order calling for horses was published in all the newspapers. I am not aware that the government put any advertisements in the newspapers. But I am told that parties, who are dealing in horses, advertised for horses to be brought to certain points on their own responsibility, and that they brought those horses to Toronto, or that the members of the board inspected the horses at some point outside of Toronto.

Mr. SPROULE. I can hardly believe that these advertisements could be very numerous, or that they were published very widely, because we live in a country up there where the public are a reading public, the people take the papers; certainly, I never saw such an advertisement, and I am quite sure that hundreds—I might say thousands of people were about the same.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I saw, myself, the statements in the *Globe* and the *Mail and Empire* that horses were being purchased for the South African contingent, and I saw the words of the militia general order copied into these papers.

Mr. INGRAM. Would the hon. minister say whether the name of the person from whom they bought each horse was kept by the department, and the amount paid for each horse?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The amount paid for each one?

Mr. INGRAM. Was there any record kept of the name and the amount paid for each one?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I think so.

Mr. INGRAM. I suppose that return can be brought down to this House.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes, certainly.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. In Manitoba the advertisement calling for these horses was published in the daily papers for weeks; it was known within the time, and every one had an opportunity of seeing it.

Mr. SPROULE. I saw a kind of advertisement saying that the government wanted a certain class of horse, a horse be-

Mr. SPROULE.

tween 15½ and 16 hands high, which would weigh between 1,150 and 1,250 pounds, but it did not give the information that if the horses were brought to any particular place there would be an individual at that place to inspect and purchase them. Following that a short time, there was another item saying that the class of horses required could not be got in Canada, or that very few of them could be got in Canada, and that they were very scarce.

Mr. ROCHE. Mr. Chairman, a few days ago I had a question on the Order paper in which I asked the Minister of Militia how many saddles they had ordered, from whom were they purchased, were they bought by tender and were they purchased in Canada. The hon. Minister of Militia and Defence replied that 300 saddles had been purchased from Adams Brothers of Toronto, and that they were made in Canada. I had information to the effect that other saddles were ordered, and I put another question on the paper as to how many saddles were ordered by the Militia Department for either the Canadian government or the Imperial government, or for Lord Strathcona, to which I received much the same reply, that 300 saddles, costing \$37.50 each had been purchased from Adams Brothers, of Toronto. Is it not a fact that 2,000, or more, saddles were ordered by the War Department, or the Imperial government, through the Militia Department? I am informed that such is the case.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Saddles have been ordered for the Imperial government through the government of Canada, and have been purchased from several firms in Canada. One firm in the North-west Territories got an order, repurchased saddles from the United States, and very nearly destroyed the business which this government had been able to secure for manufacturers in Canada, by sending to Great Britain as Canadian saddles, saddles which had been purchased in the United States. We were unaware of the fact until we heard of it from the War Office, when an explanation was asked from the War Office why we sent American saddles as if they were Canadian saddles. Inquiry was made into the matter and it was ascertained that this purchase in the United States was made. I do not know that I should name the firm.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Name, name.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The question asked by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Roche) the other day, I do not think is a question that we are called upon to answer here. The public of Canada is at no expense for saddles purchased, either for Lord Strathcona or the Imperial government. The Imperial government has asked this government to purchase a great

many supplies of different kinds for use in South Africa. The government is very glad to do it, and Canadian manufacturers get the benefit of it. But I do not know that it is the business of this House, or any one in it, to ask questions as to what Lord Strathcona paid for his saddles, or as to what the Imperial government paid for its saddles, provided this government is at no expense in the matter.

Mr. ROCHE. I would like to tell the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence that if he thinks no member of this House had a right to ask this question, he, most assuredly, had no right to give an incorrect reply. He did not give the reply he has given here to-day. On the contrary, his reply was that 300 saddles had been purchased. His statement to-day is a direct contradiction of the facts.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Not at all. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Roche) has no right to make such a statement, and I am sure he does not wish to misrepresent me. I was not here the other day, and I did not read the answer myself, but I prepared it. The answer simply referred to saddles purchased by the government.

Mr. ROCHE. No.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes; the rest of the question was not answered. The hon. gentleman's question referred to three different branches, and a reply was given to the first only. I do not know whether my hon. friend, who gave the answer, explained that the latter parts of the question could not be answered or not, but it was my intention to have so stated, and it was clear from the answer that the answer only applied to that portion of the question as to the purchase of saddles for Canada.

Mr. ROCHE. It is only right that I should give the hon. minister the information I have in my possession, and upon which I based these questions. I am not going to vouch for the accuracy of this, although it comes from a very reliable source. I have no objection to giving the hon. minister the name of the company from whom it comes—the Great West Saddle Company of Winnipeg. This is what the writer says:

I might say with regard to the saddle contract with the government that I certainly feel very much disappointed in the way they used me. I was the party, who, in the early stage of the war drew the British government's attention to Canada for war supplies in the saddlery line. I wrote a letter to Lord Strathcona and sent him my catalogues, etc., and asked him to put me in touch with the war department. Later on, I received a letter saying that the Imperial government had sent me on an order for about 2,000 cavalry United States standard pattern saddles but that it had been sent through the

Minister of Militia at Ottawa. In due course, I received a telegram from the Minister of Militia asking me on how short a time I could furnish 1,000 saddles to be delivered in Southampton, to which I replied that I could do so in forty days, but I was informed that they would have to be delivered in thirty-five days that would give us about two weeks to produce the goods and about three weeks to get them there, they holding the order back nearly a week on me which resulted in our only undertaking to deliver 500 saddles, which we delivered on time, although it required a great effort on our part to accomplish it. When you consider that none of these military goods are kept in stock either in the United States or in Canada and everything had to be made out of raw material. However, after receiving notice of the order for 2,000 saddles I certainly expected that if there was an extension of time that I would be able to go back to Ottawa and get the balance of the order sent to me. On my arrival I found that the balance had been given away to political friends of the government. Some of it had been given to French houses in Quebec who never saw a military saddle or equipment before and did not know anything about what was necessary along that line. I am informed that the material that they are produced of is anything but satisfactory and that it will be dangerous and may be fatal to the British army if put in the field. While in our case the inspectors have reported to the government that everything we produced was equal and in most cases superior to the government sealed patterns. They, of course, raise some objections to us giving part of the contract to the United States, but on account of none of the goods being produced in Canada it was impossible to get them in Canada especially on such a short notice, and as time was the essence of the contract we had to sub-let part of it in order to be in time, although I had all arrangements made to produce the balance of the contract in my own factory here. However, I find that the political friends to whom they gave the balance of the contract, although they had ample time to produce the goods they had so much business to do that they have sub-let a portion of their order in the United States. This would especially apply to the contract let in Toronto. I was in Chicago on my way home and was told there that Adams Bros. of Toronto had so many orders and were so busy that they had Kipper & Son, of Chicago, Ortmayer & Son, of Chicago, Lanz, Owen & Co., of Chicago, and Perkins, Campbell & Co., of Cincinnati, working on their order so that if the question ever comes up you can name the parties who had the contract from Adams Bros., of Toronto, although they had ample time to manufacture the goods in Canada providing they did not get more than their share of what was going. We could easily have made 500 saddles here in our own premises in place of having them going to the States had we not been robbed of our contract and time been given us to make them as it was given to the Toronto people. The Toronto people, I presume, did what they could, but they had the run of the whole of the orders, and they took what they could manufacture themselves and all they could sub-let in the United States.

That is the information I received, and upon which I placed these questions upon the Order paper.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

1. What number of saddles have been purchased

by the government either for the Canadian government, for the British government, or for Lord Strathcona, since July 1, 1899 ?

2. From whom were they purchased ?

3. What were the prices paid ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. (Mr. Borden). 1. 300 regimental cavalry saddles for Canadian government. 2. Adams Bros. 3. \$37.50.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

1. How many saddles have been purchased or contracted for by the Militia Department since July 1, 1899 ? 2. From whom were they purchased or contracted for ? 3. Were they, or are they, being made in Canada ? 4. Were they purchased or contracted for by tender ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA (Mr. Borden). The answers to the hon. gentleman's questions are as follows : 1. 300. 2. Adams Bros., Toronto. 3. Yes. 4. Yes.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That answered that part of the question.

Mr. ROCHE. There was a portion of the question which the minister did not reply to, and it is because of the insufficiency of the reply that I brought the matter up to-day to find out how many saddles were purchased for the Imperial government. I would like to hear the defence of the Minister of Militia against these charges, which as I say I know nothing about except through this correspondence.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I have already stated that an order was given to a firm in Canada for saddles for the British government. The firm by whom the letter was written which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Roche) has read, was given an order in good faith for 500 saddles, to be finished and forwarded within a certain time. That firm undertook to deliver these saddles, Canadian made, within the time. Well, not a single one of these saddles, I am informed, was made in Canada. That firm went across to three different cities in the United States and purchased every single saddle, and these saddles were sent forward, as we believe, as Canadian saddles. We were taken very severely to task by the War Office some time afterwards, because we had appeared to be a party to an imposition played upon that office. I do not think that any one would be very much surprised if the Department of Militia did not feel justified in continuing to give orders to a firm of that kind.

Mr. PUTTEE. I would like to ask the Minister of Militia to tell us plainly, if it is the Great West Saddlery Company that is referred to in this matter, of which E. F. Hutchings is president ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. PUTTEE. If that be so, I would state that it is the largest saddlery firm in

Mr. ROCHE.

the west, and has its headquarters at Winnipeg. They have ample accommodation there for making all these saddles, but we know in Winnipeg that when they got this order from the government, they immediately sent across the border to Chicago and St. Louis to purchase these saddles which were to be used by the British troops in South Africa. At the present time that firm has all its employees locked out, claiming that stoppage was necessary on account of overstock. Fancy that firm coming to this government and asking for favours, and asking for a chance of supplying the goods, and at the same time locking out their unfortunate employees in the city of Winnipeg, in the middle of winter. I am glad to hear the explanation that it is that firm, because I do not think they are entitled to any sympathy from this House.

Mr. TAYLOR. No wonder Canadians are locked out when this government has jobbed out the work that the Great Northwest Saddlery Company could have done in this country. The supply of these saddles was jobbed out to Adams & Co. of Toronto, who is having them all built now in Chicago. I know something about it, and I can tell the Minister of Militia some facts in reference to it. I say that Mr. Hutchings, who is the president of this company, was the first to address a letter to Lord Strathcona, and he has a letter from Lord Strathcona saying that an order has been sent to the Minister of Militia of Canada asking them to purchase 2,000 saddles from him.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. There is no such order.

Mr. TAYLOR. He has Lord Strathcona's letter for it.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I cannot help that. We know what we have got.

Mr. TAYLOR. Here is what he says in his letter :

I wrote a letter to Lord Strathcona and sent him my catalogues, etc., and asked him to put me in touch with the War Department. Later on, I received a letter saying that the Imperial government had sent me on an order for about 2,000 cavalry United States standard pattern saddles, but that it had been sent through the Minister of Militia at Ottawa.

There is the order from the British government to the Canadian government.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that Lord Strathcona wrote to the gentleman named, to say that we had been instructed to order from his firm ?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is what he says Lord Strathcona wrote him.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That is not what he says there. Read it again and you will see your mistake.

Mr. TAYLOR (reading) :

Later on, I received a letter saying that the Imperial government had sent me on an order for about 2,000 cavalry United States standard pattern saddles, but that it had been sent through the Minister of Militia at Ottawa.

I say that I am right, and that this government telegraphed him to come down and take the contract.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I can tell the hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor) that we were not restricted to order from anybody. But we offered them 1,000 saddles and they declined, but said they would make 500, and then they bought the 500 in the United States.

Mr. TAYLOR. To set this point at rest, let the minister bring down the correspondence between the government and Lord Strathcona, and if he does not we will have to move for it. I take as much stock in Mr. Hutchings' statement as I take in the statement of any man in Manitoba or outside of it. Mr. Hutchings had only two weeks. The government gave instructions to purchase from him, but they limited him to that time.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The limit was fixed by the Imperial government.

Mr. TAYLOR. He could not make 500 saddles in two weeks, but he made as many as he could in his own establishment, and he purchased the balance in the United States. Adams Bros., who got the order for the 1,500, had them made in these three houses in Chicago, and one in Cincinnati, and the government is accepting them. I want to draw the minister's attention to another matter. He has bought 14 light spring wagons, at \$180 each. I want to know if these were purchased by tender, and who built them, because it is possible to get an excellent spring wagon in this country for \$60.

Mr. DOBELL. I should like to say one word in defence of the saddles made in the province of Quebec. I learn that they were the very best saddles made, and superior to the standard required. I do not know where the hon. gentleman got the information to lead him to say that they were very inferior. The first 500 were made in the province of Quebec, and I understand that another 500 are being made there.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Where were they made ?

Mr. DOBELL. In Montreal.

Mr. BERGERON. By what firm ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The firm of Hector Lamontagne & Co. The hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Roche), made a sneering remark that the saddles were made by a French firm. I do not know what the political complexion of Lamontagne & Co. is. My impression is that they are Conservatives. At any rate, I know that the leading man of the firm, Mr. Laurendeau, is a Conservative, and I have it from the department, that the saddles are the best saddles that have been made.

Mr. ROCHE. I would like to ask the hon. minister, if Mr. Adams, the late Liberal M. P. for Brandon, is a member of this Toronto firm ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I am not aware.

Mr. ROCHE. Well, he is.

Mr. PUTTEE. I wish to say, in answer to my hon. friend (Mr. Taylor), that I do not mean to say that the Winnipeg firm put those men out, because they had not work for them, because I believe the fact is otherwise. I believe they were locked out, because they assert the right, which I believe this government should reserve to any Canadian citizen, to belong to any organization he chooses. That was the reason they were locked out, and not because of any overstocking. I want to ask the minister, if Mr. Hutchings' Company made a single saddle, or, if they did not get 250 from Chicago, and 250 from St. Louis, and only supplied 500 to the Imperial government ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I am informed that the saddles were purchased in St. Louis and Chicago.

Mr. TAYLOR. How many in each case ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I do not know.

Mr. TAYLOR. The department ought to know, and my hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Puttee), will not say that Mr. Hutchings will write what is not true, and he writes here that he did make a large quantity of the 500, and purchased the balance.

Mr. GIBSON. How many did he make ?

Mr. TAYLOR. He does not say how many. He made all he could.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Maybe that is none.

Mr. TAYLOR. And he says that he could have made the other 1,500, made by Adams & Company, in the time given to them, but that he was limited to two weeks.

Mr. DOMVILLE. He could get them made in Chicago.

Mr. TAYLOR. Adams is getting them made in Chicago, and I will tell the minister another thing. Had this Winnipeg concern been given the contract, no doubt those

workmen would have been at work, no matter what the wages were. I would like to know whether the wagons were purchased by tender or not, and from whom they were purchased?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Before we come to the wagons, I wish to ask what length of time intervened between the receipt of the order from the Imperial government, and the communication the hon. minister sent to the manufacturers?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I telegraphed the same day.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Can the hon. minister inform me what length of time was given to manufacture the number required?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The time given by the Imperial government, whatever that was.

Mr. INGRAM. Did the department limit the Winnipeg firm to any particular time?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I did not see the orders, but I understand that the time was fixed by the Imperial government. The time was short, and the department communicated by telegraph with the firm referred to, and other firms, and no firm in Canada would undertake the contract. They were fair enough to say that it was impossible to do the work in the time. This Winnipeg firm undertook to do it, but failed to do it, and bought the saddles in the United States, without consulting us.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the hon. minister tell us the names of the manufacturers who were communicated with?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Lamontagne & Company, Borbridge in Ottawa, Adams Brothers, in Toronto, and the Winnipeg firm—four firms in all, I think.

Mr. MONTAGUE. There are other firms who would undertake this work.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. What firms are they?

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman, being a newspaper man, would know where saddles are bought. Being a medical man, I do not know. Was an extension of time granted by the Imperial government for the delivery of these goods?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Was that communicated to the different companies?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes, up to the time we discovered that the British government had been imposed upon, and since then we have not offered any more orders to that firm.

Mr. TAYLOR.

Mr. MONTAGUE. We are told that Adams Brothers are getting the saddles manufactured in Chicago.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I am not aware of that.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the hon. minister tell me how he became aware that the goods supplied by the Winnipeg firm, were made in the United States?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. We were so informed by the Imperial government, and then we ascertained from the firm, that they had purchased the saddles there.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Were instructions given to that firm that these saddles were to be manufactured in Canada.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. We supposed that we were buying Canadian saddles. When we found that they had been manufactured in the United States, we never gave that firm another order.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Does the hon. gentleman know whether the saddles supplied by Adams Brothers, have been inspected as to their nationality?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I suppose they have.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The Canadian government, having been rapped over the knuckles with regard to the Winnipeg men, surely they would see whether the saddles of the Toronto firm were made in Canada.

Mr. BRITTON. Perhaps it was a slip.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Perhaps the hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton) is wiser than the rest of us, and it may not have been a slip. Or it may have been a deliberate slip to befriend somebody. Can the hon. minister say if any inquiry has been made to ascertain whether these saddles are being manufactured now in Canada or Chicago?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. We have no reason to believe that they are not made in Canada. They were inspected at the factory in which they were made.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The others were inspected too?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Where?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. In New York,

Mr. MONTAGUE. And these are inspected during the process of making?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Well, immediately after they were made at the factory.

Mr. OLIVER. I do not wish that there should be any misunderstanding about this pay of 75 cents per day for the mounted men. I hold here the militia order for the formation of the Strathcona contingent, dated 1st February. It gives the pay of a private, according to length of service, 50 cents to 75 cents. In the statement before us, it is 75 cents.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. My notion of what should be done, and is being done, is this. The North-west mounted police rates of pay are the rates adopted because they are the highest. A North-west mounted policeman, when enrolled, gets 50 cents per day, and for every year of service he gets five cents additional. So that at the end of five years, he gets 75 cents. A good many men, who have served five years, were enrolled, and these men will receive the whole 75 cents, but it was not intended that a man who had not served the five years should receive 75 cents.

Mr. OLIVER. I certainly understood, when this statement was put in my hands, that the Canadian mounted rifles were to get 75 cents per day. But if some of them are only to get 50 cents per day, I wish to enter my protest. A civilian who has left his ordinary occupation by reason of his loyalty, sacrifices a great deal more than does a mounted policeman, and should get the same pay. The distinction is most invidious and uncalled for. A man who comes in as an expert mounted man from the western country, is certainly worth more pay by reason of the knowledge he has acquired, and which cannot be had for money in any other part of the country or in any other circumstances. You enlist these men as mounted rifles in the west because they are as good as the mounted policemen. They are good rifle shots, good riders and able to find their way about the country. They are possibly better men than the mounted police. It is a most invidious and improper distinction, to pay one man who has made a greater sacrifice and is possibly a better man, 50 cents per day, and pay the other 75 cents. I wish to enter my solemn protest against this distinction.

Mr. DAVIN. Do I understand that in the case of the second contingent, the cowboy will only get 50 cents, whereas the man from the mounted police will get 75 cents?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Not unless he has had five years' service.

Mr. DAVIN. Then, some mounted policemen will get 75 cents, and others who have not completed their five years will get less, but in no case will a civilian get more than 50 cents?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes.

Mr. DAVIN. I think that is most unjust and should be reconsidered. If you talk with Col. Steele, who is here now, he will tell you that if there is any difference for scouting purposes on the veldt, between a mounted policeman and a well-seasoned man off the range, it will be in favour of the experienced cow-boy. Any number of policemen in the west will tell you the same. Conversing one day with Col. Herchmer about that second contingent, he told me that positively the best man was the man off the range. It is not just or desirable that this distinction should be made.

Mr. BERGERON. Before we leave this subject, I wish to call the attention of the committee to another question, and that is the question of the blankets, and that may throw some light on the saddles. *Le Soleil* said, when its editor got converted to the idea of sending a contingent, that it would be a very good thing for Canada, because people would sell hay and provisions and make money out of the poor fellows who are going to shed their blood in South Africa. And if we will go into the details, we will find that the friends of the government got their share, and that is why no tenders were invited. We have an example of this in the horse business, when the government paid at the rate of \$150 per horse, which some of their friends got for \$50 to \$60, and made the difference.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that the government had agents and that somebody, some friends of the government, in connection with the purchase of horses, and with the connivance or knowledge of the government, made a sum per horse?

Mr. BERGERON. I did not say that at all. I give the hon. gentleman credit for too much intelligence to charge him with doing anything of the kind in such a way, but I say that when it was advertised that some horses were wanted, and the government would pay as much as \$150, without the knowledge or connivance of my hon. friend, a man might buy a horse for \$60 or \$70 and sell it for \$150.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The whole world knew it. No people were selected. It was published in every newspaper in every city in the country.

Mr. BERGERON. But I want only to show the loose way in which it was done. When it was known that the government would pay \$150, there was nothing to prevent a man buying a horse for \$60 or \$70 and going to Col. Kittson and selling it for \$150, without my hon. friend (Mr. Borden) knowing anything about it. But Lord

Strathcona does not buy his horses that way. He is not a government. He took one man, as I understand it, Dr. McEachren, and charged him with the buying of the horses; and if I am correctly informed, these horses cost between \$70 and \$80, and they are good horses for the purpose.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The horses we purchased in the North-west cost us, on the average, \$87.

Mr. BERGERON. Lord Strathcona's agent bought them where he could get them at the same price throughout the North-west. Now, we have had the horses and the saddles spoken of, and my hon. friend has been obliged to say that he was deceived by people with whom he had a contract for saddles and who had bought saddles from the United States, and his attention was called to the fact by the War Office in England. Now, I wish to say a word or two about the blankets. I have asked two or three times in this House for information on this subject, and I must say that the members of the opposition, the representatives of the people on this side are not treated as they should be by the government. I have not been able to get proper information from the government on this subject. The last series of questions that I asked, I got this information: In answer to the question how many blankets were bought, I was told that the number was 4,400. I asked from whom they were bought, and I was told they were bought from W. C. Caldwell, M.P., from Lanark, 2,000—

An hon. MEMBER. A friend of the government.

Mr. BERGERON. My impression is that he must be, but I do not know. Then 2,000 were bought from Messrs. Garneau & Son of Quebec. These are friends of the government, and they are not manufacturers.

Mr. TALBOT. Are they a good firm?

Mr. BERGERON. Yes, they are a good firm. The Westport Woollen Company, of Westport, supplied 400 blankets. I do not know about these people. I have nothing to say against Mr. Caldwell or against Messrs. Garneau & Son. They may be very good men and may have given good value. But I want to say that if the government had called for tenders, if they had done for the public what they would have done for themselves, if they had done what a good respectable merchant would do, they could have bought these blankets at a cheaper price than they paid for them. I say that these blankets were made in factories that were not called upon to tender. Half of them, if not more, were made in the woollen mills of Beauharnois. But were those

Mr. BERGERON.

manufacturers called upon to tender? No. Friends of the government were called upon—two or three firms, probably—and a contract was made with them; then these contractors went to the manufacturers, got the goods, and made money out of the transaction, and the people of the country are called upon to pay for them. An answer from my hon. friend (Mr. Borden) on this question may throw some light on all the rest of these transactions in supplies. All this has been done through friends of the government for the benefit of friends of the government, and the country has been paying more than they would have paid if the government, in a proper way, had called for tenders from the manufacturers.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. My hon. friend (Mr. Bergeron) will be glad to know that we advertised, calling for tenders, for some weeks, and that we received tenders from a large number of manufacturers and others. We have had a good deal to do with supplies, and we require every man to send in a sample of what he proposes to furnish, with the price. We submitted these samples to our inspector without his knowing who the parties were who had tendered, and we accepted what they said were the best value for the money.

Mr. BERGERON. What are the names of the inspectors?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Mr. Robertson, of the Department of Militia, is one of the men, and he has several competent assistants.

Mr. BERGERON. Was any tender asked for from the woollen mills of Beauharnois, or was any received from them?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The call for tenders was advertised in the public press.

Mr. BERGERON. Well, will my hon. friend explain the difference in price paid for blankets for the two contingents. For the first contingent the price was \$1.40, and for the second \$1.60.

Mr. OLIVER. I would like to ask the minister if there is any provision for supplementing the pay of the Strathcona contingent when in South Africa, or in what position is that contingent to be?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. My hon. friend (Mr. Oliver) will understand that that is a matter with which we have absolutely nothing to do. All that the Militia Department is doing in that connection is to facilitate in every way we can the splendid work that Lord Strathcona is doing. He is defraying every cent of the expense, and the matter is entirely in his own hands; and I would be the last

one to suggest or dictate, unless he should ask my advice, what he should do for the men after they reach South Africa.

Mr. OLIVER. I would like to say that I look at the matter in a different light from the hon. minister. These men are citizens of this country, and about 160 of them are residents of the constituency I represent. They are volunteers who are going to South Africa for the credit of the country. I understand that Lord Strathcona's intention in the matter is that he pays a certain amount of the expenses of a Canadian contingent—which is entirely to the credit of Lord Strathcona. I am asking, for information, what amount are they to be paid after they get to South Africa? Has Lord Strathcona arranged to pay them the same scale as we have arranged to pay the members of the first and second contingents, or is he landing them in South Africa and turning them over to the Imperial government to get the Imperial rate of pay? I understand the hon. minister to say that these men are enlisted, that Lord Strathcona equips them—and he is doing it lavishly, highly to his credit—he transports them to South Africa and they then serve as a Canadian corps at Imperial rates of pay. If that is so they are, therefore, at a discount in the matter as compared with our other Canadian contingents. Now, I think that is entirely unfair. I think it puts Lord Strathcona in a very unfortunate position, and it puts the men who are serving on this corps in a very unfortunate position. I take the liberty of calling the attention of the House and the country to the desirability, if the House and the country are to do credit to themselves, of taking some measures to supplement the Imperial pay in the case of the Strathcona contingent, as in the case of the other contingents. Otherwise it would be putting Lord Strathcona in an improper position, one in which he would not desire to be placed, for it certainly would not reflect credit upon him to have the corps which bears his name and represents the expenditure of about a million dollars on his part, serving on any different conditions in this respect from the other Canadian contingents.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I am satisfied that Lord Strathcona would be the last one to suggest that the corps which was formed by him, and which bears his name, and for whom he has provided so liberally, should receive one copper from any other source. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Oliver) is fortunate enough to have 150 of his constituents in that corps, he is to be congratulated. They are lucky men, and the hon. gentleman may depend upon it that whatever is right and fair, aye, and generous and liberal, will be done by Lord Strathcona; and I think that it is not right for us to touch the question at all.

Mr. McNEILL. I am sure that what the hon. gentleman has just said is true, and that Lord Strathcona's corps will be treated in the most generous manner by him. However, I understood from the Minister of Militia and Defence a moment ago that the understanding was that Lord Strathcona was not to have done anything more than send them to South Africa.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I did not say that.

Mr. McNEILL. Then I misunderstood my hon. friend—and I think my hon. friend opposite also understood him in that sense. Now, I think I may venture to say, without being misinterpreted in any way, that I do think that in this matter of the pay of our troops in South Africa the government ought to be not only just but generous. I do not think that the government are really just with regard to the second contingent, and in saying this I do not wish to imply in any way that it is done deliberately. From what I have been able to gather in the course of the discussion, I take it that these men who have gone out from the range are at least as valuable as the men who have served in the mounted police even for five years; and if that be the case, I do think we ought to avoid anything like a cheeseparating policy in reference to the payment of the men who are taking their lives in their hands to uphold the honour of Canada and the integrity of the empire. I think the government ought to pay these men as much at least as the best paid men in the mounted police. I do not see upon what grounds any distinction should be made between them, if it be true, as is alleged upon evidence that has not been controverted, that these men are as valuable or more valuable than the mounted policemen are. They are volunteers without in any sense being professionals, and I think from that point of view they ought to have, if possible, even more generous treatment; and also because of the principle which the government themselves have laid down. They have laid down the principle that the permanent corps are not to receive as high a rate of pay as the volunteers; and if that be the case in regard to the infantry, I think it ought also to be the case with regard to these men. The right hon. gentleman seems rather to dissent. But that is the principle that has been laid down by his government, that the permanent corps, who are to a certain extent professionals, do not receive as high a rate of pay as the others, who are mere volunteers. Well, let that apply to this case also; these men should in that case receive even more than the mounted police; but they are receiving less for some reason, which at all events has not been explained to the committee. I will venture to refer once more to another matter, and that is to the pay that is being given to our volunteers who

went out in the first contingent. I do say once more, though it may be without avail, that for a great country like Canada to save 25 cents upon the pay of these men who are going out to fight our battles for us, is not worthy of us. I think these men who are going out to the front to fight ought to receive just as much from Canada as if they were serving Canada in our own country; and whatever the Imperial authorities may give them ought to go to them in addition. I do not think that we ought to save money out of this business in paying these boys of ours. A good deal has been said about the precedent. I am not afraid of the precedent at all, I think it is a good one. I think in a case of this kind we should be willing to pay our men to go to the front to fight our battles in a foreign country just as much as we would pay them if they were serving here in this country on any ordinary occasion. I am not afraid of that precedent. I think it is a very proper one, and one that I would again respectfully urge upon the consideration of my right hon. friend and of the government.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I dissented a moment ago from the assertion of my hon. friend, and he noted my dissent. My dissent was addressed to the statement he made that the man taken off the ranch is a better man than the mounted policeman. I do not accept that at all.

Mr. McNEILL. What I intended to say was that he was as good if not better.

The PRIME MINISTER. I would not even accept that; I do not think that a man off the ranch is as good as a mounted policeman, certainly not better, in my estimation, not so good, although I do not say this in any disparagement at all of the man from the ranch. The member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) stated that the man from the ranch had the advantage of having an educated eye, that he could see an object for a longer distance than the mounted policeman. I do not believe them. The man who has been in the mounted police for years, who has been accustomed to roam the prairie, must have his eye just as well trained as the ranchman. Moreover, the mounted police have a great advantage in having been subjected to discipline for years. He has the advantage of understanding military rules, he is a trained soldier already. He has been drilled and can go into battle immediately, he requires no further drill. These are advantages not to be despised, and in this respect I think the mounted policeman has all the qualities of a good soldier. He is a good rider, accustomed to the saddle, he has been accustomed to discipline, he has been accustomed to restraint; for years he has been patrolling the prairie, and has obtained an

Mr. McNEILL.

education which makes him a most valuable man, more valuable, in my opinion, than the ranchman. I do not say that in any disparagement at all of any other man; but if we are to make any distinction, although I do not like to make any, I think the advantage ought to be in favour of the mounted policeman.

Mr. McNEILL. Of course, the same argument would apply to the permanent force. The permanent force have greater perfection of drill than the ordinary volunteer would have; and on the same principle, the members of the permanent force ought to have the larger pay.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The permanent force receives certain allowances which the active militia do not receive. For instance, in the matter of clothing, the underclothing and a great many things are given to the permanent force; so that really the pay as compared with the pay of the active militia is fully more than 50 cents a day.

Mr. McNEILL. Does my hon. friend speak of the clothing of those men at the front? Are those at the front not equally treated in that respect?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Certainly, those who have now gone out.

Mr. McNEILL. Then my hon. friend's argument will apply in this case.

Mr. OLIVER. I am sorry to have to dissent from the the position taken by the Premier that the mounted policeman is necessarily superior for the purpose of a campaign in South Africa, to the ranchman. Speaking as an expert, and as one representing the largest portion of the mounted rifles who are going to South Africa, I am compelled to say, that the ranchman is certainly the more expert scout of the two. Where the policeman has the advantage in drill and discipline, the other man has the advantage in being probably the more expert rider, and the better man to find his way around the prairie. The advantages of the one are counterbalanced by the advantages of the other. Both combined make an excellent force; and it is an invidious and improper distinction to give the one man less pay than the other, particularly when you remember that all those who now enlist as civilians on the force, or a large number of them, are ex-policemen, who have served their time in the force, and who have all the drill and discipline, and who, I suppose, would naturally be required to enlist at the lower rate of pay. As to the remark of the hon. Minister of Finance, that the constituency which I represent, myself and the members of Strathcona's Horse, should be thankful for being under the unsolicited patronage of Lord Strathcona, we are prepared to accept to the full, all the conditions

that should be attached to it, but we want to know what the conditions are. Do we expect Lord Strathcona to supplement his magnificent gift of equipment and transport to South Africa, by a further gift towards the maintenance and pay of this force in South Africa? If we do, very good. I am perfectly satisfied that any promise given by Lord Strathcona, will be made good. But, so far as I know, there has been no suggestion, that, once these men are landed in South Africa, they are anything else but a Canadian contingent serving in the Canadian army. Our responsibilities commence where his cease, and as soon as they land in South Africa, if we discharge that responsibility by throwing the burden on Lord Strathcona, it will be unfair for us to do so.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE** (Mr. Fielding). My point was that we should not at present interfere in any way with the arrangements respecting the pay of the force organized by Lord Strathcona. It would be a mistake for us to assume that he has any intention of doing otherwise than what is just, and fair, and liberal, and handsome. If it should turn out that there is anything else expected of us, we will have time to consider the matter. It may be necessary, but, my judgment is, that Lord Strathcona would not be pleased, at the present time, to have any hon. member raise that question.

It being six o'clock, the committee took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

IN COMMITTEE.

Bill (No. 41), respecting the River St Clair Railway Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Montague.)

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 44), Respecting the Canada Southern Bridge Company.—(Mr. Ingram.)

Bill (No. 46), respecting the Canada and Michigan Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Cowan.)

LA BANQUE JACQUES CARTIER.

Mr. BRODEUR moved second reading of Bill (No. 67) respecting La Banque Jacques Cartier, and to change its name to Banque Provinciale du Canada.

Mr. HENDERSON. This seems to me to be a very extraordinary name for this bank, and I would like an explanation of it.

Mr. BRODEUR. The Bill simply proposes to change the name of the bank. The idea of the Bill is to strengthen the bank, which has had some misfortunes, and those interested think it is well the name should be changed.

Mr. HENDERSON. My idea was to get the literal translation of the new name into English.

Mr. BRODEUR. The translation would be 'The Provincial Bank of Canada.'

Mr. HENDERSON. That seems to be a peculiar name.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 51) to incorporate the Holiness Movement (or Church) in Canada.—(Mr. Belcourt.)

Bill (No. 52) to incorporate the Morris and Portage Railway Company.—(Mr. Macdonnell.)

Bill (No. 54) respecting the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company, and to change its name to 'The Mutual Life Assurance Company of Canada.'—(Mr. Britton.)

Bill (No. 65) to incorporate the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway Company.—(Mr. Costigan.)

Bill (No. 68) respecting the Nickel Steel Company of Canada.—(Mr. MacPherson.)

Bill (No. 69) to incorporate the Kettle River Valley Railway Company.—(Mr. Bosstock.)

Bill (No. 70) to incorporate the Gaspé Short Line Railway Company.—(Mr. Lemieux.)

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

(In the Committee.)

On section 3,

Mr. WALLACE. At a previous stage, I made some objection to the latter part of this clause, which provides that:

The amount which would be payable to each such officer, non-commissioned officer or man to be placed to his credit and to be applied in such manner as the Governor in council determines for the benefit of those dependent on him, or, if not so applied, to be paid to him or his representatives at the close of his period of service.

I cannot understand why a volunteer, like any other man earning money, should not have the disposal of it himself. But, according to this, the government are to ascertain whether he has some one dependent upon him; and if so, they are to determine to what extent they will interfere with his liberty as to the control and management of his own money. That is a task which I apprehend the government are not fitted to assume. Here are volunteers from every portion of this Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and what facilities have the Department of Militia or the government for ascertaining the personal circumstances of every one of the 2,500 members of these

corps? The government surely cannot pretend to undertake a task so much out of their reach. They would have to make all sorts of inquiries about every man, whether married or not. I think, in the first place the volunteer will ordinarily resent such interference in his affairs, and in the next place, the government cannot accomplish what they undertake to do. Moreover, there is a great patriotic fund being raised to assist every member of a family belonging to a volunteer who needs assistance. I am informed that to-day assistance is being freely and readily granted by a committee which has made inquiries into those cases where assistance is necessary. They do not inquire into the case of every one of the 2,500, because that would be an impossible task for them as for the government; but the cases which are brought to their notice, which may be 5 per cent or 10 per cent, or not more than 2 per cent of the whole, are investigated, and the result is that the dependents of the soldiers who have gone away will not be left in want. That work is being well done. I presume, by those who have the control and management of this large patriotic fund, which it is said will amount to \$250,000, and which has already reached about \$160,000. I think, therefore, this division of the Bill is objectionable, in the first place, because it interferes with the freedom of one who is entitled to the money for the services he has rendered; and, in the second place, because the government are assuming a task which they cannot properly perform. Then, subsection (b) says:

The payment of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men composing the said contingents up to the time of such debarkation, at the rates authorized by the regulations and orders of the Department of Militia and Defence.

I think it was mentioned this afternoon by the hon. member for Halifax that the government should state specifically in the Bill the exact amount, so that there would be no misunderstanding at any later stage of the proceedings.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) suggested two forms in which it might be done—one by being expressed in the Bill, and the other by being expressed in the regulation before the House, so that the House might know what was intended. The latter was the intention of the Bill, but the amended regulation has not been laid on the Table. We intend to leave the Bill in committee, so that we may place the regulation on the Table before passing the Bill.

With regard to the difference in pay, in the first place we had some reason for believing that the payment of a separate rate to our Canadian soldiers over that paid to British soldiers might cause some embarrassment, and we did not think the Imperial

authorities would be pleased to have us pay our men a higher rate than the British soldiers were receiving who were fighting with them side by side. Nevertheless, as we desired to make provision for paying the larger sum, we adopted the policy of placing this money to the credit of the soldiers, to be accumulated during their absence, and applied for their benefit. We assume, so far as the needs of the soldiers are concerned, that they will be met in a liberal way under the regulations of the British government applying to troops in the field, and that, therefore, no injustice could result from our carrying out the wish of the Imperial government not to pay the men, but to place the amount to their credit, so that they would ultimately get the benefit of it. Then the question arose that perhaps these men left wives or other dependents in Canada who, although to some extent provided for by the separation allowance, would need this money. We provided that in such a case this money might be taken from the fund and applied to the benefit of the families of these men.

We do not anticipate that much will be paid under that provision, but that practically the money will accumulate for the benefit of the soldier and be paid to him on his return, or to his legal representatives should he fall in the field.

Mr. WALLACE. That may be a proper idea, and I do not object to it so much, but I may say that I have read letters in the public press stating that everything was wonderfully dear out in Africa, that the soldiers had to pay high prices for any little luxuries, and it might be that it would be necessary for them to have more money.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Why more necessary for them than for the British soldiers?

Mr. WALLACE. Because a British soldier may be accustomed to live in a more economical way, his pay, of course, being only a shilling a day. And if our soldiers should prefer to have the money and use it in buying little luxuries, which otherwise they might be precluded from having, I do not see why it could not be paid them. I suppose that a large portion of those men have money of their own and are spending it in South Africa. We are told that when they arrived at Cape Town they gave themselves little spreads and were taken for millionaires; and it is possible these boys may desire to have a little money to spend as they go along. They are not going out to make money, and do not desire to come back with their pockets full of money accumulated from their savings.

But the Bill does not carry out just the idea that the hon. Minister of Finance has given. He said that if cases came under the notice of the government of dependents of these soldiers who required assistance,

the government would take his money and spend it on them. But the Bill goes further and places an obligation more widespread in its character upon the government. What does it say?

The amount which will be payable to each such officer, non-commissioned officer or man to be placed to his credit and to be applied in such manner as the Governor in Council determines for the benefit of those dependent on him, or if not so applied to be paid to him or his representatives at the close of his period of service.

As the Governor in Council determines.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. In the case of their dependents.

Mr. WALLACE. They must make inquiries, if they assume the obligation to do this. They cannot do it without making an investigation into the circumstances of these 2,500 men, which would be a task quite impossible. If the Bill said that any soldier who wished his pay to be given to his wife or mother or anybody else dependent on him, the government would undertake that duty, that might be a judicious proviso.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The case might arise in which a soldier would not have an opportunity of giving such instructions. Supposing a case were brought to the notice of the government in which there was need of further assistance, we have this money, which we can use, and if we had to wait for instructions from a soldier in Africa we would not be able to make use of it. This, of course, would be an exceptional case, because provision is made to some extent for those dependent on the soldiers.

Mr. WOOD. In almost every centre a fund is being raised to provide for the dependents of the soldiers who have gone to the field, and the government have also created a fund for this same purpose. And, therefore, to keep the pay of these soldiers until they return, if they do return, is a wise precaution, I think, on the part of the government. The various centres will take care that those dependent upon them have all necessaries to keep them in the absence of their bread-winners. So, the course the government are pursuing is best in the interest of the soldiers.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Referring to a remark of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), I desire to say but a word. That hon. gentleman stated—and he is absolutely correct—that in the British army it is looked upon as very injurious that there should be any difference in pay. I can well understand that the British authorities might have said: Canada can be as generous as she wishes to be to her men, but we have a rule that applies to the whole British army, and we want all men paid alike. But if that applies in this case it should apply

to what we were discussing this afternoon, section (b). Canada should pay every Canadian exactly the same rate of pay—according to rank, of course, which is always understood. I do not believe in paying 75 cents to one class of men and 50 cents to another. I do not for a moment pretend to be a military expert, but I believe that one of the most disheartening things in any service is that one man should receive more pay than another. They are comrades on the field of battle, they are fighting the same battle under the same flag; and if one man were made to feel that because he wears a brown uniform or because he wears a blue uniform he is getting even 10 cents more than another man, it unsettles the very foundations of discipline.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Do I understand the hon. gentleman (Sir Adolphe Caron)—I wish only to understand him—to say that, regardless of the different branches of the service, there must be uniform pay, whether infantry, cavalry or artillery?

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. No, I made a distinction.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. You made the distinction as between officers and men.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. No one who understands the British service will contend that all branches are paid the same. There are the scientific corps, the engineers, the artillery, the cavalry, the infantry—these branches are treated differently so far as pay is concerned; but the pay of every man in these different branches of the service is absolutely the same.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. The hon. gentleman is aware, also, that men who have served a certain number of years get extra pay. And if I am not mistaken—the hon. gentleman will correct me if I am wrong, because as ex-Minister of Militia he is acquainted with these matters—certain corps, for instance, the Guards, receive higher pay than other foot soldiers.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. No; I do not believe there is any distinction in the regular pay.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I think the Guards get more, but I will not contradict the hon. gentleman.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I am open to conviction, of course; I am speaking from memory, and I have long forgotten what I learned in the days when I was at the head of the militia. However, I have not failed in the interest I take in these matters. I was saying that I do not believe that any distinction should be made. I have already stated to-day, and I repeat it, that the British soldier has about four pence

per day to spend out of the shilling that is granted to him as pay. I would not be positive, and I am open to conviction on that point, but I believe that during the period of war, the nation looks after the soldier's supplies without drawing upon his pay.

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE**. There is no deduction in time of war.

Sir **ADOLPHE CARON**. I am quite prepared to admit that. You are sending out from Canada such men as the members of the mounted police. I am prepared to give my testimony to the value and worth of the mounted police. In 1883, they proved that no better men could be found for the work that was to be done. But is it not a peculiarity that should be overcome by the generosity of Canada that they should get 75 cents a day and the other men should get 50 cents a day. Whatever it is made, it should be the same all round. Why should Strathcona's Horse receive less than the others? They are as good men as you can put in any field; as scouts, I believe, they are unequalled in the world. While we are considering this Bill, Canada should be prepared to recognize all the Canadians who are going out there and should pay all equally, according to their rank, and according to the corps to which they belong.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. And, perhaps, according to their length of service.

Sir **ADOLPHE CARON**. I do not believe that that is considered, so far as the war pay is concerned, but I may be wrong.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. I was about to say on the question of the varying rates of pay in the Canadian mounted rifles, my hon. friend from Alberta (Mr. Oliver), whom I do not see in his place, raised the question this afternoon. My hon. friend from Three Rivers (Sir Adolphe Caron) is following it up, suggesting that inequalities of pay are open to objection. Though there is, apparently and theoretically, a good reason for it, the matter is worthy of consideration. The Bill will remain in committee, and the point raised by my hon. friend from Alberta and discussed by others will receive consideration. I would not like the discussion to proceed as though this point has been finally determined. The question raised this afternoon as to deductions has been inquired into, and it has been ascertained in time of war no deductions whatever are made, though they are in time of peace.

Sir **ADOLPHE CARON**. The hon. minister (Mr. Borden) said there were no deductions and they were given a shilling a day.

Sir **ADOLPHE CARON**.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. He said there was no deductions in time of war. *Hansard* will establish that.

Sir **ADOLPHE CARON**. The question was put to me by an hon. gentleman, and I said I would not be positive whether the deductions applied in time of war. Then, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) collected the information, which he should have had before he came down to parliament with his Bill, and now he has found out that I was right, and that in time of peace there are deductions. Fortunately, for himself, in time of war, as he has ascertained, these deductions do not apply.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. Since our appropriations and the whole discussion relates to the time of war, and not to the time of peace, I am afraid my hon. friend (Sir Adolphe Caron's) criticism based upon what occurs in time of peace were hardly applicable.

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE**. The hon. member for Three Rivers, as we know, is a walking encyclopedia on military matters; and I cannot but think that it was unworthy of such a high authority as he to criticise in so severe a manner one of ordinary pretensions like myself. However, I want to set the hon. gentleman right. We were discussing a question of war, the rate which we knew our soldiers were to receive in South Africa was the rate payable in time of war, there was nothing else in consideration but a time of war. I knew that the rate was only one shilling a day, and I did not suppose any hon. gentleman in this House would bring up the rates that were paid in time of peace. As the discussion went on, I pointed out that there were deductions in time of peace, but in time of war there were no deductions.

Sir **ADOLPHE CARON**. My hon. friend will excuse me, if I misunderstood him. I did not understand him to be talking about war.

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE**. There was nothing else to talk about.

Sir **ADOLPHE CARON**. But, he said there were no deductions, and that the English soldiers were receiving a shilling a day.

Mr. **HENDERSON**. I am not going to discuss the question now, as to whether a member of the North-west mounted police should be paid at the same rate as the ordinary volunteer; but I do feel that whatever was promised to these men when they enlisted, should be paid to them in full; we should keep perfect good faith with the men who have gone out to South Africa. If they

were promised 50 cents a day, they must receive 50 cents a day; if they were promised 75 cents, then this parliament must pay them 75 cents. But it seems to me, that there is some misunderstanding yet, as to what the pay of the Mounted Police really is. We have been talking about it as if it were 75 cents per day. Now, I find on examining the form of application, for a man who wants to become a member of the North-west mounted police, that he signs an agreement to accept from the government 50 cents a day, for the first year: 50 cents a day, and 5 cents extra, for good conduct, the second year; 5 cents and 10 cents extra, for good conduct the third year; 50 cents and 15 cents, for the fourth year; and 50 cents, and 20 cents, for the fifth year. In no instance during the five years, does he receive 75 cents. And, if the men who have gone out to South Africa are only one year, two year, three year, four year, or five year men, none of them will get 75 cents, unless some special regulation is made by the department, to give them more than they contracted for, when they became members of the force.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. How about the six year men, or beyond five?

Mr. HENDERSON. We have no assurance that these men are to be six year men. In order to entitle them to 75 cents, they must serve more than five years, but I am not aware that the government have made any arrangement by which a man is to receive more pay after five years, than he receives for the fifth year. The contract is only made for five years, and the rate of allowance is made for five years. I will be very glad indeed, if the Minister of Militia and Defence could satisfy the House on this question, and give an assurance that the pay will be, all round, 75 cents.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. My hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, states that a schedule or regulation will be laid on the Table, which would become a part of this Bill.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. A regulation to which it will refer.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Exactly, and the matter might perhaps be left over, as the Bill will remain in the committee stage until it is further considered, and until this regulation is laid on the Table of the House. But, the hon. gentleman will see that the statement I made about the pay of the North-west mounted police is correct. I stated this afternoon, but he may not have been in the House, the pay of the North-west mounted Police on entering the service, is 50 cents, and for each additional year, up to five years, and including the fifth year, five

cents a year more. The maximum is 75 cents.

Mr. HENDERSON. 70 cents.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The first year, 50 cents, and for each of the five years—

Mr. HENDERSON. No, for each of the four years, I would remind the hon. gentleman.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Then if he is correct, I am wrong; but I was informed by Mr. White, of the North-west mounted police, that the statement which I made this afternoon is correct. I did not verify it myself.

Mr. HENDERSON. I think it is plain. As the man receives only 50 cents the first year, and receives no good conduct money at all, until the end of one year, there is only four years that he can be entitled to that extra five cents. No later than yesterday I examined this statement, and I find that the highest rate of pay a man can receive in the North-west mounted police force, is 70 cents a day. I was afraid that perhaps the minister had overlooked that fact, and that on account of the misunderstanding, the men would receive less than they were really promised, or, at any rate, less than the House was given to understand. I am glad that the Minister of Finance has undertaken to see that a regulation will be provided by which these men will be paid the 75 cents.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I did not say that, I said we would bring the regulation down and give the matter consideration.

Mr. TAYLOR. The minister has not given me the information, that he promised me early in the day, in respect to the wagons that were purchased at \$180, and if tenders were called for?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. If I did not answer the hon. gentleman, it was because other speakers intervened, and I had not an opportunity. As a matter of fact, we asked for tenders from several manufacturers of wagons and agricultural implements. We had to bring them to Ottawa, because the carriages or wagons were of a special type needed for transport work in South Africa. These firms were the Ottawa Car Company, the Massey-Harris Company, and the Bain Company, of Paris. I can only say to the hon. gentleman, that everything was done by the officers in the Militia Department to see that a proper kind of wagon was made, and that the price paid was a reasonable price. All due precautions were taken and due examination made. We were dealing with thoroughly reputable people, and, I believe that good value was obtained by the country for the money. They were duly in-

spected before being taken over from the hands of the manufacturer.

Mr. TAYLOR. Did you call for tenders further than inviting one or two firms to see what they would build a wagon for such and such a style?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. There were no public tenders.

Mr. TAYLOR. I must say that I think \$180 for a transport wagon is an outrageous price, I do not care who built it.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Did you see the wagon?

Mr. TAYLOR. No, I did not.

Mr. WOOD. An express wagon is very valuable.

Mr. TAYLOR. I know what they are, I have built many of them.

Mr. WOOD. They cost more than an ordinary wagon.

Mr. TAYLOR. I know what the best express wagon can be turned out for.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The roads are very rough out there.

Mr. TAYLOR. I know that, and I know you cannot put \$180 into an express wagon. You could nickel-plate it, and put on rubber tires, and then build it for \$120. I think there is a job in the bargain.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I would like to say a word with respect to some suggestion respecting the pay of these men, particularly the men from the west. It has been said by some gentlemen from the west that the men who have been enlisted from the west are very valuable scouts, are quite as good as the mounted police. I do not wish to say anything that would reflect for one moment upon the value of the men who have been recruited in the west. I think they are a very capable lot of men, but, if what has fallen from the hon. Minister of Finance is intended as a suggestion that men from the west, who have not had five years service in the mounted police, are to be paid at a higher rate than men from the maritime provinces, I propose, with all the vigour I can, to protest against that. I venture to think that men who have gone from my own province, are, at least, as capable as any men who have gone from any province of Canada, not excepting the North-west Territories. I am happy to say that among them is Capt. Stairs, who has already been mentioned for conspicuous gallantry at the attack which resulted in the surrender of one of the Boer armies. I do not suppose anything of the kind is going to be done, because it would be manifestly unfair.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. With the view of giving the matter more con-

sideration, I propose to move that the committee rise and not report the Bill to-night.

Mr. OLIVER. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that it is rather unfortunate that the idea should be brought up of differences, or preferences as between one class of men and another. I notice by the printed statements before the House that mounted men and artillery men are listed at 75 cents a day for privates, while infantry men are listed at 50 cents per day for privates. It is not a question between western men and eastern men, but it is a question between the different arms of the service. I suppose that the printed form that is put into the hands of members of the House is put there with due regard to the circumstances and conditions, and as indicating the intention of the government in the matter. There are mounted rifles from the east as well as from the west; there are artillery men from the east and not from the west at all. Their pay is 75 cents. The mounted men from the west, is, above all things, an expert, and with all due deference to every other branch of the service, is a man who is recognized to be the most valuable of the British army in South Africa at the present time, to such an extent that this class of man is receiving, in South Africa, \$2.50 per day for special services and for special qualification. As I said before, the same class of man, not the mounted policeman—

An hon. MEMBER. A private?

Mr. OLIVER. Yes, not the mounted policeman, but the scout, received \$2.50 a day during the North-west rebellion, serving alongside, and in the same force as the mounted policeman who only received 75 cents a day, and was considered to be worth the money, or he would not have received it. These men appeared to the government to be worth the money for they were paid this amount.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. member (Mr. Oliver) was absent when I made a remark having reference to the point which was raised this afternoon as to the apparent inequality in the pay between the different members of the Canadian mounted rifles. I desired that the Bill should remain in committee as there were one or two other points that might be considered. The matter is worth consideration, and we shall ask that the Bill shall remain in committee. In the meantime the scale will be brought down after final consideration, and for the present we would not have it assumed that there has been any decision reached.

Mr. PRIOR. I would like to say a word or two in regard to the pay of these men. It has been stated that North-west mounted police ought to get 75 cents a day, and that the ordinary volunteer, who as a man, has gone to the war as his equal, ought to have,

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

in the ranks, 50 cents a day. It seems to me it should not matter whether he is a mounted policeman, or an artillery man, or an engineer—

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) does not state the proposition quite correctly. That was not advocated, but, on the other side of the House it was stated by some hon. gentlemen that a mounted policeman, who had spent five years, or more, in the ranks, should be entitled to what the regulations entitled him to receive—75 cents a day, and the question was raised as to whether a raw man coming in should be placed on a level with him.

Mr. **PRIOR**. I quite understand that, but my contention is, that this is a new corps altogether, and whether a man has been five or ten years in the police, they are all volunteers, either cowboys, or policemen, or farmers or prospectors in the North-west Territories, and they ought all to be on the same footing. The hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver) said truly that rough riders from the west, whether farmers or anything else, were experts; that this was their business. There is no doubt that in the regular service an engineer is paid a higher rate, and an artillery man is paid higher than a man of the line. But all these men are going to South Africa in the same class. I think it would be subversive of discipline to send certain men away in these contingents at a higher rate of pay than others of the same rank. They ought all to be considered equal and get the same pay. I cannot see any reason why, because a man is in the mounted police, he should be paid more for the service he will render in South Africa than any other man. He may be a better rider, and have more discipline, but when they are there they will all be about equal. The mounted policeman may have a better chance of rising from the ranks, but I think that it would be a great injustice to the young fellows who have joined to put a man because he has been in the North-west mounted police, or a member of the permanent corps, on a higher rate of pay than the ordinary recruit.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. At an earlier stage of the discussion an hon. gentleman opposite suggested the insertion of the word 'payment,' but, if he will look at subsection (b) he will find that the word 'expenditure' is defined as including the payment of the officers, non-commissioned officers and so on, so that I do not think it is necessary to make an insertion of the word 'payment' as suggested. I think the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), made the suggestion, but I do not think it is necessary. I will move that the committee rise and report progress.

Mr. **SPROULE**. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence if he

will be good enough to furnish us with a list of those from whom horses were purchased, and the prices. I do not mean now; I understand he can get it at some future time.

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE**. I am quite prepared to do so.

Mr. **OLIVER**. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Finance what conclusion, if any, has been reached in regard to the amount of the separation allowance which was left an open question.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. That question was left to be dealt with by the government. In the resolution the words which restricted them were struck out, and the matter was left to be dealt with by the government. It has not yet been dealt with, but we propose to leave the Bill in committee and not to report it to-night. I do not propose to ask the committee to adopt the preamble, but to reserve that.

Committee rose and reported progress.

SUPPLY.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE** (Mr. Fielding) moved that the House resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

Mr. **BOURASSA**. Mr. Speaker, before you leave the Chair, I wish to say that I have given notice that I would propose an amendment, when the government moves that the House do resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bourassa) proposes to move the amendment of which he has given notice on the Order paper, I wish to say to him that the Prime Minister cannot be in the House this evening, and I know he would like to be present when that amendment is moved. If it would suit the convenience of the hon. gentleman, I would like if he would leave it over until we go into supply on Tuesday.

Mr. **BOURASSA**. Do I understand that the House will go into supply on Tuesday next?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. In all probability.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. Or at an early date.

Mr. **BOURASSA**. In that case, I will defer proposing the amendment until then.

Motion agreed to, and House resolved itself into Committee of Supply.

(In the Committee.)

Department of Marine and Fisheries, including \$1,900 to W. J. Stewart and \$1,300 to B. H. Fraser.....\$56,190

Mr. **DAVIN**. What is the explanation of that increase of \$1,105?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. The increase is chiefly for the technical officers of the department. These officers do not come under the Civil Service Act, and are not entitled to what is called the statutory increase. Mr. Stewart, who is chief of the hydrographic survey, receives \$1,800, and it is proposed to give him an increase of \$100. Mr. Stewart entered the service in 1884. He was a graduate of the Royal Military College. He entered at the small salary of \$600, and in 1885 it was increased by \$200, in 1886 by \$100, in 1887 by \$100, in 1888 by \$100, in 1889 by \$150, in 1891 by \$100, in 1893 by \$400, when he took Commander Boulton's place at the head of the survey. He got a small increase of \$50 in 1895, and \$100 in 1897, and it is now proposed to give him \$100 extra. He is at the head of the hydrographic survey, and is a gentleman of whom I cannot speak too highly. I am sure every one will unite in saying that the increase is well deserved. Mr. B. H. Fraser is the next technical officer. He entered the service as draughtsman in Col. Anderson's department in 1894, at a salary of \$800. In 1895 he was increased to \$1,000, and has had no increase since. He is reported to me by Col. Anderson, chief engineer, to be an exceedingly good officer. I am told, although there is no record in the department of it, that he was promised in 1896, that he would have two or three hundred dollars of an increase, and he has represented once or twice that he has not been fairly dealt with.

Mr. PRIOR. Promised by whom?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. He was promised by my predecessor at the head of the department. In consideration of the report made by Col. Anderson on his excellent qualifications, I recommended to my colleagues an addition of \$200 to his salary, making it \$1,300. The engineers in my department are paid much less salaries than are paid the engineers in other departments, and I think I might be justified in asking for a still larger increase. We give an increase of \$50 to Mr. Anderson. Mr. O'Hanly, who is a draughtsman in the department, receives \$800, and we propose to give him \$850. Mr. J. F. Fraser, who is another engineer in the department, has been receiving \$725, and it is proposed to give him \$850. Mr. Fraser last year was taken away from the interior service, and was placed in charge of the St. Lawrence service. He did excellent work there last summer, and during this winter he has been superintending the expenditure of money voted by parliament last year for the erection of bait freezers all around the coasts, and has given very great satisfaction.

Mr. PRIOR. Is that the gentleman who made the report on the lakes?

Mr. DAVIN.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. This is his son, the old gentleman is not in my department.

Mr. PRIOR. He is good stock, then.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. We have had \$600 voted for a number of years to fill a vacancy in the department, and we have not been able to get any young gentleman to accept it at \$600. The government determined some years ago that the preference would be given to a Royal Military College graduate, and although I have applied time and again to the Royal Military College asking for a young gentleman to take this place at \$600 a year, I could not get one. I have to ask parliament to make this vote \$700, in the hope that that may induce some Royal Military College graduate to accept it.

Mr. SPROULE. What are they now doing in the Hydrographic survey?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. Mr. Stewart, Mr. Anderson and young Mr. Tyrwhitt are the only officers in the hydrographic survey. But I would prefer if the hon. gentleman will allow me to make my statement on the hydrographical surveys when I come to my estimates on that subject. With regard to the other branch of the department, it is proposed to promote Mr. Kent, who is at the head office second-class, to be a first-class clerk, and to give him \$50 increase. Mr. McClenaghan, who is at the head of the third-class, is promoted to be a second-class clerk at \$1,100. \$50 increase is given to several third-class clerks, and \$30 to Mr. Kelly, one of the messengers.

Ocean and river service..... \$201,000

Mr. TAYLOR. As the ex-Minister of Finance is not here to-night, and I do not think he had any idea that the estimates were going to be taken up, I think it would be advisable not to take up such large items as this. If you can take some small items, it would be as well to deal with them, but this is an important one, and will be sure to cause discussion.

The **MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE** (Sir Richard Cartwright). I would suggest that in that case we might reserve the first item, but the rest are the usual votes.

Mr. DAVIN. And is it understood that all may be discussed under that item?

The **MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE**. Certainly, that is always allowed.

Rewards for saving life, including life-saving stations \$8,000

Mr. PRIOR. What is the cause of this increase of \$1,000?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. There has been an additional life-saving station established at Grand Manan in New Brunswick.

Mr. **PRIOR**. Might I ask the hon. minister whether his attention has been called to the case of some men who saved several lives from a vessel which was wrecked on the west coast of Vancouver Island three or four months ago? I forget the name of the vessel.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. In the absence of names, I could not tell my hon. friend; but the principle which is always followed when a matter of that kind is brought to the attention of the department, is to refer it to Captain McElhinney, the Nautical Adviser of the department, for investigation and report, and whatever he reports is adopted. We are always very liberal in meritorious cases.

Mr. **PRIOR**. Perhaps the minister will promise that if the matter is brought to his notice, he will give it his attention.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I will.

Tidal services, including salaries of assistant clerks beyond \$400 per annum, notwithstanding anything in the Civil Service Act \$7,200

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I may explain that last year we had a vote for \$4,400, and there was a supplementary vote of \$2,066 to pay for technical officers. Provision is being made next year for British Columbia tide tables, extending the tidal information, and the extra sum is necessary for that.

Mr. **PRIOR**. I may be allowed to say that British Columbians as a whole feel very glad that the Minister has seen fit to send such a man as Mr. Dennison to British Columbia. We feel the greatest confidence in him, and I am sure the service will be of the greatest advantage to the department.

Mr. **BORDEN** (Halifax). Perhaps the hon. minister can tell us what is expected to be accomplished in the tidal surveys.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. If the hon. gentleman turns to my report, which was laid on the Table some days ago, he will see in it the report of Mr. Bell Dawson, who is a man of a good deal of experience, and who has established tidal survey stations on the Bay of Fundy, along the Island of Anticosti, in the Straits of Belle Isle, and up the River St. Lawrence. The observations at these tidal stations are very carefully tabulated, and sent to the hydrographical office in England; and from the information obtained, circulars are issued to the different harbours, shipping

masters and officers, and it is believed that these tidal reports are of great service to the shipping interest. Several items of information are given at great length by Mr. Bell Dawson, and I am sure my hon. friend would read some of them with great interest. I would not care to take up the time of the committee with going over them to-night.

Mr. **BORDEN** (Halifax). Can the hon. minister tell us whether there are any tidal stations on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, west of Halifax? I remember that an investigation into the loss of a steamer—I forget her name—was held at Yarmouth, and I think some evidence was given as to the possible effect of the tidal currents in sending that steamer ashore. I have no doubt the hon. gentleman has a recollection of that investigation.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I have a very vivid recollection of it. In reply to the first question, I may say that we have three tidal surveys—Yarmouth, Westport and Digby. A special investigation was held into the wreck of the vessel he refers to by Commander Spain and two other officers, and the reason given for the wreck was the failure on the part of the captain to take the necessary soundings by the lead, and I take this opportunity of stating that a large majority of the wrecks which have taken place are reported by the investigating officers to be due to the fact that the commanding officers did not use the lead as captains in the old times used to do.

Mr. **CLANCY**. I see that there is a very considerable increase in this item, some \$2,800. We should have an explanation of that.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I thought I had explained it. We have extended the working of the tidal system to British Columbia. We have sent out Mr. Dennison to take charge of the system there, and my hon. friend from Victoria (Mr. Prior) admits that we could not have made a better choice. The additional expenditure is for the necessary work to be done in British Columbia. This is only the beginning. Over that enormously large coast, there must, not only in the tidal service but the ocean and river navigation, be large increases from year to year. We are spending \$1,200 this year for the tidal surveys in British Columbia alone.

Mr. **WALLACE**. This item contains the words 'including salaries of assistant clerks beyond \$400 per annum, notwithstanding anything in the Civil Service Act.' This proposes to violate the Civil Service Act. Let us know the particulars.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. There are tide gauges established at Halifax, the Gut of Canso, Belle

Isle, Anticosti, and different places along the coast of St. Lawrence and the south-east of Nova Scotia, also in the Bay of Fundy at Yarmouth, Digby, Weymouth and St. John. These tide gauges all have to be closely looked after.

Mr. WALLACE. What is the object?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. To ascertain the rise and fall of the tide. An accurate account is kept by the person in charge from day to day.

Mr. WALLACE. Is that the whole thing?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Twice a day the rise and fall of the tide at each place has to be taken. Last year we took a supplementary vote of \$2,600, which provided for two clerks. In that vote there is provision for two clerks, Mr. Angus and Mr. Hayden, who receive \$600.

Mr. WALLACE. Where are they stationed?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. With Mr. Dawson, in the department. As the returns come in, they are received by Mr. Dawson, tabulated and forwarded to the hydrographic office in England, and there marked upon the charts.

Mr. WALLACE. What staff had you at headquarters here before?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The same last year as this.

Mr. WALLACE. But previous to last year.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I do not think there was anybody but Mr. Dawson, and he made bitter complaint that he had two or three years work in arrears. There was no use having tide surveys sent to the department and simply pigeon-holed. Unless they are tabulated and forwarded and made use of, it is so much money thrown away.

Mr. WALLACE. What is the benefit of it? They were pigeon-holed for two or three years.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. There was no benefit then, but now all over the Dominion tables are issued by Mr. Dawson, showing mariners what time the tide is high and low and half high at every port, so that the mariner knows exactly what the stage of the tide is at a certain hour.

Mr. PRIOR. The hon. member for West York asks, what is the good of this. Not only does the gentleman who looks after the tiding gauge mark this down on a map, but he also keeps the readings of the barometer, and in time these experts will be able to make out tables showing how the storms

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

come and where they generate. They will be able to do this by the rise and fall of the tide and the reading of the barometer.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I think also that knowing the exact rise and fall of the tide at a great many places is supposed to be of assistance in determining the direction and strength of the tidal currents and matters of this kind.

Winter mail service.....\$2,000

Mr. WALLACE. Where is this performed?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Between Capes Tormentine and Traverse, in the Straits of Northumberland.

Mr. WALLACE. How has it been going this year?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. We have had no ice sufficient to necessitate the boats going on, but I suppose they will go on in a week or two now. They generally run a couple of months, but so far this year the service has been performed admirably by our steamers.

Salaries and allowances of lightkeepers..\$220,000

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. This vote is never challenged, but the minister is very properly called on to give full explanation. Hon. gentlemen will see that this year we are asking a small increase, due to the establishment of a number of new lights in British Columbia and other places. There are nine in Ontario, twelve in British Columbia, two in Prince Edward Island, five in Quebec, ten in Nova Scotia, two in Manitoba, two in New Brunswick, one on the Newfoundland coast called 'Flower Island light.' These are all new lights.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Has the hon. minister at hand a list of the lighthouses in Quebec, showing where they are located?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. There are five in Quebec. They are very small, as a rule. The hon. gentleman (Sir Adolphe Caron), is probably aware that we had to resurvey the river between Montreal and Quebec, and we had to put a number of new lights along there to meet the needs of the traffic.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. If the hon. gentleman has the information at hand, I would like to know where the lighthouses in Quebec have been located?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Most of these are merely lights on poles, at the end of a wharf. One is on an island, opposite Berthier. The salaries of most of them is only \$75 or thereabouts.

Mr. BELL (Pictou). There are thirty new lights, I think.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No, there are 42.

Mr. BELL (Pictou). And the increase is only \$3,000 for the salaries for the new service. They must be very small.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. As a rule they are. Flower Island light, in the Straits of Belle Isle, is a very large one. But, as a rule, the others are small lights on a pole, on the end of a wharf, or a little tower light. We will not pay more than \$75 or \$100 a year. For the larger ones, the salary is \$300 and upwards a year.

Mr. PRIOR. Would the hon. minister please read the list of new lights in British Columbia?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. There is Pointer Island, Dryad Point, Brochie's Ledge, at the mouth of Victoria harbour. A beacon is lighted there.

Mr. PRIOR. That is not finished.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I informed my hon. friend (Mr. Prior), that we had a 30-day oil lamp there. This will be replaced with something better, when we get the electric cable laid. This I cannot do for some little time, as the manufacturers of the cable are so overburdened with orders, that they cannot finish it. In the meantime, the 30-day light will have to do. Then there are a number of beacons besides.

Mr. PRIOR. In answer to a question I asked, I understood the hon. minister to say, that the present light was satisfactory.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I did not wish to be understood as saying, it was as satisfactory as I would like to have it. I gave the hon. gentleman the report that we had satisfactorily established that light.

Mr. PRIOR. But the agent of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, Captain Gaudin, has stated over his own signature, in the press, I believe, that he has assurance from sea-faring men, that the light is satisfactory. Now, I have a document in my desk, signed by the captain and mates of the steamer that runs from Victoria and Vancouver, that it is not satisfactory. It is all right in fair weather, but in rough weather they cannot see it at any distance, and they are very anxious that the proper light should be put there. There is great necessity for a fog signal on that beacon. If the hon. gentleman could see his way to establishing that, it would be a great aid to navigation. While I am on my feet, I would like to call attention to the case that

occurred at Egg Island lighthouse, north of Vancouver Island. It seems that this lighthouse is a long distance from land, and in an isolated position, as most of these lighthouses are. Some time ago, it was noted by steamers on the way to and from Alaska, that for one or two days there was no light, and the fact was reported. The government steamer was sent up, and it was found that the lighthouse keeper was ill. He had no companion there, except a small boy. They were taken off, and somebody else was put in the man's place, I believe. I do not think it is right to allow a man to be in a position like that with a child. Suppose the man had been taken ill and died, the boy would have been left there to die a miserable death by starvation. If they have an unmarried man attending to one of these lights, they should put another man with him. A married man could be accompanied by his wife. The lighthouse keeper should have with him some grown person; he should not be allowed to be there with only a child for a companion.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I quite approve of what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior), has said. I was not aware that the man was a single man when he went there. The understanding with the department was that no man should be sent to one of these outlying stations unless he was a married man and had his wife and family, or, at any rate, his wife with him. Peremptory orders were given that, in no instance, is a single man to take charge of such a light by himself. These lights are away from civilization, almost. If we cannot get a married man, the country will have to provide for the expense of two men, for we will not have one man there by himself, and run the risk of such a condition of things as the case the hon. gentleman refers to, when we had to send the steamer to take the man and boy off.

Mr. TAYLOR. I understand the hon. minister to say, that many of these lights are simply on poles, on the end of a wharf.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I referred to the St. Lawrence. We were talking about the five in Quebec.

Mr. TAYLOR. Are the wharfs owned by the government?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Yes, these lights are for the assistance of navigation.

Mr. TAYLOR. And, have the government wharfingers there to collect fees?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. I think we had better have a full detailed statement.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I think I gave the names.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman gave the number for the province, but not the localities. Could he give the list for Ontario?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I do not think I have the list of them all here. There are nine in Ontario, most of them on the Lake of the Woods. I cannot tell offhand, the names of them.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The hon. minister might bring down a list for the different provinces.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I will do so, cheerfully.

Mr. TAYLOR. It is ten o'clock, and the ex-Minister of Finance is not here. I think we had better not go on with the estimates.

Mr. MACDONALD (P.E.I.) I desire to draw attention to what I have referred to in the House before, and that is the salaries of the light-keepers in the portion of Prince Edward Island, in King's County, in which the light-keepers are compelled to keep lights running all winter on account of the winter service. There are lighthouse-keepers at Cape Bear, Panmure and Georgetown Harbour. These men do not get a salary commensurate with the work they have to do in maintaining the lights all the year round. There are other lights on the island that have only to be kept during the season of navigation, and the keepers get as much, and in some cases a larger amount than these men receive. I think the minister should allow these men a larger sum than they at present receive, because I think there services the whole year round should be better paid than the services of a man who only keeps a light during the season of navigation.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. There is a great deal in what the hon. gentleman says. My impression was that we had considered it in fixing the salaries allowed to these gentlemen. However, the point is well taken, that, considering that they have to keep their lights going in winter as well as in summer, they should be paid a larger salary than those light-keepers who only have to keep their lights going in the summer. I will look carefully into the matter.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I understood the hon. gentleman would bring down the list before the item was passed.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Yes; I have it here:

New range lights were established to mark dredged channel through Barre & Boulard at
Mr. TAYLOR.

the dangerous Richelieu rapids in the river above Quebec. Two range lights were established to mark the axis of the channel across Ste. Croix bar, the point between Quebec and Montreal where there is now the least water in the channel.

The lightship maintained at the upper end of the Traverse of St. Roch has been replaced by a light shown from a permanent pier built up from the river bed. This is considered a very great improvement, not only because it insures the fixity of position of the light, but also because it can be maintained when ice is running in the spring and fall, at times when it is impossible to place a lightship on the station. This light in one with the light on the Stone Pillar leads to the outer end of the narrow portion of the Tranverse.

A gas buoy was established on St. Thomas bank below Quebec, to mark the outer edge of a wide flat dreaded by deep draught vessels.

A powerful revolving light has been established in Flower Island on the south shore of the Strait of Belle Isle to guard a salient point in that narrow passage.

These are the five I speak of in the province of Quebec.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. Except the gas buoys.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Only one was put up last year.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. It would not cost much to attend the gas buoys.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. A gas buoy will cost about \$3,000 a year. This gas buoy was served by the steamer *Druid*, which goes up and down the river. It has a gas tank on board, and supplies the buoy every three or four weeks.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I understood the hon. gentleman to say that most of the increase was for the purpose of paying the services of the attendants of the new lights.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. That is in this vote. We will come to the construction vote directly. This vote is for the payment of services.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I think the minister stated there were five lights.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. One of them gas.

Mr. TAYLOR. I think it is impossible to go on with these items in the absence of the ex-Minister of Finance, who did not expect the estimates would be taken up to-night. There is an increase of \$83,000.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I was only asking for the \$220,000 for lights and coast service, and for maintenance.

Mr. TAYLOR. On every item that we have discussed so far there is an increase. I purpose moving that these items be reduced to the amount they were last year. Some members of the government have gone through the country this year saying that the opposition did not question any vote. The fact is that we questioned every vote, and because we did not divide the House, the leader of the government and the Minister of Trade and Commerce stated that the opposition only voted against a paltry few. I purpose dividing the House on every item where there is an increase.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. All right, I hope you will carry that out.

Mr. TAYLOR. I will so far as I am concerned.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I would suggest that my hon. friend had better carry it out when his votes can be recorded. We are now in committee.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am glad the hon. gentleman has avowed his intention, because it is well for us to know where we stand. I am not so sure that my hon. friend who is leading the opposition will fully concur in the policy the member for Leeds has laid down that there shall be no new lights built, that every dollar of money wanted for the construction of a light he will vote against. Here we have the whole shipping interest of Montreal and Quebec clamouring for the construction of a lighthouse on Belle Isle Straits, in order that the shipping property may be protected and guided safely through these straits. We have the whole of these interests pointing out the great necessity of this light, and when we have come forward and built it we have the thanks of all the mariners who sail through these straits for the increased aid that we are providing for navigation, and that will reduce the abnormal rates of insurance which are now bearing so enormously upon the shipping interests of Montreal, and indirectly upon the farmers who ship produce to the old country. If it is the policy of the opposition that there shall be no new aids to navigation, and that for all time to come we are to remain in the rut where they left us, I for one will welcome that challenge.

Mr. TAYLOR. I did not say what the hon. gentleman puts into my mouth. I said that last year the government took more money for performing the same service than the late Conservative government, and this year there is a still further increase. This is the case notwithstanding the fact that they are not doing any new work.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Forty-two new lights.

Mr. TAYLOR. Salaries and allowances of lighthouse keepers, increase \$3,000. The hon. gentleman tells us that this is for running a lantern put on a wharf.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Even that cannot be done without paying for it.

Mr. TAYLOR. You have political friends to whom you want to give jobs; they light a lantern, run it up on a pole, and are paid in that way for it. I propose to oppose every increase, and to divide the House, if it takes all summer, simply because the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce took the dirty mean advantage—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. TAYLOR—of saying that we did not divide the House upon expenditures, and that we practically consented to them because we did not divide the House. The House will be divided, so far as I am concerned, on every item where there is an increase for doing a service which can be done with less money. I am in favour of doing everything necessary to improve the navigation of Canada, and for improving the harbour of Montreal. Works that are for the benefit of the country and the farmers, such as these, will receive my support, as they will that of hon. gentlemen opposite. I am not going to object to new works or improvements that are necessary, but I want them to be done on a business basis. When we come to the item that is allowed to stand, I will point out that the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries has purchased flour at \$7 a barrel, and other commodities at two or three prices to pay political friends. I think we will make better time by accepting the proposition that the committee rise and report progress.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I would suggest that we pass this item, as I have given all the information.

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I think my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has misunderstood my hon. friend (Mr. Taylor). My hon. friend has not been objecting to any new lights that are necessary in the interest of the development of the trade of this country, or necessary to make the St. Lawrence as safe a route as it is possible to make it. I recognize the truth of what the hon. minister has said that, in doing so, we are saving money to the commercial community by reducing the under-

writers charges upon shipments sent to Canada and from Canada to England. I am prepared to say that it is imperative upon every Canadian to lend a helping hand towards the development of the St. Lawrence route, and to favour the establishment of such lighthouses, or fog horns, or anything else, as may be necessary to make the St. Lawrence route a route that will be in the interest of trade and commerce. We depend upon the St. Lawrence route, the great artery of this continent, and it requires only the ingenuity of the human mind to make it as absolutely safe as any route you can find in any part of the world. But my hon. friend (Mr. Taylor) is right in his criticisms. I have asked the hon. minister to be good enough to give us the list of the different lighthouses, and to tell us what works have been undertaken. If, as the hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor) has said, it is merely a question of hanging a lantern on the end of a pole at the end of a wharf, that cannot cost much money after the lantern has been bought. I asked the hon. minister about the gas buoys for the reason that I knew they were charged from the ship belonging to the government, and there is no other way of doing it. The tank, naturally, is under the control of the government, and the gas is served out to the various buoys. I agree, in so far as the hon. gentleman's policy goes with everything that can make the St. Lawrence a safe route and adequate to the needs of trade and commerce. I will never object to any expenditure that may be incurred for this purpose, but even then, we must know what the expenditure is.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Certainly.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The hon. member for South Leeds did not at all criticize it in a hostile spirit, but he wanted to get information. Who is the man, in any House of Commons, or any representative assembly, who can express an opinion upon a proposition that is made by the government without knowing exactly what the government propose to do? I think that these different items should be held over. I do not think that we are gaining any time by not doing so.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I have brought down all the information, but if the hon. gentleman wishes it to stand over and go over it again, I have no objection at all.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I think we will save time by allowing these items to stand for the present.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. All right.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. The hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies), knows that I do not interfere to prevent the work of the House, but I think it will save time if we adopt this suggestion.

Mr. CLANCY. I quite understand that the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies), is willing to adopt the suggestion that has been made, but I wish to call the hon. gentleman's attention to his very adroit moves in the shifting of his argument. If the hon. gentleman should have very close criticism, probably, what they consider somewhat ungenerous criticism, they must ask the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), to answer for that in this country. If hon. members of this House followed the rule laid down by the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce when he spoke in the city of Toronto, and in other parts of Canada, I think it would be a fair thing to do, because, that hon. gentleman made a declaration that only the paltry sum of \$32,000 had been objected to, declaring thereby, that the whole opposition had given their assent to every other item as being proper. Do I misunderstand what the hon. gentleman said, when I make that statement? If I do, I wish to be corrected.

THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I think my hon. friend (Mr. Clancy), had better read what I said, if he has not done so already.

Mr. CLANCY. I have done so already, and if the hon. gentleman does not assent to what I say now, we may wait, and I will read it to him.

THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. That will be better.

Mr. CLANCY. It does seem to me that it is an unfair thing to say, that the opposition must divide the House in every case, in order to prove that they were unwilling that every item or portion of an item shall pass. We always know the difficulty in criticising expenditures, because some portion of an item may be quite commendable, while another portion may be objectionable. The pith of the whole matter is, that hon. gentlemen themselves, when they were in opposition, did not pursue the course that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce laid down for the opposition here, and I would like to ask the hon. gentleman how many items he, or his friends, objected to, or divided the House upon, when they were crying out that the expenditure was enormous, and that the people were being bled white? I can find years, when that hon. gentleman and his friends never objected to a single item. The hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright), has given warning, and if the opposition take advantage of that to criticise,

in a fair manner, not objecting to an item with the mere object of offering factious opposition to it, hon. gentlemen need not be surprised. After what the hon. gentleman has said, every item should undergo close criticism, and if it is not commendable, on all grounds, objection should be taken, and the House divided, even if it does occupy a good deal of time.

Committee rose and reported progress.

THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 10.25 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, February 12, 1900.

The **SPEAKER** took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 81) to incorporate the Accident and Guarantee Company of Canada.—(Mr. Davis.)

Bill (No. 82) to incorporate the Crown Life Insurance Company.—(Mr. Burnett.)

Bill (No. 83) respecting the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Bethune.)

Bill (No. 84) respecting the Bay of Quinté Railway Company.—(Mr. Bethune.)

GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF TELE-GRAPHS.

Mr. **CASEY** moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 85) for the establishment of a government system of telegraphs.

Some hon. **MEMBERS.** Explain.

Mr. **CASEY.** I hear calls of 'explain,' and it is, perhaps, not surprising that an explanation should be asked for the introduction of a Bill of this nature by a private member. I have, however, drafted this Bill so that, in my experience and judgment, it does not call for the expenditure of public money, but is simply a Bill to authorize the government to do certain things when public money has been provided by parliament for the purpose, and it remains in the power

of parliament to grant or refuse the moneys required. I realize, however, that it is hardly likely that a Bill looking to such a great change in our ordinary business will become law until taken up by some government. In the meantime, a discussion upon this subject must partake more of an educational than a practical character. To put it briefly, this Bill authorizes the government, when money is provided by parliament, to establish a system of national telegraphs throughout Canada, that system to be established either by construction of new lines, or by the purchase of existing lines, or their expropriation under the ordinary principles of expropriation by government for public purposes. It goes without saying that no injustice could be done to any existing line through its expropriation by the government. The government would have to pay a fair value for the property, to be decided by arbitration in the ordinary way, and I need not go into that question at any length at this stage of the Bill.

I am more concerned to show the House and the country that there is reason in the public interest for proposing this great change. Telegraphs, like railways, highways, and the supply of water and light in municipalities, and many other things which might be mentioned, partake of the nature of monopolies. They have been called natural monopolies, for when one organization for this purpose is in possession, it almost necessarily excludes others from the same territory. It has long been held by the best thinkers that monopolies of this sort should be in the hands of the people themselves. It has been held that what may now be a monopoly, tending to secure private profit at the public expense as it belongs to a corporation, would not be a monopoly but a public privilege were it in the hands of the people, as represented in the government of the country. That this applies emphatically, in public opinion, to the supply of light and water by municipalities—

An hon. **MEMBER.** And gas.

Mr. **CASEY.** And gas—has been shown in many cases by successful attempts to municipalize these supplies. I am aware, in regard to the supply of gas that an exception has to be made in any municipality in favour of any legislative assembly that may hold its meetings within the municipality, as my hon. friend evidently meant to suggest by his interruption. But I refer to illuminating gas, which has been treated in many municipalities as a thing to be supplied by the public to the public.

I am aware that most of the arguments for nationalizing our telegraph system would apply equally well to the case of railways; and I am not at all afraid of considering that question in due time. But it must be admitted that the question of nationalizing

the railways of Canada would be an immensely greater question, involving greater expense and greater change of business methods than would be involved in the nationalizing of our telegraphs. It is, perhaps, wiser to begin with the less extensive and less glaring change and to nationalize the telegraph lines in the first instance.

What, Sir, are the inconveniences arising from the private ownership of telegraphs? In the first place, there is undue cost of communication. When a natural monopoly of this kind is operated for the profit of private individuals, it is to be expected that those private individuals combined in a corporation should try to make as much money out of it as they possibly can, and should keep up the rates for the sake of keeping up the dividends. If the stock of the company is watered to keep the dividends from looking too big in the first place, another tax on the public becomes necessary to supply dividends on the watered stock. When a competing company enters the field, there may be for the time the advantage of competition, but competition of this kind invariably leads to pooling or some form of agreement by which the rates are not lowered to the public nor the dividends lowered to the shareholders. Then, again, there is the objection to private ownership of these public privileges that discrimination is indulged in. As we know that the railway companies discriminate in favour of certain customers as against others, we know that the telegraph companies discriminate in favour of certain customers against others. In saying this, I do not refer so much to private telegrams, because the rate for these is more nearly fixed; but I refer particularly to the charge for supplying matter for publication in the newspapers—press despatches. I do not think I am wrong in stating that the larger newspaper concerns of this country are able to obtain better rates on their press despatches than the smaller, though, perhaps equally important, newspapers. There is a discrimination in this respect, and I think it is unfair.

The Bill which I have the honour to introduce, then, provides that under the proposed government ownership of telegraph lines, all rates shall be uniform and without discrimination all over Canada. It provides a uniform rate of ten cents per message of ten words and ten cents per hundred words on press despatches. These figures seem to me to be about fair and right. The particular figure might be subject to revision after the receipt of further information on a subject; but the Bill would, at all events, provide a maximum rate beyond which the government would not be allowed to charge.

So much for the theoretical side of the question. In practice the telegraph system has been admitted, for years past, in

the old country and various other British communities, to be a proper part of the governmental machinery. It is just about thirty years since the telegraphs were nationalized in Great Britain. At a subsequent time they were nationalized in the Australasian colonies and New Zealand. The result in all these cases has been a great improvement in the convenience afforded to the public and a great reduction in the rates paid for telegrams, and, consequently, a vastly increased business for the telegraph system. As an illustration, I will quote from the report of the British Postmaster General on the telegraphic business of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The figures I have here cover the period from the years 1870-1 to 1898-9, the first mentioned being the year when the telegraphs came under control of the government. In 1870-1, the telegrams for the whole of the British Islands were 9,850,000 in number; and for 1898-9 they were 87,043,000. So, in thirty years, the telegraphic business for Great Britain and Ireland had increased nearly ten times, being utterly out of proportion to the increase of population in the country in the same time. The inference is inevitable that this great increase has been brought about by the increased facilities offered to the public and the cheaper rates that accompanied these facilities. As a matter of fact, practically every post office in the United Kingdom and Ireland is a telegraph office, and the machinery for distributing is equally as good as that for receiving. I have no figures at hand for the Australasian colonies or New Zealand, but there is no doubt that the system of government management has been a success, both from the point of view of public convenience and from the point of view of the public treasury. It is worth knowing that in England the saving of money to government on telegraphing has been very considerable. Last year the amount of work performed by the postal telegraph department for other government departments was worth £55,749—considerably over a quarter of a million dollars. This is entered in the accounts as if paid, but, of course, money paid by one department to another is not lost to the government, and consequently, this represents a saving of a quarter of a million dollars to the government for telegraphic work. Our government pays out large sums for telegraphic work; if it were done through another department of the government it is easy to understand what a large saving it would be.

There is one other point which I wish to make. I desire not to take up too much time in introducing the Bill, but we do not know when the second reading will come on, and I wish to say something material about it on the present occasion. In Canada we have already a considerable extent

of government telegraph lines down in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, I don't remember the mileage, but it is very considerable, including a number of submarine cables. We have in the far North-west, a line partly completed, which will ultimately extend from Ashcroft all the way to the Yukon, and which should be opened, I am told, some time during the current year—2,000 miles in extent. This is a very considerable line to start with. There is no doubt at all that that line administered by the government will give a much better service and cheaper rates than if it was in the hands of a private corporation, holding a monopoly. But our present telegraphic system in the gulf is certainly not sufficient. There is no doubt that in the interests of navigation, it will have to be extended further down the gulf to all the coasts on which shipwrecks may take place, to all the points on which vessels may be sighted on their entry into the gulf and the river St. Lawrence; and it may be necessary to lay a cable from the Island of Anticosti, all the way to the Straits of Belle Isle, to avoid trouble from ice, and other difficulties of that kind. We remember in the case of one of the late wrecks, I think that of the *Scotsman*, great complaint was made of want of telegraphic communication, which lack of communication it was stated, resulted in serious inconvenience to persons and perhaps, to the loss of property. I would recommend these considerations to the House, and especially to the government, and hope to have some fuller particulars to lay before you, if the Bill comes to a second reading.

Mr. B. D. McLELLAN (West Prince). I desire to say, that I hope the provisions of the Bill introduced by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casey), will be carried into effect, even if it will have no other effect than to remedy the hardships under which we labour in Prince Edward Island in respect to telegraphs. The difference between the cost of sending a telegram from here to Halifax, and from here to Charlottetown, which is about the same distance, is something like 150 per cent. Of course, a part of this is due to the fact, that we have a short cable across from the mainland to the island; but the discrepancy is too great, and as the present company have a monopoly there is hardly any remedy for it, except, that since they receive a subsidy of some \$2,000 from the Dominion government, I trust the government will exert their influence upon the company to get them to act more fairly towards the people of our province. Apart from the exorbitant cost of sending telegrams to Prince Edward Island, we are labouring under another disadvantage, with respect to our telegraphic system. The main office at Charlottetown is closed every evening at 8 o'clock, and is not open in the morning, I think, until 8 or

9 o'clock. I do not know that there is any other part of Canada in which a system of that kind obtains. I think that if the government can use their influence with the company, either by wiping out the subsidy, which is being granted to them, or by pointing out to them the great wrongs under which the people of Prince Edward Island are labouring, they will do a great favour to the people of that province. We have one morning paper in Charlottetown, and when it is known that the office closes at 8 o'clock in the evening, the House will readily see that no important news can be received for that paper for its issue next morning; and during a time like this, when the war news is so important and so interesting to all Canadians, it is a case where the company if they cannot be compelled to keep their offices open later at night, and earlier in the morning, should be remonstrated with by the government. I think the main office at Charlottetown, at all events, and also the office at Summerside, which is the chief town of Prince county, should be kept open until 11 or 12 o'clock at night. I do not think that such a demand on the company would be unreasonable, and certainly it would be a great boon to the people of Prince Edward Island, by enabling them to receive the news up to date. The House will see that at the present time we are unable to receive news up to date, we are about 24 hours late in getting the news in the morning paper. Of course, it does not make so much difference with the evening papers, but the news in the morning paper, which goes out in the early trains all over the province, is just 24 hours later than it would be under different arrangements. Besides this inconvenience, we are paying at least 100 per cent more for telegrams sent down to that province than we ought to pay. The cable is a short one, only about 7 or 8 miles in length, and it does not add very materially to the cost of the whole system, and there is no good reason why we should be charged so much for our telegrams, as we are under the present arrangement. I hope, therefore, that the government will look into this matter, as I believe they will, and perhaps have already done, and try and induce the company to give us better accommodation and lower rates.

Mr. A. MARTIN (P.E.I.) I am entirely in accord with the hon. gentleman who has just sat down, but I doubt whether the Bill proposed by the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey), will remedy this grievance. The telegraphic communication between Prince Edward Island, and the mainland, by the terms of union with Prince Edward Island, had to be maintained by the government of Canada, and if the treatment which the people of Prince Edward Island

have received in the past is a fair indication of what they would receive under the Bill introduced by the hon. member, I do not think that I should support it for one minute. As the hon. member for West Prince has pointed, the rates between Prince Edward Island and the mainland, are nearly 100 per cent, at least 50 per cent, more than over the same distance in any other part of Canada. That is a service which Canada had guaranteed Prince Edward Island, and there is no doubt but it is far from giving satisfaction.

Mr. CASEY. Yes, it provides a maximum charge.

Mr. MARTIN. That would be all right; but at present the government has the telegraphic communication between the mainland and the island, under its control, and in place of lowering the rates, they are higher than on any other route. If there would be no better results from the operation of this Bill than from the operation of government control over telegraphic communication between Prince Edward Island and the mainland, I predict for it that, instead of lowering the rates, they will be raised. While I hope that the government will take steps to lower the rates and give accommodation required, I do not think that this Bill will have that effect, if we may judge from the example I have given.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The hon. gentleman is in error in assuming that the government has control of telegraphic communication across the Straits of Northumberland. Telegraphic communication across the Straits of Northumberland is in the hands of the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, a company established many years ago. The government, under the terms of union, subsidized the existing telegraph company; but the government have no control over the rates, unless they choose to withdraw the subsidy, and build a new line altogether.

Mr. MARTIN. Increase the subsidy.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. That would not give us the relief we are seeking. The hon. member for West Prince (Mr. McLellan) has put the case in a nutshell when he has said that the grievances that the people suffer there are two, one, in respect to the rates charged by this monopoly, and the other in respect to the absurd hour at which they choose to close their offices. Hon. members would hardly believe it when I tell them, that, during the whole of the last three or four months, when everybody was seeking for news, all over the Dominion for news in

Mr. MARTIN.

reference to the war in South Africa, the Anglo-American Company closed their offices in Prince Edward Island at 8 o'clock in the evening. The matter has become an intolerable nuisance, and the people do not propose to submit to it without finding a remedy. These are the evils which always grow out of monopolies. This company was established in 1853, and it had a certain monopoly granted to it, but that monopoly does not extend to the laying of a line between Prince Edward Island and the continent of America. It does extend to the laying of a line between Prince Edward Island, England and Europe, but not to the laying of a line between Prince Edward Island and the mainland of America, although the company sedulously seeks to create the impression everywhere that such a monopoly does not exist. I have given my attention to the whole matter very closely, and I find that such a monopoly does not exist. In 1895 the Board of Trade of the maritime provinces brought this matter very fully to the notice of the late government, but nothing was done except a mere report by the then Minister of Public Works that the superintendent of telegraphs thought things were not so very bad. The Board of Trade of the maritime provinces were not very well satisfied with the manner in which their memorial was treated and the matter has been brought up again several times. The government had its attention again called to the matter more than a year ago when the Board of Trade of Charlottetown submitted a memorial pointing out the grievances under which they laboured. I wrote to the general manager of the company at Charlottetown, pointing out to him that it was utterly impossible for him to imagine that such hours as were observed and that such excessive charges could be tolerated by the people. As the hon. member for West Prince has pointed out, if I wished to telegraph to Halifax I could send a telegram for 25 cents, but, if I wished to telegraph to Charlottetown it would cost me 50 cents. The rates are almost prohibitory. Now, I hope that something will come from the Bill of my hon. friend (Mr. Casey) in the direction of remedying these grievances such as the hon. member for West Prince spoke of just now. Correspondence was carried on with the general manager of the company in Charlottetown for some time, and I saw that he had no power to provide the remedy that was required. He was merely the agent to carry out the instructions of the general manager who lives in London. I have drawn the attention of the general manager in London to the matter, and I expressed to him my personal opinion that some prompt remedy would have to be provided; otherwise the government would not continue to pay the subsidy to the line which they have been paying. If they

would keep their main offices open—I do not ask that all the offices throughout Prince Edward Island should be kept open—so as to give us telegraphic communication up to 11 or 12 o'clock at night and enable the morning papers to publish the news of the war the following morning, something would be done, and if they would make an arrangement with the North American Telegraph Co., or the Canadian Pacific Railway, by which we could have the telegraph charges reduced one-half, it would be more satisfactory. Unless something is done in this direction action will have to be taken on the line of my hon. friend's Bill, and it may be that the government will be forced to build a line of their own, as they have built a line to Anticosti, or they will be compelled to expropriate the property of the company paying them a reasonable sum for their property. They have a monopoly, and, as with all monopolies, grievances that have borne heavily on the people have grown out of it. It is time that it should be put a stop to, and as far as my influence goes I will use it in that direction. I am very glad my hon. friend's motion has come before the House, because it has given me an opportunity of making this statement. I am awaiting the reply of the general manager in London to the communication that I addressed to him.

Mr. CASEY. What about the Gulf Telegraph?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The Gulf Telegraph is a matter that is in charge of the Department of Public Works, but, I can say that the line is being pushed along on the north side of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and a vote is asked in the House this year of \$10,000 to carry it on down to the farthestmost part of Labrador and to the Straits of Belle Isle. I had a statement, made to me by the chief engineer of my department in reference to the question of making direct communication with the lighthouse at Belle Isle. Complaints were made, when the *Scotsman* was wrecked very lately, that there were no means of communicating with Montreal and Quebec to ask for assistance. That is true, but it is doubted very much by the officers of my department whether a cable can be laid across the straits between Labrador and Belle Isle owing to the enormous depth of the water and to the irregular bottom caused by the Arctic stream and the icebergs which come down. It has been suggested that we should lay a cable line from Anticosti to Belle Isle through the Straits of Belle Isle. It is possible that that may be more feasible. The chief engineer of my department does not desire to commit himself to any project because he is considering very carefully the adoption of a telegraph according to the Marconi system

which he thinks might be feasible, but, he thinks it is a little premature to come to a conclusion yet as improvements are being made every few months of a more or less important character upon it. Therefore, the matter is being carefully considered, and I may say to my hon. friend that we fully appreciate the great importance of getting telegraph communication with Belle Isle lighthouse so that ships, being unfortunately, wrecked, may have relief at the earliest possible moment. In regard to the lighthouse at Belle Isle we have there now the finest siren in America.

Mr. J. H. BELL (P.E.I.) Mr. Speaker, we are to have reasonable service, as I understand it, and in consideration of that we give \$2,000 of a subsidy annually. In whose discretion is it to say whether that service is performed in a reasonable way? If it is within the discretion of the Dominion government, cannot they bring pressure to bear to compel them to improve that service or withdraw the subsidy?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The words 'reasonable service' are not in the terms of union at all. They simply say that the Dominion government shall maintain telegraphic communication. They have maintained telegraphic communication. That subsidy of \$2,000 has been paid to the Anglo-American Telegraph Co. ever since confederation.

Mr. BERGERON. By the Dominion government?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Is there a monopoly?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. There is a monopoly, but it is only a partial one. The monopoly does not extend to a line between the continent of America and the island. It was granted in 1853 and it prevents a line being laid between Prince Edward Island and any island surrounding the coast of the continent of America, or between Europe and Prince Edward Island, but it does not extend to the continent itself. So that, in that respect, there is no monopoly. There is nothing to prevent a line being built from the continent of America, or from the province of Nova Scotia to Prince Edward Island; but, we cannot build a line from Cape Breton or Newfoundland to the Island.

Mr. FOSTER. You may build a line from New Brunswick?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. We can build a line from

New Brunswick across to the Cape, where the line now exists, and which is the most natural place to build a line.

Mr. A. C. MACDONALD (P.E.I.) Mr. Speaker, in order to show the perfect unanimity of opinion with respect to the deficiencies of the telegraph system of Prince Edward Island, I wish to corroborate the statement made by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies). In consideration of the possible adoption of the Marconi system, it would be an excellent place for the government to try that system across the Straits of Northumberland, a distance of eight or nine miles, particularly as I am given to understand that the Marconi system has proved a success for at least that distance. Were the government to establish the Marconi system it would very soon bring the Anglo-American Telegraph Company to time, and cause them to consider the false position in which they have placed the people of Prince Edward Island, for a great many years. I may say that the monopoly referred to was granted by the local government of Prince Edward Island before confederation, and at the time of confederation it was arranged that a subsidy should be paid in future by the Dominion government. That subsidy has been paid ever since and the impression has prevailed generally that the monopoly granted to the Anglo-American system prevented the construction of any other line of telegraphs, or the laying of any cable between Prince Edward Island and the mainland. I am pleased to hear from the Minister of Marine that under a proper interpretation of that monopoly clause, we have the privilege of putting down another cable between Prince Edward Island and the continent of America. If that be the case, then there is no reason why another cable should not be put down, either by the government or by one of the enterprising companies which have lines through the lower provinces. I think it would be well for the government to turn their attention to that matter, and see if they cannot interest these other companies in an establishment of another line to Prince Edward Island. The present telegraph system in that province is altogether behind the age, and as has been very properly remarked by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and by the other gentlemen who have spoken, we get the news there twenty-four hours behind every other part of the Dominion of Canada. As a matter of fact, the Prince Edward Island telegraph system is altogether obsolete, and anything which the government can do towards the breaking of that odious telegraph monopoly which now exists would be much appreciated by the people of my province.

Mr. J. GUNION RUTHERFORD (Macdonald). I have listened with great pleasure to the hon. gentlemen from Prince Edward Island, but I would like the House to understand that they are not the only people in the Dominion who suffer from a telegraph monopoly. A very large section of north-western Canada is at the mercy of a telegraph monopoly, and it is not a very uncommon thing in the portion of the Dominion I come from, for a man to telegraph his people that he is coming home and to arrive there twenty-four hours before the telegram. I remember when I was a boy, the occasion of the taking over of the telegraph system of Great Britain by the Imperial government, and any one who recollects the expense of telegraphing before the government ownership, and the cheapness and despatch which have existed since, will realize that the Bill introduced by the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) has much to recommend it. I trust that this matter will be dealt with seriously, and that we will soon see the abolition of the present telegraph monopolies, which are not at all necessary in Canada, but which are a great drawback to the free and rapid interchange of communication between the various portions of the Dominion.

sure to the hon. gentlemen from Prince Edward Island, but I would like the House to understand that they are not the only people in the Dominion who suffer from a telegraph monopoly. A very large section of north-western Canada is at the mercy of a telegraph monopoly, and it is not a very uncommon thing in the portion of the Dominion I come from, for a man to telegraph his people that he is coming home and to arrive there twenty-four hours before the telegram. I remember when I was a boy, the occasion of the taking over of the telegraph system of Great Britain by the Imperial government, and any one who recollects the expense of telegraphing before the government ownership, and the cheapness and despatch which have existed since, will realize that the Bill introduced by the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey) has much to recommend it. I trust that this matter will be dealt with seriously, and that we will soon see the abolition of the present telegraph monopolies, which are not at all necessary in Canada, but which are a great drawback to the free and rapid interchange of communication between the various portions of the Dominion.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) I mention again the matter of the returns which have been ordered by the House, and which have not yet been brought down. I am in a still worse position than when I made the inquiry the other day, because I have lost my memorandum and have not got my returns. Can the First Minister hunt up one or the other?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I have the memorandum, and I think before the day is over I may be able to place the return on the Table.

Mr. J. G. H. BERGERON (Beauharnois). In the absence of the Minister of the Interior, and in the absence of the acting minister (Mr. Sutherland), I wish to ask the Prime Minister about the Order of the House passed on the 26th of February for the order in council appointing Mr. Girouard as registrar in the Yukon. It is a very short return, and I am surprised it is not down yet.

The PRIME MINISTER. I think I shall have it before the sitting is over.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assinibola). On the 7th of February an Order of the House was passed for copies of all correspondence between any officer of the Interior Department and any officer of the North-west

mounted police, respecting the giving of contracts for supplies for the North-west mounted police since the 23rd of June, 1896. The Prime Minister promised this return on Friday.

The PRIME MINISTER. I have ascertained that it will take some time to prepare that report, but we may have it in the course of this week.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) I would ask the Prime Minister: When does he intend to bring down the return to an Order of the House passed on the 12th of February for the correspondence between the Dominion government and the British Columbia government, with respect to the offer of the government of British Columbia to send a contingent to South Africa?

The PRIME MINISTER. I shall make a note of that.

THIRD READING.

Bill (No. 41) respecting the River St. Clair Railway Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. Montague.)

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 48) respecting the Montreal and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Monk, by Mr. Bergeron.)

Bill (No. 26) respecting the Kaslo and Lardo-Duncan Railway Company.—(Mr. Bostock, by Mr. Morrison.)

Bill (No. 33) respecting the British Columbia Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. Prior.)

ORFORD COPPER COMPANY.

Mr. McINNES (for Mr. Belcourt) moved second reading of Bill (No. 53) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Orford Copper Company.

Mr. A. T. WOOD (Hamilton). Mr. Speaker, if the promoter of this Bill does not consider it worth while to look after it, I think it is a Bill which should not occupy the time of this House. It is for the purpose of reviving a patent which has long expired—a patent which was obtained seven or eight years ago, and which expired within two years for non-usage. As the House knows, the patent law requires every patent obtained in Canada to be used within two years. This patent has never been used; not a pound of nickel has been refined under it; and now these people come and ask us to revive what has been extinct for seven years. The reason they are doing so is that a large establishment has been built in the city of Hamilton for the purpose of refining nickel and other metals, and they think that that establish-

ment may possibly have to fall back upon the use of this process. If they do, I think they have a perfect right to use a process which has not been used in Canada for seven years, which, in fact, has never been used in Canada. These people, after allowing the thing to stand for seven years, are now asking this House to revive their patent. I have here a letter from a gentleman largely interested in the Hamilton enterprise:

The Orford Copper Company of New York is the company which refines all the mattes produced by the Canadian Copper Company at Sudbury. Robert M. Thompson is the president and principal owner of this company. The process used by this company in the refining of these mattes was some seven years ago patented in Canada. The process, of course, has never been used in Canada, and the patent has, I am told, expired both by limitation and for non-user. The Orford Company, through their Ottawa attorneys, Gormully & Orde, are before parliament asking for an Act authorizing the revival and extension of this patent. You will see a notice of such application in the 'Canada Gazette.'

Burke and McIntosh are interested with Thompson in all this matter.

They all say that no refining can be done in Canada, that none will be done, and they refuse to do any. Burke and McIntosh tell the Ontario government that no other process than this one of Thompson's is of any avail or of any use, that it is the only process by which the Sudbury mattes can be refined.

This process is now free to the use of any one desiring to use it. Why should the patent be revived for the sole purpose of preventing it being used, when the parties seeking such renewal openly declare that it will never be used in Canada. I am told that the process was already twenty years old when it was patented in Canada.

It is very important, Mr. Wood, that you should prevent the passage of this Act and the revival and extension of the life of this patent. If by any unforeseen cause or accident the wet process of Dr. Hoepfner should fail, then it is very important that Thompson's fire process, which is now free, should remain free to be used by any one.

The course of Burke, McIntosh and Thompson in connection with the refining and manufacturing of nickel in Ontario has certainly not been such as to warrant a renewal of this patent for the sole purpose of preventing any refining being done in Ontario and to make the policy of the government a failure.

I earnestly hope that you will lose no time in putting a stop to this proceeding. Of course, there is every likelihood of the success of the Hoepfner process, but should it fail or not to do all that is expected of it, then it is most important that this Thompson process should remain free to fall back upon. Let me urge this upon you as you are in a position to prevent the success of this effort to beat the Hamilton enterprise.

I write you both at Hamilton and Ottawa.

Yours truly,

S. J. RITCHIE.

It is of the utmost importance that this Bill should be thrown out, because if, by any unforeseen circumstances, the process under

which the Hamilton industry is going on, should fail, it is very important that the Thompson Fire Process should remain free, and that the people of Hamilton, who have invested hundreds of thousands of dollars in refining works, should have it to fall back upon.

I would, therefore, move that the Bill be not now read the second time to-day, but that it be read the second time this time six months.

Mr. FLINT. The question raised by the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Wood), is very important. I presume that very few hon. members have studied this Bill, or have any idea as to its scope, and would, no doubt, like to have an opportunity given the mover of this Bill, who is not now present, of explaining it. I would, therefore, move that the debate be adjourned.

Mr. LARIVIERE. Last session we passed two similar Bills, for which I felt rather diffident in voting. But, at the same time, I think that the proper place for the examination of these Bills, is the Private Bills Committee. In that committee, all the objections should be stated and looked into, and, if necessary, evidence taken. In justice to both parties, the Bill should be allowed to pass the second reading, and be sent to the committee, where a proper investigation could be made.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman is perfectly correct in saying that the Private Bills Committee passed two Bills last session of a somewhat anagalous character. That committee did not pass the preambles of those Bills, until sworn evidence was brought before it to establish the correctness of the statements made in the preambles. It has been too largely the practice to assume that everything is correct which is stated in the preamble of a Bill, or to accept the statement of the solicitor; and we have lately adopted the practice of requiring testimony under oath, to establish the facts. I do not see much difference in the recital in the preamble of this Bill and those we passed last session, although I have not had the opportunity of examining them very critically. In the Private Bills Committee, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wood), would have the opportunity of establishing the statement he makes, that this patent ought not to be renewed, because the process has never been used in Canada, and never will be. That is a substantive statement, and, no doubt, the committee would be glad to hear evidence on that point.

Mr. WOOD. I should not have moved the rejection of this Bill now, but for the fact that the gentleman who is in charge of it, does not care two straws about it, and knows nothing about it.

Mr. WOOD.

Mr. FOSTER. I think it would be better to allow the debate to be adjourned, and hear what the hon. gentleman, who has the Bill in charge, does know about it. I think he will have to give very good reasons either here, or in the committee, before the Bill is allowed to pass. It does not seem quite right to bowl it out in his absence, and not hear what he has to say.

Motion (Mr. Flint), to adjourn debate, agreed to.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 55), to incorporate the Canadian Bankers Association.—(Mr. Britton.)

Bill (No. 66), an Act respecting the Cowichan Valley Railway Company.—(Mr. McInnes.)

POSTMASTER AT LOTBINIERE.

Mr. FORTIER asked :

Whether the late Maxime Lemay, postmaster of Lotbinière, in the county of Lotbinière:

1. Has, or has not, been replaced
2. If he has been replaced, by whom?
3. What is the date of the appointment?
4. By whom was the appointment recommended?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. The successor to the late Maxime Lemay, postmaster at Lotbinière, has been appointed. 2. Ernest Filteau is the name of his successor. 3. Mr. Filteau was appointed on the 1st December last. 4. It is not usual to answer this question.

APPLICANTS FROM QUEBEC TO SERVE IN AFRICA.

Mr. DUGAS (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

What are the names of the officers, subaltern officers and others, of the province of Quebec, who have made application to the Militia Department, or to the persons authorized to receive such applications, to serve in South Africa?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Commissions and ordinary enlistments—Patterson, Capt. C. E. A., (85th Batt.) Montreal; Forrest, Lt.-Col. W. H., Quebec; Leprohon, Lt. E. T., (65th Batt.) Montreal; Humble, Lt. B. M., (1st Batt. Inf'try.) Montreal; Cameron, Major G. W., (5th Batt.) Montreal; Gordon, Lt.-Col. W. D., Montreal; Belanger, L. H. O., (89th Batt.) Montreal; Barry, Capt. J. J., (85th Batt.) Montreal; Swift, Lt. A. E., (8th Batt.) Quebec; Panet, Capt. A. de L., (87th Batt.) Quebec; Panet, Capt. A. H., (R.C.A.) Quebec; Pelletier, Capt. F., (65th Batt.) Montreal; Leduc, Capt. L. R., (R.C.I.) Quebec; Pelletier, Lt. A. E., (65th Batt.) Montreal; Kervyn, de B., Quebec; Cook, Lt.-Col. J. P., (P. of W.F.) Montreal; Baker, Major E. S.,

(late 58th Batt.) Cookshire, Quebec; O'Farrell, Capt. F., (87th Batt.) Quebec; Chagnon, Capt. J. M. E., (late 85th Batt.) 1613 Notre-Dame St., Montreal; Ogilvie, Capt. J., (R. C.A.) Quebec; Benson, Major T., (R.C.A.) Quebec; Armstrong, Lt. C. J., (R.S.) Montreal; D'Orsennens, Capt. G. St. Johns, Quebec; O'Meara, Lt. D. A., Quebec; Bell, G. F., Montreal; Normandeau, Capt. J. E. B., (83rd Batt.) Joliette, Que; Paradis, Capt. E. C., (58th Batt.) Coaticook, Que; Belleau, Capt., (9th Batt.) Quebec; Reeves, Lt. G. W., (76th Batt.) Martinville, Que.; Ewing, Capt. W. G., (54th Batt.) Richmond, Que.; Kaye, Lt. J. H., Quebec; Fortier, Lt. S. C., Levis; Talbot, O. E. M.P., Bellechasse, Que.; Laferty, Lt. F. D., Quebec; Bond, Lt. F. L. C., (1st Batt.) Montreal; Denis, Pierre, Montreal; Stubbs, W. W., Montreal; Robarts, G. P., Montreal; Glass, John, Quebec; Dobbell, Major, 114 Champ de Mars, Montreal; Frenette, Major L., Montreal; Thacker, Capt. H. C., ('B' Battery) Quebec; Whitman, Capt. S. R., (52nd Batt) Knowlton, Que.; Clapham, Major Chs., (late 6th Hussars) 43 Shuter Street, Montreal; Stevens Lt. G. W., (3rd Fd. Battery) Montreal; Bennett, Major W., (R.C.) 118 Britannia Street, Montreal; Turner, Capt. R. E. W., (Q.O.C. Hussars) Quebec; Sutherland, F. D., 764 Sherbrooke Street, Montreal; McCrea, Lt. J., (16th By., C.A.) McGill University, Montreal; Baker, Homer, (R. M. College Graduate) Frelighsburg, Que.; Gibson, Lt. Wm., (5th Batt.) Quebec; Reynar, Jos., Three Rivers, Que.; Collyer, J., Masson, Que.; Meade, F. J., (58th Batt.) Coaticook, Que.; Bennett, (late R.C.A.) R. M. College Graduate, Montreal; Laliberté, Capt. Ed., (Fd. Battery) Quebec; King, Capt. R. W. H., (5th Dragoons) Cookshire, Que.; Thomson, M. M., 180 St. James Street, Montreal; Chambers, Capt. E. J., (Inf'try R.O.) Montreal; Bond, Lt.-Col. Frank, (R.O.) late 1st Batt., Montreal; Feneran, M. A., 685 Dorchester Street, Montreal; Hooker, Lt. L. M., (6th Hussars) Geneva, Que.; Buchanan, A. E. C., P.O. Box 2379, Montreal; Salaberry, de Lt. René, (85th Batt.) L'Assomption, Que.; Courtney, Capt. R. H., (1st Batt.) R. M. College Graduate, Montreal; Bell, Capt. And., (late 3rd Batt.) Montreal; MacLean, Lt.-Col. J. B., (Duke of York R.C. Hussars) Montreal; Allan, Lt. John, (5th Batt.) Montreal; Gilmore, Capt. E. T. B., (R. M. College Graduate) Montreal; Gordon, Capt. J. Grant, Richmond, Que.; Phelps, Walter J., (ex-Lt. 7th Batt.) 60 McGill Street, Montreal; Arthurs, Jas., Chaudière Street, Hull, Que.; Arnold, W. S., Hudson Bay Co., Montreal; Banks, Jno. S., Helena, Que.; Banks, Wm. S., Helena, Que.; Brown, W. J., 1025 St. Dominique Street, Montreal; Butters, John, 57 a Young Street, Montreal; Crozier, J. A., (McGill University) Montreal; Crosby, W., Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Que.; Donaldson, A. S., (McGill University) Montreal; Drolet, Oscar, 23 Ste. Cecile Street, Quebec;

Gomery, B. V., (Molson Bank) Quebec; Gibson, E. J., (McGill University) Montreal; Hurd, E. H., Massawippi, Que.; Holland, C. E., Upper Melbourne, Que.; Johnston, R. G., (65th Batt.) Montreal; Jacques, Elzear F., West Shefford, Que.; Karger, Moses, 678 St. Lawrence Street, Montreal; Kilgour, W. C. 31 a St. Eugene Street, Montreal; Kearley, Edwin, Danville, Que.; McLachlan, Moore, Lochaber Bay, Que; McLachlan, Donald G., Buckingham, Que.; Nobert, Firmin, St. Narcisse, Que.; Owen, C. C., Stanstead, Que.; Parker, W. O. N., 25 St. Paul Street, Montreal; Percy, Mederick, (3rd Batt.) Montreal; Percy, H. M., 3 Weadale Park, (near Montreal), Westmount, Que.; Richardson, W. Fred, 144 D'Aiguillon Street, Quebec; Redman, Thos. Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Que.; Rutten, Louis A., 414 Magdalen Street, Montreal; Saddleir, J. E., 13 Terrance Street, Montreal; Theriault, J. E., St. Lazare de Vaudreuil, Que.; Tyler, Edward, Montreal; Vaughan, John, 956 Berri Street, Montreal; Wilson, Andrew, 864 de Montigny Street, Montreal; Walters, M. P., Hull, Que.; Peltier, Major J. E., (65th Batt.) Montreal; Costigan, Major R., (3rd Field Battery), Montreal; Bond, Captain W. L., (1st Batt.), Montreal; Stuart, Captain W. G., (1st Batt.), Montreal; Laurie, Captain A., (1st Batt.), Montreal; Cushing, Captain F., (1st Batt.) Montreal; Lippé, Captain C. A. H., (85th Batt.) Montreal; Aubrey, Captain H. J. C., (85th Batt.) Montreal; Cole, Captain E. C., (2nd Regiment C.A.) Montreal; Wynne, Captain J. H., (2nd Regiment C.A.) Montreal; Biron, Captain C. B., (64th Batt.) Montreal; Sullivan, Captain E. O., (64th Batt.) Valleyfield; Botterill, Captain S. H. (58th Batt.) Cookshire; Dixon, Captain B., (86th Batt.) Montreal; Ibbotson, Captain J. S., (5th Batt.) Montreal; Lovelace, Captain S. M., (D.Y.R.C.H.) Montreal; Dobbin, Lieut. G. L., (1st Batt.) Montreal; Butler, Lieut. A., (1st Batt.) Montreal; Bacon, Second Lieut. F. I., (1st Batt.) Montreal; Harrington, Lieut. J., (R.O.) Montreal; McCallum, Lieut. J. W., (late 3rd V.R.C.) Montreal; Badgeley, Lieut. H. G., (3rd V. R.C.) Montreal; Barclay, Lieut. J., (5th Batt.) Montreal; Lippé, Lieut. J. S. (85th Batt.) Montreal; Gardiner, Captain J. C., 3rd Scottish Rifles) attached to 5th R.S.; Cooke, (Bandmaster) 5th R.S., Montreal; McAulay, Lt.-Col. M. B., (58th Batt.) Scotstown; King, Captain R. W., 5th Dragoons) Compton; Horton, Captain J. W., (5th Dragoons) Compton; Fraser, Captain C. K., (53rd Batt.) Sherbrooke; Murray, Captain W. H., (58th Batt.) Massawippi; Davidson, Captain J. A., (79th Batt.) Bethel; Van, Lieut. H. R., (58th Batt.) Springhill; Bowen, Second Lieut. E. H., (5th Dragoons) Sherbrooke; Robins, Second Lieut. J. C., (53rd Batt.) Sherbrooke; Amyrauld, Captain A. O., (Artillery R.O.) Sweetsburg; Boulanger, Major T. L., (1st Field Battery) Quebec; Roy, Lieut. G., (1st

Field Battery) Quebec; Marsan, Captain L. P., (6th Regiment C.A.) Quebec; Petry, W. H. (Paymaster, 8th Batt.) Quebec; Demers, Lieut. J. E. (17th Batt.) Quebec; Demers, Lieut. L. R., (17th Batt.) Quebec; Demers, Major J. E., (17th Batt.) Quebec; Ward, Lt.-Col. W. J., (55th Batt.) Megantic; Thompson, Lt.-Col. W., (55th Batt.) Megantic; McKenzie, Major J., (55th Batt.) Megantic; Blouin, Lieut. H. B., (61st Batt.) Quebec; Morin, Major (87th Batt.) Quebec; Taché, Major G. E., (88th Batt.) Quebec; Dessaint, Captain A. R., (88th Batt.) Quebec; Belanger, Lieut. H. O., (89th Batt.) Quebec; Dugal, Qr. Master G. O., (89th Batt.) Quebec; Taschereau, Lt. Col. De M., (92nd Batt.); Taschereau, Major G. A., (92nd Batt.); Boulanger, Capt. G. D. (17th Batt.); Howard, F. L. (with machine gun) Brownsburg. Que.; Brown, Capt. W. E., (1st Batt.) Montreal. Medical Practitioners—Labrecque, Dr. J. J. A., 212 Mount Royal, Montreal; Boisvert, Dr. Chas. E., 16 St. John Street, Quebec; McCrae, J. (M.D.) Montreal; Schwartz, Dr. G., Quebec; Wilson, Dr. C. W., 59 Metcalfe Street, Montreal; Landby, Surg. Major W. O., (15th Field Battery); Fiset, Surg. Major E., (89th Batt.) Quebec; Lemieux, Dr. L. J., St. Vincent de Paul, Montreal; Worthington, Dr. Surg. Major, (59th Batt.) Sherbrooke, Que.; Charest, Dr. C., 1439 St. Denis Street, Montreal; Aumond, J. H., St. Esprit, Que.; Masson, Dr. J. E., 59 Sous le Fort, Quebec; Patterson, Dr. Robt., Montreal; Taschereau, Dr. G. A., (Major) St. Ferdinand de Halifax, Que.; Watterson, Dr. Robt., Montreal Hospital, Montreal; Lebel, Dr. E. A., Quebec; Bell, Dr. J. H., (late 1st Batt.) Montreal; Thomas, Dr. W. R., Lennoxville, Que.; Harding, Dr. E. S., 123 Cherrier Street, Montreal; Byron, Dr. B., (Capt. 64th Batt.); Williams, Dr. J. A., Montreal; Keenan, Dr. C. B., Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal; Barrie, Dr. H. G., Montreal; Dickson, Dr. S. M., South Durham, Que.; Wootton, H. H., Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal; Shaw, Dr. J. M., (dentist) 4430 St. Catherine Street, Montreal; Lightston, Hyman, (medical student) Mount Ste. Mary Avenue, Montreal; Hunter, Dr. D., Danville, Que.; Mooney, Dr. M. J., Scotstown, Que.; Armstrong, Dr. G., 320 Mountain Street, Montreal; Deschene, P. M., (ambulance service) 109 Dubord Street, Montreal; Prefontaine, Dr. H. H., South Durham, Que.; Arthurs, James, (medical student) Hull, Que.; Harrington, Dr. J. Peters, 629 Sherbrooke Street, Montreal; Forbes, Dr. A. M., 297 Peel Street, Montreal; Elliott, Dr. C. E. Surg. Major, (Q.O.C. Hussars) Quebec; Barclay, Dr. J., (5th Batt.) Montreal; Tait, Alf., (not qualified M.D.) of Merchants Bank of Halifax, Montreal; Cameron, Dr. K., Surg., (Duke of York R. C. Hussars) Montreal; Duchene, Vet. Lieut. J. D. (B Battery, R.C.A.) Quebec; Gauthier, Surg. Lieut. L. P., (89th Batt.) Quebec. Nurses—Fortin, Mrs. Lamette L., Fraser-

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

ville hospital; Hibbard, Miss M. E., Montreal; Owan, Miss Lellan M., Montreal; Evans, Miss Annie, Montreal; Porter, Miss M., Montreal; Bristow, Miss L., 11 Park Ave., Montreal; Cane, Mary E., 16 Stanley St., Montreal; Cotter, Miss, Montreal; Seaton, Adelaide F., Stanley Flats, Stanley Street, Montreal; Peltier, Mrs. J. E., 460 Dorchester Street, Montreal; Ashby, Kathleen, 735 Cadieux Street, Montreal; Meiklejohn, Miss, Quebec; Watson, Miss Agnes, Quebec; Horne, Margaret L., 93 St. Urbain Street, Montreal; Patterson, Miss Mary M., General Hospital, Montreal; Adams, Suzie Weldon (care F. S. Wetherall), Cookshire, Que.; Whiteford, Jane, Ormstown, Que.; Clark, May, 464 St. Antoine Street, Montreal; Christie, Jennie E., Stanstead, Que.; Rogers, Mary, 15 Church Street, Montreal; Spragg, Florence, Montreal; Johnson, Elizabeth, (M.D.), Montreal; Taylor, Katie, Montreal; Johnson, Mrs. Muirhead, 2007 Notre Dame Street, Montreal; Kelly, Elizabeth, 385 St. Antoine Street, Montreal; Watters, Helen S., 93 St. Urbain Street, Montreal; Anson, Elizabeth M., 285 Mountain Street, Montreal; Belanger, Asylda, Montmorency, Que.; Sherwood, M. C., 93 St. Urbain Street, Montreal; Wright, Violet H., Hatley, Que.; Johnson, Gertrude; Demers, Mrs. S. F.; Cowan, Mrs.; Watson, Miss A. Chaplains—Blyth, Rev. R. B., Montreal; Drolet, Rev. J., 111 Massue Street, Quebec; Williams, Rev. Lennox, Quebec; Crombie, Rev. J. M., Cote des Neiges, Montreal; Boville, Rev. R. G., Montreal; Starr, Rev. J. E., Stanstead, Que.; Barton, Rev. Wm., (B.A.), Grand'Mere, Que.; Buckland, Rev. A. W., Eastman, Que.; Almond, Rev. J.; Dobbs, Rev. C. E.; O'Leary, Rev. J. P.

Mr. BERGERON. All from Quebec.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. All from Quebec.

IMPORTATION OF POSTERS ANNOUNCING WOODBRIDGE FAIR.

Mr. CASEY (by Mr. McMillan) asked:

1. What amount of customs duty was paid on certain posters, printed by Messrs. Hennegan & Company, in Cincinnati, in the United States, announcing the holding of the fair at Woodbridge, in the county of York, on October 17 and 18, 1899, and having printed thereon the name of N. C. Wallace, M.P., as treasurer, George F. Wallace as president, and T. F. Wallace as secretary?

2. Are there establishments in Canada where such posters could have been printed? If so, how many?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The Department of Customs is informed by the collector of customs at Toronto, that certain posters advertising the Woodbridge Fair, were imported from Hennigan & Co., of Cincinnati, in September, 1899, and duly entered. As invoices are not made public, it is not deemed advisable to state the amount of duty paid, but I would

say, the proper duties payable thereon, were paid. The department is further informed, that the assistant appraiser, who examined the goods, does not recollect whether the names mentioned in the question, were printed on such posters. There are lithographic establishments in Canada, but as I have not seen any of the posters, I express no opinion in reference to question No. 2.

ARMOURY AT SUSSEX, N.B.

Mr. DOMVILLE (by Mr. Davis) asked :

If it is the intention to commence the building of the armoury at Sussex, N.B., for the use of the 8th Hussars, in the early spring of this year?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). Yes; it is the intention to commence the building of the armoury for the use of the 8th Hussars, during the coming spring.

EMPLOYMENT OF MR. L. V. LABELLE, OF ST. JACQUES L'ACHIGAN.

Mr. DUGAS (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

Is Mr. L. V. Labelle, of St. Jacques l'Achigan, County Montcalm, still in the service of the government, and what is his salary? Has he sent in a report to government in relation to the experiments in tobacco-growing at the Model Farm at St. Jacques? How many acres had he under cultivation? What has been the yield per acre? How many kinds of tobacco has he planted; what are the names of the several kinds, and the kind best adapted to the soil? To whom does the revenue from the farm belong? How much has been expended up to date? How many persons have been employed on the farm to date?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). I am not in a position yet to give all the information asked for in this question, but I can say, that my department made arrangements with L. V. Labelle, of St. Jacques l'Achigan, to carry out certain experiments in tobacco culture during last season, that he has reported, by letter, from time to time, the results of these experiments, but he has not yet made any formal report, giving his final conclusion. Therefore, I cannot give the details asked for in this question.

Mr. BERGERON. Does he draw a salary?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. He is to be paid a lump sum for carrying on these experiments. The crop belongs, naturally, to him, I cannot inform the hon. gentleman (Mr. Dugas), how many persons have been employed, or how much money has been expended; in fact, I do not control the expenditure.

BENNETT-DAWSON TELEGRAPH LINE.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Has the Minister of Public Works seen the following despatch from Vancouver:

'Some comment is made in the city over the fact that Mr. Charleson, superintending the construction of the all-Canadian telegraph line, shipped north by the 'Amur' to-day for his men on construction work flour bought in Ottawa and shipped out here at a cost of 50 cents a barrel more than he could have bought here for, stoves and sleighs he could have saved the freight upon, horses he could have saved money on by buying them here, and so on down the list. Some 300 men applied here for work on the construction, but the seventeen who went north on the 'Amur' were principally French Canadians from the east.'

Is it a fact that Mr. Charleson took or sent flour, stoves, sleighs, horses, &c., &c., from here to British Columbia this year besides what had been obtained from Messrs. Kelly, Douglas & Co., of Vancouver, last year and held over?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). On behalf of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), I beg to say: The Minister of Public Works does not think he should consider communications of this character, evidently inspired by desire to raise race hatred; but he may state that fifteen of the men taken from here by Mr. Charleson, are English-speaking. It is not to the department's knowledge that he took horses or sleighs from the east; however, in view of the circumstances of the case, and the success which attended his management of the construction of the Bennett-Dawson telegraph line, the minister has allowed him to use his own discretion in regard to the purchase of supplies, and the engagement of men.

TELEGRAPH LINE FROM DAWSON TO CIRCLE CITY.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Has the Minister of Public Works seen a despatch from Vancouver to the eastern papers in regard to Mr. Charleson, and which contains the following:

'He says the government has also instructed him to build a fifty mile line from Dawson to Circle City, to connect with a line built from St. Michael to Circle City by an American company.'

Is it true that the government contemplates building a telegraph line from Dawson City to Circle City? If so, what proportion of said line will the United States be asked to pay for or build? Is there any great necessity for such a line? If so, why?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). No such instructions have been given to Mr. Charleson, as there is at present no vote out of which the cost of this construction could be defrayed.

EXPENDITURE ON MILITIA AND ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE.

Mr. DOMVILLE (by Mr. Davis) asked :

What was the total amount, by years, expended for the militia during the years 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899? What was the pay of headquarters and district staff

officers for same period, by years? What was the expenditure by years, for same period for Royal Military College? What was the amount collected from cadets at the Royal Military College for same period, by years?

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE** (Mr. Borden). The answer is as follows :

—	1890-1.	1891-2.	1892-3.	1893-4.	1894-5.	1895-6.	1896-7.	1897-8.	1898-9.
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Total Expenditure of Militia	1,279,513 65	1,266,308 05	1,411,174 84	1,284,517 17	1,574,013 76	2,136,713 55	2,497,050 88	1,681,612 68	2,489,551 65
Pay of Headquarters Staff	8,723 27	10,500 00	10,500 00	16,535 40	17,156 25	15,381 18	16,547 83	16,018 88	18,158 20
Pay of District Staff	22,709 42	20,768 12	20,432 83	21,015 00	22,319 17	23,218 42	24,805 46	22,573 44	21,367 17
Expenditure R. M. College	69,248 29	63,949 31	70,584 73	68,022 22	64,568 94	62,102 26	59,616 08	58,231 27	65,394 66
Revenue R. M. College	21,306 91	18,679 62	23,925 58	22,417 36	19,274 05	19,881 55	16,522 72	15,883 68	21,535 81

SOPERTON POST OFFICE.

Mr. TAYLOR (by Mr. Mills) asked :

Has there been a post office called Soperton, in the county of Leeds? If so, in what year was said office established? Has said office been closed? If so, for what reason?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mullock). Soperton post office, in the county of Leeds, was established in June, 1871. On the 10th of March, 1880, it was closed for want of a postmaster, and remained closed until July, 1884. It was again closed on the 1st of March, 1900. In view of the fact that the cost of the mail service to that office was \$62.60, and the postmaster's salary \$16, amounting in all to \$78.60, and the revenue was but \$5 per year, or about one and one-third cents per day, it was not considered necessary in the public interest to keep the office open; it was, moreover, within two and a half, three and four miles of the Delta, Oak Leaf and Plum Hollow post offices, respectively.

I.C.R.—DAMAGE FROM SNOW FENCES.

Mr. TALBOT asked :

1. Is the Minister of Railways and Canals aware that several claims for indemnity for damage caused by the snow fences along the line of the Intercolonial Railway have been repeatedly, and for several years back, transmitted to his department and to the authorities at Moncton, by farmers of the parish of St. Charles, Bellechasse?

2. Is he aware that an inquiry was held three years ago by the assistant engineer, Mr. McGrath?

3. Has he taken cognizance of the report of the said inquiry?

4. If so, has the minister decided to indemnify the parties interested for the destruction of their orchards, for increase of work on public roads, &c., and when does he purpose to do it?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). 1. Yes, I am aware
Mr. DOMVILLE.

that claims have been presented from time to time for damages alleged to have been caused by snow fences. 2. Yes, I am aware that the matter was inquired into upon the ground by Mr. McGrath, assistant engineer, upon instructions from me. 3. Yes, I have taken cognizance of the report. 4. No, I have not decided to indemnify the claim-

ants, as I am not yet satisfied that the government is liable; I am making further inquiry in order that I may reach a decision one way or the other.

WINTER ROAD TO THE YUKON.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. What expenditure has been made of moneys voted last session for the construction of a winter road to the Yukon?

2. What work has been carried out by the Public Works Department on the winter road, how many miles were completed, and between what points?

3. What work is it proposed shall be done during the coming summer between Carmack's Point on Lewes River and White Horse Rapids to secure an overland trail or road between these points, avoiding the dangerous portions of the Lewes River, Thirty-Mile River and Lake LaBarge, securing a permanent route which can be availed of not only during the winter but during the period when the ice is forming in the fall, and breaking in the spring, when the river cannot be travelled upon?

4. What is the cost per mile of work done? What is the estimated cost per mile of the proposed future work?

5. What post houses were erected on the route for the shelter of travellers?

6. Was a report made by the surveyor in charge of the work, and of what nature?

7. Was this surveyor recalled, and for what purpose?

8. Is the government aware that an available route between Carmack's and the Tahkina River exists, and has any survey been made between that river and the White Horse Rapids?

9. What work has been done up to date to improve the river between White Horse Rapids and Dawson, (a) at the outlet of Fifty-Mile River into Lake LaBarge; (b) on Thirty-Mile River; (c) at Five Finger Rapids; (d) at Rink Rapids; (e) at or near Hellgate, some twenty miles above Fort Selkirk?

10. Will all the necessary work be completed prior to the opening of navigation?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mullock). 1. \$17,225.37. 2. 110 miles built from

Lake LaBarge, towards Dawson, to Hutchiku, as follows:—7 miles from mouth of Takhina River to Lake LaBarge; 99 miles, Lake LaBarge to Hutchiku; 2 miles, LaBarge Station to telegraph office; 1 mile, from Nordenskiöld to Mounted Police Station at Tantalus; $\frac{1}{4}$ -mile, Carmack's Landing to Trail. 3. Not yet decided. 4. About \$150 a mile, future cost about the same. 5. One post house at Nordenskiöld. 6. Yes, a report and plan of the work done of operations during the season. 7. The work was suspended at the commencement of severe weather and close of navigation. 8. The government examined an alternate route, which was found not to be as good nor as short as the one adopted. 9. (a) None, survey was made; (b) Four stationary beacons have been placed at the foot of Lake LaBarge at the entrance to Thirty-mile River; (c) Blasting rock and removing boulders to make the channel 35 feet wider; (d) Boulders removed and survey of Rink Rapids made, and a good channel found, which only requires two beacon piers to be made safe at all times; (e) An examination has been made by which it is ascertained that a sum of \$18,000 will be required to build shear dams to confine the waters in the west channel. 10. No.

WOOD ISLAND, P.E.I., BREAKWATER.

Mr. MARTIN asked:

1. Has the government received a petition from the residents of Wood Island, in the province of Prince Edward Island, praying for the dredging of the harbour or extension of the breakwater there? If so, what does the government propose to do for the improvement of the harbour at Wood Island, and when will the work be commenced?

2. How many petitions praying for those improvements has the government received from the residents of Wood Island since June 30, 1896?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. Yes, petitions were received. To the second question, it is suggested that the question be repeated at a later period.

DUTY ON AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

Mr. CLARKE (by Mr. Mills) asked:

1. Have any petitions or representations been made to the government praying for an increase of the duty on agricultural implements; and if so, from whom?

2. Does the government intend to comply with the prayer of the petitions?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). It is not deemed expedient to make any statement in this matter in advance of the budget.

SHEIK'S ISLAND DAM—PAYMENT TO MR. SNETSINGER, M.P.

Mr. TAYLOR (by Mr. Mills) asked:

Is there an opinion on file in the Department of Justice advising against the payment to J.

G. Snetsinger, Esq., M.P., of any amount in respect of a claim for compensation or damages for a mill property or water power at or near Sheik's Dam, on the Cornwall Canal, on the ground that the said J. G. Snetsinger, Esq., M.P., was not the owner of the said property? Was the property in respect of which the said opinion was given (if such was given) the same property for which on the 7th inst. the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals stated that \$20,000 had been allowed the said J. G. Snetsinger, Esq., M.P.?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Mr. Snetsinger was the owner of a grist-mill constructed on a portion, nearly two acres, of the bed of the River St. Lawrence, between Moulinette and Sheik's Island, which had been leased to him by the Ontario government. The mill was a four-story building, and contained new roller machinery, in good condition, and with the latest improvements. On the utilization of this channel for the enlargement of the Cornwall Canal by the construction of dams at the head and foot of the island, the site of the property was sub-merged, in 1893; thereupon Mr. Snetsinger claimed \$42,000 as compensation, of which \$20,000 were for the water power and land, \$12,000 for the mill and machinery, and \$10,000 for damages to loss of business. Finally, however, he agreed to accept the appraisement of the government valuator of \$12,000, covering all claims except that for the water power and land, as to his legal right to which the department had doubts, and this amount, with interest, was paid him, the principal in 1897, and the interest (on advice from the Department of Justice and on a special vote of parliament), in 1898. As to the question of the water power and mill site, the department took considerable pains to ascertain the legal rights of Mr. Snetsinger. On referring the matter to the Department of Justice, it obtained the opinion, in December, 1893, that as the federal government had always contended that the St. Lawrence River, so far as it remained ungranted at the date of confederation, belongs to Canada, and as Mr. Snetsinger's title was a lease from the province of Ontario, his claim for loss of water power and the land on which the mill was built, could not be admitted. Subsequently, however, on the 16th June, 1899—

Mr. BERGERON. A change of government.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No; a change of opinion.

Mr. BERGERON. Both. A change of government and a change of opinion.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No, it was the same officer. Subsequently, however, on the 16th of June, 1899, the Department of Justice advised

further, stating that since their previous letter of 1893, the Privy Council had decided that rivers were not transferred by the British North America Act to the Dominion, but only river improvements, and that, therefore, if Mr. Snetsinger had a good title from the province, he would be entitled to compensation. In view of this opinion, an appraisal was made by two valuers, who fixed the sum of \$8,000 as reasonable compensation, and on a further report from the Department of Justice, in October, 1899, this amount, with interest, was paid, and a full release taken in January last.

Mr. BERGERON. Is that all ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. That will stand muster, I guess, anywhere.

I.C.R.—ST. CHARLES BRANCH.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

1. When was the St. Charles Branch Railway first let, and what was the amount of the several tenders for its construction?
2. Who was the lowest tenderer, and amount of his tender? What was paid for the original

right of way, and what was paid for terminal accommodations?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. The first contract for the construction of the St. Charles Branch was awarded in July, 1882. The central section is about 4½ miles. The tenders for the central section were on schedule prices, as per sheet attached, marked 'A.' The eastern section is about 8¾ miles. The tenders for the eastern section were for bulk sums, as follows:—

David Aikman	\$68,000
R. T. Cooke and C. Jones	59,800
Larkin, Connolly & Co	50,700
T. J. Czray	32,000
M. J. Hogan	31,000
Simon Peters	Informal

2. M. J. Hogan was the lowest tenderer. The amount of his tender for the eastern section was \$31,000, but the amount of his tender for the central section cannot be given, as it was on schedule prices. The cost of land and damages to 31st January, 1900, is \$949,432.26. It is impossible to give the amount paid for terminal accommodations, as it was not kept separately.

The Tenders for the Central Section were on Schedule prices, as follows:—

No.	Description of Work.	M. J. Hogan.	R. P. Cook and Cook & Jones.	Simon Peters. Informal.	Larkin, Connolly & Co.
		Price.	Price.	Price.	Price.
1	Chopping and clearing..... per acre.	\$2 00	\$15 00	\$42 00	\$20 00
2	Grubbing..... "	2 00	60 00	80 00	100 00
3	Earth excavation..... per c. yard.	18	25	22	18
4	" " extra haul after 1,000 ft. up to 2,500 ft. "	¼	5	32	1½
5	Earth excavation in foundation..... "	25	30	30	30
6	Solid rock in line cuttings..... "	1 20	90	1 25	1 15
7	Loose rock..... "	25	50	90	60
8	First-class masonry laid in Portland cement ..	10 00	12 00	14 00	11 00
9	Culvert masonry laid in lime, lipped with Portland cement..... "	6 00	6 00	9 00	7 50
10	Box culvert masonry, built dry..... "	4 00	5 00	6 50	6 50
11	Slope and retaining walls, for protection where required .. "	1 50	3 00	2 50	1 85
12	Square pine timber in the work..... per c. foot.	30	35	25	35
13	Hemlock or tamarack, 10 x 12, if required in cribs on wharf..... per l. foot.	17	20	17	25
14	Wrought iron rag and screw bolts in the work... per ..	4	12	Rag 4½ Screw 8	5
15	Straight cedar fencing with posts and sills— I.C.R. standard..... per rod.	90	1 25	1 85	1 35
16	Barb wire fencing, cedar posts 16½ ft. centres, 5 wires high—I.C.R. standard..... "	1 00	1 00	90	1 25
17	Farmers' crossings with gates..... each.	10 00	20 00	17 50	40 00

Mr. BLAIR.

BELFAST AND MURRAY HARBOUR RAILWAY.

Mr. MARTIN asked :

1. How much, if any, has been expended by the government from June 30 last to date, on the construction of the proposed Belfast and Murray Harbour Railway, in the province of Prince Edward Island?

2. What amount, for the same period, has been expended on survey and location?

3. What amount has been expended for right of way for the said period?

4. What is the total amount expended for survey and location?

5. How many miles have been surveyed and located?

6. Does the government intend to proceed with the survey of the cross line from Cardigan, passing at or near Montague Bridge and Caledonia, as proposed by the late government in 1896?

7. How many miles is it proposed to place under construction during the remainder of the fiscal year?

8. Has the government purchased any material required for construction?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. \$12,693.20. 2. \$3,031.37. 3. \$2,864.54. 4. \$9,938.19. 5. There have been 11½ miles surveyed and located. 6. The government have not yet decided as regards proceeding with the survey of the cross line from Cardigan. 7. The placing under construction before the 30th June next, of any further distance, beyond the 11½ miles, now under contract, will depend upon the department obtaining the information necessary to enable it to do so. 8. No materials have been purchased for construction.

THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

Mr. CLARKE (by Mr. Mills), asked :

Are any negotiations now in progress between the government of Canada and the United States looking to the resumption of the meetings of the Joint Commission appointed to adjust all differences between Canada and the United States?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). No such negotiations are now in progress.

CAP AUX CORBEAUX PIER WORKS.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron), asked :

1. At what date was the contract with Viau, Lachance and Hamel for work on the pier at Cap aux Corbeaux, Bay St. Paul, County of Charlevoix, to terminate, under the terms of the said contract?

2. Is the work now completed?

3. If so, since when?

4. If not, when is the work to be finished, and how many men are now employed thereon by the contractors?

5. How long has Joseph Tremblay, of Bay St. Paul, been employed by the government in superintending the execution of the said contract?

6. Is he still in the employment of the government?

7. If so, in what capacity?

8. What salary have the government paid him up to this date?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). 1. To terminate on 25th September, 1899. 2. Nearing completion. 3. Nearing completion. 4. Nearing completion. Do not know how many men at present employed by contractors. 5. Since 11th January, 1899. 6. Yes. 7. As inspector. 8. \$2 per day.

DREDGING AT TORONTO.

Mr. CLANCY asked :

How much has been paid W. A. Phin for dredging at Toronto? Were tenders asked for the work at Toronto before it was awarded to the said W. A. Phin? Is there a contract with the said W. A. Phin? If so, what are the terms of said contract? If not, what are the terms and conditions upon which the said work has been done?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). 1. \$24,490.60 since 1st July, 1896. 2. No tenders were asked for. Arrangements were made with Mr. W. H. Phin, to do the dredging at \$8 per hour of actual work, not more than ten hours in a working day, a minimum of 600 cubic yards to be removed each working day, which gives a maximum price of 13½ cents per yard. It was not deemed to be in the public interest to ask for public tenders, as the work done by the hour system was found to be cheaper.

NORTH SHORE TELEGRAPH LINE.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

What is the total amount received, up to date, by L. P. de Courval in connection with the construction of the telegraph line on the north shore of the St. Lawrence?

2. Is there anything owing to the said L. P. de Courval in connection with the said work?

3. If so, what is the sum so owing?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). 1. Total amount paid, \$37,431.50. 2. Nothing. 3. Nothing.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

1. How far and to what point has the telegraph line been constructed on the north shore of the St. Lawrence?

2. To what point do the government intend to carry the said line?

3. When is the said telegraph line to be completed?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. 1. 231 miles from Pointe aux Esquimaux east, or 60 miles east of Grand Romaine. 2. To Chateau Bay, 320 miles east of Grand Romaine. 3. Probably in July next.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

1. Have the government appointed an inspector of the work of constructing the telegraph line on the north shore of the St. Lawrence?

2. If so, what is his name?
3. Was Napoléon A. Comeau at any time inspector of the said work?
4. If so, up to what date?
5. Was he dismissed and on what grounds?
6. Was P. A. Perron appointed in place of the said Comeau?
7. What are the qualifications of the said Perron, and by whom was he recommended?
8. Is the government aware that the said Perron, in the discharge of his duties, accepted all the camps and bridges which had been rejected as unacceptable by the said Comeau?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. 1. Yes. 2. P. A. Perron. 3. N. A. Comeau made two special inspections as to progress of work. 4. No time specified for such special inspection. 5. No, he is still agent at Godbout River. 6. Mr. Perron was appointed regular inspector. 7. The preliminary survey was made by Mr. Perron, a surveyor by profession, who prepared the plan and laid out route, and was, therefore, considered most competent to supervise construction. The minister takes the responsibility of Perron's appointment, who was recommended to him by persons in whom he has confidence. 8. Some incompleting camps and bridges were refused by Mr. Comeau, but being afterwards properly completed, were accepted by Mr. Perron.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

1. What is the name of the party who holds the contract this year for the construction of the telegraph line on the north shore of the St. Lawrence?
2. Were tenders asked for in connection with the construction of the said line?
3. If so, how many tenders were received, and what are the names of the parties who tendered?
4. How, and from whom were the said tenders asked for?
5. What was the amount of each tender?
6. If the lowest tender was not accepted, what was the reason?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. In reply to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say : 1. F. X. Gendreau. 2. Yes. 3. Four. Two from L. P. Decourval, R. Bickerdike and Lemoine, Russell & Fortin. 4. By public advertisement, on 5th July. 5. L. P. Decourval, \$105 per mile. L. P. Decourval, \$140 per mile. R. Bickerdike, \$174 per mile. Lemoine, Russell & Fortin, \$230 per mile. 6. Lowest tender was not accepted, as Mr. Decourval represented he had made a mistake and asked to withdraw, and replace first tender by second ; as second tender was too high, an offer from F. X. Gendreau, to do the work for \$125 a mile, which was represented by the Superintendent of Telegraph Service as fair value for the work, was accepted, by order in council of August 8, 1899.

PAY OF THE PERMANENT CORPS.

Mr. GILMOUR asked :

By what authority is the pay of the permanent corps only 40 cents per day, when section 59

Mr. CASGRAIN.

of the Militia Act says the pay of the militia private is 50 cents?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). By order in council of June 11, 1879, passed by the government of Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir A. P. Caron being Minister of Militia and Defence, the rates of pay of permanent corps were reduced from 50 cents to 45 cents per diem ; and by regulations and orders for the Militia of Canada, approved by the Governor General in council, on December 17, 1883, Sir A. P. Caron still being Minister of Militia and Defence, the rates of pay were fixed at 40 cents per diem.

WHARF AT PERIBONKA.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

1. Is the government aware that, during the summer of 1898, one Edouard, or Edmond, Niquette was instructed in writing by Mr. Blais, one of the engineers employed by the Department of Public Works, to get out the timber required for the construction of a wharf at Peribonka, in the Lake St. John region?
2. Is the government aware that the said Niquette made and delivered the said timber, and that the same was accepted?
3. Is the government aware that there still remains due to the said Niquette a balance of \$24.25 on said timber?
4. If so, do the government know for what reason the said balance has not been paid?
5. What is the reason?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Vouchers in possession of the department show that accounts were rendered in favour of Mr. Edouard Niquette, as follows :—

810 pds. d'épinette rouge, 7 pces. rond à 3c.....	\$24 30
479 pds. d'épinette rouge, 10 pces. rond à 5c.....	23 95
	\$48 25

This sum was sent to the paymaster, was tendered by him to Mr. Niquette, who declined to accept, as he claimed it was not in full payment. The account is certified by the foreman and resident engineer. The latter has been wired for more definite information.

MAILS FROM MOVILLE.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

1. Did the ss. 'Lake Huron,' which sailed from Moville on Sunday, December 21, 1899, carry Her Majesty's mails under contract with the government of Canada?
2. On what day, and how did she arrive at the port of Halifax, N.S.?
1. Did the ss. 'Lake Ontario,' which sailed from Moville on Sunday, December 14, 1899, carry Her Majesty's mails under contract with the government of Canada?
2. On what day, and how did she arrive at the port of Halifax, N.S.?

1. Did the ss. 'Ashante,' which sailed from Moville on Friday, December 8, 1899, carry Her Majesty's mails under contract with the government of Canada?

2. On what day, and how did she arrive at the port of Halifax, N.S.?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). With respect to these three questions, there must be some mistake by Mr. Casgrain, as there were no sailings from Moville on or near the dates given by him.

EXPENDITURE AT TADOUSAC WHARF.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

What is the amount of money expended upon the wharf at Tadousac from July 1, 1896, to February 1, 1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). \$3,668.86.

EXPENDITURE AT CHICOUTIMI WHARF.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

What is the amount expended on the wharf at Chicoutimi, in the county of Chicoutimi, between July 1, 1896, and February 1, 1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). \$13,282.50.

EXPENDITURE AT ST. ALEXIS WHARF.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

What is the amount spent on the wharf at St. Alexis, county of Chicoutimi, from July, 1896, to February 1, 1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). \$8,086.06.

EXPENDITURE AT BERGERONNES.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

What is the amount of money expended at Bergeronnes, in the county of Saguenay, from July 1, 1896, to February 1, 1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). \$401.26.

EXPENDITURE AT STE. ANNE WHARF.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

What is the amount spent on the wharf at Ste. Anne, in the county of Chicoutimi, between July 1, 1896, and February 1, 1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). \$10,171.60.

POSTAL CONTRACTS, N.W.T.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

Has the Postmaster General taken any action in connection with the transaction referred to in the following extract from the supplementary report of the Post Office Department for 1896 ?

Battleford and Onion Lake, Battleford and Saskatoon, Qu'Appelle and Qu'Appelle Station, Qu'Appelle and Wishart, Saskatchewan Landing and Swift Current.

The contracts for these services were awarded without tender to Messrs. Leeson & Scott at the following rates: Battleford and Onion Lake, \$1,762.20 per annum; Battleford and Saskatoon, \$7,049.20 per annum; Qu'Appelle and Qu'Appelle Station, \$650 per annum; Qu'Appelle and Wishart, \$1,664 per annum; and Saskatchewan Landing and Swift Current, \$740 per annum. The total amount paid under these contracts is \$11,865.40 per annum.

In the beginning of 1893 an offer was received for the Battleford and Saskatoon service, which cost \$7,049.20 per annum, at the rate of \$5,000 and the inspector reported that the gentleman making the offer was competent to undertake the service; but, notwithstanding this offer, the contract was not only allowed to run on until its expiration on October 31, 1894, but was renewed for a further term of four years from that date.

The contracts were cancelled by the present government in view of the facts adduced, and of the numerous representations that the cost would be much reduced if the services were thrown open to public competition. As the contracts for some of the services have not yet been entered into, it would be premature to give the exact results of the tendering, but it may be stated that there will be a saving of over \$7,500 per annum, or \$30,000 for the term on these five services.

(Correspondence.)

Prince Albert, February 22, 1893.

Sir,—Referring to communications from your department addressed to me, and dated December 28, 1892, and January 20, 1893, in which the names of contractors and rate paid for mail service between Battleford and Saskatoon are given, and the statement made that the question of putting the existing service up for tender will receive consideration by the Postmaster General, I beg to submit for the Postmaster General's consideration this proposal with reference to the mail service between Battleford and Saskatoon. I will agree to deliver mails at Battleford within 30 hours after receipt of them at Saskatoon, and will deliver mails from Battleford within 30 hours after receipt there; at Saskatoon, to connect with trains on the Prince Albert branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway twice per week during the summer months, say from April 1 to November 1; and for balance of year—winter months—November 1 to April 18, will agree to deliver mails at points named within forty-eight hours after receipt, or at times and hours to be named by the Postmaster General—for the sum of \$5,000 per year.

By this arrangement, the time occupied between receipt and delivery of mails at these points would be materially lessened, and an annual saving to the Post Office Department of the sum of \$2,049.20 would thereby be effected.

Should this proposal meet with the favourable consideration of the Postmaster General, I am prepared to, and will, deposit any reasonable sum at the Imperial Bank, Prince Albert, as security that I will enter into a contract and fulfil the terms thereof based on the proposal I have made.

I have the honour, &c.,
C. R. STOVEL.

Sir A. P. Caron,
Postmaster General, Ottawa.

House of Commons, Ottawa, March 4, 1893.

My dear Sir Adolphe,—Stovel tells me he has put in an offer to convey the Battleford mails at a price which will effect a saving to the government of \$2,000 a year.

I hope you may be able to meet his wishes or put up the work to tender.

Yours truly,

D. H. MACDOWALL.

Hon. Sir Adolphe Caron, K.C.M.G.

(Inclosure.)

Prince Albert, February 27, 1893.

Dear Sir,—I am writing to advise you that by last mail I forwarded to the hon. the Postmaster General a communication respecting the mail service between Battleford and Saskatoon, and therein submitted a proposal as follows: That I would agree to deliver mails at Battleford from Saskatoon, and at Saskatoon from Battleford, twice per week, within the space of thirty hours in summer and forty-eight hours in winter, or within hours named by the Postmaster General, for the sum of \$5,000 per year. The rate paid for the same service at present is \$7,049.20 per year. So that were my proposal accepted, a clear saving of the sum of \$2,049.20 would be effected. The present contractors are non-residents of the district in which the service is carried on, and it would seem but just that the residents of the district should have opportunity of enjoying the benefits arising from the expenditures of public moneys in their district. In view of the fact that acceptance of the proposal I have submitted would reduce the cost of this service by over \$2,000, and lessen the time now occupied in the delivery of mails at points named, and believing that with your personal knowledge of the subject you can convince the Postmaster General of the desirability of a change, I take the liberty of asking you to be kind enough to see the minister and urge his favourable consideration of my offer.

Yours respectfully,

C. R. STOVEL.

D. H. Macdowall, M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Post Office Inspector's Office,
Winnipeg, Man., April 15, 1893.

Sir,—I return herewith the letter from C. R. Stovel, of Prince Albert, in which he offers to perform a semi-weekly service between Battleford and Saskatoon, making the trip each way in thirty hours in summer and forty-eight hours in winter, for \$5,000 per annum.

* * * * *

Regarding the standing of Mr. Stovel, the postmaster of Prince Albert, in a letter dated the 10th ulto., informed me as follows:

'Mr. Stovel is quite capable of conducting such a service, and also there appears to be no doubt as to his responsibility. I think you may safely conclude that he is well qualified in every respect.'

As stated in my report alluded to, I consider the compensation paid Messrs. Leeson & Scott liberal, but they have given a most excellent service over long routes and often under great difficulties.

There is no doubt that other parties would undertake these services at less than is now paid, and if it should be decided to terminate

Mr. DAVIS.

the existing contracts, I would recommend that tenders should be publicly invited for new contracts.

I have the honour, &c.,

W. W. McLEOD,
Post Office Inspector.

Banff, Alberta, Can., August 27, 1894.

My dear Colonel,—Mr. George Leeson, of Calgary, has been here to see me and he says that there is a possibility that the mail contracts at present held by Leeson & Scott, are likely to be thrown open for competition. I hope this is not so. These men have given such perfect satisfaction to the department for so many years and are so thoroughly reliable, I think it is against the interest of the service and all concerned that any change be made. In my opinion, matters should be allowed to continue as they are; it is my wish they should be, and I hope you will see your way clear to meet my request. I am writing you in the absence of the Postmaster General, and because you are aware of my knowledge of these men and their splendid mail service.

Yours faithfully,

T. MAYNE DALY.

Lt.-Col. White,

Deputy Postmaster General.

(Private.)

Calgary, N.W.T., September 4, 1894.

My dear Colonel,—I write you in the interest of Messrs. Leeson & Scott, who are mail contractors in the North-west, and have had such contracts for some years.

Being a resident of the North-west for a length of time, I have a personal knowledge of the manner in which these gentlemen have performed their contracts, and must say that none of the contractors having contracts with the government in the Dominion have performed their duties with greater satisfaction to the public than these gentlemen. They are thoroughly reliable in every respect and have, as usual, made their preparations for the continuance of their contracts with the government for the coming winter by putting up hay for their teams, as well as purchasing other provender. They have also recently expended \$1,000 in new conveyances, relying upon their contracts being continued as usual.

I would just say that the senior partner, Mr. Leeson, has been one of the strongest supporters of the government in Alberta, and I am quite positive the government will not be benefited by a discontinuance of their contracts with Messrs. Leeson & Scott.

Personally, I should like very much to have their contracts continued, and hope you will see your way clear in the interest of the public to continue the service which has given so much satisfaction in the past.

Ever faithfully,

D. W. DAVIS, M.P.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). The contracts for the several services mentioned which were all in the hands of one contracting firm, Messrs. Leeson & Scott, were put up to tender without change in the condition of services and by letting the contracts to the lowest tenderer, the following results were obtained:—

Name of Service.	Price per annum under former contract.	Price per annum, result of ten- ders.
Battleford and Onion Lake..	\$ 1,762 20	\$ 370 00
Battleford and Saskatoon ...	7,049 20	1,976 00
Qu'Appelle and Qu'Appelle Station	650 00	440 00
Qu'Appelle and Wishart	1,664 00	460 00
Saskatchewan Landing and Swift Current	740 00	260 00
	<u>\$11,865 40</u>	<u>\$3,506 00</u>

A saving of \$8,359.40 for each of the four years of the term. A total saving of \$33,437.60. The new contracts went into operation on the 1st of July, 1897.

POSTAL CONTRACTS—HOCKLEY AND MONO CENTRE, N.W.T.

Mr. DAVIS. There is some mistake in this question, which is numbered 41 on the Orders of the Day. One of the letters in connection with the matter to which the question relates—a letter written by Mr. J. S. Lee—has not been published. I gave it in with the rest, and I find the others on the Order paper entered properly, but for some unaccountable reason this letter—which was the most important of the lot—was left out.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Better let the question stand and have it properly entered on the Order paper.

Question allowed to stand.

MAIL CONTRACTS—KAMOURASKA AND ST. PASCAL.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. Whether the mail-carrier carrying the mail between Kamouraska, St. Pascal and the St. Pascal Station, was bound, during the past summer, under the terms of his contract, to exchange mails at St. Pascal, with the mail clerk on the express going west at 20.30?

2. Whether the said mail-carrier was bound, under his contract, to exchange mails at St. Pascal, with the mail clerk on the maritime express going west at 9.24, from September 5 to October 1 last?

3. Whether the said mail-carrier was bound, under his contract, during the period between June 1 and October 31 last, to exchange mails with the mail-clerk on the maritime express, going east at 3.26?

4. If so, was the said mail-carrier granted exemption from performing the said services, and why?

5. Is it the intention of the government to provide a remedy in the premises?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I beg to reply : 1. Yes. 2. Yes. 3. Yes. 4. No exemption from performing the said service was granted by the Postmaster

General. If such exemption has been granted it is without the knowledge of the department. 5. Answered by No. 4.

FRENCH TRANSLATION OF AUDITOR GENERAL'S REPORT.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. Is the government aware that the French translation of the report of the Auditor General for the year ending June 30, 1899, has not yet been printed and distributed?

2. When will the said translation be published and distributed?

3. What is the cause of the delay in the printing and distribution of the said translation?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). In answer to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say : 1. Yes. 2. As soon after the translation is completed as the changes can be made in the standing type. The type is kept standing as set for the English edition. 3. The prime cause is that the translation is not completed. So far as it has been supplied it is in type.

ADDITIONAL JUDGES FOR PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. Whether the government have taken cognizance of the proclamation published in the 'Official Gazette' of Quebec, of February 24 last, promulgating the Act 62 Vic., cap. 29, intitled: 'An Act to amend the Act respecting the constitution of the Superior Court,' the purpose whereof is to raise the number of the judges of the said court from thirty-one to thirty-four?

2. Is it the intention of the government to give effect to the said Act by taking a vote for the salaries of the three additional judges?

3. Have the government taken cognizance of the statistics of the Superior Court published in the Quebec 'Official Gazette' of February 24 last, page 544?

4. Is the government aware that, as shown by the said statistics, fourteen of the judges of the Superior Court rendered, during the year 1899, less than thirty-five judgments each, in contested cases, in their several districts, and that six of them rendered, during the said period, less than twenty-one judgments?

5. Is the government aware that according to the said statistics, excepting as to the districts of Quebec and Montreal, there were rendered, in the twenty rural districts, during the said year, only an average of twenty-nine judgments per district, in cases contested in the said Superior Court?

6. Is the government aware that of the thirty-one judges of the said Superior Court, at least eighteen have not, in their several districts, two months' work during the year?

7. Has the government had, since last session, any conference, communication or correspondence with the Executive Council of the province of Quebec, or with the Attorney General, or any of the members of the said Executive Council, in relation to the reorganization of the courts of the said province?

8. Rather than increase the number of judges of the said Superior Court, is it not the intention of the government to communicate or correspond or otherwise come to an understanding with the

Executive Council of the said province as to a reorganization of the said courts?

9. Is it not true that, under the circumstances, an increase of the number of judges of the said court would be a useless expenditure, in no way justified by the requirements of the service, and which would have no practical result but the rewarding of certain supporters of the present government?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). To the first eight questions, the answer is: That the government have taken cognizance of the proclamation published in the *Official Gazette* of Quebec on the 24th of February last, promulgating the Act 62 Viet., chapter 29, the object of which is to raise the number of the judges of the Superior Court by providing for the appointment of three new judges to reside and to act in the district of Montreal; the government consider that they have no option in this matter, but that they are bound to give effect to that Act, unless they were satisfied that the provincial legislature has acted improvidently. Before taking action, the government have had several communications with the provincial government, represented by the Attorney General for the province. The latter has strongly remonstrated that unequal distribution of judicial work cannot be avoided, owing to the unequal distribution of population over the vast extent of territory of the province; that to concentrate all judges in the cities and to leave the rural districts without any residential representative of the judicial authority would be a still greater evil; that all these different aspects of the question were carefully considered by the local legislature, which passed the above Act, without any recorded dissenting voice. To the ninth question: It is not true that under the above circumstances an increase of the number of the judges of the Superior Court would be a useless expenditure, and it is an unjustified and gratuitous insinuation that the appointment of such judges would have no practical result but to reward the supporters of the government. If such, indeed, were the opinion of the hon. member and his friends, it would have been their duty, at least, to have that opinion affirmed by the legislature of Quebec, which alone, according to the dispositions of the British North America Act, has the control and the responsibility of the judicial organization of the province.

TRI-WEEKLY MAIL SERVICE AT IRIS.

Mr. MARTIN asked:

1. Has the Postmaster General received a petition from the inhabitants of Iris, in the province of Prince Edward Island, praying for a tri-weekly mail service?

2. If so, is it the intention of the government to give petitioners the mail service asked for?

Mr. CASGRAIN.

3. Has the Postmaster General made an estimate of the cost such an additional service would entail?

4. If so, what is the sum per trip?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). An application from a number of the patrons of Iris post office for a tri-weekly service was received at the department on the 5th February ultimo, and referred to the inspector at Charlottetown for report. His report has not yet been received.

GOVERNMENT EXPROPRIATION OF TELEGRAPH LINES.

Mr. CASEY (by Mr. McMillan) asked:

Whether it is the intention of the government to take steps for the expropriation of the telegraph lines of Canada, with a view of taking charge of and managing the telegraph system in connection with the post office service or otherwise?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). The question is of such a broad character that the hon. gentleman cannot expect an answer to-day.

THE EASTERN EXTENSION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

Mr. CASEY (by Mr. McMillan) asked:

Whether, in view of the threatened concession by certain Australian governments to the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, it is the intention of the government to take any, and if so, what steps looking to the modification of the terms of the Pacific Cable Act of 1899?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). As I mentioned in speaking on this subject a few days ago, we are not yet aware of any concessions having been actually made, and it is hoped that none will be made that will involve any change in the compact made between the respective governments. At all events, until such change is made it would be premature to indicate what course might be necessary to take. That will entirely depend upon the nature of the concessions.

Mr. CASEY (by Mr. McMillan) asked:

Has any concession been granted by any Australian colony to the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company? If so, what is the nature of such concession? Has the Canadian government consented to any such concession? Has the Imperial government consented to any such concession?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). In view of what I stated a moment ago and the other day, it is scarcely necessary for me to answer this question. But I observe that one portion of it is: 'Has the

Canadian government consented to any such concessions?' I need hardly say that the Canadian government has consented to no concession; and this government has reason to believe that the Imperial government has not consented to any such concession; and further that the Imperial government has substantially adopted the same attitude as the Canadian government in regard to these matters.

EXPENSES, &c., OF PROHIBITION COMMISSION.

Mr. FLINT (by Mr. Bethune) asked :

What was the date of the appointment by the late government of the commission to inquire into the subject of prohibition? Who were the commissioners? How much was paid for salary to each commissioner? How much was paid for travelling and other expenses to each commissioner? What was the total amount paid for salary, travelling and other expenses of the commissioners? How much was paid for printing? What was the total cost to the country for salaries and allowances to commissioners, printing and all other expenses?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The date of the appointment of the commission to inquire into the subject of prohibition was 14th March, 1892. The commissioners were Sir Joseph Hickson, Judge McDonald, Messrs. E. F. Clarke and G. A. Gigault, and Rev. Joseph McLeod. The amount paid for salary to each commissioner was :

To Sir Joseph Hickson.....	\$1,920
To Judge McDonald	2,200
To Mr. Clarke	1,420
To Mr. Gigault	1,460
To Rev. Mr. McLeod	6,775

The amount paid for travelling and other expenses to each commissioner was :

To Sir Joseph Hickson	\$ 302 81
To Judge McDonald	1,618 25
To Mr. Clarke	1,038 67
To Mr. Gigault	914 11
To Rev. Mr. McLeod	3,197 52

The total amount paid for salary, travelling and other expenses of the commissioners was \$20,846.36. The amount paid for printing was \$33,038.19. The total cost for salaries and allowances to commissioners, printing and all other expenses, was \$87,003.10.

ADDITIONS TO RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. SOMERVILLE asked :

What additions have been made to the railway mail service of Canada since the 1st day of July, 1896?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mu- lock). Since the 1st July, 1896, 1,553 miles of additional railway track have been used by the department for mail service, and the yearly mileage increased by 1,820,181 miles. Frequency of mail service increased on the following railways since 1st July, 1896 :

Name of Railway.	Mileage.	INCREASED	
		From	To
Cumberland Coal & Railway Company....	5 miles.	Daily.	Semi-daily.
South Shore Railway.....	42 "	"	"
C. P. Railway (Souris Section) ..	71.3 "	Semi-weekly	Tri-weekly.
Manitoba & North-western Railway	59.1 "	"	"
Montfort Colonization Railway.....	33 "	Tri-weekly.	Daily.
C. P. Railway (Piles Branch).....	20.9 "	Daily.	Semi-daily.
Quebec & Lake St. John Railway.....	5 "	"	"
Manitoba & North-western Railway.....	96.3 "	Weekly.	Tri-weekly.
C. P. Railway (Edmonton Section).	190.6 "	Semi-weekly	Four times weekly.
Kaslo & Slocan Railway	60 "	Daily, exclus. of Sunday.	Daily, includ. Sunday.
Central Vermont Railway.....	18.6 "	Daily.	Semi-daily.
Nelson & Fort Shepherd Railway.....	59.4 "	Daily, exclus. of Sunday.	Daily, includ. Sunday.
Red Mountain Railway.....	17.2 "	"	"
C. P. Railway (Pembina Section).....	221 "	Tri-weekly.	Daily.
Canadian Northern Railway.....	119 "	Semi-weekly	Tri-weekly.
C. P. Railway (Macleod Section).....	40 "	"	"
C. P. Railway (Kootenay Section).....	28 "	Daily.	Semi-daily.
C. P. Railway (Teeswater Branch)	10 "	"	"
C. P. Railway (North-western Branch)....	34 "	"	"
Canadian Northern Railway.....	32 "	Weekly	Semi-weekly.

ARMY POSTAL CORPS.

Mr. McMULLEN (by Mr. Britton) asked :

(a) Are any officers of the Post Office Department at present serving in the Imperial Army Corps in South Africa? (b) If so, what are their names and their positions in the Canadian postal service? (c) When were they appointed and at whose instance? (d) Are they at present on duty in South Africa? (e) If so, in what capacity?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). (a) Yes. (b) W. R. Ecclestone, 3rd class clerk in the Hamilton post office; J. Lallier, 3rd class railway mail clerk in the Montreal district; T. B. Bedell, 3rd class railway mail clerk in the New Brunswick district; K. A. Murray, 3rd class railway mail clerk in the London district; R. Johnston, 3rd class railway mail clerk in the Manitoba district. (c) The dates of appointment are as follows: W. R. Ecclestone, 10th May, 1875; J. Lallier, 22nd June, 1898; T. B. Bedell, 28th April, 1894; K. A. Murray, 28th November, 1898; R. Johnston, 2nd March, 1895. They were appointed at the instance of the Postmaster General. (d) and (e) Yes, as members of the Army Postal Corps.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER—HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON.

Mr. DOMVILLE (by Mr. Davis) asked :

1. When was Sir Charles Tupper appointed High Commissioner for Canada in London?
2. At what salary was he appointed?
3. How long did he fill the position?
4. What sums were paid him each year as such High Commissioner?
5. What sums were paid by way of allowances for travelling and other personal expenses?
6. Did the government supply him with house rent free? If so, what was the cost of such house?
7. Who paid the taxes and rates for the house?
8. If the government paid any of the taxes and rates for the house or for Sir Charles Tupper, how much was so paid by the government?
9. Was any deduction made from the salary of the said Sir Charles Tupper when, in 1887 and 1891, he absented himself from his duties as High Commissioner and came to Canada and took part in such campaign?
10. If he drew pay from the government as High Commissioner in London whilst he was in part in Canada on party political campaign work, is it the intention of the government to take steps to recover the amount, if the same could be recovered?
11. What was the total sum paid by the government to Sir Charles Tupper for his salary allowances of all kinds as High Commissioner at London?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I wish to draw the attention of the right hon. leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to this question, not that I am unwilling to have any portion of it answered, but because the question is in violation of the rules of the House. Section 9 of the question reads,

Mr. MULOCK.

'When, in 1887 and 1891, he absented himself from his duties as High Commissioner and came to Canada and took part in such campaign.' In this there is a statement of fact, and, under the rules of the House, statements of facts are not allowed in questions. I do not say that it is an accurate statement of fact, but it is a pretended statement of fact, and is in violation of the rule. Again, in section 10, it says, 'While he was in part in Canada'—whatever that may mean—'on party political campaign work, is it the intention of the government to take any steps to recover the amount, if the same could be recovered?' I think my right hon. friend will agree with me that both of these are in violation of the rules, and that a question cannot be put in the way in which this one stands on the paper.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The rule of the House is that a question shall not include any controversial matter. Whether this matter is controversial or not, I am willing to leave to Mr. Speaker.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No, the rules exclude statements of fact.

The PRIME MINISTER. I have forgotten the exact wording, but I believe it is intended to exclude any controversial matter.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No, it is not a question of controversy. The rules of the House, as I understand, prohibit any statement of fact in a question.

The PRIME MINISTER. I am willing to leave it to Mr. Speaker, and the question may stand.

Mr. FOSTER. Let us have it from the Speaker now.

The PRIME MINISTER. If Mr. Speaker is ready, I am quite willing.

Mr. SPEAKER. Without having had an opportunity to consider the matter, I may say that it seems to me that it would not impair the efficiency of the question to strike out the last part of the 9th paragraph, 'and came to Canada and took part in such campaign.' I do not see that it is essential to the question.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If you observe, Mr. Speaker, it says, 'he absented himself from his duty as High Commissioner.' That is certainly a statement of fact, and a statement of fact is not permitted in a question under the rules. It is not a question whether the statement is true or not, but whether a statement of facts is admissible at all.

The PRIME MINISTER. I would like to have Mr. Speaker take the matter into consideration.

Mr. SPEAKER. Leave the matter over and I will look into it.

SEED GRAIN INDEBTEDNESS.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia) moved :

That the seed grain indebtedness in the North-west and Manitoba should be dealt with in a comprehensive manner, and so as to do justice, give relief and meet necessities, should necessities be found to exist,

He said : We have had the question of dealing with the seed grain indebtedness in Manitoba and the North-west Territories frequently before parliament. We had an Act passed last session, and it is because that Act is unsatisfactory that I bring the matter for a second time this session before parliament. And now I should like and try to interest the House at large, not only the members of the government and not only the representative of the Minister of the Interior in this question, because I wish to bring to bear upon the government the opinion of the House. I wish to convince the House that there is an injustice to be redressed, and, convincing them of that, I shall thereby bring pressure upon the government. Although the member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) has been mentioned as the representative of the Minister of the Interior, the Prime Minister is apparently taking charge of that department before the House, and I venture to say that if the Prime Minister will give this question his attention, his sense of fairness will convince him that it is necessary to deal with the matter.

The facts simply stated are these : In certain years after a succession of difficulties had attended the career of the North-west farmer, it was found necessary to lend to him and to his Manitoba brother grain for seeding purposes, and this grain the government of the day loaned him under certain conditions. The borrower was made the primary debtor, and he had to go security for two other borrowers, so that everybody who borrowed seed grain went security for two others. In that way, you have a large number of farmers in the North-west and Manitoba who owe for seed grain, and each of whom is responsible for the borrowings of seed grain of two other persons. These primary debtors may be divided into three classes. There is first the man who has got his patent ; then there is the man who has not his patent but is living on his homestead and working it ; and then there is the man who has abandoned his homestead and gone away, whether we know not. Now, in regard to these bondsmen of the first class, that is the men who have got their patents, they are relieved by the Act of last session, so that you have only to deal with the two classes of homesteads that the bondsmen are liable for—there is the homestead on which the settler lives and which he works and for which, no doubt, at some future time, he intends to get his patent ; and there is the

homestead that has been abandoned. Now, let me direct the attention of the Prime Minister first to the case of the homesteads that have been abandoned. He will find that the legislative assembly of the North-west Territories in 1898—I think it was in 1898—petitioned the government to entirely write off as a bad debt the lien against the abandoned homestead. The assembly argued that it was inimical to the interests of the country, that it was bad for immigration, bad for progress, and unjust, that you should have the even numbered section with from ten to sixty dollars against it. So that a man who wants to settle there, is told, when he comes to the land office : Yes, you can get an entry, but there is \$60, or \$40, or \$15, or \$10 for seed grain against this land, and you not only have to pay the \$10 entrance fee, but you will have to clear this off or be sued. Here comes the inconsistency in regard to the policy that was adopted by the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), last year. He has relieved the bondsmen for the homestead which is patented, but in regard to those abandoned homesteads, the seed-grain lien is filed against the land, and has to be met by the incoming settler, while the hon. minister holds the bondsmen for it at the same time. I say, that, speaking as a general thing, the land is worth the money. If he is going to hold the land for the money, he should get rid of the bondsmen altogether. From a general point of view, I hold with the North-west assembly, that the land should not be bound, but, of course, the the right hon. Prime Minister would say to me : That would look as if you wanted us to write off the debt altogether, as if you wanted to make the government regard this as a merchant regards a bad debt, and write it off. In order to avoid that construction and to meet the argument of those who would press that and to meet the view that you do not want to pauperise anybody, I suggested, in 1898, and again last year, that the whole thing be handed to the North-west government. It only amounts to a little over \$100,000, and I would suggest that it be handed over to the North-west government, with the direction to collect the debt, from the primary debtor, either in cash or in kind.

Mr. CLARKE. How long has this debt been incurred ?

Mr. DAVIN. The first debt was incurred a considerable time ago.

Mr. WALLACE. What would be the object of doing that ?

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend (Mr. Wallace), asks what would be the object of doing that ? The object of doing it would be that, to begin with, it would place in the hands of the local government the collection

of that, the lending of which was deemed, as I know, by the late Sir John Thompson, and the government of that day, to have properly rested, if they had had the means, in the hands of the local government. Therefore, to begin, it is a local government matter.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. For whose benefit is the hon. gentleman proposing that they should collect it?

Mr. **DAVIN**. I propose that they should collect it for the benefit of the local government. It would really be a present, if you look at it in that way, to the local government.

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL**. What advantage would that be to the farmers?

Mr. **DAVIN**. The advantage which it would be to the farmers, if the local government had to collect it, would be that in the case of any farmer, and there yet may be some, in the North-west Territories, notwithstanding that we have had a succession of years of prosperity, who, owing to various causes, cannot afford to make even this small payment, and the local government could do what this government could not do—and here is where the advantage to the farmers would come in—it could say to any farmer, who could not conveniently pay cash: We will take it out in statute labour, and the farmer can give statute labour instead of cash. I hope that explanation will be satisfactory to the hon. Postmaster General. I am glad to see that the hon. Postmaster General, and the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, as well as the right hon. Prime Minister, are giving their attention to this subject, because I am convinced that, if they will give a half hour's serious consideration to the Bill of last session, which concedes the principle of relieving those men, who are bondsmen for homesteads that have been patented, they will acknowledge the justice of my argument. The Bill of last session has relieved those men who are bondsmen for homesteads that have been patented, and it leaves the bondsmen who are bondsmen for homesteads, the patent for which has not been taken out, to bear this responsibility, and a man can remain indefinitely without taking out his patent and leave these people with this claim against them. Then, there is this further position: Let us suppose a case. Now, I hope the hon. Postmaster General will give me his undivided attention, because I do not think his brain will get very much light or instruction from the source it is turning to now.

Mr. **DAVIS**. It will not get much from yours.

Mr. **DAVIN**. I will tell the hon. Postmaster General, that he had better trust to his

Mr. **DAVIN**.

own lights. If he trusts to his own lights I think he will do better.

Mr. **DAVIS**. He should trust to his own lights, because he will not get any light from the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin).

Mr. **DAVIN**. Mr. Speaker, I call your attention to that boor from Saskatchewan, and I would ask you to keep him in order, or, if not, I will take the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis), in hand, and bring my whip down on his back, and make him rear so that he will not know where he is. Six o'clock.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. **DAVIN**. When you left the Chair at six o'clock, Sir.—

Mr. **DAVIS**. I rise to a point of order. Before you left the Chair at six o'clock, Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), who had the floor made use of some unparliamentary language in reference to myself, which I think he should be called on to withdraw.

Mr. **DAVIN**. I do not think the point of order can be raised at this time, but nevertheless, I will, out of the boundless generosity of my heart, say that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) is not boor. I said he was a boor; I say now he is not a boor.

Mr. **DAVIS**. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) must withdraw the expression.

Mr. **DAVIN**. I have.

Mr. **DAVIS**. He has not withdrawn the expression. I ask for your ruling, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. **DAVIN**. I do not know how I can—

Mr. **SPEAKER**. The simplest way is to withdraw the expression on its merits.

Mr. **DAVIN**. Why of course I do, but I thought I did. Did I not tell you, Sir, that I am after dinner and in the most boundless condition of philanthropy—

Mr. **SPEAKER**. It is pretty plain we cannot preserve the decorum of the House except by observing the ordinary rules.

Mr. **DAVIN**. I quite agree with you, Mr. Speaker, and I need hardly tell you that I am the very last man in the world to contravene the authority of the Chair. I always try to observe the rules of the House, and I may say on this general question, that order cannot be preserved in any House, if, as you know, Mr. Speaker, hon. gentlemen will, without the permission of the member who has the floor, interrupt him. And, when a gentleman persists in doing it, and doing it offensively—I am now speak-

ing generally—the only possible way is to do what you do in a public meeting: come down on the interrupter. You know, Mr. Speaker, how very ineffective it is to apply to you and to say: Won't you protect me? However, Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to the farmers of the North-west Territories. Since I left here to-day at six o'clock, something like this has been said to me: Why do you bother yourself about this seed grain business and the North-west farmers; you told us they were prosperous. why then ask the government to relieve them of a just debt? There is no class of men in the empire more to be envied than the North-west farmers; they have good crops, they have a grateful land, they have good houses, and good barns, and why then ask parliament to relieve them of this seed grain debt. That is the language addressed to me since I left this House at six o'clock by a Liberal for whom I have very great respect, and I am not sure that there may not be some of my Conservative friends who hold similar views.

Now, Sir, my answer is this. First; what I ask is just. If the demand is just it should be complied with whether those for whom the demand is made are prosperous or not. But Sir, in the second place, although these men are prosperous now, they were not always so. They had to face hard years, and some of them have only just got clear of their liabilities and \$10 or \$20 or \$30 or \$40 is as sweet to them as to other people. Then look how vexatious it is. I have here a letter from Stony Beach which I will read, and I will ask the attention of the ministerial benches to it:

Stony Beach, Sept. 19, 1900.

N. F. Davin, M.P.

Dear Sir,—Will you kindly see why people cannot get their patent for their land? We understood that there was an Act passed some time ago relieving bondsmen, but it appears that Mr. Sifton has not attended to his business. Several others have applied for their patents, and are told they cannot get them because they owe seed grain indebtedness. I did not get any seed grain, but I am bondsman for another, and cannot receive a patent. Trusting you will get this matter settled at once,

I remain, yours truly,

PETER FLETCHER.

Here is a man who never had any seed grain at all himself, and although the Act was passed, and it has been trumpeted through the North-west as giving relief to the bondsmen, this man applies and vexatiously he is told that he cannot get his patent.

Mr. CLANCY. Although he was only a bondsman.

Mr. DAVIN. He cannot get it. But, Mr. Speaker, I have another view and a larger view. I hold that the surest way to make

a nation prosperous is to make the farmers prosperous. The farmers on the frontiers of the world, even more than the farmers in the heart of England, or in the heart of France, or in the heart of Germany, the farmers on the frontiers of the world are the greatest benefactors humanity has. Talk of the millionaire philanthropist who, having been too sharp for his competitor, gives largely to great institutions from his superfluous winnings. A frontier farmer leaves him far behind, for without him the majority of mankind would starve. Try to fancy. Mr. Speaker, what would take place if the farmers on the frontier struck for one year, and determined to raise food only for themselves. At the end of that year our cities, palaces, universities, theatres, newspapers, parliaments and stores would be vacant and silent, and the world would become a vast graveyard. There are to-day 517,000,000 bread-eaters in the world. There is an increase, it is calculated by statisticians, of 5,000,000 every year, mainly from birth, partly because rice and rye-eaters are becoming wheat-eaters. The average annual consumption of each person is $4\frac{1}{2}$ bushels. The bread-eating world therefore requires a little more than 2,300,000,000 bushels a year. When the wheat fields produce this, we have prosperity; less than this, suffering and starvation. In 1897, the world's total product of wheat was 2,226,745,000 bushels, less by 73,255,000 bushels than the world needed. The countries where the crop was light suffered, and in India you had a famine. Everywhere were high prices. In 1898 the world had an enormous crop—2,879,942,000 bushels, more than would have been sufficient by 653,924,000 bushels. There was plenty of food and great prosperity. Great Britain, with her 39,000,000 people, eats her entire crop in thirteen weeks. For nine months she looks to Central Russia, India, Argentina, Canada and the republic below the line. She looks to the frontier farmers in all these places. If Great Britain could be completely blockaded for three months, her population would be extinguished by starvation. The same is true of all western Europe. There are five countries in Europe which produce more wheat than they can use: Russia, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria and Roumania. In 1898 the farmers of the United States and Canada grew over 808,000,000 bushels of grain, one-fourth of the world's production; those of Europe, 1,548,881,000 bushels, or more than half; Asia, 421,000,000 bushels; South Africa, 72,000,000 bushels, Africa, 44,000,000 bushels; Australia, 35,000,000 bushels. Last year the farmers of the United States and Canada produced 648,500,000 bushels. We had to take the flour for 80,000,000 people out of this, $4\frac{1}{2}$ bushels to each, which gives 373,000,000 bushels; seed for 50,000,000 acres, 75,000,000 bushels; a total requirement for this continent of 448,000,000

bushels, leaving 200,500,000 bushels for export, either crude or in flour; about one-third going abroad in flour. Last year the United Kingdom imported about 108,000,000 bushels of wheat and about 200,000,000 bushels of flour, of which we supplied only about one-fifth. We could supply the whole quantity in the North-west; and I want to have it known that no more independent or prosperous life could be selected by a sensible man than that which the North-west farmer leads; and, considering him in all his importance, I say he must get justice. Instead of getting the little end, he must get the big end. He must be treated with fairness; on his life the life of the world depends; on him depends its prosperity. Why should not he, the first to handle the wheat, the man who brings it into existence, get as much out of it as those who handle it subsequently? As a fact, we know that there is not a single employment into which a man enters out of which he does not get more percentage for the capital he puts in than the farmer does. Now, I want to do everything that can possibly be done for the North-west farmer; and I want in the smallest particular to press his just claims upon the attention of the government. Look at what takes place when a railway has a claim. A railway has a contract with the government, and there is some difference as to the character of the rock or the soil or the sand. The matter goes to arbitration, and in nearly every case the railway gets the better of the government. But the farmer is regarded too often as a person whose claims can be ignored. Now, Sir, I want just to give you an idea of how this farmer has developed Manitoba and the North-west. If you go back some thirteen years, how much did Manitoba and the North-west produce for export? Only about 4,000,000 bushels. In 1887 we produced 10,000,000 bushels. Then came hard years, in 1888 and 1889, when the amount we had for export fell to about 4,000,000 each year. In 1890, we exported 10,000,000 bushels, and ever since then we have made steady progress until last year we exported some 30,000,000 bushels. That means that the country has been developed, that the customers of our manufacturers in the east have grown prosperous there, and that the country is on the high road to be what I have always contended it was meant to be, the backbone of Canada, its stay and support. Therefore I say that the fact that there are farmers who are prosperous in the North-west Territories is no reason why, as this Liberal contended, we should ignore their claims. The fact that in the face of great difficulties and the new problems presented by soil and climate, they have secured prosperity, is a reason why, if in the smallest particular they have a just claim, that just claim

Mr. DAVIN.

should be listened to. Now, what has happened? Last year the Minister of the Interior, in consequence of urgent pressure placed on him by myself, said, as you will find by going to *Hansard*, that he was going to deal with this question. In the early part of *Hansard* you will find that he would not give me a promise that he would deal with it; but towards the end, in the third volume, you will find that he said he was going to deal with it; and when he introduced his Bill, he said that it dealt with the bondsmen alone. Let me read the clause which makes the body of that Bill, and I would ask the attention of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), who is a lawyer, to this:

The Governor General in Council may discharge from liability persons who are liable to the Crown as sureties upon bonds given to secure repayment for seed grain furnished by the Crown to persons in the North-west Territories, in every case where, upon inquiry, it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that land owned by or entered as a homestead by the primary debtor, is liable and is, in the opinion of the said minister, sufficient security for the sum owed by the primary debtor.

Are not 160 acres of land in any part of the North-west Territories good for some \$15 or \$20 or \$30 due for seed grain? If so, why be guilty of the vexatious legislation which declares to one class of bondsmen: We acknowledged that you should be relieved; and to another set of bondsmen: We will not relieve you, not because there is really any difference between the original contract you entered into and that entered in the former case, but because the men that you are security for have never taken out their patents. If there was good reason why the sureties in the one case should be relieved, the same reason holds good with regard to the other sureties. I cannot see any difference between the two. Now, what I would suggest to the right hon. gentleman would be a compromise. Keep your claim against the primary debtor, keep your claim against the homestead if you like, but carry out the principle of your legislation of last year. Make a slight change, and let it read this way:

The Governor General in Council may discharge from liability persons liable to the Crown as sureties upon bonds given to secure the payment for seed grain furnished by the Crown to persons in the North-west Territories.

That would be enough; let it rest that way. Both the right hon. the Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Marine will see that there is no difference whatever between the two sets of bondsmen. They both give their bonds, but one man gets his patent, and the other refuses to get it. The bondsman of the man who gets his patent is relieved by this legislation, but the bondsman for the man who does not is not relieved. The law is quite inconsistent in its applica-

tion, and the right hon. gentleman will see, from the letter of Mr. Fletcher, which I have read, coming from Stony Creek, how vexatious it seems to the writer of that letter, and I can say that there are dozens of such men. I will not lower the debate by making a political argument, but if I were thinking of politics I should pray for nothing so much as that the right hon. gentleman should refuse the plea that I am making, because that would make votes for the opposition. So that, if I were thinking of politics, I would simply make a prefatory appeal and let the thing go. I would not press it at all, and would throw up my hat when I saw the right hon. gentleman reject my plea for justice to those bondsmen who are still vexed by this unrighteous exception. Remember now that until the interpretation was put on the Act of last session by the Department of the Interior, the opinion prevailed that the bondsmen were relieved by that Act, as you will see by the way the letter reads :

Will you kindly see why people cannot get their patent for their land. We understood that there was an Act passed some time ago relieving bondsmen, but it appears that Mr. Sifton has not attended to his business.

I could not do a bigger stroke of work for the present government than to strongly impress on them the need of acting in the premises. With regard to the suggestion that I made that the debt of the primary debtor should be handed over to the North-west government, I will just call the attention of the hon. Postmaster General, who seems interested in that question, to what a former Minister of the Interior said in 1895, when the item was up in the estimates. He said :

Although the government were opposed to the granting of seed, the case was put in such strong light that they came to the conclusion that although they did not desire to follow the precedents created of giving seed grain to the people, under the circumstances they were fully justified.

Why, Mr. Speaker, I had to press the matter in the strongest way on the government of the day to get them to give the seed grain, and many a telegram I had to send them, for they were most unwilling to give it. But let me go on with my quotation :

So far as I am personally concerned, I may say that I am opposed to the government being called upon to make grants similar to these, because I think the people in the Territories should deal with these matters the same as they do in Manitoba—

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Whose words are those ?

Mr. DAVIN. The words of a former Minister of the Interior, in 1895.

—because I think the people in the Territories should deal with these matters the same as they do in Manitoba, and if aid is given to them

that it should be given by the local assembly, or by the municipalities.

I know that that was strongly the view of the late Sir John Thompson in regard to a cognate question. He then tells how they gave the seed grain, and what guarantees were required. Besides making that declaration he had to give a bond and two sureties. This is the declaration the primary debtor had to make :

It was only given to those who made the declaration, in the first place, 'that the applicant had so many acres under cultivation, that he had lost his crop in consequence of drought, prairie fires or other natural cause, or cause beyond his control, and did not possess the grain requisite to sow—number of acres, and that he required for that purpose—bushels of wheat, which he agreed should be sown during the present season on the quarter-section specified.'

I wish to call attention, because I would like to have the whole case before the government, to the resolution that was passed by the North-west council. The North-west council passed the following resolution, on the 20th April, 1899 :—

That whereas certain abandoned lands in the Territories are encumbered by liens executed by persons formerly holding such lands as homesteads in favour of the government of Canada, to secure the payment of the cost of seed grain supplied to such persons: and whereas, without amendment to the Dominion Lands Act, such liens must be paid by the parties subsequently making homestead entries for such lands.

Then there are considerations given which it is not necessary to read. I will just read the conclusion :

Therefore, be it resolved, that in the opinion of this House, the Dominion Lands Act should be so amended as to provide for the cancellation of all lands encumbering lands, and homestead entries for which lands have been or may hereafter be cancelled.

I remember that in the debate that took place in the local assembly, it was strongly insisted upon that these liens were a bar to immigration into the Territories. Now, I do not think it necessary for me to read what the Minister of the Interior said when introducing this Bill. It will be remembered that he said he was introducing a Bill to deal with the question of seed grain. I asked if it dealt only with the bondsmen. He answered it deals only with the bondsmen. He did not say that it dealt only with a special class of bondsmen ; and the impression was left on the House, and got out through the country, that all bondsmen were dealt with. Now, let me put this argument to the government : It will be seen by that resolution passed by the House, that the lien is against the homestead, it is against the 160 acres ; and if a man is coming in, and wants to enter on a homestead against which there is a lien for seed grain, he is asked, not merely for \$10. but for the

amount for the seed grain besides. Well, then, if you keep this interpretation which has been put on the Act by the department, and if you keep the wording of your Act such as to bear that interpretation, where is the sense of saying: We will relieve the bondsmen? You relieve those homesteads, the homesteaders on which have taken out their patent, but you do not relieve the homesteads, the homesteaders on which work, grow crops, but have not taken out their patents. You have your claim against your homesteader, you can take him into court, and recover, and you have the claim against his land. Having relieved the bondsman in one case, why not in the other? I do not see any sense in it, I confess. I hope the government will deal with this question, as the resolution suggests, in a comprehensive manner. I hope they will deal with the class of bondsmen that are at present suffering under a sense of grievance. Take this man Fletcher—he is a homesteader, and never borrowed any seed grain. He was one of the men, who in that day, went hand in hand with the government to secure seed grain for people to continue the great experiment which has resulted so magnificently for the North-west and for Canada. Does he deserve to be tormented in this way, when he wants to get his patent? On the contrary, the fact that he joined hand in hand with the government and kept the men there to continue the great experiment, gives him a claim for consideration, instead of being subjected to vexation, as he claims to have been. I hope that in any case, the government will deal with the bondsmen, and, I confess, I do not see why they should not deal with the primary debtor. I, therefore, move the resolution, seconded by Mr. Clancy.

Mr. THOMAS O. DAVIS (Saskatchewan). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin), who has just taken his seat, has gone into this question at some length. I do not propose to follow him to Russia, the United States, Asia, Australia, or the other places into which he made excursions during his address, but shall deal with the question at once. What he wants, as I understand, is that the abandoned homesteads should be released from any liability against them, so that a person wanting a homestead could take it up, free from this liability. Then, as I understand it, he wants the bondsmen for parties who have not taken out their patents to be relieved.

Mr. DAVIN. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis), will allow me, I want the bondsmen who have given bonds for the homesteaders, who have not yet taken out their patents, to be relieved.

Mr. DAVIS. It seems to me, following out the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Davin's), con-
Mr. DAVIN.

tion, that if the government would relieve the bondsmen of parties who have not yet taken out their patents, these parties might abandon their homesteads, and if the government is to free abandoned homesteads of liabilities, it would not be able to collect at all. This seed grain was given four or five years ago. Now, as every person knows, a party taking up a homestead in the North-west has only to live on the homestead six months a year for three years, to enable him to take out a patent. Therefore, any one who was a homesteader at the time the seed grain was given out five years ago, and received seed grain, is entitled to a patent at the present time. As I understand the administration of the Act passed last year, the minister is prepared, when any party who has gone security for another, for a certain amount of seed grain, calls his attention, by letter or otherwise, to the fact that the party for whom the bondsmen went security, has not taken out his patent, the minister will see to it, that the patent is taken out; and the moment the patent is taken out the lien can be placed on the land of the primary debtor, and the bondsmen released. So, I think there is no trouble about the working of the Act. As to the abandoned homesteads, we do not require any legislation to relieve this class of homesteads, because this can be done by departmental regulation—the minister can relieve them at any time. For the matter of that, when a party has entered a homestead and abandoned it, all his interests and the title to the soil reverts to the Crown. I do not see how the government can hold a lien against their own property. It seems to me that the moment it reverts to the government, it is relieved from all liability. Now, with regard to what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin), said about the North-west government taking over all these liabilities against the western farmers, I do not see what reason the North-west government would have for taking over these liens. They would not take them over as part of their subsidy; and if the government propose to hand over all these liens to the North-west government for collection, or, in other words, if they propose to make a present to the North-west government of all this money outstanding in the North-west Territories—I do not see why it would not be as well for the government to make it a present to the farmers, and clean the whole thing up.

I claim that there has been an injustice done to the parties who have gone security for their fellow-farmers in the North-west Territories. I think it was an absurd idea for the late government to adopt the system they did in regard to this matter; and I am sorry my hon. friend (Mr. Davin), who was a member of the House at that time, and a supporter of the government of the day, did not see to it, that the government, when giving seed grain to the farmers of

the North-west, should adopt a better system than that of taking security from three homesteads, for six or seven dollars, as was done in many cases. Therefore, I do not see how many hon. gentlemen can blame this government for taking this question up and trying to solve it as they have done. But in the meantime I say it was unfair to the parties who went security for their neighbours in the North-west Territories for this reason: If any man went security or endorsed a note, he would expect that note would be collected when it became due, and that after three or four months he would be relieved of his liability. But in this case the government has done nothing to collect this money from the primary debtor, although as a matter of fact many a man went security for his neighbour when his neighbour was in a position to pay that money back, and was in good circumstances. But to-day, by a turn in the wheel of fortune, he may have lost his money and therefore the party who has gone security in the first place has to pay this liability, which he would not have had to do if the government had collected the debt. Now four or five years have elapsed since this grain was given out, and I think something should be done to relieve all the bondholders in the North-west Territories. I think it might be done in this way: I think that all the patents should be issued to parties who have lived sufficiently long on their land to earn the patents. My hon. friend read a letter from some party at Stony Beach who complained that he was not able to get his patent. Now, as a matter of fact, any person in the North-west Territories who has earned his patent can get it at the present time. The patent is issued by the Department of the Interior subject to the seed grain lien; but any person who applies for his patent will get it and the lien is registered on the patent. Therefore, there can be no cause of complaint from any person on that ground. But in the meantime I think something should be done to issue all the patents to parties who are entitled to them. I do not see why people should not take out patents when they are entitled to them; I do not see why the government should not issue patents after they have been earned: if that were done the minister then would be in a position to relieve all the bondsmen in the North-west Territories with the exception of parties who went security for people who had no land. I do not know what the member for West Assiniboia expects to do with these parties. You have either to collect every payment or relinquish the claim entirely. But I suppose there are very few cases of that kind. I think the Act as it stands now is all that is required to relieve all these parties, with the exception of those who have no land at all, and as they are very few in number it might be just as well to wipe the whole

thing off the books, and thus relieve the bondsmen who went security for these parties. As the member for West Assiniboia says, the pioneers who went into that country have done a great deal to build it up, that country is going to be the backbone of Canada, and the pioneers who have gone out there and stood the brunt should be treated with a certain amount of consideration; and if the most of the money is collected, what is left might fairly be wiped off the books.

MR. JAMES CLANCY (Bothwell). I have listened with great interest to the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat. Those of us who do not live in that western country cannot be expected to know the details of this question as well as those hon. gentlemen who do live there. But whatever the wisdom or feasibility of advancing seed grains to the farmers at that time on the security given, it seems to me we have not to consider that at the present time. We can hardly lay down a hard and fast rule with that new country which we might apply to this eastern country. It seems to me that a short way to clear up what must be a drawback in a large sense to have men hampered even by small obligations that are not their own, would be for all time to relieve those who became security for their neighbours. I suppose it was thought necessary at that time to have some security. I suppose that a good many have paid during the interval; a considerable time has since elapsed, and we have now reached a period when these debts are pretty well settled, either by being paid or the parties having ceased to occupy the lands, and who, therefore, can no longer be regarded as affording any security. Now whether the bargain has been a good or a bad one, it seems to me the government can well step in. Canada has a purse large enough to assume the bad debts of the country rather than unload them on persons who are innocent in one sense, and who went security for their neighbours at that time in order to relieve them from great distress or the prospect of great distress. It seems to me that the matter is so plain that the government should not hesitate to relieve every man who became responsible for his neighbour. If a man has gone away, why, as a matter of equity and justice,—I am putting aside the question of the binding nature of the bargain—why should we hold the man for a single hour now upon old claims that may have attached to individuals who are no longer any security, but who have gone away? For my part, I would have no hesitation in supporting a measure that would give the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) full power to relieve every man in that country who is responsible on a bond. Some may say: Why relieve a man from a bad bargain? I say this is an exceptional case. I need hardly point out to the hon. gentlemen op-

posite the laxity that always follows a matter that is of public concern ; it is never pressed in that way, and men may well turn to the government and say : Had you pressed the collection of that claim with the diligence you should have done—and that applies to both governments—we would have been relieved. But you have not done so, and why keep that responsibility hanging over our heads ? I think it would be an act of justice, and certainly it would be an act of grace, not to deal with these men on such hard lines as we might under other circumstances.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). If this question, which has been brought up once more by my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) is to be determined by the ordinary laws of contract, there can be no difficulty at all in dealing with it. But if all the laws, and rules, and regulations which apply to contracts are to be discarded, we should find ourselves landed in a great many difficulties. The question is a simple one, the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Clancy) knows perfectly well that the government in this matter is not a free agent. We have to be guided by the rules and regulations ; we have to execute a contract entered into by the government of Canada with certain parties in the North-west under certain conditions. Some few years ago the government found it advisable to make an advance of seed grain to settlers who were in unfortunate circumstances at the moment. The government made the advances amounting to small sums, I understand to \$8 or \$10 each man, in some cases perhaps as high as \$20. But for so small a sum the former government were not satisfied to take the responsibility of the debtor alone and to take a lien upon his homestead ; but they exacted that two friends of the debtor should go security for him. Now I think it might be said with some force that this was quite an unnecessary precaution ; such, however, was the action of the government at that time. They had every consideration which, in my judgment, was sufficient. The hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) simply asked the government, so far as the contract entered into with the bondsmen is concerned, that the government should release the lien given by them before the debt, for which they had given security, had been discharged. That is altogether contrary to the regulations and to sound regulation. There may be, however, some reason why the government should be as lenient as possible. There is reason, I think, that we should do all we can to facilitate the acquisition of the land by the settler, and this was the object of the Act passed last year. That Act was to enable the government to give a discharge to the bondsmen, though the debt for which he became a bondsman was not discharged. It reads in this way :

Mr. CLANCY.

The Governor General in Council may discharge from liability persons who are liable to the Crown as sureties upon bonds given to secure repayment for seed grain furnished by the Crown to persons in the North-west Territories in every case where, upon inquiry, it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that land owned by, or entered as a homestead by, the primary debtor is liable and is in the opinion of the said minister sufficient security for the sum owed by the primary debtor.

In other words, the government is authorized to discharge the bondsman though the debt had not been discharged, if, in the opinion of the Minister of the Interior, the primary debtor is responsible for the debt. That seems reasonable enough, and upon that statute the hon. Minister of the Interior had rules and regulations passed and approved by order in council to guide the agents, not to leave this matter in the hands of arbitrary officials, but to have these matters settled by rules and regulations which can be applied to everybody. An order in council was passed on the 27th of October last, and reads as follows :

Whereas by the Act 62-63 Victoria, chapter 18, it is provided the Governor General in Council may discharge from liabilities all persons who are liable to the Crown as sureties upon bonds given to secure repayment for seed grain furnished by the Crown to persons in the North-west Territories in every case where, upon inquiry, it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that land owned by, or entered as a homestead by, the primary debtor is liable and is in the opinion of the minister sufficient security for the sum owed by the primary debtor ;

And whereas it is in the public interest that immediate effect be given to such provisions ;

Therefore, His Excellency, by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada is pleased to grant and does hereby grant authority to the Minister of the Interior to execute releases of the sureties upon any bonds of the class above referred to :—

First: In which the primary debtor has already secured a patent for his land and the bond from which the sureties are to be discharged is either the only encumbrance against such land, or, where there are other encumbrances affecting the land such bond takes priority of all other of such encumbrances except such of them only as may be in favour of the Crown.

Here is the first case ; if the bondsman is able to show to the satisfaction of the minister that, though the debt has not been discharged, still that the primary debtor has obtained a patent and that there is no encumbrance, except the encumbrance of the Crown, or if any other encumbrances, no encumbrance with priority over that of the Crown, he can obtain his own patent and have a discharge of the debt for which he is bondsman.

Second: In which, although letters patent have not yet issued for the land of the primary debtor, he has applied for and established his right under the provisions in that behalf contained in the 'Dominion Lands Act' and its

amendments to a certificate of recommendation for patent, and in which the bond from the sureties are to be discharged is either the only encumbrance against such lands, or, where there are other encumbrances affecting the land, such bond takes propriety of all other of such encumbrances except such of them only as may be in favour of the Crown.

That is to say, if the bondsman can show to the minister that, though the debt has not been discharged, and though the primary debtor has not obtained his patent, still, if he can then obtain his patent, he can obtain the discharge of his debt.

Third: In any other case in which the letters patent for the land which is held by the primary debtor as a homestead, have not been applied for, it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that such land is liable to the bond from which the sureties thereto desire to be released and discharged, and is in the opinion of the said minister sufficient security for the sum owed upon such bond by the primary debtor.

Again, under the third condition, if the primary debtor has not obtained his patent, if he is not in a position to obtain the certificate for the issue of his patent, if it can be shown to the satisfaction of the minister that the land is sufficient security for the debt, the bondsman can obtain his discharge. Well, I submit, to my hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Clancy), and to the sense of justice, equity and fairness of hon. members of this House, that these propositions are very liberal; in fact, we could not do more than, I think, the hon. Minister of the Interior has done, unless, as suggested by the hon. member for Bothwell and the hon. member for West Assiniboia, we are ready to remit the debt altogether. But, if we do not do that, if we say that a man who has obtained an advance of seed grain from the government, should discharge the liability which he has incurred, I think the provisions which have been made for the relief of bondsmen are as ample and sufficient as can be. The hon. member for Bothwell takes an interest such as I do myself in the North-west Territories; he is not in the North-west Territories, neither am I. But, in the interest of colonization, we all desire that the North-west Territories shall be settled and that the men who have gone security shall be able to acquire their title. The hon. member for West Assiniboia has quoted a letter from a settler, who asks: What is the matter? We were told that we should obtain a discharge from these debts. I am a bondsman; I have gone security for one of my neighbours and I cannot obtain my patent. I have simply to answer this gentleman, Mr. Fletcher, that he can obtain a discharge of the bond which he incurred some few years ago for a friend if he can show one of three things: first, that the mortgage incurred by his friend has been discharged. Of course, he would be discharged himself then. But, supposing the mortgage has not been dis-

charged, if the debt is still due by the primary debtor, if he can show that the primary debtor has obtained a patent for his homestead and that this is the first encumbrance upon it, then he can have his discharge. If he cannot show that, but if he can show that though the patent is not issued he has obtained the certificate for the issue of his patent, and there is no encumbrance, or if there is, there is no encumbrance that has priority over the Crown, he can obtain his discharge. If he cannot show that the patent is issued or that the debtor is entitled to his patent, if he can show that the homestead of the primary debtor is sufficient security for the debt, then he can obtain his discharge.

Mr. CLANCY. What does the right hon. gentleman propose to do in a case where they have abandoned the land, gone away and left the responsibility on the shoulders of the bondsmen, which has arisen out of the laxity of those in authority in collecting the bond in the past?

The PRIME MINISTER. That is covered by the third clause:

Third: In any other case in which the letters patent for the land which is held by the primary debtor as a homestead, have not been applied for, it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that such land is liable to the bond from which the sureties thereto desire to be released and discharged, and is in the opinion of the said minister sufficient security for the sum owed upon such bond by the primary debtor.

In such a case the bondsman can obtain his release. I think the hon. Minister of the Interior has given a good deal of attention to the matter and has been very generous and very careful to come to the rescue of the bondsman who has done a friendly act towards his neighbour and who should not be oppressed for his act of charity. I do not admit the construction placed, a moment ago, by the hon. member for West Assiniboia, upon the action of the government, that such a man is harassed and oppressed. A man is not harassed and oppressed by his creditors when he is asked to discharge a bond which he has entered into. That is not harassing, that is not tyranny, that is not injustice, that is not unfairness towards any one, and no man can complain if he is simply asked to discharge the bond to which he has put his hand. We could have said to the bondsmen: So long as the debt is there you cannot obtain release, pay yourself as you have undertaken to do, and wait until your debtor pays you. But the government said: It will not withhold your patent until the debt is discharged, but the moment you can show us in any way, that the debt is sufficiently secured by the homestead upon which it is applied, then the bondsmen can obtain their discharge and have their patents. I have not the knowledge which gentlemen coming from the

North-west have upon this matter, and I speak with some diffidence upon it, but I see my hon. friend from Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis), rather favours the view that we should be very lenient and give a discharge not only to the bondsmen, but to the debtors also. That view has been advocated already by my hon. friend from Assiniboia (Mr. Davin). In his opinion, we should do one of three things. First of all, we should discharge the bondsmen in any case; then we should discharge the debtor himself, and if we did not do either one of these two, we should at all events hand over the debt to the legislative assembly of the North-west Territories. I am not prepared to admit this proposition at the present moment, but, speaking in the absence of the minister, I would propose the adjournment of this debate, with a view of conferring with the officers of the department, to ascertain what are their present views upon this question. If the sum be a limited one, it may be, that the government would feel warranted in taking some action, but if it be a large sum, we are not, of course, at liberty, to deal without due consideration with this matter, concerning a property, for which, after all, we are merely trustees. I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). The hon. gentleman who followed me (Mr. Davis) thought that I should have taken care, when the seed grain was got, that this arrangement, in regard to the bondsmen was not entered into. I may say, that at that time, there was great difficulty in getting the seed grain from the government. I have read the language of the then Minister of the Interior, in which he held strongly—and it was also held by the Prime Minister of that day, and held at an earlier period by Sir John Thompson—that it was a matter entirely for the local government of the Territories, to deal with, and, the local government not having money to deal with it, I was very glad to get the seed grain under the conditions imposed. These bondsmen who came to the rescue, really conferred a great obligation upon the North-west, and upon the government of Canada. The right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), has spoken of this as a contract, and he argued that we should apply the strict rules, binding men who have contracted. Well, Sir, that has not been done in the case of these bondsmen who have already been relieved by legislation, and, why apply one law to one set of men, and another law to another set? I think, Sir, it is very likely from what the right hon. gentleman has said, that we will get this relief after all. He says that he may do something, if it turns out that the sum is a small one. I may tell the Prime Minister, that the sum is, after all, a very small sum. The whole amount is only \$133,000, and a large part of that is

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

put outside consideration at the present time by the legislation of last year, because that legislation removes all the indebtedness for which the bondsmen were liable in the cases of those who got their patents. The statement was made broadly by some person, that none of these men were refused their patents. Well, there is the case of Mr. Fletcher, the case of Mr. Bradshaw, in Moosejaw, and the case of Mr. Bell, at Balgonie. These are names that occur to me, but as you see, Mr. Fletcher refers to several others. Now, it is quite clear that the order in council passed by the Minister of the Interior, is not carried out.

The PRIME MINISTER. Do you say it is not carried out?

Mr. DAVIN. Yes.

The PRIME MINISTER. How is that?

Mr. DAVIN. If it is acted on, why should Mr. Fletcher be refused his patent until he pays the seed grain debt on another man's homestead? You may say: All he has to do is to show that the 160 acres is worth \$8, or \$10, or \$15. Does any man doubt that any 160 acres in the North-west Territories, especially in the portion of the North-west Territories, where Mr. Fletcher lives, is not worth \$8, or \$10, or \$15?

The PRIME MINISTER. It may be encumbered.

Mr. DAVIN. No land, where a man has not got his patent, can be encumbered. The only party that could encumber land where no patent is issued, is the government of Canada. The right hon. gentleman appears to doubt that, but I can tell him it is so.

The PRIME MINISTER. It can be encumbered with the consent of the minister, and in fact, many of the homesteads are encumbered with the consent of the minister.

Mr. DAVIN. That is the government of Canada, practically. I thought the right hon. gentleman was referring to ordinary encumbrances. Now, I think the right hon. gentleman will find, if he inquires of Mr. Smart, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, that the department has interpreted that Act very narrowly. I think he will find that the words of the order in council, are to my mind, more liberal than the administration of the Act. I do not know the particulars of the Fletcher case, but I know the Balgonie, and the Moosejaw cases, and I know that in neither of these, is there any encumbrance upon the homestead, except the seed grain. I, therefore, say that the administration of the Act by the department, is not as liberal as these regulations provide for. Except in one or two cases that might occur where, with the consent of the Crown, some company had been able to have a lien on the land, it will be found that if these regulations are carried out in the spirit

they should be, that all I contend for, in regard to the bondsmen, would be attained. Therefore, why not relieve us altogether from this strict construction that deputy ministers are apt to put on Acts. The tendency of the man that has been even for a short time a deputy minister, is to interpret a statute and to interpret an order in council for the government against the settler. That is the bureaucratic tendency. They manage their departments precisely on the principle that a green grocer would manage his store behind his counter, thinking that anything he can gain for his shop, is a gain anyway. That should not be the idea at all, in managing a department of the government. The way to manage a department is to do the best for the development of every portion of the country. In that way you get wealth through the country at large. I think I see a very strong reason for believing that the right hon. gentleman intends to yield to my prayer, in regard to the bondsmen, and, therefore, I will not oppose the motion for the adjournment.

Mr. J. M. DOUGLAS (Eastern Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to take up the time of the House with any further discussion on this subject; but it is a subject that engages the attention of all the members from the North-west Territories. Scarcely a week passes without my receiving letters from settlers wanting to be relieved of the position of security for the indebtedness of other parties. I believe the late government made a great mistake in ever granting seed grain at all. It was a mistaken kindness, which has not proved to be a kindness, but which in many cases has settled burdens on people that they find it difficult to remove. I could instance cases in my own locality where parties who received seed grain had to pay double the amount for the seed that their neighbours paid for it at the same period. Then, I believe the late government made a mistake in demanding excessive security. A quarter section, or 160 acres, ought to be sufficient security for any amount owed to the government for seed grain. I felt last session that perhaps it would be a prudent thing to strike off the securities altogether, and depend on the quarter sections; but I found, on a closer examination of the question, that there were a number of cases that would not be met by such legislation, and I concluded that the safer way was to leave these cases largely to the discretion of the Minister of the Interior, which was done by the legislation of last session. I am not in favour of striking out the indebtedness, even in special cases, because that would be an injustice to the honest settler who has paid his indebtedness; and if this were done, the Minister of the Interior would be swamped with appeals from the honest people of the North-west Territories. As far as I can see at the present moment, I

do not think legislation could be adopted to cover all the peculiar cases that would be sure to arise. If a settler wishes his deed, he can get it with the indebtedness registered against him. The question comes to this: Can this or any government afford to enter into legal proceedings to compel the settler to pay his indebtedness at a given time? This is a course that probably no government would care to take. We wish to give them all encouragement rather than saddle them with additional burdens and anxieties. Personally, then, I think that the legislation that was granted last session will meet the large majority of cases; and where special difficulties arise, they must be left largely to the discretion of the Minister of the Interior.

Mr. A. A. C. LaRIVIERE (Provencher). Mr. Speaker, after the promise that has been made by the right hon. the Prime Minister that he will look into this matter, I hope that I may be allowed to refer to another matter of a similar character in the province of Manitoba. Of course, I may not be authorized to speak on this question, but the cases are similar. There is still in Manitoba a balance unpaid for seed grain advanced 24 years ago. That balance is in the neighbourhood of \$25,000. This amount is due by parties who never contracted the indebtedness, and who purchased the land without knowing that it was so encumbered. I do not ask my right hon. friend to wipe out this indebtedness; but I would ask that the interest that is being exacted by the government should be reduced to a reasonable rate. Six per cent is charged on the liability, so that the amount of the indebtedness is now more than double what it was originally. In the case of the Mennonites, to whom the government advanced some \$60,000 or \$70,000 in former years, the interest was reduced to three per cent, and I would ask the government to reduce the interest on this indebtedness in Manitoba to the same rate at the most, thus treating the people who are responsible for the payment of that indebtedness with the same liberality with which the Mennonites had been treated.

Mr. A. CAMPBELL (Kent). Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that this is one of those cases which this government has fallen heir to, amongst the numerous other difficulties which have come to them from the bungling and incapacity of the late government. During the three years and a half that this government have been in power, I believe they have had to meet and deal with more cases of this kind of irregularity than any other government ever fell heir to.

Mr. LaRIVIERE. I am sorry to have to inform the hon. gentleman that for the case I refer to hon. gentlemen opposite are responsible.

Mr. CAMPBELL. That is not the case before the House, and that is not the case that I intended to deal with. I do not know anything about that; but I see a very great difficulty in the way of the government releasing these securities. As was pointed out by the hon. member for Eastern Assiniboia (Mr. Douglas), what position would the government be in? I suppose a great many of these settlers who obtained seed grain from the government have been frugal and industrious, and have paid their indebtedness; but a few of them have not paid; and if the government were to release them, would they not be liable to be called upon to repay the men who have paid their indebtedness? I do not see how the government can get out of that. Surely the government, if it releases those who have not been industrious, but who have neglected their payments and let them run for years, ought to recognize merit and industry on the part of those who have kept their agreement with the government. Therefore, I see in the course advocated by some hon. gentlemen a very great difficulty, one which it will be hard to meet, and other people will have reason to complain of the course taken by the government. It seems to me that under the order in council, passed in October last, there should be no difficulty whatever in settlers getting rid of the obligations they entered upon.

Mr. CLANCY. The statement is not made that persons should be relieved who can pay. It is not proposed that the primary debtor shall be relieved, but the persons who, from friendship or otherwise, became bondsmen. If, therefore, there is any title or security in the land, it remains just as before.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I understood that it was urged that they should be relieved altogether. That is one of the propositions advanced, I think, by the hon. member for West Assiniboia.

Mr. LARIVIERE. It would be accepted, but is not asked for.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In that course I see very grave difficulties. The order in council passed in October last, seems to me sufficient to meet all objections. I have not understood from this discussion that the government are oppressing or harassing any of these men. They are dealing very generously with them, and I have no doubt, will deal, as they always deal, very generously and honestly with the people of this country. I do not think that any further action is required. The matter is in the hands of a competent, able and careful minister—

Mr. DAVIN. He is going away.

Mr. CAMPBELL. He is leaving a good substitute behind him, one who will carry

Mr. LARIVIERE.

out his wishes in this regard in every particular, and I think, therefore, that the matter will be settled in a way that will commend itself to the settlers, and also be satisfactory to the people of this country.

I have in my mind now certain friends of mine who got seed grain from the government and who long ago paid for it. It is only right, if the others are relieved, that these should be relieved also, and this would open a door that would bring great trouble on the government, and I do not know that we would be dealing fairly with the other people.

Mr. INGRAM. I do not intend to delay the House on this question, but what I would like to draw the attention of the right hon. First Minister to is this, that so far we have been only able to deal with three notices of motion—I am referring to those notices which have been discussed—and each one of those has been placed over the head of public bills and orders. If this motion of the right hon. gentleman be assented to, this notice of motion will also be placed in that position. We have some thirty-five public Bills that have not yet been touched, and are not likely to be for several weeks to come, and I would suggest to the right hon. gentleman to withdraw his motion to adjourn the debate and let this matter be settled now, one way or the other, and thus give a better chance to public bills.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I do not think the hon. gentleman could have followed the debate very closely or he would not have made this suggestion. The question is one of no small importance.

Mr. INGRAM. I quite agree in that.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. It is desirable that it should be settled on a basis of sound equity and not hurriedly or in the heat of parliamentary debate, or in the absence of the necessary information. The Prime Minister has said that he will take the opportunity of consulting with the permanent head of the Interior Department, after having heard the statement made by the hon. member for West Assiniboia. I did think myself, when the hon. gentleman rose to make his motion this afternoon, that he had a good substantial case to present to the House, and I frankly confess that I was disappointed, and came to the conclusion expressed so clearly by my hon. friend from East Assinibola (Mr. Douglas) a moment ago, namely, that the farmers of the North-west are not suing in 'forma pauperis,' that they are not seeking for charity, but for justice tempered with equity.

Mr. DAVIN. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Nothing else, and I fancy it

is rather a reproach against them to deal with their case as if they were a lot of paupers seeking to be relieved from honest obligations. I am quite sure they seek no such thing. There may be, and I believe are, grievances. Had it not been for the action taken by the hon. Minister of the Interior last year, and the statute he had passed enabling him to do justice, many grievances of a very serious character would exist, and these farmers would have had good ground for complaint.

Mr. DAVIN. I had to press him two years to do it.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am not speaking about how the hon. gentleman had to press or not, but of facts as they are to-day. What I wish to call attention to is this, that the Act of last session confers ample powers on the Minister of the Interior to remedy all those grievances and injustices, and the only question before the House is whether proper steps have been taken to carry out effectively the powers vested in the minister by this Act. Has the minister laid upon his oars and done nothing? Not at all. He came before council in October, 1899, with a report based upon the statute we passed last session, and asked the council to define the circumstances under which he could grant relief to the different sureties who had become liable for the debts of these primary debtors. And an order in council was passed authorizing the minister to release the sureties:

First, when the primary debtor had secured his patent. Second, when, although letters patent have not yet issued for the land of the primary debtor, he has applied for and established his right, under the provisions in that behalf contained in the Dominion Lands Act, and its amendments to a certificate or recommendation for patent.

In such case, he is to be in the same position as if the patent had been obtained, and irrespective of the value of the land, if the bond forms a lien upon it, the surety has to be discharged.

And, thirdly, whether he has or has not a right to a patent or has or has not applied for a patent, if he is a possessor of a piece of land and that land is in itself sufficient security—

Mr. DAVIN. Would the hon. gentleman read the third clause.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am going to read it.

Mr. CLANCY. Suppose there is no security, what about the bondsmen?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am pointing out to my hon. friend that the primary debtor could not have got the advance unless he had a claim to certain lands. The first two clauses deal with the cases (a) where he has a pat-

ent, and (b) where he has established his right to a patent. In those two cases, irrespective of the value of the land, the surety is entitled to be discharged on application to the Minister of the Interior. In the third case:

In any other case in which the letters patent for the land which is held by the primary debtor as a homestead, have not been applied for, it is shown to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that such land is liable to the bond from which the sureties thereto desire to be released and discharged, and is, in the opinion of the said minister sufficient security for the sum owed upon such bond by the primary debtor.

My hon. friend seems to discover something which he approves of, that sufficient security is mentioned in this clause. He does not want the surety discharged unless the primary debtor has land offering sufficient security in the opinion of the minister to discharge the debt. But if there is sufficient security, the surety who has joined the bond will be discharged at once.

Mr. CLANCY. The hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) will see that my contention has been that where there is absolutely no security where the party may have gone away, it is unfair to hold the person who became security, no matter what the circumstances at the time of the loan. If there is no security he ought to be discharged, and if there is security the country is safe from loss.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Clancy) looks at the statute and the order in council based upon the statute, he will see that the absence of the primary debtor has nothing to do with the release of the surety. The hon. gentleman relied on that point a good deal, but, as it does not matter whether the primary debtor is living on the land or has left the country and gone to the United States, that does not affect the right of the security to be discharged. That which does affect his right is the question whether the land the primary debtor originally possessed and on which he gave his bond, though he had no patent to it and had no right to a patent, is sufficiently valuable, in the opinion of the minister to pay the debt. I do not think that, in equity any broader or more generous provision for the release of these sureties could be made than has been made under these regulations which have been read to the House. And I must say that after they were read, no fault could be found with them. No fault has been found with them. No suggestion has been made that any wider or more equitable order in council could be made than was made in October last at the instance of the Minister of the Interior. The only suggestion that we have before us is one concerning which I speak with diffidence, not knowing the

local circumstance, the suggestion of the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) that we should transfer the entire indebtedness to the North-west Territories government.

Mr. DAVIN. That was not what I said. Will the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) allow me to explain?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Certainly, I have no wish to misrepresent the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin).

Mr. DAVIN. My suggestion is to first get rid of the bonded indebtedness, then, in regard to the claim on the primary debtor, transfer that to the North-west government.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Well, I understand the hon. gentleman a little differently from what I did before. He asks now that no matter what the circumstances are, whether the land of the primary debtor offers security or not, we are to make a present of this account of these people. Now, they do not ask that.

Mr. DAVIN. Yes.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I do not think they should be put in the position of suing here in forma pauperis. I do not believe that the gentlemen who signed these bonds ask to be relieved, except under circumstances which leave sufficient assets in the hands of the government to defray the debt, and in that case they have a right to be relieved. The question is whether the land—whether it is abandoned or not—is sufficiently valuable to pay the debt. If so, we look to the land and relieve the surety. But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) in his present proposal asks that the surety should be discharged irrespective of any question whether there are any assets left or not. As to the primary debtors, the proposition is made that we should hand these men over bound hand and foot to the North-west Territories government. But we do not know that that is a proposition that these men themselves will approve of. Why should we hand them over? This government and parliament is quite capable of dealing with those who have entered into contracts with them, without transferring them to third parties who may not deal with them as generously as we will.

Mr. DAVIN. Will the hon. minister allow me?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Certainly; let the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin), explain.

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

Mr. DAVIN. I am sure the hon. Minister does not wish to misrepresent me. My proposition as stated in 1898, in 1899, and again this year, is to transfer the debt of the primary debtor to the North-west government, with instructions to collect it either in cash, or, if any farmer wishes to pay it so, in the form of statute labour.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. If it is to be collected in cash, we can collect it as well as they can. We are not asking to collect it in cash. We ask it to be a lien upon the land until the party who owns the land or is entitled to it sees fit to pay it off; and, in the meantime, as the order in council provides, release the bondsmen in every case where, in the opinion of the minister, the lands of the primary debtor offer sufficient security for the payment of the debt. Nothing could be more broad, more generous or more equitable than the proposition of the Minister of the Interior based on the statute of last year. I am opposed to the proposal of my hon. friend (Mr. Davin); and I think that, under all circumstances the Prime Minister's proposal, which seemed to me to meet with general approval on both sides, should be carried out, and that he should have an opportunity of conferring with the permanent heads of the department in the light of facts brought out in this debate as to whether the government would go at any time further than they have gone.

Mr. BYRON M. BRITTON (Kingston). The suggestion presented by my hon. friend from East Elgin (Mr. Ingram), is one that ought to weigh with members of this House, in considering the proposals before us. We have had a full debate on this question, but if the debate is adjourned, the question will stand in the way of the Bills on the Order paper, without any real good being accomplished. A full discussion has taken place, and the best thing that could be done, as the government has promised to look into the matter, would be for the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), to withdraw the motion, and await the result of the investigation that has been promised, with a view of doing anything that can be done, with justice, in relieving these Manitoba farmers. Before resuming my seat, I wish to say a word or two upon the motion itself. No one, it seems to me, can object to the words of the motion, if every one could be his own interpreter of what it is 'to do justice, to give relief and meet the necessities, should necessities be found to exist.' We could all agree upon this set of words. But when it comes down to particulars, just such as the hon. member (Mr. Davin), has given, we find that the order in council meets all the difficulties of any single case. Of course, if we are to consider the suggestion to release these sure-

ties from all their indebtedness, simply to give a general release, without any consideration at all or without payment by anybody, that is a separate proposition. But I submit to the House, that the order in council is warranted by the terms of the Act passed last session, and under the order in council, interpreting the Act of last session, every single case of grievance can be dealt with by the Minister of the Interior. Now, further, what is the suggestion of my hon. friend (Mr. Davin), with reference to this Act. He suggests that it should stop after these words :

The Governor in Council may discharge from liability persons who are liable to the Crown as sureties upon bonds given to secure repayment for seed grain furnished by the Crown to persons in the North-west Territories.

It might be argued perhaps, with some success that the 'may' in that case means 'must,' and that, therefore, all these persons must be relieved without looking into the matter at all. Then, what will be the result, unless the minister deals with it on some definite basis, such as provided in the section of the Act of last year? If he were asked to deal with it by a political opponent and did not do so, it would be argued that it was because the redress was not asked for a supporter of the government; if, on the other hand, it was a supporter of the government, who was presenting the case, and if the minister dealt with it, some hon. gentleman might say that he dealt with it, and relieved him from his indebtedness, because he was a supporter of the government. At all events, whatever might be said against the government refusing to give relief in the case of an opponent, or granting relief in case of a supporter, it would be a wrong thing to pass a statute without allowing the minister to deal with cases of this kind, and without stating the ground on which the case might be dealt with. I submit that such legislation would not be in the interest of any parties who would be affected by it, and it would be dangerous legislation to pass. One word with reference to the cases of those who have become sureties, and who have paid their indebtedness as such sureties. Now, no government could withstand an application made by any such surety to refund the amount to him, if, under similar circumstances, there was a release of any other surety. If a surety under precisely similar circumstances was released, then another surety who had paid, must necessarily have a claim that could not be resisted by the government. The door would be open to difficulties of that kind, if any such legislation was passed, as is asked for. Now, we have got the whole matter before us. Isolated cases of hardship are provided for by the Act of last session. I do not think that any one reading the Act of last year, will say that the words 'Owned by or entered as a homestead' af-

fects the question where the man has absconded or not. He entered it as homestead land. He may have made some improvement on it, but after he has abandoned the land it becomes the property of the Crown. The improvements that he has made upon it are in that case sufficient security; and these words cover the case, whether a man has left the country or not. So the case where a patent is issued, and the case where the land is entered as homestead land, both come within the words of the statute.

Motion (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The PRIME MINISTER moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 10.05 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, March 13, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 86) respecting the Thousand Island Railway Company.—(Mr. Taylor.)

Bill (No. 87) respecting the Manitoba and North-west Railway Company.—(Mr. Roche.)

Bill (No. 88) to incorporate the Ste. Mary's River and Railway Colonization Company.—(Mr. Oliver, by Mr. Douglas.)

PAYMENTS TO THE LEADER COMPANY OF REGINA.

Mr. THOMAS O. DAVIS moved :

That a return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated February 12, 1900, containing a statement of sums paid to the 'Leader' Company, Ltd., of Regina, N.W.T., in the years 1894 and 1895, be referred to the Committee on Public Accounts.

Motion agreed to.

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to call the attention of the acting Minister of the Interior to a return ordered on the 14th of February with regard to grants of land near the White Horse Rapids, Yukon. I trust the hon. gentleman will see that

the papers are brought down, as it is now a month since they were asked for.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I will inquire about it.

Mr. GEORGE TAYLOR (South Leeds). I desire to ask the right hon. the Premier if the return that he promised on Monday in reference to the Fox Bay settlers will be brought down soon?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier.) I will lay it on the Table before the end of the sitting.

COMMISSIONER CLUTE'S REPORT.

Mr. W. W. B. McINNES (Vancouver). I desire to ask if Mr. Clute has yet made his report on the Siocan labour question, and if he has, if it will be laid on the Table at once?

The PRIME MINISTER. I cannot inform my hon. friend (Mr. McInnes) at this moment.

PRIVILEGE—MR. McNEILL.

Mr. ALEXANDER McNEILL (North Bruce). I rise to call attention to a matter of privilege. In the *Globe* of Friday last, I find the following statement:

Mr. McNeill also rose to speak, amid loud cries of 'order' from the Liberals. Mr. McNeill said these cries were raised to give the government time to prepare their business. Mr. Speaker called him to order for this, but he continued to speak, and finally he was compelled to resume his seat by the Speaker. By the permission of the House he then spoke.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in calling attention to this matter, I do not wish to blame the reporter for these statements. I think it is only fair for me to say that my experience of the reporting for the *Globe* in this House is that that reporting has been eminently fair—on the whole, I have found it eminently fair. But I think it is only due to myself that I should put myself right with regard to this matter. I did not continue speaking, Mr. Speaker, when you called me to order. On the contrary, when you called me to order, I immediately withdrew the expression I had made use of. I then said that I supposed I must assume that the interruptions were made for the purpose of facilitating business. You again called me to order for this statement, and I withdrew the words. But, owing to the noise that was being made on the other side, you, Sir, apparently did not hear my withdrawal; in fact, the noise was so great, that, though I was sitting close to the *Hansard* reporter, I find he did not hear me either. But my hon. friend (Mr. Foster), who was sitting beside me, heard me at the time and interjected a remark at the time I made the withdrawal. I wish to put myself right, because I feel very sensitive in reference to

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this matter. I am quite satisfied that if we are to retain the respect of the country we must conduct our proceedings in this House in an orderly manner; and I am quite satisfied that, in order that we shall conduct our proceedings in an orderly manner, it is absolutely necessary that the authority of the Chair should be maintained. I desire to say that nothing could be further from my thoughts, and nothing was further from my action, than any indication of disrespect for the Chair on that occasion.

PRIVILEGE—MR. DAVIN.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to call attention to the report of yesterday's proceedings in this morning's papers. It concludes as follows:

Subsequently, the member for Saskatchewan encountered Mr. Davin in the corridor, and a rather one-sided wordy duel raged there for a few minutes. The incident caused quite a commotion.

I may say, Sir, that I did not meet the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davis) in the corridor, and did not see him until I saw him here at eight o'clock. And there could be no wordy altercation between us, as, outside of this Chamber, I do not exchange courtesies with the hon. member.

PARIS EXHIBITION.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Before the Orders of the Day are called. I would like to ask my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) if he is able to state to the House the arrangements that have been made in regard to the exposition at Paris. It is, I believe, known to the House that the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has left for Paris, with a number of other persons; and it is stated that he goes there as the representative of Canada at this exhibition about to be held in Paris. I think that, under the circumstances, the House has a right to know, two hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches having left the House, what the position now is in regard to that matter.

The PRIME MINISTER. I am sorry the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), is not in his seat at this moment, as he could give to my hon. friend all the information he is entitled to on this subject. But in his absence I can give to my hon. friend the information which more immediately concerns the case which he has stated. The government have come to the conclusion that they would appoint my hon. friend, the Minister of Public Works, as chief commissioner for Canada, to the Paris Exhibition; he goes there, of course, without any salary. We have come to this conclusion rather reluctantly, because we had hoped to have his services during the present session. But it

is well known to all the members of this House, that the hon. Mr. Tarte is in bad health; in fact his health is in such a condition, that his friends have pressed upon him the advisability of taking a rest. We have thought that a change of labour, such as he is going to undertake, will give him some rest for the present. These are the reasons which have led us to the conclusion to appoint him to represent Canada at Paris, and we feel satisfied that he is quite able to discharge the duties of the position.

DOMINION LANDS ACT AMENDMENT.

House again resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 18), further to amend the Dominion Lands Act.

(In the Committee.)

The PRIME MINISTER. When we last had this Bill before the committee, we reserved clause 3, a part of the old Bill, which we propose to amend, by the following words:

Subsection 5 of clause 44 of said Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the words, 'in which case the patent may issue in the name of the settler, even if he is not a British subject.'

I explained the last time that we had this Bill before us the meaning of this legislation. A number of settlers who are not British subjects, have left the country, and their homesteads are left in abeyance. They have given liens upon the homesteads, and these liens cannot be enforced because the patent has to go to a British subject. The object of this legislation is to provide that in such a case, the patent may issue to the settler, though he is not a British subject; it is to enable certain parties, who have liens upon a few homesteads in the North-west, to get their patents and be able to get their advances. This legislation affects only a few settlers. There are a certain number of gentlemen, whose names I will give, who had made advances to these homestead holders:

List of lands against which are registered statutory liens in favour of Sir A. T. Galt (since deceased), acting as trustee for the Russian Jews and Mansion House Committee, London, Eng. Sir A. T. Galt was succeeded in this matter by Mr. Hyman Miller, of the firm of Miller, Morse & Co., Winnipeg, and Mr. Alfred B. Benjamin, of Toronto, who is now also dead, his death having taken place recently.

These parties who made the advances have not been able to recover them, because a homestead patent cannot be issued to a settler who is a foreigner; and it is for the purpose of enabling these creditors to get their money, that this legislation has been introduced, it has been introduced at their request. I will now answer a criticism made the other day, by my hon. friend, the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster). He thought that if we gave this permission, a

large number of Doukhobors, Galicians and other foreigners, could give a mortgage, and thereby, after a certain time, these lands would come into the possession of foreigners. My answer is simply this: There is no danger to be apprehended upon this score, because the holders of the homesteads cannot give a lien upon their property, except after consultation with, and permission from the Department of the Interior, and so far no foreigner has obtained permission from the Department of the Interior, to obtain a lien upon any homestead held by an alien. It is not the policy of the department to favour homestead holders giving a lien; still less is it the policy to favour an alien. I may say that the department has no particular object to serve in this matter. This legislation was introduced to remedy an evil that exists to-day; and if the hon. gentleman is not satisfied with the legislation, I am quite ready to let it drop. But, I think he and the House generally, will come to the conclusion that they ought to let it pass.

Mr. DAVIN. Has the hon. gentleman made any calculation of the extent of land thus affected, or the number of acres that will thus be transferred to aliens?

The PRIME MINISTER. There are 15 settlers, according to a list before me. My hon. friend stated when this Bill was last before the House, that if we allowed aliens to give a lien on their homestead, and if they afterwards left the country, with this legislation in force, the homestead might pass into the hands of a foreigner, instead of British subjects. That point struck me at the time as having some force. I consulted the authorities of the department, and am told that the danger does not exist in reality, because the owner of the homestead is not allowed to give a mortgage indiscriminately. According to the law at present, he cannot record a homestead lien against his homestead, except after application to the Department of the Interior.

Mr. FOSTER. What change does this make?

The PRIME MINISTER. I think about 1882, a certain number of Russian Jews were brought into the country, and they had advances from a foreign committee, represented by Sir A. P. Galt. These Jews have left the country, but the homesteads are there. The lien is recorded against the homestead, but it cannot be enforced, because the patent cannot go to a homesteader who is an alien. The object is to permit the homestead to be given to that alien, so that the creditors can enforce their lien. When this passes, it becomes a general provision.

Mr. FOSTER. The law still remains that a lien cannot be given without permission of the department?

The PRIME MINISTER. Yes. The minister is empowered to give the lien.

Mr. FOSTER. Under this legislation, in every such case where a lien is given, it can be realized by the foreigner?

The PRIME MINISTER. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. That is what the effect of the legislation would be?

The PRIME MINISTER. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. My right hon. friend sees that it makes it as wide as you can make it. Legislation may be general, and have no conditions attached; this legislation has simply the condition attached that the minister must give his consent. The right hon. gentleman says that it is not the policy of the government to give consent in such cases indiscriminately or generally, but it is left entirely in the hands of the minister who may do so or not. The door is wide opened to the foreigner realizing on the lien, and if it is so in sixteen or twenty cases it may be so in two hundred cases, and of course, pressure will be brought to bear on the minister to give his consent. The minister is authorized by law to give it, the minister gives it, and then, minister or no minister, the foreigner can realize in every case in which a lien is given. It is opening the door very wide, to, really, the possession of homesteads by realizing on the liens by people who are aliens and foreigners.

The PRIME MINISTER. It is not the policy of the department to favour homesteaders giving liens, first of all, to British subjects, and still less is it their policy to favour the giving of liens to foreigners. It will happen in very few cases, and so far, the Doukhobors and the Galicians have not been allowed to give a single lien to any foreign company or to any alien. This is the policy of the government, and it is a policy which will commend itself to all parties, and which the government will endeavour to carry out. I am not particular about the clause, although I think it will serve a good purpose without incurring any danger.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I know the land very well to which this relates, and I have no doubt that the contention of the solicitor of the department is correct that the land is lying there perfectly useless. If there is no danger in this clause being acted on in such a way as to enable large quantities of land to be put into the hands of aliens, I am inclined to think that it would be useful legislation.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Mr. Speaker, I would suggest to the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) that, in dealing with amendments of this kind, it would be far better to re-enact the whole subsection

Mr. FOSTER.

or section, as the case may be. I have looked at some of the authorities on the question of drafting statutes, and I find this rule laid down everywhere. There are many reasons for this. In the first place, not twelve men in this House will otherwise have any adequate understanding of what is being done. Those who can send out, get the revised statutes and have them before them, will have some idea of the legislation which is being enacted, but the remainder of the House will have no idea whatever. When you say that you amend a section of the statute by inserting a word in the fourth line and striking out a word in the eighth line, and so forth, it is impossible, without the revised statutes before you, to follow such amendments. Eventually, you will get the statutes into the same condition as those of the province of Nova Scotia which my hon. colleague (Mr. Russell) described as being in the condition that Mr. Burdett said a New England barn was in—shingled, shangled and shungled. All the authorities are in favour of re-enacting the whole section, or subsection, as the case may be, because, then, you have the whole matter distinctly before the House. I think it would add very much to the information on the subject in the possession of the House if that rule were followed. It has been followed very often in Bills that come from the Department of Justice, but these two Bills, which have come from the Department of the Interior, seem to have been very badly drafted; in fact, they do not seem to have been drafted by a person who has taken any pains to inquire into modern methods of drafting statutes.

Mr. DAVIN. It would be a very useful thing if we had a Consolidated Dominion Lands Act, because, the number of amendments there are, especially to clause 38 and 44. Before the Bill is reported, I would like to ask the right hon. Prime Minister a question. When this Bill was before the committee last week, I suggested a clause which was voted down, which would effect the purpose in regard to the bondsmen for seed grain, that, yesterday, I was seeking to impress upon the attention of the government and the House. The right hon. gentleman on that occasion, said that he intended to consult the deputy head of the Department of the Interior. I would like to ask whether he has had an opportunity of discussing this question with the deputy head?

The PRIME MINISTER. I am sorry to say that I have not had an opportunity of discussing the question with the deputy head. I discussed it with the law clerk of the department. We have come to no conclusion on the matter yet.

Bill reported; read the third time, and passed.

SUPPLY—THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

Mr. HENRI BOURASSA (Labelle). Mr. Speaker, I fully realize the disadvantage of my present position at this juncture. I come rather late in the session to give explanations that were expected at the opening. The subject which I have to treat has already excited much discussion, taking from it a good deal of the interest which would otherwise be attached to it. Then, I know my position is not popular, at least, at the present. But, Sir, all these disadvantages and inconveniences affect me in no way. Waiting for the ultimate results of the policy that has been adopted, I feel that I can stand the fair and impartial judgment of my fellow-citizens of all origins in this respect, of those, at least, who think that one may be, at the same time, a loyal British subject, a thorough Canadian and a constitutional Liberal. I have already given to the House the reasons why I did not propose this motion on a previous occasion. I shall now enter upon the merits of the case without any further introduction.

It has been often stated that the intervention of Canada in the South African war originated in the motion which was adopted in this House in the month of July last. It has been even asserted that the adoption of that resolution gave a mandate to the government allowing—nay, compelling them to give armed help to Great Britain when war was declared. The hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) gave us a little of the inside history which preceded the introduction of that motion. He told us that its adoption had been urged upon parliament by a representative of the Transvaal Uitlanders. If the hon. gentleman had described that representative as the agent of the South African Chartered Company, or, in other words, as Mr. Cecil Rhodes's agent, sent here by Mr. Chamberlain—I think he would have come closer to the reality. To any one who has followed the course of the Colonial Secretary on this question, the motion adopted last session bears the unmistakable evidence of Mr. Chamberlain's inspiration. That reference to the suzerainty of Her Majesty over the Transvaal is sufficient to cause us to understand where the motion comes from. I have already explained to the House how Mr. Chamberlain, alone amongst all British statesmen, restored that suzerainty out of his own free will and imagination thirteen years after it had been abolished by the British government. Another proof of the origin of the motion is the discreet but straight approval of Mr. Chamberlain's policy which is contained in the motion. But, Sir, whatever opinion we might have of the purpose underlying the motion and of its real author, I do not see how it can be as-

serted that it implied our intention to go to war in South Africa. That contention, if made by the government, would deprive them at once of one of their few excuses for not having called parliament, and for having taken public money without the authorization of the representatives of the people on the pretense that it was an unforeseen emergency. If we meant going to war in July, how could war in October be unforeseen? I find in the *Toronto Globe* of October 7th last, a straight refutation of that contention. It says:

The fact that the case of the Uitlanders did come before parliament at its last session, and that parliament adopted resolutions of sympathy with the Uitlanders, does not dispose of the question of parliamentary sanction for the raising of a force for South Africa. . . . There was nothing said, so far as we can see, which indicated an intention of authorizing the government to act without the consent of parliament.

Then the article goes on with the argument that so far Canada had taken part in no Imperial war, and it adds:

. . . . It is competent for us, of course, to take a new departure in that respect; but it is a very great question indeed whether a government should take that departure without consulting the representatives of the people. And certainly nothing was said in parliament which would warrant such a step.

There was another reason why we did not expect or mean war at that time. The South African Republic had made repeated offers to submit the whole difficulty to arbitration. And both before and after refusing these offers Mr. Chamberlain accepted them a couple of times. The very day that our parliament adopted that motion of sympathy with the Transvaal Uitlanders, the Colonial Secretary instructed Sir Alfred Milner to invite President Kruger to appoint delegates to a commission of arbitration. Moreover, the Hague conference had about closed its meetings. It had not been successful in all its aims; but one principle at least was emphatically proclaimed, thanks to the great influence of the British representative, Lord Pauncefoot, and that was the principle of arbitration in all international disputes which did not involve the honour of states—this certainly was one of those cases which could be submitted to arbitration. The differences between Great Britain and the United States over the Venezuela affair were just about to be settled by arbitration; and at the same moment we ourselves were and are still seeking for arbitration to settle our differences with the United States over the Alaskan boundary matter. Who could have thought at the last session of this parliament, that Mr. Chamberlain would go back on his own words and refuse arbitration with the South African Republic? A thorough British Liberal such as I am, I would not have believed for my part that we accepted arbitration when we had to deal with great

nations, but that we refused or repudiated arbitration when we had to deal with small states.

Moreover, it was not the first time that this parliament had adopted resolutions of that kind without ever thinking of enforcing them by armed sanction. In 1882, a motion was passed unanimously by this House favouring the adoption of Home Rule for Ireland; and, if I remember well, it brought back from the British government a reply, the plain translation of which was: Mind your own business. In 1886, Mr. Blake moved a similar resolution which did not meet with the same unanimous support. References were then made to the reply of the British government of 1882. Mr. Blake contended—and rightly too—that all British citizens in any part of the empire had the right of petition and remonstrance to the Crown. But, Sir John Thompson replied that, true as Mr. Blake's theory was, yet, the Home Rule question was a bone of contention between the two political parties of England, and that we should avoid playing into the hands of the one or the other of these parties. Mr. Blake's motion passed, only after it had been amended in that sense. In 1891, another Home Rule resolution was introduced by Mr. Devlin but never pressed to a vote in this House. I give all this to show that the much-talked-of Imperialistic feeling, that feeling of solidarity; or, as I would put it, that feeling of intermixture between all British self-governing countries has not yet been very conspicuous, at least so far as the Irish question is concerned. However, on none of these occasions did any one ever think that, should the Home Rule question bring rebellion or war in any part of the United Kingdom or of the British Empire, we had the intention of upholding by armed force the principle we had laid down in these resolutions. Oh! but I am mistaken! Some one did propose going to war. A member of the Canadian government at the time did offer to give armed help to the people of Ulster should they rebel against the British Crown. I think it was the then Controller of Customs, and now plain member for West York (Mr. Wallace) who offered that armed help against the Crown of England. I fully understand the present Imperialistic zeal of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace). He wants to make up for his past disloyalty. But he should have more indulgence for the feelings of honest citizens, who, having no such crime to expiate, do not propose to follow him in his pilgrimage towards the Mecca of Imperialism. The case of the hon. member (Mr. Wallace) was then brought to the attention of the House; it gave rise to a debate in which several members, amongst whom, I believe, the then hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), a namesake of the present member for that constituency (Mr. Maclean) declared, that the Canadian parliament had

Mr. BOURASSA.

enough to do with Canadian affairs and should not any more get mixed up with Irish or other outside questions. Of course, Mr. Speaker, I am not the huge Britisher that the present member for East York (Mr. Maclean) is, but I have never been the puny Canadian that his predecessor (Mr. Maclean) was. At least I am referring to his predecessor, for although I have been told it is the same gentleman who represented East York then as now, I cannot believe it when I read the speech he made in the House then, and when I read the pro-British Imperialistic articles he writes now in the *Toronto World*. I cannot believe it is the same gentleman.

An hon. MEMBER. It is the very same man.

Mr. BOURASSA. Is it really? Oh! what a scandal! What a conversion! As the Latin proverb says: "In medio stat virtus," and although I do not pose as the virtue in that sense, I prefer to remain where I am. I believe with Mr. Blake, that we have the right in this parliament, or outside of it, to express our sympathy with any class or any group of our fellow-British citizens seeking for redress in any part of the world. But I believe also with Sir John Thompson, that we should avoid playing into the hands of any political party in England. And I confess frankly, I felt humiliated as a Liberal of the British school, when I read Mr. Chamberlain's famous Leicester speech, which called for so many explanations and rejoinders from the British press, and even from colleagues of the Colonial Secretary. I felt humiliated, I repeat, when I read that Mr. Chamberlain boasted of having with him, against the Liberal party of England, not only the majority of the British people, but also the unanimous support of all British colonies.

For my part, Sir, I would have voted against any motion of incense to Mr. Chamberlain, but in favour of any motion of sympathy for the Transvaal Uitlanders in their struggle for the redress of real grievances; just as I would have voted for any motion in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. But what this country was not prepared to do for the Irish tenants, claiming humane treatment, bearable taxation and self-government in their native land, a part of the United Kingdom, I was still less ready to do for men of all countries going of their own free will on a foreign soil to seek gold and build fortunes.

After parliament was prorogued, events went on, until it came to the point where the Prime Minister declared that Canada was not at war with the South African Republic; that our Militia Act forbade the sending of our troops outside of Canada unless her territory was threatened; and, moreover, that parliament was sovereign in the matter, and that, without the sanction of parliament, the government could do

nothing. I think this is a fair résumé of the position taken by the right hon. gentleman in his often-quoted interview with the *Globe*. The leader of the opposition took issue with the Prime Minister. In a telegram which did not reach its destination, but which was published broadcast, the hon. gentleman advised the government to send troops right at once and not to mind parliament. The two attitudes were clearly defined and quite illustrative of the old differences between Toryism and Liberalism, both in England and here. I need not say where my sympathy stood. Ten days later the government gave up, and decided to send troops.

Am I to be termed a disloyal British subject, a traitor to my party, because I did not chose to follow the government in their course and remained where my and their leader was ten days previous, standing on law and constitution, as well as on the soundest traditions of the Liberal party, both British and Canadian? I contended from the start that parliament should have been called before such an important step was taken, and it is my contention still. I was laughed at by several papers and big and small men. The *Winnipeg Free Press* said that the Labelle people should leave me at home so that I could study constitutional laws. Another sheet excused me of my ignorance of the constitution on the ground that I was a French Canadian. I must say, however, that my contention was ably presented and frankly admitted to be true and commendable by the *Toronto Globe*, the *Hamilton Times*, the *Woodstock Sentinel*, the *Toronto Weekly Sun*, *La Patrie*, *Le Monde Canadien*, the *Quebec Telegraph*, the *Pionner* of Sherbrooke, and a number of other papers, English and French, Conservative and Liberal. I had the testimony of the Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick), who admitted that the course of the government, technically speaking, was unjustifiable. Of course, the hon. gentleman approved of the government's action on sentimental and religious grounds. But on those grounds I think I can differ with the hon. gentleman without being taxed with too much self-confidence. On the legal ground, I fully acknowledge his great superiority, and the more willingly, too, that he sides with me. Then I had the testimony of the Prime Minister himself, who said that his government was out of law; but, of course, perhaps, he, too, being a French Canadian, does not understand the constitution. I have found also my entire justification in the remarkable speech of the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), which contained so many truths in so few words. But the hon. gentleman is not free from suspicion. I heard him say once in this House that England owed more to Canada than Canada to England. I am only surprised that he has not yet been denounced as a secret agent of Mr. Kruger.

I have heard also the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Adolphe Caron) say, at a meeting at St. Jérôme, that parliament should have been called; but he also belongs to the 'moccasin' element, and, therefore, might not be considered a proper authority on constitutional matters. But how could I doubt any longer that my position was impregnable when I read the following words coming from the hon. member for West York (Mr. Clarke Wallace), who said to a reporter of the *Montreal Gazette*, on the 21st of December:

I am in favour of summoning parliament immediately. In fact, parliament should have been summoned long ago to take the voice of the nation on this question.

Surely this will not be called a 'moccasin' opinion.

Let us examine briefly the excuses which have been given for not calling parliament in this case.

First, it is said that now, thanks to the terms of Mr. Chamberlain's demand for troops, the restrictions of our Militia Act were avoided. That the letter was avoided. I admit. But even then the restrictions of our Militia Act are not in the letter. There is no special article of the law which prohibits the sending of our militia outside of Canada. But that restriction is laid at the bottom of its spirit. I had prepared a somewhat complete record to prove that the spirit of our various Militia Acts, including the present one, was to provide for the defence of Canada, and not to go beyond this country. And this was done, not only with the consent but under the inspiration of British military and colonial authorities. At that time of old, selfish Little England and Little Canada policies, they believed, in England as well as here, in the sound principle of decentralization and complete self-government, which has built up the British Empire. But all reasonable men, I think, admit the fact—I spare the argument to the House. I will simply remind the House that the Militia Bill of 1862 was rejected by parliament on the ground that England was more interested to preserve Canada as her colony than Canada was to be British; that Great Britain could cause war to Canada, and that Canada could not and would not cause war to England. The same spirit fought to a less degree against the Bills of 1863 and 1868; but they passed anyhow, without any one intimating that Canada could be called to other wars than those which might threaten her territory. The diffidence of Lower Canadians especially had been greatly removed by the repeated assurances of Sir George Etienne Cartier, that the Canadian militia was organized for the defence of Canada and for that purpose only.

When the Bill of 1862 was introduced by Sir George Cartier, one of the members of that school of loyalty which the hon. mem-

ber for Kent, N.B. (Mr. McInerney) has already alluded to, Sir Hector Langevin, said that one of the reasons why Canada should have a militia was that Canada was before long to become an independent country, and should organize its territorial defence.

Now, great stress is laid upon the fact that instead of sending 2,000 enlisted men, the government enlisted 2,000 men and sent them to South Africa. I confess the distinction is too fine for my rude peasant's intellect. Oh! but they say: We don't pay the men in Africa; they are incorporated in the British army and receive British pay. That distinction is quite wiped out now that it has been decided to make up the difference between British and Canadian pay. I was taxed with miserable niggardness, because I proposed to strike off that difference and leave our volunteers on the same footing as British soldiers. But none the less that same difference, let it be large or small, was given as a reason for avoiding the Militia Act, and not calling parliament. If the difference was so small, when I proposed to suppress it, how could it be so big as to authorize the government to accomplish what they admitted to be an illegality, which they would not have dared to do, but for that same small difference? The only difference which exists now between our present expedition, and the sending of a regular Canadian corps, lies in the British pay, that is in a smaller amount than that which I wanted to strike off.

Whilst I am on the money question, I wish to refer now to the argument that to call parliament would have been too expensive. My hon. friend from Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin), has already refuted that argument. Like him, I believe that most members who boast so much of their loyalty and patriotism, would have readily come here without incurring to this country the expenditure of a regular session. They who are ready to tax this country by the millions, and to call upon the farmers and labourers of Canada to bear the burden of militarism, would have gladly sacrificed a little of their time to consider the problems in which we have been involved without knowing either the terms or the results of those problems. But, supposing, it would have meant the cost of an extra session, what is that compared with the broad constitutional questions raised by the action of the government? At a time when we are so swelled with enormous Imperialistic ideas, when we are ready to conquer the whole of this little planet, land and water, and are beginning to think a little of hoisting the British flag in the moon. I think that was a rather petty Canadian point of view to take. Just imagine Cartier, Macdonald, Brown, and all the Little Canadians who made confederation, preparing the proposed National Charter of Canada by private letters, and sending it by mail to the Colonial Office, in order to save

to this country the cost of the Quebec conference and of a trip to London!

Then, we are given the excuse of unforeseen emergency. I quite admit that the government may be forced, in cases of urgent necessity, to have recourse to such means of financial action, as special warrants—provided always, it is for an expenditure within their ordinary province. But here comes a grave question like war; the government is led to an action which constitutes a new departure in the policy of the country, and which involves a deep constitutional revolution—according, at least, to numerous authorities, including the Colonial Secretary, the Governor General of Canada, ministers of the Crown, both in England and here. Surely nobody will seriously pretend that that is one of those ordinary cases of unforeseen emergency upon which special warrants are issued every year: the burning of a post office, canal repairs, accidents on the Intercolonial Railway, or even, a contract like the Mann & Mackenzie affair!

There is nowadays a decided tendency throughout countries ruled by parliamentary institutions, of exaggerating the power of the executive. At the origin, the cabinet was a mere group of personal advisers to the Crown. The two great powers were the Sovereign and parliament. Gradually, the strength of the cabinet became increased at the expense of both the Crown and parliament. To a certain extent that was a good move, the executive powers being thus put in the hands of men responsible to parliament. But we should be careful not to go to the other extreme, and let the cabinet take, at the same time, the place of both the Crown and of parliament. We should not allow our ministers to forget that they are but the executive committee of parliament; we should not allow them to discount too largely the subserviency of a partisan majority and adopt, by orders in council, measures of the deepest importance, which should not be initiated without the actual participation of parliament.

Now, was this a case of urgent necessity? Where was the necessity? And where the urgency?

As regards the necessity, I need not repeat all the arguments that have been fully given to this House, proving that our troops were not needed in South Africa. British authorities expected only 500 men from Canada. Shall any one pretend that the fate of British arms relied upon those 500 men? Shall any one pretend, that even now, the presence or the absence of our 2,000 soldiers can change the course of events? The Prime Minister himself, in his speech at Sherbrooke as well as in this House, has properly refused to slander the British army, by saying that Great Britain needed our help. And a terrible slander it would be, to pretend, that a country of 40,000,000 of people, with an available army of over 600,000 men, and an annual income of over

100,000,000 pounds sterling, required our help to crush down two puny countries, the whole Boer population of which, according to all authorities, including the member for North Norfolk, is inferior to that of the city of Montreal. And this disposes, I think, of the sentimental argument, that when fire is at our mother's house, it is no time for fine theories and red-tape. I think this pretty sentence is taken from a letter of my good friend, the junior member for Ottawa (Mr. Belcourt), and I take this occasion to beg his pardon for not having replied to it sooner. The clang of arms, the sound of drums and trumpets, were so deafening that I hardly heard his sweet and sympathetic voice at the time.

The only indication of urgency that I can find, is in Mr. Chamberlain's despatch, dated October 3rd, and received here a few days after—Mr. Chamberlain's messages do not seem to travel any quicker than those of the hon. leader of the opposition. I am afraid that the wires are not yet up to the new movement. The despatch asked the soldiers to sail not later than October 31st. There were at that time, and for months after, thousands and thousands of English regulars not yet started from England. I cannot agree with the idea that Mr. Chamberlain's wishes or orders are a sufficient ground for building an argument of urgency contradicted by fact. Could not our government have explained to Mr. Chamberlain, as did Mr. Lyne, the Premier of New South Wales, that this is a constitutional country, and that the troops would sail as soon as parliament authorized their enlistment? If there was then, if there is now, no necessity for Canadian troops in South Africa, how could it have been so urgent to send them not later than October 31st?

But the plea of urgent necessity has been still more clearly disposed of by Mr. Chamberlain, by several of his colleagues, as well as by our government, and I may say, by all the public men and all the newspaper writers who favoured or opposed the sending of those troops. They disposed of it when they proclaimed that this great display of Imperial militarism is not intended for the purpose of this war, but is being organized to give an example and a warning to the world. I am free to admit that there is an element of grandeur in this argument; but could not this example and this warning have been given just as well a month later? In our case, would they not have been as striking and as profitable with the sanction of parliament, as when signified by order in council?

Of course, the lesson is, I think, two-sided. It has given to this war a significance which is not deprived of danger for the prestige of the future empire. You may give to the lesson the meaning you like, but the world to which you give it may interpret that lesson the way it likes. There is no doubt as to the final results of

this war; but its beginnings have been slow and arduous; and that world which you defy boasts at the idea that the two little Boer republics have checked for four months 'a vaster empire than has been.'

But whatever may be the result of the lesson for Great Britain in her relations with other peoples, its actual consequence for Canada is a straight accusation against the government, for not having called parliament. If they intended really to give a lesson and a warning, they meant the lesson to be fruitful and the warning to be serious. What is the consequence? If we send 2,000 men, and spend \$2,000,000 to fight two nations, aggregating a population of 250,000 souls, how many men shall we send, and how many millions shall we expend to fight a first-class power or a coalition of powers? And it is, no doubt, to first-class powers and to possible coalitions, that the lesson and the warning were intended to be given. If we judged proper to share in the teaching, it must mean that we are ready to share in the action when the time comes of applying the lesson.

Then, it is the starting point of a new policy which opens a serious point of view on the future of this country. The point of view may be glorious for those who aspire after military honours. It may inspire to rhetoricians fine sounding periods or lyric stanzas to lyric rhymers. But it prepares a gloomy future for the farming and labouring classes of this country. It threatens them with the unbearable burden with which are crushed the peasantry and the working masses of European nations. It is that burden which Little Englanders and Little Canadians had heretofore spared to England and to Canada. No wonder that this government hesitated before opening the door on such a dark unknown! But would it not have been advisable to pause somewhat longer and to let the people know the possible consequences before pushing us towards that unknown by a mere order in council?

Of course, I am met here by the 'no precedent' clause contained in the order in council. I am free to say that this clause is the only thing which I can approve of in the whole course of the government; but I am afraid it is a frail barrier to oppose to the current of noisy militarism which is carrying us all over British possessions. It is that fear which I expressed in my letter to the Prime Minister when I said: 'The precedent, Sir, is the accomplished fact.'

Let us see now in what way the action of the government was interpreted by those who approved of it, as well as by those who condemned it.

I had prepared a whole bunch of quotations taken from newspapers and periodicals to prove that the almost unanimous voice of the press, British, Canadian and foreign, interpreted the government's action the same way as I did. We heard a few

feeble voices to the contrary coming from Liberal papers in Quebec anxious to cool down the anxiety of the people.

The *London Outlook*, to my mind, summed up the whole situation in the clearest and shortest way—just four words :

This is Imperial Federation.

I spare the other quotations to the House ; the comments of the press are well known to all of us. But we should not minimize their importance ; it is upon the voice of the press as an expression of public opinion, that the government based their action ; the interpretation of such action by the same voice must have some weight.

I will devote some attention, however, to the interpretation given to the action of the government by the Colonial Secretary, and by the representatives of the British government in Canada.

We see in the official correspondence brought before the House that a copy of the order in council deciding the despatch of our troops was sent to Mr. Chamberlain. He has surely read it, and therefore read these lines :

Especially as such an expenditure, under such circumstances, cannot be regarded as a departure from the well known principles of constitutional government and colonial practices, nor construed as a precedent for future action.

What did the Colonial Secretary reply on date November 15, last :

The desire thus exhibited to share in the risks and burdens of the empire has been welcomed, not only as a proof of the staunch loyalty of the Dominion and of its sympathy with the policy pursued by Her Majesty's government in South Africa, but also as an expression of that growing feeling of the unity and solidarity of the empire which has marked the relations of the mother country with the colonies during recent years.

Mind you, there was nothing said in the order in council about sharing in the burdens of the empire, about unity and solidarity. Take off the diplomatic ornaments of these two statements ; put them in plain English and tell me if they do not read as follows : ' We send you those men, but we do not promise to do it again in the future.' Mark my words, I do not say : ' We shall not do it'—but simply : ' We do not promise to do it.' And the reply : ' I accept it as a proof that you are ready to do it again and every time.'

I say, Sir, that under diplomatic reticences and fine forms of language, this is the most insolent message that a Canadian government has received from Downing Street since the time the Duke of Newcastle asked from the Macdonald-Sicotte government, to put the militia expenditure above parliament's action. But at that epoch of Little Canadianism we knew how to reply to colonial secretaries, and the reply of the Canadian government contained such an as-

sertion of self-government that it brought back from the noble Duke the most exquisite apologies and explicit pledges to not try it again. I regret that Mr. Chamberlain has not been made to understand that when the Canadian government speaks, it means exactly what it says and not what Mr. Chamberlain or any other Colonial Secretary may choose to mean.

Now, what about representatives of the Crown here. At the departure of the first contingent at Quebec, four speeches were made—four remarkable speeches, as the *Montreal Star* put it. I leave aside the speeches made by the Prime Minister and by the Minister of Militia. The point I wish to make now is the earnestness of Imperial authorities in the matter. What did General Hutton say ?

This is in its way a matter of satisfaction, but, gentlemen, what, after all, is the contribution of 1,000 men to the requirements of a great empire? This is, numerically, nothing; and what Canada has to look to, if she is to fulfil her role as a portion, and one of the greatest portions of the great confederation of the mother country and her colonies, called the British Empire, is that the time may come when not 1,000 men, but 50,000 or 100,000 may be required to maintain the unity, the integrity, nay, the very existence of our empire.

On other occasions, the Major General had spoken of organizing this country on a military footing, of arming 50,000 men for peace and 100,000 for war. He neglected to say if he intended waiting for parliament's authorization. Street gossips, which generally lie, but sometimes say the truth, went as far as to whisper that the gallant officer boasted of having smashed a government in Australia and of being ready to do the same here. Fortunately for the government and for the ratepayers of Canada, that bellicose warrior will now exert his military spirit against the Boers.

What did His Excellency the Governor General say on the same occasion :

Canada has freely made her offerings of this military contingent to the old country, and in so doing has accepted the difficulties which she knows must follow.

The people of Canada have no desire to consider the quibbles of colonial responsibility. What they have done is to insist that their loyal offers should be made known, and they heartily rejoiced when they were graciously accepted.

The day before, His Excellency gave a dinner at the Citadel, where he is reported by the *Quebec Chronicle* as having said :

This contingent is the first present which Canada gives in the great Imperial cause. It is a new departure, and the future is full of possibilities. The present expression of Imperial union was more expressive than any written constitution could be. The sending of these troops may raise the question of Imperial federation; he was not here to discuss that question. He has always been opposed to written constitution. He would prefer to trust the feelings of the heart.

I have compared this report with those of the *Toronto Globe*, of the *Montreal Gazette*, and of the *Montreal Star*, and they are almost identical.

It is not my intention to make remarks that would show any disrespect towards the representative of the Crown—even should the rules of this House not forbid me doing so. I have the greatest consideration for His Excellency, not only because he represents here the noble woman whom every true Britisher is proud to call the Queen; I admire also the gallant soldier that has already given proofs of his bravery.

But public men and newspapers have used those words in order to support their contention and attain their political ends. They have given to His Excellency's words a significance which neither he nor we can accept as the true expression of his thought. Of course, if His Excellency meant, when he said that he was opposed to written constitution, that Great Britain was far better without a written constitution, I fully agree with him. But in this country we have a written constitution. And that constitution is not only the legal form of our government; it is also a solemn and sacred compact between the various provinces of British North America. It was framed with great care and solicitude by the best men of those provinces. Those men belonged to different religious creeds, to different races, to different political parties. They united their efforts and their good-will to frame that document, in order to put a stop to dangerous rivalries, and to offer to the world the comforting and glorious spectacle of a broad, united and free nation, devoted to the Crown of England. That charter was accepted by the representative bodies of each and every party concerned. It was ratified by the parliament of Great Britain, and sanctioned by the regal seal.

Of course, like all human deeds, it is not an ideal work. It may need reforms and additions. But as long as it stands, it stands as it is, to be respected by all citizens, high or low, rich or poor—by those who have charge of its application as well as by those who have to submit to it. A too rigid interpretation of it might properly be called colonial quibbles, a too loose interpretation might become a crime against the nation. And when it will require amendment, it will not be done by correspondence between Downing Street and Rideau Hall—that time has passed long ago—but by the free and independent action of both the Canadian and the British parliaments and approved by the people of Canada.

The day after the departure of the first contingent, His Excellency was present at the Hallowe'en concert in Montreal. A gentleman named Mr. Donald MacMaster, a lawyer by profession, I believe, presented his compliments to His Excellency, and found the occasion proper to give vent to

his legal science. He ventured the opinion that according to our Militia Act, the Governor General of Canada could command our militia in person and send it wherever and whenever it pleases him. The report does not say what His Excellency thought of the learned barrister's advice. But knowing, as we all do, the unbounded respect that all our governors have had for the last fifty years towards representative institutions, I am sure that His Excellency had of that advice the same opinion as I have myself: That it is a Tory interpretation of the law. At the time of Charles I, the King was the King, without and above parliament. But the unfortunate monarch, and all his successors to come, were made to understand that parliament meant the government of the people, by the people and for the people. And in these days of ours, the King, or the Queen, or the Governor General, everywhere their august names appear on statute-books, should always read: The Governor General, or the Queen, or the King 'through their advisers'—that is, through the executive committee of parliament, responsible itself to the people. Scientific interpreters of the law should never forget that.

When the 'no precedent' clause has been so totally neglected, forgotten, or even contradicted by the highest authorities, I think, Sir, it is about time that it should be recalled by parliament to the memory of those authorities, and it is what I shall ask the House to do to-night.

Now, a word about the famous argument that public opinion demanded this action. My hon. friend from Laprairie and Naperville (Mr. Monet) has shown pretty conclusively that public opinion was not so unanimous as many people think, or rather say. The member for St. James Division, Montreal (Mr. Desmarais) has completed the evidence in his eloquent address, which, I am sure, the English-speaking members of this House regret deeply not to have understood.

Without referring to a past debate, I may be permitted to say that those two speeches have built up an irrefragable testimony that the almost unanimous voice of the press in the province of Quebec, representing all shades of public opinion—from the old Rouge element to the deepest Bleue school now quartered at Three Rivers—spoke in unmistakable terms against the participation of Canada in the Transvaal war, and more especially against the imperialistic movement. I need not add anything to that evidence.

Of course, newspapers change like times and men. The servile organs of both parties have been made to bring their voice to the right tune; but there are still several newspapers which resist energetically the jingo movement or give way to it most reluctantly. And those papers are not con-

fined to the province of Quebec. Take the *Toronto Weekly Sun*; take the *Country and Citizen*, organ of the trades' unions; take *La Vérité* of Quebec; take the *Westminster* of Toronto, the Presbyterian organ; take *Le Pionnier*, organ of one of the most distinguished Conservative members of the Quebec legislative assembly, Mr. Chycoine; take *Le Monde Canadien*, organ Hon. Mr. Nantel, Commissioner of Public Works in the late Conservative administration of Quebec, and still member for Terrebonne in the legislature; take even to a less degree, *La Patrie* of Montreal, the *Daily Sentinel* of Woodstock, the *Quebec Telegraph*, the *Hamilton Times*, the *Toronto Star*, and even the *Toronto Globe*. Surely, all those papers represent something of public opinion. It may be objected that most of them, those especially that share more completely the views I am expressing, have a limited circulation, and therefore represent a much smaller portion of public opinion than the great dailies. Do not judge a man by his looks and do not appreciate the influence of a newspaper by its circulation. Why, Sir, if such an absurd theory was accepted, of gauging public opinion by the circulation of newspapers, this government should walk out of power without delay; for the two papers which have by far the largest circulation in Canada, *La Presse* and the *Montreal Star*, are both opposed to this government. It should not be forgotten that people buy those papers, the latter especially, for news, cartoons and sensational reports. Whoever thought of reading the *Montreal Star* for an idea or a principle? Just as well to study Chinese with a German grammar and a French dictionary. And then, there are two kinds of public opinion: There is the opinion of the men who talk and crow, and there is the opinion of those who think, who study, who work and who pay. That opinion may be heard later on when millions upon millions will have accumulated in the budget for war purposes in Africa, Asia, Oceania and everywhere else, especially if the party which is ruling now in England remains at the head of affairs. I hope for the future of this country, that the time is not far off when the Little Englanders who have made England what she is, will have come back to power in England.

But, supposing the wave of public opinion would flow in any direction, does it follow that a government must of necessity give way to the current?

It is true that under democratic institutions, we are the servants of the people, but we must also inform and instruct the people. And there lies the difference between sound democracy and unprincipled demagoguery. The charge I make against this government is not so much that they acceded at last to what they call public opinion, but that they neglected, through their organs

and their supporters, to enlighten public opinion.

The South African problem was a question entirely foreign to Canada, in right as well as in fact. Who, but a few specialists and scholars, knew anything about the Transvaal some few months ago? The newspapers that I have already named published several articles—some very good and some half-hearted—against Canada's intervention. But for weeks and for months the yellow press, headed by the *Montreal Star*, were filling their columns with inflamed articles and reproductions from the jingo press of England—whilst the counterpart so ably presented in Great Britain by the sound Liberal organs was never or very little given by our English Liberal papers. War arguments were given for all classes of opinion. The *Montreal Star*, the *Toronto News*, and others of their kind went as far as appealing to French Canadians and to Irish Catholics on religious grounds, telling them with a deluge of crocodile tears how badly Catholics were treated by the Boers. It is very amusing to compare those devout sermons with the official documents. Take, for example, the report of the Bloemfontein Conference which filled nine compact columns, small text, of the *London Times*. The sittings lasted five or six days; many questions were treated: The franchise, the representation in the Volksraad, the conscription laws, the dynamite monopoly, the gold taxes—but not a word of ill-treatment of Catholics. Fortunately for the Roman Catholic Uitlanders, some good Canadian Tories thought of them. No doubt, when the war is over, the British government will send for Mr. Dalby, or perhaps for the member for West York (Mr. Wallace) to act as special commissioners for the redress of Roman Catholic grievances in the Transvaal.

I am only surprised that, after the almost one-sided frantic campaign of the press, to which our people have been subjected, the display of jingoism was not far stronger. It can be explained only by the assertion I have already made that largely circulated papers, covered with cartoons and big headings, have less influence with the people than with members of parliament or of governments.

A good little paper—neither French nor French Canadian—an English paper published in Ontario, the *Bobcaygeon Independent*, painted the situation in a most picturesque and striking way, the very day the order in council was adopted. It said:

The public mind is in a dangerous state. Nervous spasms are perceptible, and this time it is the Tory press that, for political purposes, is playing with the public nerves. A hullabaloo is being raised about sending a little army to fight the Boers. Mr. Laurier says that any one who is anxious to get himself perforated with Boer bullets is welcome to go, but so far as the government incurring the expense of sending an army to Africa, it is quite impossible

for it to be done without the sanction of the people's representatives. Mr. Laurier speaks perfectly good sense. . . . Canada, at the present moment, is in urgent need of a cooling douse, or it will be in the throes of a military hysteric, from the effects of which it will not recover for many years. If Mr. Laurier is the statesman that he is credited with being, he will hold a block of ice to the back of Canada's neck, and no matter how vigorously she may kick and claw, hold firm.

But granting, for the sake of argument—which I do not otherwise—that the *Montreal Star* and its crew of noisy imitators represented public opinion, are we to be told that in a free British constitutional commonwealth, governments may or must act upon newspaper articles and cartoons? I know that in the new policy, inaugurated by Mr. Chamberlain in England, and in Canada by the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), parliaments are going to be reduced to the condition of smoking concerts where the representatives of the people will be called to applaud or to hiss a varied programme of acrobatic performances, accompanied with deafening war chants and coon songs, which will be given by the actors engaged for the season by the editors of yellow papers. But until we are ripe for that ideal form of government, I claim that the only medium through which the executive can act in important matters is the sovereign parliament of the nation duly assembled in session. And when an important change is to be made in the constitution it must be sanctioned by the people itself.

Is that doctrine wrong and unworthy of a true British citizen and disloyal to the noble Crown under which the British nation enjoys its freedom of government? If it is, let this Liberal government and the Liberal majority of this House declare it to-night by opposing this motion. But I say that should they adopt such a course, they would lose every right to call themselves Liberals. They might retain the label, but it would be a fallacious sign; they would have renounced the very principle upon which British Liberalism was founded, trample down the principles upon which Canadian Liberalism is based, and for which fought so long the political ancestors of the men who have received from the people the right to govern this country for five years. I am not alone to talk, and far less alone to think as I do now. On November 4. the *Toronto Globe* published an article on the 'Future of Canada,' which to my mind is the best justification of my attitude. In fact, after having read it, I wrote to the editor of the *Globe*, and had he been present at some of my meetings in Labelle, I would charge him with plagiarism. The article is a long one; I shall content myself with reading the most remarkable passages:

If a government to-day usurps the powers of parliament the effect may be felt after the pre-

sent situation has passed into history. Every Canadian who desires the honour and prosperity of his country is interested in the power and independence of parliament and in the freedom of its discussions. One of the most serious dangers which threatens the parliamentary system here, as in Great Britain, is the tendency to increase the strength of the executive at the expense of parliament. . . . It would be dangerous, too, to allow the government to fall into the habit of acting on expressions of public opinion. It may be said that to-day those expressions are so hearty and spontaneous that there is no danger of straining the constitution. But all of us, Liberals and Conservatives, can conceive of an unscrupulous government—on the other side of politics, of course—making a very cunning and dangerous use of the power to act upon public opinion as expressed in newspapers and public meetings. 'Suffer not the old kings under any name.' Parliament is the place for the discussion, the place where great public questions can be decided with effective guarantees of freedom and order. . . . Loyalty to the Queen does not mean loyalty to Gladstone or Salisbury to Chamberlain or Morley, to men who may be removed by the people at the polls, or to the Liberal or Conservative party of Great Britain. Our ministers must look for their instructions, not to ministers at Westminster, but to the parliament of Canada, of which they are a committee, and to which alone they are responsible.

I cannot believe that public opinion so irregularly manifested, could be the only, or even the main motive which forced this government to such sudden change of policy. What happened between the 3rd and the 13th of October? A despatch was received from Mr. Chamberlain. We have now—or at least we are supposed to have now—the whole correspondence between the British and the colonial authorities, and what do we find? We find that no offers were made by Canada to Great Britain, any more than by Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, and Western Australia. In fact, only two governments, or two parliaments of the self-governing colonies, had made offers, namely, New Zealand and Queensland, and we will see later on, what happened there afterwards. In Canada, a private offer was made by Colonel Hughes, and transmitted to the British government, and politely declined by Mr. Chamberlain; a further evidence that help was not needed. Then, a despatch is sent to the Canadian government by Mr. Chamberlain, accepting offers that had never been made, giving the regulations for enlistment, the date of embarkation, &c. &c. A strange system of correspondence, indeed, by which the reply is sent before the letter was written, but I suppose all this forms part of the new policy and new diplomacy. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), has termed that strange document an invitation to send troops. Well, Sir, I have made up my mind that I will not be put on the next list for decorations, and, therefore, I go one better than the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tarte), and I say that this is a demand for

troops. I admit that the word 'demand' is not actually there, but there are fine ways of doing things in these days of new policy and new diplomacy. After the agent of Downing Street has extorted from parliament a rushed expression of opinion; the public press—the reptile press, I should say—is set at work; the feelings of the people are aroused; private offers are sought for, and refused, and then a letter is sent to the Canadian government, after having been published in the London papers, accepting offers that had never been made, and putting the date so short, that it left no time for calling parliament. It left no time even for due reflection, and, therefore, the government was placed between the alternatives of immediate and complete obedience; or of refusing the demand at the risk of being accused of disloyalty, and high treason, and of being painted throughout the British Empire as a traitor government. I say, Sir, that this policy may be new in form, but it is the same old spirit of government from Downing Street; and I, for one, do not want any more of it. And, when the Canadian government sent their deed of obedience containing the restrictions upon which they could tell the people of Canada that they had preserved the independence of parliament, no care whatever was taken of those restrictions. The Canadian order in council is mixed up with the other documents, making the offers of the Australian colonies, with the sanction of parliament. And the same interpretation is given to the whole thing. That is the first step towards Imperial federation.

Now, in order to better judge of the organization of the whole scheme, it is well to study a little how it worked in the other self-governing colonies. We have now the correspondence between the British and the colonial authorities, and, what do we find? First, no offers from Crown colonies were accepted—these were pretty sure to be easily got at any time. What was wanted were offers from the self-governing colonies—not private offers, mind you. Private offers had been accepted at the time of the Nile expedition; but this time they were refused. They were refused from Canada; they were refused also from Victoria and New South Wales. What was wanted, was not men or troops, but what was wanted was a direct committal from the government of every self-governing British colony, to supply arms every time they would be required by the British government. There are other facts not contained in the correspondence, but which I have looked for from different sources, connected with the sending of the Australian contingents, and which are worth while being known in this country. I need not say how different our position is from the position of New Zealand, and the other Australian colonies. First, these colonies have never been involved in any wars, whilst Canada has been involved,

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through bad British policy, in two expensive wars with the United States. Second, the Australian colonies may be easily attacked by various European countries, whilst outside of the United States we cannot be attacked, and I think the navy of England would be a far smaller protection for us, than it would be for Australia. I know that the Australian colonies have contributed to a certain extent to the British navy, but, if I am well informed, that contribution is confined to a certain appropriation for the building of ships, which cannot go out of Australian waters, or at least that can be used only for the defence of Australia. Now, that is an important consideration. That contribution of Australia is, to my mind, nothing compared with the heavy sacrifices we have imposed on ourselves, in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and in the help that we are ready to give to the Pacific cable for the benefit of Imperial defence. Finally, Australia has a great deal of commercial intercourse with South Africa. The Transvaal Uitlanders, for which this war is supposed to be raging, include a fair proportion of Australians, and, therefore, from every point of view, Australia is far more interested in this war than Canada can possibly be. Let us see how some of the Australian colonies dealt with the question. When the Transvaal imbroglio began to be acute, the first offer was made, not by the New Zealand government, as often stated, but by the Queensland government, under date July 11th last. When it came for ratification by the Queensland parliament, three months later, a hot discussion took place, and Mr. Drake, the leader of the opposition said:

That the Defence Force Act clearly laid down that the Queenstown defence force could not be sent beyond Australia for active service.

A resolution was moved censuring the government, for having made the offer, without the authorization of parliament, and in this, in spite of the fact that the offer had been made subject to the authorization of parliament. This vote of censure was moved, and it was defeated only by 11 of a majority, the vote standing 39 to 28, and three or four supporters of the government stood up and said, that although they blamed the government and were in favour of the motion of censure, their only fear was—perhaps it is a fear that is to be found in this House tonight—their only fear was that the government would go out of power, and so they voted against the motion of censure. Therefore, we may fairly say that, in Queensland, the majority of the representatives of the people was against participation in this war.

In New Zealand, the offer was made by parliament itself in September, five members only voting against it. The reason given by the Prime Minister in favour of the measure is worth while being noted:

'The movement,' he said, 'was a step towards a federated empire.'

In New South Wales and Victoria, the governors, Lord Beauchamp and Lord Brassey, seem to have headed the movement. They communicated to the home government private offers which, like the private offers made here, were acknowledged with great politeness by Mr. Chamberlain, but not acted upon. The governments of those two colonies made no offers. From South Australia, no offers whatever, either private or official, were made, and the attitude of parliament later on proved what was the sentiment of the people there. Nevertheless, on the 3rd of October, Mr. Chamberlain accepted gratefully from those three colonies offers that had not been made officially by two of them, and not made at all by one of them. That despatch bears the same date as the despatch sent here. The people were surprised there, just as here, at the form of the letter. Strange to say, that despatch was not sent to Tasmania and Western Australia, which had yet made no offers either. In fact, they seem to be the only two colonies where things were conducted regularly. That is probably the reason why they have been treated with absolute decency. Perhaps, also, Mr. Chamberlain was duly informed that it was not required to put the screws on there. In fact, they are the only colonies where the offers of the legislatures seem to have passed without trouble. Anyhow, the offers were not made by the governments, but by the parliaments, and they were then accepted by the Colonial Office, in exactly the same terms as were accepted the offers that we had not made;—with the exception that Tasmania considered it was a sufficient evidence of loyalty to send 80 men instead of a full unit of 125, and told it plainly to Mr. Chamberlain.

In Victoria and New South Wales, things did not go by themselves. Sir George Turner, Premier of Victoria, as well as Mr. Lyne, Premier of New South Wales, were charged, like our own government, with hesitancy. Sir George Turner said, on October 2 :

There is one thing to be borne in mind, and that is, that the empire is not menaced in the slightest degree, and she cannot, therefore, be in need of assistance. . . . Meanwhile, I take it, all that is wanted is to demonstrate that we stand solid with the mother country in this affair; and to make a suitable demonstration, 200 men will serve the purpose as well as 2,000.

Mr. Lyne said the same day that :

He had received many letters suggesting that he was disloyal for not rushing into the public prints at this juncture, saying that he would spend a lot of government money in sending troops to the Transvaal. . . . The Major General was at present discussing it in conference with the officers commanding in the other colonies. In his opinion, if a contingent were sent, it should be an Australian contingent, and no

Australian colony should send troops on its own account.

Appreciating these statements, the *Argus*, of Melbourne, says in a somewhat melancholic tone :

Sir George Turner does not appear to be at all enthusiastic upon the subject, but he is eagerness compared with Mr. Lyne, who with his doubts and his delays, is practically throwing as much cold water as possible upon the movement.

This does not seem to have troubled the Premier of New South Wales, for a few days afterwards he added that he was 'unwilling to commit his colony to any course until parliament has met.' It is remarkable that Mr. Lyne, though representing probably the most loyal colony, the only colony that had previously contributed to the British army, always reserved the rights of parliament. All his messages contained those words : 'Subject to the approval of parliament.'

As you may have noticed also, Mr. Lyne speaks of a conference of commandants. There, as here, Majors General, as well as Governors General, took a most active hand in the game. Their idea was to organize one large Australian contingent, but they failed in their purpose, because, as they said themselves, the views of the various colonies were not at all unanimous, either on the question of principle, or on the extension to be given to its application.

Finally, the vote passed in the parliaments of Victoria and New South Wales by large majorities, but not without a strong and bitter opposition from the labour representatives. I offer to the great loyalists of this House, who denounce as traitors my friend from Laprairie (Mr. Monet) and myself, an extract from a speech delivered in the House of Assembly at Sydney, not by a French Canadian, but, I believe, by a born Englishman, Mr. Holman :

When my country is fighting in a just cause, I will be ready to applaud her, but this is the most iniquitous war that Great Britain has ever undertaken, and I hope England will be defeated.

In the Victoria legislature, Mr. Murray accused England of going to war 'for giving a franchise to the Uitlanders which she did not confer on her own subjects.'

But it was in South Australia that the struggle was the fiercest. The government endeavoured to rush the proposition through the assembly, but the opposition carried an adjournment of the House with the casting vote of the Speaker. I do not offer this to you, Sir, as a precedent, should this House be placed in a similar position. The discussion went on for some days. One of the members said he would rather 'take up arms for the Boers than for the money-grabbing Uitlanders.' The proposition was carried by 6 of a majority, whilst in the legislative council it passed, thanks only to the casting vote of the Speaker.

Now, what about offers of a second contingent? At the beginning of November, just about the same day—strange coincidence—that Lord Minto telegraphed to Mr. Chamberlain, that his government was offering a second contingent, Mr. Lyne started a similar movement in Australia. It was met with approval by Sir George Turner. But the replies from Queensland and South Australia were rather cold. Mr. Dickson, Premier of Queensland, wired:

We have already sufficiently shown our loyalty without doing anything more at present.

The Treasurer of South Australia replied, in the name of his government:

We think our loyalty has been as fully demonstrated by the action already taken as it would be by the despatch of a further contingent, for which no need has yet arisen. We therefore do not favour the suggested action.

Those two governments had enough, I believe, with their recent experience in their respective parliaments.

I think I have shown quite conclusively how false, how utterly false, is the legend of the great enthusiasm displayed in all the other colonies. It is true that messages from Governors General frequently speak of that enthusiasm, of patriotic feelings, and all that. But speeches and votes from responsible representatives of the people are, to my mind, more indicative of the popular feeling than messages from Governors. Our great patriots here are much mistaken, even from their imperialistic point of view, when they say that Canada stood behind the other colonies. If our government came last in offering the first contingent, they came first in offering the second, and they came first, last and alone in offering, equipping and sending both contingents without the participation and the consent of parliament.

I think I have succeeded also in showing the most extraordinary manner in which the Colonial Secretary conducted the whole thing, and with what zeal he was seconded by the representatives of the British government in every colony. Should the secret correspondence between Downing Street and the Governors of all the colonies be made public, strange things would come to light. But there are sufficient indications to assert that Mr. Chamberlain has taken advantage of an outburst of patriotic feeling all over British possessions to push ahead his long cherished scheme of colonial participation in Imperial wars, or, if you prefer, of a military federation of Great Britain and her colonies.

That our government hesitated, I admit, and I approve of its hesitation. No doubt, the leaders of the party and the political heirs of the great men that have fought so long for the conquest and preservation of complete self-government, did not gladly enter the new movement. The Prime Minister, in spite of the 'no precedent' clause

contained in the order in council, did not deny that the new movement existed, and that we were, more or less, carried away by it. But he said that Canada should always preserve her independence of action and judge each case on its merits.

I applaud to those words, and I know that the right hon. gentleman is sincere when he utters them. They are in conformity with the principles that he upheld all his life long. But how shall he resist the influence of Downing Street? He was sincere, too, when he said, on the 3rd of October, that he would not participate in this war, and ten days later his government decided to participate. And then, governments change. If the right hon. gentleman was not able to resist, shall another be better able to resist?

But supposing we really judge of each case, how shall the case be entered and the judgment rendered? Shall it be treated in the same way as the present one? Shall the merits of the case be entered a Friday afternoon and decided without pleas, the next Monday morning, by a judgment dictated by an agent of Downing Street? And shall the judgment be executed during the recess by an order in council at the cost of several millions taken without authorization from the public chest of the country—leaving to parliament but to ratify the whole thing after it is done?

Are these to be the terms upon which Great Britain and her self-governing colonies are going to enter into that glorious alliance of free nations closely united for the purposes of peace and war? I claim, Sir, that such terms are equally unworthy of the parent and of the offspring. I claim they are an insult to the intelligence, to the character and to the loyalty of the free British citizens who have made of Canada the jewel of the British Crown.

It is not my intention to treat, at any length, that question of Imperialism. It is a big question which cannot be decided in the high-handed way in which the disciples of the yellow press in this House would like to settle it. For my part, my opinion on this point is pretty much that of Mr. Morley—and I might add of the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey). I do not like the word 'empire.' It has a sound of Cæsarism, of Napoleonism, of military domination, of sword rule, which is most disagreeable to my British Liberal ear. Besides it threatens us with the burden of militarism, the greatest evil of modern European countries. What has made the wonderful development of the United States? What has attracted to them millions of European farmers and labourers, flying conscription and war taxes? It is the fact that the United States was a country free from those burdens and from the constant rivalries which are keeping suspended over Europe a constant menace of war. The United States are pretty well filled up now,

with capital and population; and they are becoming a military country too. We would just have been ready to take their place as a population and capital-importing country. But, if before we are fully grown up, we put on our shoulders the yoke of militarism, which is proving too heavy for nations enjoying the plenitude of their manhood, we put a stop to our progress; and I claim that it is not the best service we can render either to ourselves, to England, or to what you call the empire.

There is an argument frequently made in favour of our participation in British wars which I want to meet just now. It is, that we have come to the period of our national life where we should give back to England a little of what she has done for us. I was taxed with being a selfish grabber, ready to take everything and to give nothing. One of the Ottawa printed sheets even said on this ground that it was not my loyalty that was questioned, but my sense of honour. As far as past accounts are concerned, I do not think it is the proper time to make a calculation. I cannot say, for my part, what result I would find—though I think I would not be far from agreeing with the hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce, that England owes more to Canada than Canada to England. But I know this much, that since Canada is a British colony, she has never involved Great Britain in any conflict, whilst she has been thrown into two wars with the United States and her territory made the theatre of hostilities, thanks to a British policy which was bitterly denounced by the greatest British statesmen. We were threatened with another conflict during the secession war, thanks to depredations committed by British vessels; and when the quarrel was settled, the damages were paid a good deal at our expense. At least, Sir John Macdonald said so, as recorded in black and white in his biography and letters.

On boundary matters, a good share of our territory was abandoned to the United States, and the British diplomat who signed the instrument is reported as having said that he would not quarrel for a few degrees of latitude, more or less. We do not know yet what the changes of the Bulwer-Clayton treaty will make us sacrifice on the altar of Imperialism. But we know that the settlement of the French shore question in Newfoundland, a constant menace to peace in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is postponed for the sake of Greater Britain. British Columbians complain about Chinese and Japanese invasion—but they have been advised by the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) not to interfere with Japan until Mr. Chamberlain's African war is over.

We are told that Great Britain saved the United States from a European coalition during their war with Spain—and that, as a

result, the United States are now neutral in South Africa; and that they have granted a fair settlement of the Venezuelan and Samoan questions through arbitration. We have made our little display of friendship during that war. At the request of the Colonial Office, we have allowed American gunboats to pass through our canals and rivers contrary to existing treaties. We have also constituted ourselves the policemen of Mr. McKinley and expelled Spanish officials who had come to this country to seek refuge. But, strange to say, the gratitude of the neighbour Republic, so conspicuous towards her Imperial sister, cannot be brought to the point, not of granting us favours—we ask for none—but of simply consenting to the interpretation of an existing treaty by an impartial tribunal.

But, reply the Imperialists, what is all that compared to what England is constantly doing for our protection? She taxes her own people, in order to keep an army and a navy for our protection. We are a heavy burden to her and it would be a disgraceful shame to refuse her our own help.

I deny that we are a burden to the empire. I say that if to-morrow Canada was dis severed from the Crown of England, if to-morrow Canada became a portion of that great republic which lies to the south of us, England could not reduce her army by a man nor her navy by a ship. She would want more soldiers and sailors and ironclads than she has to-day in order to maintain her prestige. I say, if this great continent was closed, as closed it would be to the ships of England, under the circumstances I have named, if they had no harbour in which to run or a place where they can obtain a ton of coal or a spar, instead of England being strengthened, she would be enormously weakened. Her power in the Pacific, her possessions in India and China would be imperilled, and her prestige as a nation entirely changed. Instead of relieving her from any charge for diplomatic services, or her army or her navy, it would impose greater burdens upon the taxpayers of Great Britain than at present. I deny that we are a burden. There is not a pound of British money spent in the Dominion of Canada, from end to end, for any Canadian purpose.

The words I have just quoted are not mine. They have fallen from lips whose loyalty or loyalism, or Imperialism cannot be questioned. They were uttered a little over six years ago, by an ex-minister of the Crown, a baronet, a Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, a member of the Imperial Federation League. He was then High Commissioner of Canada in England, he is now the leader of the opposition in this House, his name is Sir Charles Tupper.

Moreover, I contend that we have largely contributed to the Imperial defence—more than all the other colonies put together. I contend also that the best way to contribute to that defence is not by sending our men, the best of our blood, to the four corners of the world, but by fortifying our

own territory ; by developing our own resources ; by keeping our population, and by bringing in foreign immigration. I am glad to find, in the speech just quoted, that the same eminent authority fully agrees with me on all those points. The quotation is rather lengthy, but it is so eloquent and convincing that I cannot really cut it short :

I have a word or two more to say with reference to the defence of the empire. They say: Why should Canada, with her enormous mercantile marine, her sails whitening every sea, not contribute from her resources to the defence of the empire? I say she does. I say Canada is discharging that duty nobly and well. No person holds more strongly than I do the unquestionable duty of every British subject, wherever he may be found, to contribute to the support of the defence of this great empire. If you are going to strengthen a fortification, what would you strengthen? The strongest or the weakest part? Of course, the weakest. Where is the weakest part? Is it in England, in the United Kingdom, or Canada, or Australia? No person can question that if England was engaged in war with any great power in the world, they would strike, not in its strongest but weakest part, and therefore, if you wish to strengthen the defences of the empire, to increase the power to resist invasion, the best way to accomplish this, I have no hesitation in saying, is by looking after Canada. Those who say that Canada contributes nothing to the defence of the empire must be very ignorant of facts, at all events, and I would recommend them to peruse a little of that very interesting literature contained in blue-books.

Then, after having reminded the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and other great public works that we have performed to the amount of \$180,000,000 and which he considered a direct contribution to Imperial defence, the hon. gentleman adds :

But some might answer that this work was not done for that purpose, but for commercial purposes. So much stronger our claim. The greatest, the most important, the most vital question in connection with the defence of Canada, which means the defence of one of the most important sections of the great empire, is to people it. This railway, although a commercial line, opens up this magnificent future granary of the world for settlement by stout hearts and strong arms, not only from Great Britain, but by the best men from Scandinavia and Germany and Iceland, to become settlers and as brave defenders of British institutions as native-born Canadians.

Then the hon. gentleman counts in what we expend yearly on our militia and North-west mounted police, bringing the whole thing, in his estimation, to an annual expenditure of \$10,000,000. And he concludes as follows :

Is not this assisting in the defence of the empire? There is no way of contributing better to this object than in this practical manner in which we are spending annually \$10,000,000 for services of the most vital importance alike

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to Canada and Great Britain. I do not intend to detain you any longer than to say I am quite sure it was only right for me to seize an opportunity—the only one I have had in Canada—to say something upon this question of Imperial federation, and of pointing out what, in my judgment, is the fallacy and the mistaken policy of those who have adopted the line of advocating the unity of the empire upon a basis calculated, in my judgment, not to promote that unity, but to destroy it.

With the exception of Mr. Morley, who told Mr. Chamberlain that he was taking the proper means to ruin the empire, no other British or Canadian statesman has hitherto more conclusively condemned the new movement than the hon. gentleman who is now following and supporting, and even endeavouring to lead that movement in Canada.

Of course, I fully realize the difference of times and circumstances. In 1893, Sir Charles Tupper was safeguarding the interests of Canada in London ; in 1900, he is the leader of a wrecked party, fishing for votes in Canada.

I should be allowed, however, to agree with the High Commissioner without being denounced as a French rebel by the Tory leader.

To the convincing arguments of the hon. gentleman, I add this one which is but the illustration of his theory : Should the new movement succeed, should this action of ours be a precedent, we may be placed face to face with a situation like this : Suppose Great Britain at war with a first-rate power, France, Germany or Russia ; we supply 10,000, 20,000 or 50,000 men, equipped and armed. Whilst they are engaged going to Paris, or Berlin, or St. Petersburg—which may take nearly as long as going to Pretoria—a difficulty arises between the United States and England ; and war is declared. I ask the loudest Imperialists : Where would be the British flag in North America ?

I do not deny it, the new movement appears to me as a huge megalomaniac frenzy completely foreign to all British traditions. What has made Great Britain what she is ? What has attached to her all her great colonies, if not a policy of peace, of industry, of trade, of complete military and political decentralization—leaving to each colony, the right and power to develop its own resources according to its peculiar situation ?

Oh ! but times change ! Yes, times change, —and men also, by what I can see. But, changes of life, national or individual, must be quiet, progressive, and especially must be in strict conformity with the temperament of the individual or of the nation.

For my part, I still believe in the men and in the policy that made of England the classical land of peace and of liberty. They will stand higher in the annals of history than the noisy, ambitious dominators who want to make England share in the land-grabbing practiced by other nations.

As far as Canada is concerned, I still believe in the men and in the policy that made of her a united country under our confederated system.

I do not ask for independence now, nor at any period within ordinary foresight. Not that independence is not, to my mind, the most legitimate and natural aim to which any colony should tend. But we are not yet enough imbued with the real British liberal spirit of self-government. And this whole question confirms me strongly in that opinion. Should the constitution of our country be left entirely in the hands of our political parties as presently constituted, I am afraid they would play with it, 'a greater football game than has been.'

I was asked where I stood? The reply is short and straight. I stand on the constitution of my country as it is, and I say to those who are not satisfied with it: If you want a change, tell frankly what you want. Do not come in a moment of popular frenzy and try to set fire at the corner of the house.

Mr. Chamberlain and his frantic disciples, and his unconscious followers, both English and Canadian, are leading us towards a constitutional revolution, the consequences of which no man can calculate.

I have said elsewhere, and I repeat here: My objections to any change in our relations with Great Britain, are neither stubborn nor unreasonable. I am open to conviction. But I insist on this point: That we must know exactly where we are now, and whither we are led. Before any change is made, we must be shown distinctly what we are asked to give up, and what we are offered in return. And, even this parliament—and far less its executive committee—have no right to commit the future of this country, without ascertaining exactly what is the true feeling of the people.

I want to be well understood, on this question of popular sanction. I do not mean that it would be sufficient for any political party to enunciate vague ideas on Imperialism, and, being returned to power on its general policy, claim that it is authorized by the people to operate a deep change in our constitutional system, and in our colonial status.

Clear propositions must be laid before parliament and thoroughly discussed, and when the terms are agreed upon, a plebiscite must be taken upon the question, free from all other political issues.

And, our present constitution being an agreement between the various provinces of British North America, a majority of the people of each province must decide in favour of the new system, before it becomes law.

Now, a great many eloquent words have been thrown to the four winds, praising the British rule and its good effect. With most of those utterances I fully agree.

But, there have been two kinds of British rule for the colonies: The military rule, and the constitutional rule. The British constitutional rule, applied to the colonies, is the best that ever existed. The British military rule, has been no better than the similar rule of other European powers. I refer, of course, to modern times only. Soldiers are, after all, pretty much the same under all flags. They are tamed by the sword and they believe the sword to be the best method of ruling. The military rule, even when applied by civilians and governments, has produced greater disasters, perhaps, to Great Britain than to other nations; because of the scattering of British possessions under all skies, and because also of the strong instinct of individual liberty which characterizes the Anglo-Norman, as well as the Scotch and the Irish. The military rule kept India fomenting rebellion for a century; the military rule has lost to England the thirteen American colonies; it sowed and germinated the kernel of the South African problem. The Transvaal and Orange Republics were conceived in hatred at Schlachter's Nek, when in 1815, five Dutch leaders were hanged by order of the British military governor of Cape Colony. The substitution of constitutional rule by the broad and wise men, now called Little Englanders, cured the wounds made by the sword in Cape Colony and Natal. It made of rebel Dutch, loyal subjects of the British Crown; but it could not tame the old Afrikaners who had crossed the Vaal, during the great trek and before the introduction of the new system. The rule of the sword shall have to be applied again all over South Africa. Old wounds will reopen. Let us wait for the result.

In Canada, we had also a military rule for some time; then a mixture of both rules was tried, or, if you prefer, a constitutional system dominated by the sword; a system by which the representatives of the people were allowed to act just as far as the sword would permit. That could not work. It brought disaffection and rebellion in a country where the most striking examples of loyalty had been given by a conquered foreign population. At last, after a struggle of fifty years, British statesmen were brought to understand that Canadians of all origin were a proud people, a people worthy of freedom, and well able to look after its own interests. We were granted complete self-government. Peace was restored; loyalty to the Crown was solidly re-established; and the love of all Canadians was acquired for ever to British constitutional rule, which they had fought so long to obtain.

But, I tell you here and now, do not try to unsheath the old sword. Do not bring back the old military rule under a new name, and remember those remarkable words contained in the instructions given by Lord Grey to Lord Elgin, when this

model of constitutional governors came to Canada :

It cannot be too distinctly acknowledged that it is neither possible nor desirable to carry on the government of any of the British provinces in North America in opposition to the opinion of its inhabitants.

You may say my advice is not very authoritative. I admit, my voice is weak ; my authority is naught ; but I tell the truth, all the same, and those who would close their eyes and shut their ears, would prepare a sad awakening to themselves and to their country. Do not judge of the feelings of the people by the speeches of three or four mayors and by resolutions adopted in a few political clubs.

I regret to be now obliged to weary the House with a few personal explanations ; not that I consider my personality of any importance whatever in the matter ; but I owe it to my dignity as a man, I owe to the free citizens who have put their confidence in me and returned me to this House on this very question—to dispel the misinterpretations which have been placed upon my conduct.

I have already stated that I was absent when that Transvaal resolution was rushed through a thin House, one Monday morning of last session, almost without discussion. The moment I was back I told the leader of the government what I thought of it : my apprehension that it was some fine scheme of Mr. Chamberlain to take advantage of this South African crisis in order to drag Canada where she had always refused to go, that is, to active participation in Imperial wars. And there and then I told the right hon. gentleman that should he, during recess and in the advent of war, consent to give way to Mr. Chamberlain's pressure, I would protest publicly and take the best means possible to make my protest good.

When, later on, I saw that some Liberal organs which had theretofore opposed the idea of intervention were giving way, I came to Ottawa and renewed my protest with my leader. That was the very day the right hon. Prime Minister made his declaration in the *Globe*. When I read that statement I was almost reassured. Then came in the same paper the announcement that the government had decided to send a contingent. I came straight to Ottawa and met the Prime Minister and the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), and for the third time told the Prime Minister that I could not support the government in that policy. That was the day before the order in council was adopted, and mark my words, Sir, the first time I ever spoke to the Minister of Public Works on the matter. It amuses me greatly when I hear of the domination to which I have been subjected by the hon. gentleman. I do not deny my personal friendship for the hon. minister—neither

have I reason to deny that most of his opinions, though not all of them, as expressed publicly on this question, were quite akin to my own convictions. But as a matter of fact, the Minister of Public Works was absent in Paris, *La Patrie*, which is considered by many people as his organ, had not yet written one line on the matter, when I had discussed the question with the Prime Minister and expressed to him the same views that I hold now.

But moreover, those who think I was influenced by the Minister of Public Works during all that crisis, or at any moment of it, simply prove that they do not know either of us. The very thing which makes our mutual sympathy is a peculiar disposition of temperament common to both of us, but which renders it impossible, even for the Minister of Public Works, to rule me in any way : I mean an unbounded love for freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of action.

The *Montreal Star*, the bluffing organ par excellence, called my action a 'bluff,' and insinuated that it was inspired by the Minister of Public Works. The leader of the opposition has thought fit and not unworthy of his high political situation, to pick up that accusation and to brandish it in this House with his usual accompaniments of thundering drums. When I was introduced in this House, I even heard the word 'put up job' whispered in the neighbourhood of the 'kopje' where the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) usually sets his short-range carbine. Unfortunately for the hon. gentleman and for his leader, though they have plenty of ammunition, their powder is too smoky and too gassy, and unlike the Boer shooters, they adjust their spy-glasses the wrong way, and sometimes their bullets strike the rock and fly back on them. If I were wicked, I could apply to those hon. gentlemen the French proverb. 'On ne parle pas de corde dans la maison d'un pendu'—the free translation of which would be, in their case : 'Do not talk treason in a nest of traitors.' Being not an ex-minister of the Crown, nor an ex-High Commissioner, nor the leader of a great party, nor an aspiring leader ; being only a free citizen and a modest member of this House, I disdain that kind of personal argument. I let fall where it should lie the vile accusation of 'put up job,' and I simply declare on my word of honour as a man that the course I have taken, I took it of my own free will, because I thought it was my duty to take it. If I did wrong, I deserve the whole blame. If I did right, I claim the whole merit. 'Mon verre n'est pas grand mais je bois dans mon verre.'

Now, I have been asked by many, including the Minister of Public Works : Why did you resign instead of keeping your seat and expressing your opinion in parliament ? My reply is this : Had we been treated in this country like every other British self-govern-

ing country has been treated, I would not have had recourse to such extreme means of asserting my views. In Great Britain, where the government have the right to declare war or to accept a declaration of war, they did not dare expend one pound on armaments without summoning parliament. In New Zealand, in all the Australasian colonies, parliaments were consulted. We were the only exception. And the reason given for not calling parliament was that public opinion was so unanimous that the government could legitimately anticipate the sanction of parliament. This theory I could not accept. I resigned so as to consult that portion of the public opinion which I represented in this House. I imposed upon myself the burden of a by-election in a county where it requires 800 miles of a drive to come in contact with the whole population. I did it, so as to be able to sound the opinion of my constituents on that very question without having it coupled with other political issues. Should I have waited for the general elections, some electors might have voted for me because they favoured some other article of my programme; others because they preferred me to any Tory, though bad I may be.

I went to them straight on this issue and told them: 'I do not come here to discuss party politics. You have elected me for five years as a Liberal, and this I am still. When the next general elections come, you will judge me and judge the government on their administrative policy. To-day I have resigned and I come before you to get your opinion on this question, and on this question alone. Are you in favour of participating in this war, or in any war without at least being consulted through your representatives? If so, vote against me; if not, vote for me.' In other words, I took a plebiscite in my county. And instead of coming here to give you my own opinion, presuming the approval of my constituents on a question which had never been submitted to them, I come here to give you the direct answer of four or five thousand loyal subjects of Her Majesty.

It has been said that this was not an argument. My good friend, the junior member for Ottawa (Mr. Belcourt) has written something of the kind in the letter to which I have already referred. Of course, I do not know much of my friend's constituents. He does not seem to have a very high opinion of their judgment—unless he believes the people of Labelle to be very much inferior to those of Ottawa; but I would like him to understand that the people of Labelle are very independent, and perhaps it is the reason I like them and they do not hate me. I wish to be straight with them, as they have been with me.

I could boast, of course, of representing on this question, the unanimity of my constituents. Technically it is true. But really I know it is not. A certain group of Lib-

erals and a certain group of Conservatives did their best to secure a Chamberlainist candidate against me: They rapped at many doors between Montreal and Ottawa; they found some patriots ready to start on an Imperialist campaign, provided they would be supplied with convincing arguments; not to corrupt the people, but to console themselves after a crushing defeat. None were ready to make a fight on mere principle.

I have heard the two leaders of this House, and especially the leader of the opposition, denouncing each other for not having opposed me. The *Country and Citizen* of Toronto, organ of the labouring classes, that I am glad to count amongst the constant supporters of my views on this matter, struck the right key; if neither party fought me, it is because they thought they would risk a good deal to attain a poor result.

In order to show that the electors who have sent me here are not so simple-minded as my friend from Ottawa believes them to be, I will point a fact to the House. At my first meeting at Papineauville, two days after my resignation, the mover of the resolution approving of my course, was a Conservative who fought me at the last general elections. Before moving the resolution he told me: 'Mind you, I was against you in 1896, I will oppose you at the next general elections, but this time I am with you.' I could quote hundreds of names of intelligent men who took the same stand. When it became evident that I would be offered no opposition, people were anxious to express their opinion in one way or another. Within a few days my nomination paper was signed by nearly a thousand names. I know of two or three parishes where all the electors came and signed the paper—some from eight or ten miles distant: in fact, in some places I had more names on the paper than I had votes in 1896.

I think this is an expression of public opinion quite as conclusive as articles from the *Montreal Star*. And I venture to say that should the same process of testing public opinion have been applied in most of the constituencies of the province of Quebec, the reply would have been similar.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. BOURASSA. Mr. Speaker, just a word now about my introduction in this House by the Minister of Public Works, which the leader of the opposition has characterized as one of the greatest scandals of parliamentary history. What would have become of the touchy conscience of the hon. gentleman, had he been present in the British Commons when Lord Macaulay, being a member of the government, fought the slavery Bill, introduced by the government as a straight government measure?

Lord Macaulay's attitude and speech were the cause of a vote against the government which was defeated by only seven of a majority, and the real cause of the Bill being defeated in the House of Lords; and still the government of which he was a member refused to accept his resignation.

When I came to Ottawa to take for the second time my oath of fidelity to the Crown, I wanted to present myself alone, and to give my qualifications to the House without any help. But I was told that this could not be done. I vainly endeavoured to seduce the rigid interpreters of parliamentary procedure by asking them to attach to my eccentric introduction a 'no precedent' clause. Just at that moment I happened to meet the Minister of Public Works, who told me: 'Why, I am ready to introduce you. You resigned against my advice; but I am a partisan of freedom; I will introduce you on that ground.' I found the argument quite good. I did not stop to think how far it could scandalize the virginal virtues of the blushing maidens who are coquetting to your left, Mr. Speaker. I beg their pardon here and now, and, I assure them, this is the whole and candid explanation of that great scandal.

Now, I was reproached because of having come to this side of the House instead of joining the other side. I have received many lessons of logic since I have come to parliament—but I must be desperately obtuse for I confess I cannot understand the argument of the hon. gentlemen opposite.

Why should I have gone to the other side? Is it because the leader of the opposition preached all over the land that the Liberals did not go far enough in the direction in which I refused to follow them? Is it because the member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) wanted to send 5,000 French Canadians to South Africa?

Mr. BERGERON. I never said that.

Mr. BOURASSA. I am glad the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) goes back on the report of his speech. Is it because the rank and file of the Tory press denounced the government as half traitors and myself as a double traitor?

It is true that on the question of expenditure the two leaders have met half way, or as my friend from Laprairie and Napierville would say, have divided between themselves the apple of sin. But that does not make an archangel of the hon. leader of the opposition and clear him of his long career. The very hesitancy which he has bitterly reproached as a crime to the government would be sufficient to prevent me from falling into the lion's den. That hesitancy is just what would give me some indulgence for the government. When a man hesitates before misdoing, it is a sign that he has still some conscience.

Because I condemn the men who have committed a sin, shall I throw my lot with

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men born and fed in the sin. Because I charge the government with having perpetrated an act of Toryism, shall I go and put myself under the very yoke of Toryism?

There are men on your left, Mr. Speaker, for whom I have great esteem and respect; as there are men on this side, for whom I have not the same sympathy as I feel for others. In other words, there are Liberals to your left and Tories to your right—giving to those words a much broader meaning than they usually have under the narrow party label. But the domineering element of the opposition is the essence of the worst kind of Toryism. I heard the other day my esteemed friend from Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin) castigate in a few words the member for West York. I heard some time previous the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Adolphe Caron) lecture with his usual tact and keenness those people who talk despicably of moccasin government. That shows clearly the difference between what I call the Liberals and the Tories to your left. I would have no objection to work hand-in-hand with the liberal-hearted Conservatives of all origins and creeds, but I have the deepest born antipathy for Tories dyed in the wool. I am a Liberal of the British school. I am a disciple of Burke, Fox, Bright, Gladstone, and of the other Little Englanders who made Great Britain and her possessions what they are, and I will not desert the ranks of their true followers because Mr. Chamberlain, or other renegade Radicals might choose in their megalomaniac ambition to call those great men blunderers. It may be said that Gladstone changed his mind on many questions. Yes, he did. But—and this was the mark of his genius, as well as of his born Liberalism—all his changes were from the narrower to the broader. In church matters, in state affairs, in sociology, all his changes were a constant progress towards Liberalism. A Liberal I was born, and a Liberal I will die. A Liberal I shall remain, even through waves of Toryism which might swamp for a moment the fields of Liberalism. And no king, governor or minister, even in my own party, and no blind crowd can force me to be anything else.

In my letter to the Prime Minister, and in all my speeches in Labelle, as well as in my private utterances, I said that I still supported the present administration on its general policy, because I still believed it was a good one. Therefore, on general grounds, my natural place was here in my old seat.

In fact, I may say, that I am the only man entitled to occupy his old seat in this House, with my hon. friend from Laprairie (Mr. Monet), and perhaps a few others whom we shall hear from to-night, because I am the only man who is upholding the same principles and preaching the same doctrine that I held six months ago.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BOURASSA. Hon. gentlemen opposite should not applaud so much. They should not forget the doctrine which their leader himself has preached so eloquently and so strongly on many previous occasions. Besides my hon. friend from Laprairie and the other hon. gentlemen who are going to vote with us to-night, no party in this House has the right to laugh at the expense of their opponents.

On this special question I condemn the action of the government; and I have come here to tell them that my constituents approve of my course, and have given me a mandate to warn them, in a friendly spirit, against any future attempt to pass over the constitution and to commit the future of this country without the full knowledge and consent of parliament and of the people.

Now, a word to the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), or rather to those—and they are quite numerous—who entertain the idea which he has expressed a couple of times, especially once here in Ottawa. The hon. gentleman was reported as saying that Papineau had smashed the constitution, and that if I could I would do the same. Elsewhere he was reported as saying that the Liberals, from Papineau down, had no principles. First, to hear the member for Beauharnois talking principles makes upon me about the same impression that I would feel listening to selections from 'Faust' or 'Il Trovatore' executed by a choir of deaf mutes. But when he accuses me of being led by hereditary tendencies, I plead guilty to the charge, and I will take this occasion—the first and the last I will choose to do it—to inflict upon this House a short page of family history. I do it because it is, to my mind, quite illustrative of the development of British institutions in French Canada.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BOURASSA. Hon. gentlemen opposite, especially their hon. leader, who is so much inclined to mix up the history of Canada and a good chapter of the history of the empire with his own biography, should easily pardon me this abuse of the patience of the House.

In 1776, when Montgomery and Arnold were besieging Quebec, where General Carleton was imprisoned with his little army, important messages came to Montreal addressed to the general. Two young French Canadians offered to go and deliver those despatches. They drove, but mostly walked, the sixty leagues, that separated the two cities. They passed through the American forces and the very few disaffected districts between the two cities. After a great display of skill and courage, having had to pass within gunshot of the lines of the investing army, they entered Quebec. They delivered their messages to the governor, and then served as free volunteers until the siege was raised. One of

those young men was the great-grandfather of our present Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, Mr. Lamothe, whose nomination the *Ottawa Citizen* denounced to the vindication of the anti-moccasins. The other was my great-grandfather; his name was Joseph Papineau.

In 1791, when parliamentary institutions were granted to Lower Canada, Joseph Papineau was elected as a representative of the people. He had fought for the Crown when the Crown was assailed by foreign foes. He fought against the Crown as long as the Crown stood against the people. He died fifty years later, what he had been all his life long: A loyal subject of the Crown of England, and a faithful defender of the Canadian people.

In 1812, a young French Canadian lawyer, a member of the legislative assembly of Quebec, abandoned his legal and parliamentary occupations to go and fight for the British flag, once more assailed by Anglo-Saxons. He served during the whole campaign. When the honour of the British flag was out of danger, thanks a good deal to his compatriots, he went back to parliament; and for twenty-five years, he fought for the rights of the people against the representatives of the Crown. His name was Louis Joseph Papineau. He was the son of Joseph Papineau, and I have no reason to blush in saying that my mother was his daughter.

In 1837, a large meeting was held at St. Charles. Papineau was there to meet thousands and thousands of British citizens who wanted to get their rights of British citizenship. He appealed to them on the ground of the constitution, and begged of them to avoid all riotous agitation. An English Protestant, Dr. Nelson, interrupted him, and said: 'I differ with Mr. Papineau. The time has passed for peaceful means; take your spoons and forks, melt them and make bullets.' The feelings of the people were aroused by fifty years of tyranny offered to them as a reward for eighty years of staunch loyalty. They listened to the inflammatory words of the English rebel and disregarded the constitutional appeals of the loyal Frenchman.

This is the history of the men from whom I have taken my double sentiment of loyalty to the Crown against foreign intrusion, and of loyalty to the people against Crown or faction abuses. I repeat I have no reason to be ashamed of it. And many men who enjoy now our free political institutions and even abuse them, owe them to those men they call traitors and unprincipled agitators.

Sir, I have no intention to proclaim once more the loyalty of the French Canadians who virtually saved Canada to England on two different occasions, and at times when they were most unfairly treated by British officials. That has been stated frequently

in this House and during this session. Our history is there. Those who refuse to read it or to understand it simply prove that they lack all good faith or that they are completely devoid of any sense of comprehension. It is useless to try and convince them.

But I have read somewhere—I think in the *Toronto News*, a statement which I want to contradict here and now. It is that in 1776 and 1812 the French Canadians were not led to action by their loyalty but simply because they wanted to preserve their property. That is rather a pretty bad reflection upon our American friends and dearest kinsmen. It would mean that they were nothing but barbarians, totally ignorant of the most elementary rules of warfare between civilized peoples. Fortunately, it is completely refuted by history. In 1775-6, especially, the American army occupied Montreal and a good portion of Lower Canada, and far from making any depredation, they did everything possible to induce the French Canadians to join them. They promised free government to the leaders; they respected private property; they bought farm products at a high price. The remarkable faithfulness of French loyalty was made only more striking by the very few individuals who gave way to American seductions. As the member for Three Rivers (Sir Adolphe Caron), and the member for Terrebonne (Mr. Chauvin), said very properly on a previous occasion, the Catholic clergy was a tremendous factor during both those periods of 1776 and 1812 by strengthening the loyalty of the people through the highest moral and religious motives. There was also, I admit, that remarkable characteristic of our people, which rulers of this country should never forget; I mean their innate reluctance to throw themselves into the unknown. They are easily contented with what they have, and do not care to leave it without knowing exactly what is offered to them in return.

Now, if we speak of national property, I wish to remind this House that no part of Canada would have better profited by annexation to the United States than the province of Quebec. Had we joined the union in 1776, Montreal and Quebec would be now rivals of New York and Boston; our marvelous water powers would be in full activity; the St. Lawrence would be the great transportation water route between Europe and America; our rural districts would be the feeders of the great north-eastern cities. It may be said: But your people would have been swamped. Well, first, we would have kept the million of our countrymen who are now across the borders; and then we are not so easy to swamp as many people think. We follow to the letter the Biblical advice: 'Crescite et multiplicamini.' We have a remarkable disposition for living on good terms with others, and it comes from this fact:

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Though deeply attached to our convictions, we have the greatest toleration for other people's convictions; without losing our language we learn quite easily to talk our neighbour's language. The result is that, as a rule, English-speaking people who live with us have no idea of finding fault with our remaining French. I am sure that should the member for West York (Mr. Wallace) come and reside in Quebec, it would not take two years before he would resign his pontificate in the Orange Association to become 'marguillier' of one of our good parishes and the president of a St. Jean Baptiste Society.

Anyhow, I insist on this point, that, from a purely material point of view, it would have been far better for us to have become Americans. I am glad we did not do it, because I prefer British institutions as we conquered them, to American institutions. And so long as Great Britain is faithful to her word, given to us after eighty years of hard struggle, I want to be and our people want to be faithful to our own word. But let the good faith be equal on both sides! Of course, I realize how hard it is for some people to understand a point of honour like this. It must be utterly inconceivable for the political descendants of the happy family compact and oligarchic rulers—of those great loyalists who shot and hanged honest Canadians, both French and English, who did not want to be treated as political helots on their native soil. Those same loyalists were the men who rotten-egged the representative of the Crown when he wanted to give in practice, as well as by law, equal justice to all classes and nationalities; they were also the only agitators for annexation to the United States when they found out that the public chest was no more to be confounded with their private purse. From those high-hearted and broad-minded patriots was born the loyal Tory-Imperialist party.

I have now to say something of the parliamentary significance of my proposition, and to meet beforehand the objection that it implies a vote of want of confidence in the government.

Not pretending to be an authority on matters of procedure, I will not venture wearying the House with a course of parliamentary law. I will just select from the annals of this House, a debate where the question was fully treated by high authorities of both parties. The lesson should be the more fruitful, that most of the teachers are still members of this House, or have reached the serene regions of the Upper House—which, I hope, shall not be considered as a nullification of their science.

I have alluded already to the debate raised in this House in 1893, by the rebel, anti-British speech of the Controller of Customs (Mr. Wallace). On that occasion, Mr. Dawson, member for Algoma, moved in amendment to the government's proposition of go-

ing into supply, a motion which termed itself 'severest censure' of Mr. Wallace's action and speech.

The first supporter of the government to speak on the motion, was Mr. Kenny, member for Halifax. He repudiated the sentiments expressed by the Controller of Customs, but declared he would not vote for the motion, as he considered it a motion of want of confidence in the government.

Mr. Mills, member for Bothwell, now Minister of Justice, and therefore the legal adviser of the present government, replied as follows to Mr. Kenny :

I think the hon. member for Halifax, in referring to this motion as a motion of want of confidence in the government, takes a wholly erroneous view. . . . It is quite true, Sir, that a government may treat any motion, even a motion for the adjournment of the House, as a motion of want of confidence; but no government is obliged to treat an ordinary motion as a motion of want of confidence; and, so far as I know, no government has hitherto treated as such a motion in amendment to go into supply. Why, Sir, let me refer the House to a motion which I myself made two or three years ago on going into supply, with reference to the distribution of public moneys for the construction of public works. The leader of the House, on that occasion, the late Prime Minister, Sir John Macdonald, accepted that motion and supported it in opposition to the government's own proposition to go into supply. Let me refer to another case. A few years ago, on the proposal to go into supply, the late member for Niagara, Mr. Plumb, moved a motion on the subject of the boundary award, and the government supported that motion against their own proposition to go into supply.

Mr. Foster, Minister of Finance, and leader of the House, replied to Mr. Mills, fought the motion, which he called 'a mischievous party motion, meant simply to embarrass the government,' but did not call it directly a motion of want of confidence. Sir Richard Cartwright followed him, and referring to Mr. Mills' remarks, he said :

As my hon. friend pointed out, there are numerous cases when the government have chosen to accept motions on going into Committee of Supply; and he might have added to the motions to which he alluded a motion moved by myself, defining the authority of the Committee of Public Accounts, and which was accepted by the then leader of the House, and allowed to pass, although it was moved on going into Committee of Supply.

Mr. Costigan, Secretary of State, though not agreeing with all the terms of Mr. Dawson's motion, said the following words, which, I think, apply very properly to my motion :

The motion that has been placed in your hands, Mr. Speaker, is one of principle. . . . I say that the question of allegiance and obedience to the laws and constitution is one that affects every portion of the people, and our laws and constitution must be observed and respected. Holding these opinions, I shall vote for the amendment.

Mr. Curran, Solicitor General, therefore a member of the government, though not of the cabinet, supported also the motion. Sir Hector Langevin said :

Now, it is a well known fact that such motions are not necessarily votes of non-confidence. On the contrary, very often these amendments are carried by the House, and the government does not consider that they should resign, but proceed with supply as soon as the amendment is disposed of. I have seen that repeatedly, and I have even seen the late leader of the government, Sir John Macdonald, on several occasions, accept a motion of that kind, and have it carried in the House, showing that such a motion is not a vote of non-confidence.

Sir Adolphe Caron, Postmaster General, though opposing the motion, said :

I know myself of amendments which were moved on going into supply which certainly our late lamented leader, Sir John Macdonald accepted, or without accepting, did not consider as a direct vote of want of confidence. But I fail to recollect a single instance where Sir John Macdonald, when leading the House, would not consider an amendment to supply censuring a member of the government, as a direct attack against the government.

So much so, that before the vote was taken, Mr. Kenny explained to the House that, seeing a member of the cabinet, and another member of the government supporting the motion, he could no more think that it implied want of confidence, and he voted for the amendment.

I think, Sir, that my case is a far clearer one than that which I have just quoted. In the former case, the motion in amendment to the ministerial proposition to go into supply was, as stated by the Postmaster General, a direct vote of censure against one member of the government. It was, nevertheless, supported by two members and several friends of the government on account of the principle of respect to law and constitution contained therein.

In the present instance, my motion implies no direct blame or censure upon the government. It is the ratification by parliament of the principles laid down in their order in council of October last, and re-asserted, though in a milder way, in their public statement of the same date. What does the order in council say ?

Such an expenditure, under such circumstances, cannot be regarded as a departure from the well known principles of constitutional government and colonial practice, nor construed as a precedent for future action.

And what comment did the hon. Minister of Finance put upon that reservation in the official statement he made the same day in the name of the cabinet :

The sending of the contingent to the Transvaal involved not only the expenditure of considerable money, but the taking of an important step that had not been contemplated by parliament, and which might possibly be regarded as a precedent, when in a matter of so much consequence pre-

cedents ought not hastily to be established. Hence the first view that prevailed was that parliament should be summoned to confirm the action which was proposed.

What did *La Patrie*, which is often called the organ of the Minister of Public Works, add to the ministerial statement :

The resolution to which Sir Wilfrid and his colleagues have come, does not commit this country to any action in the future. I think I know that this point has been settled in such a way as to leave no doubt in the public mind.

The Prime Minister himself, at the opening of this session, stated that he intended preserving the legislative independence and freedom of action of this country.

If the government were sincere, as undoubtedly they were, when they gave the assurance, both to the Colonial Secretary and to the Canadian people, that they did not intend creating a precedent, and committing this country to any future action, they cannot refuse to support my motion.

It may be objected, that my motion is useless, that it is a simple repetition of what the government themselves have stated. Suppose it would be useless, there could be no objection on the part of the government to let it pass without opposition. But, I claim that, far from being useless, it deserves the favourable consideration of the House.

As I have stated on a previous occasion, the action of the government is a double one. It contains a question of fact which is the sending of Canadian volunteers to South Africa, and a question of right which is the sovereignty of parliament and of the people as regards any constitutional change which may bring our participation in Imperial wars. The government consented to the fact with the intention, of course, of having that fact ratified by parliament—but also under the explicit reservation of constitutional principles which they considered to be under the exclusive power of parliament. They said themselves that they would not have consented to the action without that reservation. They asked us the other day to ratify their action. I now ask the House to sanction the reservation, and to uphold the principles which the government themselves asserted in their order in council, as well as in their official declaration. My motion is the natural consequence of those documents, as well as the completion of the Bill, adopted by this House to ratify the unauthorized expenditure of the government. You have sanctioned the fact, now sanction the right.

But, there is another reason for making my motion, not only useful, but absolutely imperative. It comes from the grave facts which I have put before the House. The whole of the reptile press, as well as a large portion of the decent newspapers of England and Canada, Liberal, Conservative, and Independent ; and I may say the unan-

imity of the foreign press, have entirely overlooked the reservation made by the government in their order in council. Either approving or condemning, they have given to the government's action, the same interpretation as that which I gave myself, and that is : The accomplished fact makes the precedent. But what is still graver and gives far more strength to my contention, is that the British government, through the official medium of the Colonial Secretary, at whose request we acted, has given to that action the same significance. He has accepted the sending of our troops as a proof of our willingness to do it again, and he has ignored entirely the reservation made by the Canadian government and finally the same interpretation seems to have been given by the head of our executive committee, by the representative of the Crown in Canada. So that to-day, not only is the doubt of which *La Patrie* spoke is still existing in the public mind, but the overwhelming conviction is that a precedent has been created.

In presence of such facts, should this House refuse to sanction the reservation made by the government in their Order in Council and refuse to adopt my motion, it would mean that we reject that reservation and accept the general and official interpretation put upon the ministerial action. Such a course, on the part of the government, would constitute the loudest stultification of themselves. On our part, it would be the most emphatic and humiliating admission of subserviency that a free representative body could give. It would bring us back to the time of the Long Parliament.

I freely confess that should my motion be adopted, it would greatly minimize the best of my argument, which is that the accomplished fact constitutes a precedent, notwithstanding all the reservations that could be made.

But this I do not mind. I have not taken my course to gain notoriety or popularity. My only aim is to get an assertion by this House of the soundest and oldest principles of representative government. I simply ask that this House shall affirm that Canada is a free country, that Canada is a country ready to meet Great Britain on a fair proposition, if Great Britain tells us that she requires our help. Then, if new propositions have to be laid down touching the policy that is going to govern this country, neither the Colonial Secretary, nor any member of a British government, nor any representative of the Imperial government in this country has the right to say what shall be the course of a free people. It is our duty, as a free parliament, representing the free opinion of the people, to say what is to be the policy of the people. I am not going to pass judgment on the action of the government ; I have not voted against their resolution, at the expense of what was called my logic. I

have been accused of coming back to the fold and of accepting again the yoke of the government. I do not mind that, because I wanted to give to the government a proof of my good faith. I do not mind the money that is asked, but I ask you to repeat here what was declared in the order in council, and to tell the British government that this is a free parliament elected by the free opinion of the people. Therefore, I think my position is a right one, and should it be accepted by this House at the expense of the views I have already given, at the expense of the stand I have taken in my county, I do not mind. I feel that I will be amply rewarded if I secure a declaration that there is still in existence the true British spirit of self-government and liberty, and therefore, I move: That all the words after that be struck out and that the following be inserted:

That this House insists on the principle of the sovereignty and the independence of parliament as the basis of British institutions and the safeguard of the civil and political liberties of British citizens, and refuses consequently to consider the action of the government in relation to the South African war as a precedent which should commit this country to any action in the future.

That this House further declares that it opposes any change in the political and military relations which exist at present between Canada and Great Britain unless such change is initiated by the sovereign will of parliament and sanctioned by the people of Canada.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I have listened to every word uttered by my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) with very deep and close attention, an attention all the closer, all the deeper, and having known my hon. friend for many years, almost since his infancy, being an admirer of his brilliant talents, entertaining for him a warm personal friendship, I feel, all the more keenly, the regret of having to differ from him. My hon. friend is young and enthusiastic; he is at that age, that happy age, where the pride of cherished theories far outweighs, and indeed usually makes light of all considerations of practical reality. But, I may be permitted to observe to my hon. friend, at once, that, since his object was to vindicate those constitutional principles which, in his opinion, should have guided and inspired the government when they came to the conclusion that it was their duty to send a military contingent to Africa, it would have been far more in accordance with the fitness of things that he should have moved his amendment either upon the address, when the whole subject was debated at length, or, upon the motion presented to the House by the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), in order to make good the expenditure incurred for that object. Then, my hon. friend, would have presented to this House a real and live issue, a concrete motion which could have

been discussed and debated, affirmed or denied, or amended to some practical purpose; whereas, he now offers us, not a practical motion, but an academic, abstract and rigid motion which can be debated, which can be affirmed or denied, but, which cannot be amended and which, by the rules of this House, has either to be swallowed whole or rejected whole. My hon. friend, in the course of his very able and eloquent speech has taken the House into his confidence as to the relations which have existed between him and me upon this subject. He has informed the House, and truly informed the House, that he was not present when I offered the motion to the House, I think, on the 31st of July, or the 1st of August last, of sympathy with the Uitlanders, and he has said that if he had been present in the House at that time he would have opposed the motion. He has informed the House also, that, at that time, and later on, he repeatedly warned me that if we were to incur any military expenditure he would oppose all such action of the government. My hon. friend will permit me to say that I have always respected his convictions, that although I differ from his views, I have too much of respect, and I may say without hesitation, of admiration for him not to allow him the full liberty which he claimed. My hon. friend informed me more than once that he wanted to move an amendment to the policy of the government in order to affirm his convictions. The hon. gentleman will agree with me if I go a little farther in the confidence to which he has invited the House, and if I say that I represented to my hon. friend, that, if he felt bound in the discharge of the duty which he owed to himself to bring in an amendment, he should more properly do it either upon the address, or upon the resolutions of the hon. Minister of Finance, because, if my hon. friend had offered his motion upon the address, or upon the motion of the hon. Minister of Finance, that motion, then, might have been subject to the amendment. I do not find fault with the principles involved in the motion of my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa). I am not prepared, however, to accept the whole language of it. Neither am I prepared to accept the opportunity of it, and if my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) had moved his motion as I suggested to him, as an amendment to the address, or as an amendment to the resolution providing for the South African expenditure, it would have been possible for me to have offered an amendment to his amendment, embodying the principle invoked by him, but embodying them in my own language, or in language which would have been more suited to the House; in language less harsh, if my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) will permit me to say so; in language which, I believe, would have rallied around the amendment the unanimous opinion of

this House. My hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) in the exercise of his own judgment and in the exercise of his right, chose, on the contrary, to select his own language and to import into the House his resolution in the manner in which he has. The hon. gentleman must not be surprised, that although I agree with him in many things, I must tell him at once that I cannot adopt his motion. If I have come to this conclusion, it is not because I find fault with the principles enunciated in this amendment, but I challenge altogether the opportunity or the *raison d'être* of this motion. It is not sufficient that the principles involved in a motion submitted to the House, should be incontrovertible for the House to adopt that motion. There must be the opportunity, and the *raison d'être* for it. If my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa), or any member of this House, were to propose as an amendment to the motion to go into committee of supply, that two and two make four, or that there are twelve months in the year, or that it is the duty of a good Christian to observe the ten commandments, no one would be disposed to controvert any of these propositions, but no one would feel disposed, on the other hand, to place any of these propositions on the records of the House. The reason why I feel bound to oppose the amendment is not so much because of the terms of the motion itself as because of the arguments with which he has supported it. My hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) asserted in his argument that because of the action the government took, we have practically violated the terms which the constitution lays down. Let me repeat to the House the first proposition set forth by the hon. gentleman in his motion :

That this House insists on the principle of the sovereignty and the independence of parliament as the basis of British institutions and the safeguard of the civil and political liberties of British citizens, and refuses consequently to consider the action of the government in relation to the South African war as a precedent which should commit this country to any action in the future.

Sir, when we determined to send the first military contingent to Africa, we passed an order in council, in which we stated that we did not intend our action to be construed as a precedent. We were, in so doing, abundantly cautious. We were not bound to make any such declaration, because I contend, against the argument of my hon. friend, that in the action which we took, we did not violate the independence of parliament, nor did we not violate any principle of the British constitution. The whole argument upon which he has based this motion, and the principle which he has there laid down, that by our act and by our conduct we have violated the principles of the British constitution, is founded on the basis that we incurred this expenditure before we had obtained the sanction of parliament. Now, Sir, I am prepared here and

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now to take issue with my hon. friend upon this very point. I am prepared to state now that this course which we adopted, and as to which we declared we would not make it a precedent, was a course well within the understood terms of the British constitution. Let me call the attention of the House and of my hon. friend to the standard authority upon these matters. I am proud to say that that standard authority is a Canadian, the late Mr. Alpheus Todd. His work is acknowledged as being the work par excellence which truly lays down the doctrine of parliamentary government in England. I call the attention of my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) to page 15 of the second volume of the last edition of Todd. After having laid down the well known elementary principle that no expenditure is to be incurred unless with the previous sanction of parliament, he goes on to say that there are several exceptions, and this is the language to which I call the attention of the hon. gentleman :

It is therefore erroneous to suppose that the government can be absolutely prevented from any misapplication or expenditure in excess of the parliamentary grants.

Here is however the main point :

It is therefore erroneous to suppose that the government can be absolutely prevented from any misapplication or expenditure in excess of the parliamentary grants. Even were it possible to do so, it would not be politic to restrain the government from expending money, under any circumstances, without the previous authority of parliament. In the words of Mr. Macaulay (secretary to the board of audit), 'cases may constantly arise, in so complicated a system of government as ours, where it becomes the duty of the executive authorities, in the exercise of their discretionary powers, boldly to set aside the requirements of the legislature, trusting to the good sense of parliament, when all the facts of the case shall have been explained, to acquit them of all blame; and it would be, not a public advantage, but a public calamity, if the government were to be deprived of the means of so exercising their discretionary authority.' To the same effect, we have a declaration by a committee of the House of Commons that 'in special emergencies expenditure unauthorized by parliament becomes absolutely essential. In all such cases the executive must take the responsibility of sanctioning whatever immediate urgency requires; and it has never been found that parliament exhibited any reluctance to supply the means of meeting such expenditure.'

Here is the law well recognized in England, here is the principle laid down, together with a series of precedents to that effect. Todd quotes several precedents, but I will content myself with two. The first one is :

At the commencement of the French revolutionary war, Mr. Pitt advanced enormous sums, amounting to upwards of £1,200,000, to the Emperor of Germany, to aid in the defence of the general interests of Europe, without the

previous sanction of parliament. Upon the attention of the House of Commons being directed to this affair, it was proposed to pass a vote of censure on the minister, but his friends interposed, and induced the House to agree to an amendment, declaring that the proceeding in question, though not to be drawn into precedent, but upon occasion of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in His Majesty's ministers by a former vote of credit.

But, my hon. friend (Mr. Bourassa) may say, that there had been a vote of credit to carry on the war and that the vote had only been exceeded. Well, the principle is the same. Let me call attention to another case which occurred in 1867, and which is quoted by Todd :

On February 18, 1867, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a vote of £45,721 to defray the cost of buying the Blacas collection of coins and antiquities for the British Museum. Ministers had, in the previous autumn, assumed the responsibility of this purchase, in order to secure this unique and valuable collection for the nation. Under the circumstances, the vote was agreed to without opposition.

I could also call attention to another very remarkable precedent. I could point to the government of Mr. Disraeli purchasing the whole stock of the Khedive in the Suez Canal, and doing this without the authority or the vote of parliament. Mr. Disraeli's action was approved by the British parliament at the following session. Now, Sir, there were British Liberals in these days in the Imperial parliament, and there are British Liberals to-day in this parliament also. There were Liberals who had not the label on their breasts and the badge on their necks, but the principle in their hearts, just as much as any Liberals have them to-day. There was Fox in the time of Pitt, and Gladstone and Bright in the time of Disraeli, who held that parliament could sanction the expenditure of money by the government in certain emergencies. It is true that in circumstances of that kind the government has to take a very great risk in its hands and upon its shoulders : it has to take the risk of the approval of its course by parliament. In the matter in question, had we not ample justification for believing that our course would be ratified by parliament ? As soon as parliament met, we submitted our action to it ; we laid before it everything that we had done. Our action stood the fire of a long discussion, and the principle of it was approved unanimously by this House. The resolution introduced by my hon. friend the Finance Minister, to cover the expenditure incurred in sending the contingents to Africa, has received the unanimous sanction of this House. What avails it, then, to say to-day that we had not behind us the force of public opinion, that we were not to be guided solely by the voice of the press ? Public

opinion has more than one means of expressing itself. There is not only the press, but there is what is heard on the street and in private conversation, and what one can feel in the air. We knew that public opinion was with us. It is true that my hon. friend has stated on another occasion, I believe, that it is a weak thing to be guided by public opinion. Well, Sir, if public opinion were to ask something against one's honour or one's sense of right, or one's sense of dignity, it would be a weak thing indeed to follow public opinion ; but if the voice of the people asks for a thing that is right and honourable, how would it then be a weak thing to follow the voice of public opinion ? Under such circumstances, it would be a wicked and a criminal thing not to follow the voice of public opinion. I put this question to my hon. friend : what would be the condition of this country to-day if we had refused to obey the voice of public opinion ?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The PRIME MINISTER. It is only too true, Sir, that if we had refused at that time to do what was in my judgment our imperative duty, a most dangerous agitation would have arisen—an agitation which according to all human probability would have ended in a cleavage in the population of this country upon racial lines. A greater calamity could never take place in Canada. My hon. friend and I have long been on terms of intimacy. He has long been a political friend and supporter of mine. He knows as well as any man in this House knows that if there is anything to which I have given my political life, it is to try to promote unity, harmony and amity between the diverse elements of this country. My friends can desert me, they can remove their confidence from me, they can withdraw the trust which they have placed in my hands ; but never shall I deviate from that line of policy. Whatever may be the consequences, whether loss of prestige, loss of popularity, or loss of power, I feel that I am in the right, and I know that a time will come when every man, my hon. friend himself included, will render me full justice on that score. But, Sir, I understand much better now than I did before what is the reason which has impelled my hon. friend to take the position which he has taken. My hon. friend is opposed to the war ; he thinks it is unjust. I do not blame him for holding this view. We are a British country and a free country, and every man in it has the right to express his opinion. My hon. friend has the same right to believe that the war is unjust that Mr. John Morley, Mr. Courtney and many other Liberals in England have to hold the same belief. But if my hon. friend is of the opinion that the war is unjust, for my part I am just as fully convinced in my heart and conscience that there never was a juster war on the part

of England than that war. I am fully convinced that there never was a more unjust war on the part of any man than the war that is now being carried on by President Kruger and the people of the Transvaal. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying this. For President Kruger personally I have the most unbounded admiration. He is a stern patriot, and that he believes himself to be in the right I do not question; but if you examine his conduct and his policy in the light of what is already history, you cannot but come to the conclusion that in this matter he has been the worst enemy of his own country. What are the facts with regard to that? It is just as well that we should have it out as I have it on my own mind. It is easy to understand the position taken by President Kruger. The whole ground of the dispute has been that President Kruger has refused to give the Uitlanders the right of suffrage—political and civil rights. He seems to believe that if he gives the right of suffrage to the Uitlanders, they will outland him. But, Sir, President Kruger is not in a position to maintain that argument. He opened this country to a foreign population; he sold them lands and took their money; more than that, he invited them to his territory. Even if he had not invited them, he virtually agreed to adopt the same policy that has been adopted by the American nation and by the Canadian nation as well. At the opening of this century, the American people opened their vast territory to all the nations of the earth, and granted citizenship to all who came, giving them perfect and absolute equality with themselves. We in Canada for the last forty years have been doing the same thing. We have opened our country to the immigrants of the world, we have invited them to come, and as soon as they come, by conforming to the laws they obtain full citizenship, and every right we ourselves enjoy we cheerfully give to them. Well, Sir, was it not fair and right, and is it not the rule of the civilization of the nineteenth century, that if a young nation opens its doors to foreign immigration, an implied obligation rests upon that nation to give to the immigrants the same rights of citizenship which its own people enjoy? There is more. On this occasion, I assert without hesitation that President Kruger himself invited the foreign element into the Transvaal. Let me quote from a book published some time ago by Mr. Fitzpatrick and entitled, 'The Transvaal From Within.' It is a strongly partisan book, I admit, but here is a statement which I have never seen contradicted anywhere. At page 57, Mr. Fitzpatrick says:

In 1884, Messrs. Kruger and Smit proceeded to Europe to endeavour to raise funds, which were badly needed, and also to obtain some modifications of the convention. The attempt to raise funds through the parties in Holland to whom

the railway concession had just been granted failed, but the delegates were more fortunate in their other negotiations. They negotiated the London convention, which fixed certain hitherto undefined boundaries; and in that document no reference was made to the suzerainty of Great Britain. They also secured the consent of the British government to the alteration of the title of the country. Instead of the Transvaal State it became once more the 'South African Republic.' During this visit there occurred an incident which provides the answer to Mr. Kruger's oft-too oft-repeated remark that 'the Uitlanders were never asked to settle in the Transvaal, and are not wanted there.' Messrs. Kruger and Smit were staying at the Albermarle Hotel, where they found themselves, after some weeks delay, in the uncomfortable position of being unable to pay their hotel bill. In their extremity they applied to one Baron Grant, at that time a bright particular star in the stock exchange firmament. Baron Grant was largely interested in the gold concessions of Lydenburg, and he was willing to assist, but on terms. And the quid pro quo which he asked was some public assurance of good-will, protection and encouragement to British settlers in the Transvaal, Mr. Kruger responded on behalf of the republic by publishing in the London press the cordial invitation and welcome and the promise of rights and protection to all who would come, so frequently quoted against him of late.

I have never seen this contradicted, and I ask, in the face of this invitation by President Kruger, could there be any justification for the policy afterwards adopted by him of refusing these peoples who had come to the Transvaal at his invitation, the right of suffrage and practically making helots of them.

I am not going into the particulars of the policy of the Transvaal Republic, but let me give a single circumstance which is to be found in the last Statesmen's Year Book. The policy of the population of the Transvaal is 245,397 souls, and the revenue exacted from that population is £4,480,218 sterling, or \$24,401,000—very nearly \$100 of taxation per head. Let me compare this with the taxation of the very foremost nations of the world—England, France and the United States. The taxation of the United States is about \$7 or \$8 per head, of England about \$12 per head, and of France about \$20 per head. But in the Transvaal, the population is taxed to the tune of \$100 per head, the bulk of which is borne by the Uitlanders. That population has to bear almost the whole of that taxation, and yet is denied every vestige of representation. That being the case, we must admit that the quarrel of England was just when she insisted that her British subjects in the Transvaal should at least have the rights of citizenship when willing to submit to the laws. I believe that her quarrel was just, and public opinion in this country being anxious that we should take part in the war, we thought it our duty to satisfy public opinion by sending our military contingent, relying confidently upon parliament ratifying our course.

My hon. friend has submitted a second proposition. It is this :

That this House further declares that it opposes any change in the political and military relations which exist at present between Canada and Great Britain, unless such change is initiated by the sovereign will of parliament and sanctioned by the people of Canada.

I have nothing to say against that proposition. If the relations between Great Britain and Canada are to be changed, they can only be changed by the will and with the consent of the people. I am not going to say that the will of the people should be ascertained by a plebiscite, for I believe the well known methods of the British constitution are more appropriate.

But the argument of my hon. friend is that by taking the position we did, we have changed the relations, civil and military, which now exist between Great Britain and Canada. I altogether repudiate that doctrine, and I cannot conceive upon what argument it can be based. I listened carefully to my hon. friend, and I admired him in many ways, but I did not understand the argument upon which he based his doctrine that by sending a military contingent to South Africa, we have changed the political relations existing between Great Britain and Canada. He went further. He asserted, and still more insinuated than asserted, that in doing what we did, we had been dictated to by Downing Street, that we had been compelled to act by the strong hand of Mr. Chamberlain. He rather insinuated also that in passing the resolution we passed last session, expressing our sympathy with the Uitlanders, we were rather coerced by the will of Mr. Chamberlain. He rather insinuated that the resolution which we then introduced had been framed by an agent of Mr. Chamberlain. Well, Sir, the fact is that nobody saw that resolution except the hon. leader of the opposition, who received it from me after it had been adopted by Council.

My hon. friend also said that as far back as July last when we introduced that resolution, Mr. Chamberlain was preparing for war. Now, I ask my hon. friend how he can utter such language in the face of events well known. Why, it will be to the eternal glory of England that war found her absolutely unprepared. Mr. Kruger had been preparing for years for war, buying ammunition and artillery, accumulating provisions, importing European officers, and drilling his people; and when the time came when he thought he was ready he issued his insolent ultimatum, calling upon England to give up her possessions in South Africa. England was found absolutely unprepared. She had hardly a few thousand men in the land, and consequently had to submit to the humiliation of successive defeats. I ask how is it possible, in face of such a condition of things, to say that Mr. Chamberlain had been preparing for war?

No, Sir, we were not forced by England, we were not forced by Mr. Chamberlain or by Downing Street, and I cannot conceive what my hon. friend meant when he said that the future of this country was not to be pledged by this government. When and where did we pledge the future of this country? We acted in the full independence of our sovereign power. What we did, we did of our own free will, but I am not to answer for the consequences or for what will take place in the future. My hon. friend says the consequence is that we will be called on to take part in other wars. I have only this to answer to my hon. friend, that if it should be the will of the people of Canada, at any future period to take part in any war of England, the people of Canada will have to have their way. Let me repeat to my hon. friend the maxim which he quoted this afternoon as embodying his views of freedom and which he took from the despatch of Lord Grey to Lord Elgin: 'It must be remembered that the government of the British Colonies in North America cannot be carried on in opposition to the will of the people.' That was the doctrine in 1847, it holds good in 1900, and will be the language of freedom used so long as we have free parliamentary institutions in Canada.

But I have no hesitation in saying to my hon. friend that if as a consequence of our action to-day, the doctrine were to be admitted that Canada should take part in all the wars of Great Britain and contribute to the military expenditure of the empire, I agree with him that we should revise the conditions of things existing between us and Great Britain. If we were to be compelled to take part in all the wars of Great Britain, I have no hesitation in saying that I agree with my hon. friend that, sharing the burden, we should also share the responsibility. Under that condition of things, which does not exist, we should have the right to say to Great Britain: If you want us to help you, call us to your councils; if you want us to take part in wars let us share not only the burdens but the responsibilities and duties as well. But there is no occasion to examine this contingency this day. My hon. friend forgets one thing which is essential to this discussion, that we did not use our powers as a government to go into that war. We have a Militia Act in this country, we have a force composed of the standing militia and of volunteers. We did not call upon the standing militia or upon volunteers; we compelled no man to go to South Africa. We did not do what we did in 1885, when we had to put down the rebellion in the North-west. Then, we used the power vested in us by the law. The government called for volunteers and the volunteers were forced to go. They went willingly, of course, but if they had not gone willingly they would have been com-

pelled by their oath to obey the command of the government. But in this case we did nothing of that kind. We simply provided the machinery and expenses for the two thousand young men who wanted to go and give their lives for the honour of their country and the flag they love. My hon. friend found fault with us this afternoon, because instead of sending five hundred we sent two thousand. Again I ask my hon. friend, what would be the condition of Canada if we had denied to those young men who wanted to serve their Queen in South Africa this privilege that they claimed from us? If we had said: Only five hundred of you shall go, what would have been the condition of this country to-day? And, did we do any thing wrong after all, and can my hon. friend complain of our action when we simply put it in the power of these young men who wanted to go and give their lives in order to promote what was to them a sacred cause, to go to the front. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that if ever there was an occasion when we should have no voice of dissent in this House, it is the present occasion.

I greatly admired the speech of my hon. friend, though I am far from sharing his views. But I call upon him to remember that he belongs to a patriotic family, as he said to us to-day; I call upon him to remember that the liberties which we enjoy are largely due to his own family. But if we have liberties on one side, would he not accept some duties on the other side? Would he not accept some obligations on the other side? Shall the sacrifice be all on the one side and none on the other, the obligation all on one side and none on the other? We were not compelled to do what we did; but if we chose to be generous, to do a little more than we were bound to do, where is the man living who would find fault with us for that action?

My hon. friend dreads the consequences of our action in sending out a military contingent to South Africa. Let me tell him from the bottom of my heart that my bosom is full of the hopes I entertain of the beneficial results which will accrue from that action. When our young volunteers sailed from our shores to join the British army in South Africa, great were our expectations that they would display on those distant battlefields the same courage which had been displayed by their fathers when fighting against one another in the last century. Perhaps in more than one breast, there was a fugitive sense of uneasiness at the thought that the first facing of musketry by raw recruits is always a severe trial. But when the telegraph brought us the information that such was the good impression made by our volunteers that the commander in chief had placed them at the post of honour, in the first rank, side by side with that famous corps, the Gordon Highlanders; when we heard that they had justified fully the con-

fidence placed in them, that they had charged like veterans, that their conduct was heroic and had won for them the encomiums of the commander in chief and the unstinted admiration of their comrades of those famous troops, who had faced death upon a hundred battlefields in all parts of the world—is there a man whose bosom did not swell with pride, the noblest of all pride, the pride of pure patriotism, the pride of the consciousness of our rising strength, the pride of the consciousness that that day the fact had been revealed to the world that a new power had arisen in the west.

Nor is that all. The work of union and harmony between the different elements of this country is not yet complete. We know by the unfortunate occurrences that took place only last week that there is much yet to do in that way. But there is no bond of union so strong as the bond created by dangers shared in common. To-day there are men in South Africa representing the two branches of the Canadian family, fighting side by side for the honour of Canada. Already some of them have fallen, giving to the glory of their country the last full measure of devotion. Their dead bodies have been laid in the same grave, there to rest to the end of time in that last fraternal embrace. Can we not hope—I ask my hon. friend himself—that in that grave shall be buried the last vestiges of our former antagonism? If such shall be the result, if we can indulge that hope, if we can believe that in that grave shall be for ever buried all our past divisions, the sending of the contingents would be the greatest service ever rendered to Canada since confederation. These are the motives, which guided us; these are the thoughts which inspired us; they ought to commend the heart and mind of my hon. friend, knowing him as I know him, and in my judgment, they should induce him not to press further this motion.

Mr. DOMINIQUE MONET (Laprairie and Napierville). Although my views on this question of the Transvaal war are already well known in this House, and although those views have been only shared by two or three hon. members, and although I do not hope for a single moment that these views will prevail any more in this debate than in the previous debate that took place in this House, nevertheless, I feel in duty bound to rise, this time, not to recriminate against my friends of the government, not to indict or to charge anybody, but to pray, to entreat my friends of the government to pause a little in order that we may see whether it is not expedient in the best interests of Canada to stop in this course of military imperialism in which they have so far led Canada. What is past is past: let us now look to the future. The misdeed of the government has been condoned by the almost unanimous vote of this House. It is a settled ques-

tion, as far as this House is concerned, and the only appeal that can now be made, is before the electorate of the country. I may appear a little wearisome in rising to speak upon this question, which involves the same principles that were involved in the first debate that took place in this House, but, since I delivered the few remarks I made the other day, I have learned a very gratifying thing. I have learned, that, in this House, when an hon. gentleman is honestly speaking his own thought, his own mind, he is entitled to the respect and regard of every citizen of this country. I may, in particular, thank the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. McClure), and the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Flint), for the kind manner in which they received the speech that I made, although it was in opposition to their own views. I have received numbers of letters of congratulation from different sections of this country, saying, that, after all, I had spoken the language of a Canadian. This title of Canadian satisfies my pride and ambition. I am a Canadian; I am not French, I am not English, but I am Canadian, not for the sake of France, nor for the sake of England, but, I am a Canadian, loving this country, because it is the land of our forefathers, who were Canadians. I love this land because it has been opened up and developed by our own forefathers, Canadians, whose labours and blood have made her what she is to-day, the finest, as she is the freest colony, in the world. But, it is because I want to defend inch by inch the bulwark of our political liberties, the bulwark of our political freedom, from any further encroachment, that I rise again to support and second the motion of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa). As a matter of fact, it embodies the very essence of the Liberal democratic school to which I belong. In this motion lies the very fundamental principle of responsible government. It indicates that after God, the sovereign will of the people is the source of all authority and of all legislative action. Here is the motion which I have seconded :

That this House insists on the principle of the sovereignty and the independence of parliament as the basis of British institutions and the safeguard of the civil and political liberties of British citizens, and refuses consequently to consider the action of the government in relation to the South African war as a precedent which should commit this country to any action in the future.

That this House further declares that it opposes any change in the political and military relations which exist at present between Canada and Great Britain unless such change is initiated by the sovereign will of parliament and sanctioned by the people of Canada.

There are three different things in this motion. First, it takes for granted, that our constitution has been violated by the order in council of the 14th of October

last; second, it states that this violation of the law must not be regarded as a precedent, and third, it indicates the constitutional way in which our military relations with England are to be changed, if they are to be changed. Let me examine the three different features of this motion, in order to see whether there is anything in them to which any Liberal of this House could not give his consent. The first part of the motion takes it for granted that our constitution has been violated. Is this assumption right or is it wrong? I told you, Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of my remarks, that I did not want to recriminate against my hon. friends of the government. Upon the first occasion on which I spoke to the question, I did it, for I wanted to protest against the humiliating position we had been placed in, and I was charged with having built my argument only out of the reasonings of Liberals. I thought it a very natural thing, being a Liberal, as I claim I am, to prefer to build Liberal arguments with quotations from the statements of Liberal members of this House. It seems to me that everything is upside down in this House. The other day, the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), himself, admitted that he was without the law when he passed the order in council of the 14th of October last. The hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), who is there to criticise the government for any wrong-doing, did what? Instead of calling the government to duty, he wrote to the right hon. gentleman who leads the government, a telegram, or a letter, saying that if the right hon. gentleman was only willing to do a little more than he was disposed to do, he would join hands with him on the floor of the House. An expenditure of over \$2,000,000 has been incurred by the order in council of the 14th of October last, and this expenditure was incurred without the consent of parliament. Is there, in this country, a law clearer than that one, in the constitution, in the British North America Act, which says that every cent of expenditure by this government must be, not ratified, but decided upon by the House of Commons itself. I said that everything seems to be upside down in this House. I listened with very much attention this evening to the right hon. leader of the government. He claims that he was not without the law; he claims that he was not without the constitution. What does he say to uphold his own reasoning? He says that there are some cases of emergency in England that would permit a government to appropriate a certain amount of money without consent of parliament. I admit that, in this country, we have the very same permission, but under such circumstances as make it urgently and immediately necessary. Will my right hon. friend claim to-day that the sending of the contingents was necessary for Canada? Will he claim that

it was necessary for England? He did not claim that when the first debate took place on the floor of this House, and he could not claim it any more to-night. The hon. leader of the opposition has committed quite a mistake, because, instead of calling upon the leader of the government to do his duty, he has offered to join hands with him. Instead of the hon. leader of the opposition saying: I am ready to back your action on the floor of the House, what would we have seen here to-day if he had opposed the government?

I have no doubt that we would have listened to a very similar debate to that which took place on the floor of the House in 1896. Gentlemen opposite told us then that the constitution was violated, but they are silent to-day, and I think I can easily show very plainly that the constitution is violated to-day much more than it was violated in 1896, when the Governor General's warrants were taken to pay the salaries justly due to officials. The ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) was the mover of a certain resolution in 1896 censuring the government for asking for a Governor General's warrant during the recess, not for a gratuity as to-day, but to pay some officials salaries. Mr. Foster said:

At the beginning of the discussion I will read the clause in the Audit Act which gives that authority. It is this: 'If, when parliament is not in session, any accident happens to any public work or building which requires an immediate outlay for the repair thereof'—

I call the attention of the House to these very words. They are not a mere interpretation of the law, as the quotations made by the Prime Minister in his speech, but they are the actual words of the statute. They are:

— or any other occasion arises when any expenditure not foreseen or provided for by parliament is urgently and immediately required for the public good, then, upon the report of the Minister of Finance and Receiver General that there is no parliamentary provision, and of the minister having charge of the service in question that the necessity is urgent.

Said the Minister of Finance:

These are the conditions sequent which never can have force and operate unless the conditions have place.

I will not speak, Sir, of the sending of the first contingent, but let me examine the circumstances surrounding the sending of the second contingent in order that we may once for all see whether it was an urgent necessity. The second contingent was offered to England more than four weeks before the contingent was ordered to depart. Was not this sufficient time in which to summon parliament and to have the matter decided by parliament itself? I do not see what reasoning any one in this House can bring against that argument. It is the argument brought out by hon. gentlemen opposite in a somewhat similar case, but not ex-

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actly a similar case, because there was good reason not to follow the parliamentary procedure in 1896, for the money was actually due to the civil servants of this country. There was nothing to be paid as a gratuity, and so it was a mere technicality to exact from the Liberal government then that they should have it decided by the House of Commons. I take it that I do not split hairs, and I do not stick to procedure no more in parliament than before a court of justice, when the right is not affected by the procedure. But when the right is affected by the procedure, and when the procedure is so urgent that if we do not follow it you are led to perpetrate an injustice instead of vindicating the law, then I say that procedure is a very important thing. The ex-Minister of Finance, in the course of his speech further said:

They both lay down the vital necessity of keeping the principle of parliamentary control, and keeping it intact; they both agree that the nature of the circumstances should be, as I have detailed, something that was unforeseen and not provided for, and that the mere necessity of an expenditure is not ground upon which a Governor General's warrant can be issued; and they agree in all their remarks in condemnation of a practice which contravenes and goes contrary to those well-understood and forcibly expressed principles which govern this matter.

Now, the very same hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) has listened to this debate. He made quite a nice speech on the floor of this House on the address, and everything was all right to him, even from the constitutional point of view, although the very same gentleman argued very forcibly against what had been done by the Liberals in 1896. Mr. Foster said moreover:

As I said at first, it is the duty of every representative sitting in this House, no matter what his party views may be, to guard jealously the principle of parliamentary control, which is the outcome of centuries of trouble, which is essential to good and responsible government, and which we cannot allow to be violated and go back to our constituents and tell them that we have performed our duty. The question is not introduced with any other wish than to prevent the growth of a method of getting appropriations by what I must call a usurpation of power by the executive, such as has commenced within a few weeks of the accession to power of a new Liberal government; because if that usurpation is condoned in this case, you give the government a warrant in the future to nullify the power of this parliament over appropriations, and you strike a blow at the principles of parliamentary government.

The hon. gentleman from Halifax (Mr. Borden), who has been silent so far in this debate, made quite a strong speech on the very same question in 1896. He said:

That is the logical result of the argument of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, and I think it is not an argument which can commend itself to the members of the legal profession in this House; because if the govern-

ment, after coming down to parliament with estimates, and having had those estimates refused by parliament, can proceed, by means of Governor General's warrant, to deal with the expenditures for the ordinary services of this country, then, as has been well said by the hon. member for York, parliamentary government in this country has indeed degenerated into a farce.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) is now in his seat, and I suppose he is too serious a lawyer and too grave a man to wish to be an actor in what he calls a farce.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). That vote had been brought before parliament and rejected; in this case it had not.

Mr. MONET. I beg your pardon.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). In that case, parliament had been asked to vote supplies, and then the government had proceeded to deal with the same matter by Governor General's warrant, which is an entirely different case from this.

Mr. MONET. What is the practical difference?

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I will tell the hon. gentleman if he permits me. In that case you could not in any sense of the word say that the expenditure was unforeseen. The statute uses the word 'unforeseen.' In the 1896 case, it was foreseen, but here it is unforeseen.

Mr. MONET. Well, I do not see any practical difference from the explanation which has been given by the hon. member. We all know the circumstances under which the estimates had been refused by the House in the first session of 1896; parliament expired by the efflux of time. I suppose my hon. friend wants to say now that because these estimates had been foreseen, but had been refused, that the government had no right to pay the salaries due to officials. It seems to me that that is not a very serious argument for my hon. friend to make, because if you say that the expenditure was unforeseen then what would he say to-day when some hon. gentlemen in this House, and perhaps he is one of them, say that this war was foreseen and that we were morally bound to assist in it in consequence of the resolution passed by parliament last July. It seems to me that his argument will disappear as soon as the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) reflects on that. But the hon. member (Mr. Borden) said further:

It is a bad omen for this country that such should be the case, because a precedent of this kind is apt to be extended under circumstances which render it even more dangerous than it is at present. It may be, as hon. gentlemen have said, that this money has been applied properly for public services; it may be that, although they have gone beyond both the letter and the spirit of the statutes, there is no actual misfeasance. It may be that they have not violated their duty as trustees, but if a precedent

like this is to be put before parliament, although the hon. gentleman disclaims that it should be used as a precedent, how do we know what may be the circumstances under which it should be used hereafter.

Another hon. gentleman on the opposite side of the House, the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig), said this:

You may be sure the money will be rightly spent, because we are an honest government, say the Liberals. It may be very well for them to say this, and to tell us that there is no danger; but I say there is danger in every violation of the constitution, even though it is a small violation, because bad precedents are always dangerous.

The hon. member for Pictou, (Sir C. H. Tupper), on the same occasion, referring to Mr. Foster, said:

The hon. gentleman went very briefly into that, but the invariable practice since the time of William III. in England has been not to spend a dollar except under the express provisions of the Appropriation Act. The clause that has given rise to this discussion, the clause of this statute that has been brought to your attention, Sir, to-day, has been frequently called a most peculiar provision. It was not intended to give great scope to the executive. It is not to be found in the English system. There is not in England a case where the executive can spend money that has not been appropriated by parliament. You may have in your mind the case of the army and navy and the government of a great empire, and the contingencies unforeseen and unprovided for nearly every session, but parliament has considered all that in the government of the mother country, and parliament there has declared that notwithstanding all that, there shall not be taken one farthing for any of these expenditures if the Appropriation Act—not a general statute or Audit Act such as we have here—does not make provision for these very purposes. And they take civil contingencies and the army and navy contingencies, and after having put in a list of the principal items that they can foresee, they put in a liberal amount for unforeseen or unprovided expenditure in connection with those important services, and the money is taken from no other source and no other way.

The hon. leader of the opposition a few days ago claimed that he knew full well the public opinion of this country; but it appears that he does not know the opinion even of his own family; for Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper was of the opinion that under such circumstances the constitution had been violated, while the hon. leader of the opposition says that it is absurd to claim that the constitution has been violated under the present circumstances. Another hon. member whom I am glad to see in his seat, the hon. member for Western Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), on the same occasion said this:

The hon. member for South Oxford said that an ounce of common sense was worth a ton of precedents; but I apprehend, in this parliament, when we are commencing another term, that if the government of this country, a new government, has taken upon itself an utterly unconstitutional position and adopted an uncon-

stitutional course, it behooves every man who is anxious for the welfare of this country and for the dignity of this parliament and for its efficiency, to present here the true claims of the constitution, of which we are all proud and which we all revere, and within whose bounds we roam, and be prepared to defend that constitution.

Again, he said :

The only excuse that can be given is that the government was in the woods and had to get out, and many hon. gentlemen seem to think that there was no alternative. I have shown that there was a constitutional alternative, that these hon. gentlemen who admitted that if there was a constitutional alternative the government was bound to take it, must condemn the course of the government as an invasion of the constitution, as overriding the control of parliament in a high-handed way, as a wanton breaking in of the very walls and citadel of our constitution, and as a course that deserves the condemnation of parliament, and such as will have the condemnation of the country.

My hon. friend says that such a violation of the constitution deserves the condemnation of the country. Well, what will become of him in his own riding, where his majority is just one vote, because he has condoned this violation of the law to-day, as I suppose he is prepared to condone it a second time by his vote to-night? The hon. gentleman said further :

What is the marginal note to the clause in question? It is 'accidents during recess.' So that a state of things which comprises asking votes for all the departments and for running the whole civil business of the country was foreseen by the ministry, which should have been allowed to provide for it; and you may just as well attempt to compress all the continent into a nutshell as to attempt to bring within four corners the extraordinary action of the government in the present instance. It is a course that cannot in any way be justified from the point of view of constitutional precedent, or from the point of view of that common sense which some hon. gentlemen would enthrone above constitutional usage.

Where is the common sense of the hon gentleman to-day? Has it been locked up in that nutshell of which he spoke in his speech of 1896? I do not see why he did not rise on this occasion and repeat that speech.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I believe that the law as thus interpreted by hon. gentlemen opposite in the speeches I have quoted is and always has been the law of this country. The question that remains to be put is this: Is this law that has been violated so important that we should stop and say, as the order in council says, let it not be done again. The question of precedent can present itself in two different ways. It can present itself, first, in regard to the unconstitutional way in which our participation in the Transvaal war has been forced upon Canada. In the second place, it can present itself by this question: Will this contribution of Canada

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to this war be a precedent for Canada contributing to any future war of Great Britain outside of Canada? I have said that I do not wish to be a hair splitter. I hope I shall not be considered either as a speculative reasoner. Speculative reasons stand opposite to practical reasons. Then, let us see what are the practical consequences of this action of the government if it is to serve as a precedent. If the procedure authorized by the order in council of the 14th of October last is to be followed as a precedent, we have no longer responsible government in this country. An expenditure of \$2,000,000 has been incurred by the order in council of the 14th of October last without the sanction of parliament. If that procedure is to be followed in the first future war of Great Britain against another foreign power, any government, either Tory or Liberal, can do the same thing that this government has done. Now, let us suppose that instead of having war with a small population like that of the Transvaal, England should have to wage war against France, Germany or Russia. Taking the present contribution as a basis for the force that Canada would morally or directly feel bound to contribute to England in that war, any government would feel justified, not in sending 2,000 men and spending \$2,000,000, as we have done this year, but it would feel justified in sending 25,000, 50,000 or perhaps 100,000 men, or as many Canadians as are wanted for this war. These 2,000 men are to cost Canada \$2,000,000, and certainly 25,000 or 50,000 or 100,000 men would cost from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000. I ask whether the action we are now called upon to approve will not be a precedent and a justification for any other government sending 25,000 men without consulting parliament, and for those who absolve to-day this government, how will they oppose without inconsistency, any government who will now do the same? In such a case, we would simply be called upon to do what we are called on to do to-day, namely, ratify what has been done. Is this responsible government? I may be told that even if our government, without the sanction of parliament, should spend \$25,000,000 on a foreign war, which we were not obliged to take part in at all, we have nevertheless responsible government, because that government is always accountable to the House and the people. I am ready to take issue with any hon. gentleman on this very ground. Can we be said to have responsible government, if the House of Commons is to be called on simply to ratify what the government has done? I say no. Even if we had a large majority of this House opposed to the action of the government, that majority would have no power to undo what has been done. Parliament is simply to be called on to ratify what has been done already, there is no remedy. Take this very

war and Canada's contribution as an illustration. We are committed to that expenditure of \$2,000,000, a contract has been entered into without the sanction of parliament, and partly executed, and a certain amount of money has already been paid for the equipment and transportation of the soldiers to South Africa. Where is the human power in this House that could bring back that money to the treasury? The money has gone, the contract has been entered into and partly executed, and it is out of our power to undo what has been done. We are bound like slaves to do what the masters have done. I may be told that responsible government nevertheless exists, because the government may be turned out of office if they do wrong. That is what the Prime Minister has said: We have taken a great risk. That argument, Mr. Speaker, is a very poor one. There has not been a government since confederation that has been put out of power by its own ministerial partisans for any wrong-doing. A government can always rely on the support of its party men. Can you quote me a single instance where a government has been defeated since confederation by a vote of this House, when that government has had a majority in the House? Take the case of the Pacific scandal, the Governor General had to take the whip of authority into his own hands and dismiss his ministers. The House would not do it. Take the case of the Wellington Bridge, the McGreevy-Langevin scandal, and other scandals, and in every such case the government has always been upheld by its own party.

The hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux) exclaimed the other day: Are we going to bolt? Never did an interruption spring so straight from the heart of a good ministerialist. Are we going to bolt? If we do, farewell to power and all its sweets and blessings. If we bolt, we good Liberals are going to bring back to power these hon. gentlemen who have been sentenced by the will of the people, not to five years of the cool shades of opposition, but to the cool shades of opposition for life. Are we going to bolt? If we do, we are going to bring back to power men like the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron), who declared at a banquet in St. John that he would have been glad if 5,000 Canadians had left Canada for the front. If we do, we are going to bring back to power the Conservatives, and we are Liberals. No, I understand too well the false position in which Liberals are placed to-day. I know that we are between the devil and the deep sea—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Explain.

Mr. MONET. I think the devil is at your left, Mr. Speaker, and the deep sea is between the two sides of the House. I think I have shown pretty conclusively that it is false to say we have responsible government,

because the government is responsible to the House. Why, the advantage of responsible government for us consists specially in this, that the 200 members of this House living in their own constituencies are certainly in a better position to know the wishes and wants of their own constituents than the eighteen ministers who are always at the capital. But another strong reason is this, that the members of this House are not only jointly responsible for the actions of the government, but are also personally responsible to their own constituents. If, when a certain expenditure is incurred, I am to be held responsible for it by my constituents, I am entitled to the right to vote for that expenditure or against it before it is incurred. If I am deprived of that right, then I ought not to be held responsible. What would be the result of our voting to-day against what has been done? It was a mere mockery that the House was called to ratify the \$2,000,000 expenditure. We could not help ratifying it. The money already spent and the blood shed in South Africa can never be replaced.

This resolution states further that if our military and political relations with Great Britain are to be changed, the will of the people should be ascertained by a vote of this parliament, subsequently approved by a kind of plebiscite or vote of the people.

The right hon. First Minister has quoted Mr. Todd to show that the government acted within the law when it sent the Canadian contingent to South Africa. Let me quote the very same authority against that doctrine, and he ought to be as good an authority when I quote him as when the right hon. gentleman quotes him. This constitutional writer says, on page 1852 of *Parliamentary Government in England*, 'that parliament is the voice of the people and the House of Commons the legitimate organ of the people.' Well, if parliament is the legitimate organ of the people, this strikes a blow at the argument of my right hon. friend this evening, because he did not call parliament. He took the press for the organ of the people. This motion very legitimately asks that parliament should be consulted when we are going to change our military relations. And not only parliament, but the people also should be consulted. I am democratic enough to say that I have great confidence in public opinion. But there are two different public opinions. There is one public opinion which is aroused by appeals to passion and obeys to first evil impulse; but there is another public opinion as enlightened by the public men and statesmen of the country. The spirit of British institutions is this, that the government represents a certain phase of public opinion and the opposition represents another, and every case has to be stated in a general election to the people, and the people are called upon to select the better

view. I have confidence in public opinion, as enlightened by disinterested public men. Our Canadian history is full of glorious examples of this statesmanship. In the province of Ontario, for twenty-five years the fanatics have arrayed an army against the rights of the Catholic minority. There was a strong wave of public opinion in the province of Ontario against the rights of that minority. For twenty-five years these passions have been appealed to by the Tories of Ontario against the man whom they call the 'little old man,' and who is the present Lieutenant-Governor of this province. But 'the little old man,' for this quarter of a century, held in check all the armies of the fanatics of Ontario. Sir, when the question of the political execution of Riel was brought before this House, hon. members heard the famous indictment of the right hon. leader of the present government against the then Conservative government. The passion of fanaticisms in Ontario rose to such an extent that the hon. gentleman was challenged with a declaration that he would not dare to go before a public meeting in Toronto and repeat what he had said on the floor of this House. He was sure that he was right in his contention and was not afraid of the wave of public opinion. He went to Toronto. He went safe and he came back safe. He went a silver-tongued orator, and he came back the most powerful and successful orator of the country.

Mr. Speaker, if Richard Cobden had waited for a wave of public opinion before introducing the measure to repeal the corn laws in the House of Commons, that law which has made England the richest country in the world, would still be in the pigeon-hole of the Board of Trade of Manchester. If the anti-slavery agitators had waited to be helped by public opinion among coloured men, many of the coloured men, who are represented by some of their own race in the congress of the United States, would still be vile merchandise in that country. There has always been two kinds of public opinions, even in remote history. Who does not know that case of Scipio, called Africanus, because of his famous victory over Hannibal, the greatest of Rome's foes. When the famous saviour of Rome was accused by jealous enemies and brought to be tried before the public, he showed himself to the multitude and had only to say: Fellow-citizens, this is the anniversary of the battle of Zama; let us go to the Capitol and thank the gods that I have saved Rome from her most terrible enemy. If the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) had stood by his interview in the *Globe*, if he had told the people of this country that we were not bound by law to do anything, and he would not force contributions from Canada to any foreign war, he would have been in the right, and, going to the country in general

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election on another 23rd of June, he could have said to the multitude: This is the anniversary of the day when, in 1896, I put out of power those Tories who plundered public resources for eighteen years—and I am sure the electorate would have sent him back to the capital as Premier.

I have only one word to add. My hon. friend from Labelle has said that the rights and liberties he is upholding have been always considered the sacred heritage of the English-speaking members of this House. I ask those English-speaking members to support my hon. friend's motion in the name of English constitutional history, for since 1711, by declaration passed unanimously in the House of Commons, it has been considered, not only a misdemeanour, but a crime to appropriate a single penny of public money for any other purpose than that for which it has been voted. To the Irish members of this House I appeal to support the motion of my hon. friend from Labelle in the name of the efforts their fellow-countrymen are making to recover responsible government in Ireland which they had kept even after the treaty of Limerick. To the French Canadians of this House, I appeal for support for this motion, in the name of our Canadian forefathers, who fought for over half a century for the liberties which we have been enjoying so long and with the loss of which we are now threatened. As my last word, let me quote an extract from the famous speech of Victor Hugo to those who were then disposed to displace the republic with another empire:

(Translation.)

O ye, Imperialists! What are you striving after? Are you aiming at destroying the Republic? I warn you here that you have there a big undertaking on your hands. Have you seriously considered the matter? When a workingman has worked for eighteen hours. . . . When a nation has worked for eighteen centuries. . . . And when, finally, they have received their reward, woe to the man who tries to despoil that workingman of his salary and that nation of its Republic. . . .

Sir, when the language of la belle France rises to such a height of eloquence, it is not possible to translate it into any foreign language. But, I leave these words with the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who understands French, praying him to believe that at the next general election, perhaps there will be more people of this country than he thinks who, by their votes, will take that very language of Victor Hugo.

Mr. CHARLES ANGERS (Charlevoix). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, although I am opposed, on principle, to Imperial federation, under any shape, still I felt disposed to give the government the benefit of such extenuating circumstances as are invoked in order to vindicate the policy of sending the Canadian contingents to South Africa. I

quite realize that the government had to face a very critical state of affairs. And, weak as they proved themselves to be under those circumstances, still, compared with the hon. gentlemen opposite, who would have gone much further in the same direction, I failed to see how I could oppose the resolutions under consideration. Our volunteers have reached South Africa, on the strength of a pledge given them by the Crown. We are now asked to vote a sum of \$2,000,000 to defray the expenditure incurred in connection with the sending of those contingents, and even were it in my power to do so, I do not think it would be advisable to disallow and nullify such a pledge. Moreover, in the face of a House the great majority of which does not, apparently at least, share in my views, I think it would have availed very little to propose a motion of want of confidence, which would have received the support of four or five members, all told, out of a House of 213 members. Still, I reserved for myself the right of registering my protest, at the proper time, against the resolution now before the House. But if we cannot undo what has been done in that connection, it is none the less our duty to safeguard the future, to the best of our ability.

The order in council providing for the sending of the first contingent contains a rider which has given rise to considerable debate. It is stated in the order in council that the action taken by the government cannot be construed as a precedent for future action. In my opinion, that clause was quite a sufficient barrier to oppose to any such future action, but it has been swept away by the action of the government in sending out a second contingent, and by the noisy militarism and the jingoist statements made later on.

Moreover, in Great Britain, they seem to be satisfied that the action taken by the Dominion government meets with general approval here, and that, whenever requested to do so, we will be ready to take part in the future wars of the empire, even by a mere order in council, and this, too, in defiance of the constitution which governs us. It seems therefore highly desirable that parliament, in the exercise of its sovereignty, should declare that the action taken in regard to the despatch of those troops should not be construed into an acceptance of a military federation or any other new departure from our settled policy, without their being first consulted. It is also highly desirable that parliament should declare that, in regard to any future war of the empire, and the sending of our troops out of the country, parliament, and even the electorate, shall have to be consulted, and will decide as to whether we will participate in any such war. In other words, I think that before going any further in the direction of Imperialism, the proper thing for parliament to do, when the war excitement

has subsided, when there has been a little cooling off in public opinion, and the jingoistic feeling has worn off the minds of the people, would be to appeal to the electorate, in order to ascertain the feeling of the people in the different provinces. For, as you know very well, Sir, this new departure from our settled policy may disturb our whole political organization, and it would be unwise materially to alter the compact entered into at confederation, without first having such change sanctioned by the interested parties.

The motion of my hon. friend from Labelle affords us an opportunity of re-asserting those principles, thereby regaining as much as possible of the lost ground. Now, the government challenges the opportunity or the *raison d'être* of this motion, and declares that it cannot adopt it. I think, on the contrary, that there is opportunity for such a motion, as I will show later on.

I think it my duty to support the motion, and I beg the indulgence of the House while stating as fully as I can my views on the question.

Until about six months ago, Sir, it had never occurred to anybody in this country that it was our duty, and in our interest, to take part in the wars of the empire, outside of Canada, and yet, to-day, 2,000 of our fellow-countrymen are fighting and shedding their blood on the battlefields of South Africa, and our contribution to the war will probably amount to three or four millions of dollars. And in so doing, I hesitate not to say, that we have taken a bold step towards the military federation of the empire. And perhaps you will agree with me, Sir, if I say that in a matter of such moment, and considering that this new departure from the beaten path might disturb our whole political organization, the government have not acted the part of prudence in taking such a hasty action. And I may further say that I do not view without a feeling of alarm a position so pregnant with serious consequences, and one calculated to retard our progress and our development as a people; and this, I think, calls for our most serious consideration. We have just entered upon a very slippery path, but it is not yet too late to retrace our steps, to rein up, as it were, and to stop in our downward course. It is all very well to allow ourselves to be carried away by a feeling of loyalty; but let us consider a little whether we were bound to give the evidence of loyalty demanded of us by Mr. Chamberlain, and whether it was in our own interest to yield to his demands in that respect. Yielding to the promptings of our hearts in such a matter, would betray a sad ignorance of the traditions and ways of British diplomacy, which is much more practical than sentimental. The fact is that we are playing for a great stake, as the question now is no longer whether we are to contribute once for all to the defence of the empire,

but whether we shall take part in all the wars of the empire, thus pledging our future. We have very readily taken the first step in the direction in which Mr. Chamberlain would lead us away. Do not let us fancy for a moment that he will now allow us to go back.

Now, what are the consequences of this new departure from our past policy? Have we not good reason to fear less it might involve us in all the wars in which Mr. Chamberlain, or any other Colonial Secretary, may engage, in the future? We are now threatened with a heavy war expenditure, at the very time when we need all our resources for the development of our growing country. Does not this new policy imply also that our young men will be forced to enlist, in order to go and fight England's battles in every quarter of the globe, at a time when we are incurring heavy expenditures for inducing foreigners to come and settle down in our midst and develop the country?

But, Sir, what have we been told here to-day by the government? 'We did not pledge,' they said, 'the future of the country. What we did, we did of our own free will, and as to taking part at any future period in any war England may be engaged in, we will decide the question on its merits and contribute to the military expenditure of the empire as we think fit.' This is, to my mind, taking an altogether erroneous view of the position; it is sheer illusion. You have driven the first wedge into the constitution, and, as we all know from experience, the stability of the whole fabric is impaired, when, under the plea of an imaginary urgency, we could not decline contributing to a war which, at the outset, seemed quite insignificant, and which to a great many people appeared to be unjust, how, I ask, shall we be able to offer a stronger and more efficacious opposition than we did at first? As I have said, it is high time for us to retrace our steps; let us, then, rein up; let us recover the lost ground, or else we shall have, in the future, to wage war at the request and for the benefit of the empire. For, we cannot dissemble the fact that this direct or indirect invitation by the Colonial Office to send troops, and all those offers, provoked through the governors or other agencies, are not to be looked upon as mere accidents. They constitute the first step in a well matured scheme to bring about Imperial federation; they constitute, as it were, the first instalment of patriotism paid by the colonies.

There is no doubt an element of grandeur in that huge scheme, the ultimate object of which is British predominance throughout the whole world. But, Sir, if we look a little closer into the matter, we may easily find out that, even in the opinion of eminent and patriotic British statesmen, such a scheme would be fraught with danger and

would prove unpracticable, on three different grounds. First, that federation would add new fuel to the pride and self-love of the British people, and would tend to develop beyond all measure their love of conquest. As England became a menace to the rest of the world, the great powers would enter into a coalition to crush her. Besides, how could this huge machinery be set in motion and made to work permanently, clogged as it would be by a conflict of imperial and colonial interests, the more so as the colonies, having no adequate representation, would have to engage in wars they would disapprove of, without having it in their power to prevent or control them. Another objection is that, while thus contributing under those conditions to the wars of the empire, outside of their own territory, the colonies would often be the losers by it, a fact they would soon find out to their own cost. As a result, this huge and unwieldy machinery would soon break to pieces, and the empire, through an inordinate desire of expansion, would be considerably curtailed. Selfishness, Sir, always holds a large place in political schemes. People are apt to forget that the motto: 'The colonies for the colonies,' still holds good and underlies the whole policy of the colonies. And the moment the dream of Imperialism, having assumed a definite shape, appeared in the eyes of the colonies too burdensome a charge, British connection in several cases would be severed. Those are the reasons why, in my view, the scheme of Imperial federation would prove injurious both to Great Britain and to several of her colonies.

But in order the better to understand the burdens we would be loaded with in the future, should we persevere in the course we have entered upon, let us figure it out a little. Where we are called on now to contribute over 2,000 men and from three to four million dollars, when Great Britain, with a population of 40,000,000 inhabitants and her immense resources wishes to crush down two puny peoples with a population of about 300,000 people, what would happen if she had to face a first-class power? Within the last fifty years, Great Britain has been engaged in no less than 30 wars in the different quarters of the world. Other wars, and very likely more serious wars, will no doubt follow this war. The dream of a vaster empire, will no doubt whet the appetite of the people and bring about fresh difficulties. Mr. Chamberlain's quarrelsome temper and his restlessness will, no doubt, prompt him to pick up some new quarrel, like the Fashoda affair, or to discover some fresh 'casus belli,' manufactured out of the cartoons published by the Paris papers.

At all events, the government thought it their duty, by their order in council of October 13 last, to accept the invitation of the Colonial Office and thus to sanction the

principle of our participation in the wars of the empire. The government, no doubt, assumed a great responsibility when they took such an important step without consulting parliament. That action was such a flagrant violation of the constitution that nobody undertook to deny it.

It is not to be inferred therefrom that I would have approved of the sending out of troops by a vote of parliament, since I am opposed to Imperial federation under any shape and to all that may lead to it. I would rather the government had declined accepting the invitation of the Colonial Office, even if they had had to suffer from their action.

Too much stress cannot be laid, no doubt, on the importance of that elementary principle of parliamentary government, that no expenditure is to be incurred unless with the previous sanction of parliament, except in cases of unforeseen emergency. But, from another point of view, I find the order in council still more regrettable. As a matter of fact, the action taken by the government is nothing more nor less than a formal adhesion to Mr. Chamberlain's Imperialistic policy; and that is no doubt the construction he puts upon it, as he declared a few years ago that the colonies would shrink before no sacrifice, to secure the success of his policy.

But the government, with the almost unanimous approval of this House, invokes the plea of urgency and the unmistakable expression of public opinion. For my part, Sir, I fail to understand what they mean here by urgency. Why, they cannot possibly mean to say that Great Britain, with her 40,000,000 inhabitants and with unlimited resources, needed the assistance of our volunteers to enable her to crush down the small Boer nation, aggregating about 300,000 people, more or less. At all events, it is a spectacle truly illustrative of the triumph of might over right, in this so-called century of progress and enlightenment, that such a military force has to be sent out to crush down a puny people! Here, again, practical business sense prevails over the cause of the chivalrous, and forebodes more success than glory. But, then, Sir, if there was no necessity, there was no urgency, except that the government were anxious to satisfy Mr. Chamberlain that we were willing to co-operate in the carrying out of his favourite scheme, the military federation of the empire. No wonder that, under the influences of that excitement which was prevailing throughout the country, and which accounts for the fact of their having covered much ground within such a limited time, they failed to grasp the full meaning, or rather the futility of that plea of urgency. Public opinion, they thought, was so loud and so unanimous that there was no other alternative for the government but to give way to it.

Sir, I know that a great deal of deference should be paid, under democratic institutions, to public opinion, still I do not think it ought to be accepted as an infallible guide, more especially, when the popular mind is in a fever and party spirit is raging in the land. By how many futile causes is not public opinion liable to be influenced? And when it goes astray, is it not the duty of prudent and far-sighted statesmen to resist it, instead of giving way to it. If my memory serves me right, we Liberals always did oppose Imperial federation. Is it not our duty, then, to oppose whatever may lead us to it? Statesmanship, I think, is not summed up in the opportunism of the men who try to make political capital out of everything. There are principles, Sir, to uphold which it is necessary for statesmen to battle hard and even to fall on the field! Now, under the circumstances, I think that the government, while standing on the constitution, and invoking the desirability of not wantonly committing themselves to a new policy and taking a new departure, under the pressure of public opinion, swayed as it was by enthusiasm, and without parliament having first been consulted, the government, I say, could have opposed a strong and reasonable line of defence and resistance to the onslaught of public opinion. By appealing to the public press, and the good sense of the masses, I think they could have successfully withstood that current of jingoism, combined with party spirit and the lust of power. For my part, I have too much respect for the practical good sense of my English-speaking fellow-countrymen not to believe that they will come later on to realize, when their enthusiasm has cooled off, that they have everything to lose by participating in the wars of the empire.

Unfortunately, there was no serious attempt at checking the spreading of that jingoist movement throughout the country. Too few people, even among our English-speaking fellow-countrymen, have dared to think aloud. Through jingoism, and for the purpose of making political capital, almost everybody did give way, under the pressure brought to bear upon public opinion.

Now, Sir, what happened in the Australian colonies, when those who deprecated any participation in the wars of the empire, were bold enough to speak out their mind. There are colonies where British blood flows as warm and devotion to the mother country is as intense as it is here, and yet, the expression of opinion against participation in the war was very strong.

Moreover, what evidence is there of the consensus of public opinion? Is it to be found in the campaign of the public press? But, Sir, the public prints are not the medium through which public opinion is conveyed to the Executive, under the constitution which governs us. What guarantee of good

faith and moral certainty does the public press afford us? Is it not nowadays more than ever the courtesan par excellence, and is it, after all, so very hard to secure its services, at a given juncture?

Moreover, this expression of public opinion was not so unanimous as they pretend. Without taking the time of the House in hunting up through the files of the papers published in the English-speaking provinces for expressions of opinion against our participation in the wars of the empire, let me recall here the formal protest registered by Goldwin Smith and Principal Grant, men whose ability and clear-sightedness are beyond question. But besides, it is not right and proper, in order to form a proper estimate of the true feelings of the people of Canada, to make allowance for the jingoistic statements of the ultras who declare that they are disposed to contribute to the wars of Great Britain to our very last dollar, to our very last man, so as to remove from the mind of the mother country any suspicion as to our loyalty. For, if I understand aright, it is on the feelings given expression to that they take ground to jump to the conclusion that there is an almost unanimous consent of opinion in this country in favour of our participation in the Transvaal war? But the House will agree with me that it was only a small minority who could make their voices heard on that question. Now, if out of that small minority, we make allowance for all those who were led to giving expression to their feelings through party interest, through fear and on the spur of the moment, what is there left as an adequate expression of public opinion? Let us take, for instance, the hon. leader of the opposition, who, more than any one else, has contributed to agitate public opinion. Would it be fair, if you wish to know what he thinks in the bottom of his soul, and to probe his innermost thoughts, would it be fair, I say, to take too literally his inflamed speeches on the question? If we bear in mind that the hon. gentleman opposed Joseph Howe, when the latter started his imperialistic campaign in 1866; and that he declared that it was no concern of ours to go fighting around the world the battles of the empire; that he gave it to understand, but a few months ago, that the only reasonable and practicable means for us to give military aid to the empire was by fortifying and developing Canada, as we had done so far; further, that he wanted, in 1885 Great Britain to bear the whole expenditure of the contingent which General Laurie had proposed to enlist; when, I say, one bears all this in mind, one cannot help wondering how suddenly the hon. gentleman has abjured such dispassionate and moderate views, and has turned into such a thunderbolt of war. Very likely the hon. gentleman, when it occurred to him that by stirring up a certain current of opinion, he could demolish a French Canadian Prime

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Minister, was satisfied that it was Imperial federation that he should advocate for the moment, reserving to himself later on to resume a less bellicose attitude.

I only referred to those facts to show that sometimes the most patriotic speeches happen to prove very little.

Prior to enforcing the prohibition of the sale and manufacture of intoxicating drinks throughout the Dominion, the government thought it proper, although public sentiment had proved to be favourable to that scheme in the different provinces, through a duly registered vote at the polls—to refer the matter to the people by means of a plebiscite. Now, why should the opportunity of a similar step be challenged, when the question at issue is more important? But even supposing that there was a perfect consensus of opinion throughout the English-speaking provinces in favour of the action taken by the government, it is none the less true, as a matter of fact, that there was no such unanimity in the Dominion at large, the dissentient voice being that of the people of the province of Quebec. Without lacking loyalty, the people of that province have still a vivid recollection of all the struggles they had to go through and of the price they had to pay for the conquest of the liberties they now enjoy. Satisfied as they are that the constitution is their safeguard of those liberties, they are adverse to any change in the political conditions of the country, and they do not want to embark in any new venture which might prove a fruitful source of disappointment. They do not want the ties which bind them to the empire to be drawn closer, except from a commercial standpoint. Participating in the wars of Great Britain would, in their opinion, prove injurious to the best interests of Canada. Even an Imperial federation, involving a right to representation in the British parliament would not appeal with any greater force to their patriotism. The province of Quebec was a contracting party to the pact of confederation. Had not the people of that province an incontrovertible right to have their voice heard, before any attempt at disturbing our political organization was made?

As to the merits of the war, I have little to say. The justice or the injustice of this war is, to my mind, a matter which calls for serious consideration. To participate in a national spoliation is by no means such a glorious undertaking. The tears and the curses of a whole nation which is being crushed down, while defending its freedom, are a dreadful anathema.

To tell you the truth, Sir, I have my misgivings about this our first participation in the wars of the British Empire. For my part, this in an unjust, an oppressive, a stupid war, and one the consequences of which are to be dreaded by the empire. Had the English people been given an oppor-

tunity of having their voice heard, I am satisfied that the humanitarian and reasonable policy invoked by Mr. Gladstone in 1881, after the Majuba Hill disaster, would again have been successfully carried out. Had it not been for that dream of a greater empire, so fondly cherished by Messrs. Chamberlain and Rhodes; had it not been for the bait of the Transvaal gold mines, the richest mines of the world, and for other matters of a purely private and material character, the spirits of conciliation would have prevailed over the voice of strife; but, unfortunately, statesmanship and diplomacy, owing to the above causes, were thwarted in their action, and instead of those differences being submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, as proposed by president Kruger, a course which would probably have averted the actual conflict, war was declared. As to the stand I take on this question, I may say it is grounded upon the opinion of a large portion of the English people and of impartial and clear-sighted men like Messrs. Morley Bryce, Sir Edward Clarke and the Hon. Edward Blake; and further, upon the almost unanimous opinion of the civilized world which condemns and stigmatizes this war.

The motion praying for peace, which was brought down in the English House of Commons, has been the object of many strictures. An hon. gentleman whom we all admire and respect, the Hon. Edward Blake deemed it his duty to give his support to that motion. For my part, Sir, I do not understand the reason why that motion was so severely reflected upon. If this war is unjust, no matter how distasteful such a course might prove to human pride, there still would remain something to be gained from putting a stop to the conflict. For, if the Boers, as they believe, are battling for a just and holy cause, the cause of freedom, and if the armies of Great Britain succeed in crushing them down, shall Great Britain derive much benefit from it? Unforeseen difficulties might crop up, which would greatly curtail, nay, even do away altogether with the profits in sight. Nations, no more than individuals, cannot prosper or build up anything durable upon injustice. But, now, as to our participating in such a war, as I said, we were in no way bound to give such a proof of our loyalty. On what ground could Great Britain question our loyalty? Is it not above suspicion? That appeal to our loyalty was only a flimsy pretense under which to disguise the secret move of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, who was aiming at securing our adhesion to his pet scheme, Imperialism.

Our constitution, Sir, is a gift from Great Britain. Nowhere does it impose upon us any participation in England's wars. How, I ask, while we stand within those limits, could our loyalty be suspected?

In this connection, Sir, I may here refer to

the charge of disloyalty brought against the French Canadians of the province of Quebec, and I invite the attention of my fellow-countrymen to the fact that those accusations, are the work of tory newspapers and of tory gentlemen in this House, followers of the hon. leader of the opposition. I need not, Sir, take up the time of this House in confuting such lies.

The French Canadians have learned how to reconcile their loyalty to England with their undying love for France. Our loyalty, Sir, has stood the test of over a hundred years. In 1775, the French Canadians remained true to England, in spite of the alluring offers of the revolted Britishers in New England; in spite of the still more insidious offers of Lafayette and d'Estaing, who had come over from France to help the young American republic. And if you bear in mind, Sir, that this occurred just a few years after the cession of New France to Great Britain, at a time when the hearts of our ancestors were still bleeding at the remembrance of their old mother country, you may infer therefrom what it meant to them to remain true to England. Again in 1812, the French Canadians showed their loyalty to Great Britain, and sealed it with their blood, when three hundred of them, under the command of Colonel de Salaberry repelled the efforts of the American invaders, at Chateauguay, one of the most brilliant feats of arms recorded in our history. Had the French Canadians not remained loyal to Great Britain, Canada, the brightest gem of the empire, would long have been lost to her. Besides, do we not give daily instances of our loyalty, through our faithful compliance with the laws and our respect for the constitution which governs us?

As to those who outrage our feelings, let me refer them to what Lord Dufferin said in 1878, in a speech delivered at Quebec, about the loyalty of the French Canadians:

I am well aware that in none of our colonies, not even in Great Britain, are there to be found more devoted subjects than the French Canadians.

The bad citizens, are those fanatics who through lack of patriotism are trying to arouse religious and national animosities in this country.

Now, Sir, to come back to the motion now before us, I say this: that the principles embodied in that motion are incontrovertible, and I think it is desirable that we should affirm them. The order in council passed on October 13 last, constituted a violation of the prerogatives of parliament inasmuch as a large expenditure was incurred without the previous sanction of parliament. Further, inasmuch as an important step was taken by the executive towards Imperial federation, without consulting parliament.

Let us affirm here the sovereignty of parliament, so as to avoid the repetition of similar abuses in the future. Let us be positive, and let us realize, if we can, what would be the consequences if, every time Great Britain was involved in a war, the government in power, either Liberal or Conservative, by a mere order in council, undertook to contribute to that war.

The government, after full consideration of the matter, and no doubt, in their honest conviction, deemed it proper and desirable to embody in that order in council a clause stating that they did not intend their action to be taken as a precedent. It was on good ground that the government added that rider to the order in council, that this should not be drawn into a precedent, because, for any unbiassed mind, the sending of those contingents obviously means an endorsement of the Imperial policy, the more so as Great Britain stood in no need of such assistance, and required no such proof of our loyalty.

But what became of that clause, later on, as events succeeded each other? I do not think it would be unfair to pretend that it has now a very restricted meaning and that it is a very frail barrier to oppose to militarism. Four weeks later, without being at all called upon to do so, when Mr. Chamberlain had asked only for 500 men and we had sent over 1,000 to South Africa, did not the government of their own free will, decide to send out another contingent of 1,000 men? Have they not just decided to send 100 men to take the places of those who fell on the battlefields? And should as many men fall to-morrow on the field, according to the principle laid down, they should also be replaced, I presume, by a new batch of volunteers. It will thus be seen, from what is being done under this new policy, that the rider in question amounts to very little, as a safeguard.

Now, Sir, if to all that I have already said I were to add all the opinions expressed in this House, in the public prints and elsewhere, and were I to quote, for instance, that notable expression of opinion from the hon. Minister of the Militia and Defence, at Halifax, namely, that: 'The sending of those contingents really constitutes a precedent and we mean to stick to it': would not all that look like a strong current of Imperialism, apparently implying our unanimous consent to Canada participating in all the wars of England in the future whenever the Colonial Office deemed it fit to invite our co-operation?

Why, Sir, the impression now prevailing in Great Britain is that we are ready to take part in all their wars to come. And, should you require any further evidence, you need only glance over the public prints; you need only peruse Mr. Chamberlain's statement, 'that he is now satisfied that all the colonies are ready to share in the risks and burdens of the empire'; you need only

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recall what Mr. Wyndham stated, a few days ago, 'that, owing to the position taken by the colonies, the defence of the empire is no longer a matter for anxiety.'

Now, Sir, is it not highly desirable that such an impression should not be allowed to prevail abroad, and that we should let it be understood that we do not wish to go any further in the same direction without more mature consideration of the matter. And the means for us to do so is, that parliament declare, by the motion now before us, that nothing that has been done or said so far should be drawn into a precedent.

Before resuming my seat, Sir, and to sum up, I say this: that, owing to the critical position we are in, owing to the important interests at stake, and in view of such changes in our social and political conditions as might disturb our political organization, it is only fair and desirable that the voice of the people should be heard. As soon as the present enthusiasm shall have worn off the minds of the people and we shall have realized the cost of the war, then will be the time to put the question to the electorate. As each province was a contracting party to the constitution which governs us, each province will have a right to freely express its opinion. And here, again, the motion now before us contains all that is required to that effect, as it declares that 'it opposes any change in the political and military relations which exist at present between Canada and Great Britain, unless such change is initiated by the sovereign will of parliament and sanctioned by the people of Canada.'

This motion, therefore, contains those constitutional principles which underlie our representative system, and which it is highly desirable that we should reassert here. In this motion is also embodied the principle which the government wished to safeguard in its order in council, by inserting a rider which has now lost nearly all its efficacy, for the reasons I have already referred to. And although it is with reluctance that I have to abandon my party on this question, still, I think it my duty to do so and to vote in favour of the motion.

Mr. L. A. CHAUVIN (Terrebonne). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, I think, members of this House are not open to blame, when they invoke the constitution and the rights of parliament with regard to the sending of the Canadian contingents to South Africa.

The right hon. gentleman has confessed that, from a constitutional standpoint, his action was debatable, and the government, in the order in council passed on October 14, 1899, deemed it expedient to declare that their action in connection with the expenditure incurred for this war cannot be regarded as a departure from the principles of constitutional government nor construed as a precedent. Here is what is stated, page 29 of the correspondence laid on the Table,

in connection with the sending of the military contingents to South Africa :

The Prime Minister, in view of the well known desire of a great many Canadians who are ready to take service under such conditions, is of opinion that the moderate expenditure which would thus be involved for the equipment and transportation of such volunteers may readily be undertaken by the government of Canada without summoning parliament, especially as such an expenditure under such circumstances cannot be regarded as a departure from the well known principles of constitutional government and colonial practice, nor construed as a precedent for future action.

I congratulate the government upon having inserted that rider in their order in council; but I would still more warmly congratulate them, had they not violated the same.

I do not know who it was who said that treaties were framed to be infringed upon; and I might, on good ground, apply the same to the government of the day, and say that their orders in council are no sooner framed than violated.

But if the government deemed it proper to insert that order in their order in council, in order to allay the alarms of public opinion, I hold that parliament has still stronger grounds for declaring that the action of the cabinet was a serious blow struck at the independence and sovereignty of parliament, and that, in the future, such changes as might be made in the political and military relations existing between Canada and Great Britain should be initiated by parliament itself and sanctioned by the people of Canada. But they object that the constitution is not at stake in the present juncture and the right hon. Prime Minister declared that we had acted in the full independence of our sovereign power.

The colleagues of the right hon. gentleman and all the English-speaking members of this House vie with each other in crying out to the Prime Minister: 'Offer still more troops to Great Britain, and contribute still more to the expenditure in connection with the wars of the empire!' Why, the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence, the other day, at Halifax, upon the occasion of the departure of the second contingent, was heard to scoff at the 'no precedent' clause, embodied in the order in council passed by the government of which he is a member. And after that, the right hon. Prime Minister and his followers who have been returned here by a majority of the Quebec electorate, will come down and tell us here and before the country that the Manitoba school question is settled and that the constitution is safe!

Sir, I hesitate not to say that, with regard to the expenditure incurred for the contingents sent out to South Africa, as well as in connection with the school question, the Liberal party have put in the scales of the balance on one side of the constitu-

tion, and in the other, power. The constitution was weighed and proved to be lighter than power and the love of power has turned the scales.

When the Manitoba school question was under their consideration, the government appealed to the spirit of conciliation, and when the question of sending contingents of volunteers to South Africa was debated, they appealed to public opinion, and in both cases, they laid aside and discarded the action and intervention of parliament, who is the only sovereign judge in such matters. The government of the day, Sir, will be held responsible by our future historians for the violation of the constitution with regard to both these questions; and I hope that, at the next elections, the electorate of this Dominion will also hold them responsible for the same.

Now, the Liberal press, more particularly in the province of Quebec, upbraids the Conservative party for having in their ranks fanatics belonging to another province, and for being controlled by them. Why, Sir, they talk of our being under the control of fanatics, but let me ask them why it is, that being so free of such a pest and having in their ranks only independent men, as they pretend, they cannot redeem the pledges given the Quebec electorate in 1896, and how is it that, of late, they have not acted upon the suggestions of *La Patrie*, with regard to the calling of parliament and the participation of Canada in the wars of the empire?

That the alliance entered into between Lafontaine and Baldwin, and later on confirmed by Morin, Cartier and other leaders of the Conservative party, has at times been more or less violently sprained. I will not attempt to deny, and the wonder is that the patience of the allies from the province of Quebec was not altogether exhausted. But, on the other hand, I cannot but loudly proclaim here, in these days when political felony is rampant, that the leaders of the Conservative party in whose hands were placed the flag and the honourable traditions of our party for safe-keeping, from Baldwin down to Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper, never failed to affirm in their programmes and in their speeches the doctrine of equal rights for both the French and the English elements in the Conservative party, on the ground of constitutional, religious and national freedom.

I cannot pass over in silence the fact that, during the last electoral campaign, our present leader did take on the school question a position for which the electorate of the province of Quebec Conservatives as well as Liberals, are greatly indebted to him. On the other hand, I cannot but assume on the question at issue such an independent attitude as I promised to adopt in this House, on all the questions in which the province of Quebec is interested.

The right. hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) found fault with the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) for not having moved his amendment either upon the address, when that subject was debated at length, or upon the motion presented to the House by the hon. the Minister of Finance, in order to make good the expenditure incurred for sending a military contingent to South Africa. I am free to say that, from the standpoint of parliamentary procedure, that objection seems to be well taken. On the other hand, the hon. gentleman could not do otherwise than bringing down his proposition during the present session. He owed it to his constituents, he owed it to the country and he owed it to the respect which he rightly professes for the constitution. But I must express here my surprise at hearing the right hon. Prime Minister upbraiding the hon. member for Labelle, after having himself declared, as well as his followers, on all the hustings in the province of Quebec, that we were to blame on this side of the House for not having proposed to parliament motions of censure of want of confidence against the government, for not having redeemed the pledges given to the electorate on the Manitoba school question.

The hon. member for Labelle deserves credit for the courage he has shown in bringing up his amendment; and in this he has evinced more courage than several other hon. gentlemen would have dared to show under similar circumstances. I do not hesitate to assume the risk attached to his action, being given the actual feeling of the House.

This proposition blames the government for not having summoned parliament previous to sending out the military contingent to South Africa. I willingly give it my support, and to borrow Montaigne's remark—supposing that the amendment is defeated—'there are defeats which are more glorious than certain victories.'

House divided on the amendment (Mr. Bourassa).

YEAS :

Messieurs

Angers,	Legris,
Bourassa,	Marcel,
Chauvin,	Marcotte,
Dugas,	Mcnet,
Ethier,	Morin.—10.

NAYS :

Messieurs

Bazinet,	Hutchison,
Beith,	Ingram,
Belcourt,	Johnston,
Bell (Prince),	Joly de Lotbinière
Bennett,	(Sir Henri),
Bergeron,	Kaulbach,
Bernier,	Kendry,
Bethune,	Kloepfer,
Blair,	Lang,
Borden (Halifax),	LaRivière,

Mr. CHAUVIN.

Bostock,
Britton,
Broder,
Brown,
Bruneau,
Campbell,
Cargill,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Carroll,
Casey,
Casgrain,
Champagne,
Clancy,
Cochrane,
Comstock,
Copp,
Corby,
Cowan,
Craig,
Davies (Sir Louis),
Dachène,
Demers,
Desmarais,
Douglas,
Dupré,
Dyment,
Edwards,
Erb,
Featherston,
Fielding,
Fisher,
Flint,
Fortier,
Fortin,
Foster,
Fraser (Guysborough),
Fraser (Lambton),
Ganong,
Gauthier,
Gauvreau,
Geoffrion,
Gibson,
Gilmour,
Godbout,
Gould,
Graham,
Guillet,
Henderson,
Holmes,
Hurley.

Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),
Livingston,
Macdonell,
Mackie,
MacLaren,
McAlister,
McCleary,
McClure,
McGugan,
McIsaac,
McLellan,
McLennan (Inverness),
McMillan,
McMullen,
McNeill,
Madore,
Malouin,
Martin,
Meigs,
Mignault,
Mills,
Moore,
Mulock,
Parmalee,
Paterson,
Pettet,
Prior,
Prculx,
Puttee,
Roche,
Roddick,
Rogers,
Rosamond,
Ross,
Russell,
Rutherford,
Savard,
Snetsinger,
Somerville,
Sproule,
Stenson,
Stubbs,
Sutherland,
Talbot,
Taylor,
Tolmie,
Tucker,
Tyrwhitt,
Wilson,
Wood.—119.

Amendment negatived.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). Mr. Speaker, at this late hour, the House would not wish me to proceed with the original motion for supply, and, I therefore ask the leave of the House to withdraw the motion.

Motion (Mr. Fielding) withdrawn.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved :

That the House resolve itself into Committee of Supply at the next sitting of the House.

Motion agreed to.

INQUIRY FOR RETURNS.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I have not heard of any of those returns coming down yet. There are a number of them that are very short, and it is simply carelessness that they are not down. There is one, for in-

stance, from the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden), and all he has to do is to ask his officers to put the papers together. It is in reference to those who were invited, or appointed to take the staff course at Kingston.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). My hon. friend (Mr. Foster), got one of the papers the other day.

Mr. FOSTER. I am thankful for small mercies.

The PRIME MINISTER. I believe they will come down to-morrow. I am pressing for them.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 12.05 a.m. (Wednesday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, March 14, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 89)—from the Senate—to provide for the conditional liberation of penitentiary convicts.—(Sir Wilfrid Laurier.)

Bill (No. 90)—from the Senate—respecting the Supreme Court of the North-west Territories.—(Sir Wilfrid Laurier.)

Bill (No. 91) respecting the Oshawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Hurley.)

Bill (No. 92) to incorporate the Royal Marine Insurance Company.—(Mr. Penny.)

EMPLOYMENT OF MR. EVARISTE TALBOT.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Is Mr. Evariste Talbot, of Fraserville, F.Q., in the employment of the government?
2. If so, what is the position held by the said Talbot?
3. What is his salary?

4. What are his duties and functions?
5. What is the name of the person whom he has replaced in the said position?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Can my hon. friend (Mr. Casgrain) give us any particulars as to the department he is employed in? We cannot find him by the name of Talbot.

Mr. CASGRAIN. In the Railway Department.

The PRIME MINISTER. Let the question stand.

EXPORT OF CHEESE TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

How many pounds of cheese were exported from Canada to Great Britain in each year from July 1, 1896, until the present time?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The answer is as follows :

Fiscal Year—	CHEESE.		
	Canadian.	Foreign.	Total.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
1897	163,942,649	7,181,002	171,123,651
1898	196,220,771	11,344,210	207,564,981
1899	189,259,989	8,023,684	197,283,673
Six mos. ended			
Dec., 1899 ...	137,038,916	3,991,490	141,030,406

EXPORT OF BUTTER TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

How many pounds of butter were exported from Canada to Great Britain in each year since July 1, 1890, until the present time?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The answer is as follows :

Fiscal Year—	BUTTER.		
	Canadian.	Foreign.	Total.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
1891	2,758,855	118,697	2,877,552
1892	4,636,550	1,323,595	5,960,145
1893	6,076,757	20,724	6,097,481
1894	4,684,537	76,488	4,761,025
1895	2,751,848	24,917	2,776,765
1896	4,970,047	338,729	5,308,776
1897	10,413,131	1,093,696	11,506,827
1898	10,461,823	2,831,618	13,293,441
1899	19,120,034	1,926,560	21,046,594
Six months ended			
Dec., 1899	22,318,229	1,615,772	23,934,001

As I have the figures here for the last six months they seem very large.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. There ought to be no excuse for a mistake. They are all published in the book already issued and in the hands of members.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. All except for the last six months. And it is with reference to that period that I say the figures are very large.

Mr. FOSTER. Does the minister say they are not correct?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I do not say that, but they appear to be very large, and I will inquire about them again.

EXPORT OF BACON FROM CANADA TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

How many pounds of bacon were exported from Canada to Great Britain in each of the years from July 1, 1890, until July 1, 1899?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson) :

Fiscal Year—	BACON.		
	Canadian.	Foreign.	Total.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
1891	7,137,586	880,294	8,017,880
1892	11,493,340	990,264	12,483,604
1893	17,274,676	.....	17,274,676
1894	26,765,866	.....	26,765,866
1895	37,505,934	.....	37,505,934
1896	47,030,980	.....	47,030,980
1897	59,522,464	.....	59,522,464
1898	76,779,313	69,500	76,848,813
1899	111,820,279	1,274	111,821,553

EXPORT OF GRAIN FROM CANADA TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

What is the total number of bushels of grain exported from Canada to Great Britain each year, beginning with the opening of navigation, 1890?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson) :

April, May and June.—Fiscal Year—	GRAIN, ALL KINDS.		
	Canadian.	Foreign.	Total.
	Bush.	Bush.	Bush.
1890	2,198,353	2,334,619	4,532,972
1891	3,420,618	6,078,425	9,499,043
1892	18,654,042	9,236,434	27,890,476

Mr. PATERSON.

	Canadian. Foreign.		Total.
	Bush.	Bush.	Bush.
1893	18,045,586	6,134,900	24,180,486
1894	13,503,328	11,617,695	25,121,023
1895	10,845,951	4,466,836	15,312,787
1896	11,636,649	5,522,113	17,158,762
1897	17,572,275	12,674,283	30,246,558
1898	30,335,090	19,348,870	49,683,960
1899	22,262,532	21,404,837	43,667,369
Total	148,474,424	98,819,012	247,293,436

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AS HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked :

1. When was Sir Charles Tupper appointed High Commissioner for Canada in London?
2. At what salary was he appointed?
3. How long did he fill the position?
4. What sums were paid him each year as such High Commissioner?
5. What sums were paid him by way of allowances for travelling and other personal expenses?
6. Did the government supply him with house rent free? If so, what was the cost of such house?
7. Who paid the taxes and rates for the house?
8. If the government paid any of the taxes and rates for the house or for Sir Charles Tupper, how much was so paid by the government?
9. Was any deduction made from the salary of the said Sir Charles Tupper when, in 1887 and 1891, he came to Canada?
10. If he drew pay from the government as High Commissioner in London whilst he was in Canada, is it the intention of the government to take any steps to recover the amount, if the same could be recovered?
11. What was the total sum paid by the government to Sir Charles Tupper for salary and allowances of all kinds as High Commissioner in London?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). 1, 2 and 3. Sir Charles Tupper was appointed High Commissioner 24th May, 1884, at the statutory salary of \$10,000 a year. He filled the position until 26th January, 1887, when he was appointed Minister of Finance. He was re-appointed 24th May, 1888, and filled the position until 14th January, 1896. 4. Sir Charles Tupper was paid at the rate of \$10,000 a year while he was High Commissioner as above indicated. The total amount so paid was \$103,172.03. 5. \$23,830.34. 6. The government bought a house for the use of the High Commissioner. Such house cost, with the furniture, \$42,702.50. 7. The government. 8. \$8,914.74. 9. No deduction was made from the salary of Sir Charles Tupper when he was High

Commissioner. 10. The question has not been considered. 11. \$127,002.37.

BRITISH WEST INDIES—IMPORTS OF FLOUR.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

How many barrels of flour are imported yearly into the British West Indies?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). It is not possible to give the exact figures called for, for reason that many of the West Indian islands do not publish statistics showing details of imports and exports; but as the principal islands do publish such, a close approximation can be easily arrived at, which (taking the last published figures as far as they go) would be about as follows : Trinidad, 169,672 barrels; Jamaica, 134,800 barrels; Barbados, 67,691 barrels; Granada, 22,916 barrels; the Islands of St. Vincent and St. Lucia (which together with Granada form what is termed the Windward Islands) can be estimated on the basis of population, which is about double that of Granada, at 45,000 barrels; Leeward Islands at 50,000 barrels; Bahama at 30,000 barrels; various

minor islands at about 20,000 barrels; giving a total of, say 540,000 barrels; to this might be added British Guiana, which although not in the West Indies is usually grouped with them, the imports into which last year were 177,731 barrels; or a gross total of 718,000 barrels. Inasmuch as the imports of flour into the islands is, with the exception of the small quantity from Canada, exclusively from the United States, the figures can be checked by the exports from the United States, which for the past four years show an average in round numbers of 530,000 barrels to the British West Indies, which probably includes Bermuda, not taken into account above, and an average of 177,489 barrels into British Guiana, or a total from the United States of 707,489 barrels.

CANADIAN EXPORTS OF FLOUR.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

How many barrels of flour have been exported from Canada yearly since July, 1893, and to what countries?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). They are as follows :

	FISCAL YEARS.					
	1894.		1895.		1896.	
	Canadian.	Foreign.	Canadian.	Foreign.	Canadian.	Foreign.
Great Britain..... Brls.	203,467		104,501	7,087	89,428	
Australia..... "					1,193	
British East Indies..... "						
British West Indies..... "	7,831	25	3,561		335	
British Guiana..... "	3,940		300		300	
Gibraltar..... "						
Hong Kong..... "			4,500		1,275	
Newfoundland..... "	201,583	50,995	96,895	93,934	88,430	56,375
Fiji Islands..... "	20				52	
Brazil..... "						
China..... "						
Danish West Indies..... "	721		485			
French West Indies..... "	3,780		999	106		
Germany..... "	578		490		276	
Hayti..... "			1,287	125	799	
Holland..... "						
Japan..... "	128		1,000			
Mexico..... "						
Norway and Sweden..... "						
St. Pierre..... "	1,782	550	1,996	271	2,143	469
Spain..... "						
Spanish West Indies..... "	918		3,949		55	
United States..... "	3,862	95	2,818	831	2,430	730
U. S. Colombia..... "			194			
Total barrels.....	428,610	51,665	222,975	102,354	186,716	57,574

	FISCAL YEARS.					
	1897.		1898.		1899.	
	Canadian.	Foreign.	Canadian.	Foreign.	Canadian.	Foreign.
Great Britain Brls.	246,754	1,687	908,399	357	540,971	4,957
Australia	91,641		25,351		17,107	
British East Indies.....	1,300		250			
British West Indies.....	199		15,288		21,890	
British Guiana.....			2,189		2,178	
Gibraltar.....					536	
Hong Kong.....	3,000		1,000	5	1	
Newfoundland	67,938	56,828	283,811	2,542	179,103	9,480
Fiji Islands.....						
Brazil.....	300		1,017			
China.....	2,420		5			
Danish West Indies.....	37		343		42	
French West Indies.....			495		886	
Germany.....	3		596		500	
Hayti.....	403	280	590			
Holland.....	160		150		250	
Japan.....			5			
Mexico.....					2,750	
Norway and Sweden.....			57			
St. Pierre.....	3,333	188	3,287		708	102
Spain.....					600	
Spanish West Indies.....			1,213		19,962	
United States.....	4,270	948	5,392	2,522	5,052	1,530
U. S. Colombia.....		75				
Total barrels.....	421,758	60,006	1,249,438	5,426	792,536	16,069

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES—CANADA AND WEST INDIES.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

Whether it is the intention of the government to take steps to improve transportation facilities between Canada and the British West Indies? If so, what steps?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Steps have been taken in connection with the Imperial government for a faster and a better service between Canada and the West Indian Islands, full details of which, with copy of the contract entered into, were laid before the House at its last session, and the contract was approved by resolution of the House on the 5th of August, 1899. Vide Votes and Proceedings, No. 97. This improved service takes effect from the 1st of July next.

ST. THOMAS POSTMASTER.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

1. Has Mr. W. H. Ingram, postmaster at St. Thomas, been suspended?

2. If so, why?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). In reply, I beg to say : 1. Yes. 2. On account of his inefficient management of the post office.

Mr. PATERSON.

MILES OF RAILWAY IN OPERATION.

Mr. BELL (East Prince) asked :

How many miles of railways are in operation in the Territories and in each province of Canada? Is it the intention of the government to extend the government system of railways westerly beyond the city of Montreal?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. The following is a statement of the number of miles of railway in operation in the Territories and British Columbia :

	Miles.
Ontario	6,779
Quebec	3,312
New Brunswick	1,420
Nova Scotia	909
Prince Edward Island	210
Manitoba	1,563
British Columbia	1,129
North-west Territories	1,928

17,250

The above mileage is taken from the Railway Statistics. 2. It has not been decided to extend the government system of railways westerly beyond the city of Montreal.

LAND GRANTS TO RAILWAYS.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

How many acres of land, since July 1, 1896, were granted in aid of railway construction in

Manitoba, the North-west Territories and British Columbia? To what companies was such aid granted, and how much to each company? Have the various companies earned all the lands so granted in aid of such railways? If not, how much has been earned, and by what companies? Have the patents been issued to the various companies entitled thereto?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. No railway company has been subsidized by a land grant by the Dominion since the 1st July, 1896.

MONEY SUBSIDIES TO RAILWAYS.

Mr. DAVIS (Saskatchewan) asked :

What amount of money was voted by parliament and paid in aid of railways in Manitoba, the North-west Territories and British Columbia, between July 1, 1879, and July 1, 1896, and to what companies respectively?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). In reply to the hon. member, I beg to say: The amount of money voted by parliament and paid in aid of railways in Manitoba, the North-west Territories and British Columbia, between the first day of July, 1879, and the first day of July, 1896, is as follows :

	Amount voted.	Amount paid.
Manitoba—		
Canadian Pacific Ry.Co..	\$ 3,017,500	\$ 3,017,500
North-west Territories—		
Canadian Pacific Ry. Co..	7,382,500	7,382,500
Manitoba and North-west- ern Ry.	320,000	.....
British Columbia—		
Canadian Pacific Ry. Co..	5,035,000	5,035,000
Canadian Pacific Ry. Co. —Revelstoke to Arrow Lake	80,000	28,000
Columbia and Kootenay Ry....	112,000	88,800
Esquimalt and Nanaimo Ry.....	750,000	750,000
Nakusp and Slocan Ry...	121,600	117,760
Shuswap and Okanagan Ry.....	163,200	163,200
For a line from junction of Elk and Kootenay rivers to Coal Creek, 34 miles	108,800	.....
For a line from Abbots- ford station, on the Mission branch of the Canadian Pacific Ry. to the town of Chilliwack.	67,200	.....
Total	\$17,157,800	\$16,582,760

LEGAL QUALIFICATIONS OF A SENATOR.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

1. Is a person required, by law, to be possessed of any property in order to be qualified legally to occupy the position of a member of the Senate of Canada? If so, what are the property qualifications required by the law?

2. Are there any members of the Senate of Canada not possessed of the property qualifications required by law? If so, what are their names?

3. Is a person appointed to the Senate required, at any time or times, to make oath as to his property qualification to the Senate? If so, when?

4. Has each member of the Senate made oath as to the possession of the necessary qualification?

5. What is the effect on the seat of a Senator of his not having the necessary property qualification? If the effect is to render him liable to forfeit his seat in the Senate, what is the procedure necessary in order to establish his having forfeited such seat?

6. Is a member of the Senate required to possess residential qualification for the Senate? If so, what is the nature of such residential qualification?

7. What, if any, members of the Senate do not possess the required residential qualification?

8. What is the effect on a member's seat if he has ceased to possess the necessary residential qualification?

9. What is the procedure necessary to determine whether a member of the Senate may have ceased to be entitled to his seat in the Senate because of residential qualification?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). In reply to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say: 1. Yes. A senator must be seized of freehold property to the value of \$4,000 over and above all encumbrances thereon. His real and personal property shall altogether be worth \$4,000 over and above his debts and liabilities. See sec. 17 of B.N.A. Act. 2. If there are any members of the Senate not possessed of property qualifications the government is not aware of the fact. 3. Yes, a declaration as to property qualification is made at the beginning of each parliament. 4. Yes, each member of the Senate has made the declaration. 5. If a senator has not the necessary qualification he is liable to forfeit his seat in the Senate. The procedure is an inquiry by a committee appointed by the Senate. 6. He should be a resident in the province for which he is appointed, and in the case of Quebec, he must have his real property qualification in the electoral division for which he is appointed. 7. A committee of the Senate is the proper tribunal to inquire into the question of the residential qualifications of a senator. 8. The question is determined by report of the committee of the Senate. 9. A committee appointed by the Senate.

REVISION OF DOMINION STATUTES.

Mr. COWAN asked :

Whether it is the intention of the government to provide for a revision of the Dominion statutes, and if so, when?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). That is under consideration.

EASTERN HARBOUR AND PORT HASTINGS MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

What plan did the Postmaster General adopt in connection with, and what was the amount of

the reduction in the cost of the mail service referred to in the following extract from the supplementary report of the Post Office Department for 1896?

Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings Mail Service.

In this case a determined and, as it proved, successful effort appears to have been made to give the contract to the then contractor with a considerable advance in the amount paid. There were three services included under the contract, the routes of which, in length 101, 60, and 18 miles, had nothing in common which would justify combining them under one arrangement. The late member of parliament for Victoria County, N.S., brought this fact to the attention of the department while tenders for the present contract were being invited, but, beyond acknowledging it, no attention was paid to his letter. The scheme involved, first, the retention of the three services under one contract; second, the opening of the tenders at a date so close to the date on which the contract was to commence that anybody but the contractor would have great difficulty in entering upon the service on such short notice; and, third, that the surety bond should be raised from \$7,000 to \$13,000, an amount higher by some thousands of dollars than is required in any other case, although there are contracts of double the annual value of the one in question.

When the tenders were opened, the contractor was found to be the fourth on the list, and accordingly the four lowest were sent to the inspector with instructions to him to ascertain how far the sureties offered satisfied the requirement of the \$13,000 bond. The inspector reported that the two lowest tenderers were fully qualified to enter upon the service, but that they and the third tenderer all wished to withdraw. No effort was made to hold the tenderers to the obligations they had incurred, and the contract was awarded to the old contractor at the rate of his tender.

The present government had inquiry instituted as to how the service could be re-arranged, having regard to both efficiency and economy, and a plan has been adopted which will be a great improvement on the former arrangement, and which, according to careful estimates, will make a reduction in the cost of over \$4,000 per annum.

Post Office Inspector's Office,
Halifax, August 16, 1895.

No. 974.

Sir,—I have the honour to submit a complete list of all mail contracts in this division, about to expire on December 31 next.

* * * * *
Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings.
* * * * *

H. A. Archibald, contractor; length of routes, 101, 60 and 18 miles; service, daily over each of these routes; cost, \$7,475.88.

I have no changes to suggest in the mode of performing any of these services, and beg to submit herewith, for your approval, copies of the notices I would propose to issue inviting tenders for new contracts for them, to commence January 1, 1896.

I have, &c.,
CHARLES J. MACDONALD,
Post Office Inspector.

Mr. DAVIS.

Approval of Notices.
Post Office Department,
Mail Service Branch,
Ottawa, August 22, 1895.

No. 831B.
(Memorandum for the Post Office Inspector at Halifax.)

The Postmaster General having had under his consideration the inspector's report No. 974 of August 16, 1895, has approved of the notices inclosed therein inviting tenders for the mail services hereafter mentioned.

Date of notices, September 13, 1895.

Date for the reception of tenders, November 1, 1895.

Date of new contracts, January 1, 1896.

Names of services: Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings.

The inspector will please be so good as to issue these notices accordingly.

WM. SMITH,
For Superintendent.

*Though described on the books of the department as the Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings mail service, this service includes the conveyance of the mails over three routes, viz: between Port Hastings and Eastern Harbour, a distance of 101 miles; between Port Hastings and Baddeck, a distance of 60 miles; and between Mabou and Whycomagh, a distance of 18 miles.

Ottawa, September 7, 1895.

My dear Colonel White,—In the matter of H. A. Archibald's contract for carrying mails in Cape Breton, I should feel obliged if you will not advertise for tenders until I have an opportunity of speaking to you on this subject. Please make a note of this, and oblige.

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

Ottawa, Sept. 13, 1895.

My dear Sir Charles,—In accordance with the recommendation you make in your letter of the 7th inst., I have authorized that the notices advertising the Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings mail service be withdrawn.

Yours faithfully,
ADOLPHE P. CARON.

The Honourable
Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Ottawa, September 17, 1895.

My dear Col. White,—Will you kindly bring to the favourable attention of the Postmaster General the following proposition in regard to the contract for carrying the mails in Cape Breton, at present performed by H. A. Archibald, of Port Hastings.

1. That the department advertise contract as a whole. This is the manner in which it was formerly put up to tender.

2. That your department do not call for tenders sooner than six weeks before the contract is to be awarded, or six weeks before the expiration of the present contract.

3. That four days be allowed to parties to whom the contract may be awarded, to complete arrangements and furnish securities. This was the time allowed Mr. Finn, the late contractor.

4. That the amount of security to be given should be made \$13,000. This will prevent irresponsible persons from tendering.

I am told that all previous contractors on this route have failed to give satisfaction to the public, and were involved, having heavy judgments rolled up against them, finally having to abandon the business on account of the small consideration paid.

Will you kindly let me know whether my wishes in this respect can be met.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

Ottawa, September 19, 1895.

My dear Sir Charles,—With reference to your letter of the 17th inst., respecting the mode of advertising the contract held by Mr. H. A. Archibald for the conveyance of mails between Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings, I beg to say that I will have much pleasure in carrying out your wishes, and tenders will be invited in the manner you suggest.

Yours faithfully,

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

The Honourable

Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Ottawa, September 19, 1895.

No. 18B.

Sir,—With reference to departmental letter No. 831B of the 22nd ulto., conveying to you the Postmaster General's approval of the notices submitted in your report No. 974 of the 10th ulto., for the mail service between Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings, and to a subsequent letter, No. 974B, of the 13th inst., instructing you to withdraw these notices, I am now to instruct you to invite tenders for this service, so as to include the whole service performed by Mr. Archibald in one contract. That the tenders be issued either six weeks before the contract is awarded or six weeks before the expiration of the present contract, allowing four days to complete arrangements and furnish securities, and that the penalty of the bond be not less than \$13,000. You will be so good as to prepare notices in this sense and submit them for the approval of the Postmaster General.

I am, &c.,

ARTHUR LINDSAY.

Superintendent.

C. J. Macdonald, Esq.,

P. O. Inspector,
Halifax, N.S.

Halifax, September 24, 1895.

No. 11.

Sir,—In accordance with the instructions contained in your letter of the 19th inst., No. 18B, I have the honour to submit herewith for your approval a copy of the advertisement to be issued for the mail service between Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings.

As it is not clearly understood from your letter how you wish these notices dated, I have left all dates blank.

I shall be glad to have your further instructions in the matter.

I have the honour, &c.,

CHAS. J. MACDONALD,

P. O. Inspector.

The Honourable

The Postmaster General,
Ottawa.

Approval of Notices.

Post Office Department,

Mail Service Branch,

Ottawa, Sept. 28, 1895.

(Memorandum for the Post Office Inspector at Halifax.)

The Postmaster General having had under his consideration the Inspector's report No. 11 of the 24th inst., has approved of the notice inclosed therein inviting tenders for the mail service hereafter mentioned.

Date of notice, October 1, 1895; date of reception of tenders, November 15, 1895; date of new contract, January 1, 1896; name of service, Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings.

The inspector will please be so good as to issue these notices accordingly.

ARTHUR LINDSAY,

Superintendent.

Post Office Inspector's Office,

Halifax, October 8, 1895.

No. 23.

Sir,—I have the honour to report that your letter, No. 62B, dated September 28, conveying to me your approval of the notices inviting tenders for the Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings mail contract, did not reach me in time for the notices to be dated October 1. I have accordingly, in issuing, dated them 'October 7,' and made the date for reception of tenders 'November 22.'

I inclose a copy herein for your information,

I have the honour, &c.,

CHAS. J. MACDONALD,

Post Office Inspector.

The Honourable

The Postmaster General, &c., &c.,

Ottawa.

Baddeck, N.S., October 14, 1895.

My dear Sir,—I noticed in the post office today a notice calling for tenders for the conveyance of Her Majesty's mail between Hawkesbury and Grand Etang, and Baddeck and Whycomagh and Mabou. I am not going to say anything about the necessity of a daily mail between all these places as they have been established for a number of years, but what I sincerely and honestly protest against is having all those contracts joined in one. What connection is there between them or what reason is there for joining them all in one? I have looked into it and carefully considered it, and find none whatever. I reside in the county of Victoria, in the town of Baddeck, and the route between Baddeck and Hawkesbury runs through a portion of the county, and I would ask that it be separated from the others. I see no reason why it and the Grand Etang route should be joined in one contract, as they go in different directions. A little reflection will convince you that few people down here can afford to run and operate so long a distance as 190 miles on short notice, only a few can do so. I also think that upon consideration of this matter you will find that money can be saved by putting up the tenders separately.

I have no interest in this matter save that of the public, and to give a fair chance to competition.

I hope you will reconsider the decision arrived at and put up the Baddeck and Hawkesbury tender separately.

I am yours truly,

JNO. A. McDONALD.

Sir A. P. Caron, K.C.M.G., P.C.,
Postmaster General.

Ottawa, October 19, 1895.

My dear Mr. McDonald,—I am in receipt of yours of the 14th inst., asking that the various mail routes comprehended under the contract known as the Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings contract be put up to tender separately. In reply, I beg to say that the matter will have the attention of the department.

Yours faithfully,

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

J. A. McDonald, Esq., M.P.,
Baddeck, N.S.

Ottawa, October 16, 1895.

My dear Colonel White,—With this I send you a letter and inclosure which I have just received from Mr. H. A. Archibald, of Port Hastings. I am sorry to observe that your Halifax office does not seem to have followed the instructions which you intimated to me would be given as regards the length of time for advertising, and also the time allowed after the tenders are opened to prepare for the service. Please return inclosures.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

Lt.-Col. Wm. White,
Deputy Postmaster General.

(Inclosure.)

Port Hastings, October 15, 1895.

My dear Sir,—I see my contracts are advertised twelve weeks and one day before the new service begins, and giving a new beginner thirty-nine days to prepare. I did expect that the government would only advertise six weeks, and give four or five days to the new beginner to get ready, but as it is now, every advantage will be taken by Grits to have it in their hands before the elections come on.

There is only one good thing, and that is the \$13,000 security. This may bother some men of straw; and I will face the affair as best I possibly can. About the time the tenders are opened I will go to Ottawa or send some person. On November 19 our municipal elections come off in this district. I will not likely have opposition, but I am interested in adjoining districts, and if the fight will be looking serious, it will be hard for me to leave. In any case, I will write you as regards the tender later on.

Yours very truly,

H. A. ARCHIBALD.

Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper.

P.S.—I send a copy of the notices.

Ottawa, October 25, 1895.

My dear Sir Charles,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, respecting the dates of advertising and receiving of tenders for the mail service between Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings.

In reply, I beg to state that the inspector has evidently followed the terms of the statute, which requires that six weeks' notice be given of the advertising of all contracts for amounts exceeding \$200 per annum. When the tenders come in, I will take care that no time is lost in closing the matter.

Yours faithfully,

WM. WHITE.

The Hon. Sir Charles H. Tupper, K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Justice, Ottawa.

Mr. DAVIS.

Memorandum of tenders received at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, up to twelve o'clock noon, on Friday, November 22, instant, under an advertisement issued by the Post Office Inspector for the Nova Scotia division, and dated October 1, ultimo, for the conveyance of the mail six times per week between Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings, and Baddeck and Port Hastings, and Mabou and Whycomagh; distance, 101, 60 and 18 miles, on and from January 1 next. Present cost of service, \$7,475.88. Name of present contractor, H. A. Archibald.

Name of Party Tendering. Rate of Tender.

Hector McKinnon	\$ 8,474 00
John J. McNeil	8,750 00
John W. Reynolds	9,474 00
H. A. Archibald	10,099 00
Roy McNeil	10,100 00
Neil McMillan	10,550 00
Laughlin McNeil	11,100 00
Hugh McMillan	11,150 00

Post Office Department,
Canada, Mail Service Branch.

The above-mentioned tenders, eight in number, were opened at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, November 23, 1895.

Certified,

ARTHUR LINDSAY,
Superintendent.

Ottawa, November 23, 1895.

My dear Col. White,—I have your letter of this date in regard to the list of tenders which you have received for the mail service now in Mr. H. A. Archibald's hands, and will be glad if you make the inquiries you suggest of your Halifax inspector.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

Col. Wm. White,
Deputy Postmaster General.

(Tenders Inclosed.)

Post Office Department, Canada,
Mail Service Branch,
Ottawa, Nov. 26, 1895.

Memorandum for the Post Office Inspector at Halifax:

Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings—

Hector McKinnon	\$ 8,474 00
John J. McNeil	8,750 00
John W. Reynolds	9,474 00
H. A. Archibald	10,099 00

Before awarding the contract the inspector will please make strict inquiry as to the financial standing of the sureties in each case, and as to whether the party tendering is of full age and legally capable of entering into a contract and of carrying on the service in a satisfactory manner.

ARTHUR LINDSAY,
Superintendent.

Post Office Inspector's Office,

No. 106. Halifax, 30th December, 1895.

Sir,—With reference to your letter, No. 265B, of the 26th November, inclosing four tenders for the mail service between Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings, I have the honour to inclose herewith the telegrams from the first and sec-

ond tenderers, Hector McKinnon and J. J. McNeill, and a letter from the third tenderer, each stating his inability to enter into a contract.

I may say that McKinnon is not himself in a position to perform the service, and the parties who signed his tender are not good for the amount of the bond required. I, however, gave him an opportunity to furnish satisfactory security, and he submitted the names of two parties who were quite good for the amount of security asked. Under these circumstances, I accepted his tender and sent him contracts for signature. These contracts have not been returned, and on Saturday I received his telegram stating his inability to perform the service.

The second tenderer, John J. McNeill, is competent to perform the service, and the sureties submitted by him in his tender are, in my opinion, good for the amount of the bond required. He, however, asks leave to withdraw his offer.

J. W. Reynolds, the third tenderer, who also asks to withdraw, is not, in my opinion, competent to perform the service, nor are the sureties submitted by him good for the amount of the bond required.

The fourth tenderer, H. A. Archibald, who is the present contractor, is well equipped for the service, and the sureties submitted by him are good.

I shall be glad to have your further instructions in the matter.

In the meantime, I will make a temporary arrangement for the service for the month of January.

I have, &c.,
CHAS. J. MACDONALD,
Post Office Inspector.

The Honourable

The Postmaster General.

(Inclosures in above Report.)

Port Hastings, 24th December, 1895.

Dear Sir,—In reference to my tender for the mail services from Port Hastings to Eastern Harbour, &c., so far I have not heard to whom the contract has been awarded. I find that my figures were entirely too low, and therefore beg leave to state that I must decline the contract should I be so favoured.

I remain, &c.,
J. W. REYNOLDS,

P.S.—I have sent a copy of the above to the Postmaster General at Ottawa.

C. J. Macdonald, Esq.,
Post Office Inspector, Halifax.
Mabou, Cape Breton, 25th Dec., 1895.

Sir A. P. Caron,
Postmaster General, Ottawa.

Sir,—I have a tender in for the mail service between Port Hastings and Eastern Harbour and from Port Hastings to Baddeck, which I wish to withdraw owing to my having made a miscalculation. I find that the service cannot be satisfactorily performed for the amount asked by my tender.

I have the honour, &c.,
JOHN J. McNEILL.

Witness,
Edward A. Murray.

(Telegram.)

Port Hastings, C.B., 28th Dec., 1895.
To Charles J. Macdonald,
P.O. Inspector,
Halifax, N.S.

Owing to my miscalculation in figuring my tender for mail contract, I hereby withdraw it.
JOHN J. McNEILL.

(Telegram.)

Port Hastings, C.B., 28th Dec., 1895.
To Charles J. Macdonald,
P.O. Inspector,
Halifax, N.S.

I find my tender for mail contract so low that it is impossible to get good security, and I will not be able to go on with the contract.

HECTOR McKINNON.

(Telegram.)

Port Hastings, C.B., 28th Dec., 1895.
Sir A. P. Caron,
Postmaster General.

My tender being so low, I am not able to get security or go on with the contract.

HECTOR McKINNON.

(Clause 2, Section 57, Post Office Act.)

If, after the acceptance of a tender and notification thereof to the tenderer, he fails to enter into an obligation within the time prescribed by the Postmaster General, with good and sufficient securities for the performance of the service, the Postmaster General shall proceed to contract with some other person for the performance of the said service, and may forthwith cause the difference between the amount contained in the tender and the amount for which he has contracted for the performance of the said service, for the whole period thereof, to be charged up against the said tenderer and his surety or sureties, and the same may be immediately recovered in an action of debt, in the name of the Postmaster General, against the tenderer and his sureties, or any of them, and when recovered shall form part of the postal revenue.

Ottawa, January 2, 1896.

My dear Col. White,—Mr. H. A. Archibald wires me the following: 'Kindly expedite contract. Inspector wires me continue month of January at former rates.'

What may I say?

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER.

Lt.-Col. Wm. White,
Deputy Postmaster General.

Ottawa, January 8, 1896.

To the Post Office Inspector,
Halifax.

With reference to his report, No. 106, of the 30th ult., stating the result of his inquiries as to the tenderers for the Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings mail service, and asking approval of a temporary agreement for the month of January with the present contractor at the former rate, the inspector is requested to say why, since Mr. Archibald's tender has been accepted, a regular contract should not be made at the rate of his tender from January 1 next.

ARTHUR LINDSAY,
Superintendent.

(Telegram.)

Halifax, January 10, 1896.

Referring to your memo. of 8th, no authority received here for acceptance Archibald's tender, Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings. Please advise.

CHARLES J. MACDONALD.

Arthur Lindsay,
Superintendent Mail Service Branch,
Ottawa.

Ottawa, January 11, 1896.

To the Post Office Inspector at Halifax:

With reference to his telegram of to-day's date, stating that he has not yet been authorized to accept Mr. H. A. Archibald's tender for the Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings mail service, the inspector will please follow the usual practice in such cases. If all tenders lower than Mr. Archibald's have been withdrawn, the contract should be put in his hands at the rate of his tender, subject to the approval of the Postmaster General.

ARTHUR LINDSAY,
Superintendent.

Post Office Inspector's Office,
Halifax, January 11, 1896.

No. 124.

Sir,—I have the honour to report that, in accordance with the instructions contained in your memo. of the 8th inst. and telegram of yesterday's date, I have accepted the tender of Mr. H. A. Archibald for the mail service between Eastern Harbour and Port Hastings, &c., the contract to date from the 1st instant.

I return herewith the tenders of Messrs. Hector McKinnon, John J. McNeill and John W. Reynolds, which were withdrawn.

I have the honour, &c.,

CHARLES J. MACDONALD,
Post Office Inspector.

The Honourable
The Postmaster General,
Ottawa.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). When these services were brought to his attention, the Postmaster General, convinced that the arrangements were not the most advantageous that could be made, caused inquiry to be made into the whole service in that part of Inverness County, and having put the arrangements up for tender, was able to give a greatly improved service with a much reduced expenditure. The section between Baddeck and Port Hastings, ran parallel with the Intercolonial Railway, and it was broken up and the railway utilized for the service of the offices adjacent to it. An important section of the country on the east side of Lake Ainslie, which, till then, had only a tri-weekly service, was given a daily service. The long route, 101 miles in length, between Port Hastings and Eastern Harbour, was divided into three parts, so that persons of modest means could tender for it. The result as regards the service, is as follows:

Of the 64 offices affected, under the old arrangement, 38 had daily mails, 13 tri-weekly, and 13 semi-weekly; under the present arrangement, 54 have daily, 5 tri-weekly, and 5 semi-weekly; that is, 16 more offices now have daily mail services than had it under the former arrangement. The financial result is that the former cost of the services was \$11,582.45 a year, while the present cost is \$7,073.14 a year, showing a saving for the contract term of \$18,037.24.

Mr. DAVIS.

DOMINION FRANCHISE ACT.

Mr. McMULLEN asked:

1. When was the Dominion Franchise Act passed?
2. How many times was its operation suspended?
3. How many times was the voters' list revised under its provision?
4. How many officials of all kinds were required to carry out its provisions?
5. What was the cost to the public treasury of each revision?
6. What was the total cost to the public treasury of the revision of the lists under said Act?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. The Dominion Franchise Act was assented to on July 20th, 1885. 2. Its operation was suspended eight times—In 1887, by 50-51 Vic., chap. 5; in 1888, by 51 Vic., chap. 9; in 1890, by 53 Vic., chap. 8; in 1892, by 55-56 Vic., chap. 12; in 1893, by 56 Vic., chap. 10; in 1895, by 58-59 Vic., chap. 12; in 1896, by 59 Vic., chap. 6; and in 1897, by 60-61 Vic., chap. 12. The Act was repealed by 61 Vic., chap. 14. 3. The voters' list was revised four times; in 1886, in 1889, in 1891, and in 1894. 4. For the revision of 1886, there were 170 revising officers; for 1889, 172 revising officers; for 1891, 171 revising officers; and for 1894, 176 revising officers. There were clerks and bailiffs and other officials, the number of whom cannot be readily ascertained. 5. The cost to the public treasury of each revision, was as follows:

1896	\$416,043 23
Partial revision, 1897.....	2,070 39
1889	236,356 03
1891	226,748 65
1894-95	243,554 28
Other expenditures, not chargeable to any particular revision	31,589 31
	\$1,156,361 89
Less, proceeds of sale of voters' lists.	15,044 90

6. Total amount chargeable to Franchise Act to June 30, 1897.....\$1,141,316 99

ARBITRATORS ON TRENT VALLEY CANAL DAMAGES.

Mr. McMULLEN asked:

1. Who have been the arbitrators to fix the damages arising from the construction of the Trent Valley Canal?
2. When were they appointed?
3. How much have they each been paid each year for their services, and how much for their expenses as such arbitrators?
4. How many days each year have they each been paid for, and at what rate?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). I would ask my hon. friend (Mr. McMullen), to move for a return with respect to this matter, as there is a great deal of detail in the answer.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S WARRANTS.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

What was the total amount of Governor General's warrants issued in each of the years beginning with July 1, 1884, down to the present time?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The amount of Governor General's warrants, from 1884-5 to 28th February, 1900, is as follows :

Year.	Amount.
1884-85	\$ 761,342 19
1885-86	3,743,066 18
1886-87	2,146,744 68
1887-88	1,332,394 71
1888-89	905,623 81
1889-90	1,236,652 34
1890-91	1,298,376 38
1891-92	141,059 70
1892-93	308,674 00
1893-94	220,531 73
1894-95	81,000 00
1895-96	34,500 00
1896-97	1,201,971 40
1897-98	372,400 00
1898-99	797,060 00
1899-1900	952,000 00

ADDITIONS TO PUBLIC DEBT SINCE 1894.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

What was the total amount added to the public debt of Canada in each year of the years from June 30, 1894, down to the present time?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The additions to the public debt for the years referred to, are as follows :

June 30, 1894.....	\$4,501,989
" 1895.....	6,891,897
" 1896.....	5,422,505
" 1897.....	3,041,163
" 1898.....	2,417,802
" 1899.....	2,317,047

EXPENDITURE BY PRESENT GOVERNMENT ON CANALS.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

What amount has the present government expended in completion of the canal system of Canada.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). The present government have expended in completion of the canal system of Canada, \$11,050,128.37.

Mr. WILSON. Up to what time ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. That is up to our last payment.

Mr. WILSON. When was that ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. It is up to date.

Mr. BLAIR.

MOORE & MACDOWALL TIMBER LIMITS.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

Has any action been taken by the government to compel the persons holding the Moore & Macdowall timber limits, near Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, to operate a saw-mill in accordance with the regulations under which the said timber limits are held? If not, is it the intention of the government to enforce compliance with the said regulations?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. On the 20th April, 1899, Mr. George Burn, representing the Bank of Ottawa, which now holds the Moore & Macdowall timber limits near Prince Albert, was notified that the mill on these limits must be put in operation. The department has no report as to whether any action has been taken to comply with this notification, but under the terms of the licenses, the holders thereof have twelve months from the date of notification within which to commence operations.

PACIFIC CABLE RETURN.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock) laid on the Table of the House :

Return to an address of the House of Commons dated February 26, 1900, for copies of all correspondence with the Imperial government and the colonies respecting the Pacific Cable.

He said : I observe that the backing of this return states that it is a return of all the correspondence, which should have been qualified to the extent of saying that it is a return of the correspondence that the government feels at liberty at this moment to bring down.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—UNOPPOSED MOTIONS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) if he would be good enough to allow us to run through the unopposed motions in order to facilitate the business.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). No ; I do not propose to do so, in view of the advantage which was taken of my courtesy when a similar favour was granted the other day. I do not propose to do so to-day.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I have not the slightest idea to what the right hon. gentleman refers. I believe this is the first time in the history of parliament, so far as I am aware, that the courtesy that I have asked has been refused, and as this is a very important matter in regard to the business of the House, I would like to ask the right hon. gentleman to explain.

The PRIME MINISTER. The last time, when I granted a similar request, which

was made in the absence of my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) by the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), we went over the unopposed motions, and when we reached the motion of my hon. friend for Halifax (Mr. Borden), in regard to the elections in West Huron and Brockville, I asked that the motion should stand. The following day fault was found with us because we did not allow this motion to go on at that time, and after having extended the courtesy of taking unopposed motions which are made for the production of papers, the charge was made that we were unwilling to proceed with the business of the House. I came to the conclusion that if a similar request should be made I should not grant it.

Mr. GEO. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) Mr. Speaker, in order to put myself right, I shall end the remarks that I have to make with a motion. I do not think it needs any excuse for making a motion for the adjournment of the House after the language which we have just heard from the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) who leads this House. This House is composed of independent members, who are sent up by their different constituencies to represent them here. In the carrying out of their duty hon. members, from the different constituencies, have been in the habit, since there was a parliament in this country, which is their perfect constitutional right, of pursuing inquiries. Now, there are two ways by which you can pursue inquiries in this House; you may ask questions for information which the government must answer. No government can live in this House, or in this country, no government can live in Great Britain, no government can live in any constitutionally governed country which refuses to answer legitimate questions put by hon. members on either side of the House for information. It is no mere courtesy that is granted to an independent member of this House, it is a right, it is a precious privilege that the right hon. First Minister has no right to refuse. Beside the putting of questions there is the other way of getting information, the old constitutional right, and it is by putting motions before the House in proper order, giving proper notice, and, after they are put on the Order paper, taking them up in their proper rotation. It is no courtesy when any government replies to these motions, debates them, and when the Order of the House is given, brings down, as servants should bring down to their masters, what they are ordered by their masters to bring down. When the master orders his servant to bring down information, the servant has no right to stand up and say that it is a matter of courtesy to give his master that information. What have we to-day? We have an old Liberal, from the English school, boasted of from Dan to Beersheba as

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

being such a kind of Liberal, violating every principle of the independence of parliament and constitutional usage, as he has been doing for a few days of late in reference to the rights of members on both sides of this House. I want to ask you, Mr. Speaker, as you are an old parliamentarian and have been a member of this House for many years, if you ever, in your experience in this House, witnessed such a gross and partial abuse of the privileges of the House as has been witnessed during these few days past in the answers that hon. gentlemen opposite, who constitute the ministry, are giving to questions which are put upon the Notice paper, questions which, in many cases, are prompted by themselves and put upon the Notice paper for their own purposes. We have seen it to-day. Here is an hon. gentleman who gets up and asks, in cold blood, for the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) to do what? To read him out a list of the number of pounds of butter which have been exported from this country for ten or fifteen years, year by year, and an hon. minister stands up and bravely does it. If we ask for like information we are told to put the request in the shape of a motion and get a return. The hon. minister who answers the question and the hon. member who asks it, knows, because they are both, presumably, intelligent people, that in the documents which have been brought down to the House compiled by the civil servants of this country, signed by the hon. minister's own hand, placed in the archives of this country and distributed to the members of this House, in parallel columns, these same columns of figures appear with the exact information which they have given to-day. To-day they have taken up an hour of the time of the House in simply standing up and reading over answers to questions giving information, all of which, with the exception of that relating to the last six months of 1899, is in the documents which have been placed before the House and which have been published under the hands of the hon. ministers themselves. Then, an hon. minister violates all the rights of private correspondence, rummages through the drawers of his predecessor, comes down before the House, in a manner unparalleled in the history of this parliament, causes questions to be raised out of the pages of his supplementary report, prepares a controversial answer and gives this to the House, as he did the other day in answer to a question, drawing a parallel between one year and another so as to show what occurred under the Conservative government and what occurred under Liberal government. This is high politics; it is the standard of hon. gentlemen who pursue such a course. I congratulate them upon the high, the fine ideals which they have set up to guide them in parliamentary practice and parliamentary government in this country. When hon.

members of this House ask, as I did myself, for information which is not difficult to get, which is quite easy to get, what do we find? The hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) got up the other day and read four or five closely printed pages in answer to a question, because it suited him to do so. But, when I asked for three or four simple returns, which one of his officers could put together in five minutes by searching over the files and orders and putting a clip through the papers and bringing them down to the House, I have not been able, in four weeks, to get an answer. When I to-day asked two simple questions, which any hon. minister ought to be ready to answer at once, not asking for a detail of ten or fifteen years, I am told that I must wait. But, the right hon. gentleman can read column after column in reply to a question put by one of his own adherents. Put for what purpose? Put in order that that adherent may have a little document ready-made to send as a fly-sheet through the country as a campaign document, and have it done at the expense of the civil service if you please, and without any cost of elbow grease or brain matter to himself, by hunting it up on his own account. Hour after hour for the last three or four days we have had this sort of thing here. I can tell the Prime Minister that if he continues that, then on this side of the House we propose to give them enough of it in the matter of questions. They will find from this time out, the Order paper well filled with questions on a parallel to those which have been asked from the other side, and I invite the Prime Minister to rise in his place and tell us that he is not going to give us the courtesy of a reply. Let him attempt it, and parliamentary government in this House, so long as I have the voice and physical power, will be at pretty close quarters for some time to come.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. FOSTER. I am not going behind the bush to put questions on the paper as though I meant them as a definite plea for information, or the like of that. I tell the Prime Minister that we have just as good a right on this side of the House to have the civil servants work out answers to our questions as his side of the House has. We propose on this side of the House to have the same treatment accorded us as is accorded those on the other side, or we will know the reason why. I have to ask the Prime Minister to-day for returns that were ordered by the House last session of parliament, and which have not yet been brought down. They are not very extensive or very elaborate returns, but, with one single exception, no answer has been given to them yet. Members on this side are estopped from getting information in any way. If they put a question on the Order

paper they are told to put it in the shape of a motion, and if they make a motion and are lucky enough to have it passed, then they have to wait for weeks and years before the answer is brought down. The other day the right hon. gentleman got into a fit of bad humour which does not sit well on him—the Prime Minister is much more engaging when he is in good humour than when he is in bad, and he has made a kind of reputation for himself as being sunny and smiling, so that it is a pity he should get into one of these little pets once in a while and spoil both his reputation and his countenance. Was there any reason why he should get out of humour the other day? We simply stated that when you have the Order paper filled it is absolutely impossible for any member of this House who puts on a motion for a return, three or four weeks after the opening of a session; absolutely impossible for him to reach it, if the rule is laid down that we will not take up the unopposed motions. Why? Because a number of gentlemen put on debatable motions, and as at present, all that is left is a half day on Wednesday and a day on Monday, and these debatable motions take up all the time. Ever since my entry into this House in 1882, there has been an unwritten law which has never been violated to my knowledge, that we should go through the unopposed motions which simply ask for information, in order to allow the government to have a chance to answer the independent members with reference to them. Adopt the other rule laid down by the Prime Minister to-day, and he makes it absolutely impossible for any independent member of this House to get a return. Why, because if ten men will put down ten debatable motions on the first day of the session; motions like that of my hon. friend from Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and like that which we have been discussing for several days; it is absolutely prohibitive for any single unopposed return being obtained by an Order of the House. Has any Prime Minister up to this day, enunciated a different doctrine? Has it remained for a Liberal of the Liberals to announce the doctrine that he is going to squeeze out the members of this House from obtaining information.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, the right hon. gentleman has done that to-day, and he has done an unenviable thing for his own reputation, and for the good name of this House, and for constitutional and parliamentary government in this country. He has now set the precedent, and he says he will stand by it; that he will not allow any unopposed motions to pass. He shuts out the independent members of this House from asking for proper information, which ought to be given, and which would be given by any government which is not afraid to give information.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. The Prime Minister announces to the members of this side of the House, that we shall not get information.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is it.

Mr. FOSTER. His high mightiness has none to compare with him now. This democrat to the hilt, this Liberal of the Liberals, has become a Grand Vizier, an autocrat of all the Russias. Worse and worse; when he allows any poor miserable member of this House to get information it is pure courtesy on the part of the Prime Minister, and if you do not carry yourself just rightly, you insult His Majesty, and he will not give you that courtesy again, Sir. What an unenviable position for a grown man to take! What an unenviable position for the Premier of this country to take! Why; is the man in his dotage; or is a certain infantile residuum coming to the front in those his mature days—

Mr. SPEAKER. I will have to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) to confine his attention to something like parliamentary language.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to know, Sir, in what have I offended?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. FOSTER. I am not going to be put down unless I know what for.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. SPEAKER. I am simply in the judgment of the House when I say, that from the moment the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) commenced, he has been skirting a line of debate that must inevitably lead this House into a bitter discussion.

Mr. COCHRANE. Let us have it then.

Mr. FOSTER. What rule of order have I offended in that?

Mr. SPEAKER. I have to say this: That when a man descends to the statement which has just emanated from the hon. member (Mr. Foster), I do feel that it is undignified.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. May I be permitted to say, that since I have had the honour of a seat in this House, I have never known the Speaker to interfere unless he rose to show what rule of order has been violated. I wait now, Mr. Speaker, to learn why my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) has been called to order. Why has he been called to order, when he merely used language that did not in any way approach being so of-

Mr. FOSTER.

fensive, as that which we are accustomed to hear from gentlemen on the other side of the House. If the Chair is going to preserve the order of this House, it will have to be by the assumption of a strictly independent and impartial spirit, by which, when a member is called to order on one side or the other, the rule of the House which has been violated shall be pointed out. If that is not done, then the Chair takes upon itself a most invidious duty, which, in my judgment, has never been taken by any Speaker, of saying how the debate shall be conducted between the two sides of the House. We must have something besides the personal opinion of the Speaker. We must have a rule of order violated and pointed to in order to have the intervention of the Chair.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I have just to remark that there are offences against decency and propriety which perhaps do not come exactly within the technical rules of the House, and it is the right of the Speaker to point out if a member forgets himself in that way; and if the hon. gentleman who is thus appealed to cannot understand the Speaker's action, it is not the fault of the Speaker, but the fault of the hon. gentleman himself.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, may I be permitted to say one word? And that is, that you yourself witnessed an hon. gentleman on the Treasury benches sit silent without making the slightest attempt to call the attention of the Chair, as became his duty—I refer to the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright)—when an hon. member behind him declared that he was prepared to show that another hon. member of this House had violated every one of the ten commandments. Instead of making any such attempt, the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, who was leading the House at the time, turned round, and I believe incited the hon. member behind him to use that language.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Mr. Speaker, I call the hon. gentleman to order. He is making a statement which is absolutely without the smallest particle of foundation in fact, and he knows it perfectly well. As to the occasion to which he has alluded, all I can say is, that I think probably it was in his interest that the hon. member behind me did not go into any detail as to which of the commandments he had violated.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I rise to order. I say that this is as indecent a spectacle as I have ever witnessed in this House—a minister of the Crown standing up here, and backing up the most indecent assault ever made on a member of the House of Commons.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I believe there is no point of order before the Chair.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think not. When I called the attention of the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster), I did it because I felt that he was pursuing—I will not say a line of argument, but a line of statement that was sure to lead to a bitter discussion. It was for that reason that I drew his attention to it. If he chooses to exercise his right, he is at liberty to do so; but I think the House has a right to protect itself, and I am in the judgment of the House.

Mr. MONTAGUE. May I point out—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I would suggest that the hon. member for York be allowed to proceed.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I merely wished to point out, Mr. Speaker, that the government pursued a line of policy that was bound to lead to irregularity.

Mr. FOSTER. After this little diversion which does not seem to amount to much—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. And this is the gentleman who, the other day, was deeply pained because some one mentioned that his conduct had been impertinent, and appealed to the Speaker for a ruling that that was unparliamentary.

Mr. FOSTER. I did that in the interest of the Minister of Railways and Canals. I know the hon. gentleman's irascibility, and I know that he has sometimes an ungovernable temper. If he has any latitude at all, he is very apt to forget himself; and when he went beyond the rules of order and used toward me the word impertinent, his own moral and spiritual health was threatened, and I am sure that my hon. friend ought to be thankful to me for keeping him out of the ways of temptation. It is not a very nice return that he makes for that service. Now, Mr. Speaker, every member of this House will have to be the judge of his own method of approaching any question and expressing his sentiments upon it. There are certain well-defined rules of order laid down by our parliamentary authorities, and it is without doubt the duty of the Speaker to prevent any violation of those rules, and to warn a member when in the heat of discussion he may either knowingly or unwittingly violate them; and whenever the Speaker of this House calls me to order and shows me the rule I have violated, I shall bow to his decision. I was proceeding to question the strength of the position of the right hon. gentleman in shutting off all successful attempts in this House for the rest of this session to get be-

yond the first four or five motions on the Order paper, upon which there are probably near a hundred, and to prevent any man getting the information which he has a right to have on his own behalf or on behalf of the constituents whom he represents. I was pointing out that the right hon. gentleman has taken the hitherto unheard-of position that to take first the unopposed motions is a personal courtesy, that that courtesy has been abused, and that therefore he intends to sit down upon the House and not grant it any more. Let us find how the courtesy was abused. Following the line which has been followed ever since this House has been a House, at the request of the leader of the opposition the other day, the right hon. gentleman agreed to go through the unopposed motions. When we came to the motion of my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Borden), with reference to the Huron and Brockville elections, my hon. friend did not wish to discuss that motion. What he wanted to do was to have it passed without discussion, in order that the committee might get at its work. If my hon. friend felt that he could forego any advantage that there might be in a party sense from prefacing that motion with a discussion, in which a great many things could have been said that would not have been to the advantage and the credit of hon. gentlemen opposite, that was magnanimous on his part. He was willing to forego that, for what purpose? Because he wanted to test the Prime Minister or the Prime Minister's expression. Everywhere throughout this country where he spoke during last summer, what was one of his boasts? He said: 'Talk about scandals; talk about charges. I have one answer to that: there never is a charge made in parliament for which we do not grant a committee of inquiry.' The right hon. gentleman floated on that large-winged declaration of his high above the heads of the good people of this province of Ontario, as a paragon of what was fair and just and right in parliamentary procedure: 'Make your charge, you shall have your committee—that is my policy, that is my plan.' Well, Sir, here is a question that was brought up last year as a matter of privilege, when a committee was granted to my hon. friend on the express pretension that there should be the fullest and freest inquiry into the matter. The right hon. leader of the government agreed that it should be sent and sent at once to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. It was sent there. The right hon. gentleman gained great glory to himself for promptly putting before the proper committee the charge regarding a most important question, as to how the public officers of this government had discharged their trust with reference to the taking and counting of the people's ballots. Is there any more important question that could be brought before this House or the country? Is there any-

thing that ought to be more strictly guarded? Is there anything which is more proper for a prompt and full inquiry? The hon. gentleman thought not last year when he sent it to the Privileges and Elections Committee. It went to that committee. I am not going to say a word as to how it was managed there, but it is known to every one that that committee discovered grave evils. It is well known that the evidence, so far as it went, showed a state of affairs that is not at all creditable, and a mode of procedure by officers of the government which was not at all to the credit of these officers.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I do not think the hon. gentleman is justified in making that statement.

Mr. FOSTER. I make that statement and take the responsibility of making it.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. You may make the statement and take the responsibility, but you cannot give any evidence to support it.

Mr. FOSTER. I make the statement and take the responsibility, and I will not at present do anything less or more than that.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. If the hon. gentleman will allow me—

Mr. FOSTER. I must ask the hon. gentleman to wait until I get through. The investigation went on, and was not more than half concluded, when parliament rose, and what did the committee do? The committee reported the evidence as far as it was taken. It reported upon certain facts that were elicited, and the understanding was that it was an unfinished inquiry which was to be taken up when the House came together in the succeeding session. No one else had any other idea, the country had no other idea, and nothing has since transpired to make that question less important. On the contrary, many things have since transpired which have added to its importance. In the interval between last session and this, the officers in the province of Ontario, appointed by Liberal ministers of the same stripe and political faith as my right hon. friend—officers appointed by his own right-hand men, as he declared them to be when the provincial elections were going on—officers appointed by those men and sworn to do their duty, did what? They did everything but what they should have done. They stole ballots, they switched ballots, they destroyed ballots, they took the people's will, as it was given on the individual ballot, and absolutely abstracted it, and prevented that will being shown, and this they did in poll after poll. This was done by the right-hand friends of the right hon. gentleman, it was done by the very same machine, and in furtherance of the very same machine methods that my

Mr. FOSTER.

right hon. friend, and the Postmaster General, used in the Dominion elections in West Huron and Brockville. The machine was the same, the game was the same, the men who were working the machine, were the same in both elections. Will my right hon. friend dare stand up and say that he approves of the actions of those officers of the local government in Elgin and the Hurons and Waterloo, and these other constituencies? Why, it smelt so to heaven, that the Prime Minister of Ontario had to leave his Premiership and get out of the government. Why, it became so rank that the man who to-day is Premier of that government, actually stood up some months ago and declared—and drew to himself glory from the declaration—that he had appointed a commission of judges to look into the whole matter, although on the very night when he made that statement and promise, he knew, and had known for weeks, that every ballot had been burnt long before. He knew it, and did not say a word about it. He gave the promise to the ear, and led the people of this country to believe for months, that at last a righteous Liberal had got to work in high office in the province of Ontario, and meant to have a thorough investigation. All this shows that there ought to be a full and fair investigation into this matter of the Brockville and Huron elections. Why did my right hon. friend change? When my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Borden), brought that matter up as a question of privilege this session, why did not my right hon. friend send it immediately to the same committee, with instructions to make a full and fair inquiry? One reason was given—not the true one, I venture to say—by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and that it was that it cost nearly \$10,000 to take the evidence last year. How parsimonious the hon. gentleman has become! Sitting at his right is a Postmaster General, who allowed postage enough on partisan literature outside of the session of parliament to the extra sessional speech of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, to pay for the whole cost for this investigation over and over. Fear of expenditure of money is not the reason. These hon. gentlemen are not afraid of money being expended on commissions. Why, then, did the right hon. gentleman not send this matter to the committee on the question of privilege? What did he fear for West Huron? What did he fear for Brockville? Had fresh news come to the right hon. gentleman's ear? One would think so, for he took a technical objection and ruled my hon. friend out on the question of privilege.

There was only one recourse left to my hon. friend from Halifax, and that was to put his motion on the Order paper. He got it on as soon as he could. It occupies the first place it possibly could. Then would it not have been right and proper for the

right hon. gentleman now, after he had vindicated the rules of procedure, after he had made my hon. friend give notice, and take his turn—would it not have been fair, if he wanted to facilitate an investigation, to allow my hon. friend's motion to pass, when we came to it, so that the matter might go to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. That is what my hon. friend wanted, and that is what the right hon. gentleman refused. And when reproached with inconsistency, his honour took fire, his dignity was infringed upon, and he declared that he had given a courtesy which had been abused, and he would never do it again. That declaration is tantamount to what? It is tantamount to telling this House and country, it is tantamount to telling the machine and this country, that they have nothing to hope for in the one case, and nothing to fear in the other. My hon. friend from Halifax has nothing to hope for. He cannot reach that motion this year. The decision has gone out. My right hon. friend refuses to allow us to pass the unopposed motions, and he seals the impossibility of our reaching this motion by declaring that every man must go on with his motion, or it will be dropped. That means that the twelve or fourteen motions which precede my hon. friend's, will take up the rest of the session, and by this course, the right hon. First Minister has effectually burked any possible attempt of my hon. friend to get an investigation on before the committee. The right hon. gentleman may plume himself for having done a clever thing, but I doubt if his followers think it is the best thing to have done. I doubt if the country will think it is. My hon. friend behind me (Mr. Borden), has evidence fresh and new, in addition to what was before the committee last year, which he is prepared to submit to the committee. My right hon. friend interposes his dignity and ideas of courtesy and the technical rules of this House, and declares, in fact, that my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Borden), shall not have an opportunity of going on with the investigation. I do not care what you know, he says; I do not care what damning proof you can bring, you shall not have a chance to bring the case before the Committee on Privileges and Elections; we want to go to the country, and we do not want to have your investigation on before we go to the country. As to courtesy, I asservate here most definitely that I am led to suspect that there is a recrudescence of more boyish days, as a matter of fact, in my hon. friend at this moment when he takes the extraordinary position, that it is a matter of courtesy and he will refuse it, or when he takes that still more grievously wrong stand—in my opinion—that he will actually shut off every member of this parliament from getting a motion for a return if he happens to be later than the eighth or tenth on the order paper, that is the position the right hon.

gentleman has taken to-day; and that is the reason I raised the question and used the language I did. His conduct is unexampled, and you cannot characterize it in proper terms unless you use language which will leave no doubt of what you feel. I warn my hon. friend that he is taking a position which will not redound to his own advantage or to the advantage of his party or to good government in this country. The constituency of West Huron reeked with corrupt practices, it was filled with machine methods. Honest men who put their ballots in for a certain candidate swore that their ballots were not counted unless they were counted for the man for whom they did not vote. We have to-day sitting in this House two gentlemen who, I believe, would not sit here if the truth were brought out with reference to these two elections, and if they obeyed the voice of the people in that respect. For, though my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) stated this time that we had no right to press it, if it had gone over the period when the courts could interfere, he stated the exact opposite in 1892, as was read by my hon. friend from Kent, N.B., (Mr. McInerney)—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Will my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) permit me?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I did not make such contradictory statements. I said the reference made by this House last year was expressly moved by my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Borden), not to inquire into the validity of the election or the right of the hon. gentleman to his seat, but solely and only into the conduct of the officers employed to conduct that election. And when the committee met, the very first question which they had to discuss was whether their decision might effect the seat of the hon. member in this House. Because if it could affect the seat of a member of this House, by the statute law of the land, over which we have no control, we were prohibited from allowing the witnesses to state for whom they voted. And when we came to decide, taking time and discussing it among ourselves, the committee decided unanimously, so far as my recollection goes—I do not remember a dissenting voice at the close, except a protest from the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), who, if I remember well, said that he did not quite agree with them—the committee determined that our decision could not affect the position of the member, that under the terms of the reference made to us by this House our decision could not affect the seat of the member. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) was, perhaps, inclined to say it could.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I may be wrong, but I think that was the position taken by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell).

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). My recollection is that he did not think it would affect the seat, but where he differed with the committee was as to allowing questions to be put as to how a witness voted.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I think I remember what I heard—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. FOSTER. I think I will go on with my speech.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) will allow me to make the statement.

Mr. FOSTER. I am ready to go on.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. But my hon. friend will surely permit me—

Mr. FOSTER. I am thoroughly rested now, and I wish to go on. I will not wait.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I will measure out to the hon. gentleman again the same measure that he gives me now.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend (Sir Louis Davies) has given me to drink of that bitter cup several times, and I want him to taste a little of it that he may know its flavour. Now, I will leave my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the record and to the tender mercies of the hon. member for Kent and the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden), and I will make this one statement, which I think even the Minister of Marine and Fisheries will not contradict—if the investigation of the committee proves that legally these two gentlemen who now sit in this House did not have a majority of votes, I think too much of these gentlemen to think that they would remain here for one hour—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The reference would not permit that to be shown.

Mr. McMULLEN. You have a better opinion of them than you had of Baird.

Mr. FOSTER. I have a better opinion of these two gentlemen, though I may not know them so well. Now, what I say is this—that on this question which, as I believe, is most important, the right hon. gentleman has taken two wrong positions—first, in saying that we are entitled to none of these things except by courtesy, and,

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

second, in interposing himself a second time, and now most effectively, against any attempt on the part of my hon. friend (Mr. Borden, Halifax) to get his motion carried and to have the investigation go on. What is the only conclusion to be reached from the facts? It is that what the right hon. gentleman welcomed last year he avoids this year. He welcomed it last year because he thought it was right to have the investigation; he avoids it and prohibits it this year, why? Because he fears the result of the investigation. Now, I admit no courtesy with reference to a member's right to have his motion passed for information, and I dissent entirely from the position which my right hon. friend has taken with reference to this inquiry. I move the adjournment of the House.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I do not intend to be drawn from the dignity which I owe to myself and to the House by the extraordinary exhibition we have had from the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) who has just taken his seat. I must say to the hon. gentleman at once, and he should know it, that I do not indulge in personalities—I never did, and I do not intend to begin now. I leave that to the small men; I choose to act as a man grown. I leave these methods to the hon. gentleman, and he is welcome to all the benefits he can derive from them. No doubt he has a good reason to believe for himself that it is the best he can do for himself and for his party. I have only to say that I disagree with everything that has been said by the hon. gentleman. As to the position I have taken in this matter, I have only to say that every man in this House is the equal of the other; every member has the right to bring in any motion he pleases. All cannot be served at the same time, so every man must take his turn. Here is the Order paper showing that there are about fifty or sixty notices of motion, some of which are debatable, while some are not. Some are for the production of papers simply. If we are to follow the rule of the House every man will have to await his turn. There is no gainsaying that position. If a man has to wait for his turn, he loses no right; he takes his chance like everybody else. To-day, on coming to the notices of motion, my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) asked that we should take the unopposed motions. What do we understand by 'unopposed motions'? The hon. gentleman has defined it. What we understand by an unopposed motion is a motion for the production of papers which a member thinks he may require for the discussion of some question later on. That is well understood. In the same way, a few nights ago, we were asked to take the unopposed motions. I agreed, as I have always agreed upon previous occasions. But we came to the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden)

for a committee of inquiry. That is not what we understand to be an unopposed motion, that is not a motion for the production of papers. It could not fairly be treated as an unopposed motion, and I asked that it be allowed to stand. Because I took that position the whole of the opposition, on the following day, said that I had refused investigation. I thought if that were to be the way, after granting this courtesy, I would not extend the same courtesy again, and, so long as I occupy the position I do, I shall not extend that courtesy again unless it is understood that we will take only unopposed motions, motions for papers and nothing else. This is the position I take, and it is the position I stand by at the present time. As to everything that has been said by the hon. gentleman, the question of the investigation in regard to Huron and Brockville has nothing at all to do with the present matter. This shall be treated at the proper moment. I have only this to say to the hon. gentleman: I have a sense of my own responsibility, I have a sense of the duty which I owe to the House as the leader of the House, and I intend to maintain my own notion of that duty.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax). Mr. Speaker, the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) has given as a reason why we are not to deal with unopposed motions to-day the fact that some lack of courtesy was exhibited to him from this side of the House last week. Now, the right hon. gentleman knows well enough that any such act of discourtesy, as he has seen fit to term it, was simply a protest on this side of the House by reason of the fact that the right hon. gentleman had taken a position in regard to this motion which I am bringing to the attention of the House, which could only have one result, and that was the result of preventing any further inquiry into this matter. My right hon. friend must not suppose that we are quite fools on this side of the House, or that we cannot see through a little manoeuvre of that kind. This matter was dealt with last year as a matter of privilege. It was brought up in this House as a matter of privilege, and when it was brought up this year again, I took the position that it should be dealt with as a matter of privilege. I venture to say that no hon. member of the government will deny that statement. I was compelled by the action which the government took in regard to this matter to place this upon the motion paper as an ordinary motion. What had I to expect in regard to the action which hon. gentlemen opposite would take upon this matter? What was said to me by the right hon. gentleman who leads this House when I brought the matter up last year? Perhaps my right hon. friend has forgotten what he said the other day. I will take the opportunity of refreshing his memory and

showing how different his attitude in regard to this matter, before the investigation began, is, from his attitude in regard to it after the investigation had been partly completed. Last year the right hon. gentleman said:

With regard to the West Huron election, I am free to say, at once, that having heard the statement that the hon. gentleman has made, and which I understand he is prepared to substantiate upon his standing as a member of this House, he has made a prima facie case which, I say, without any hesitation, must go to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Then, he continued as follows:

With regard to the Brockville election, I must say that, in my estimation, the case which he has made out is very, very weak, if indeed he has made out a case at all.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Let us see whether hon. gentlemen will say hear, hear, when I read what follows:

But such is the sanctity of the ballot, such is the sanctity of the rights of the people which they must exercise, whenever they are called upon at the polls, that though, in my opinion, speaking here in behalf of the government, the case made out in regard to Brockville is more than weak, still the government will not offer any objection to the case also being referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

That was the attitude of the right hon. gentleman last year. Then, he continued further in the same high-minded manner, in concluding his speech:

If any one has contravened the law, it is fair and right that this should be investigated, and that we should know now henceforth and for ever, that the will of the people must be expressed as the people wish to express it, however severe the consequences may be on one side or the other.

I made my motion this year, having regard to the attitude that the right hon. gentleman had exhibited to this House last year. I expected that the right hon. gentleman would come, himself, to this House and ask that this matter be at once referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. That is the only course that you could expect from the right hon. gentleman having regard to his statement the year before, and having regard to what had been brought out before that committee. But, when I made my motion, in good faith, it was met by objections raised on behalf of the government. I was still more astonished, after having been willing to deal with this matter as an unopposed motion, because there could be nothing to discuss in it. The right hon. gentleman sat in his place in this House and took a position that prevented this motion from being here passed upon at all. The right hon. gentleman did two things. In the first place, he served notice upon every hon. gentleman who had a motion on the Order paper that if he did

not bring it up and discuss it, the first time it was reached it would be dropped. Then, we have the next part of the programme. Although I was willing that my motion should be dealt with as an unopposed motion, the right hon. gentleman who had exhibited all this zeal and anxiety for the sanctity of the ballot last year, called out 'stand.' Last year we were taunted in the House and elsewhere with the fact that this motion was not made early enough, and with the fact that we had not brought it up at the commencement of the session. This year when I endeavoured to bring it up at the commencement of the session, and was willing that it should be dealt with as an unopposed motion the right hon. gentleman takes a course which can have only one result, namely, to prevent this matter being reached at all, and then he sets up some slight to his dignity to prevent it being reached in the ordinary way in which we are to deal with notices of motion. Now, the right hon. gentleman says that this should not be dealt with as an unopposed motion. I would like to know why. Will any hon. gentleman quote any authority to show why this should not be dealt as an unopposed motion?

Mr. BRITTON. We intend to oppose it, and therefore it cannot be dealt with as an unopposed motion.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BRITTON. I had not quite finished my sentence.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. SPEAKER. Of course, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) understands that if the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) does not choose to give up the floor, the hon. member (Mr. Britton), has no right to speak.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). What does the hon. gentleman wish to say?

Mr. BRITTON. I only intended to say that I, for one, as an independent member of this House, intended to oppose the motion as to Brockville. That is what I meant.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) said we intended to oppose it.

Mr. BRITTON. I can only speak for myself.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) somewhat distinguished himself on one or two occasions by letting the cat out of the bag, and now he is doing it afresh. Of course, you are going to oppose the motion. We understand that, but we want to make it plain. We want you to take the true position in regard to this, and the hon. gentleman has taken the right and the manly position. 'We are going to oppose it.' Last year we were going to

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax).

have this investigation, we were going to maintain the sanctity of the ballot, we were going, although the case was weak, to send it to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. That was the attitude last year which was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers from hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, when the right hon. gentleman announced it. But, this year, things are different. Seventy, eighty or ninety witnesses have been examined before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and startling facts have been disclosed. Forty-three men have sworn before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, that they deposited ballots for Robert McLean at the polling place in which Donald Cummings was presiding officer, and thirty ballots marked for Robert McLean came out of that ballot box, and no more. Therefore, our attitude is to be different this year from what it was last year. This year we intend to oppose it, although last year we were maintaining the sanctity of the ballot; so say the government. A gentleman by the name of James Farr presided at another poll. 118 men voted at that poll, but 123 ballots came out of the ballot box, and twenty-two of these ballots can readily be distinguished from the other ballots, and Mr. James Farr has stated to witness after witness, that he tampered with the ballots on that occasion. He could not be found for the purpose of bringing him before that committee, although at the very time when the committee was trying to get him, he was in communication with Mr. James Vance, one of the Liberal organizers for the province of Ontario. And so they say, therefore, we do not want an investigation this year; therefore, they say, we will oppose an investigation this year, because, perchance James Farr might be brought before the committee.

Mr. SPROULE. He had a ticket-of-leave last year, and they might renew it this year.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). That statement is from a gentleman who occupied a great deal of time before that committee in the interests of the party of which he is so distinguished a member.

Mr. TAYLOR. Leading counsel for the government.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Ninety-eight ballots came out of a box at a polling place where Mr. Donald Cummings was the presiding officer, and of those, a number of the ballots which were marked for Mr. Holmes, the Liberal candidate at the election, were proved by an expert, whose evidence was not contradicted in the slightest degree, to be of different paper from all the good ballots which were deposited in that box, and of different paper also from the ninety-eight stubs from which they purported to be taken. There were ninety-eight stubs from which ballots had been taken; there were the re-

maining ballots which had not been used, and these were all one class of paper. A certain number of the ballots deposited for Mr. Holmes were of the same quality of paper as the ballots deposited for Mr. McLean, but some twenty ballots which were marked for Mr. Holmes, were of an absolutely different kind of paper, and could never have been taken from these stubs.

Mr. TAYLOR. And a different sized ballot.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). And with different marks, marks which could readily distinguish them, even to an unpracticed eye, from the good ballots, which were deposited by the electors on that occasion. Further than that, Mr. Donald Cummings, and Mr. James Farr, both violated the law, by putting the counterfoils in their pockets, instead of destroying them. Mr. Cummings himself admitted it and witness after witness proved it, so far as Mr. Farr is concerned. Now, these are only a tithe of the grave irregularities, which were shown by the voluminous evidence given before that committee to have been practiced by officers of this House. Then, there is the report of the committee—a report from which my hon. friend from Kingston (Mr. Britton), did not dissent; he did not take enough interest in it to be there, and I assume, if he had been there, he would not have dissented, because, it was assented to by my hon. colleague from Halifax (Mr. Russell), who took a leading part before that committee. This report states: That the proceedings of that committee are incomplete, that several witnesses who appeared before that committee, and whom it was intended to examine, could not be examined for want of time, and the committee therefore report:

The evidence given by the witnesses who were examined that the House may take such action thereon, and as to continuing and completing the inquiry and investigation as may be deemed best, and the committee recommend that the evidence and exhibits be printed for the use of members of the House.

Under circumstances of that kind, is it a wonder—having regard to the attitude that was taken by the leader of the House last year, and taken also by his party, who greeted his remarks with applause—having regard to that, is it any wonder that we should expect to have these proceedings expedited this year? If this matter cannot be dealt with as a matter of privilege, why cannot it be dealt with as an unopposed motion? There are English authorities. There is a most elementary rule with regard to such a matter. There are English authorities and there are Canadian authorities quoted in Sir John Bourinot's book, to show that a question of this kind is referred back as a matter of course. Three or four instances are given in Sir John Bourinot's book, where it has been done in the English House of Commons. One instance, at least,

is given, where it has been done in the Canadian Senate, and twice last year in this very House, it was done. The evidence taken before a committee in the previous year, the Committee on Public Accounts, with regard to a certain expenditure of public money in Manitoba, respecting these very election matters, was referred back and was not opposed, and the committee dealt with that matter embodying the evidence taken during the session of 1898, as well as the evidence taken in the session of 1899. There is nothing to discuss about this matter, so far as our position is concerned. Will any gentleman on the other side, tell me what there is to discuss about it, and why should it not be dealt with as an unopposed motion? It cannot be dealt with properly in any other way, except as an unopposed motion, unless hon. gentlemen opposite are prepared to take a different attitude towards the question this year from that which the Prime Minister announced last year.

Now, Sir, having regard to the investigation, which has been held and which is still incomplete; having regard to the attitude which the right hon. gentleman and his followers took last year, I say that we had a right to expect different treatment with regard to this motion, from that which we have experienced; and I say that the right hon. gentleman was altogether too sensitive when he treated the protests from this side of the House as an insult to his dignity. I do not think that his dignity should be so easily ruffled. I point out that the course which has been pursued by the right hon. gentleman, and his friends during this session, is altogether a different course from that which they pursued last session, and a course which cannot commend itself to the judgment of any fair-minded man, who has any regard for the dignity of this House.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). The ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster), is trying to make a mountain out of a mole hill. Does he not know that even if the government should consent to allow unopposed motions to pass, there is nothing to prevent any individual member of this House from getting up and saying that he wants to discuss the motion on the Order paper, and that prevents its being proceeded with as an unopposed motion. In the face of that, how does the hon. gentleman from Halifax (Mr. Borden), expect to have his motion called until the proper time arrives. Why should he put the responsibility on the right hon. the Prime Minister, when he and the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), well know, that unopposed motions can only be called with the unanimous consent of the House, and that any one member can prevent them being proceeded with.

The ex-Finance Minister this afternoon tried to show that all the wickedness, all

the irregularities, and all the ballot stuffing in the country were directly chargeable to the Reform party. The hon. gentleman did not apparently remember that when he sat on this side of the House, Mr. Baird, who was wrongfully returned as the member for Kings, N.B., by sixty of a majority, held his seat here session after session, and the ex-Finance Minister, while a member of the cabinet, supported him in doing so, and tried in every way to prevent any investigation that would result in putting Mr. Baird out; and that gentleman held the seat to the end of the term, notwithstanding the fact that he was in a minority of sixty. Take another case. The ex-Finance Minister was in this House in the session of 1896, when Mr. McGillivray was returned as the member for North Ontario, and occupied a seat in the House during the whole session without having any right to it. A recount was held, and it was found that twenty-one ballots for Mr. Graham, the Liberal candidate, had been extracted, and twenty-one for Mr. McGillivray put in; and Mr. McGillivray, being evidently ashamed of it, eventually resigned. In another case, while the ex-Finance Minister was a member of the cabinet, Dr. Landerkin was returned for South Grey by a majority of forty-six. During the time that elapsed from the return of the ballots by the deputy returning officers, and the receipt of the boxes by the returning officer, twenty-six ballots for Dr. Landerkin were taken out of seven polling subdivisions, and twenty-six marked for his opponent, Mr. Blyth, were substituted in order to put Dr. Landerkin out of the seat. If there is any party in this country that originated tampering with ballot boxes, and that has had a monopoly of that business, that party sits on the other side of the House at the present time. They were the men who instructed the deputy returning officers to perpetrate these crimes.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes, they were. Mr. Birmingham was the man who telegraphed to Macdonald, Manitoba, during the election of 1896, that Freeborn was a good man, and he was the man who went there from Ontario and taught the men who perpetrated the crime the way to do it. The ex-Finance Minister will get up and declare that in Ontario, and Ontario alone, all the corruption is to be found. The hon. gentleman knows the inner secrets of the wickedness that was perpetrated by members of his own party long before any Reformer knew anything about such things. They are the men who introduced the system, who educated their deputy returning officers; and if anything of the kind was ever practised by any Reformer, I am sorry for it. Hon. gentlemen opposite say that in every election now held where Reformers are successful, that result is obtained by

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manipulation of the ballots. They lived a long time by the practice of that kind of iniquity, and now their chickens are coming home to roost. They know that we carry the elections fairly and honestly.

With regard to the West Huron case, hon. gentlemen opposite were allowed unlimited privileges. They subpoenaed men from the riding until the whole corridor upstairs was filled with them, and every chair that could be found was occupied by a witness. Day after day these men were examined. The ex-Minister of Finance said to-day that wickedness, irregularity and corruption had been proved against the deputy returning officers. It is unfair to that staff of officers for him to dare to make that statement, in face of the evidence that was taken. Not a single deputy returning officer was proved guilty of one wrong act; and yet the hon. gentleman has the daring to get up and attempt to blacken the characters of these men who honestly endeavoured to discharge their duty. With regard to the charge that a large amount of money had been spent, there was nothing proved. As for the Brockville election, I as a member of this House am prepared to say that I do not want to stand in the way, or to support any government that would stand in the way of a full and fair investigation wherever there is a prima facie case that will justify an investigation.

Mr. MILLS. You are doing it now.

Mr. McMULLEN. But I am prepared to oppose, as long as I hold a seat in this House, a fishing investigation in any constituency. We never asked for such investigations when we sat on that side of the House; if we had done so, we would never have got them. We had to make out a prima facie case before any investigation was granted. After our experience of the West Huron case, which ended without any impurity or irregularity being proved, and in the face of the very limited, flimsy charges which are offered as a basis for an investigation, if the government chose to take the stand that they would not grant it, I say they would be perfectly justified. But at the same time, wherever a prima facie case is made out, I do not wish to stand in the way of an investigation. But the ex-Finance Minister tried to make out that the First Minister was going to balk this investigation by the course he has taken with regard to unopposed motions. The hon. gentleman knows that in making that statement he was trying to place upon the shoulders of the First Minister a responsibility which he had no right to place upon him, because he knew that if the man who sits for Brockville simply rose in his seat and declared his intention of speaking on that resolution, the hon. member for Halifax could not go on with it.

In the next place, the hon. gentleman should have proceeded earlier with his motion, but instead he frittered away the time at his disposal and allowed two or three weeks of the session to pass before doing anything. And then, when he finds that he is fettered by the rules of the House, he turns around and charges the government with obstruction. The whole responsibility rests at the hon. gentleman's own door. The hon. gentleman has no right to expect that other members of this House will forego their right to speak on his resolution or to take any other course they consider proper, because he wishes to have a special privilege granted him.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). Before I refer more directly to what I regard as a gross violation of the privileges of members of this House, I wish to answer a few of the statements made by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen). That hon. gentleman charges the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) with having delayed putting his motion on the paper, but surely he must be aware of the fact, if he is so well informed as he pretends, that the hon. member for Halifax put his notice on the paper the very first day after the committees were appointed. It would have been useless for him to have put his notice on the paper sooner, because the committee could not commence its work until appointed. The hon. member for Halifax, therefore, availed himself, at the earliest possible moment he could, of his right to put this motion on the paper and provide work for that committee.

The hon. member for North Wellington next said that in presenting a case before the House for inquiry, the hon. gentleman who presents it was obliged to make out a prima facie case before his motion would be accepted. But this is just what was done. The right hon. leader of the government acknowledged last year that a prima facie case had been made out, and, therefore, consented to have this matter referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Then, the hon. member for North Wellington proceeded to treat this case to a number of arguments in order to prove that the course taken by the hon. member for Halifax was not the proper one. He tried to justify the wrong-doing in West Huron and Brockville by saying that the Conservatives had done worse when they were in power. He said that because the Conservatives had done certain things in Manitoba and in South Grey, they should not now complain if their chickens were coming home to roost. But does the hon. gentleman in all seriousness pretend that two wrongs will make a right? Does he mean to say that even if wrong had been done by the Conservatives, that justified wrong-doing by the Reformers? Why, there was not a member

of this House who indulged in more forcible declamations against the alleged wrong-doings of the late government than the hon. gentleman. No one tried harder to ferret out these things, either by investigation or other means, and have punishment meted out to those who did them, than the hon. gentleman who is to-day endeavouring to prevent an investigation into and an exposure of the very evils which he formerly waxed so bitter in denouncing.

I wish to deal with another phase of the question. What are the reasons that induce us to put a notice of motion upon the Notice paper? One reason is our desire to lay before the House and the country certain information with regard to certain questions that may be engaging public attention at the time, or with regard to certain lines of policy in which the government are engaged or to which we desire to draw their attention. Another object is to obtain information which we can use in the discussions of certain questions. A third reason is this. When we appoint a committee to do a certain work, it is necessary for this House to clothe that committee with the power to do it, and to refer to that committee the papers or data or information necessary for it to go on with the work. We have a committee appointed every year on Privileges and Elections. To that committee we assign certain rights and duties, and when we refer certain work to it, within the scope of those rights and duties, that committee is bound to do that work. For the purpose of enabling that committee to do the work, we must put in its possession certain information and data or otherwise it could not proceed. It cannot begin the work referred to it until parliament puts the papers in its possession, and to do this we have to put a notice on the motion paper to which the House must give its assent. That is the only means of putting that committee in possession of the data that will enable it to go on and do the work which parliament has instructed it to perform. But that committee is to-day prevented doing its work by the tactics adopted by the right hon. First Minister. They have endeavoured to burke the inquiry by making it impossible for us to reach that motion to have the papers referred to a committee. I say we violate one of the fundamental principles of parliamentary government in not allowing this committee to do the work that parliament has instructed it to do, in making it impossible for this committee to have these papers referred to it, and in not clothing the committee with authority to do the work that parliament instructed them to do. This is prevented, because the motion cannot pass, the papers cannot be referred to this committee, and the committee cannot be given authority to call the witnesses that could not be examined last year owing to the close of the session. And, because it

could not be done, no lengthy report was made. It was left an open question, so that it could be gone on with this year. What does the report say?—

Your committee under the order of reference made on the 9th day of July, 1899, have partially inquired into and investigated the conduct of the returning officer and of certain of the deputy returning officers at the last election for the electoral district of the west riding of the county of Huron.

That in so doing they have heard the testimony of ninety-nine witnesses, and have submitted interrogatories for the examination of the county court judge of the county of Huron of four witnesses; that twenty-five sittings have been held for the purpose of taking evidence, covering seventeen days and comprising seventeen morning sessions and eight afternoon sessions; that the committee determined to hold the last session for the examination of witnesses on Monday, the 7th day of August, 1899, and for that reason nine witnesses then in attendance for the purpose of giving evidence were discharged without examination; twelve witnesses also failed to attend and the attendance of three was countermanded. The proceedings of the committee being thus incomplete the committee do not feel warranted in reporting any conclusions.

Your committee therefore report herewith the evidence given by the witnesses who were examined that the House may take such action thereon and as to continuing and completing the inquiry and investigation as may be deemed best, and they recommend that the said evidence and exhibits be printed for the use of the members of the House.

Now, Mr. Speaker, in pursuance of that report, the work of that committee is printed and is now before the House. Because that report is incomplete, the House has never dealt with it. It was understood that the work would go on during the present session, and that the witnesses would be examined whom it was necessary to examine, and all the information laid before the House in connection with this election to enable the House to discharge its duty. The completion of the committee's work was prevented by the fact that the session came to a close. We have now begun a new session, a session in which it was understood the work of the committee would be gone on with and completed. We on this side have endeavoured, in the discharge of our duty, to take up this work and refer the papers to the committee, which is one of the standing committees of the House, and is intended for such work as this. But we are prevented from setting that committee to work by the Prime Minister who sees fit to avail himself of one of the rules of the House. In doing so, he does what has never been done in this House before. It has been the invariable rule to allow notices that are not of a controversial character intended for the bringing down of papers for the information of the House to be dealt with. The Premier has refused to follow this practice in this case, taking advantage of a technicality. We want the people of Canada to know that fact, to

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know that the fundamental principles of parliamentary government are being violated to an extent that will make parliamentary government a farce. While we appoint a committee we do not put it in their power to do the work that parliament has assigned to it and that parliament has instructed them to do.

We very naturally inquire why the treatment of this matter is so different this year from what it was last year. The House must understand, and the country will understand, that before information was brought out last year, it was hoped that nothing would be learned to show the disgraceful state of things in that election. But that information was brought out; it is in possession of the House and the country knows it. And, because it was of such a disgraceful character, it is desired to burke further inquiry, and to prevent any further information of such a character being laid before the House and the country. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) declared that there was not a single wrong act shown to have been committed by any officer in that election. Need I remind the hon. gentleman of the fact that Mr. Cummings, a deputy returning officer, swore that he had put the stubs of the ballot papers in his pocket. For what purpose? To take them home and burn them, he said. The hon. member for Halifax asked him: Why did you not burn them where you were? Mr. Cummings was playing the part of a smart Aleck witness, and he replied: How could I burn them without a stove in the house. He was asked at what time in the year the election was held, and replied that it was held in February. Is it possible, he was asked then, that you carry on an election in February and have not means to warm the house in which the polling is held? Was there not a stove? Yes, he admitted, there was a stove and a fire. But that is the way he evaded the question. But the hon. member for North Wellington says this officer did not do a wrong act. Does the hon. gentleman know what the law calls upon him to do? Those stubs should have been destroyed in the presence of the scrutineers who were there to see that everything was done as it should be done. He took them home, to burn them ostensibly, but we say for a very much worse purpose, and we are justified in coming to that conclusion with the evidence before us. A number of the witnesses that were required to come before the committee were on ticket-of-leave. They were sent out of the country. Sent out of the country by whom? By friends of the government. Who supplied them with money to pay their board? Friends of the government. Who were these men? The same men who were engaged in the nefarious work in West Elgin, the same men who were engaged in similar work in East Elgin—

Mr. BERGERON. Friends of the government.

Mr. SPROULE. Friends of the government every time. There were the same men in South Ontario and the same men in Brockville, engineered and controlled, I honestly believe, and supplied with money, by the organizer of the party to keep them out of the country. The committee was not allowed to do part of its work because these witnesses were not in the country, and they remained out of the country until the session was over. Then they turned up in Toronto, and they made no secret of it that they were kept out of the country because it was deemed wise to have them there. Who were they? The same men who perpetrated the iniquity that was brought to light in connection with several by-elections in Ontario. And the same crowd of men were in every one of them; the same supporters of the government were in every one of them. Sometimes they were found closetted with ministers of the Crown, and sometimes with men high up in the confidence of the party. They were doing the same scandalous work, and they were sent out of the country when it was over. Look at Bole up at the Sault. When men were hauled up you found that the administration of justice was paralyzed because the Crown attorney would not prosecute. One culprit was bailed out; then that man went out of the country, and bondsmen who went bail were allowed to go. There was the case of Linklater and others, and they remained out of the country for months. I say that this work was done by the same crowd of men all along the line, yet, to-day, we are prevented from bringing forward the evidence which it is absolutely necessary to bring in support of the charges made by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden), who asks that this case shall be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. He is prevented from proceeding with the case in regard to which the right hon. Prime Minister said, last year, that there was a prima facie case made out, and the hon. member for Halifax made out more than a prima facie case after he had brought his witnesses before the Committee on Privileges and Elections. I want the country to know that we, on this side of the House; I want the electors of Canada to know that we are prevented from investigating this case. I want the country to know that hon. gentlemen opposite will not allow the inquiry to proceed into the operations of this machine, into the dastardly, contemptible, illegal and dishonest work of the men who did these things in the interest of the government, which would bring out information that would land some of these men in penitentiary. They happen to be their friends. We had better cease the practice of appointing the Privileges and Elections Committee

to do certain work, if we do not allow them to do that work because we are afraid of the disclosures that it will make. If we are not going to enable that committee to do its work we are only making parliamentary government a farce, and we had better never appoint the committee at all. I can only tell the right hon. Prime Minister and his friends, that, although they may prevent us reaching that notice of motion and referring these papers to the committee that was appointed to do this work, although they may take advantage of the rules of parliament to prevent an investigation, the electors of Canada will hold them to account, and they will visit upon them condign punishment when they have an opportunity to go to the polls again and record their votes for, or against, such conduct as we have witnessed to-day. I am surprised at the right hon. gentleman because of the course he has taken in connection with this matter. He pretended that his dignity was hurt by what he was pleased to call a want of courtesy on the part of the opposition. The opposition extended no discourtesy to him; the opposition desire to avail themselves of the right of every hon. member to secure that information which is necessary to be brought here to enable them to do the work that the people have sent them here to do. There was no discourtesy to him, but he has availed himself of it to work up a little tempest in a teapot in order to justify the unjustifiable course he has taken which prevents this question going back to the Committee on Privileges and Elections to enable it to go on with the inquiry, which, if gone on with would bring out information which, in my judgment, would relieve him of two of his supporters in this House and open up two constituencies where elections would be required to be held before they were honestly represented by men chosen by the honest vote of the people.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—INSURANCE OF CONTINGENTS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I do not rise for the purpose of speaking on this motion, but, with your kind permission, I desire to make an announcement that seems to be required. It will be remembered that an insurance was effected, to the extent of \$1,000,000, on the lives and limbs of the members of the first contingent. The government have, I think, very wisely agreed to allow recruits to be sent for the purpose of taking the places of those who have fallen by death, or who, being severely wounded are unable to maintain their places in the force. The question arises as to the position of the parties who are to take their places. As they are to sail tomorrow, I was very anxious that the press should have the statement that I find that it will not be possible that the insurance,

to the extent of \$1,000,000, shall apply to those who go as recruits. The information I have, is :

The insurance company which placed a policy of \$1,000,000 insurance on the members of the first Canadian contingent have intimated that the insurance covers the original members only, and not the new members.

I think the original contingent numbered some 1,054, who are covered to the extent of \$1,000,000. I am anxious that the parties sailing to-morrow should not go away under the impression that this insurance is extended to them. I therefore, ask the consent of the House to make this announcement.

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

AFTER RECESS.

THE CAPTURE OF BLOEMFONTEIN.

Mr. SPEAKER. This is the hour for private Bills.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, before the House takes up the private Bills, I would like to inquire from the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), whom, I presume, is leading the House to-night, if, before the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) left for Paris, he placed some person in charge of the British flag that is generally hoisted on these buildings? Early this afternoon we received notice from the War Office that Bloemfontein, the capitol of the Orange Free State, had the British flag flying over it, and I think we in Canada should recognize that great victory by hoisting the British flag over our capitol here.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The news was not received until too late to hoist the flag to-night, but the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) will represent the Minister of Public Works, who will take good care of that matter.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). For the comfort of my hon. friend (Mr. Taylor), I must take any blame, if blame there be, for the non-hoisting of the flag to-night. About ten minutes to six, while sitting at my desk here, I received the news that the British troops were flying the Union Jack over Bloemfontein, and it naturally occurred to me that we should do the same thing here. I only entered upon my duties as acting minister to-day, so that although the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is still in the country, I hope he will not blame him.

Mr. TAYLOR. I blame the Postmaster General.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Well, blame me if you like. However, I at once

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

sent for the caretaker, Mr. Dubé, and asked him what was the method of flying the flag. He informed me that according to a very old rule the flag was taken down at sundown, and was safely stowed away for the night. It was then ten minutes to six, and I asked Mr. Dubé if it were sundown, and he said he thought it was. I asked him if he could possibly fly the flag before sundown, but he said he could not. It appears that the flag every night is put away under lock and key. Mr. Tarte, you will see, has taken precautions to have it well cared for, when it is not in actual use. Mr. Dubé told me it would not be possible for him to get the flag to fly it before sundown, and when I left the House at six o'clock, I observed that all the other flags in the city had been taken down.

Mr. MILLS. When Ladysmith was captured the flag was put up at half-past eight at night. So far as the information about the surrender of Bloemfontein is concerned, there was a telegram here at four o'clock, which I saw, announcing it.

Mr. SPEAKER. This whole discussion is, of course, out of order, as this is the hour for private Bills, and we are intruding on it, but, considering the subject, I thought it better to allow the discussion to go on thus far.

THE ORFORD COPPER COMPANY.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. McInnes for the second reading of Bill (No. 53) an Act to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Orford Copper Company, and the motion of Mr. Wood in amendment, 'That the Bill be read a second time this day six months.'

Mr. WOOD. I would ask the hon. gentleman to explain the Bill.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wood) intimated at the close of the debate on the last occasion, that he rather wished to withdraw the amendment in the face of the fact then stated, that the recitals in the preamble were similar to those in a Bill of like character passed last year. I understood he would withdraw the amendment in order that we might make inquiry into it before the Private Bills Committee, where those facts or any further representation based on them could be considered.

Mr. WOOD. I am willing to withdraw, but I wish to make an arrangement with the promoter of the Bill to allow it to stand, because I expect to leave on Saturday to be gone for a week, and I do not want this Bill to go through committee in my absence. If the promoter will undertake to allow the matter to stand until I come back. I have not the slightest hesitation to withdraw my resolution.

Mr. BELCOURT. There is no reason why this Bill should not be referred to the committee. We can refer to the committee, and if my hon. friend is not present when the Bill is called, I shall not press it.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I think this is a Bill which should not pass this House. I believe that the reasons which were given by the hon. member (Mr. Wood) when the Bill was last before us are sufficient to cause the House to hesitate a very great deal before it gives the Bill even a stage. There can be no question that we have done this kind of thing in the past, but we made a mistake when we did it, and if a mistake was made last year or the year before, in reviving a patent which had lapsed by reason of the carelessness of the man or the corporation who owned the patent, it is no reason why we should repeat that mistake. We might do it on the grounds of charity, because sometimes a poor person might hold a patent and not be able to make the necessary expenditure upon it. But this patent was owned by a company, and they never attempted to do anything with it in any way, shape or form. They allowed it to lapse for a time, but immediately that a new process is likely to be begun in the city of Hamilton—a process which is as yet untried and in connection with the trying of which a very large expenditure of capital, subscribed by private individuals, is about to be made—then these people who allowed their patent to lapse and to be absolutely off the slate for years—

Mr. COWAN. How many years?

Mr. MONTAGUE. I think for seven years, the hon. member for Hamilton said.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. That is not the statement in the preamble.

Mr. MONTAGUE. That is the statement made to the House by the hon. member for Hamilton. At any rate for a number of years, there was no attempt to revive it. This parliament never was asked to revive it. There is no pretense now that the patent is likely to be used; but it is intended to be kept as a stumbling-block, in the hope at some later day, if possible, of forcing its purchase by people who are investing their own private money in a great industry in the city of Hamilton. I think this parliament should refuse to read the Bill, or to put it off. There is no sort of justification for it. If this patent is revived, what we shall do, will be to possibly place in the hands of the individuals, who control it, and who allowed it to lapse, and never did anything with it, a means, at some future stage in the history of that big industry in the city of Hamilton, of scoring them and obtaining funds from them for the use of this patent.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I want to call my hon. friend's attention to the fact that the Bill before us contains a preamble, which recites that in the year 1893, a patent was obtained for a period of eighteen years, and the fee paid for six years; that the six years elapsed on the 17th of November, 1899; that prior to the expiration of the first term of six years, the said company duly instructed its said attorneys to renew the said letters patent in due course and to apply for and obtain the said certificate of payment of such additional fee; that by an oversight of the managing clerk of the said attorneys the date of the expiration of the said first term of six years was inadvertently overlooked, but such oversight was discovered within eight days after the date of such expiration, and immediately thereupon the said attorneys made application to pay the said fee. What is before the House, is the statement that there was a delay of eight days in paying for the renewal of the application. Last session, rightly or wrongly, we passed two Bills of a similar character. They went before the Miscellaneous Bills Committee, and were subjected to a very severe scrutiny. That committee now requires that all these statements shall be proved on oath; and I suggest that the facts being prima facie such as would permit the Bill to pass, whether it would not be fair and reasonable to allow it to go before the committee. If the promoters fail to prove the facts as stated, it will have to be thrown out. If they do prove them, then it will have to be considered on its merits.

Mr. SPROULE. While I agree with a good deal of what the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), has said, I think this is not the place to get at the facts. The Private Bills Committee is the place where the evidence can be brought and the information obtained which is not available to this House, and which is necessary to satisfy us whether it would be proper to renew this patent or not. There is something suspicious about it when we are informed that an effort is being made to revive this patent at a time when another company is likely to take advantage of the process. That of itself is enough to make us move with great caution. We have heretofore revived patents of a similar character; but that has only been done after careful scrutiny and after bringing before the committee sufficient evidence to justify the committee in doing so. In this case, I think no great harm would be done by allowing the Bill to be read a second time and referred to the committee; but that committee should proceed with great caution, and satisfy themselves that this company is entitled to a renewal of the patent before it is renewed; because the conduct of the company would seem to suggest that they are inclined to play, as

many have done before, the game of dog in the manger, by not either using the patent themselves, nor allowing others to take advantage of it.

Mr. TAYLOR. I would suggest to the minister that the Bill be allowed to stand on the Order paper until the Minister of Agriculture ascertains whether the statements made in the preamble are correct or not. If he finds that they are correct, then there will be no objection to refer it to the committee. But if the statements made are found to be not true, it should not be advanced a further stage.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do not think the House should pursue the course suggested by the hon. gentleman. The effect of that would be to constitute the Minister of Agriculture a final authority as to whether or not the facts alleged in the preamble of this Bill, and like Bills, be correct or not. I do not think that is an arrangement which would be convenient or desirable in any sense. This House must needs deal with the Bill upon the assumption, at this stage, at all events, that the facts alleged in the preamble are correct; and assuming that they are correct, hon. members must judge whether or not a case has been made out which would justify the House in passing the Bill, to a second reading. There are no means of ascertaining whether those facts are correct or not, except by having the persons interested brought before the Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills, to give evidence on that question. Then the committee will be in a position to deal with the measure. So far as I am personally concerned, I am not well disposed towards reviving letters patent which have lapsed. As a general rule, I do not think it is a course we ought to adopt. At the same time, I am prepared to acknowledge that there may be cases in which we should be fully justified in reviving a patent, and I think the House must deal with each case as it comes before it, after the facts have been satisfactorily ascertained. I am disposed to agree with very much that has been said by the hon. member for Haldimand; but I do not think that we ought to deal with this present motion upon any other basis than that the facts alleged in the preamble are correct. Assuming that they are correct, then it would be for the House to say whether the Bill should not be advanced a further stage, and be referred to the committee. But if the view of hon. members present is that the facts stated, even if fully substantiated, are not sufficient to justify the passage of the Bill, then it would be very proper to refuse a second reading of the Bill.

Mr. BELCOURT. The facts mentioned in the preamble have to be proved before the committee, and if not proved the Bill will be thrown out.

Mr. SPROULE.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Supposing they are proved, they may not make out a case.

Mr. BELCOURT. Then when the Bill comes up for the third reading, the House can reject it, if it does not approve of it. I do not see why it should not be referred to the committee. Otherwise we will be simply rendering a judgment without trial. Let the measure be investigated in the Private Bills Committee, and I will undertake not to press the Bill in that committee when my hon. friend is absent.

Mr. TAYLOR. Might I ask where the hon. gentleman is going to make his proof otherwise than at the patent office? The record there states the date the patent was issued.

Mr. BELCOURT. There are many things in the preamble which will have to be established altogether outside the commissioner of patents.

Mr. TAYLOR. If the statement of the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), supported by the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Wood), is correct, namely, that the patent lapsed several years ago, although, according to the preamble, it only lapsed about eight days ago, the record in the patent office will show which statement is correct.

Mr. BELCOURT. That is not the only fact to be established. There are others that cannot be established anywhere than before the committee.

Mr. WOOD. So far as I am concerned, on the understanding that this Bill will not be pressed in the committee in my absence, which will be about a couple of weeks, I am quite willing that we should go to the committee. I have evidence to show that the patent lapsed seven years ago, and will prove that in the committee.

Mr. SPEAKER. Will the hon. member have leave to withdraw his amendment?

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. WILSON. I do not know why this Bill should go to the committee if the patent expired six or seven years ago, and the Bill represents that it only expired a few days ago. That is good reason why it should not go to the committee. I shall vote for the six months hoist.

Mr. CHARLTON. This would be irregular and unfair. We have our regularly constituted machinery for dealing with these matters. The Committee on Private Bills is charged with the duty of examining into the character of these Bills, and that committee is the regular channel through which we derive our information. We would be departing from parliamentary usage if we were to take any other course except a reference of this Bill to the Private

Bills Committee. We have the pledge made by the hon. gentleman who has the Bill in charge that he will not press it in the absence of the hon. member for Hamilton, and we have the fact that the hon. member for Hamilton is satisfied with that arrangement, and under the circumstances it would be irregular and improper to adopt any other course than to refer this Bill to the Private Bills Committee, and let that committee examine into the facts and report.

Motion withdrawn ; and Bill read the second time.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 72) respecting the Merchants' Bank of Halifax, and to change its name to 'The Royal Bank of Canada'—(Mr. Russell.)

Bill (No. 73) respecting the Restigouche and Western Railway Company.—(Mr. McAlister.)

Bill (No. 74) respecting the Northern Commercial Telegraph Company (Limited).—(Mr. Domville.)

Bill (No. 76) to incorporate the Canadian Loan and Investment Company.—(Mr. Clarke.)

Bill (No. 77) to incorporate the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.—(Mr. Quinn.)

Bill (No. 84) respecting the Bay of Quinté Railway Company.—(Mr. Hurley.)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—UNOPPOSED MOTIONS.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk). The debate on the motion to adjourn, presented by the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), seems to have taken a wide range, and I suppose there is practically no limit to the range it may take. I desire to say a few words on behalf of that portion of the members of this House who have business to transact here, and who have taken the regular course to secure attention to that business, by placing their notices of motions and the Bills they have in charge upon the Orders of the Day. We have the Orders of the Day as our chart to guide us in the transactions of business. It is supposed, if we attend to parliamentary procedure and practices, that we shall pursue the order of business laid down on this Order paper. But, recently, we have paid very little attention to the order. In a great majority of cases, we might as well have had no guide to direct us as to the business we were to transact. A large portion of our time has been taken up with the discussion of questions that have been raised upon motions to adjourn, questions that have been in this way sprung upon the House without notice, and have been debated at great length, and often in a spirit the reverse of dignified, the reverse of parliamentary, as was the case to some extent with the discussion this afternoon. Now, I might instance my own case as one in which

the rights of a private member, in my opinion have been infringed upon by the course that this House has pursued. I had a notice on the Order paper which stood as the first order for to-day. I have expected to reach that notice for several days. It was reasonable to suppose that it would be reached and discussed to-day. But the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster), rises and commences an assault upon the Premier and the government, and informs yourself, Sir, and the House, that he will conclude with a motion. He proceeds to make what I must say was an intemperate assault, and to use language the reverse of dignified, the reverse of parliamentary. He abused the Premier or spoke of him in the coarsest and most unparliamentary manner—

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, he did. I would term his manner coarse and unparliamentary.

Mr. DAVIN. I rise to a point of order, Mr. Speaker, and would ask your ruling on the hon. member's (Mr. Charlton's) words. I submit that the hon. member has no right to say of another hon. member that he has used coarse and unparliamentary language, for your own decision to-day was that the language was not unparliamentary.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think no member has the right to apply the term 'unparliamentary' to what the House accepted at the time. As to characterizing it otherwise, I think the same freedom must be allowed as in other cases.

Mr. DAVIN. 'Unparliamentary' was out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think so.

Mr. CHARLTON. Of course, I bow to your ruling, Mr. Speaker ; and I bow to it with this remark—that if the language used by the hon. member for York this afternoon was parliamentary, then, that kind of parliamentary usage will reduce this House to the condition of a beer garden in a very short time.

The abuse of the privilege of bringing up questions on motion to adjourn is becoming a very serious abuse in this House. The time wasted already this session has been a very important item. This abuse disarranges the course of business so that members have no means of judging when a given order of business will be reached ; it is a matter of chance rather than a matter of calculation as to when we shall do anything. I think it is high time that the rights of members who have business to transact, and who have this Order paper to indicate to them at what time they will probably have the privilege of bringing that business before the House should be in some measure respected. There is a rule in the Ontario assembly that motions to adjourn shall not be discussed by any member at greater

length of than half an hour. Some usage of that kind should be followed here; it would curtail the discussion that can be indulged in by members who choose to rise and commence an assault on somebody or a disquisition about something, informing the speaker that, in due time, when he gets through his diatribe, he will move the adjournment of the House. The grievance of the hon. member (Mr. Foster) who made this motion this afternoon was that a course had been adopted that was calculated to deprive members of the right to proceed with business. He attacked the government because the Premier had chosen to adhere to the rules of the House without making an exception in application of those rules asked for by the leader of the opposition. The hon. member who made this attack upon the government, and who said he did so because the action of the government was impeding business and preventing a private member from reaching a motion, was himself guilty of the very offence that he charged upon the government. He was guilty of wasting practically an entire day by the course he took, and was delaying legitimate business, delaying the reaching of the very motion he was condemning the government for not permitting him to reach, and putting the reaching of that motion a day later under any circumstances than it otherwise would have been. He was guilty of the very offence he was charging on the government, and guilty of that offence without justification for the purpose, in my opinion, of raising a discussion that might possibly result in advantage to the opposition. Now, the whole of that matter with regard to the contest in Brockville and the contest in West Huron was discussed by the opposition as though they were in possession of a verdict, and of the outcome of an investigation when they had neither one nor the other. The whole thing was premature, the whole thing was unparliamentary. I repeat that we are falling into bad usages in the manner of conducting the business of this House, usages that are in violation of all precedents and all parliamentary rules, that are a waste of time, and ought to be discountenanced by every respectable member of this House without reference to party. For, we are all interested in maintaining the dignity of this House, I understand. I do not think there are any hon. members on either side who wish to bring this House into a position where it will be an object of contempt to the country. I do not suppose there is any hon. member who desires the House to occupy an undignified position in the eyes of the country, but, it is exactly what will be the result of the conduct that is indulged in, in this House. It will lose—I may say, that, to a very great extent, it has already lost the respect of the country.

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. CHARLTON.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, it has largely lost its own respect, that is, the respect of the more respectable members of this House.

Mr. TAYLOR. It is fast losing it since 1896.

Mr. CLANCY. Would the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) state what he means by the more respectable members of the House?

Mr. CHARLTON. Well, I suppose, there are different grades of respectability in churches, in the House of Commons and everywhere else, and there are some members who have a keener sense of propriety and a greater desire to pursue respectable and proper conduct than others. All the members of the House of Commons are respectable, but there are different degrees, different grades of respectability, and some grades of respectability are more apparent in the case of some hon. members than in that of others, although I do not deny its being possessed, to a certain extent, by all. I was about to say, Mr. Speaker, that this House is losing the attention of the country.

An hon. MEMBER. No.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, and to some extent, it is losing the respect of the country. The country looks on and sees the unjustifiable waste of time, day after day, when we ought to be attending to the legitimate business of the House, a waste of time in order to advance the purposes of some individual or clique or party. This course is taken in violation of what all men know are the proper rules of debate, the proper rules by which a grave deliberative assembly, such as this Canadian House of Commons, representing half a continent of 6,000,000 people, should be guided. Now, Mr. Speaker, a little more progress in the direction we have been making progress in, will bring this House into a condition that will be a very undesirable one. I can realize a very marked contrast, in my own mind, between the Canadian House of Commons of 1900 and the Canadian House of Commons of twenty-five years ago. I believe that the first and the second parliaments of Canada lived nearer to the rules that should be adopted and followed by a legislative assembly than the present House does.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. CHARLTON. I believe that the debates were more pertinent, briefer, that there was less padding and a less manifestation of party spirit and bad temper, that there was more dignity in the conduct of debates and the proceedings of the House in every respect, that there was a higher grade, a higher level, and instead of advancing in this respect, I am sorry to say, the course that we are pursuing does inevitably lead to deterioration. I am sorry

to say it, and I think it is a matter that should receive the attention of every hon. member. I do not get up to speak as a Liberal, or a supporter of the government side of the House, I do not get up to denounce the opposition. I do not say that the disposition to do what is not consistent with a higher ideal of parliamentary conduct is confined to any one side of the House, but I say that all the members of the House should endeavour to secure the conduct of the business of the House in a manner which will reflect credit upon the House, which will advance the business of the House and which will secure for the House, in the estimation of the country, respect and attention. Respect for ourselves should demand and secure a more dignified course in the transaction of the business that is placed before us, and if we are to continue this mode of doing things, this lamentable waste of time, the result will be that we will fritter away from two to four months of our time. When hon. members are tired out and desire to go home, there is a great mass of business remaining on the Order paper, a great number of important measures to receive attention, there is not time to give them proper attention, and the result is that measures of the most important character are forced through with scarcely any consideration at all. The time that ought to have been devoted to a full and fair consideration of these measures has been fooled away, as this day has been fooled away, and as other days have been fooled away during this session. We had, this afternoon, on the part of the deputy leader of the opposition, the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), the gentleman who sprung this discussion and who is responsible for this waste of time, the bold, bald threat that the business of the House would be blocked, that we would have more obstruction, that we would have more difficulty than we have hitherto experienced in transacting the business of the House. If this is the spirit that actuates the first lieutenant of the opposition, if this is the spirit that actuates any considerable number of the members of the opposition, if there is permitted to exist in this House a spirit that undertakes to dictate the conduct of the opposition in this House in a purely obstructive sense, it is a most lamentable condition of affairs, and I say that it is time to alter our course, to adopt new standards, as individual members of the House, irrespective of party considerations, and to decide whether we are to condone, whether we are going to aid and promote the continuance of this kind of tactics, which, I hold, has been, in a measure, the disgrace of this House during this session.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the House has listened with a great deal of interest and edification

to the speech which has fallen from the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). Nothing could be more interesting to this House, nothing more worthy of its attention, than to discuss its demeanour and efficiency. I am glad that the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) was not in the House a few moments ago when one of his foremost followers declared that the conduct, the demeanour and the dignity of the House have fallen so low under the leadership of the right hon. gentleman that twenty-five years ago, when this country, generally, was not as advanced as it is to-day, it was far ahead of what it is now, under the leadership of the right hon. gentleman.

Mr. CHARLTON. I must ask the permission of my hon. friend (Mr. Davin) to set him right. I attributed none of the features I condemned to the management of the right hon. leader of the House.

Mr. DAVIN. It is no point of order. My hon. friend took his cue of dignity from the right hon. gentleman, and nobody has a better right to talk about dignity than the Prime Minister, because, I say, with truth, that nobody can assume an air of dignity better than the right hon. gentleman. But, what is the good of dignity and of demeanour, if, beneath that dignity and demeanour there is no real manliness of public character? What have we seen here to-day? When my hon. and learned friend here (Mr. Borden, Halifax) pleads for an opportunity of making an inquiry into the scandals connected with the Brockville and West Huron elections, the right hon. gentleman first blocks him by stating that he is going to go on the line of red tape, of parliamentary etiquette, and then falls back on a declaration about his own dignity. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if you have ever seen the picture Dignity and Impudence? I will say here, with all deference to the right hon. gentleman, that where a Prime Minister, in the face of such scandals as were revealed here last year, before the whole country and before parliament, puts up his thin screen of dignity to block inquiry, impudence and dignity go very close together. We have had, in the history of this country, and in the history of all countries, specimens of dignity and of politeness where there was not much solidity of character. The exquisite urbanity of Charles II. has passed into a proverb, but the epitaph on Charles II. was:

Here lies our mutton-eating king,
Whose word no man relies on;
He never said a foolish thing,
He never did a wise one.

I do not know whether the right hon. gentleman is fond of mutton, but I do know that he very seldom fails to say just the right thing. I wish I could add that he never failed to do the right thing. He never fails to say the right thing; he never succeeds in

doing it; and certainly to-day he failed to do the right thing, when my hon. friend (Mr. Borden, Halifax) asked for the opportunity of doing that which is the great privilege of a member of parliament. Why, Sir, what is the meaning of this parliament where we are speaking? What is its great function? It is not only the great consult, but it is the great inquest of the nation, and we are here to inquire into and to probe everything. I say here, Mr. Speaker, that not one of the many things that during these last four years have disfigured that government, and disfigured the reputation of that Prime Minister; not one of them will do more damage to the government or impress the country more forcibly than when it goes abroad that when an hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Borden) wishes to pursue an inquiry that was not completed last year, an inquiry that showed there was a corpus delicti of the gravest sort, the right hon. gentleman should get up and say: My dignity won't allow it. Dignity! What place has dignity in that connection? What is he doing? He is shielding rascals from exposure. That is all very fine for dignity. I do not like to use the comparison that rises to my mind when I hear these lip professions of dignity, and then whispering to the rascals behind: Never fear, I will shield you; I will throw around you the weight of my high position; I will—

Mr. CHARLTON. I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) is imputing conduct to the leader of the government in the highest degree dishonourable. He is asserting that the leader of the government tells his followers in the rear that he will protect them in their rascality.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Not at all.

Mr. CHARLTON. I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that such is not parliamentary language.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, everybody knows what I was referring to. I was referring to these rascals that were exposed before a committee of which I am a member. I was referring to rascals that hon. and learned gentlemen in this House did everything they could to shield, doing everything they could to prevent that inquiry from being effective. And what did they do at last? Although we had nine witnesses there ready to be examined, they went back without being examined, because those gentlemen opposite would not sit of an evening. The hon. and learned member from Halifax (Mr. Russell), a strong lawyer from whom I would have expected something better, he threw all his ingenuity, and the hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton) threw all his pettifogging in the way of anything like an inquiry.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Order. I ask you if it is parliamentary, Mr. Speaker,
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to accuse an hon. member of this House, a learned gentleman at the bar, of being guilty of pettifogging. I appeal to you, Sir, is that parliamentary?

Mr. SPEAKER. My impression is that it is not parliamentary to apply the term pettifogging to the action of a committee of this House.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. It was applied to one member of that committee.

Mr. DAVIN. Well, I can withdraw it. He threw all what in him is not pettifogging, and that is not a great deal. Now, Sir, there was another gentleman in the history of England, Chesterfield. He was the pink of politeness, but he had not a character that we would think a great deal of. Then we come to Beau Brummel, and then to George IV., the finest gentleman in Europe. But we need not go to Thackeray's Four Georges to apprehend how much real respect he was entitled to at our hands, and after all, Mr. Speaker, when we are to judge the character of public men, that they can bow gracefully is not enough; we want from them such demeanour going to the root of action as will enable us to respect them. I agree with my hon. friend from Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) that this House has fallen within the last four years, and it has fallen because my right hon. friend, who is, I admit, in so many ways a charming man, has not weight enough to keep his followers behind him in order. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) accused the hon. member from York (Mr. Foster) of having said he would block the business of the House. The ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster) said nothing of the kind. He (Mr. Foster) said that if the Prime Minister would allow his followers to weigh down the Order paper with questions such as have disfigured it from day to day, and which, as my hon. friend says, has disgraced it; then the ex-Finance Minister said that two could play at that game. If, Sir, the opposition wishes to resort to that sort of warfare, it would be an extraordinary thing if we could not bring something more like powder and shot, than these poor wretched volleys of soap suds that have come there in the shape of questions from day to day. And if we have to resort to it, it will not be soap suds we will send across the House, but we will send dum dum bullets that will explode in the bosoms of hon. gentlemen opposite and we will expose the mean heart that lurks beneath the star.

Mr. WOOD. That is more Boer like.

Mr. DAVIN. I love the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Wood) under all conditions, except when he tries to be witty, and then he loses for me that perennial interest and that abiding beauty that are his chief characteristics.

Mr. WOOD. There are two of us.

Mr. DAVIN. Now, Mr. Speaker, I must say with all respect that I have had myself a great deal of parliamentary experience. I am now getting to be one of the old members of this House. I occupied a more elevated, and, I was going to say—but I will not say it, out of respect to my brethren of the hour—I was going to say the more dignified position of a seat in the reporters' gallery in the House of Commons in England. I say that the man who sits in the reporters' gallery—especially in England—one session is equal to a session and a half of a member sitting in the House, because for one reason he is more there. Therefore, sitting there for seven years is equivalent to sitting in the House for ten years. I may say to you, Mr. Speaker, with great respect, that my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) transgressed no parliamentary etiquette here to-day. What he was indulging in is what is called invective. You know, Sir, that so great an authority as Mr. Disraeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield, said: that invective is the great ornament of debate, and without invective our debates here would be very flavourless. If those gentlemen opposite, who sometimes indulge in that sort of thing which has distressed the soul of my hon. friend from Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) to such an extent that all the dignity in his soul is withered under the blighting influence of what he sees around him; if those gentlemen opposite would seek sometimes to indulge in invective instead of whatever indescribable thing they resort to, it would add greatly to the interest of our debates. Now, what was my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) saying when he was stopped? He was using language that attributed puerility or boyishness to the Prime Minister. And what did he mean? He meant moral boyishness. He said it because he considered that the reason given by the Prime Minister for not acceding to the request of my hon. and learned friend, was not a masculine or a manly reason, that it was consequently puerile, and he used strong language to express that opinion, and showed himself indignant—and we all felt his indignation—why? Because, Sir, the right hon. gentleman who is at the head of this parliament, and who is the keeper of its honour and efficiency, had pledged himself to a policy which reduces by 50 per cent—aye, by ninety per cent—its efficiency, as the great inquest of the nation. Why, then, should not a leading man on this side be indignant and vehement, and express his indignation, when the right hon. gentleman had taken a stand lamentable in regard to this parliament—and lamentable, I dare aver, as to the estimate the people of Canada will form of my right hon. friend?

Now, Sir, I want to ask the attention of the House for one minute to what occurred last session. We had in that committee

room a meeting. Only five polls were investigated. The principal polls investigated, were No. 4 of the township of Colborne, and No. 3 of the township of Goderich. Daniel Cummings was the deputy at No. 4. There were 125 ballots to the ballot pad; 98 voted; there were none spoiled; and 27 were unused. 68 were marked for Holmes, and 30 for McLean; majority, 38. But of the 68 marked for Holmes, 14 were bogus—14 different from the 34 and 27, printed on different paper. An expert proved that the 14 were bogus; but it needed no expert, for any man with half an eye, had only to look at them to see that they were bogus. But we had before the committee an expert, Mr. Harvey, whose evidence I have before me, and this man had with him an instrument called a micrometer, which he applied to measuring the ballots in the ballot pad, the ballot papers and the counterfoils. He measured these 14, and what did he say?

Q. And you have already given us the thickness of these ballots, 3—1 to 14. As a paper-maker you are familiar with all the processes of paper-making, are you not? A. Yes.

Q. Is it possible, I ask you, that these fourteen ballots came out of these stubs? A. No, sir.

Q. It is absolutely impossible? A. Absolutely.

Then, later on, he was asked:

Q. You are positive, then, that not one of these ballots of series three, including one to fourteen and all between, could have come off these stubs? A. It is impossible.

Not only were these 14 shown to be bogus from their measurements, but they bore the initials of the deputy in ink, whereas the remaining 84 bore his initials in pencil. I was a member of that committee, and was present, though I took no further part than that of a juror or judge. But my hon. friend from Halifax, who conducted the case, assisted by Mr. Powell, showed by cumulative demonstration, that this man Cummings, instead of destroying the counterfoils, as he was bound to do by his written directions, was accustomed to put them into his right-hand pocket. What he did do, it is clear, was to put the counterfoil into his right-hand pocket, and out of an inside pocket take a ballot marked for Holmes.

Mr. BRITTON. There is not a word of that in the evidence.

Mr. DAVIN. There is not a word of that in the evidence? Have I said there is?

Mr. BRITTON. It is just made up by yourself.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. DAVIN. I will not trouble you, Mr. Speaker, to call the hon. gentleman to order; I will brush him aside myself. What I say is that it is a plain inference. How did these bogus ballots get into the ballot box? This is the natural surmise, that when he put the counterfoil into his right-hand pocket,

he took out of another pocket the bogus ballot that he wanted to put into the box. Forty-one men who were brought before the committee swore that they had marked ballots for McLean. Two other voters, who were ill had sworn to the same effect before the county judge of Huron. Therefore, the real vote was 54 for Holmes, and 44 for McLean, 14 having been stolen, and this having been done with the deputy's connivance. Now, take poll No. 3, in the township of Goderich, where James Farr was deputy returning officer. Farr, like Cummings, put the counterfoils in his pocket instead of destroying them. 118 men voted. 123 ballots came out of the box. You can see that no ordinary commonplace Conservative could do that. It required a conjuror, one of those fellows who can bring any quantity of ribbons out of his mouth, or one of those Chinese conjurors who bring out of a box what they do not put into it.

Mr. WOOD. Was he not a Conservative ?

Mr. DAVIN. Oh, no, he was not. He was proved to have been a Liberal. But, Mr. Speaker, suppose he were a Conservative, he would have been a Conservative who had left the ranks of Conservatism, like the present Minister of Public Works, and others of that ilk in the present ministry, and who show themselves more demoralized than the worst of the Liberals. Of the 123 ballots, 72 were for Holmes, 40 were for McLean, 10 had no mark, and 1 was rejected. The ballot box must, therefore, have been stuffed to the extent of 5 ballots, at least. All the ballots marked for McLean were initialled, several for Holmes were not initialled, and 22 of an entirely different appearance from the remaining ballots marked for Holmes, different from all marked for McLean, and different from the unused ballots—22 obviously bogus. Fifty-five men solemnly averred or swore that they had voted for McLean at this poll, although only 40 ballots of the 55 were found for him. Of the 55, 35 were examined, and nine were present waiting to be examined, but the Liberal members would not sit in the evenings.

What about Farr ? We ought to pause when we speak about Farr. He and several others, Cap. Sullivan and Dan Ferguson, the slugger and the plugger, are dear to the last acquisition to this ministry, the hon. gentleman from North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland)—very dear to his heart on various accounts. These gentlemen had one prominent amongst them, and that was Farr. And what was his history ? I was present at the meeting of the committee when it was proved that just a day after my hon. friend from Halifax had moved in this House for a committee, Farr threw up a good situation in Toronto and went in to hiding. He admitted to witnesses that he was hiding, and he also admitted that he had voted himself twenty-two times at this

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election, that he had been furnished with a ticket and promised money to make himself scarce. He told four witnesses that he was in trouble over West Huron, and that whilst in hiding he was visited by, and did visit Mr. James Vance, the lieutenant of the Liberal organizer of the province of Ontario. Farr called on Vance, and Vance had a telegram from Ottawa : ' Keep Farr low.' This is what Farr told a witness who was examined in the committee. Farr also declared to the poll clerk, on the day of the election, with the candour that seems to distinguish all these gentlemen, that he had put ' thirteen damned good ballots into the box.' I read the other day, and I hope it will be brought forward in this discussion, a letter from one of the officers of the Ontario government who is mixed up in the West Elgin fraud, which surpasses in candour even this avowal, and I hope that my hon. friend who has this letter in his possession will read it. It is a fine piece of scoundrelly, ballot thieving literature. A scrutineer standing near Farr, picked up a ballot from McLean, initialled by Farr. Farr snatched it and tore it up into pieces, and said it was nothing. That was the act of a guilty man. Goderich polling booth No. 2 was on the same street, immediately opposite No. 3, where Farr presided. At No. 2, Colborne, two ballots for Holmes were found to be forged.

With such revelations brought out last session in the committee, and with the declaration of my hon. friend, that he has fresh evidence, and can probe these things still further, can any one be astonished that my hon. friend the ex-Finance Minister, felt indignant when the Prime Minister took the position that he would do all he could to block the inquiry any further ? What does it mean ? It means this. It means that here we have a number of criminals worse than the majority of men in any penitentiary, for these criminals are striking at the life of free institutions. These ballot pluggers and thieves are worse than any criminals in the penitentiaries. My hon. friend from Halifax wants to get at them, and here comes dignity in its most attractive and powerful garb, the voice of the Prime Minister, who says : ' Stand back ; you must not touch one of these ; you must not inquire ; we will not help you to inquire.' That is a very serious stand to take. I say it destroys the efficiency of parliament. Talk about some little defect in parliamentary demeanour, talk about some little looseness of language, talk about some violent invectives—why none of these things, not the most violent invective heard within the walls of any parliament, could do such harm to the morale of parliament as for the Prime Minister to declare that he was going to stand by ruffians of this description and shield them from discovery. I would to God that a man would arise at this hour who would put into words that could not

die, the shame, the rage, the scorn, the contempt, which every man who loves free institutions, must feel in our having a Prime Minister who seemed at one time capable of much better things, but who, under the influence of the sluggers and pluggers and the Farris in politics—Farris not in name, but in act—who have climbed close to the seat of power, has sunk so low that he will stand up here and declare in a brazen manner that his dignity stands in the way of allowing an inquiry into this rescaldom of Brockville and Huron.

Mr. B. M. BRITTON (Kingston). While I am much obliged to the hon. Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) for having raised a point of order when my hon. friend from West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) made a reference to me, I still am of the opinion that there is really no necessity to raise a point of order with reference to anything that hon. gentlemen may say. A man who is only capable of getting off some lines of poetry and of stringing phrases together without one particle of logic behind them, and who has not the slightest hesitation in garbling evidence as he quotes it—

Mr. DAVIN. I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman is attributing misconduct to me. No hon. member has a right to charge another with garbling evidence.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think that is a term which should not be used.

Mr. BRITTON. All I can say, Mr. Speaker, is that I bow to your decision, but I think it is quite proper to say of the hon. gentleman that he misquotes the evidence.

Mr. DAVIN. No, I did not.

Mr. BRITTON. He has not only done that in this case, but does so when ever he addresses the House.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman is quite out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER. What is your point of order.

Mr. MONTAGUE. It is that the hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton) has charged the hon. member for Assiniboia with constantly misquoting evidence.

The PRIME MINISTER. By exaggerating it.

Mr. DAVIN. There is no harm in saying that I exaggerate, but the hon. gentleman has not the right to say that I misquote. I quoted two parts of the evidence, and will send it over to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. SPEAKER. I understood the hon. gentleman to have gone on and qualified his statement by using the word 'exaggeration,' but there is no doubt that the charge of misquoting is one which an hon. member ought not to apply to another.

Mr. BRITTON. I do not know whether this will be unparliamentary or not—

Mr. MILLS. I rise to a point of order, Sir. You have ruled that the hon. member for Kingston is out of order, and yet he has not withdrawn the expression.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman is clearly under the necessity of taking back what he said.

Mr. BRITTON. I did not say—

Mr. MILLS. I rise to a point of order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills), will allow the hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton), to make his statement—

Mr. MILLS. I think I may raise a point of order at any time. My point of order is that you, Mr. Speaker, have ruled, as I understand it, that the hon. member (Mr. Britton), should not say that another hon. gentleman in this House has misquoted. The hon. member for Kingston has not withdrawn that.

Mr. SPEAKER. He has not had an opportunity, for the moment he got on his feet, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills), rose.

Mr. MILLS. He was going on to speak.

Mr. BRITTON. I do not know whether it would be unparliamentary to use the language with reference to the hon. gentleman—

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. Before resuming his speech, the hon. gentleman must withdraw the unparliamentary words he has used.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills), is right. The term 'misquote' as applied to an hon. member across the floor, should not be used.

Mr. BRITTON. Then, if I used the word 'misquote' and if it is unparliamentary, I withdraw it. I can only say that there is such a degree of exaggeration in the hon. gentleman's remark, that a person listening who is not so logical or so clear sighted as the hon. gentleman thinks himself to be, might be led to think that he was misquoting. That is all I have to say in that respect. I shall not say what I intended to say with regard to the hon. gentleman, as it is, I suppose within the knowledge of almost every member of this House, what his leader stated of him once, and I intended to ask if it was unparliamentary to repeat the words applied by his revered leader to the hon. gentleman. But, I shall not do that, but shall leave it to those gentlemen who remember it to apply the term to him.

Now, it is not my intention to enter on this debate at any particular length. I interjected a word this afternoon, and, because of the word I used, perhaps improperly, I

am forced to go a little further into the facts than I otherwise would. When I spoke this afternoon, I said we intended to oppose this motion. It was stated that I did so, and I believe I did. I only wish to say that, in using the word 'we,' if it implied in any way, shape or form, that there was any concerted action in this matter, or that I was taking the advice of any one, it was quite a mistake. I am responsible and am willing to take all the responsibility for the statement, that I intended to oppose the motion. I have no right to use the editorial 'we,' nor have I ever occupied a position to entitle me to say 'we,' as a minister of the gospel sometimes does. As it was taken up by the hon. gentlemen opposite, I used the word 'we' improperly. I intended to refer purely and simply to myself. I made up my mind independently, and after consideration of the whole matter referred to the committee, the report of which is before the House, that there was no prima facie case in reference to Brockville, I think that any person who will calmly and coolly read the statement which was made by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden), at that time, should be willing at least to admit that there was no prima facie case made out in reference to Brockville. So far as what took place in Huron, and what took place in Brockville was concerned, I may say, I knew nothing about the matter in either constituency. I was not present at either of the elections, had no interest in any of the electors—in no way was I connected with the elections or interested in them. Therefore, I knew nothing about it, except what was stated by the hon. member for Halifax, when he introduced this matter. Without having the statutes before me, and without having the election cases at hand, but simply taking the hon. gentleman's statement, I came to the conclusion that there seemed to be a prima facie case made out in reference to West Huron; or, at all events in a matter of that kind, I would be willing to give him the benefit of the doubt, in favour of an investigation. But, I felt quite certain the other way, with reference to Brockville, and, when we come to the details, I will explain why I thought so then, and why I think so still. And, so, when this matter was likely to come up this year, I was prepared so far as I was concerned, to take the whole responsibility of objecting to the Brockville case going to the committee; and, I was prepared to give my reasons for it as best I could, as I intend to do now. When the case came up in reference to West Huron, it went to the committee. I suppose I should be out of order if I were to speak of what took place in the committee, apart from the report which is before the House. But it appears from the evidence that has been placed before the House, that every facility was given to the hon. gentleman who had

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in charge the prosecution of the case. He was allowed to say what witnesses he wanted and to any number; he was allowed to say when the witnesses were to come, how they were to be dealt with, when they came, in reference to giving their evidence, and, in every respect, he had every facility given him to conduct his case. I am not certain, but I understand, that there were 99 witnesses. What is the result of that investigation? I ask hon. gentlemen just for a moment to come away from the charges that have been made in the newspapers, that have been made in this House to-day by the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), and others, and see what was referred to that committee, and see how the evidence bears on the charges made by these persons. The charges were in reference to the officers of the government in connection with that election. That would mean returning officer and the deputy returning officers. It means those officers and nobody else. It has no connection with any charges of bribery that might be made against outside parties; it has nothing to do with malpractice, charges of which are so easy to make and so difficult to prove; it has to do with the conduct of the officers in connection with that election. Now, what has been shown in connection with that? The hon. member for West Assiniboia says, with reference to the man Cummings, in the township of Colborne, that there were fourteen votes shown not to have been given for Holmes, though they were counted for Holmes. Now, that charge was against the deputy returning officer. That deputy returning officer had a character given to him by nearly all the witnesses called. It is true that forty-three men, if my memory serves me, came up and swore that they voted for McLean, and it is equally true, that only thirty votes—I believe that was the number—were counted for him. The election as won by Mr. Holmes. Mr. McLean was disappointed in the result in the township of Colborne. He set himself to make an inquiry to find out what was the matter in the township of Colborne, and he went to people whom, he would naturally expect, would vote for him and asked them if they had voted for him. Hon. gentlemen who know anything of human nature, know that amongst persons who are voters in any constituency, there are many men who vote one way and talk another. These men had promised to vote for Mr. McLean, and they were generally looked upon as Conservative voters. There was disappointment when Mr. McLean did not get the normal number of Conservative votes in that township. He sets to work to make an inquiry, and gets statements from these men, that they did, as a matter of fact, vote for Mr. McLean. The next step is to get declarations from these per-

sons, and three persons set themselves to do that. Their names were mentioned, Mr. Hays, the candidate himself, and Mr. Beck, who was a former candidate in the local elections. These men get declarations from forty-three persons that they actually did vote for Mr. McLean. Having made the statement that they voted for him, having made declarations that they voted for him, it would not be very surprising that these men would come down here and, before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, make the statement that they had voted for him.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Do I understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) to say that these men came down here and committed perjury?

Mr. BRITTON. Yes, some of them.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). How many?

Mr. BRITTON. I do not know how many, nor do you.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I say that none of them did.

Mr. BRITTON. I know you say so, but let me come to the position that I was coming to. We have the fact that these men stated that they voted for McLean, that they made their declarations that they voted for McLean, and that before there was anything in reference to a committee of this House to investigate this matter. These statements were merely given to satisfy Mr. McLean and to put these men right with him. This is the statement we have.

Mr. CLANCY. What proof is that of perjury?

Mr. BRITTON. I am coming to that. These men come down to this election committee. They are brought face to face with the statements that they made in the riding, their declarations are flaunted in their faces and they are asked if these declarations are true. They were simply men, and some were not very honest men. They were put between these two facts: here is the declaration you made, here is the statement you made to Mr. McLean and we have brought you before the committee to say whether you voted for Mr. McLean. I do not care what hon. gentlemen may say in reference to these ballots. We have this charge made against the deputy returning officer, Mr. Cummings. We have a certificate of character given, nearly, by every one—by every one who was asked the question, so far as I remember, by the persons who were called as witnesses. He was an elderly man, who had acted many times as deputy returning officer in the constituency, and always had an honourable record. He was not the kind of man who would be up to tricks or to the practice of election frauds. We have the statement that he gave a ballot to the voter as he came up, that the voter marked the ballot, that the

voter handed the ballot back to him and that he put it into the box. Now, then, we are driven to this position: The deputy returning officer is a sworn officer, he has a good record, he has a certificate of character by the different witnesses, called on behalf of the prosecution in this matter, he comes and tells the committee that the very ballots he gave out were the ballots put into the box by these different men. We are driven to ask: Whom are we going to believe? It is not fifteen persons against Mr. Cummings; it is one individual man against Mr. Cummings. There is no cumulative evidence, in fact, it is not thirteen oaths against Mr. Cummings, oath; it is simply one individual man against Mr. Cummings on this question of fact. You have a charge against Mr. Cummings as the deputy returning officer, you have a certificate as to his character, you have his appearance before the committee, a man not likely to do wrong, and as between Mr. Cummings and every one of these others, who had a motive for making a false statement in regard to whom he voted for, I would give my verdict, as one of the jury, that my hon. friend spoke about, in favour of believing Mr. Cummings instead of believing these men. What farther have we got? We have, as clerk of the deputy returning officer, a sworn man, and we have a scrutineer for Mr. Holmes and one for Mr. McLean. Everything that was done in the room was done in their presence, and they could keep a watch on the proceedings. So, I say that the assumption would rather be that there can be no wrong-doing attached to Mr. Cummings. You are investigating a charge against the deputy returning officer; you say that he had a package of ballots printed on different paper, but I want to tell the House that never, until to-night, did I hear it suggested, even by gentlemen connected with the prosecution, that he had two pockets in his coat, one of which contained ballots marked for Mr. Holmes, which he slipped out and substituted for ballots which he gave to voters as they came out. How could he do that in the sight of the ordinary scrutineers and of the ordinary voters? By not one of the voters was there any such charge made. It would have required a greater amount of legerdemain and slight-of-hand than Mr. Cummings possessed to accomplish any such trick as that. There was no one who saw that man, who was a hard-handed farmer, of good reputation, and an honest life up to that time, who had never been accustomed to tricks of any kind, would think of his committing any such fraud, and it is impossible to conceive how he could have substituted any such fraudulent ballots for good ballots and put them into the box. Nearly every one of these voters who came before the committee said that they saw the identical ballot put into the box that was

given to him by the deputy returning officer after he had marked it. Of course, naturally, voters will take an interest in that, and, therefore, they had every reason and every opportunity to detect fraud, if fraud was committed. If you only want a charge against the deputy returning officer, and if it has been proved, as hon. gentlemen contend, what more do they want? There is the charge against the deputy returning officer? If the evidence proves it against him go on and punish him. That is all there is about it. What more can you do if you have the evidence. I am now simply dealing with the case of Mr. Cummings. If this evidence shows that he has substituted fraudulent ballots for genuine ones, then, the Act provides for his punishment, and you may go on and punish him. But, the hon. gentlemen do not want that; they did not want it at first. They wanted to go through the country and get these declarations, not because they wanted an investigation, but because they wanted to raise a cry in the newspapers, to talk in parliament and all over the country of suspected frauds which they knew they were not able to prove, and which they knew they could not prove if they went into the courts. There is not a single one of these charges made by my hon. friend, that is not made the subject of a special section of the Election Act, under which there is a special tribunal to try it, and where the witnesses, if they know the facts, can testify to them. There you can have a fair trial before a learned judge, who can see whether the persons who ask questions are pettifoggers, or whether in asking questions they have a sincere desire to elicit truth. My hon. friend did not want such an investigation as that, he wanted an investigation that would not investigate, but that would simply give an opportunity for garbling and exaggerating the evidence, and using it improperly as has been done in this House. For the sake of argument I will admit that what you say has been established against Mr. Cummings. That is, that thirteen persons had sworn they voted for McLean and that the votes were not counted. But, if you cannot get at the bottom of it, what is the use of talking any more about it. If you can get at the bottom of it, what can you do this session that you did not do last session in reference to it? If the allegation with regard to the township of Colborne is correct, then go on and punish your man. If you look at the charges that are made and read the evidence printed, you will find that nothing else than what I have stated has been proved with regard to the township of Colborne. With reference to No. 3, Goderich poll, I am prepared to admit that James Farr was not a person of good habits. He had bad political connections. He had been up to that time with the Conservative party, and if he knew enough to learn, he had an opportunity of

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seeing how that sort of work was done. On that occasion James Farr was the worse of liquor. The most that can be said about his case is that there were five more ballots in the box than were on the pad. If you want to make that direct charge against Farr, then you can go to a court and establish it, and punish him as the law directs. But this evidence in reference to Farr shows there is something behind the scenes which we do not quite understand altogether, because one witness told us that Farr not only boasted beforehand that he intended to vote for McLean, but that he actually showed the ballot marked for McLean and that he actually put that ballot in the box and that it was counted for McLean. That is proven by their own witness. I admit that Farr is not a reputable character. I admit that he was under the influence of liquor, and that he afterwards cleared off somewhere and told stories to different people in reference to what had taken place at that election. I say that it was unfair to have Farr's statements brought up in that committee, except as against himself, because it was the worst kind of evidence as against anybody else. There is not a lawyer in this House who will say that the statements of Farr made to this one and the other, when he was in a maudlin state—or even if you could catch him perfectly sober—are statements that could be used against any one but himself. If they wanted to use these statements against himself, why did they not lay a specific charge against him, so that he might be defended if any one was ready to defend him. It is evident that these gentlemen wanted only to get just as much tittle-tattle as any one would say, all over the country in reference to it, and so they brought in witnesses to say as to what Farr had said at one time or another, and which witnesses Farr afterwards contradicted in a sworn declaration published in the newspapers. I do not say that that declaration should be relied on, but it has at least just as much force and effect as any other statement made by Farr. At all events, the result of all his statements is, that they cannot be relied upon in a solemn investigation before a committee of this House. If hon. gentlemen opposite say that this investigation is not finished—then, speaking for myself, and I have no authority to speak for any one else—I did not intend to say in interjecting a remark to-day that if the committee thought they had any new evidence that would complete that investigation, the matter would not be placed in a different light. But, they had the opportunity to make charges, and there is not a member of the committee that will venture to say that in the evidence presented he would ask judge or jury to condemn Donald Cummings. If such evidence is not good before a judge, why should they want to send it before a committee of this House? Why should

they ask to have the matter sent back to the committee, when, as to one man, they have all the evidence they could possibly have, and as to the other, they have not yet made a specific charge. It seems to me that the West Huron case ought not to be further investigated unless on the ground that there is something unfinished, and that they want to supplement something that has been done. In that case the question might be considered. Years ago parliament recognized that a committee of this House was not the place to investigate election frauds; and so certain offences were created by statute and the mode of trial was prescribed, and penalties by fine and imprisonment provided. If persons are proved to be guilty, the Election Act provides a short and sharp and decisive way of dealing with them. I do not say that parliament has divested itself of the right to investigate matters concerning elections. I do not think it has. But I do say that it seems useless to go to an Election Committee with every election matter, no matter how trifling. I hold that it should not go to the Election Committee unless something for the public good is to result from its going there. I do not suppose that any gentleman present will contradict me when I say that at the time the statement was made by the hon. member (Mr. Borden) in this House, no one supposed that the seat of the hon. member (Mr. Holmes) was affected by this matter. The question is not whether parliament could deal with the matter under certain given circumstances, but whether under these charges the seat of the hon. member for West Huron was in danger. The hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), admits that it was not in danger, except in this way, that if such frauds were established before the committee, we must admit that the member does not hold his seat properly, and therefore he should have honour enough to resign. But where a charge is made against a deputy returning officer, and the charge is not sustained, and the simple result is that you are to believe that thirteen or fourteen persons are telling the truth, even then only the majority of the hon. member is affected. There was, in fact, no one who thought for a moment that the hon. member's seat was in danger, and so I suppose the greatest possible latitude was given in the committee. When a man's right to his seat is affected, surely the rules with regard to the admissibility of evidence ought to be followed; surely there ought to be a greater degree of strictness observed than was the case in the committee at that time. But every kind of looseness was allowed in its proceedings. No matter what objections were raised, they were not pressed, and the evidence was given just as if no objections had been raised. What was said about the proceedings of the committee. It is worth while to read what appeared in the *Toronto Star* of the 14th of August, in the form of

an interview with a Queen's counsel in Toronto, who is very familiar with election matters. This is the report of the interview:

You have had some experience in elections and parliamentary law?

Yes, parliamentary law is an entertaining historical and legal study and election cases give an experience.

Have you formed any opinions on the recent disclosures re West Huron before the Committee on Privileges and Elections?

Yes. If the newspaper headings to the reports are true and can be established against the parties, no punishment can be too severe. The alleged acts are scandalous.

Don't you consider the evidence overwhelming?

Well, I have read the reports given in the newspapers of both political parties, and I regret to say that some of the facts brought out are startling, but they have been so garnished and confused with such a mass of hearsay and illegitimate evidence that if given before a jury, no true verdict could be rendered. Some members of the committee appear to have played havoc with the commonest rules of evidence, and made justice play tragedy or comedy like a marionette, according to the political instincts of some of the actors. Grave charges of criminal wrong-doing have been made against election officials and others without regard to the most elementary principles of legal procedure. Lord Holt once said it was abominable to try a man behind his back; and our highest court has held that whenever a party is to be affected in person, character or property by any proceedings analogous to a judicial proceeding, the courts, unless shut out by the most absolute and unequivocal words of the laws, invariably apply the sound English rule that no man shall be tried or condemned unheard.

These officials and others may have been guilty of the grossest wrong-doing, and it is hoped by justice-respecting men that if they have indulged in ballot-stuffing or other outrageous frauds on the freedom of election, they will be placed in the criminal docks. But the proceedings show they are being tried without notice of the charges, and witnesses have been called to flood the record with a diarrhoea of hearsay and illegitimate evidence which no judge would sanction.

In fact, the case reminds me of the Dreyfus trial. Public officials, if criminal in their trust, should not be tried differently from ordinary criminals. At an ordinary trial, if the acts or credibility of a witness are impeached, he must have notice of the impeachment, so as to explain or defend himself before evidence against him can be heard. In this case the committee has been plaintiff, but has called upon no defendants to meet its charges.

But hadn't the accused notice through the newspaper reports of the charges against him?

The law has not yet made newspaper reporters or publishers its auxiliaries, or officers of the courts, to notify alleged wrong-doers, and when the law says that a party impeached for a wrongful act must have an opportunity of being heard, that does not mean the opportunity which an ordinary witness has who is called up on the spur of the moment, and who is subject to cross-examination: but it means an opportunity of being heard when he has had a fair warning of the charges, and is asked to meet it, and be heard in person.

Would you consider the Committee on Privileges and Elections a judicial tribunal?

Certainly, and more truly so than any other committee. It is clothed with judicial power to investigate matters affecting parliamentary elections: to administer oaths; to find, on evidence, persons guilty of offence against the election law, and also any who may be guilty of a breach of the privilege of parliament. In the English parliament are many instances of its jurisdiction, where the accused party has been notified, or, as in the journals of early times, 'sent for as delinquent,' to answer his accusers. These powers imply judicial functions which should be administered according to a judicial and not a partisan instinct, or for political effect.

May not the committee proceed as a grand jury?

Yes, if it proceeds according to the law affecting grand juries. They hear the complainant's evidence in secret, so as to determine whether the party charged should be placed on trial. But whatever witnesses state in the secrecy of the grand jury room is never published in newspapers.

The parties who are proved to have acted illegally can attend next session and make their defence or contradict the witnesses.

Doesn't the question presume that after a man has been baptized with a sprinkle of infamy, and christened 'criminal,' he may possibly prove at some future time that the person who had christened him had misnamed him, and that the sprinkle he gave was foul, not a pure one? Such would be a travesty of and a crime against common justice.

But the committee tried to effect service of subpoenas on some of the parties, but they evaded service.

Then the committee could have formulated specific charges and ordered substitutional service, which, when effected, would have given the committee jurisdiction over these parties. Why this procedure was not adopted is not explained. But as against the member and the electorate, the committee have played battledore and shuttlecock with evidence, apparently not for judicial purposes. One elementary rule is that admissions of an officer or agent made after the employment has ceased are inadmissible except against himself. Another declares that voting by ballot is secret—the rule similar in object to that which prevents a woman giving evidence which would bastardize her offspring. It is absolute as regards the legal voter, but not as regards an unqualified person. These have been disregarded. It is unfortunate, in the public interest, that the committee should have weakened public faith in its impartiality by allowing spurious and illegitimate evidence to usurp the authority and right of what is the legitimate and recognized offspring of justice. Occasional displays of political fireworks in parliamentary committees are not beneficial in the public interest.

That was the statement made by this Queen's counsel, and I think that in substance it correctly defines the principles applicable to the case.

Mr. INGRAM. Will the hon. gentleman say who the Queen's counsel is?

Mr. BRITTON. It does not say; but I dare say a good many persons know who it is. I am sure I had no other desire than to

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elicit the truth in the cross-examination of witnesses. When those witnesses came forward and swore to certain things, I wanted to know whether they were telling the truth or whether their evidence could be broken down in any way. I asked questions, which my hon. friends would admit were pertinent, with reference to that, and there was no attempt on the part of anybody to obstruct in the slightest degree, but what was the result? We were stigmatized as obstructionists all over the country. Charges were stated as if proved. It was said to-day by the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), that the money of the government, no doubt, went to supply men who were working for the Liberal party in that constituency. The infamous machine was there, he said. But all that was simply talk without any evidence to warrant it. As to the evidence with regard to the West Huron case, I have given it to-day fairly, and there is none that would be taken before any jury to condemn one of these men.

When we come to Brockville, the case is weak to a degree. There were two charges made—one against the returning officer, and the other the deputy returning officer. The first charge is that ballots similar to the initialled ballots were in the hands of the workers for the Liberal party in that constituency. The charge is not that the returning officer was guilty of furnishing these ballots to irresponsible parties, but if it means anything, it means that these ballots were put into the hands of unauthorized parties for some fraudulent purpose. Well, what is the evidence? A ballot was picked up in the street by a boy who saw a man throw it away, and that ballot had X opposite Mr. Comstock's name. The conclusion is drawn, that for some reason or other, the ballot had been secured, but was not used, and some other ballot was used in its place. But, is it not just as likely that some man had cut from a newspaper in the town of Brockville, a printed invitation to the electors, and then finding it was of no use, threw it away.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Comstock offered \$50 to get it back.

Mr. BRITTON. I do not think he did.

Mr. TAYLOR. I can prove it.

Mr. BRITTON. I do not think he made any such offer, and I do not see what good the ballot could have been to him. And, if the man who threw that ballot away had got it for a fraudulent purpose, why did he throw it away? All you have is evidence to the effect, that some boy saw a man throw something away, which he thought was a ballot, and he picked it up. But, suppose it was a fraudulent ballot marked for Mr. Comstock. There is the man who threw it away, and you have a specific charge that can be made in the courts against him, for having that fraudulent ballot. Why do you

not go to the courts, and enter a charge against that man, if he is known? And, if he is not known, what is the object of your going to the committee with such evidence. Then, we are told that another ballot was presented by a Liberal worker to a voter, who was asked to use it, and the voter did not see fit to use it, but placed it in the hands of a gentleman who is prepared to produce it. Do hon. gentlemen opposite argue seriously that every one of these little things, these little irregularities, or call them crimes, if you like, is to be the subject of a serious investigation by a parliamentary committee, when we have an express statute governing such cases? Here are specific charges, and the courts are open, and hon. gentlemen opposite are within the time to bring them before the court. Let them go to work and make out their complaint, and have it ventilated by a judge.

We are told that official ballots were in the hands of Liberal workers in almost every polling subdivision, and were used, but if you have proof that they were used, you ought to be able to tell the time and place and the person who used them. But, because these hon. gentlemen cannot do this, they make a generally worded charge to cover all sorts of alleged frauds, of which they have no evidence. But, if they know of any persons who had these ballots and used them, let them lay their charge before the courts and have these persons punished. The law is clear. Any one who, without authority, supplies ballot paper to any person, is guilty of a misdemeanour. The taking of such a ballot out of a polling station, constitutes a misdemeanour, and renders the guilty person liable to a fine of \$200, according to section 48, of the Election Act. But, these are offences which should be tried before the court, before an impartial judge and jury, and not before a tribunal composed of members so partial as the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin).

Another charge, too trifling almost, to mention, is that a deputy returning officer refused to seal the box. But, that is also punishable under the Election Act, by a penalty. It is not suggested that any harm came from this, but even if harm did come, it is punishable under a distinct section of the Act.

Mr. INGRAM. What section of the Act deals with that?

Mr. BRITTON. Section 105. It is as follows:

Every officer and clerk who is guilty of any wilful misfeasance or any wilful act or omission in violation of this Act shall forfeit to any person aggrieved by such misfeasance, act or omission a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, in addition to the amount of all actual damages thereby occasioned to such person.

Every returning officer, deputy returning officer, election clerk or poll clerk who refuses or neglects to perform any of the obligations or

formalities required of him by this Act, shall, for each such refusal or neglect, forfeit the sum of two hundred dollars to any person who sues for the same.

That, besides other clauses which makes certain omissions and misfeasances penal, are directly in force in reference to every one of these charges that my hon. friend makes. The other charge is that one of the poll clerks or somebody in connection with the election, was in the employ of Mr. Comstock. It is not suggested that this man had done any wrong. And, in any case, he is not disqualified by law. I should think, for my part, that it would not be proper for such a man to act in such a capacity, and I do not think Mr. Comstock would wish it; but I suppose his attention was not called to the matter. But as it is not charged that he did anything wrong, and as the fact of his being employed by the candidate does not disqualify him, there is nothing to be investigated.

Now, here are these trifling charges in reference to Brockville, which we are informed are not true, and to take up the time of the House and the committee with them, it seems to me is mere trifling with parliament, and more particularly so in view to two things that occurred that I have already mentioned. One man who was charged with doing one of the specific things complained of by my hon. friend (Mr. Borden, Halifax) was brought up, tried and honourably acquitted.

Mr. TAYLOR. By a Grit jury.

Mr. BRITTON. I beg the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Taylor's) pardon.

Mr. TAYLOR. You made the statement—

Mr. BRITTON. No, the statement is not correct; it is absolutely incorrect. There were seven, or at least five, Conservatives on the jury.

Mr. TAYLOR. There were two.

Mr. BRITTON. That is not correct. I challenge the correctness of the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Taylor's) statement.

Mr. TAYLOR. I can give the names.

Mr. BRITTON. You cannot do anything of the kind. You know better. This man was tried and honourably acquitted. Then, another man who was charged with one of the specific offences that my hon. friend brings before the House, was brought up from time to time, and the case was adjourned, and finally it was dismissed without the charge being pressed against him. Because of these two things, I say there is additional ground to justify me in the position I took, and took on my individual responsibility, that the case ought not to go to a committee. But, further than that, section 117 gives a year to try this matter.

I invite hon. gentlemen opposite, I challenge them; and I am authorized by the sitting member to say that he is prepared to give the money, if it is necessary, to bring the witnesses to try any charges that they have got and that they are prepared to bring before the proper court. Now, the time is still open to them. They have a Conservative judge there. Of course, there is no politics with the judges. If a man takes a judicial office he forgets what party he belonged to.

Mr. MILLS. You will have to change a good deal.

Mr. BRITTON. Maybe so, but I shall not have to change as much as you will. There can be no pretense that would stand in the way of making charges of this kind. I know it would be the same if the judge were a Liberal; but I mention the fact that he is a Conservative to show that if my hon. friends have evidence such as they pretend to have, and if they wish to get at the truth and not mere kudos for the party, they have only to bring their charges before the court, and they need not lack for an opportunity to have all the witnesses that can support their case.

I think I was perfectly justified in making the remarks I did, and if you will take it as the first person singular instead of the first person plural, I think I was justified in saying that, under the circumstances, I would be opposed to sending this case of Brockville to a committee for the investigation of these trifling charges, when there is a court open where they can be investigated and where a man who is charged can have a lawyer to defend him, and cannot be bulldozed by persons who are, perhaps, too much inclined to do that sort of thing in an election committee, but where the whole matter can be investigated and punishment meted out to any person who is found guilty.

Mr. SPROULE. I desire to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) a question. Does he think he has displayed good taste in discussing a question that was decided in this House last year, of sending the Brockville case to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, especially before that committee had taken a word of evidence on the case?

Mr. BRITTON. I think it was very proper, after what had taken place in this House, to discuss it and defend the position I took, and particularly as circumstances have occurred since the reference was made to the committee which have a direct bearing on the case. Such things as I have referred to, the conduct of the newspapers in discussing this matter, the conduct of hon. gentlemen opposite on the hustings, and the fact that two men had been brought up on these specific charges and both discharged, make it quite proper, in my opinion, to discuss it.

Mr. BRITTON.

Mr. ANDREW B. INGRAM (East Elgin). I rise to say a few words on this question, because the name of the county I have the honour to represent in this House has been dragged in frequently during the last session or two in connection with the election frauds that have been committed in that county, and because certain persons who appeared before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of this House during last session were associated with elections which took place in the county of Elgin. Previous to to-day I have been very much pleased with the manner in which the right hon. leader of this government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) viewed this very serious question of election frauds in Brockville and Huron. Last session I heard him say that he was willing, yes, eager, to investigate these charges and have the men who committed these crimes brought to justice, if they could be brought to justice. Now, as I understand it, a day or two ago, the senior member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) asked, as a matter of privilege, to move for certain papers to be brought down in order that the election committee might be again brought together and these documents again placed before them to further investigate the charges, the investigation not having been concluded, and the continuance of it having been promised this session. I have read the resolution as moved by the hon. member for Halifax, and I see nothing wrong in it. To-day, I was much surprised to hear the right hon. gentleman refuse to extend the courtesy which has always been extended in this House during every session I have had the honour of a seat in it, of allowing a motion which was unopposed to be brought before the House. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) drew a comparison between the resolution he has on the paper and the resolution of my hon. friend (Mr. Borden, Halifax). Why, Sir, we heard my hon. friend (Mr. Borden, Halifax) to-day, say that he would move his motion and that he did not intend to have any discussion on it. He was satisfied with simply having that motion carried with the view of sending these papers to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. On the other hand, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) had a motion on the paper that would have raised a great deal of discussion; therefore, there was no fair comparison between the motion of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) and the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden). Then, if the courtesy that was asked by the hon. member for Halifax had been granted, what would have been the result? It would have been that, instead of taking up all the afternoon and keeping the House until this late hour of the night, discussing this election question, we would have been discussing other questions and proceeding with the

business of the House. I do not wish to dwell upon this question from any partisan standpoint. I would call to the attention of the right hon. Prime Minister, and of hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House, the importance of framing some law to bring men who commit election crimes in this country to justice. It is our duty to do it, and in doing that, I am sure, we will be promoting the welfare of the people of this country. I may say further that when this question was before the Privileges and Elections Committee, I attended very frequently, and I noticed the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) questioning certain witnesses there, and I must say that he did it in a very judicial way. But I found a desire on one hand, to prevent anything coming out that would appear to make these parties guilty of crime. On the other hand, I found an earnest desire on the part of my hon. friend here (Mr. Borden, Halifax) to bring that information out and, if possible, to expose any fraud that might have been committed. No fault can be found with the hon. gentleman for the way in which he chose to conduct the affairs of that committee from his standpoint. In moving his motion in this House, the hon. gentleman moved it as a question of privilege as, when the committee rose at the last session of parliament the proceedings of that committee had not been completed. The hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton) asks the question across the floor of the House, why hon. gentlemen on this side do not prosecute Mr. Cummings for having these counterfoils in his pocket. Does the hon. gentleman not know that the examination of Mr. Cummings was not finished before the committee? Therefore, I say it would be quite improper to bring a man before the courts before his examination had been completed.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Was he not discharged?

Mr. INGRAM. He was not discharged. The hon. member for Kingston says that no fraud has been committed in the case of Brockville, and, he asks: Would any person naturally suppose that there was anything wrong because of the picking up of a ballot on the street cut from a newspaper? It is most remarkable that these ballots are picked up in every city, every county and every riding where the machine operated and where elections occurred. We have had them in West Elgin. We picked them up there after the machine had left the place. I am bound to say, Sir, that if it had not been for gentlemen who occupy positions similar to that, which I understand, the hon. member for Kingston sometimes occupies, that of Crown prosecutor, we would be in a position to show, not only in Elgin County, but in every election that occurred in Ontario, that there were two sets of ballots used. That applies, not only

to elections held under the provincial government, but, under the Dominion government as well. I say that this is one of the chief reasons why the hon. member for Kingston objects to the Brockville case being brought before the committee. As to the carrying out of justice by the courts of this province, I have here two cases in which parts of the machine have been brought before the courts namely, Mr. Bole, of Sault Ste. Marie fame, and Mr. Cahill. I find that the county crown attorney of Elgin had been instructed to prosecute these men on these charges:

1. Unlawfully taking ballot box from R. N. Stafford, under section 329, Criminal Code.
2. Wilfully making erasure, etc., in poll book under section 503 of Criminal Code.
3. Wilfully destroying ballot papers under section 503, Criminal Code.
4. Without due authority supplying ballot paper.
5. Without due authority taking the ballot box, etc., under section 191, Ontario Election Act).

The warrant was issued on the 3rd of May, 1891. Bole was arrested at Sault on the 6th May, 1899, arraigned at Bismarck before J. C. Schliehauf, J.P., on the 9th May, hearing at Sheddon, May 16th, 1899. Here is where I am going to show the crookedness of this whole business, in which, at least, the Ontario government had a hand in the way of withholding information that was of very great assistance, from the court. After giving instructions to their county crown attorney to proceed in the case, they, themselves, were guilty of withholding the evidence which prevented this trial from going on. I understand, as a layman, that if there are any written documents anywhere that can be produced in court, these written documents must be produced in preference to oral evidence. We know that, sometime during the month of April, the poll books, the ballot papers and all the documents in respect to that election were burned. Now, Sir, why did they withhold this information? Simply because the lawyers in the case, who were defending the prisoner, could say that the poll books had certain signatures and that they wanted these documents to be produced in this court. If they are not produced, we object to this case going on, and, as a matter of fact, owing to that, this case did not proceed. It has been clearly proven that the Ontario government, at least, were hand in glove with this machine, and that they did everything in their power to screen them, and that the courts of Ontario have been used for the purpose of screening these very same men. We are in this position in this House. We, as Conservatives, have the right to ask the right hon. Prime Minister, and we have the right to insist that he will carry out the promise made last session that this election committee shall be allowed to continue the investigation of these charges. We are obliged to ask for that because we find that the way in which they

are carrying out justice in Ontario it is simply a farce, and we have no other means by which we can get at these criminals than through the Committee on Privileges and Elections of this House. Some hon. gentleman may rise in his place and say that the Ontario government have appointed a commission composed of respectable judges of the province of Ontario to investigate the charges in connection with West Elgin. What did they do? They did precisely the same thing as this government did. They confined the inquiry to the deputy returning officers and the poll clerks. The inquiry ordered by this House was:

For the purpose of inquiring into and investigating the conduct of the respective returning officers and the several deputy returning officers at and in connection with each of the said elections respectively.

That is precisely the same line they are pursuing in the province of Ontario. We say that is not broad enough. I understand that last year at the committee certain objections were made by gentlemen opposite, and the authority of Sir John Bourinot was called into question to define what rights members had before a committee of this House. That authority lays down:

It is a clear and indisputable principle of parliamentary law that a committee is bound by, and is not at liberty to depart from the order of reference.

Now, the order of reference was:

For the purpose of inquiring into and investigating the conduct of the respective returning officers and the several deputy returning officers at and in connection with each of the said elections respectively.

It is quite clear that the commission given to the judges in the province of Ontario is exactly in line with the proposition laid down before this House. I am not going to say that the respected judges of this country on that commission, declined to carry out to the fullest extent the instructions given them by the government of Ontario, but I do say that it is a farce for the Ontario government to confine their inquiry strictly to the deputy returning officers and the poll clerks, without permitting such men as Bole, Hoppen, Cahill, Preston, Smith, Grant and the others connected with the machine, to be brought before the commission, in order that they might be shown up. When the West Elgin election case was brought before the court the elected member saw that he was going to get into a difficulty and he made a confession. He had imported several strange deputy returning officers into the county, and when this confession was presented to the trial judges, one of them said it was sufficient to unseat the member. The other judge held that they should proceed with more evidence, and so they did proceed to the extent of simply bringing the returning officer before them, who declared to the fact

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that these strange deputy returning officers acted, and as a consequence the elected member was unseated. But what followed? The very men who, according to the confession of Macnish committed these crimes, were allowed to go free, and now a commission is appointed by the Ontario government—

Mr. BRITTON. What has that to do with this?

Mr. INGRAM. It is precisely the same machine here as there. This is the invitation that was sent out by the Ontario commission:

On February 19, 1900, P. P. Hamilton, acting secretary of the commissioners who were appointed by the Ontario government to investigate the West Elgin election frauds, sent a letter to Dr. Guest, president of the West Elgin Conservative Association, inviting him to furnish the commissioners with any information he could in the matter. Mr. S. Price sent an answer, declining to take part in the affair, and gave his reasons for doing so. The following is the correspondence:

The Notice.

To Dr. Frederick Guest (Shedden P.O), the president of the Conservative Association of the electoral division of West Elgin:

Please take notice as follows:

His Honour Judge Barron, His Honour Judge McTavish and His Honour Judge Morgan, the commissioners appointed by royal commission, dated the 31st day of January, 1900, will hold a sitting of the said commission at the court-house in the city of St. Thomas, in the county of Elgin, on Thursday, the 1st day of March, 1900, at the hour of two o'clock, afternoon, and will then proceed with the inquiry directed by the commission issued to them, and will hear evidence relating thereto.

All persons having charges to make against officials and persons within the scope of the commission, or having information in their possession which is material to be known and will assist the commissioners in their investigation, are requested to furnish particulars thereof in writing as soon as possible to George H. Watson, Q.C., Toronto, senior counsel for the Crown, for the purpose of enabling such counsel to prepare and produce evidence thereof before the commissioners.

Dated Court-house, Stratford, Monday, 19th of February, 1900.

(Sgd.) P. P. HAMILTON,

Acting Secretary to the Commissioners.

Now, before I read the reply to this, I want to ask any hon. gentleman in this House, I care not whether he be Conservative or Liberal, is it in his interests that a certain number of men should be called into constituency after constituency for the purpose of using illegal and corrupt means to secure the election of the candidates they support. I say as a Conservative that such a thing should be stopped, and I say that no obstacle should be placed in the way, by this government or by the Ontario government, or by any other government, of bringing out all the information necessary to show up these corrupt men. Here is the reply:

P. P. Hamilton, Esq., secretary West Elgin Commission, St. Thomas:

Dear Sir,—The notice which you sent to Dr. Guest, president of the West Elgin Liberal-Conservative Association, who is at present absent taking a post graduate medical course in New York, has been forwarded by him to me, with instructions to say he declines on behalf of the association to take any part in the proceedings of the so-called investigation, for the following, among other reasons:

Having in view the facts certified to by Mr. Macnish (then a government member of the Assembly, continuing to possess the close confidence and support of the government, and nominated and supported as their candidate), and the facts found by the election trial judges, it is clear that the commission was designed, not to disclose, but to suppress the truth, designed, in fact, to establish falsehood in the garb of truth. And the manner in which it has been determined to conduct the proceedings is well calculated to carry out that design.

The very matters to which the investigation appears to be confined, as indicated in your notice (I am not aware that the commission has ever been published), are the matters in which the documents alleged to have been destroyed at the government building in Toronto are most essential—the scope of the commission, in fact, being apparently limited to just that branch of the West Elgin election matters in which the incontrovertible evidence could be, and apparently has been, most effectively removed by destruction of the documents.

Men who are guilty of or connected with the frauds cannot be expected to scruple about swearing themselves clear, and the absence of the election documents alleged to have been destroyed, and the immunity from cross-examination, enable and encourage them to do so, when it would not otherwise be possible. In fact, the narrowness of the commission and the one-sided manner in which it is proposed to adduce evidence thereunder must render the proceeding a mere farce; and to substitute such a semblance of inquiry for a thorough investigation of what are known as the West Elgin election frauds is regarded by intelligent persons generally as but an attempt to perpetrate a fresh fraud upon the people of Ontario.

How the people could have any confidence in an investigation of this nature, conducted by the counsel who are in charge thereof, or how any one possessing confidential information against delinquents can be expected to trust it to Mr. R. A. Grant, is impossible to imagine. Indeed, it is wholly incomprehensible how Mr. Grant could be faithful to the duties of his present position without being false to his former and present clients and friends.

In existing circumstances, the public interest most imperatively demands that active and effective steps should at once be taken to bring to justice the criminals already exposed and known to have been guilty of ballot frauds and rascalities, two at least of whom, after having been thrust into the hands of government officials whose sworn duty it is to prosecute and punish them, have by the misconduct and connivance of these and other government officials, and of members of the government itself, been allowed, and in fact, assisted to escape and remain unpunished. Rather than sending forth a bound and shackled commission—crippled and shut off from all the avenues by means of which truthful information might reasonably be ex-

pected to enter—under pretense of desiring to disclose further frauds and misconduct, the government would be acting more in consonance with the requirements of the situation to have instituted a proper and effective inquiry into the official misconduct which has led to such prostitution of the regular course of criminal justice, and secured immunity from prosecution and punishment (which some of the culprits have not been slow to boast of) to election criminals whose rascalities are already not only exposed, but notorious. Either real or pretended efforts to discover additional frauds or misconduct are idle and futile while known frauds and misconduct remain unpunished and unrebuked by existing authorities.

It is the present government of Ontario and its members who are more than suspected of the guilt and responsibility for what has occurred, and no investigation short of an inquiry into their connection therewith will satisfy the people of Ontario.

A thorough investigation such as justice demands, and the people of the province desire, would include not merely the conduct of the returning officer, deputies and poll-clerks, but also an inquiry into the following, amongst other matters

1. Who were the 'men working on behalf of the Liberal party who sent into the constituency the large number of persons, some of whom, we believe, used fraudulent and corrupt means to secure the election of the government candidate,' as Mr. Macnish admits and certifies over his own signature.

2. Who designed and planned the sending into the riding from all points of the compass the men who were for weeks located at the principal centres therein, operating on behalf of that candidate? Who paid for their services and their disbursements?

3. Who signed and arranged that six of those persons, without authority, should be intrusted with the sacredness of the ballot-box? Who were engaged in carrying out that design and in arranging with Mr. Macnish to sign the written requests to Sheriff Brown to appoint 'the bearers' D. R. O., which show him to have been a party to the conspiracy, bringing the guilt one step nearer to the government itself.

4. At whose instance or suggestion did Mr. Macnish send for W. T. R. Preston to manage the campaign? What led Preston to send for Duncan Bole and Capt. Sullivan, and Sullivan to send for Cahill? And how did Preston come to be rewarded with an extremely lucrative office immediately after the campaign?

5. Who 'brought into the riding the large number of persons for the express purpose of personating legitimate voters, who, assisted by some of Mr. Macnish's local supporters, did personate qualified voters in voting for him?' as Mr. Macnish certifies was done.

6. Who were the 'agents of Mr. Macnish who concealed at their homes some of these strangers, who there paid large sums of money to electors to induce them to vote for him,' as Mr. Macnish certifies was the fact.

7. Who supplied the substitute ballots used by Bole and others in carrying out the 'nefarious manipulation' of the ballots and stealing the votes of honest electors?

8. Why did the government not prosecute the men who were shown to have committed the old-fashioned crimes of forgery, perjury and personation, and many other frauds which, if committed otherwise than in the interest and for the benefit of the government and its sup-

porters, would have been ferreted out and punished by the officials charged with that duty?

9. What part did Mr. R. A. Grant, now employed by the government as one of the counsel to present the evidence before the commissioners, take to protect some of the chief perpetrators of the said frauds, and at whose instance did he act in so doing?

10. At whose instance did the government officials of Elgin and others impede and delay and finally burk the ordinary course of criminal justice in the cases of Bole and Cahill, and what are the particulars of their conduct in so doing?

11. How many of the strangers connected with and taking part in the campaign in question were government officials; and how many of these and of the government officials who connived at the escape of Bole and Cahill are still in the employ or pay of the government?

12. Why did the Clerk of the Crown or the Attorney General's department of the government, not notify the Elgin County Crown Attorney, or the private prosecutor in the Bole and Cahill prosecutions, or the judges or petitioner's solicitors in the election protest, of the alleged destruction of the West Elgin ballots and documents, instead of concealing it, when fully aware that the fact was so vital a factor in connection with those proceedings, and when the information would, in fact, have removed the sole barrier and excuse alleged by both the local officials and defence for not prosecuting Cahill upon evidence which the Crown Attorney himself declared in open court to be 'overwhelming.'

A commission designed to disclose the truth and get at the bottom of the West Elgin frauds would include all these questions and others, and would provide machinery for cross-examination of witnesses, and otherwise necessary for bringing out the whole truth. And on behalf of the association the president would undertake, with such a commission, to adduce evidence upon which satisfactory answers to such questions could be based.

But he cannot consent to be in any way a party to the proceedings of a commission designed and well calculated to suppress the truth and further deceive the people.

(Sgd.) SAMUEL PRICE.

Vice-President West Elgin Liberal-Conservative Association.

St. Thomas, March 1, 1900.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have in my possession the shorthand notes taken when the commission received this lengthy document. They considered that document carefully all evening, and they made a reply to the effect that the Conservatives of Elgin county did not wish to take any action or any part in the proceedings at all. How any person could make a statement of that kind, or how the public press of Ontario could make a statement of that kind, is more than I can fathom. Here are the shorthand notes :

Shorthand report of the remarks made by the chairman of the West Elgin Commission (County Judge Barron) upon the letter received by the secretary of the commission in reply to a letter sent by him to the president of the West Elgin Conservative Association notifying the latter that the commission would sit at St. Thomas and that all persons having charges or information were requested to send particulars

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in writing to the council conducting the commission.

After adjournment last night we were handed by the secretary a communication signed by Mr. Samuel Price as Vice-President of the Conservative Association of the West Riding of Elgin. It is a very long document and we have not had time yet to see what it contains, but the purport of it was to the effect that he desired to abstain from taking any part in the work of the commission. If it contains anything we can hang a peg on in the way of proceeding we will certainly take advantage of it.

These are the remarks of the chairman on a document that says that if the commission would broaden the scope of the inquiry, the Conservatives would be prepared to prove all the things stated in that document; and that is the reason why they declined to join in such a farce. My innocent friend from Kingston spoke of Mr. Cummings not being able to put the counterfoils into his pocket, and abstract from his pocket marked ballots to be put in the box for Mr. Holmes. Has he not read of the way they conduct elections nowadays? A gentleman like him who is in the courts more or less every day, surely takes notice of what takes place in the other courts of the province of Ontario in regard to elections. Does he not know of these sharp men who have been brought in for the purpose of manipulating ballots, as they did in Waterloo, under the training of instructors like the famous Tom Lewis of London? He was also in West Huron, and probably in Brockville as well.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Tell us about South Ontario.

Mr. INGRAM. And very likely he was in South Ontario too.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Eighteen Tories in jail now.

Mr. BENNETT. That is not true.

Mr. INGRAM. I want to draw my hon. friend's attention to the fact that eighty-five voters of the village of Sheldon, where Duncan Bole was deputy returning officer, made their affidavits that they had voted for McDiarmid, and that when the ballots were counted there were only forty-two for Macnish. Every one knows Mr. Bole to be a very slick gentleman, and what did he do? The returning officer, as stated in the legislature of Ontario, swore that Bole had no authority to act as a deputy returning officer, but he did act. The scrutineers on both sides of politics had been accustomed for years to have honest returning officers, and that remark applies to both Reformers and Conservatives. This man said: You know there is more or less swearing of electors when they come to the polls. Now, judging by this country around here, judging by the residents of this village, I can only say that I believe no man will present himself here, who has

not the authority or the right to vote, and I would be very glad indeed, if you men will agree among yourselves to have as little friction as possible and give no trouble or annoyance, by swearing any of these men. He was so extremely fair, nice and candid, that these men thought he was honesty itself, and they went to their corners of the room and allowed him to sit at the ballot box unobserved. What did he do? He took the ballots from the parties coming to vote. None of the scrutineers saw him do anything wrong, and if they came before an election committee, and were asked: Did you see anything wrong? They would have to reply: No. Bole acted fairly and squarely, as far as we know. But the result shows that he did not. It shows that he either took the ballots given him and put them in his pocket, instead of into the box, or put them into the box, and then took them out at night and substituted for them the other set of ballots, which R. A. Grant, the nephew of the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), went up to manipulate at the Sault Ste Marie, where he had a hole-and-corner meeting with Bole and the gentleman who printed these ballots and fixed the thing up there. Mr. Bole had frequent occasion to go out, and a quantity of burnt paper was found distributed around the place to which he made these frequent visits. That was pretty strong evidence that he had burnt the ballots which the electors had honestly marked for the candidate of their choice. How do I prove that? I prove it in this way. At that very polling subdivision, the friends of McDiarmid, who was a Conservative candidate, said that at the very most Macnish could not possibly get more than five of a majority, but that the chances were as much in their favour, and the result was liable to be even. What followed? The result showed eighty-five of a majority for Macnish at that poll, but in the following election, McDiarmid got eleven of a majority at the same poll. This is pretty clear proof that in the first election the ballot box was stuffed.

I want to further draw attention to this fact, that the friends of hon. gentlemen opposite took every means possible to prevent men belonging to the place, acting as deputy returning officers, but brought in strangers for that purpose.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Oh, tell us about Manitoba.

Mr. INGRAM. Yes, I read the proceedings in Manitoba, and was pleased with the course taken by Mr. Sifton, and by the right hon. gentleman who leads this House. I was delighted at the promptness with which they were bound to investigate the election frauds that took place in Manitoba, and the charge made against the deputy returning officer of manipulating the ballots. I read over carefully the evidence at that trial,

and I found that only one person had been found guilty. And why was he found guilty? Because he was trying to play both political parties for money, and the jury had no faith in him.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Is that the man that Mr. Birmingham said was a good man in North Bruce?

Mr. INGRAM. I understand from a telegram, that Mr. Birmingham was asked what kind of a man he was, and he said he was a good man.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In North Bruce?

Mr. INGRAM. Yes, and I have no doubt that Mr. Birmingham was in good faith when he sent this reply, but it turned out afterwards, that the man was the very opposite, and he was rightly punished.

The point I want to make is this. I do not want to justify wrong-doing to-day by wrong-doing in the past. That is the course that hon. gentlemen opposite take. I was astonished to hear the hon. member for North Wellington say that because certain things had been done in Manitoba or anywhere else, that justified frauds in Huron and Brockville. He in fact resorted to the argument: You are another, and on that argument, justified the refusal to allow us to investigate this matter. But if elections are being conducted not only in this House, but in the local House, as these have been, it is high time for both Conservatives and Reformers to stamp out these frauds. Because I have occupied a seat in this House for some years, and have introduced legislation to amend the Election Act, the Liberal press has said that if any one knew how an election ought to be managed, I should, from my practical experience, thus insinuating that any elections in which I have been interested, were conducted on improper lines. Let me say, that if I owe my election to anything, it is to having done what I thought was fair and honest, as between my opponents and myself. I have taken every chance I could to manipulate the voters' lists, by seeing that the names of those who would vote in my favour were entered, but that was my right, as it is the right of every candidate for public life. I have been charged with conniving at the personation, and marking of ballots, and so on, but I challenge any man to show one instance in which any supporter of mine has ever been charged with any such offence with the slightest particle of proof to support it. But, on the other hand, I can show that the very men who are crying out 'stinking fish' against me, were employing personators and ballot box stuffers to such an extent that several of their tools were arrested and put in jail, but owing to the loose way in which justice was carried out in the courts, these men escaped. It does not

lie in the mouths of any of these gentlemen to make any charge of corrupt practices against me. If I have introduced legislation to amend our election law, it is because it is a fact well known to every one in this House, that our present law does not supply the proper machinery to prevent the unscrupulous advanced methods now used to gain elections.

Let me say, that, while fault has been found with the hon. member for Halifax for asking a privilege which is not granted to others, I think that the case he has made out, amply justifies the course he has taken, and I think we ought all to have a deep interest in seeing that a proper investigation be had, and punishment meted out to those who deserve it. And I must say that I am rather surprised that my hon. friend from Kingston (Mr. Britton), who took a very active part in the committee last year, should be the only one in this House to rise and object to this motion to refer the Brockville case to the Privileges and Elections Committee, and especially the Brockville charges, when it is a well known fact to any man who takes part in elections, that the Brockville election was anything but a pure election.

Mr. BRITTON. Make your charges.

Mr. INGRAM. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) says, 'make your charges'; but I have already stated the reason why they have not been made.

Mr. GEORGE TAYLOR (South Leeds). I wish to say a word in reply to the statement of the hon. member for Kingston a few nights ago when discussing the Brockville election, that seven of the jurors in the Empey case were Conservatives. The hon. gentleman has repeated that this evening. I will read to him the names of the jurors who served in that case and will ask him to call off the Conservatives.

Mr. BRITTON. I do not know them at all.

Mr. MILLS. Then, why did you contradict?

Mr. BRITTON. I have reliable authority from Brockville. I did not say positively that there were seven, but I thought that was the number.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman made the statement the other night and to-night.

Mr. BRITTON. No.

Mr. TAYLOR. Here is a report of the case 'Queen vs. Empey':

At the assizes Wednesday afternoon this case was called, and after a number of jurors had

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been peremptorily challenged by the defence, the following jurors were sworn, namely: W. Robert Drown, George Dunbar, Silas Coolidge, John Henry Polk, Benjamin J. Horton, Robert Hollister, James L. Ferguson, Jos. W. Grant, Robert Marks, William Barber, Albert Kelly and Jos. Eward. Five of the regular panel, who were said to be Conservatives, were challenged by the counsel for the defendants. The Crown counsel did not challenge any juror.

The Crown counsel was a Grit. There are two Conservatives on that jury, Mr. Polk and Mr. Ferguson. That is a statement of the facts.

Mr. BRITTON. Were not they honest men?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. BRITTON. Did not they concur in the verdict?

Mr. TAYLOR. Wait until I give the evidence. The hon. gentleman says there was no evidence. The Queen's counsel who manipulated the case was Mr. Biggs. Hon. gentlemen here know Mr. Biggs—a part of a machine. He was sent down to run the business. Mr. Watson, Q.C., was counsel for the defence. Here is the evidence of the returning officer himself:

Fred. W. Fulford—Was deputy returning officer, polling subdivision No. 3, West ward. During polling hours in the forenoon Empey came in, and he approached me and I asked him if he wanted to vote. When my clerk recorded his name the poll clerk gave me the number which was opposite Empey's name on the voter's list. I put this number on the counterfoil of the ballot. Empey then went into the compartment and shortly afterwards returned, handing me a paper which I now identify as being like the disputed ballot. I spoke to the defendant and said the paper returned by him was not the one I gave him and that the initials were not mine, and that the number on the counterfoil was not on the counterfoil of the paper returned by Empey to me.

There is the evidence of the deputy returning officer, who swore that they were not his initials. Notwithstanding that fact—

Mr. BRITTON. The jury did not believe him, that is all.

Mr. TAYLOR. Never mind the jury. Mr. Watson, the counsel for the defence, insisted that there was no case to go to the jury, and Mr. Biggs did not oppose it; but the judge ruled that there was a case and sent it to the jury. After having been locked up for a while, these two Conservatives consented to the verdict. I saw one of them afterwards—

Mr. BRITTON. Poor innocent men.

Mr. TAYLOR. There were ten against two on the jury.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Were they not sworn?

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. member for Kingston said it was a Tory jury. There were two against ten, and they united and brought in a verdict of 'not guilty'; and there is the sworn evidence of the deputy returning officer that this man came with a ballot that he knew to be fraudulent, that was not the one he gave him, and he would not take it.

Mr. ROGERS. I desire only to protest against such expressions as are used when hon. members speak of Grit juries and Tory juries. The hon. member for Kingston spoke in a proper way about the judges being true to their oath of office. It seems to me that to speak of Grit juries and Tory juries is to hurl an insult against the citizens of this country, I do not care who says it. I believe that men on the jury have as much regard for their oath as has a judge on the bench.

Mr. JAS. CLANCY (Bothwell). I had not intended to say anything until the hon. member who leads the House (Sir Louis Davies) applauded so loudly the sentiments of the Patron gentleman who represents Frontenac (Mr. Rogers), who has become so wonderfully pious as to be shocked by remarks made in this House. Was he shocked when the hon. member for Kingston (Mr. Britton) charged men who came down here to give evidence in the West Huron case with being a set of perjurers. I find that these men in cases stated that they had signed a document, no more. I was surprised at the hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) using the argument he did. A layman might be excused for using such an argument, but even in him it would be a lame one. He said they were perjurers because they were induced to sign that declaration that they had done so and so, and in order to follow up the position they had taken, they came here and deliberately perjured themselves. God forbid that he should ever be a judge in this country—and I understand that he has aspirations—when he uses such logic. A more disgraceful statement was never made in this House than when that hon. gentleman used his privilege as a member to stand up here to hurl the charge against men who have no means of defending themselves, that they came here a set of perjurers. I think the hon. gentleman has not done himself much credit, nor has he done much to benefit his own case.

Mr. BRITTON. As a matter of privilege, I think I have the right to say a word. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Clancy) has entirely misinterpreted what I said. I said that the deputy returning officer had sworn on one side, and certain persons had sworn

on the other, and members of the committee were left to judge between the two whose statement was true. I said they may have committed perjury—

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) said they were perjurers.

Mr. BRITTON. No.

Mr. CLANCY. As the hon. gentleman (Mr. Britton) was permitted to make a statement, I have the right to say a word. I say that my statement of the hon. gentleman's words was substantially correct, and I will leave it to the recollection of hon. members and to *Hansard* to-morrow whether he did or did not make the statement referred to.

Motion (Mr. Foster) to adjourn, negatived.

FERTILIZERS ACT AMENDMENT, 1890.

Mr. FLINT moved the second reading of Bill (No 2) to amend the Fertilizer Act, 1890.—(Mr. Domville.)

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). Mr. Speaker, I feel a good deal of interest in this Bill as it is in connection with the Department of Inland Revenue. I have considered the Bill and its conditions at different times with my hon. friend (Mr. Domville) who introduces the Bill, and we agreed, ultimately, that after it passed its second reading, it would be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Colonization.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE moved that Bill (No. 2) to amend the Fertilizers Act, 1890, (Mr. Domville) be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Colonization.

Motion agreed to.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I am requested by the hon. junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) to give notice, that, when the House is again moved into Committee of Supply, he will propose an amendment in respect to the preferential tariff.

Mr. SPROULE. What will be taken up to-morrow?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am in hopes that the Bill to provide for the payment of the troops will be taken up first.

Mr. SPROULE. Can the hon. gentleman say when the budget speech will be delivered?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I cannot, in the absence of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) say anything definite to-night.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11.35 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 15, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 93) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Service Railroad Tie-plate Company of Canada, Limited.—(Mr. Fraser, Guysborough.)

Bill (No. 94) respecting the Schomberg and Aurora Railway Company.—(Mr. Lan-derkin.)

BILL WITHDRAWN.

Mr. SUTHERLAND moved that Bill (No. 36) respecting the Arrowhead and Kootenay Railway Company be withdrawn, and that the fees paid thereon be refunded, less the cost of printing and translation, in accordance with the recommendation of the third report of the Select Standing Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines.

Motion agreed to.

EMPLOYMENT OF MR. EVARISTE TALBOT.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Is Mr. Evariste Talbot, of Fraserville, P.Q., in the employment of the government?
2. If so, what is the position held by the said Talbot?
3. What is his salary?
4. What are his duties and functions?
5. What is the name of the person whom he has replaced in the said position?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. Yes, he is. 2. He
Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

is freight agent at Rivière du Loup. 3. Mr. Talbot's salary is \$55 a month. 4. He has charge of the receiving, forwarding and delivering of freight at Rivière du Loup, and the keeping of the accounts in connection therewith. 5. His predecessor was H. T. Roy, who resigned and left the service.

MAIL SERVICE EAST OF BERSIMIS.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

Has the hon. Postmaster General, or the government, issued any order or instructions in pursuance of which no books, newspapers, parcels, &c., are carried by mail between Quebec and Bersimis, or places east of Bersimis?

2. Is the government aware that the officials of the post office at Quebec refuse to transmit, by the mails sent to Bersimis and points east thereof, any books, newspapers or parcels?

3. Is it the intention of the government to apply a remedy in this matter?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. This is a winter service by dog train. In the month of April, 1898, in consequence of grave abuses in the way of the intentional overloading of the mails east of Bersimis with useless mail matter by persons desirous of embarrassing the mail contractor in the performance of a difficult service, orders were given to limit the winter mail to letters. In October of the same year this order was withdrawn, on the understanding that a watch would be kept by officers of the department to prevent a renewal of the abuses mentioned. 2. The government is not aware that books, newspapers and parcels are refused transmission to Bersimis and points east by the officers of the Quebec post office. The very latest instructions given on the subject, under date of 20th December, were that the service was not to be unduly curtailed. 3. The government is not aware that at present there is any condition of affairs requiring a remedy.

CANADA AND MANCHESTER STEAMSHIP LINE.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

What amount, by way of subsidy, has been paid for the establishment and maintenance of a line of steamers sailing between Canada and the city of Manchester in Great Britain? What has been the value of the products of Canada carried by such line of steamers to Manchester?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). The amount of subsidy paid for services to the 30th of June last was \$26,000. No account has been rendered and nothing has been paid since that date; the service, however, is being continued. There is no possible means of knowing the value of the products of Canada carried by such line of steamers to Manchester.

THE PACIFIC CABLE.

Mr. CASEY (by Mr. Gibson) asked :

Is the government aware whether the following news item is founded on fact?

(From our own correspondent.)

London, Eng., Office of the 'Globe,'
222-225 Strand, W.C., March 9.

I learn on excellent authority that Mr. Chamberlain has strongly protested to the Australian governments against granting concessions to the Eastern Extension Company at present, asking them to postpone the matter until they have learned what the Pacific Cable Board has to propose. The Eastern Company's Australian campaign was very skilfully conceived and carried out, but it is probable that they will build the African cable in any event without concessions regarding the Australian land lines.'

2. If the Pacific Cable Board recommends that tenders be called for, is there at present any legislative authority for doing so, and for letting a contract for the construction of the cable?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). With reference to the first part of the question, the government is not at liberty at the present moment to lay before parliament any communications as to the action of the Imperial government in connection with this question. The second part of the question I think I have answered before, to the effect that the Imperial government has not, so far as we know, acquired the necessary legislative authority. Some governments have—the Canadian, the government of New South Wales, and, I think, the governments of several other Australian colonies.

THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

During what years was Major General Cameron (son-in-law of Sir Charles Tupper) the head of the Royal Military College at Kingston?

When did his connection with the college cease?

How many cadets were in attendance at said college during each year that Major General Cameron was in charge?

Who succeeded Major General Cameron?

How many cadets have been in attendance at the college each year since Major General Cameron's official connection therewith ceased?

Is it the intention of the government to re-instate Major General Cameron? If not, why not?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I would ask that the question stand.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I want to draw the attention of the right hon. leader of the House to the abuse that has been made of the privilege to ask questions. Here is a statement of fact entirely irrelevant to the subject of the question

and not intended to be relevant, but intended simply to serve a personal object. It is a matter of no importance to me, but it is an abuse of the rules of the House that will lead to a great deal of unpleasantness if permitted.

Mr. McMULLEN. Mr. Speaker, I think it is a matter about which any member has a perfect right to ask a question. It is a question concerning a public servant connected with an important military institution of this Dominion.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman misunderstands me entirely. I have no objection whatever to this question, but the statement of fact in it, 'son-in-law of Sir Charles Tupper,' is, I claim, an abuse and a violation of the rules of the House.

The PRIME MINISTER. The point taken by my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) is upon a question of parliamentary procedure, and in my opinion it is well taken. The rule is that there should be no qualification of a question that is asked.

Mr. McMULLEN. I am quite willing to withdraw that portion of the question, in accordance with the desire of the right hon. leader of the government.

MILEAGE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

On the question,

Is the government aware that the late Hon. Senator Temple, of Fredericton, N.B., a Conservative, drew for mileage \$162.40, whereas Hon. Senator David Wark, also of Fredericton, but a Liberal, draws but \$116?

That the Hon. Senator David MacKeen, of Halifax, a Conservative, draws for mileage \$192.60, and that Hon. Senator Almon, Conservative, draws for mileage \$192.60, whereas the Liberal member for Halifax, Dr. Russell, draws but \$175, as shown by the Auditor General's Report, 1897-8?

What explanation can the government give?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I want to draw the attention of my right hon. friend to some statements of fact in this question. I take no exception to the question itself, but the statements of fact in it, namely, that Senator Temple was a Conservative, that Senator David Wark is a Liberal, that Senator MacKeen is a Conservative, that Senator Almon is a Conservative, and that Dr. Russell is the Liberal member for Halifax, are not relevant to the question, and are contrary to the rules of the House.

The PRIME MINISTER. I call the attention of my hon. friend to the fact that the hon. member who wishes to ask this question is not in the House, and, therefore, I ask that the question be allowed to stand.

ALBERTON-KILDARE MAIL CONTRACT.

Mr. MARTIN asked :

1. Has a new contractor been employed by the government for carrying the mails between Alberton and Kildare, in the province of Prince Edward Island?

2. If so, what is his name?
3. What is the amount of his contract?
4. Did he get it by tender?
5. Was his the lowest tender?
6. How many tenders were received?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. The mails are now being temporarily carried at the rate of \$98 per annum by Mr. W. B. White, whose contract for this service terminated on the 31st of December, 1899, but from the 1st proximo, a new contractor will be employed. 2. William Clark. 3. \$90 per annum. 4. Two offers for this service were received by the department, one from the present contractor, Mr. W. D. White, at \$98, and the other from Mr. Wm. Clark, at \$90, which was accepted. 5. Answered by No. 4. 6. Same.

LYTTON-LILLOOET MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. PRIOR (by Mr. Earle) asked :

1. Were not tenders called for, to be in by January 19 last, for a mail service twice per week, between Lytton and Lillooet, B.C. (distance about forty miles), to be commenced on February 1 last?

2. Who tendered for this service and what was the amount of each tender?
3. To whom has the contract been awarded?
4. If not awarded, why not?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). With a view of establishing this service, if possible, tenders were called for a mail service twice a week between Lytton and Lillooet, for the purpose of ascertaining the cost, said tenders being due to be opened on the 19th of January last. As the question of establishing the service is still under consideration, none of the tenders have been accepted, and, therefore, information regarding them cannot be given at present.

TRAVELLING EXPENSES OF MR. JUSTICE CHOQUETTE.

Mr. DUGAS asked :

What sum or sums of money has been paid for travelling expenses to the Hon. Mr. Justice P. A. Choquette, from the date of his appointment as one of the justices of the Superior Court of the province of Quebec, up to the present date?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The sums paid to Mr. Justice Choquette for travelling expenses were, in 1898-9, \$546 ; in 1899-1900, \$282.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

EXPORTS OF CHEESE FROM CANADA TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

How many pounds of cheese were exported from Canada to Great Britain in each year from July 1, 1890, to June 30, 1896, and the value of the same each year?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). In reply, I beg to say :

Fiscal Year.	Lbs.	Value.
1891	117,151,931	\$10,406,466
1892	127,843,632	12,495,506
1893	141,892,232	14,107,360
1894	163,253,033	16,218,131
1895	155,501,945	15,086,222
1896	168,901,381	14,251,790

EXPORTS OF CATTLE FROM CANADA TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

How many cattle, and of what value, were exported from Canada to Great Britain from July 1, 1890, to June 30, 1899?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). 930,732 cattle, valued at \$64,263,707.

THE PROHIBITION COMMISSION.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What was the amount paid per day to the commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of prohibition? What was the number of days served upon the commission by each commissioner? What commissioners sat on the commission at their meetings in the United States of America, and for how many days each? What was the mileage travelled by each commissioner, and for which travelling expenses were paid?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The amount paid, per day, to each of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of prohibition, was \$10. The number of days served on the commission by each member, was :

	Days.
Sir Joseph Hickson.....	192
Judge McDonald....	220
Mr. Clarke	142
Mr. Gigault	146
Rev. Dr. McLeod	677½

The commissioners who sat on the commission at their meetings in the United States of America, and the number of days each sat, were :

	Days.
Sir Joseph Hickson.....	15
Judge McDonald	19
Mr. Clarke	10
Mr. Gigault	25
Rev. Dr. McLeod	32

The vouchers do not show the mileage travelled.

**POST OFFICE AT PONTBRIAND,
MEGANTIC.**

Mr. MARCOTTE asked :

1. Have petitions and complaints been laid before the Postmaster General in relation to the post office at Pontbriand, in the county of Megantic?

2. Is the Postmaster General aware that the said post office is located in an utterly unsuitable locality, not at all central and six arpents distant from any dwelling?

3. Is it the intention of the government to grant the prayer of the said petitions and place the post office in the vicinity of the church?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). In reply to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say : 1. A petition was sent to the department by the assistant postmaster of Pontbriand who stated that he had had it signed by the principal inhabitants, asking that he, the assistant postmaster, should be made postmaster. Other communications to the same effect were received from him. 2. The Postmaster General is not aware that the office is situated in an unsuitable locality. So far as the department is aware, the office is at present situated about 200 yards from the store in which it was formerly kept. 3. The department is not aware of any present necessity for changing the site of the post office.

**HILTON KEITH, INDIAN AGENT AT
CARLTON.**

Mr. DAVIN asked :

When did Hilton Keith cease to be an officer of the Indian Department? What was his position at the time? Was he subsequently employed in connection with treaty payments to certain Indians? Did he resign, or was he deprived of his position?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. In reply to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say : 1. Mr. Hilton Keith ceased to be an officer of the Indian Department on the 15th October, 1898. 2. The position he held at the time, was that of Indian agent at the Carlton agency. 3. He was not, subsequent to the date at which he ceased to be an officer of the Indian Department, employed in connection with treaty payments to any Indians. 4. He resigned.

**CLERKS AND LETTER CARRIERS IN
VANCOUVER.**

Mr. PRIOR (by Mr. Earle) asked :

1. Has any increase been made in the provisional allowance given to the post office clerks and letter carriers of the Vancouver post office?

2. If so, how much, and for what reason?

3. Has said increase (if any) been given to the clerks and letter carriers of the Victoria post office?

4. If not, why not?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I beg to reply : 1. Yes. 2. \$5 a month to every employee whose salary is not greater than \$800 a year. In consequence of the increased cost of living in the city of Vancouver. 3. No. 4. There has been no report of the officers showing the same conditions as led to the increase in Vancouver.

**APPEAL CASES HEARD BY SUPREME
COURT.**

Mr. CAMPBELL asked :

1. How many appeal cases have been heard by the Supreme Court in each year since July 1, 1895?

2. For how many days in each of said years has said court sat hearing appeal cases?

3. How many days in each of said years has each judge of the Supreme Court sat hearing appeal cases?

4. How many hours per day, when in session, does the Supreme Court sit hearing appeal cases?

5. How many hours has the Supreme Court sat, hearing appeal cases for the year between March 1, 1899, and March 1, 1900?

6. How many hours did each judge sit during such years?

7. What is the salary of each of said judges?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). In reply to the first question, I beg to say :

July 1, 1895, to July 1, 1896	.....	72
“ 1896, “ 1897	.....	77
“ 1897, “ 1898	.....	81
“ 1898, “ 1899	.....	89
“ 1899, to date	.....	32
Total	.....	351

In reply to the second :

	Days.
July 1, 1895, to July 1, 1896	..... 70
“ 1896, “ 1897	..... 66
“ 1897, “ 1898	..... 71
“ 1898, “ 1899	..... 63
“ 1899, to date	..... 35

In reply to the third :

	July 1, 1895-6.	July 1, 1896-7.	July 1, 1897-8.	July 1, 1898-9.	July 1, 1899, to date.
Right Hon. the Chief Justice	44	46	19	49	33
The Hon. Mr. Justice Taschereau	68	19	70	52	10
The Hon. Mr. Justice Gwynne	42	65	63	58	31
The Hon. Mr. Justice Sedgewick	66	65	71	43	34
The Hon. Mr. Justice King	71	64	70	57	34
The Hon. Mr. Justice Girouard	71	64	65	62	30

In reply to the fourth question : 4½ hours.

In reply to the fifth question : 252 hours.

In reply to the sixth question :

	1895 6	1906 1	1908 1	1910 1	1911 1
Right Hon. the Chief Justice	198	207	86	221	148
The Hon. Mr. Justice Taschereau	306	86	315	234	180
The Hon. Mr. Justice Gwynne	189	293	284	261	139
The Hon. Mr. Justice Sedgewick	297	293	320	194	152
The Hon. Mr. Justice King	320	288	315	252	152
The Hon. Mr. Justice Girouard	320	288	293	309	134

In reply to the seventh question :

The Right Hon. the Chief Justice	\$8,000
Hon. Mr. Justice Taschereau	7,000
Hon. Mr. Justice Gwynne	7,000
Hon. Mr. Justice Sedgewick	7,000
Hon. Mr. Justice King	7,000
Hon. Mr. Justice Girouard	7,000

It should be pointed out that the return called for does not by any means cover a statement of the entire business disposed of by the court. Some cases are settled before they are inscribed; very many are inscribed for hearing, but are settled before being heard; all applications in chambers. None of these are included in the above report.

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. T. CHASE CASGRAIN (Montmorancy). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to call the attention of the government to certain returns moved for a long time ago by me, and not yet laid on the Table. Three of them are asked for from the Department of Public Works. The first is a statement of the amounts paid to persons working on Roberval Pier, which was ordered on the 30th March, 1898. The next is a return of the instructions for correspondence, &c., in relation to the construction of wharfs at Mistassini and St. Methode (Tekouabe), which was ordered on the 18th April, 1898, and another for copies of instructions issued to J. B. Charboneau, chief carpenter at the Mistassini and St. Methode wharfs, ordered on the 18th April, 1898. There was also a return from the Department of Railways and Canals ordered, on 30th March, 1898, for copies of tenders received for railway ties and lumber supplied to the Intercolonial Railway, in the province of Quebec. I would request that these returns be brought down as soon as possible, as they are urgently required.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

ADJOURNMENT—FOX BAY SETTLERS.

Mr. GEORGE TAYLOR (South Leeds). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to a return that has been laid on the Table, and, as perhaps, this will necessitate some discussion I will conclude my remarks with a motion. On the 19th February, I moved the following motion, which was passed by the House :

Copies of all correspondence, reports, telegrams or papers which have passed between the government, or any member thereof, and the president of the Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, or any member of the missionary committee of that church, who was approached to investigate the grievances of the Methodist Fox Bay settlers of the Island of Anticosti.

Any clerk in the department, in one hour, could have prepared the return that has been brought down. After waiting a reasonable time, I inquired of the right hon. Prime Minister when I might expect the return. As the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), who was very much interested in this matter, was about leaving the country, I wished to have the return before he left. The Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), informed me that on the following Monday, he would probably lay the return on the Table. Monday came, but the return was not laid on the Table. On Monday the Minister of Public Works left the capital for a foreign country. On Tuesday night the return was laid on the Table. But the return brought down, is not in accordance with the resolution. I find, on reading the return carefully, that more papers have been abstracted from the file than have been laid before the House. Yesterday the Prime Minister informed the House the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), and the members of the House generally, that, for the balance of the session, unopposed motions could not be moved, so members need not expect any returns. But those who have had their motions passed are treated as badly or worse; for, even though the returns are ordered by the House—in this case not only the correspondence with the government, but with any member thereof—being ordered—the government give only what papers they see fit. I desire to refer to some of the papers that should be here. In the first place, I have here a letter from Mr. Stobo, chairman of the Evangelical Alliance of Quebec, written to Mr. Tarte. This letter is not in the return, although it is written to a member of the government, and the motion calls for the correspondence that passed, not only with the government but with any member of it. Mr. Stobo's letter reads as follows :

The Hon. J. I. Tarte, M.P.

Hon. and dear Sir,—I am not one of those who believe you to be as black as you are paint-

ed by your political opponents, for I know from experience that you have many good qualities, and as a rule where race and religion comes in, act from a sense of fairness. I found it so in the ancient capital. But if you are guilty of making the following statement on the floor of the House of Commons, you have seriously endangered your good name, as possessed of a spirit of fairness, and you are prejudging a case, now in the courts, and which may have to be handled by the home government.

Much had been made out of the alleged attempt at M. Menier to dismiss a colony of Methodists at Fox Bay. To begin with, he wished to inform the House that among the twenty families in this step on the part of the proprietor of the island, were both French Canadians and Irishmen. Those acquainted with the facts were aware that the men in question were professional wreckers, would deceive the master of a ship into danger to possess themselves of the resulting plunder. The question so far as he was able to see, seems to be whether M. Menier, who bought the island from an English syndicate, cannot own and control the property because he is a Frenchman.

Now, Sir, as to your alleged facts: 1. There are not twenty families, but only thirteen, at Fox Bay, all of them British Canadians, except one, a French Canadian, married to a Protestant woman, and the whole company numbers sixty persons, most of them born on the island, the parents coming from Channel, Newfoundland, at the invitation of Capt. Forsyth, and have been residents since 1873, or for twenty-seven years have had undisturbed occupation of their homes. 2. They are not professional wreckers as you say, but fishermen, God-fearing men, and persons of probity, and adherents of the Methodist Church of Canada. You have no right, Sir, even for party ends to destroy a people's reputation, and the chance will now be given you to prove in open court, the statement that you have now made in parliament, and had sent forth to the world, that the Fox Bay settlers are men who lure ships into danger for the sake of the resulting spoils.

You, Sir, have appealed to the Pope about the absolution which has existed in Quebec in the matter of politics, these poor people, in Anticosti, have only appealed against the absolution of M. Menier, as to his conditions of occupations, as no one can quit the island without his permission, or land there, no one can trade with the outside world or the outside world trade with the settlers except through M. Menier. In the latter a Halifax merchant has resisted M. Menier and won in the courts. He has not absolute control of the island, and its business, but to his chagrin must subject himself to the laws of the free soil of Canada.

The 'Patrie,' and now yourself, have been the first to introduce the racial and religious difficulty into this wretched bit of business soon to have a public hearing in the courts. No person in his senses would object to have Frenchmen owning land in the Dominion, so long as that land was controlled in accordance with the spirit and genius of the free people (democratic in government). But if M. Menier would do here, as he might be allowed to do in France, then we British Canadians have a right to object, and raise legal difficulties, both as to the administration and possession. Now, Sir, it can be proven that Mr. Commettant, the soi-disant governor of the island, gave the settlers to understand that their form of worship

would not be agreeable to their superiors, and at a time when they were holding a prayer-meeting. If M. Menier is the legal proprietor of the island, which is a matter in dispute in more quarters than one, we acknowledge that he has a right to remove obnoxious persons if he go legally about it. But he has no right to tear down buildings and banish their owners without compensation. Three years more occupation would have given them an indisputable title to their homes, but now they have to fight for their possessions and make appeals to all fair-minded, patriotic people, men who love civil and religious liberty, the very thing that the French Canadian Liberals profess to have been fighting for of late years.

Hon. Sir, you are reported to have said when you made your maritime tour, that 'M. Menier ought to be compensated by the Dominion for the improvements he has made at (Soleil), English Bay.' It will be time enough to do that when they become Dominion property, and not till then.

Hon. Sir, you will now have to face one of the largest denominations of Protestants in the Dominion of Canada, in making proof of your statement that the Fox Bay settlers are professional wreckers and Methodists. If you desire to know the character of the men you traduce, I refer you to Capt. Forsyth, Montreal, under whose auspices settlement was made in 1873; Mr. R. I. Hart, merchant, Halifax, who has done business with them for years; Mr. H. Budden, Quebec, who has also done business for them, and the Rev. T. Griffith, M.A., Ph. D., Quebec, president of the Montreal Methodist Conference.

Hon. Sir, I am afraid that you have started a controversy which will not speedily down by your heated statement of March 28th, on the floor of the House. Had any British Canadians made a like statement in the House about the French Canadians there would have been a general howl throughout the whole province of Quebec. The question, remember, is not, 'Can a Frenchman own and administer land in the province of Quebec,' but, 'Can land be administered contrary to the spirit and laws of the country?' It was a gross violation of law that brought Anticosti into public notice, and the present legal proceedings taken, forced.

(Signed) EDWARD J. STOBO.

Secretary of the Quebec Evangelical Alliance, and Treasurer of the Fox Bay Settlers' Legal Defence Fund.

Quebec, March 31, 1899.

Now, there is nothing of that in the return brought down. The next thing I find in the report is a telegram dated November 8th, from Mr. Alexander Mills, to the Premier. It is not on file, but, before I deal with that, I just want to read a resolution of the conference, held at Brockville last year, in reference to this matter:

Moved by the Rev. T. G. Williams, D.D., seconded by the Rev. W. Jackson, D.D., and unanimously adopted:

That this conference hereby expresses its regret that our brethren, members of the Methodist Church within the bonds of the Montreal Conference residing on the Island of Anticosti have—by the veiled expression 'natural and

fair inference'—been accused of one of the most heinous crimes of ancient or modern times, viz.:—that of luring vessels upon rocky coasts, that the wreckers might profit by the loss of property of others, even though this loss is almost certain to involve the sacrifice of human life. And inasmuch as the awful crime has been indignantly denied, and proof of the alleged crime demanded by the persons accused, and inasmuch as the attempt to reply to the challenge for proof is not only irrelevant, but entirely inconclusive, which served to exhibit openly the weakness and utter groundlessness of the charge made by a minister of the Crown on the floor of the House of Commons.

We do not hesitate to characterize these accusations against Methodists, and named as members of our church by the Hon. Israel Tarte as unjust and untrue, and affirm that a gross insult has been offered our church by the Minister of Public Works.

And further we hold that in view of his failure to prove that the accused have been guilty of this heinous crime, not only against Christianity, but also against the sentiment of all who are not hopelessly sunk in barbarism, the Hon. Israel Tarte is bound to retract his words and apologize for them as publicly as he made his unproven charge against the members of a church which holds a proud eminence among the law-abiding citizens of our Dominion, and upon which Hon. Mr. Tarte has with such audacity cast an unprovoked insult. And inasmuch as during the months which have elapsed since he uttered what we consider a base slander, no apology has been offered, nor any retraction has been made, we now beg to call the attention of the brethren of our church throughout the Dominion to this matter, and ask that they join with us in demanding an apology for his gross attack on our beloved Methodism, and to which we here, will not tamely submit, no matter by what spirit it may be inspired, or from what source it may come.

(Sgd. REV. HUGH CAIRNS, Cornwall, Ont.,
President of Conference.

REV. S. J. HUGHES, M.A., Perth, Ont.,
Secretary of Conference.

Montreal conference of the Methodist Church, held in Brockville, Ont., June, 1899.

The conference then appointed a committee, composed of two or three gentlemen, to deal with the matter. They wrote a letter on the 13th of June, as follows :

The Toronto Conference of the Methodist Church,

Owen Sound, June 13th, 1899.

REV. EBER CRUMMY,

Corresponding Secretary of Montreal Conference,

Dear Sir and Brother,—In reply to your communication to our conference, regarding the Anticosti affair, I inclose herewith the report of the committee appointed by this conference on the matter referred to, which report was most heartily endorsed by our conference.

Yours most sincerely,

(Sgd.) J. D. FITZPATRICK,
Cor. Secretary.

This committee met and made the following report :

Mr. TAYLOR.

REPORT RE ANTICOSTI METHODISTS.

Your committee to whom was referred the communication from Montreal conference, beg leave to report as follows :

The Hon. J. Israel Tarte having on the 20th of March last, in his place in the House of Commons, made the following statement, namely :

'Mr. Menier found at Fox Bay about twenty families who had settled there. Those of us in the province of Quebec who know what is going on, are amused at the reports that have been spread abroad. It is said, that all those who have been settled there are Methodists, and they are going to be expelled on account of their faith. I may say that my hon. friend from Charlevoix (Mr. Angers) is acting as counsel in the case, and he will bear me out in what I am going to say. There are some people of the Protestant faith on the island, and I may add, that, among those whom my hon. friend opposite characterized as persecuted Methodists are a couple of French Canadians and a couple of Irishmen, and, perhaps, they may not be the best of the lot. Everybody who lives in the province of Quebec knows that nearly all those who live on that island are professional wreckers—

He left room to except the two Irishmen and the two Frenchmen.

—people who deceive the captain of a ship in order that the vessel might be wrecked, and that they might steal everything on board.'

The above statement having been challenged by the authorities of the Montreal conference under whose jurisdiction this island lies.

We, therefore, consider that the Hon. Mr. Tarte should either substantiate the charges he has made or withdraw the same as publicly as he has made them.

Secondly, That this matter be referred to the conference special committee to take any action that they may think necessary in the premises.

Respectfully submitted.

(Sgd.) H. S. MATTHEWS,
Chairman.

ALEX. MILLS,
Secretary.

Owen Sound, June 12th, 1899.

On the 12th of February last, I put the following question to the government :

Did the president of the Montreal conference of the Methodist Church in Canada write a letter to the Hon. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, or did the missionary committee of the said church, appointed to inquire into the grievances of the Fox Bay settlers on the Island of Anticosti, pass a resolution, and send a copy of the same to the said Hon. J. Israel Tarte, demanding a public retraction and apology of the following statement made by him in this House on the 28th day of March, 1899, and recorded at page 575 of the 'Hansard' of 1899, as follows :—'Everybody who lives in the province of Quebec knows that nearly all those who live on that island are professional wreckers, people who deceive the captain of the ship in order that the vessel might be wrecked, that they might steal everything that is on board? If so, has the Hon. Mr. Tarte made the apology? If not, is it his intention to do so?

The hon. Minister of Public Works made the following reply, which I, as a Methodist, refuse to accept as an apology, and I am sure, that the Methodist Church in Canada refuse to accept it as a full and ample apology. We find nothing in the record brought down to substantiate the statement of the minister that he did give an answer. Here is what the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) said in this House :

Although I do not see very clearly what the hon. gentleman has to do with this matter, which is personal to me, I take great pleasure in saying that whatever misunderstanding may have existed as to the words I have uttered in the House in reference to the Fox Bay settlers, I have reason to hope has been explained away. Statements that have been lately put before me have convinced me that I have been unwillingly unjust towards the Fox Bay settlers, and I have written to that effect to their representatives.

We have the statement here that he wrote a letter to the committee, but there is nothing amongst these papers to show whether he did or not, or what kind of a letter he did write. He told us in the House that he was unwillingly unjust to these people, and that is all the apology he makes for having accused them of being wreckers and practically murderers. On the 8th November, Mr. Mills, one of the gentlemen appointed, sent the following telegram to Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Ottawa :

Leave Rimouski Tuesday morning, am leaving here to-night, in Quebec Monday, and go to Rimouski Monday night, wired you at three o'clock to-day.

That telegram is not on file here. On the 14th November, Mr. Mills again wires the Prime Minister :

Received wire Thursday that you would meet me Saturday, from Quebec. No word yet, please wire me.

Mr. Mills says in this communication that he received a wire from the Prime Minister, but that wire is not included amongst the documents brought down. In a letter from Mr. Mills to the Prime Minister, on the 30th November, he makes this statement :

Allow me to thank you kindly for the excellent accommodation provided us, and the personal interest which you took in our welfare by wiring, sending Mr. Jones to Rimouski, &c.

There is no record on the file as to what that telegram, referred to here, contains. Further on in the same letter, he says :

We cannot speak too highly of the skill and care with which Captain May and his crew conducted the trip, which, as intimated in your letter, is a very risky one at this time of the year.

Mr. Mills here says that he received a letter from the Prime Minister, but there is no copy of that letter on the file. At page

24, Mr. Mills makes a personal report to the Prime Minister, in which he says :

The proposition of your government, as indicated in your letter to the Hon. Mr. Marchand (which he read to us on the 20th inst.) was laid before the Fox Bay settlers, and, after explanation by us, and full consideration, they voluntarily signed the document of which the enclosed is a certified copy. I hold the original undertaking.

In that report Mr. Mills makes the statement that the Prime Minister wrote a letter to Mr. Marchand, the Premier of Quebec, which was the basis of the proposition to be laid before the Fox Bay settlers, and yet there is no copy of that letter on the file. Mr. Mills also says :

I inclose you a copy of the agreement that we got the Fox Bay settlers to sign.

There is no copy of that document on file. He says further :

We went very carefully into the condition and circumstances of the Fox Bay people, and found that the facts as reported to you on the 3rd inst., are substantially correct.

He evidently made a report of the facts on the 3rd instant, but there is nothing of that report on the file. Further on in his report, he says :

You will see that clause (c) in relation to 'aiding these people to establish themselves in their new homes' was of necessity made very indefinite. We discussed that question with Mr. Marchand in Quebec.

Mr. Mills says in his letter that clause (c) of this agreement was of necessity made very indefinite, and yet that agreement is not on file. He concludes by saying :

There are a good many things in connection with the case on which I would report verbally, but I would not care to write about them.

No doubt, Mr. Mills is a strong political friend of the Prime Minister and his party. Mr. Mills was secretary of this committee and he makes this verbal report to the Prime Minister personally, and in it he refers to a number of documents that ought to be included in this return, but which are not. At page 26, of the return, Mr. Mills writes to the Prime Minister from Toronto, under date December 22 :

Referring to yours of the 2nd inst.

Mr. Mills again refers to another letter which he received from the Prime Minister, but that letter of the Prime Minister is not on file. At page 29, Mr. Mills again writes Sir Wilfrid Laurier :

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 26th inst., as follows : 'I will be glad to see you on Wednesday next.'

The telegram is not brought down, the receipt of which is here acknowledged. What is the use of a member of this House get-

ting an order for papers dealing with a most important question affecting a portion of the community in this country, when the papers are mutilated before they are brought down to this House. It is our right to have all the correspondence, and we should have it. We want the agreement made with these people, a copy of which was sent to the government, as Mr. Mills states. We want also the apology the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) says he has written. He (Mr. Tarte) has left the country refusing to make a public apology in this House, and refusing to express his regret that he charged these respectable people with a crime of which they were never guilty. When this committee went to Anticosti they found that in the Admiralty Court a record is kept of every wreck that has taken place on the Island of Anticosti, or at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and they found in that record that an inquiry had been made into every case and a verdict given pointing out the cause of the accident, and that no charge or no suspicion was cast upon these people of being connected with any wreck. I understand that the government, wanting no doubt to help Mr. Menier, has agreed to give these people lands in the North-west, and some arrangement was evidently made to that effect which is embodied in the agreement that these people signed for the committee who went there. We have a letter sent to Mr. Marchand by Mr. Mills, which is given in this return, although the order of the House did not call for it, but there is a letter from the Prime Minister to Mr. Marchand which is not given. Why was not that agreement between the committee and the Fox Bay settlers brought down? Mr. Mills writes to Mr. Marchand, as follows:—

Toronto, Can., Nov. 4, 1899.

The Honourable F. G. Marchand,
Premier, Province of Quebec,
Quebec, Que.

(Re Menier and Fox Bay Settlers, Anticosti.)

My dear Sir,—Allow me to express to you my sincere gratitude for the kind and courteous manner in which you have received me on both occasions on which I have been in Quebec in connection with this case; and allow me also to thank you kindly for the assistance which you and the officials of your government have given me in my efforts to find out the facts of the case.

As you said that—until you consulted your colleagues—you could not give an answer to my suggestion looking to an amicable arrangement of the whole difficulty, and as there was no certainty that your colleagues would be in Quebec until next week, I came to Montreal, met our eastern committee, and, with Rev. Dr. Williams and Dr. Griffith, interviewed Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Ottawa, and explained the whole situation to him. I may say that our interview with Sir Wilfrid was very satisfactory.

Referring to the ejectment suits, Mr. Justice Gagné rendered judgment in the eleven cases on October 31, granting Mr. Menier possession

Mr. TAYLOR.

of the property occupied by the Fox Bay settlers on his (Mr. Menier's) own terms without any hearing on the part of the defendants. These judgments are, I am advised, executory on November 7, instant.

After full consideration of the whole matter and consultation with Mr. Cook, our counsel in Quebec, I have decided to report to the committee of the Methodist Mission Board, who authorized me to go to Quebec, that it will not be wise for us to intervene in the law-suits as they now stand, and that—in so far as we are concerned—Mr. Menier can take his own course and execute the default judgments obtained by him, if he chooses to take the responsibility.

Had those who are now interesting themselves as friends of the Fox Bay settlers intervened a year ago, they might have taken a course which it is impossible for them as the actions stand at the present time.

The report was published in the newspapers over a year ago that the Quebec government had taken up the defence of these people, retained counsel and undertaken to pay the costs of their defence. In consequence of this report, no active steps were taken by friends of the Fox Bay people to help them, believing that they were safe in the hands of the government of which you have the honour to be First Minister.

Perchance it might be said 'the government is not responsible for newspaper reports.' My answer—in so far as the people I represent are concerned—is this:

On August 12, 1898, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, communicated with His Excellency the Governor General of our Dominion, and asked for a report on the statement published in the London papers in the summer of 1898, as to the state of affairs which then existed in the Island of Anticosti and amongst these was the statement that 'Mr. Menier had ordered the settlers at Fox Bay to leave the place occupied by them for over twenty-five years within twenty-four hours.'

The Dominion government referred the matter to the Quebec government for report.

The Quebec government, through its Assistant Attorney General and Secretary, reported, amongst other things, the following: 'In order that they (Fox Bay people) might obtain fair-play and be sure of having their rights properly tested before the court, the government undertook to pay their costs.' Whereas, the fact is, that your government agreed to contribute a sum not to exceed \$300, towards the defence of the actions. This was, we find, the only money available for the defence of eleven actions and it didn't pay nearly all disbursements.

The Solicitor General, Mr. Fitzpatrick, on receipt of this statement, reported to the Dominion cabinet for transmission to the Colonial Secretary, as follows:

'Soon after the arrival of the constables at Anticosti, the settlers, of their own free will, accepted certain terms proposed by the agent of the proprietor, and an agreement embodying these propositions was signed by the interested parties. The constables, therefore, returned to Quebec. However, the agreement referred to, did not effect a satisfactory settlement of the difficulties between Mr. Menier and the Fox Bay settlers. The proprietor, therefore, has taken the ordinary proceedings of the court in order to obtain a judicial finding determining his rights. These actions, which are now pending in the Superior Court of the province of Quebec,

for the district of Saguenay, are contested by Fox Bay settlers. These Fox Bay settlers are poor, and the government of Quebec, in order to have full justice done to them, has retained counsel to act on their behalf, and has undertaken to bear all the costs of their defence.'

These reports were sent to Mr. Chamberlain, and published in the press, and our people, believing that they were safe in the hands of the Quebec government, did not interfere.

The result is, judgment rendered to expel these people from the island without a hearing and they are now at the mercy of the plaintiff and his counsel.

We came into the case for the first time about the middle of October of this year, and our position has been one of inquiry for information, and negotiation for settlement only, entirely outside the merits of the litigation. We have not interfered with the litigation at all. I think that you will agree with me that these people and the pending legal proceedings are now in a most unfortunate position, and all I ask your government to do, at present, is to use your good offices to relieve these people, in part at least, in the unfortunate condition in which they are now placed.

1. By implementing the assurance given by your Assistant Attorney General to Mr. Chamberlain, through the Dominion government, that the Quebec government would pay all the costs of the defence, thus leaving intact the money paid into court by Mr. Menier.

2. By granting substantial aid to the Fox Bay people to remove and settle in the new home that may be selected for them.

As there have been so many conflicting and even contradictory statements, concerning this whole matter, it was suggested to me by your Assistant Attorney General that it might be advisable to proceed to Anticosti, ascertain the facts, and find just how far these people are prepared to stand by the statements made by affirmation and otherwise. If this suggestion is carried out, I think it will be advisable that your Assistant Attorney General accompany Rev. Mr. Griffith and myself to the island, so that your government may know from the report of their own representatives, both the nature of the inquiry and the results that are reached. Such a course may be all the more necessary if Mr. Menier's representatives proceed at once to enforce the order for ejection. It would be exceedingly unfortunate if such steps were taken at the present time as are calculated to further inflame the feelings of the people; and I feel assured that by such a visit as I have proposed, undesirable complications can be averted. It is possible that transportations for the parties named may be provided, but I think it would not be unreasonable if the Quebec government should meet the incidental expenses connected with the journey.

A prompt reply in regard to the proposed visit to the island will greatly oblige.

We have retained Mr. William Cook, Q.C., to represent us in Quebec, and I shall be glad if you can confer with him in reference to any step that you or your government can take to better the condition of the unfortunate people.

You are at liberty to lay this before your counsel. Kindly convey my respect to the Hon. Mr. Duffy.

Yours truly,
(Signed) ALEXANDER MILLS.

In addition to this there was a letter sent by the Prime Minister to Mr. Marchand,

which laid the basis of a settlement, if a settlement has been made; but there is nothing in the return to show any basis of settlement, further than that the government made arrangements for free transport for the committee to go down there, and Mr. Mills's own private report to the Prime Minister as to how the matter was settled. These are all the papers we are favoured with. I wanted to have an ample apology made by the Minister of Public Works either in the House or in writing; but he has done neither. He has made the apology which I have read, but which cannot be accepted as an apology at all, because he has not expressed regret for the statements he made. Although he received from the conference, which met in Brockville last June, the letter, a copy of which I have read, he made no reply to it; if he did, I have not been furnished with a copy of it. This return is barren of information. The government cannot expect to get on with business if they treat members of the opposition in this way. When we ask questions, they give us such answers as they see fit; and when we move for a return, they abstract such documents as they think may be injurious to themselves, and give us the balance. These documents prove on every page that there were others originally on file, because every telegram refers to some communication of which there is no copy here, and I would ask the right hon. First Minister to supplement the return at an early day, and give me all the correspondence that took place between the government or any member thereof and the committee appointed to inquire into this matter. I beg to move that the House do now adjourn, seconded by Mr. Casgrain.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I would call the attention of the House to the fact that this motion of my hon. friend is altogether contrary to the rules of the House. A motion to adjourn should not be made except on a question of urgency or of immediate importance. The question brought up by my hon. friend is not urgent in any way. Although he is within his rights in bringing it up, the proper time to do so is on the motion for the House to go into Committee of Supply. I call upon hon. members of the opposition to adhere to the well-understood rules of the House in this respect. With regard to the complaint made by the hon. gentleman that the record is incomplete and that documents have been extracted from it, it is utterly unfounded. Let the hon. gentleman call at my department whenever he chooses, and I will instruct the clerk of the council to let him go through the whole file and ascertain for himself what there is in it. It may be that certain private telegrams addressed to Mr. Mills are not on the file. I did not put on the file the telegram from Mr. Mills asking for an interview. There is also a letter of mine to Mr. Marchand,

the Prime Minister of the province of Quebec, which is not in this return, but I do not know that the order called upon me to bring down any letters addressed by me to Mr. Marchand. The order simply calls for the production of all correspondence exchanged between the government or any member thereof and the committee appointed by the Methodist Church. There was no mention of correspondence between myself and Mr. Marchand, although I would not have any objection to bring down all the correspondence between Mr. Marchand and myself on this painful subject.

It is true that the return does not contain a letter of the Minister of Public Works to the committee of the Methodist Church. But that was, I understand, a letter of apology addressed by my hon. colleague to that committee. Surely my hon. friend did not expect such a letter to be filed in the archives of the Public Works Department.

Mr. FOSTER. Hear, hear.

Mr. WILSON. I would like to know whether the hon. gentleman knows anything of the nature of the apology sent by the hon. Minister of Public Works?

The PRIME MINISTER. That has no relevancy at all to the subject in hand. I do not know, and I do not see why an apology sent on account of words spoken on the floor of the House should have anything to do with the Department of Public Works and be put on file in that department. That was altogether a personal matter affecting, not the department, but the Hon. Mr. Tarte personally, which was not expected to be filed on record in the department. I thought that everything had been brought down. The correspondence of the conference of the Methodist Church was carried on simply with myself, and I was not aware that any other correspondence had been carried on with any other member of the government. I brought down whatever there was in my department.

With regard to the apology of Mr. Tarte, with which the hon. gentleman is not satisfied, let me read it to the House. It will be found on page 309 of the *Hansard* of February 12:

Although I do not see very clearly what the hon. gentleman had to do with this question, which is personal to me, I take great pleasure in saying that whatever misunderstanding may have existed as to the words I have uttered in the House in reference to the Fox Bay settlers, I have reason to hope has been explained away. Statements that have been lately put before me have convinced me that I have been unwillingly unjust towards the Fox Bay settlers.

If this is not an apology, I would like to know what is.

And I have written to that effect to their representatives.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

The Hon. Mr. Tarte said in this House on the 12th of February, more than a month ago, that he had written to the representatives of the Fox Bay settlers that he had been unjust towards them. The hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor) is not satisfied with that apology. He may not be satisfied with it, but, at all events, we have not heard a word so far from the representatives of the Fox Bay settlers that they were not satisfied. Surely if the apology tendered by the Minister of Public Works, more than a month ago, to the friends of the Fox Bay settlers, had not been satisfactory to them, we would have heard from them before to-day. But, whether or not the apology was sufficient is a question which may be left to the representatives of the settlers and which ought not so much to concern after all the hon. member for South Leeds. If they are satisfied, he can very well afford to be satisfied also, whatever may be the tenderness of his conscience on this matter.

To come back to this vexed question, everybody remembers that Mr. Tarte said on the floor of this House, I think last session, that the Fox Bay settlers were wreckers. I do not know that on that occasion he referred particularly, or referred at all, to their religion, and I doubt very much if he knew then that they belonged to the Methodist persuasion. But, whatever may have been the language of the minister at that time, he admitted frankly that he had since received information which convinced him that he had been unwillingly unjust towards these people. If he had, it was quite right and proper that the reparation of the injustice should be as public as the injury itself. The words in the first place had been uttered on the floor of this House, and the reparation was made also on the floor of this House; and what more could the hon. minister have done, under the circumstances, than admit frankly that he had been unwillingly unjust. I do not think that I should pursue this subject any further.

The hon. gentleman has introduced matter which is altogether foreign to the purpose he had in hand, which was to obtain more information. I have only to say that, so far as I am concerned, I repudiate this statement that documents have been abstracted from the files. I invite him once more to come to my department, and I will refer him to the clerk, and the whole file will be put before him, and if he finds anything left out I will be very much surprised. Nothing, I am sure, has been left out, except, perhaps, one document, and that is a copy of the agreement with the Fox Bay settlers, and I am surprised that it should have been left out. That document is referred to by Mr. Mills, a friend of the settlers, who was appointed secretary of the committee to look after their interests. I do not know if I have what the

hon. gentleman calls an agreement or not, but my impression is I have, and if it has been omitted, the omission has been altogether unwilling. There is nothing to hide in that document. Last fall, a committee of the Methodist Church undertook to visit the Fox Bay settlers to see in what way their unfortunate situation could be improved. The government facilitated their visit in every way. A committee of the Methodist Church and a representative of the Quebec government, and if I remember right, one of their own officers, accompanied them to Rimouski, and I think to Anticosti also. They visited the Fox Bay settlers, and these settlers, acting on the advice of their friends, came to the conclusion that they would take up lands in the North-west Territories and settle there. They signed a document to that effect, and my impression is that that document is in my department, and I thought it had been brought down. But there is nothing whatever to hide. Let the hon. gentleman come and look for himself, and everything he finds will be brought down if not brought down already.

ADJOURNMENT—I.C.R.—DISMISSAL OF MR. ARCHIBALD.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) Without pursuing that further, I would like to call the attention of my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to a difficulty I found last year and the year before. I find instance after instance in which the order of the House has not been carefully carried out. I think it should be a point of honour with the government and every minister to attend scrupulously to the order of the House when it has been made. Here is an ample, and a very glaring one, all the more glaring because it has been brought up in the House half a dozen times. The Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) was asked for the report of the commissioner who was appointed to take evidence in the case of Mr. Archibald, who was dismissed from the engineership of the I.C.R. He was asked for the order in council, the report of the commissioner, all letters and the evidence. Well, after a long while, the return was handed down, supposed to comply with the order. But, when it was looked at, it was found that there was none of the evidence. The orders in council were there, the report of the commissioner was there, Mr. Archibald's letter was there—but there was nothing of the evidence taken before the commissioner. That fact was brought to the attention of the minister, and he seemed very much surprised, and said the return should be complete, that there must be some error. Again he was reminded that the return was not complete. After a time my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Borden) again asked for the return of the papers and noted the omission. And after the session ended, he made a diligent

search again, because the minister said the evidence must be down, that there must be some mistake. But the hon. member for Halifax did not succeed in finding the evidence, and this session again he brought the subject up. The minister stated that he thought the evidence must be before the House, that, at any rate, it ought to be. I have taken the trouble to look the matter up myself. I find the return is numbered 21E, and everything is there with the exception of the evidence—which was the material part. Now, it is a little annoying, when you go to the trouble of getting these returns and think you have the documents before you only to find that they are not there and that you will probably be left for months longer without them. This I give as an illustration. It is a particularly aggravating case. Mr. Archibald has had attacks directed against him on account of a telegram with reference to shingles, with reference to which the minister himself was good enough to say in the House—where, of course, Mr. Archibald could not be present to reply—that that was the way they had of referring to voters who were to be sent along on the I.C.R. Now, Mr. Archibald obliged the newspapers that made that statement to retract it, under threat of proceedings against them. But he could not do that with the minister; the only way he could set himself right with the minister would be to have the evidence brought down. Mr. Archibald himself, as I understand, having testified with reference to this matter. Now, I would ask the right hon. gentleman to call the attention of his colleague to this case.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). On the 26th of February, an order was made for copies of advertisements for the terms calling for tenders for printing for the North-west Territories government from 1890 to 1899, inclusive—and so on. I would be glad if the right hon. Prime Minister would make a note of it. Also, on the 14th of February an order was passed for a return showing the amount paid each year for the government of the North-west Territories, namely, from 1889 to 1899, inclusive, and so on.

Motion (Mr. Taylor) to adjourn, negatived.

CELEBRATION OF ST. PATRICK'S DAY.

Mr. M. J. F. QUINN (St. Ann's, Montreal). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to draw the attention of the government to a piece of news, very welcome to a portion of the Canadian people and to a very important portion of the British Empire, which reached us a very few days ago—that it is the intention of Her Majesty to visit Ireland within a very short time, and also that Her Majesty has granted that gracious privilege to the troops belong-

ing to the British army throughout the world of wearing on St. Patrick's Day the shamrock. I wish also to draw the attention of the government to the fact that the Lord Mayor of London has directed that the Irish flag shall float from the Mansion House on the 17th of March. I need not say, Mr. Speaker, the depth of feeling and gratitude with which the Irish people not only in Ireland, but throughout all the British possessions, have received and do welcome this news. For years we have been looking for some recognition, and at times we have almost despaired; we thought that the government of England had neglected Ireland and had forgotten to mark it out, as other portions of the British Empire have been marked out, by having a royal residence in Ireland. But this gracious act on the part of Her Majesty, which I think is spontaneous and not suggested by any government or any political party, goes very far to bring the hearts of the Irish people into cordial touch and sympathy with Her Majesty the Queen. There is nothing, in my opinion, that has been done for many years that is so likely to bring around the throne of Great Britain the loyal sentiments, the heartfelt gratitude of the Irish people, as the action of Her Majesty on this occasion has done and will do, I am sure, in the future. I see that this government has not taken notice of the matter by granting permission, for example, to our militiamen throughout the Dominion to take part in the celebration on the 17th of March, which is only a few days away, or by ordering the Irish flag, or the British ensign, or the Canadian flag to be permitted to appear on public buildings throughout the Dominion on that date. I rise simply to ask if some steps will be taken by the government in order that these two things may be granted. Now, I am sure the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) knows that St. Patrick's Day is pretty generally celebrated in many parts of the Dominion. He knows also that in very many of the large cities, where there are members of the militia, many of them would be glad to take part in the celebration if it were not for the fact that they are prevented by the militia general orders. It requires that some steps should be taken in order to grant them this privilege. I would ask simply, if the government think well of it, that a general order be issued, without which it cannot be done, granting the privilege to militiamen—not ordering them but permitting those who may wish to do so to take part in the celebration on this occasion; and that throughout Canada also, on the 17th of March, the public buildings may be decorated by the Irish flag or the British standard floating from the top of these buildings. I need not call attention to the fact that Her Majesty's action is in grateful remembrance on the part of Her Majesty of the loyalty and undying courage displayed by the Irish troops

Mr. QUINN.

in the Transvaal war. I am perfectly satisfied, that, should the permission be granted to the volunteers of Canada to turn out on the 17th of March, there are very few indeed who would not feel stirred in their sentiment as to turn out in honour of the loyal Irishmen who shed their blood for Her Majesty in the Transvaal. I do not wish to say anything more, but merely to make the suggestion, and to ask that some steps be taken to reach the end which I have in view.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I must express my regret that the hon. member for Montreal, St. Ann's (Mr. Quinn), gave me no intimation at all of the question which he intended to put to me. If he had done so, I would have endeavoured to make it possible to give him an answer. I appreciate, however, the sentiments which inspire him, in his present utterances, and I agree with him, that the action taken by Her Majesty, will probably have a great effect in reconciling the difficulties which have existed for many generations in Ireland. There is no race in the world which is more amenable to an act of kindness than the Irish race. In regard to the practical suggestion made by the member for Montreal, St. Ann's, I must refer it to the Department of Militia and Defence. The hon. gentleman says that we should fly the Irish flag on the public buildings. I am afraid that our stock of Irish flags is scant. At all events, we can have the shamrock. I can assure the hon. gentleman that I will be most happy to convey his suggestion to the Department of Militia and Defence.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE CANADIAN CONTINGENTS.

House again resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 59), to provide for the expenses of the Canadian volunteers serving Her Majesty in South Africa.

(In the Committee.)

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). Mr. Chairman, when this Bill was last before the House, in committee, it was reserved in order that consideration might be given to the point that was raised by the hon. member for Alberta (Mr. Oliver), in regard to the pay of the Canadian mounted rifles. In the schedule of pay, as first submitted, the amount was stated to be 75 cents a day, but, in the course of the discussion, attention was drawn to the fact that the members of the North-west mounted police are not paid 75 cents a day, but that there is a sliding scale, beginning with 50 cents a day, and running up to 70 or 75 cents a day, an increase of 5 cents a year. The hon. member for Alberta suggested that the inequality of pay ought to be considered, and that, though there was a difference in the rates of pay for the members of the

police force, varying in accordance with their terms of service, yet, as respects this particular force, it was perhaps not desirable that there should be two rates of pay. That point having been considered, the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden), who is not present, has authorized me to state that he has concluded that the rate of 75 cents per day as first mentioned, should be a fixed rate, and that there should not be the sliding scale which was the subject of discussion. To remove any doubt on that point, I propose to ask the committee to add to the Bill a schedule, showing the rates of pay of the several arms of the service. Instead of a sliding scale of from 50 cents to 75 cents a day, as was talked of, it is proposed that the maximum pay of 75 cents, shall be the pay for the Canadian mounted rifles. Otherwise, there has been no change, except a change in the form of the Bill for convenience. I had hoped that I would have had the Bill ready for distribution amongst members; I have an advance copy, but, before the Bill goes to its third reading, the schedule will be in the hands of hon. members. I think the only point in which there was a change, is the one I have mentioned in regard to the schedule. The House will likely have it, I hope, before the Bill passes the committee, but, at all events, before I propose the third reading, the Bill, in its amended and corrected form, will be before the House. The only change in the substance of the Bill, is as to the question of 75 cents a day, but we attach a schedule to the Bill, giving the various rates of pay of the service.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding), if the government has come to any conclusion in reference to the separation allowance. The hon. gentleman will remember the discussion we had upon that point.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Yes, the matter has been considered, and, we have concluded that the separation allowance, all things considered, should stand as it is at present.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), a question. As I understand it, the 75 cents a day applies to the mounted troops?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. To the whole of the mounted rifles.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. To the mounted troops?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Yes.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. To the cavalry?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Yes.

Mr. McNEILL. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Finance, if there is to be

any deduction made from the 50 cents a day which the Canadian troops receive in Canada?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. There is no change in that respect. There has been no change whatever from the original policy of the government. There have been no deductions in the sense in which the word was used in the former debate—no deductions for rations—but the difference will be made up between the Imperial rate of pay and the Canadian rate of pay so that the rate will be 50 cents a day in the case of infantry.

Mr. McNEILL. Not including deductions?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. My hon. friend (Mr. McNeill), raised the point as to whether there were deductions for maintenance. The government are satisfied that, in war times, there are no deductions made for maintenance. The troops will receive 24 cents a day from the Imperial government, and 26 cents a day from the Canadian government, making together 50 cents a day.

Mr. McNEILL. There will be a deduction of 24 cents a day from the 50 cents a day that our men would get in Canada?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No, there will be no deduction from anything whatever on the part of the Canadian government.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not understand my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding). I understand that if these men were serving in Canada, they would be paid 50 cents a day?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Yes.

Mr. McNEILL. I also understand the Minister of Finance to say, and he will correct me if I am wrong, that the Canadian government will not pay these men, who have gone to South Africa, 50 cents a day, but 26 cents a day? Is that right?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Canadian troops serving in Canada, would receive 50 cents a day. Canadian troops, serving in Africa, will receive 50 cents a day, but they will receive part of it from the Imperial government, and the balance from the Canadian government.

Mr. McNEILL. We save 24 cents a day.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No, we do not save anything; we are spending \$2,000,000, and we are not saving anything.

Mr. McNEILL. You save that much out of the pay.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. We do not save anything.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not quite understand my hon. friend. These men, if they were

serving in this country, would be paid 50 cents a day each. But, when they have gone to fight for us in South Africa, we are not going to give them 50 cents a day each, but we are going to give them 26 cents a day each.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No.

Mr. McNEILL. We, the Canadian people through the government, are going to give each of these men 26 cents a day, as I understand it, while they are serving in South Africa, and the balance is to be paid by the Imperial authorities. Is that correct?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I will answer my hon. friend when he is through. I will not answer him while he is on his feet.

Mr. McNEILL. That, I understand, is the position. I regret very much, that, on an occasion of this kind, we should be in the position of saving 24 cents out of the 50 cents that we otherwise would pay.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I am sorry my hon. friend is not able to adopt a larger 'we.' I would have thought better things of him. The larger 'we' is a matter of the whole empire. When these soldiers were serving the empire in Canada, they were receiving 50 cents a day. Now that they are serving the empire in South Africa, they are still going to receive 50 cents a day.

Mr. McNEILL. So far as the larger 'we' is concerned, it is a very small 'we' in a matter of this kind.

Mr. FOSTER. A wee 'we.'

Mr. McNEILL. Yes, a very wee 'we.'

Mr. FOSTER. I am afraid my hon. friend the Finance Minister is an absent-minded beggar to-day. What I want to know is, is the cost to Canada twenty-six cents a day to each soldier, as far as pay is concerned, after the troops reach South Africa?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. That is correct. The Imperial pay makes up the rest.

Mr. FOSTER. Is there any reduction made on the twenty-four cents a day which the Canadian soldier receives from the Imperial government?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. We are informed that there are no deductions of any kind in time of war. In time of peace there are deductions for services which it is thought the canteen can do for the men better than they can do themselves, but in time of war each soldier receives a full shilling a day.

Mr. FOSTER. I think I saw in some letters from the front that there was a deduction of three pence a day or a week for hair cutting or shaving.

Mr. McNEILL.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The deputy minister informs me that if there were a deduction at all for that purpose, it would be three pence a month.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON. That is not much of a shave.

Mr. McNEILL. Are the mounted police in Canada paid seventy-five cents a day?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. That is the maximum. They re-engage after five years' service at seventy-five cents a day.

Mr. McNEILL. What are the Imperial cavalry allowed per day?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. One shilling and two pence, or four cents more than is paid the infantry.

Mr. McNEILL. And that would be deducted from the seventy-five cents to be paid the Canadian mounted troops?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. My hon. friend (Mr. McNeill) is very fond of that word deduction. We will deduct nothing. Our mounted soldier will get the Imperial pay of one shilling and two pence, and he will get the balance from us to make up the seventy-five cents.

Mr. FOSTER. We understand that.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE moved that the preamble of the Bill be adopted.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I wish to draw the attention of the government to a statement made in this House by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) on a very important branch of this subject. He said:

I beg to tell that hon. gentleman that when Canada sends her sons to the front, Canada becomes responsible and will know how to redeem that responsibility to the widows and orphans of the brave men who may fall in this conflict. We do not propose to shift that duty on to the shoulders of any insurance company, and I may remind the House that, with the full concurrence of his council, my hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) gave that assurance to the last contingent that sailed from Canada. Sir, I have no fear that the Canadian people will shrink from that duty. The success of the contributions to the patriotic fund is a clear proof that they are ready and willing to do their part. I am glad to see that individuals contribute generously out of their means to so good a cause, but I repeat that there is a right way and a wrong way of doing these things. I say that the government have chosen the right way, and I say again that the brave men in the front need have no fear, if it should please Providence that they should remain on the soil of Africa, that their widows and little ones will not be the wards and the care of the state and the wards and care of every true and honest-minded Canadian.

I wish to ask, how it is proposed to implement that very gratifying assurance which the minister (Sir Richard Cartwright) has given to the House and to the country,

and which he says had been formally pledged to the second contingent before they left? How is it proposed to provide for the widows and orphans of those who fall, and how is it proposed to provide for those who may return disabled from earning a livelihood?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. This Bill does not deal with the question of any allowance to the widows and children of those of our brave sons who fall on the field. Whatever may be fair and reasonable in that way, will be a matter for further consideration, but it is not covered by this Bill.

Mr. BERGERON. Has the hon. gentleman any idea of how much the private soldiers in the New Zealand and Australian contingents are paid per day?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I cannot tell.

Mr. INGRAM. When this Bill was before the House the other day, I took occasion to ask some questions with respect to the horses purchased, as provided for in the estimates which had been placed in our hands. I find that the report of those proceedings in the *Toronto Star* entirely misrepresented the statement I made. So far as the *Toronto Star* is concerned, I would have taken no notice of it at all, were it not that its report was copied in a local paper in my constituency, and I wish to say here and now that the statement made by the *Toronto Star* is entirely untrue—there is not a word of truth in it—with reference to what I said on that occasion.

Mr. McNEILL. Before the preamble passes, I wish to make one remark. I have not spoken at all in reference to the policy of the government in sending the contingents; but there has been one statement persistently made in this House, on the other side especially, which I think should not be allowed to go unchallenged; and this is, perhaps, the most convenient time to refer to it. It has been said over and over again, and with a great deal of emphasis, that the course of the government on this occasion is something that was never contemplated before, and an entirely new departure on the part of Canada. I wish to say in the most emphatic way that that statement is absolutely incorrect. The policy which has been carried out by the government was laid down and endorsed by this House in a resolution adopted on the 5th of February, 1896, declaring in the most solemn manner that in case need arose the Dominion of Canada was prepared to make as substantial sacrifices in defence of the honour and integrity of the empire as any other portion of Her Majesty's dominions. These are the very words in which that resolution was framed. It was seconded by my hon. friend the Min-

ister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), and supported by my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), and hon. members on this side of the House, both French and English, and was carried by the House unanimously and by acclamation. I will read, for the information of those who may not have been in the House at the time, some words that were uttered in regard to the resolution:

We wish the people of England and of Ireland and of Scotland, to know that the people of Canada are no mere fair-weather friends. We want our kinsmen in Australasia, some of whom we welcomed here so recently, to know that we are with them in this issue heart and hand; and we want the whole world to know that, come what may, in whatever part of the empire they may happen to reside, the British people are one people, animated by one spirit and determined to stand together as one man in defence of their common rights and in the maintenance of their common interests. Sir, we desire peace before all. We regard war with horror. But we are prepared to accept it with all its consequences, come from what quarter it may, if it be necessary to do so in order to defend the honour and integrity of our own empire.

These words were spoken by the mover of the resolution. My hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries used these words, speaking of the mother country:

The hearts of her children have gone out to the great, lone, isolated mother, and we to-day but do our duty when we pledge ourselves solemnly in parliament that if the occasion arises we are prepared to make material sacrifices for the integrity of the empire.

Again, in another passage, he said:

Sir, the resolution which we are asked to pass, the national pledge which we are asked to give here is a small step, perhaps, but it is one step at least, in that direction.

That is, in the direction of Imperial federation. My hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce said:

I am not myself in the habit of advocating loud professions of loyalty, nor do I believe to any very great extent in those loud professions of loyalty. But there is a time for all things, and I am of opinion that now is a very proper time indeed for some such expression as my hon. friend the member for North Bruce proposes to place on our journals.

The right hon. leader of the government himself spoke in favour of the resolution, as well as a number of other members of the House; and I venture to say that if, under the circumstances which arose last year, we had done anything else than we did do, we would simply have stultified ourselves in the eyes of the world. We declared what our policy was in regard to such a matter as solemnly as it was possible for the representatives of the people to do, and it is quite contrary to the fact to suggest that this is a new departure. I

recollect very well that our friend Dr. Welton, who was in the House at that time, said that it was one of the most solemn occasions which he ever remembered. He felt that he was taking part in one of the most solemn events that he had ever been concerned in. I thought it well, therefore, to call the attention of the House to the mistake that has been made in suggesting that the present policy of the government is a new departure in any sense of the word whatever.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I want, not to prolong this discussion, but merely to draw the attention of the right hon. leader of the House to the fact that in the debate to which my hon. friend has referred—and I think my hon. friend has not quite done him justice—he will find the most ample justification for everything that has been done; because on that occasion he used these strong and appropriate words:

But if the day should come—which God forbid—if the day should ever come—which I again say God forbid—when England should have to repel foes, I am quite sure that all British subjects, all over the world, would be only too glad to give to her what help they could—all British subjects all over the world, not only British subjects of her own blood, but British subjects who are not of her own blood, but who have received from her the inestimable blessing of freedom.

The case could not have been better put, and I think this language affords the most ample justification for everything the government has done in this matter.

Mr. McNEILL. I would just add to what I have already said, that the occasion of the moving of the resolution and the debate thereon and the declaration of policy on the part of the representatives of the people of Canada, was a cable message which had been sent by the German Emperor to Mr. Kruger in reference to this very South African question.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). If my hon. friend will permit me, I think it was the Venezuela matter.

Mr. McNEILL. My hon. friend is not quite correct. It was after the message had been sent by the Emperor of Germany to Mr. Kruger, and after the flying squadron had been called out, that notice was given of this resolution.

Mr. SPROULE. When this Bill was last under consideration, the hon. Minister of Finance promised to give us a list of the parties from whom horses have been purchased and the prices.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. gentleman is certainly inaccurate. It was the Minister of Militia who made the promise, but he did not say that the return would be brought before the Bill was read the third time, but as soon as it could be ob-

Mr. McNEILL.

tained. I went myself to the department, and was assured that the list was a very long one, which it would take considerable time to prepare.

Mr. SPROULE. I am quite sure that I remarked at the time that if this information was not before the House before the third reading, it would be of no practical value, and the hon. minister promised to bring it down before the Bill was passed. I do not know why it should be such a lengthy task to prepare this information. It is only a matter of copying the names and prices.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. If the hon. gentleman will turn up *Hansard*, he will find that the promise of the Minister of Militia was that the information would be brought down, and my hon. friend did not ask to have it brought down before the Bill was read the third time.

Mr. SPROULE. I am quite sure that I asked for the information to be down before the third reading. It was not available at the time, and we were put off with the statement that it would be before the House on the third reading.

Mr. MACLEAN. What will be the rate of pay for the men enlisting now for garrison work at Halifax? Will it be the same as the South African troops?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not know that that matter has been finally dealt with, but probably they will get the infantry pay of active militia.

Mr. MACLEAN. Will they get more pay in Halifax than the contingent in South Africa?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not think so.

Mr. MACLEAN. Will they get as much?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Probably the same.

Mr. MACLEAN. The South African contingents may get less pay than the men doing garrison duty at Halifax?

Mr. BERGERON. Would the hon. gentleman find out what pay is received by the soldiers of New Zealand and Australia?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. There may be some books giving the information, and we will endeavour to find it out.

Mr. BERGERON. I am speaking of those who are fighting in South Africa to-day.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. They only get the Imperial pay from the Imperial government, but whether the colonial governments are supplementing that I am not prepared to say.

Mr. BERGERON. Would it be an extraordinary thing to communicate with the government and find out?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. It would not be, if necessary, but the point has not been raised before.

Mr. BERGERON. It would not be a matter of much expense, and would be interesting in view of the present discussion.

Bill reported, read the third time and passed.

SUPPLY—PREFERENTIAL TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE moved that the House again resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

Mr. B. RUSSELL (Halifax). Mr. Speaker, before the House goes into Committee of Supply, I wish to make some observations on a matter closely connected with the question of supply upon which, in my judgment, it is expedient that a clear expression of the opinion of the House should be once for all recorded. I allude to the preferential feature of the present tariff policy of the country. Expressions have, from time to time, been made use of on this subject by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, which have indicated their disapproval of this feature of the tariff, but I am not aware that any hon. gentleman has ever distinctly advocated its repeal. Such expressions, however, have a manifest tendency to unsettle the public mind upon a question on which I think it desirable that the mind of the country should be clearly understood to be entirely and permanently at rest. I propose, therefore, before closing, to offer a resolution upon the subject. But inasmuch as this particular branch of the tariff question is so interwoven with the more general question of tariff legislation, I shall ask the indulgence of the House for a few preliminary references to the more general aspects of the matter before dealing more specifically with the immediate subject of my resolution. So many things have happened during the few years that have elapsed since the present administration assumed control of the public business of the country, such immense strides have been made in the commercial advancement and development of the Dominion, and such momentous departures have been taken in the general policy of the country, that it may almost require some effort on the part of hon. gentlemen to recall the situation as it existed a few years ago.

The present government acceded to power under conditions which pledged them to a certain line of procedure with respect to the fiscal policy of the country; but nothing has been more persistently, and I might almost say, nothing has been more wilfully misrepresented, than the nature of those conditions and the scope of those pledges. No accusation is more commonly made against the administration than that they have failed to fulfil the promises with respect to the

tariff upon the faith of which they secured the suffrages of the electors of Canada. This is, in fact, the campaign stock-in-trade of our friends on the other side of the House, and will, no doubt, be the campaign cry, or one of the numerous and conflicting campaign cries, with which they will be endeavouring in a year or two to arouse a prosperous and contented electorate to vote against the government of the day. This charge, in various forms of statement, but with an unvarying degree of vehemence, will be made as it has been made, by the campaign orators and newspapers of the Conservative opposition. Strong terms will be used, as strong terms have been used, to describe the conduct of the Liberal party, and the Liberal government in respect to this matter. 'Perfidy' and 'turpitude,' if I mistake not, were among the elegant expressions made use of in this House in a recent debate, by an hon. and distinguished gentleman, who, a short time ago, was lecturing the press of the country upon the duty of moderation, and 'sweet reasonableness,' in their discussion of public questions and in their comments upon the character and conduct of public men. I certainly do not wish to express anything but sincere admiration for the excellent advice that was given upon the occasion to which I refer; but, I think it would be a still more admirable thing, if somewhat of the angelic temper, the cultivation of which was so earnestly commended by the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) to the gentlemen of the press, were occasionally imported into the hon. member's own discussions of public questions and public men. But, better still that the moderation and graciousness of spirit that were so eloquently commended in the Toronto speech of that hon. gentleman, would be a reasonably fair adherence to the facts of the case in stating the position and proceedings of his political opponents.

The charge against the present government, so far as it relates to this question, is in substance that they promised the country free trade, and have, on the contrary, adhered to the fiscal policy of their predecessors.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am glad to hear hon. gentlemen opposite, say, 'Hear, hear.' It shows there can be no difference between us on that point. Now, Sir, I absolutely and emphatically deny both branches of the charge and, I propose in a few sentences, to dispose of it, as I think I shall be able to do very briefly, once for all. The policy with which the leader of the government went to the country, was not presented to the electorate of Canada, during the election campaign of 1896, by any responsible member of the Liberal party, as a policy of fiscal revolution. The records of the campaign will speak for themselves, and I propose to

produce and present those records in such a way as to satisfy any reasonable listener, that the policy outlined by the leaders of the Liberal party, during the campaign, was precisely the policy that they carried into effect when they secured the reins of power in their hands.

Mr. MACLEAN. How about the Cobden medal?

Mr. RUSSELL. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Maclean), asks a question which it is not important that I should answer. I know nothing about it, and it has nothing to do with the subject I am discussing. The present leader of the government addressed a large and important meeting of electors in the city of Montreal, towards the end of December, 1895, when the campaign was in full progress. Speaking of the tariff in force at that time, he said, using words which have since been fulfilled to the letter, by his Minister of Finance, 'We must have a decrease and a reform in that tariff.' Now, Sir, the tariff has been reformed, and the duties have been decreased in exact and literal fulfilment of the promise then made on behalf of the Liberal party.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) say if the pledge given by the Premier in the city of Montreal previous to the elections, that coal and iron should be free, has been redeemed?

Mr. TAYLOR. And the Minister of Finance said the same.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). Would the hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor), show where the Minister of Finance said that?

Mr. TAYLOR. At the same meeting.

Mr. MILLS. And he said the same, at Annapolis, about cotton and coal oil.

Mr. RUSSELL. But, as if to guard against any possible misunderstanding of the fiscal policy, which he would pursue if entrusted with power in this country, Mr. Laurier proceeded to say to his Montreal audience:

You are told that the policy of the Liberal party is free trade as they have it in England. . . . Much as I admire England, however, I am bound to say that it is not possible for us under the present condition of things to have free trade at the present time as they have it in England. Free trade must come gradually in Canada. It must come after thirty or forty years, perhaps more, as my friend, Mr. Ross, has stated.

These were the words in which the hon. leader of the government, then Mr. Laurier, expounded the trade policy, with which the Liberal party went before the electors of this country, in 1896. But, this was not the only pronouncement that was made upon the question. Everybody knows that Sir Oliver Mowat joined forces with Mr. Lau-

Mr. RUSSELL.

rier in the federal arena, in March, 1896. In so doing, he published a letter containing a clear and comprehensive statement of the terms on which he accepted the alliance with the federal leader, and was prepared to join forces with him in the federal campaign. His letter might well stand as a declaration of the policy of the Liberal party on the various subjects with which it dealt. It was, in fact, such a declaration, and was accepted as such by the Liberal party, throughout the Dominion and by the Conservative party as well. What did he say with respect to the tariff? I use his own words:

We are, I believe, at one with respect to the tariff. I think with you that the introduction of the protective system was a mistake on the part of our people, so you, like myself, are a Reformer and not a revolutionist, and you recognize the necessity of legislation on the tariff being gradual and cautious. Adopting that policy, I am glad that you see your way in the meantime to changes which would be a relief to our farmers, and at the same time will not injuriously affect, but rather benefit manufacturers and their workmen. A government owes a duty to all classes of the people. I quite see that one difficulty in legislation on the subject is the fact that considerable capital has been invested in manufactures on the faith that a system which our people have unfortunately sanctioned for eighteen years, would not be abrogated hastily or without due regard to the interests which have arisen under that system. I quite see also that the difficulty of legislation is greatly enhanced by the enormous debt which the present government has created during the last eighteen years and the large revenue which is needed for the payment of the annual charges incidental to the debt.

Now, Sir, I submit, without any misgiving whatever, that if any historian were desiring to write the fiscal history of this country under the administration of my right hon. friend, the leader of the government, and were searching for suitable terms in which to describe the actual proceedings of the government, with respect to the tariff, he could not possibly find more appropriate and truthful terms in which to describe that which has actually taken place, than the very terms which were used before the election by these two eminent leaders of the Liberal party, to define the policy which they intended to carry out, if the power should be given to them, as it was happily given to them by the people of this country, to frame a tariff policy for the Dominion. They did not promise free trade as it was in England. The right hon. gentleman who leads the government, distinctly told his hearers and the electors of this country, that free trade as there understood, might not be feasible in this country for many years to come. They did not promise to revolutionize the tariff—they distinctly and emphatically repudiated such an idea. They did promise to reform the tariff, and they did promise to decrease the duties, and both these promises have been observed and fulfilled to the letter.

I could continue to quote from the speeches and writings of prominent and representative Liberals during the whole period of the campaign and in all parts of the country to the same effect as the passages I have read from the speeches of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Oliver Mowat. They would only serve to corroborate my statement that while the Liberal party deplored the introduction of the protective system and adhered to the principles of free trade, as set forth in the platform of the Liberal party in 1893, they did not propose to revolutionize the fiscal policy to which the country has been so many years committed, or to pursue the ideal of sound political economy without regard to the practical necessities created by the long-continued prevalence of an unsound system.

I will not detain the House with any unnecessary amplification of the evidence on this point, but will proceed without further delay to refer to the manner in which the government did actually redeem the promises they had made to the electors in respect to this subject. And here again it will be necessary to dwell somewhat particularly upon the condition of things which confronted the government on their accession to power in 1896. I have no doubt that what everybody anticipated at that time, certainly what I myself anticipated, was a reduction of the tariff on a uniform scale, or, to speak more exactly, a reduction that would be applicable in the same degree to importations from all parts of the world. I never dreamed of anything else, although I must confess that I had my own misgivings as to the acceptance which any proposal would meet with in this country at that date, which, however economically beneficial it might be to ourselves, would run counter to the feelings that had been aroused in this country by the unreasonable and wholly unjustifiable temper and attitude of our republican neighbours. Hon. members will recall the fact that shortly before the election of 1896 the great American republic had been spilling for a war with our own mother country; that a perfect hurricane of insane passion had swept over the land; that every newspaper in the union, with a very few notable exceptions, had fallen into line behind President Cleveland and Secretary Olney; that even the religious papers clamoured for war, and some of them clamoured more fiercely and more unrighteously than their secular contemporaries; that the Senate of the United States:

That Senate guerdon of the few

Where Clay once flashed and Webster's clouded brow

Brooded those bolts that all the horizon knew.

The Senate and the House of Representatives were practically unanimous in the determination to break the peace of the world with a war which would have been the most cruel and wanton

and disastrous in the whole melancholy history of human strife and wickedness. Had this war broken out, which practically the whole effective public opinion of the United States seemed to favour, the people of Canada would have been the first to have been involved and the ones to suffer the most. But the people of Canada, in this crisis, stood ready to resist the threatened aggression of their neighbours with the same unfaltering fortitude with which they now stand by the side of their fellow-colonists in resisting aggression on the other side of the world, and not only resisting aggression but carrying the war into Africa. Happily in this case the conflict was averted by wise and sane diplomacy on the part of our own country, and by a happy return of the good sense and good feeling to our republican neighbours. But the remembrance of an event such as this does not easily pass out of the human mind. It has happily been effaced to a very considerable degree by events of more recent occurrence, and the time may come, as I confidently believe it will, when we will be only too happy to forget it altogether, but the event had not passed out of the minds of the people of Canada at the time of the general elections in 1896, nor had it been forgotten before our friends on the other side of the boundary passed their new tariff measure, innocently entitled 'a Bill to provide a revenue for the government and to encourage the industries of the United States; but which was interpreted by many people in this country, I would like to think incorrectly so interpreted, as being specially directed against the interests of the Dominion. This measure was reported from the Ways and Means Committee to the House of Representatives on the 15th day of March, 1897, and reached its final stage in the Senate on April 1st, 1897. The tariff Bill by which our own fiscal policy was settled, was not introduced in this House until the 22nd day of the same month, or, by a remarkable coincidence, I believe, the resolution was actually introduced on the morning of St. George's Day, April 23rd, 1897—a most appropriate day for such a significant act to be performed by this parliament.

Now, I admit at once that the feelings aroused in Canada by the unreasonable hostility of the United States to the mother country and the unfriendly tariff legislation effected by the Dingley Bill, together with other unfriendly proceedings without number which seemed to have been taken for the express purpose of annoying and exasperating the people of this country, would not afford any logical justification for a refusal to adjust our own tariff in the manner best suited to our own material welfare, even although such a readjustment might involve concessions which would seem to be favourable to the trade of the United States. All this is perfectly true and logi-

cal, but there are forces in human nature which are stronger than the force of logic. I have no doubt it is good Christian doctrine when you are smitten on the one cheek to turn the other cheek to the smiter, but nations have not yet in their intercourse with one another attained to this height of altruism. Of this, at all events, I am perfectly convinced, that in the summer of 1897 any policy that would have held out any tariff reductions in favour of the people of the United States beyond what were imperatively called for in the interest of the people of Canada, would have been summarily condemned by the voice of the people of this country. The government was then in this position—they were pledged to effect a considerable reduction in the tariff charges levied upon the people. Our importations were chiefly from the United States, and, therefore, any tariff reduction effected on uniform lines must have caused a larger remission of duties upon goods coming into this country from the United States than it would have upon goods coming from England. For the first ten years, or thereabouts, of confederation, the importations from Great Britain largely exceeded those from the United States, beginning in the first year of confederation with 58 per cent from England against only 36 per cent from the United States, the balance being from the rest of the world. Gradually the relations changed, until Great Britain and the United States stood upon an equality in 1876. Then followed a period of fluctuating fortunes for a series of years until 1882, the last year in which Great Britain had the advantage over the United States, from which time forward the relative amount, as well as the absolute volume of our importations from the United States gradually increased, until 1896, when we were importing twice as much from them as we were from Great Britain. Manifestly as I have said, any very considerable reduction of duties, if uniformly made, must have been open to a very plausible, however fallacious, contention that its effect was to confer a benefit upon the United States. Now, the people of Canada had at that time no desire to confer any benefits upon the United States. They were not conscious of any wish to retaliate upon them. Such a course would have been futile and foolish. But there was in the public mind of Canada a very distinct and positive unwillingness to do them any service beyond what it was absolutely impossible to avoid doing them in the effort to do the best thing possible for ourselves.

On the other hand, there were the strongest possible motives, both of sentiment and self-interest which impelled us to seek for a closer commercial connection with the mother country. The days were gone by when the leading organ of a great party reflecting, as was generally assumed, the feeling of a great party leader, could reply to a

criticism of his tariff policy as involving a danger to our British connection by saying, 'then so much *the worse for British connection'; or when a leading member of a great political party—

Mr. FOSTER. Will my hon. friend (Mr. Russell) point out the authority on which he bases his assertion that that was a statement made by Sir John A. Macdonald.

Mr. RUSSELL. I did not say that it was a statement made by him.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, made by the leader of a government.

Mr. RUSSELL. I said no such thing. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) did not hear me correctly. I said it was a statement which was made in a leading organ of public opinion of this country which was supposed to reflect the views of the leader of the government.

Mr. McNEILL. It was repudiated by Sir John A. Macdonald on the floor of this House. That was written by Farrer.

Mr. RUSSELL. It was repudiated many years after. Will my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) say that a minister of the Crown in this country did not make a greatly similar statement when he taunted the mother country with having been driven out of the markets of the civilized world and obliged to force her wares upon savages at the point of the bayonet. If any such statement as that was made by a responsible minister of the Crown in Canada, the time had gone by when such a statement could be repeated.

Mr. GIBSON. Who made that statement?

Mr. RUSSELL. It was made by a Minister of Justice (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) in the late government. Sir, the time had also gone by in the old country when the leader of a great political party could refer to the colonies as Lord Beaconsfield once spoke of them, as 'a millstone about the neck of the mother country.' The genuineness of the sense of kinship between the people of Canada and those of the motherland, had been demonstrated by the events of 1895 and its force had been intensified beyond all conception by the presence of a common danger and the prospect of a possible community of suffering and loss. The time had become specially opportune for giving practical expression to the feelings of loyalty and devotion to the Crown and government of England, which had always animated the people of Canada of all political shades, but which, I am sorry to say, the Conservative party had sought on more than one occasion, as they have been attempting within the past few months, to take under their exclusive patronage and protection. It is surely a most striking commentary, and, to our friends on the other side of the House, it should be a most

humiliating commentary on the assumptions of superior loyalty in which they have always indulged, that while they had been for years and years mouthing their loyalty and palavering over the question of preferential trade, it remained for a Liberal government to take the first effective step towards the commercial unification of the empire, and by the spirit in which that movement was conceived, by the manner in which it was executed, and if I may say so, by the magnetic personality of the man by whom it was announced to the British public, to accomplish at a single stroke a change in the relations of Canada to the motherland, which at once attracted the attention of the whole world and gave to us a position such as this country never before commanded, either in the councils of the empire, or in the estimation of enlightened public opinion throughout the world. Speaking as a Nova Scotian, it was a great happiness to me to hear the Prime Minister at Halifax attributing a leading share of the credit of this epoch-making movement to my life-long friend and brilliant fellow-countryman, the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding). We have had empire-builders in other portions of the British dominions who have gone about their work on different lines and by methods which have yet to be tested, which, perhaps, I should say are this very day being tested as by fire, by the agony and bloodshed of disastrous and desolating wars. I think we may be allowed to congratulate ourselves that in this part of the world, in our more peaceful and happy quarter of the globe we are permitted to pursue other and happier methods of consolidating the power of England.

Peace hath her victories,
No less renowned than war.

And it will be a bright page in Canadian history that will record the achievements of an administration by which through pacific and conciliatory methods two great sections of our people whose relations had been strained to the breaking point were drawn together for the common good of their common country and then signalized their union by an act which has done more than any one single step that ever was taken in this country to draw together the motherland and her greatest colonial dependency.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Speaker, I was about saying, when the House rose at six o'clock, that the problem of the commercial unification of the empire was not a new one. It had been wrestled with by previous governments, and written about and talked about for years by the hon. members on the other side of the House. It was open to the government to pursue the methods so long and so fruitlessly employed by the hon. leader

of the opposition, the huckstering methods which Mr. Fitzpatrick, the historian of the South African troubles, from whose volume the right hon. leader of the government read an evening or two ago, finds to be the distinguishing characteristic of the diplomacy of Mr. Kruger. The government might have wasted valuable time in still continuing to pursue the Howard Vincent will-o'-the-wisp into the bogs and swamps in which the leader of the opposition lost himself. They might have taken up the impracticable and illusory schemes and theories of preferential trade, embodied in the resolutions of the Ottawa conference. Had they pursued this course there can be no doubt that their efforts would have met with the same results. The day may come when the people of England will be ready to reverse the fiscal policy that has made them great and prosperous beyond greatness and prosperity of any other people on the face of the habitable globe, which has enabled the forty millions in two small islands that seem hardly more than a speck upon the map, to control the markets of the world, and dominate so great a part of the earth's habitable surface. That time has not yet come, and there is no appearance, whatever, that it is anywhere on the way. The answer to such a proposal, had we wasted time with the renewal of it, would undoubtedly have been the same for our government as it was when the Marquis of Ripon, writing to the Colonial Governors in June, 1895, with reference to the trade proposals of the Ottawa conference of 1894, after subjecting them to a thorough and statesmanlike investigation, and surveying the whole question, said :

A consideration of these practical difficulties and of the more immediate results above indicated, of a system of mutual tariff discrimination, has convinced Her Majesty's government that even if its consequences were confined to the limits of the empire, and even if it were not followed by changes of fiscal policy on the part of foreign powers unfavourable to this country, its general economic results would not be beneficial to the empire.

That this conclusive and emphatic despatch of the Marquis of Ripon represented the mature and final opinion on both sides of politics in the mother country as to all preferential tariff proposals of kindred nature to that of the leader of the opposition, there can be no manner of doubt ; and there would be no doubt whatever, had it not been for some occurrences of a later date from which it has been sought to be established, that there were overtures, not from the British government, but from leading public men in Britain, looking towards a tariff arrangement, involving discrimination by the mother country in favour of the products of Canada. It has been said, for instance, that Mr. Chamberlain was favourable to a scheme for the commercial consolidation of the empire on the basis of

mutual discriminatory tariffs, as proposed by the leader of the opposition, and further, that an offer of this kind was made to the Premier in England, by the Duke of Devonshire, on the occasion of the celebration of the Queen's diamond jubilee.

The grounds upon which this myth reposes, so far as it relates to Mr. Chamberlain I have never been able to discover. I have listened, with a great deal of attention, and a very large degree of sympathy, to the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), on this subject, and have waited earnestly, as one who watched for the morning, to hear something read from the speeches of the Colonial Secretary, that would hold out a ray of hope for some feasible scheme for the preferential entry of our products into the Imperial market. He tells me I will find it in Mr. Chamberlain's speech of March 25, 1896, at the meeting of the Canada Club. Well, I have searched for it there, searched for it diligently, but searched in vain. So far from finding any toleration in that speech of the proposal to put a tax on the food and raw materials going into the English market from this country in return for any concession that had thus far been suggested by any of the advocates of preferential trade, in this country, I find Mr. Chamberlain, referring to the proposal to place a discriminatory duty against the products of foreign countries going into Great Britain, using such words as these :

Whatever may be the result of imposing such a duty as to which, if I had time, I could discourse for many minutes, whatever may be the actual result, the tendency is to increase the cost of living, which would intensify the pressure upon the working classes of this country, and it would also have a tendency to increase the cost of production, which would put us, of course, in a worse position than now in competition with foreign countries in neutral markets.

It seems that, while Mr. Chamberlain was delivering these words to the Canada Club, he was interrupted, and in answer to the interruption, he said :

I see no use in shutting my eyes to the consequences of this proposition.

I can find no support in this speech of Mr. Chamberlain before the Canada Club for any preferential trade proposal such as the hon. member for North Bruce and the hon. leader of the opposition have advocated, and I can only wonder at the amount of misdirected ingenuity which these two hon. gentlemen have more than once employed in this House in the effort to pump into Mr. Chamberlain's speech a meaning that really is not there, and can, by no fair method of exegesis be extracted from it.

Then I am asked to read his speech on the Commercial Union of the Empire before the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire in London, in June, 1896. Be it so. We find him dealing there express-

ly with the proposal which found expression at the great conference at Ottawa in 1894.

'It is the very reverse,' he says, 'in spirit, at any rate, of the proposal I have just been considering, for whereas the first proposal requires that the colonies should abandon their system in favour of ours, this proposal requires that we should abandon our system in favour of theirs, and it is in effect that while the colonies should be left absolutely free to impose what protective duties they please, both on foreign countries and upon British commerce, they should be required to make a small diminution in favour of British trade, in return for which we are expected to change our whole fiscal system and impose duties on food and raw material. Well, I express again my own opinion when I say that there is not the slightest chance that in any reasonable time this country or the parliament of this country would adopt so one-sided an agreement. (Cheers.) The foreign trade of this country is so large and the foreign trade of the colonies is comparatively so small that a small preference given to us upon that foreign trade by the colonies would make so trifling a difference—would be so small a benefit to the total volume of our trade—that I do not believe the working classes of this country would consent to make a revolutionary change for what they would think to be an infinitesimal gain.'

In neither one of these speeches does Mr. Chamberlain give the slightest degree of countenance to any one of the various proposals that have been put forward from this side of the water for a scheme of preferential trade saving as his opinion is summed up in the fourth in number of the four propositions which he lays down to the Canada Club. He said :

My third proposition is that the suggestions which have hitherto been made to us, although we know them to have been made in good part, are, when considered from the point of view of British interests, not sufficiently favourable to be considered by this country.

He has examined them all and condemned them all, and I am convinced that any hon. member who will read those two speeches in a fair and candid spirit, and then read the comments of the hon. leader of the opposition and the hon. member for North Bruce will be utterly amazed that Mr. Chamberlain's evident meaning by any process of deliberate hair-splitting and special pleading, such as his words have been subjected to by the hon. leader of the opposition, or by any such transcendental method of interpretation as they have undergone at the hands of the amiable mystic from North Bruce, could by any possibility have been so perverted and practically misrepresented as it has been by those two hon. gentlemen.

Mr. Chamberlain presented his own alternative to the proposals that he was unable to adopt, the proposal of a Zollverein :

My fourth proposition is that a true Zollverein for the empire, that a free trade established throughout the empire, although it would involve the imposition of duties against foreign countries, and would be in that respect a derogation from the high principles of free trade,

and from the practice of the United Kingdom up to the present time, would still be a proper subject for discussion and might probably lead to a satisfactory arrangement if the colonies on their part were willing to consider it.

This was as far as Mr. Chamberlain in either of these speeches was willing to go. He admits that we could not imitate exactly the German Zollverein because we are not as they are conterminous countries. Moreover, we all of us require revenue and so long as we administer our revenues independently of one another, we are under the necessity of raising a part of it from customs. There must, therefore, be exceptions from the rule of free trade throughout the empire, in the case of articles that are chiefly taxed for revenue, such, for instance, in England as spirits and tobacco. Now, it is out of this infinitesimally small concession that the hon. member for North Bruce and the hon. leader of the opposition build up their case so far as it rests upon any foundation laid by Mr. Chamberlain, but it must be obvious that to carry out Mr. Chamberlain's idea would absolutely reverse everything that has been done in this country for the past twenty years, not to speak of other colonies where they are not even so near the confines of the protectionist wilderness as we are ourselves. Mr. Chamberlain's policy could not be adopted without revolutionizing the tariff of Canada. We have always had a tariff here that afforded incidental protection. We have never had an exclusively revenue tariff. But no duties could be permitted under Mr. Chamberlain's proposal that were not 'strictly revenue duties.' 'Protection must disappear.' The same articles which would yield a strictly revenue duty in one part of the empire, would, obviously, if taxed in another portion, give occasion for the operation of the protective principle. Mr. Chamberlain would not allow that. 'The duties must be revenue duties and not protective duties in the sense of protecting the products of one part of the empire against those of another part.'

Now, for my own part, I do not at all despair of Mr. Chamberlain's proposal. The day may come, as I strongly hope it will, when Mr. Chamberlain's Zollverein will be a feasible proposal and in the meantime it is no bad thing to dream about. In matters like these, as Mr. Chamberlain most wisely and justly said on another occasion, when speaking of the policy of Egyptian statesmen as to the recovery of the Sudan, 'Every nation has two politics, it has a practical and present policy, it has a future and ideal policy.' I have no misgiving in committing myself to the policy of Mr. Chamberlain's Zollverein as a future and ideal policy, a thing altogether outside of the range of practical politics, but an excellent theme for the political dreamer. Even as a day dream, however, Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the Zollverein only for him-

self. He did not profess to speak for his colleagues. The most that he hoped for was to provoke discussion, and in that he certainly succeeded, as, to do him justice, he generally does succeed. Probably there is no more discussion-provoking speaker in the empire than Mr. Chamberlain, and on this question if it was discussion he was looking for he must have been gratified to his heart's content. It was well for his peace of mind that he valued discussion more than approval, for I doubt if there was one serious and sensible statesman in the country that was prepared to second his proposal.

On the morning after Mr. Chamberlain had made his speech to the Canada Club, the *Times* contained the following editorial remarks :

If we seriously think of giving advantages to the colonies, such as those mentioned by Mr. Chamberlain, in consideration of their abandonment of protective duties against British goods, we are by no means sure that the masses in this country will be prepared for such an object, to tax foreign foodstuffs and foreign raw materials. The decided opposition of the presidents of the Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool and Manchester to the resolution in favour of an Imperial Zollverein, as well as to the amendment in favour of differential duties hardly bears out Mr. Chamberlain's belief that the ascendancy of free trade orthodoxy has been broken. Until the great centres of trade and industrial activity in this country are decidedly in favour of a change, the existing fiscal policy of the country will undoubtedly be maintained. It is for public opinion to decide a matter which involves very grave questions, both of Imperial security and of commercial development.

This chilling reception of the Zollverein proposal was a bad enough beginning, but further reflection on the subject deepened the outspoken skepticism of the press into positive denial. More than twelve months after this the Manchester *Guardian* regarded it as 'hardly comprehensible that Mr. Chamberlain should actually have made such an amazing proposal.' His own colleagues are not with him on this question, the Duke of Devonshire threw cold water on the scheme as long ago as last December. Mr. James Lowther, the arch protectionist, declared roundly a few days later that any such notion as free trade within the empire should be relegated to the limbo from which it could never return—and Mr. Chamberlain surely cannot think that any but a small minority of the people of this country would put even a small customs tax upon corn for the sake of such a fantastic and misleading dream as his Zollverein is commonly admitted to be.' The *Times* was, if possible, still more emphatic. It referred to the Zollverein proposal as 'a scheme which had been already published, discussed and dismissed from the present range of practical politics.' It proceeded to demonstrate for the twentieth time the utter impossibility of the people of England ever consenting to hamper a trade amounting to

525,000,000 pounds sterling for the sake of obtaining a preference on thirty-eight millions, and concluded a thorough and candid review of Mr. Chamberlain's alleged proposal with the following paragraph, which would seem to set at rest for many years the proposal of an Imperial Zollverein between Great Britain and her colonies, with a customs tariff against the rest of the world.

The value of the discussion between Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Premiers, out of which it is sought to make capital in Canada, consists not in the formulation of any at present impracticable scheme, but in clearing the ground of other futile proposals which have been too long allowed to confuse the public mind. The action of Canada has done much, and the conference of Colonial Premiers has done more, to dispose finally of the misconception that any preference which could be offered to this country upon colonial foreign trade should render it for one moment worth our while to entertain proposals for the imposition of corresponding duties on our side.

So far then as Mr. Chamberlain is concerned, this is our position. He has himself emphatically condemned every proposal for preferential trade propounded by the hon. member for North Bruce and the hon. leader of the opposition, and his own alternative proposal of a Zollverein, which neither of those hon. members would be willing to touch with a ten-foot pole, has been dismissed by the public opinion of England as a 'fantastic and misleading dream.'

As to the statement that the Duke of Devonshire actually offered a preferential arrangement to the Prime Minister on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in London, this was so utterly improbable in advance that it must have seemed incredible at the time to anybody who knew the sentiments of the Duke of Devonshire and knew moreover how sagacious and sensible a statesman he had always been. To this contention, the coup de grace was given last session by the correspondence read in this House by the Postmaster General. I will take the liberty of reading this once more, familiar though it may be to hon. members, for the purpose of disposing once for all of this preposterous and incredible statement:

Privy Council Office,
2nd May, 1899.

My dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 1st April.

The best answer I can give to your inquiries is to inclose you a copy of the report of the speeches made on the various occasions in the summer of 1897, when I had the pleasure of meeting the Colonial Premiers in my capacity as President of the British Empire League.

I do not think that in any of those speeches you will find anything to suggest the view of my opinion on the question of the policy of granting preferential trade to the colonies, which appears to have been held by Sir Charles Tupper and by some of the journals in this coun-

Mr. RUSSELL.

try which seek to attribute what they term 'protectionist heresies' to members of the Unionist party.

It was, no doubt, my speech at Liverpool on the 12th June, 1897, which was referred to by Sir Charles Tupper, and my admission that free trade had not done for us all that was once expected, may have been commented on by free traders or opposition journals.

But, while I congratulated Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Dominion of Canada on the offer which had been made to admit British goods at reduced rates, as compared with those on the goods of other nations, as an important step in the direction of Imperial unity, I had no authority to offer, and did not offer, to Canada a preference in British markets.

You are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed.) DEVONSHIRE.

The Hon. Mr. Mulock.

Now, Sir, I do not think it is incumbent upon me to occupy any longer time in justifying the course of the government in abandoning the utterly impracticable and illusory proposals with which their predecessors had been so uselessly and so fruitlessly engaged for many years. For my own part, I must confess that to my mind the proposition that the people of England, or, to speak more accurately, the inhabitants of the British Islands, who have been bearing practically unaided from century to century the whole weight of the Imperial burden, sustaining the cost of the army and navy of the empire, giving the colonies the benefit of their consular service in all parts of the world, protecting our commerce on every sea, and in every clime, and holding themselves ready to defend our very firesides, if necessary, from desecration by any foe from what corner of the world wherever he might come, should be still further called upon to tax their very food, and hamper the commerce which is the life blood in their arteries—cloak and dissemble this proposition, I say, under whatsoever disguise of rhetorical artifice you may, it is nothing else to my mind but the counsel of intense and egregious selfishness. Nobody has ever questioned the desirability of such an arrangement if it could be obtained. To use the strong language of the right hon. gentleman who leads the government, the Canadian who would refuse such a proposition would be an idiot. But it is one thing to be willing to accept such a benefit if offered to us. It is an entirely different thing to demand it from the overburdened taxpayers of the mother country. The government, at all events, were wise in determining that the time had come when it was the plain duty of this country to make some return to the motherland for the many benefits that she had conferred upon us, and to seek to draw closer the ties that united us to our kindred beyond the sea. They did not begin by bargaining and

huckstering in the spirit of Paul Kruger and the hon. leader of the opposition. They made an offer from the good-will and loyalty of the people of this country. Had they been influenced by pure selfishness alone, they would have acted none otherwise than as they did, acting from the spirit of loyalty and devotion which animated the breasts of the people of Canada—for they knew the temper of the English people, and realized that with all the intense practicality of the English temperament, there is no people on the face of the earth more easily kindled to a responsive sentiment of kindness and good-will than the mighty races that inhabit the British Isles.

The government determined, and wisely determined, to abandon the bargaining process and act in the spirit of that proverbial wisdom which tells us 'there is that scattereth and yet increaseth, and there is that withholdeth more than is meet but it tendeth to poverty.' They made an unconditional and unsolicited concession to the trade of the mother country which was instantly and instinctively hailed by the people of England as one of the greatest events that had ever happened in the history of Greater Britain. I do not surely need to recall the chorus of acclaim with which this movement was greeted by the press of the mother country without exception, or the glowing periods in which the poet who has best expressed the feelings and aspirations of Greater Britain welcomed the loyal and patriotic action of this government. I do not need to recite the glowing verses of Kipling in which he welcomed this movement. If I refer to these evidences of English sentiment at all, it is only to contrast them with the smallness and pettiness of spirit displayed on our own side of the water, and in our own Dominion. While all England was rejoicing over the spirit of affection and loyalty that animated the people of Canada, and welcoming the practical and tangible evidence of their good-will that the action of the government afforded the leader of the opposition and his fidus Achates, if I may be permitted to employ this adjective as applicable to the relations between the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) and the hon. leader of the opposition without an apology to the shade of Achates, were going over the land endeavouring by every possible device to rub off the bloom, to persuade the people of England to look their gift-horse in the mouth and see if by some possible process of discounting our good intentions, they might not discover that our gift was something different from what in good faith we intended it to be and they in equally good faith accepted it as being. First of all, they told the people of England that it was really no preference to them, that it was a concession to all the world, that it was not really a preferential tariff, that

it called itself a reciprocal tariff only, that it could not be a preferential tariff because of the existence of certain treaties, the German and Belgian treaties, to wit, which prevented the Dominion from making any trade concession to the mother country without at the same time extending it to Germany and Belgium, and certain other treaties containing the favoured-nation clause, which would prevent the Dominion from extending any concession to Belgium and Germany which was not at the same time extended to every nation having the benefit of the favoured-nation clause. Now, Sir, this is all true in a certain sense. It is one of the most dangerous kinds of lie, because it is true in a certain sense.

For a lie that is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies.

Let me examine for a moment the contentions thus put forward.

Hon. gentlemen opposite have told us that the government blundered into the preferential tariff; that they were mistaken, as to the grounds upon which they introduced their policy in 1897; that they were unaware of the effect of these German and Belgian treaties, and of the fact that they could not in the face of these treaties adopt the policy embodied in the reciprocal tariff resolution of that year.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Hear, hear.

Mr. RUSSELL. I cannot bring myself to believe that the hon. leader of the opposition, who says 'hear, hear,' could have any faith in the contention he was putting forward. I think he is deceiving himself about that. Does the hon. leader of the opposition believe, does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) who sits beside him, believe, or, does the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) believe that the government of this country were unaware of what every editor in this Dominion was perfectly aware of, of what every public man was perfectly aware of, and of what almost every school-boy of ten in the country was aware of? The government was fully aware of the existence of these treaties, and of the contention that had been made as to their effect in denuding this parliament of the plenary authority which it had been supposed to possess, subject only to the veto of the Crown, to legislate upon the subject of the tariff. They did hope, and not without reason, that they might be able to drive a coach and six through the treaties by so framing their tariff resolution that while practically confining the operation to the mother country they might in point of law make it not strictly an offer of preferential terms to the mother country, but an offer to reduce the tariff in favour of any country whose tariff should be as favourable to this country as the terms of the re-

reciprocal tariff embodied in the resolution. They were well aware of the contention which might be made that even in such a form the strict reading of the letter of these unfortunate treaties might be held to prevent the extension of the preference to the motherland. But they did not, because of this knowledge, fold their arms or abandon the struggle in despair as they had been counselled to do by the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. Why, Sir, what would have happened had they adopted the views of those hon. gentlemen and abandoned their reciprocal tariff resolution, as those hon. gentlemen argued they ought to do? Would not those treaties still have continued to this hour to bind the hands of parliament, to denude us of legislative authority over our own tariff, to hamper and restrict this House in one of the very primary and fundamental functions of a House of Commons, that of determining where and when and how the incidence of taxation shall fall upon the people within the scope of its authority? The government wisely declined to be advised by those hon. gentlemen. They said, on the contrary, to the hon. leader of the opposition, 'Grant all that you urge as to these unlucky treaties which seem to give you such an infinite amount of happiness, while they are a bewilderment and an eyesore to every patriotic and self-respecting Canadian, we propose to ignore them; we did not make them, and we propose to argue that we are not bound by them. The spirit of these treaties is to oppose a preference. We propose to comply with the spirit of the treaties. We will give no preference. The very nations that plead the treaties can come in under our tariff if they choose. We well know that they will not do so, and that our tariff concession will, therefore, enure to the benefit of the motherland alone, as we intend that it shall do, but that is her merit and her fortune. Germany and Belgium cannot complain if they do not wish to avail themselves of the concession. The letter of the treaties may possibly be read so as to oppose even this method of dealing with the matter. What if it does? Must we sit still for ever and remain bound hand and foot by treaties in the making of which we were not consulted, which nobody seems to be able to account for, and which may have been the sublime achievement of some understrapper or routinist in the foreign or colonial office in the days of ignorance that God winked at? Such a policy may be good enough for the leader of the opposition—it is not good enough for us. We will first argue the question with the home government, and if our legal argument fails, as fail it may, we shall take the bull by the horns and call for the denunciation of the treaties that stand in the way of our carrying out the policy on which we have resolved.'

Mr. RUSSELL.

The question was argued, argued with consummate ingenuity, as every hon. member must recognize who heard the argument of the hon. Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) in this House. I could not myself agree in the conclusions for which that hon. gentleman was contending as a matter of legal interpretation, but I do not withhold my admiration for the ingenuity with which his positions were taken and the arguments by which they were supported, and I have said I think more than once in this House that it was the duty of the hon. gentleman to urge as he did everything that could be said in favour of those positions. I repeat what I have said already in this House more than once, that no jot or tittle of the constitutional authority of this parliament, and more particularly no jot or tittle of the authority of this House of Commons, over the taxation of the people of this country should be surrendered without a struggle up to the very last ditch, and I think, Sir, that it was a most ungracious and wholly unnecessary task which my hon. friend and colleague (Mr. Borden, Halifax) imposed upon himself when he undertook to argue the cause of our opponents and plead for the further continuance of the enthrallment of the parliament of Canada.

The legal argument based on the literal reading of the treaties I believe prevailed, although I have noticed a statement of the *London Times*, of a couple of years ago, that the question was never pressed to a conclusion. In a country as scrupulous as England is in the observance of its treaties it was to be expected that in a case of ambiguity, the construction most favourable to its opponents would be the one to be adopted. But what followed? Those treaties which had stood for forty or fifty years, which had been the subject of public complaint in England, for many years, which had been urged by Lord Ripon, among other reasons, why the proposals of the Ottawa conference could not possibly be carried out, which has been formally assailed by the friends of Imperial federation as far back as 1891, which hon. gentlemen opposite have been vainly endeavouring, for many years, to get rid of, but which had been allowed to stand in the way until they were taken in hand by the present government, and would still have continued to stand in the way down to this hour, had the methods of a former administration been pursued—those unlucky and embarrassing treaties were brought to an end in August, 1896 by the action of the British government, on the resolution of the conference of Premiers, based upon the action of the Liberal government of Canada. If there is a man in Canada, or anywhere else, who attributes the denunciation of these treaties to anything else but the action of the government of Canada, he is either to be pitied for his ignorance and simplicity, or else condemned

for the violence and blindness of his partisanship, which prevents him from seeing the facts as they are seen and understood by every public man in Great Britain. It was the bold, the patriotic and loyal action of this Chamber, which created the public feeling in England, that made the denunciation of the treaties possible, and, but for that action of this House of Commons in 1897, those treaties would have continued down to this very hour to restrict the powers of the Canadian parliament. I know the effort that has been made by the hon. leader of the opposition to minimize the importance of the action of Canada, as a factor in the matter. I know well, the unworthy quibble by which the hon. gentleman has sought to attribute the denunciation of the treaties to the action of the conference of Premiers, and not to the action of the Canadian government, if it is not unparliamentary to use the expression, and if it is I withdraw it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Oh, no ; it does not matter.

Mr. RUSSELL. Well, let us admit that the conference of the Premiers was the occasion ; the action of the Canadian government was, nevertheless, the efficient cause of the whole movement. I do not ask that my word should be taken for this. It is the calm verdict of impartial history that I am presenting to the House. Several months after the event, in the course of a careful historical review of the events of the Jubilee year, the *London Times* in giving the history of the colonies for 1897, used the following words :

The Dominion parliament met on March 28, and on St. George's Day, April 23, a tariff Bill was introduced, of which the effect was speedily felt throughout the empire. The principal feature of the Bill was that it adopted one tariff as the general tariff of the Dominion and another preferential tariff for those countries which showed a desire to trade with Canada upon terms of reciprocal commercial advantage. Whatever the duties imposed by the general tariff, the duties of the preferential tariff should be reduced in proportion to them for one year by 12½ per cent and after one year, by 25 per cent. As Great Britain and the British colony of New South Wales were at the time of the introduction of the tariff the only communities trading on the required terms with Canada, the tariff Bill became in effect a Bill for the preferential treatment of British trade. The Bill, which was received with enthusiasm in this country, gave rise to a keen discussion as to the power of the colonial government under the existing treaties of Britain with Germany and Belgium to extend to the mother country any commercial advantage which was not given to those countries, and to all others having a claim to the most favoured-nation treatment. Legal authorities in this country were understood to hold the view that the treaties did, as a matter of fact, preclude all British colonies from giving to Great Britain preferential advan-

tage over most-favoured foreign nations, and to that extent constituted an interference with the fiscal freedom of the empire. The theory of the matter was not put to the test of authoritative decision. In recognition of the strong public feeling which existed on the subject, the treaties were denounced in July, and an irksome barrier to the possible commercial union of the empire was thus, on the initiative of Canada, removed.

Sir, I think that these calm and wise words, not of debate and controversy, but, of sober and reflective history, will serve to set at rest two important points upon which both the leader of the opposition, and the Apostle of militant Imperialism, in this House (Mr. McNeill), have spent many hours in the endeavour to mystify and mislead the House and country. They make it clear that the tariff resolution of St. George's Day, 1897, although, in terms reciprocal and open to all the world, was meant in good faith for a preference to the mother country, and would have, in fact, operated as such a preference, but for those unfortunate treaties which were none of our making, and secondly, that the denunciation of those treaties was due to the initiative of the Canadian government and parliament.

When, therefore, the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), says that the government merely stumbled into the British preference, he only shows how hopelessly even a well-meaning, high-minded, and truly patriotic man, can be so blinded by the scales of partisanship, as not to actually see the merits of the case. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill), used the following words in this House :

The government became involved, from day to day, in the meshes of the favoured-nation clauses, and lay absolutely helpless until Mr. Chamberlain came to their relief, and pointed out how they could honourably escape by changing their reciprocal tariff into an offer of a preference to the mother country alone.

Surely the hon. gentleman well knew when he was uttering those words, that under the interpretation of German and Belgian treaties, for which he and his friends so strenuously and unpatriotically contended, there could be no preference to the mother country alone. After those treaties ceased to stand in the way, it did not need any advice from Mr. Chamberlain, or from anybody else, to indicate the path. The way was plain. All that the government had to do was what they had desired to do from the first, but had been prevented from doing effectually, by the presence of those unfortunate treaties. When the ground was cleared by the denunciation of the treaties, the government's policy was embodied in the tariff resolution of 1898, under which the preference was absolutely restricted to the mother country and her West Indian colonies.

I propose, now, to inquire into the practical question, what has been the operation

of this provision of the tariff? Has it fulfilled the expectations with which it was adopted? Has it led, by its direct effect, to an increase in the importations of this country from Great Britain? And has it still further, by its indirect, but effective operation, by the sentiments it has aroused in the old land, by the interest in Canada, which it has evoked among the people of England, by the advancement of Canada, if I may descend to so commonplace, but eminently practical and important a view of the matter, has it, I say, had the effect of stimulating the importations from this country and promoting the exchange of commodities between England and Canada? It will be shown in this debate that in every one of these respects the policy of the government has succeeded beyond the expectations of its most sanguine advocates—but, before passing to this, I must pause for a moment, to refer to some of the criticisms that have been made by hon. members on the other side of the House.

I suppose that if there is one hon. member in this House, who should be competent by virtue of his special training to advance any criticisms to which this preferential policy was justly subject, it would be the hon. member for West York (Mr. Clarke Wallace), who formerly held the position of Controller of Customs, under the late administration. He has made substantially two criticisms of this preferential tariff; first, that taken as a whole the tariff legislation of the present government, greatly favours the trade of the United States with this country; and, secondly, that the effect of the preferential tariff was nullified to a large degree in advance, by the fact, that before making the reduction of 25 per cent from the general tariff in favour of importations from Great Britain, we first increased the rates of duty on many of the articles to which it would apply, so that the first reduction of twelve and a half per cent, left the duty higher than it was before we touched it at all, and the second reduction left it little, if any lower than it was at the outset. Now, I think the hon. member (Mr. Wallace), will certainly not complain that I have understated the effect of his contentions. Possibly, I may have even overstated them. I have endeavoured to present them fairly, and I shall examine them as fairly and candidly as I have stated them.

First then as to the argument that we have by our general tariff legislation given 'an enormous preference' to the United States. I am using the very words which were used by the hon. member for West York in presenting this contention. Well, Sir, to begin with, I think this contention must have given a fearful shock to the nerves of the hon. leader of the opposition and the hon. the ex-Minister of Finance. What have they been telling the people of

Canada on every hustings? Have they not been calling upon the electors of Canada to hurl the Liberal government from place and the Liberal party from power because they have not reduced the tariff as they promised to do, because they have practically left it where it stood when they assumed the reins of power? Has not the hon. leader of the opposition with a voice of thunder proclaimed to the country that the burdens of the people have been left just as they stood when his government left office, and has not the ex-Minister of Finance relaxed his severity to the extent of a smile and a joke as he called upon the old-time Liberal to behold the manner in which his leaders had trifled with their promise that they would reduce the tariff, and in so doing lighten the taxation of the people of Canada? How can these hon. gentlemen any longer contend that the duties have not been materially reduced, when the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) demonstrates to his own satisfaction—and I suppose to theirs as well, for they heartily applauded his argument, and have never yet dissented from his conclusion—that the reductions made by the government amount to 'an enormous preference' to the United States? How can it be possible that an enormous preference to the United States or any other nation can be brought about by a tariff reform that leaves the tariff substantially as high as it was before? I leave those hon. members to reconcile their conflicting contentions as best they may.

I agree for my own part with so much of the statement of the hon. member for West York as involves the admission that the tariff has been reduced, not to a degree that can properly be called enormous but to a degree that has very materially lightened the burdens upon the consumers of articles imported from the United States. But how, I would ask, in the name of common-sense does that reduction give any preference to the United States as against Great Britain? The hon. gentleman's argument proceeds upon the assumption that we do not and did not import from Great Britain any appreciable quantity of the commodities to which the reductions apply which constitute the enormous preference of which he complains. Well, Sir, if Britain never did and does not now compete with the United States in supplying us with those articles, how, I ask again, can she be prejudiced in any way by the fact that we have reduced the duties on those articles coming into this country? If we had imported any of them from Great Britain, and in so far as we did and still do import them from Great Britain, whatever reductions in the tariff we made for the United States we made the same reduction for Great Britain as well; and we did still more, for we said that the British exporter should not only have the same reduction that was accorded to the United States.

but should have still further the benefit of the preferential reduction of 25 per cent. I repeat, then, if Great Britain never was a competitor with the United States in these commodities, 'cedit quaestio.' If she was or could by any possibility be a competitor, then she will compete in the future, and under the operation of the preferential tariff at an enormous advantage over the United States as compared with the position in which she stood under the legislation of the Conservative government.

As to the second contention to which I have referred, I venture to suggest that it is founded upon a palpable fallacy. The hon. gentleman enumerated a variety of articles, linen goods principally, such as handkerchiefs, towels, napkins, and he even came down to braids, cords, fringes and tassels, upon which the general tariff has been increased from 25 or 30 to 30 or 35 per cent. These are articles, he says, which we import chiefly, if not exclusively, from Great Britain, and the tariff upon them was raised before the preferential rate was applied.

Now, what does this contention amount to? If the United States could not compete with England in regard to these articles under a general tariff averaging 25 or 30 per cent, would they be any better able to compete even if the tariff had simply been raised to an average of 30 or 35 per cent? The answer is obvious. The general increase in the tariff could give no advantage to the United States. It must have left them just where they were before, at the very worst, although I do not even admit that it would have that effect. But certainly the increase of the general tariff, coupled with the preferential reduction in favour of Great Britain, must operate to the yet greater advantage of the old country on those lines on which, even without that advantage, she was able to drive the United States from the Canadian market. In other words, if as the hon. member is obliged to concede—for it is the very basis of his own argument—the United States have not been able to compete with England in these lines of goods, under the Conservative tariff which obliged them to compete on even terms with Great Britain, they must surely be still more heavily handicapped in their competition with the mother country under a tariff which obliges them to overcome the obstacle of a customs impost, 33½ per cent higher than that levied on the goods of the British competitor.

Coming now to the actual operation of the preferential tariff, the statistics of the question make the matter so clear that a very few moments will suffice to tell the story. We will take the period of ten years, beginning with 1890, and contrast the last two years during which the preferential tariff has been in force with the first eight years during which there was no prefer-

ence. These eight years, I ought to say, include the fiscal year in which the preferential tariff was adopted. There were only two months of that year during which the tariff was in operation, and we may therefore without substantial error consider the whole year as coming within the first division of the period that I have selected. Now, during those eight years when there was no preferential tariff, the United States in the matter of dutiable goods held their own in our markets. In respect of our total imports from the United States, they more than held their own, having increased their exportations to us from fifty-two millions in 1890 to sixty-one millions in 1897. How was it with our importations from Great Britain? Our total importations from Great Britain had fallen off from over forty-three million dollars in 1890, to less than thirty million dollars in 1897. What happened then? The preferential tariff came into force, and our importation of dutiable goods from Great Britain, which was less than twenty and a quarter millions of dollars in 1897, became twenty-two and a half millions in 1898, while the first instalment of the preferential tariff was in force, and twenty-seven and a half million dollars for 1899 under the full operation of the preferential tariff as it stands to-day. The increase of 1898 over 1897 was thus 11½ per cent, and of 1898 over the next previous year just double that ratio, or 22 per cent. During the past year, the latest for which the full returns are available, the increase in the importation of dutiable goods from the United States was only 17 per cent, against 22 per cent increase in the importation of dutiable goods from Great Britain. I do not know what better evidence than this could be desired of the tendency and operation of the preferential tariff, or what better answer than this could be given to the contention of the hon. member for West York that the effect of the government's policy has been to give 'an enormous preference' to the United States, and his suggestion—for it was rather this than a square and explicit statement—that it has given a check to the importation of goods from the old country? Not only has it operated relatively against importations from the United States, which had been holding their own for the series of years I have taken, not only has it arrested the decline of importations from Great Britain, but it has turned that declension into an increase, and has mightily promoted the trade between the colony and the mother country.

I regret that I have not been able in fewer words to present this theme for the consideration of the House. I consider it one of the most important that has been or could be brought to the attention of the House. The adoption of the preferential tariff apart altogether from its incalculable effects upon the material interests of the

Dominion, has been attended with momentous consequences in the evolution of British policy. It is an event not in the history of Canada alone, but in the history of Greater Britain, an act, and by no means the least important in the mighty drama which begins when a small band of sea rovers from the shores of the North Sea strike their keels upon the little gravel-spit of Ebbsfleet in the beginning of our island story to lay the foundations of an empire whose continued growth and permanent security furnish as yet the world's best hope of enduring peace and expanding civilization. I therefore ask the House to come to a resolution :

That this House regards the principles of British preference in the Canadian customs tariff as one which in its application has already resulted, and will, in an increasing measure, continue to result in material benefit to the mother country and to Canada, and which has already aided in welding, and must still more firmly weld together the ties which now bind them, and desires to express its emphatic approval of such British preference having been granted by the parliament of Canada.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). I am quite sure, Mr. Speaker, that the House has listened with deep interest to the very interesting essay which has been read to us to-night by the hon. the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell). I regret to say that the fallacies contained in the statements made by the hon. gentleman are hardly to be excused in one who did not choose to adopt the usual mode of addressing this House, but the more professorial one of reading his lecture, as he is accustomed to do in the law school at Halifax. I may say that I listened with a good deal of surprise to the statements made by the hon. gentleman. There was a celebrated statesman in the United States of America, who, on account of his not being of very great stature and being, like the hon. the junior member for Halifax, a very great logician, became known as the little giant; and I must say that the little giant in the United States of America never exhibited greater audacity than did the junior member for Halifax when he undertook to tell this House and country that this government had redeemed its pledges. A more astounding statement could not have fallen from the lips of any hon. gentleman in this House. It would be bad enough in the backwoods on a platform for the hon. gentleman to venture on a statement of that kind, but in the face of this House, in the face of hon. gentlemen on both sides, to have made such an allegation, displayed more temerity and audacity than wisdom.

The hon. gentleman denied in toto that the Liberal party went to the country pledged to free trade. That was the first statement he ventured to make. Does the hon. gentleman ignore the platform of 1893? Does he forget that the Liberal party of this Dominion held a convention in the city of

Mr. RUSSELL.

Ottawa, representing every province and every section of the country, and there solemnly formulated a policy and platform? They had been floating about for years on a variety of extraordinary and antagonistic platforms; they declared themselves one day out and out free traders, and then went to a general election and asked the people to adopt the highest protective tariff in the world, that of the United States. The leaders of the Liberal party all over the country urged upon the people to adopt the tariff of the United States and apply it to the mother country, thus proposing to tax and discriminate against the mother country in favour of the United States. After that election was over, the right hon. gentleman who now leads the government, declared that he was ready to consecrate the rest of his life to secure the adoption of that policy as the only salvation for Canada. But the patriotic and loyal people of this country, Conservatives and Liberals, would have none of it; the greatest man the Liberal party ever had in its ranks, the Hon. Edward Blake, denounced it as one which would lead not only to commercial subjugation to the United States, but to the destruction of British institutions in this country, and under these circumstances the hon. gentleman knows that the Liberal party found it necessary to reconsider their position and abandon that disloyal policy. What, then, did they do? They assembled in Ottawa and devised a new programme. They declared they had now come to the conclusion to formulate a policy upon which the Liberal party would take a stand before the people. That was as late as 1893. Has the hon. gentleman forgotten that platform? Does he mean to tell me that he or any other man on that side, with that policy on the records of the country would dare to say to the people of this country that the government have been true to the principles they then propounded and the policy they then laid down? The hon. gentleman at that time was not the leader of the Liberal party in the maritime provinces. There was a gentleman who was recognized at the time as occupying that position. That gentleman took a prominent part in the convention, and when it closed he went down to the maritime provinces to give the ultimate result of all the various policies they had been engaged in concocting and devising as a means of securing power in this country, and to declare the policy that they had actually decided to stand or fall by. I refer to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies). Whatever is the position to-day, nobody will doubt or question my statement that he was then the recognized leader of the party in the maritime provinces. After the convention had risen he went down to the maritime provinces, and, at a meeting in Annapolis, N.S., he announced the Liberal policy. He said :

Well, gentlemen, I need say no more. Whatever doubts or difficulties there might have been about our trade policy in times past—

That was his way of burying that unrestricted free trade which so nearly buried him.

Whatever doubts or difficulties there may have been about our trade policy in times past, there is none now. Our platform is clear and definite. To-day the people stand face to face with such an issue, and the next contest is to be won between free trade and protection.

Does the hon. gentleman deny that to be an exposition, not only by one man but by the whole party assembled, of the policy that they were prepared to stand or fall by? I ask the hon. gentleman if that was not the policy they went to the country with in 1896? When and where was that revoked? When and where were the people of this country told that the platform adopted in 1893 had ceased to be the platform of the party? I dare say the hon. gentleman has heard of the traveller in the Rocky Mountains, who wished to see the scenery through which the train was passing, got out upon the platform. The conductor came and said: 'You cannot stand here; you must go into the car.' Said the traveller: 'I want to see the scenery.' 'I cannot help it,' said the conductor. 'You cannot stand here.' 'Is not this platform made to stand on?' 'No,' was the reply, 'this platform is not made to stand on, it is made to get in on.' That appears to be the sort of platform hon. gentlemen have had. They have never had a platform to stand on, but they had a platform to get in on, and they have changed it day by day as the necessities of the party seemed to require.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. At any rate, it was a little fresher than that story.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) says that that is a stale story. I have no doubt that it is one to which he listens with great pain, because he knows the application is so perfect that it would bear to be told a thousand times, as long as the Liberal party can find a man with the audacity to tell this House and this country that they have fulfilled the pledges they made to the people. Well, Sir, the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) went further and said:

A 17½ or 20 per cent tariff was high enough to give protection to the manufacturer. If it were not, the manufacturer should go down.

Will the hon. gentleman tell me that, with that as the platform agreed upon by the whole Liberal party in 1893, any casual word uttered in the city of Montreal a short time before the election of 1896 would in any way modify it? But why would not the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell), when he was giving the speech of so distinguished

a man as the Prime Minister of Canada, repeat what he did say? Why did he garble the statement of policy?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Is there any violation of order in that, Mr. Speaker? I do not say that he deliberately garbled; it may have been for want of time. I say that any man—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Order.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Any man who reads a part of what is said and not the whole of that which bears directly on the question, garbles what he reads. It may not be intentional—

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). I submit for your ruling, Mr. Speaker, the question whether the word 'garble,' as applied to an hon. member is parliamentary. I am sure the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) will withdraw it; he knows it is not parliamentary.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) would be well advised to withdraw that expression.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I should be sorry, Mr. Speaker, to lose time in discussing that question; and if you hold that it was not garbled, I shall say you will hold what no member on either side of the House will hold after I read the statement.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. We are told—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order. Withdraw.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I have said, Mr. Speaker, that I quite bow to your decision, and I will leave the House to judge whether I made an inaccurate statement, though it may have been unparliamentary. Now, what did the hon. Prime Minister say on the 22nd January, 1896, shortly before the last election:

We are told that we must not destroy the manufactures of Montreal. I say that we are not going to destroy the industries of Montreal. I contend, on the contrary, that the application of the ideas that we defend will inaugurate an era of prosperity such as Montreal has not known since the inauguration of the national policy. The present system raises a maximum of taxation, not only on the consumer, but also on the producer. They have a tax on iron, which is a raw material of every industry. The tax on coal, which is also a raw material of every industry, is 60 cents a ton. Although I have not the latest quotations of coal, I am sure that this tax is equivalent to 40 per cent. Now, I am asked, What are you going to do? I have just told you what we are going to do. We are going to have a tariff for revenue, and we are going to abolish completely the duties on raw material.

There was as solemn a pledge as a man could give. No person is more delighted than I am that the right hon. gentleman did not carry out his policy. The country had a great escape when he abandoned the policy he had announced. But I say that no man ever stated in stronger, clearer, more emphatic terms what his policy was going to be. I ask him, are the taxes on iron removed? Are the taxes on coal removed? The hon. gentleman knows that the statement made shortly before the election, made in confirmation and in accordance with the statements in the platform adopted in 1893, were violated, were abandoned. And yet the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) dared tell this House that they had redeemed this policy, that they have carried out the policy with which they went to the people of this country.

I am not going into a very lengthy disquisition on that subject, because the story is a very old one. It has been discussed a very great deal in this House, discussed by gentlemen infinitely better able to discuss it than the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) who has just taken his seat—and I think the hon. gentleman himself will admit it. My colleague the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), in the presence of this House, last session, examined all these reductions of every kind, examined them critically and in a masterly manner that challenged contradiction, and proved that the total reduction of the tariff of this country was 71-100 of one per cent. What does the hon. gentleman think of that? I illustrated this when I was out west, and found myself surrounded by a great many sporting men, although, I do not know much of that kind of thing myself. I said: What would you think, suppose Sir Wilfrid Laurier and I were to have a horse race, that you were assembled on the grand stand to witness the race, that it was to be a race between the national policy horse and the free trade horse, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, decked out in his jockey colours, all ready for the race, and your humble servant, although not quite so light a weight, was prepared to mount the national policy steed. I went to the stable, where I had expected to find my horse groomed, led out and ready for me to mount, but, instead, I found that the stall was empty. I came out, a little excited, although I am not usually very easily excited, as you know, Mr. Speaker, to find out what had become of the horse, and, to my astonishment, I found my friend, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, mounted upon my horse, ready for the race. I said: My dear Sir Wilfrid, what does all this mean? There is a terrible mistake here. You have my horse. That is not the old broken-kneed, spavined, ringboned, broken-winded free trade horse, that threw you and your party in 1887. It is not your horse at all; you have my horse. Not at all, he said, it is my horse. Your horse? How

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dare you say it is your horse? Well said he, I admit frankly, that this horse's head and neck, chest, legs and body are very much like your horse, but if you will put a tape over this horse, from the tip of his nose to the end of his tail, you will find that he is just 71-100 of an inch shorter than your horse. I found that skin on the last joint of the tail of the national policy horse had been simply scraped off, and that we gave him the policy under which, thank God, this country is prospering, and the premier would have been unhorsed long before to-day, had they dared to carry out the promises and pledges which they made to this country, and which they trampled beneath their feet; that would not only have ruined this country, but which would have meant disaster to themselves. How dare any hon. gentleman in this House venture to stand up and claim that this was the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite? The hon. gentleman says: We have denounced them for adopting this protectionist policy. It is not true. We thank Providence that they had not the courage of their own opinions, that they did not attempt to carry out their free trade policy, which would, undoubtedly, have ruined this country. But, while they have not done that, we say that we are in a position to charge them, as a party, with a failure to redeem their promises and pledges, upon which they went before the people. For eighteen long years, they denounced the national policy, and declared that they would remove every vestige of protection, just as the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), declared, that every vestige of protection would be removed by resorting to a 14, or at the highest, a 20 per cent tariff. The charge I make against these hon. gentlemen is of having obtained the confidence of the people, by false pretenses, of having for eighteen long years declared that when they got power, they would trample the hydra-headed monster of protection beneath their feet, that they would cut off the head and tail of the monster, that they would trample its body under foot, and that every vestige of protection would be removed from the tariff. I invite the hon. gentleman to reconsider these facts, and I think he will not be inclined to take such a course as he has taken to-day. Does he want the evidence that the protectionist tariff is in full force, that the changes that have been made are utterly insignificant and infinitesimal, that the great, leading, fundamental features of the national policy which have made Canada what it is to-day, have been continued in violation of their own pledges? Instead of having every element of protection removed from the tariff, as a proof to the contrary, as a proof that the tariff is completely protective, we have a board of gentlemen engaged in the manufacturing industries in the great city of Toronty, the great seat of national industries—

An hon. MEMBER. No.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. One of the great seats of national industries in this country—we have that board dissolved. Its members came together the other day, and said: We are formed as a body for the purpose of educating public opinion on the question of the value of a protective policy in order to maintain the great manufacturing industries of Canada, but the time has come, when, we may disband, because both of the parties of Canada are alike agreed in the adoption of a protective policy, and it is unnecessary that we should continue an institution of this character. I do not want to detain the House, but I have in my hand a statement by the president of that association, which has been in existence for twenty-five years. The president, stating what their object is, says:

It is now felt that it is not a political issue; both parties admitting that protection is here to stay.

The hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Bertram), who, I regret deeply to hear, is in a precarious state of health, told us here in this House, and on the platform, in Toronto, that he had been called in, and was practically the father of the present tariff. Every person knows that he is not only a great manufacturer, but, one of the ablest men in Canada in reference to these questions. What did we hear from an hon. minister of the Crown, a few days ago? I hold in my hand an extract from a speech delivered by one of the members of the government. I refer to the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), and what does he tell the people of Manitoba? Does he tell them that they have carried out their pledges and promises? No, Sir, but he apologizes, and how does he explain it? He was at Brandon on the 4th of March, and I am reading what he said from the report of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, his own paper:

A delegation had come to Ottawa representing millions of dollars and thousands of people and more power to affect constituencies than was to be found in the whole of Manitoba. They said to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, if in twelve months your government do not do us justice and protect us by putting a duty on lumber we will support Sir Charles Tupper. He had been called in and was obliged to state to his leader that when such legislation was passed he might as well get his resignation ready.

I may tell you that this is the sole principle the hon. gentleman recognizes. What did the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), tell us two years ago in this House? He told us that when the Conservative party were fighting the battles of protection in 1877, in this House, when it became palpable that it was the only means that could rescue the country from sinking, as it was sinking, into a most deplorable condition, when the government had agreed and determined to

adopt our views, and make a large increase in the tariff, he said that a brigade of maritime members, headed by Mr. Alfred Jones, put in their appearance before the government and told them that if they did not abandon that policy of increasing duties and of protection, they would walk across the floor of the House, and turn them out. They did then just what they are doing now. When they came into power, and when they found out that the policy they had advocated for years, would destroy them, if they carried it into effect, they without hesitation, abandoned it.

Mr. WOOD. And the leader of the opposition abandoned his position the very same day.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. My hon. friend (Mr. Wood) may know what that interruption means, but I do not, and I do not think there is any other man in this House who does. I would be rather pleased if he could explain what he means.

Mr. WOOD. I will explain, if you have no objection. It is a fact, Mr. Speaker, that the Liberal party expected to get the 20 per cent tariff at that time. It was well understood—

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Hear, hear.

Mr. WOOD. It was well understood in this House that Sir Charles Tupper, then the financial critic of the opposition, came down with a speech prepared to pitch into the government for increasing the taxation of the people, and because Sir Richard Cartwright did not touch the tariff, Sir Charles Tupper asked at twenty minutes past five o'clock to call it six o'clock, because he was so taken back that he was not prepared to criticise the government. At eight o'clock, when he came back to the House and made his speech, he pitched into the government for not taking into consideration the manufacturing interests of the country. That is why I made that statement.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I beg to say, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wood) never in his life made a statement so utterly at variance with the facts as the statement that he has made now. What happened was this, and I do not hesitate to tell the House. The statement was made years ago, and I suppose the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wood) has forgotten it, or he would not speak as he has done just now. I ascertained what the government were going to do. I ascertained they were going to make a large increase in the tariff, as we had been demanding of them in the interests of the country, and I went down to Sir John Macdonald and I said to him: Well, Sir John, from a party point of view I have bad news for you. He asked me what it was, and I told him: Sir Richard Cartwright has a tariff prepared—just as he admitted two years ago he had—giving a very consider-

able and substantial increase of protection to the industries of Canada. I continued: From a party point of view, it is very injurious to us because I am satisfied that the country would condemn the free trade policy of the Mackenzie government—an election was about to take place very soon. I said to Sir John: There is only one course that, in the interests of the country and in the interests of what is fair and just, we can pursue, and the moment that Cartwright sits down I intend to get up and highly commend him for having come to the rescue of the country and adopted the policy we had demanded. Sir John Macdonald replied: You are perfectly right; there is only one course to take, and that is to give a hearty and instantaneous support to him. But, Sir Richard Cartwright did not know that, and, threatened with the loss of power, and threatened with being turned out of office by those who disapproved of his tariff, he tore up his tariff and let the country go to—I will not say where.

Mr. MACLEAN. To the father of all evil.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No, I do not like to use that term. Sir, the Liberal government are in the same position now that they were then. When they came into power and found that their policy was opposed to the public sentiment of this country, they abandoned it, but they abandoned it at a great sacrifice. They did it at the sacrifice of everything that is essential to the character, and standing, and position of public men. In doing so they admitted that for twenty years they had been denouncing our policy as ruinous to the country, but that when it came to a question of adopting that policy or going out of office (which they secured by a fluke) they did not hesitate to do what they did in 1877—they did not hesitate to abandon their policy in order to hang on to office. Nobody knows that better than the hon. member (Mr. Russell) who has just resumed his seat. He has had a good deal to say about the preferential resolution of 1897, and he has read a good deal of history connected with this subject, but unfortunately he has read it upside down. The facts are too recent for people to forget. If, as in a recent case, he could go back for thirty-four years and bring something up that related to the long forgotten past, he might make some impression, but the facts in this case are but of yesterday and his statements will not go. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) knows that the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster) never made a more correct statement than when he asserted that this government blundered into the preferential trade policy. And how did they blunder into it? Was there any preferential trade for England in the policy of this government, brought down in 1897? Let me read the resolution and let us see where a preference for England comes in:

That when the customs tariff of any country admits the products of Canada on terms which,

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on the whole, are as favourable to Canada as the terms of the reciprocal tariff herein referred to are to the countries to which they apply, articles, whether the growth, produce or manufacture of said countries, when imported direct therefrom, may then be imported direct into Canada or taken out of warehouse for consumption at the reduced rates of duty provided in the reciprocal tariff set forth in schedule D.

That was their policy in 1897, but is that their policy now? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) knows that the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) said in 1897, that this was a policy that was open to the United States as to any other country; that it was open to all the world, and that all any country in the world had to do was to meet the terms in order to gain all the advantages that policy conferred. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) want proof that the Liberal preferential policy of 1897 was as unlike the Liberal policy of 1898 as day is unlike night? Let me give him the proofs. In 1897 the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) went to England and the Cobden Club gave him their gold medal. On what terms did they give him that medal? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) cannot be ignorant of the fact that they said to Sir Wilfrid Laurier: We are here to do you this honour because you have refused to give any preference to any particular country, and we would not be here to do this only that we find the policy that you have adopted is an open policy alike available to every country in the world. That is why they gave him the Cobden medal. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) talked about the Belgian and German treaties. He knows well that I have given to this House authority higher, and better, and stronger, than any he can give as to how these treaties were denounced. I have given the evidence of the statement made in the Imperial House of Commons by the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain as to how that was done. I think that is as good an authority as is the hon. the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), and I have it corroborated by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), who, in a speech at Sheffield, England, sustained the statement which I have made here and which Mr. Chamberlain made on the floor of the English House of Commons. The denunciation of these treaties was not a new question. It had been agitated for years. True, it was not agitated for the purpose it is used for now. It was agitated with a broader purpose and on the recognized ground advanced by the United Empire Trade League, and by all those gentlemen in England, who, having studied the great question of how best to promote the unity of this great empire, had come to the conclusion that there was no means by which it could be done better than by the adoption of an inter-Imperial preferential trade that would be alike beneficial to England and to all the outlying portions of the empire. It was in connection with that policy that it was

urged upon the British government that those treaties should be abrogated, because they stood in the way of the adoption of such a policy. The hon. gentleman knows right well that when the Minister of Finance first brought down his resolution, I told him that he could not get the Governor General to sign the Bill as he had introduced it; the Governor General's instruction would prevent him assenting to the Bill unless it contained a provision for the recognition of the most favoured-nation treaties. A day came when the Minister of Finance showed that he was willing to be taught something.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I am afraid my hon. friend differs from me in that respect.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Not at all. I am delighted to learn even from the Minister of Finance, and when he gives me an idea that is worth anything, I shall take it with the greatest pleasure in the world. But I am merely stating facts which this learned professor of the law did not know, or cannot deny if he did know them. I told the Minister of Finance that the Governor General could not sign the Bill unless he put a clause in it providing for the obligation of those treaties; but when the Bill was passed, there was not a line of that kind in it. The Premier said that no country in the world would have any advantage from the preferential tariff except England; but we reminded him that he was entirely ignorant of the history of the whole question; and what happened? Why, Sir, the Minister of Customs spent the whole summer in sending out orders in council, letting in one country after another, whose tariff was lower than that of Canada, and who, therefore, claimed that they were entitled to come in; and England was almost the only country in the world which was practically excluded from the benefits of the preference. Was that blundering or not? The hon. gentleman knows that there never was a series of more palpable blunders. He knows that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) declared with all the authority of his great legal acumen that there was no doubt at all that those treaties did not stand in the way, and I believe he had his expenses paid to England for the purpose of enlightening the Crown officers of the British government on that subject; but he found, just as the Minister of Finance found, that he could not get his Bill through at all unless he changed it as we advised him to change it. He found that our knowledge of constitutional law was sound, and that without the abrogation of those treaties, England was practically almost the only country in the world that could not take advantage of that preferential trade. How can this hon. gentleman, if he has any regard for logic or for historical facts, stand

up in this House and say that my hon. friend from York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) was not right when he said that into the preferential tariff they had blundered? Mr. Chamberlain told the Premiers of the colonies: 'Gentlemen, if you are all agreed on this subject, I will take into my favourable consideration the serious question of abrogating these treaties.' But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) has spent a good deal of his time this evening in pouring all the contempt and ridicule he could command on the head of the Prime Minister of this country. What does he think of that? Was that his intention, or was it sheer stupidity, or did he fail to turn over some leaf that would have given us some explanation on that point? He says this story of preferential trade was a delusive myth—a thing that had never had anything in it; and he spent an hour or half an hour of the time of this House in treating with contempt anybody who would entertain such a proposition. The hon. gentleman knows that Mr. Chamberlain, at the congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the empire in London, delivered a great and remarkable speech, and what was the text of that speech? It was the report carried to London by Mr. Osler, a member of this House, from the board of trade of Toronto, pointing out the grounds on which Canada would press the question of inter-Imperial trade. Mr. Chamberlain said that in that resolution he found the basis of dealing with this question in a way that would solve the difficulty, and enable this great boon for the unity of the empire to be obtained. Now, what about the Duke of Devonshire?

Mr. WOOD. Would the hon. gentleman allow me—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I must ask the hon. gentleman, who, I am sorry to say, gets a little excited on occasions such as this, to allow me to go on.

Mr. WOOD. I am not excited. I ask the hon. gentleman—

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. member who has the floor declines to allow the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Wood) to interrupt him.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I took my seat before when the hon. gentleman rose, and allowed him to expose himself sufficiently for one night. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), not satisfied with the laborious efforts over the midnight oil, which, I suppose, have occupied his attention for six months, read us an old letter which was read on the floor of this House a year ago by Mr. Mulock. What does that letter say? Does it contradict the statement I made? Not at all. No person pretends for a single moment that the Duke of Devonshire, on the occasion on which he met the colonial

Premiers at Liverpool, proposed a cut-and-dried system which the Imperial government were ready to adopt. The matter had not reached that stage. What I want the hon. gentleman to answer is this: Why did Sir Wilfrid Laurier drag in by the head and shoulders the question of what they had done for Canada if there was no suggestion in the speech of the Duke of Devonshire that Her Majesty's government were open to hear proposals from the colonies in regard to the unity of the empire? How did the Duke of Devonshire preface that statement? He prefaced it by exposing the utter fallacies of free trade as held by the Cobden school, and brought down upon himself the hostility and the severe criticism of all the ultra free trade journals in England, which declared that he was evidently ready to turn his back on free trade in order to take up this question of inter-Imperial trade with the colonies. If I was mistaken as to what he meant, I was not mistaken alone: Sir Wilfrid Laurier made the same mistake. He took the statement made by the Duke of Devonshire as an invitation to discuss that question. All the other Premiers took the question up, and showed that they regarded the statement of the Duke of Devonshire on that occasion as an invitation to say whether they were prepared to go into that question of Imperial trade. There was the fact, that this subject had been ably argued by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and was brought forward by the Duke of Devonshire in such a way that every Premier who responded to him took the question up and stated what they were prepared to do. There was one exception to those who accepted the proposition, and that exception, unfortunately, was the last man among the Premiers to do so. That was the Premier of Canada, who had obtained his election on a solemn pledge and declaration given to the people of this country that he was as favourable to the policy of inter-Imperial trade as Sir Charles Tupper, and that if he obtained power, the first use he would make of it would be to send a commission to England to negotiate with Lord Salisbury for inter-Imperial trade. And yet, Sir, knowing what the First Minister had done, is there any means by which he could have treated with greater contempt the statements made by his leader. These statements, for reasons never explained to Canada, the hon. gentleman's leader found it convenient to change. He who was sent to bless remained to curse, and did all he could to convince the British government that they would be wasting their time if they were to offer Canada preferential trade. What did the right hon. gentleman then say? Did he go as far as the hon. member has gone to-night? Not at all. He said to the people of England: Protection has been a curse to Canada, and it will be a curse to you if you adopt it, and

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you cannot give us preferential trade without adopting it.

The hon. gentleman took a good deal of time in attempting to cast ridicule on the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) and myself, but only succeeded in making himself ridiculous. If you want a complete contradiction of everything the hon. gentleman has said to-night on this question, you will find it in the speech reported in the *Globe* newspaper, delivered by the right hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then plain Mr. Laurier, in London, Ont., when asking the suffrages of the people of Canada. The right hon. gentleman then said:

But I want to point out to you, my fellow-countrymen, upon this occasion, that, in addition to the many reasons which we had up to the present time, there is now another reason which must strongly appeal to the sense of the Canadian people at large—preferential trade.

The right hon. gentleman had read Mr. Chamberlain's remarks, and had evidently studied them. Did he then tell the people in London, Ont., that preferential trade was a myth and a delusion, an 'ignus fatuus' which it was no use persuading? Not at all. He said:

That is a new idea of having within the British Empire preferential trade with all parts of that empire. Goods of English make would be admitted free to this country, and our goods would be admitted free to England, as they are now, but in addition to that we would have for our goods a preference which would not be given to the goods of another nation.

Now, the statesmen of Great Britain have thought that the governments of the colonies have come to a time when a new step can be taken in their development. What is that? That there shall be a commercial agreement between England and the colonies. That practical statesman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, has come to the conclusion that the time has come when it is possible to have within the bounds of the empire a new step taken, which will give to the colonies in England a preference for their products over the products of other nations. What would be the possibilities of such a step if it was taken? We sell our goods in England. We send our wheat, our butter, our cheese, all our natural products, but there we have to compete with similar products from the United States, from Russia, and from other nations. Just see what a great advantage it would be to Canada, if the wheat, cheese and butter, which we would send to England should be met in England with a preference over similar products of other nations. The possibilities are immense.

The hon. gentleman seems to be so entirely ignorant of everything that has taken place on this subject, that to prevent his making a further exhibition of his ignorance, I will read to him further what his right hon. leader said:

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the new and progressive Secretary of the Colonies, has declared that the time has come when it is possible to discuss that question. But, sir, if England is going to give us that preference, England would expect something from us in return. What is

it she would expect? England would expect that we would come as closely to her own system of free trade as it is possible for us to come. England does not expect that we should take her own system of free trade, such as she has it; but I lay it before you, that the thing the English people would expect in return is that, instead of a principle of protection, we should adopt the revenue form of tariff, pure and simple. These are the conditions on which we can have that boon.

Upon whom then falls the hon. gentleman's contempt and ridicule when talking about this myth and delusion which we are labouring under. It must fall on the head of the leader of this House more than anybody else. No other man has described that boon in clearer, stronger and more emphatic terms, or has proved more conclusively that all that was required to obtain it was not that we shall adopt a Zollverein or a common tariff throughout the empire, but that we should simply abandon a protective tariff and adopt the revenue tariff to which he stood pledged. And on another occasion he declared :

I would be in a far better position to obtain this boon for Canada than Sir Charles Tupper, because his is a protective tariff, whereas mine is a revenue tariff, pure and simple, and Mr. Chamberlain says that is all that is necessary in order to obtain it.

I need not waste more time on that subject. Let me now refer briefly to the hon. gentleman's laboured argument about the United States of America. He went into a long dissertation to show that we were on the eve of war, and that it was impossible for this government to extend any benefit or advantage to the United States. Does he not know that history is repeating itself. Does he not know that when the Liberal party came into power in five years, the imports from England fell, under Liberal rule and a very low tariff, thirty-seven and a half million dollars. And no such disadvantage resulted to the American trade. Does he not know that the Liberal convention in 1893 declared that one of the first things they would destroy, when they came into power, was the discrimination of the Conservative policy in favour of the United States against England? Does he not know that the hon. Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) had the temerity and folly to stand upon a public platform, after the present tariff had been adopted, and tell the Chamber of Commerce in England that the policy of the late government discriminated against England in favour of the United States, and that his government would take care to change all that. Well, they have changed the position of things, and changed it with a vengeance. They have shown that whatever preference they propose to give to England, they have given tenfold to the United States, under their tariff. And yet the hon. gentleman laboured on through a mass of figures, which neither he nor anybody else could under-

stand, to prove that we had shown a very determined front against the United States and in favour of Great Britain. Has the hon. gentleman taken the trouble to look at the figures in connection with this question of preferential trade? He told us that half a lie is worse than a whole one, because we may be tempted to believe half a lie. Well, was there half a lie told to the people of England, when they were told that this government was going to act upon a policy of giving a substantial preference by a reduction of at first 12½ per cent, and then 25 per cent on our tariff in favour of English goods. Was there a man in England, was there a journalist in England, who supposed that before they took off the 12½ per cent, they would sit down and put it on, over and above the highest tariff that ever existed in this country? If there is such a thing as half a lie being worse than a whole one, this is an instance of it. It was a complete illusion. The people of England were deluded and expressed a degree of pleasure that they would not have expressed, if they had understood the question as it actually existed. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell), knows that his laboured argument, that whatever comes from the United States, the increased tariff gives a still better advantage to England, is also a delusion, because the class of imports that we get from the United States, do not come from England. Let me show the hon. gentleman what this wonderful preferential tariff that has constituted the leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) the great empire-builder, has done. Would it have been surprising, with such a magnificent expansion of Canadian trade, as has taken place, that our trade with England should have increased? Is there any person who would suppose the contrary? Every person knows that what enables a country to carry on a great trade is to have great exports, and secure a large return of money to be expended in purchasing goods. Would not any person suppose that the splendid expansion of trade, the tremendous increase of our exports and the gigantic strides in advance made by our imports, would have led, without a preferential tariff at all, to greatly increased trade with England? We had a trade with England, fluctuating somewhat, and not what was desired, but still of considerable volume. Let me give the hon. gentleman the figures that will show what a delusion has been practised upon the people of England as well as on a good many people in this country, in connection with this matter. I take the imports from Great Britain, for the three years preceding the change of government. Every person knows, that when the government changed hands, we were just emerging from a condition of great depression. A wave of depression had swept all over the world, but Canada had suffered

less, under the national policy, and the administration of affairs by a Conservative government, than almost any other part of the world. But, bordering for three thousand miles on a country like the United States, in which the depression was so great that in three years, 600 banks had gone down, millions of people were impoverished, who had been well off, and poverty stalked through the land, it was impossible for Canada to wholly escape the effects of that depression. The hard times had seriously affected Great Britain, actually prostrated the great Australasian colonies, and brought about the worst condition of commercial affairs known in the United States for many years. During those three years of depression, from 1894 to 1896, inclusive, our average imports from Great Britain amounted to \$34,276,249. The preferential tariff came in. The hon. gentleman said it was in operation for two years. Suppose it was only one. Take the last year, and they have the benefit of that. Why, Sir, the startling fact appears, that in 1897, 1898 and 1899, there was an average importation from Great Britain of only \$32,991,076, a decrease of no less than \$1,285,173. Notwithstanding the preferential tariff, and notwithstanding the enormous expansion and development of Canadian trade, there is a loss of trade with Great Britain of 3.90 per cent in three years. Now turn to the other side. I do not intend to go fully into this subject, but the few figures I shall give, are an interesting commentary upon the hon. gentleman's speech. The hon. gentleman told us that this government were not disposed to look upon the United States with favour, or to give them any benefits, seeing that they had given us none, and had put up their tariff, as to almost wholly exclude our products from their country, that this government would turn its face to England, and its back to the United States. And, how did they do it? I have shown you, that in three years the reduction of imports from Great Britain, amounted to over a million and a quarter a year. The imports from the United States from 1897 to 1899, inclusive, have been, on the average, \$77,787,236. On the other hand, in 1894, 1895 and 1896, those imports amounted to \$55,414,215, or an average annual increase, since the hon. gentlemen opposite came into power, of no less than \$22,375,051, or over 40 per cent. Does the hon. gentleman think that any person in England, reading these figures, will come to the conclusion that this great empire-builder, at the head of affairs, has done anything gigantic for the mother country, against the United States, upon whom, we were told, they were not going to bestow any favour whatever?

Now, I think I have noticed most of the observations of the hon. gentleman, except this—that they were not going to go into any bargaining. Why, Sir, the whole world

has been engaged in a bargaining process, on these matters. The ablest men, the men of the highest rank in the House of Lords, and the House of Commons in England, who have examined this subject for years with the greatest attention, have declared that in their judgment, there is nothing that will contribute to increase the power and prosperity of the British Empire to a greater extent than this policy of inter-Imperial preferential trade. Why? Has not the mother country learned within the last few months, what it is to have great outlying possessions like Canada, Australia and South Africa? Has not that lesson come home in a manner, that, perhaps, it has never come home before? How is it brought about? It is brought about by the progress, the prosperity and the development of these great outlying possessions of the mother country. Is there any means by which that great progress, that great prosperity, can be better maintained than by the adoption of such a policy? Take Canada, for instance, holding, as we do, the great remaining grainery of the world on this northern continent of North America, with a promise such as you cannot find in any other country under the British flag. Imagine what it would be for England, the adoption of a policy of inter-Imperial preferential trade, such as Mr. Chamberlain has given his imprimatur to in the strongest manner that a public man could and no man has studied the subject with greater care and more attention than he has. We would have had it to-day if the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) had redeemed the solemn pledge that he gave to the people of Canada when he went to England. There is nothing more certain than that was all that was necessary. On that great occasion, when the heart of the empire was open, when the right hon. gentleman was surrounded by the representatives of all the great outlying portions of the realm, ready to do everything that could be done to promote the progress and prosperity of the empire, such a result could have been achieved. Suppose that even a 5 per cent duty were imposed upon the products of foreign countries, as the right hon. gentleman pointed out in such glowing terms to the people of London, when he was asking their suffrages, not after he had obtained his desire, and how tremendous are the possibilities? Who will doubt it, when we know that every acre of land in this country, every product of the soil would obtain, at once, an increased value, that men coming with capital or agricultural skill to America would be induced under such a policy to settle on the north, instead of the south of the boundary line. Millions of capital would be brought into the country, hundreds of thousands of the best immigrants that can be found would seek Canada, would settle here and would find a more profitable market in

Mark Lane, the great wheat market of the world, for their products. That is the position that we would occupy under such a policy. Yet, my right hon. friend can do nothing but pour a shower of contempt on every person who will waste time in putting forth such a contention. There is no more vital or important question to the people of Canada. Notwithstanding what has been done by the man who was bound, as solemnly as a man can be bound, to sustain and support it, the day is not far distant, and old as I am, I trust and hope and believe that I may yet live to see that policy introduced into this country which will not only build up this great portion of the empire more than any other policy can build it up, but, will, at the same time, give to the empire an expansion of its trade that never will be realized under this impotent trade policy that has been pursued by hon. gentlemen opposite. I do not intend to take up more of the time of the House; I shall have an opportunity in the budget debate, which, I suppose, will be looked for at no distant day, and which has been rather anticipated by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), of discussing this subject with more deliberation. I think that the least we might have expected from the hon. gentleman, who was afraid to have any hon. member get up and criticise the essay which he was going to read to the House, was that he would have given the same notice that the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) gave on an important matter, of the resolution that he proposed to move on going into Committee of Supply. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) has shown great courage, great bravery, gigantic boldness by undertaking to take upon his shoulders the labour of showing that this government have fulfilled their pledges to the people and to the country, in which he has most signally failed, but, he has not shown such courage in hiding this resolution until the last moment when he was obliged to disclose it before taking his seat.

Mr. G. R. MAXWELL (Burrard). Mr. Speaker, I rise, with unbounded pleasure, to second the resolution which has been so ably proposed to the House by the hon. and learned junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell). I do not intend to follow the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) in his remarks, as I wish to discuss this question from my own point of view, and to state my views as fully and as lucidly as I can in this matter. One thing was very noticeable in connection with the remarks of the hon. leader of the opposition, and that was that he failed to state whether he was going to vote for this resolution or whether he was going to oppose it. Before discussing the main part of the resolution, it may not be amiss to consider a few points which naturally lead up to it, and which are, I think, very closely related

to it. We all profess to have a deep, true interest in the welfare and prosperity of the British Empire. I am willing to confess, or to state, that I believe that confession or profession is honest and sincere. But, there are other ways than by supplying soldiers to the battlefield by which we can maintain the unity and integrity of the British Empire. Most nations depend for their success upon their trade relations and Great Britain, perhaps more than any other nation to-day, depends for her stability upon her trade success in the markets of the world. If she could be defeated in this respect, if she could be driven from these markets, or, if after she has got possession of these markets, she could be expelled from them, then, she would gradually shrivel up and become puny and insignificant. Every well wisher, therefore, of the empire, if he is a leal man, must be deeply interested, and interested in a very practical way in the magnificent efforts which Great Britain has ever put forth, not only to gain control of the markets of the world, but, also to maintain her supremacy and her stability by her hold upon these markets. Loyalty to the British Empire used to be one of the principal planks in the Conservative platform, and I must confess that it was a very successful portion of that platform. Notwithstanding the vagaries of some statesmen, the heart of Canada has always been sound in this respect. On every platform and at every meeting, in season and out of season, Conservatives made the welkin ring with noisy demonstrations of loyalty to the mother country. Liberals, on the other hand, more rational, I suppose, or, perhaps, acting from the belief that this was a mask to hide hypocrisy, allowed their opponents to do almost all the shouting and I do not doubt that when the echo of this shouting reached the other side of the sea, our venerable mother almost came to the conclusion that the only men who were loyal, on this side, or who were devoted to the empire, were the members who now grace Her Majesty's loyal opposition. But one fine morning the British public received an awful shock as to the loyalty of her professed friends. I need not rehearse here this evening the how or the why this policy of protection entered into the policy of the Conservative party; suffice it to say, that it was adopted and it became the reigning genius, or demon, of this land, but when the mother country saw herself practically shut out of the House of her daughter, she was struck with amazement. I need not assure this House that that policy was deprecated and highly condemned on the other side of the Atlantic, and while not much was said by our mother—because she has always been a wise mother and harsh words would only have intensified the feeling—yet the adoption of that policy was regarded as an unfriendly act, and one which showed a species of loyalty that was in truth one of the most virulent forms of disloyalty.

I can imagine Britain saying to herself as she saw that obstruction raised against her: Are these my friends who raise this monstrous wall to impede my progress; is this my return for all that I have done and suffered for them; is this my reward for throwing over them my shield of loving protection, and, for giving them the grandest country perhaps on God's earth; are these my friends? If these are all the friends which I have in Canada, then all I can say is: Save me from such friends. Let us not deceive ourselves; that policy, and I speak whereof I know, that policy was regarded as a fatal blow to the harmonious relationship which had formerly existed between the two countries, for by that policy Canadian Conservative statesmen declared without a blush of shame, that they were prepared to extract from the mother country everything they could possibly get from her, and in return, as showing their magnificent magnanimity, that they were prepared to place the mother country among those who were strangers and foreigners to us. In other words that policy struck the old country people as the embodiment of ingratitude, the very incarnation of human selfishness. Of course we still prated about loyalty, but if there is one thing more than another which Britons admire it is deeds not words; and while we prated and prated about our loyalty to the mother country, our kinsmen on the other side were tempted to exclaim again and again: For Heaven's sake stop this prattling about loyalty, give us some tangible token of it, for such a token is worth more to us than bushels of idle, meaningless and canting talk. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying, Mr. Speaker, that as this protective policy developed on this side, dissatisfaction grew more and more on the other side.

Now, what are we to think of a leading Conservative statesman, one who was a burning and a shining light in the Conservative party, the party of loyalists; one who was one of the strongest defenders of this inhumane policy, I ask what are we to think of the senior member for Pictou (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) uttering such words as these:

What is the policy of the motherland to-day? Driven from the civilized markets of the world; steadily and every year finding their output to these markets decreasing, they spend millions on their navy and millions on their army, to force their wares, and their goods and their merchandise, into the uncivilized markets of the world, which they are endeavouring to occupy, to settle up, driven there by the deadly effect upon them of the tremendous competition coming from the protected nations in the rest of the world.

I ask, what effect would such language have upon the minds of our kinsmen across the sea. Is there any loyalty in these words? Could the mother country believe that there was loyalty where these words were hatched:

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Driven from the civilized markets of the world. Yes, and if that statement be true, the Conservative party helped to drive her from these markets.

Spending millions and millions on navy and army to force their wares, their goods and their merchandise on ignorant savages.

What a character is that to give to the grand old mother, whom to-day, under a Liberal administration in Canada, we are supporting with our blood and treasure. Again I say, if that statement is true, the Conservative party is largely responsible for helping, at least, to drive her among these savages. Mr. Speaker, I ask again, were such words conducive to maintain the unity of the empire and to bring these two nations closer to each other? Could, or would, Englishmen like such words as these, and could the party which by their silence adopted these words—because I have never heard any denunciation of them—could the party which by their silence adopted these words as a true description of the trade policy of Great Britain; could they expect to receive from that country, which they had so miserably misrepresented, any concessions which would pander to or develop in them more and more of the spirit of selfishness which was dominating their minds. I trow not. Sir, if I am in order, I would characterize these words as almost brutal in their frankness, and it is to me no wonder that the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who now leads a government of new ideas, was constrained to rise from his seat and to declare:

I never yet heard the fair name of the great nation so slandered and insulted—at least, I never heard the name of England so insulted by a man of English blood.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we speak of Great Britain as our mother; and that is true. We represent ourselves (that is Canada) as her daughter; and that is true. Every man that has ever thought a noble thought, knows that between the mother and the daughter exists the most tender, the most affectionate, the most loving and the most sublime of human relations. In the name of common sense, in the name of those names which beautify and sanctify all human existence, what kind of policy is that for a great party to adopt which drives the mother from the daughter's door, and compels her to herd and associate with strangers? Are we human? If so, then we must act as an affectionate daughter would act, not by repulsing but by attracting, not by driving away, but by bringing the grand life of the noble mother nearer and closer to her own life as a nation. Now, two things are quite evident to me. First, that this protective policy was no policy for us to adopt, so far, at least, as the mother country was concerned; and secondly, that if the estrangement which took place as the result of the adoption of this policy was to be removed, then new

statesmen must get control of the council board of the nation, and by a new policy, a policy touched and fringed with affection and gratitude, must undo what had unfortunately been done. Now, as a sign of what was coming, and what I rejoice to say has come, I read the motion which was moved in this House by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies):

Inasmuch as Great Britain admits the products of Canada into her ports free of duty, this House is of the opinion that the present scale of duties exacted on goods mainly imported from Great Britain should be reduced.

This motion, moved so far back as 1892, was what I might call daughterly in its proposed treatment of the mother country. It is a motion which I believe should have passed this House with perfect unanimity; and yet, as showing the height and depth, the length and breadth of our devotion and loyalty to the mother country, it was supported only by the Liberal party. To use a word which is often on the lips of the hon. leader of the opposition, it was overwhelmingly defeated by the Conservative party. But, though defeated, it presaged the dawn of a new policy which is to-day reaching its meridian splendour. Again, in 1893, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, a name which, I think, will be long revered in this House, moved a resolution which, among other things, contained this important declaration:

That in the opinion of this House, the tariff ought to be at once amended in respect of the matters herein indicated, and also by the substantial reduction of customs duties in favour of the United Kingdom, in whose markets all Canadian products are admitted duty free.

That also was defeated by the Conservative party, but the fact that such a motion had been brought forward by one who had been largely instrumental in framing the tariff that had been so unjust to Great Britain, set the people thinking, and I know no one who did more, as if in the way of amends, to stir up the people—or to prepare the people to change the policy of the Conservative party—than this lamented statesman. In spite of these indications, which showed that a change was brewing, that the people wanted to be fair and just to the motherland, the Conservative party buried their heads in the sand, until at last the people drove them from power and office, to make way for men

Who knew the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand; and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet.

Their masterly wisdom soon became apparent. On the 22nd of April, 1897, a day and year which, I think, will be ever memorable in the history of the Canadian people, the Finance Minister submitted this resolution to this House:

That when the customs tariff of any country admits the products of Canada on terms which, on the whole, are as favourable to Canada as the terms of the reciprocal herein referred to

are to the countries to which it may apply, articles which are the growth, produce or manufacture of such country, when imported direct therefrom may then be imported direct into Canada, or taken out of warehouse for consumption therein at the reduced rates of duty provided in the reciprocal tariff.

The reduction was to be one-eighth of the duty mentioned in schedule A for one year, while the following year it was to be further reduced to one-fourth upon all articles imported from Great Britain or from any other country which would deal favourably with us. That was significant of a tremendous change, both in our trade relations and in our social or national relations with the mother country. It was almost a complete wheel-about; for, whereas, our protective policy was leading us further and further away from the old land—in fact, meant turning our backs to her—this portended a right-about-face policy, which will ultimately bring us more and more in accord with each other. Every new policy has its difficulties, its lions in the way, and these have to be overcome before its success can be completed; and this new policy had the Belgian and German treaties to surmount. I need not rehearse how these for a short time prevented the mother country from enjoying the munificent offer of the Canadian people. Suffice it to say, that rather than lose what the Canadian people through her statesmen offered, the British government denounced these treaties—a magnificent tribute to the new statesmanship which was now guiding the destinies of Canada; and to-day, as the result, Britain is enjoying a privilege unsought for, but not the less appreciated, that will ultimately revolutionize our trade relations with each other.

Now, one would have thought that a policy such as this, especially in a land where we have had so many lip professions of loyalty, would have been hailed with perfect unanimity, and that the Conservative party especially would, because of its evident intention to benefit the mother country, have supported the preferential tariff with all their old-time vigour and enthusiasm. To me at least the opposition of Her Majesty's loyal opposition came as a great surprise. From the first moment of its inception down to the speech of the hon. leader of the opposition to-night, this policy has, in some way, been denounced, misinterpreted and slighted. It is well that the people should know this; and we must, Sir, take some pains to show the people where a great party stands on such a vital question as this. The hon. leader of the opposition has, Sir, opposed it with all his wonderful vigour and ability. On April 26, 1897, referring to this policy, he said:

I did not suppose it possible, whether in one section of the empire or another, for a great parliament such as that which the Dominion of Canada possesses, to have presented for its consideration a Bill of such an entirely and unconstitutional nature.

Again, in the same speech, he said :

There is a feeling amongst all our people of intense satisfaction at the very suggestion of anything that will draw more closely together the mother country and this great Dominion. That feeling is abused, Sir. It is taken advantage of by hon. gentlemen opposite, who, instead of dealing in a statesmanlike manner with this great question of the unity of the empire, drawing this great Dominion and the mother country more closely together, take the means of defeating and preventing any such thing from being done.

In other words, he means that this preferential tariff, as presented to the mother country, will prevent the unity of the empire, and the drawing closer together of both countries. Will any one tell me how an offer such as we have made will prevent these things? To me the reverse is the case. All through this speech there is raised one objection after another, and these are pressed with all the eloquence of which the hon. gentleman is master; so that, I am safe in saying that if he had had the power he would have strangled this policy at its birth. He says :

The industries of Canada, built up at such enormous cost, industries which have made Canada what it is to-day, industries that represent an enormous amount of capital invested, industries that have enriched Canada by the progress and prosperity she has enjoyed while they have been in operation—these industries will become paralyzed again when exposed to a reduction of 25 per cent on the general tariff, and one after another will succumb.

What a wail, what a jeremaid! Have we not been told over and over again, that the government had raised the general tariff, and that the preferential tariff was no advantage to the mother country. And, yet we are told, that exposed to this very tariff, which contains no advantage, our industries will one after the other succumb. Have we not been told by this self-same gentleman, that the preferential tariff was a deception, that the British people were gulled by it, that there was nothing in it for them, and yet we are told, that exposed to a deception our industries will die one by one. There is surely something wrong with the reasoning here. But, I have no time to reconcile the hon. leader of the opposition with himself. But, mark his words, Sir: 'Exposed to this reduction of 25 per cent, our industries will succumb, one by one.' Is that true? Has that prophesy, for a prophesy it is, come true? Nay, far from it. Our industries have been exposed to it, and instead of succumbing, as stated by the hon. gentleman, that they would, every man knows, who knows anything, that they are less likely to die to-day, than at any previous time in their history. Looking at their increased activity, and their marvellous growth, one can only say, that the exposure has done them good.

I now turn to the hon. ex-Finance Minister, and find that he gave this policy no

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support. In his own trenchant way, he tried to hack it to pieces. His great concern was the recognition of the Belgian and German treaties. He says :

These treaties are strong and abiding, they were made by Britain, the mother power, for herself and her colonies, and so long as they remain, that is not a well-grounded loyalty which will refuse to be bound by them.

Even loyalty is shunted in here to do service. But, after he has pressed the point, that loyalty means loyalty to treaties, and that we will not be loyal unless we recognize these treaties, then he drives in his wedge about bringing our industries into competition with those of other nations from whom we get no benefit. Now, why instead of quibbling about loyalty in a matter like this, did he not say: 'If these treaties stand in the way—and they stood in the way—let us get rid of them, so that the mother country may receive what she richly deserves from our hands?' No, no, that would have recognized the loyalty of the new policy, and so he keeps pegging away about our duty to recognize the rights of the treaty of Belgium and Germany to enter our markets on the same footing as the mother country. And, then, when he would make us loyal, according to his notions of loyalty—which are small and contracted—he shows the great crime this country is committing in letting the products of these countries into the markets of Canada. What is the meaning of this specious pleading and reasoning? Why, Sir, it is too thin to escape notice. The meaning of it is simply that he may, so far as he is able, prevent us from showing our loyalty in a more tangible way, than by a slavish adherence to treaties that were blocks in the way, preventing the mother country and her colonies from drawing closer together. Put in other words, he wanted to kill the preferential tariff. And it shows that when his loyalty is called upon to do something for the mother country, it vanishes like the witches in Macbeth, into thin air.

The member for West Assiniboia was very strong in his opposition to the preferential tariff. On April 27, 1897, he said :

I am opposed to this resolution, because, I hold, it is a dangerous resolution. When I oppose this proposal because it makes concessions for nothing. I may say frankly, whether I am accused of disloyalty or not, that I would object to give this preferential advantage even to Great Britain for nothing. Another objection is that this proposition destroys all chances of ever securing a preferential arrangement with Great Britain.

On April 14, 1898, the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), expressed himself thus :

Where do we find ourselves? We find ourselves brought face to face with the arrangement with Great Britain and Great Britain alone, which will seriously damage and impair some of your manufacturing interests.

And so I might go quoting member after member on the opposition side of this House, and each in his own way—manifests his opposition to this proposal. Sometimes it is the manufacturing interests; sometimes it is the Belgium and German treaties; sometimes it is this, and sometimes it is that, but, all through there is united front in opposition to giving the mother country a preference in our markets. I am tempted, Sir, to ask the question: Why this opposition? and in attempting to answer that question, we are brought face to face with the pet policy, or scheme, of the Conservative party. Again and again, in reading these old speeches, you come across sentences like these: 'We have given a preference to Great Britain, but Great Britain has given no preference to us.' So speaks the ex-Finance Minister: 'What I object to in the preferential tariff, is, that it is one-sided.' So says the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig). What sticks in the throat of the Conservative party, is, you have given away something for nothing. Is that strange in the conduct of a true daughter to a true mother? I must confess that that is a strange cry, or moan, or complaint, to come from a daughter. To me, the very thought of it is dishonourable to us, and, therefore, unworthy of us. Something for nothing! My goodness, what a cry is that to raise towards her, who gave us this magnificent Dominion, and who has been fostering us, caring for us, shielding us, all through these years. Something for nothing! Now, under great heaven, is that strange, is that unprecedented, is that unnatural, on the part of a daughter to a mother? We continually hear these hon. gentlemen, in these days, dwelling with wonderful unctuousness upon the interests of the motherland. But is it unnatural on the part of a daughter to give her mother something for nothing? Sometimes the daughter herself does something that causes sorrow to the mother country, just as we did when we adopted a protective policy, and you can imagine a daughter conscious of a mother's kindness, devotion and love, and conscious of having done something to hurt that love and kindness, trying to give that mother some token that will be a beautiful example of her daughter's affection and regard. Is that unnatural on the part of a daughter? Are we to be continually speaking about the motherland and continually referring to ourselves as the daughter of that grand old mother, and expurgate from our relations with the motherland all that is daughterly and affectionate? Something for nothing! Why, it seems hardly possible that any one in Canada could be so insensate as to utter such a miserable argument as this. Something for nothing! Yes, in a sense that is true. We have given her something for nothing; but in a deeper sense, it is not true. She has in the past, and she is now, giving us something for something. She

is giving us her heart to-day as she has never done before; and when Canada has the heart of the mother country, all that that directs, controls and can give, will be at the disposal of Canada. See how it works. The illustration which the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell), gives us, is to the point: 'A few years ago to his knowledge, it was the practice of British importers to have Canadian goods marked as 'American,' for the reason that Canadian goods were not popular in the British market—that was due to the Conservative policy—but within the last year or two so great is the interest in everything Canadian, he has been advised to mark his goods 'Canadian,' and now his goods are being sold under that name. I saw the other day in the newspapers of a firm—a Canadian firm, writing to an old country firm for some goods similar to what they had received before. In the meantime the goods had gone up in price, but the old country manufacturer let them have the goods at the old price—because, he said, we are all proud of what Canada has done. Sir, that is what this preferential tariff has done and is doing. It has almost revolutionized the feelings of our kinsmen on the other side, and it has made them to realize that we care far more for them than the policy of iron-bound protection disclosed, that in short, we realized our obligations, and even at this late period were willing, and anxiously willing to make some contribution to the welfare of the British people. But this brings us, Sir, to the pet scheme of the Conservative party. What is it? In a short form, it may be expressed as something for something. In other words, we, your daughter, will only give you a preference in our markets—if you give us a preference in your markets. How was Britain to give us this preference? By making the loaf of the British working-man dearer than it is to-day. We are told that this is what the Conservative party has been working for, and that the action of the Canadian parliament, or rather the Liberal party, has for ever prevented this from becoming an accomplished fact. The words of the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding) on this point are wise:

If the British people are prepared to tax the grain of foreign nations and admit Canadian grain free, no doubt it would be a very material advantage to Canada. I am not one of those who say that it will never be done. I know that some gentlemen think it is so unreasonable that it will never be done. I am willing to believe that it is possible.

Mr. Speaker, Britain to-day believes in free trade. She reached that policy through great suffering. Both parties, Liberal and Conservative, are wedded to that principle, for she has tried both and found protection a sham, a delusion, and a snare. If we are to wait till the British people be educated to the point of going back to protec-

tion—before this preference is given us—why, every man of us now in this House will be dead, and slumbering in our graves. The present Finance Minister says: I am willing to believe that it is possible, but how possible? Not by demanding the pound of flesh, not by demanding a quid pro quo, and not by saying, I'll give you something if you give me ten thousand times more than I am giving you. The heart of a nation is pretty much like the heart of an individual. Harden the heart, and that is what our protection policy did to the heart of the mother country, and you will not get anything. But touch the heart by some striking manifestation of good-will, by some sign of gratitude, by some munificent free-will offering, such as our preferential tariff, and if the British people can be constrained to give us such a preference, they will only be induced to give us such through the impulse of a love born of gracious deeds.

I have shown this House, Sir, how the Conservative party received this new policy towards the mother country, now let us see how it was received in the motherland. The Colonial Secretary, the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain, in an official despatch to His Excellency the Governor General, says:

I desire to add, in conclusion, that the action of the Dominion government and parliament in this matter, although, unfortunately, its full effect will be temporarily postponed, has been warmly welcomed and appreciated by Her Majesty's government and the people of this country as a measure which cannot fail to result in material benefit to the mother country and to Canada, and to weld together still more firmly the ties which now unite them.

Mr. Speaker, we have been assured again and again that we have humbugged the British people, and that this government has never seriously considered how to promote the unity of the empire. We were assured by the leader of the opposition to-night that Mr. Chamberlain is a statesman of the first magnitude, and we are assured by the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain that this government of ours, by this preferential tariff, has done something to promote the material interests of the motherland, and to promote the unity of the empire by the only force that can do it, and that is by the potent power of love. Mr. Cecil Rhodes—no mean character in these days—in the course of a conversation, spoke warmly of the service Canada had rendered to the empire by compelling (I add through kindness) the British government to clear the German and Belgian treaties out of the way of future inter-imperial co-operation.

If we had listened to the siren voice of the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), these treaties would have been in existence still, and would still be blocking the way to the unity of the empire.

A special cable appeared in the *Montreal Star*, and read as follows:

The budget of the Hon. Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, Canada, attracts a good deal of at-

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attention. I heard a Conservative member of parliament say this morning: 'Our members jaw, jaw, jaw, and do little but jaw about the unity of the empire; but Canada keeps on doing, doing, doing.'

At a meeting of the Federated Association of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Great Britain, it was resolved to record its appreciation of the:

—change in the Canadian government's commercial policy, which has, by the establishment of a preferential tariff for British goods, largely increased the trade between Great Britain and Canada. This meeting recommends—

I commend this to those in this House who characterize this policy as something for nothing.

This meeting recommends boot manufacturers to give a preferential consideration to the leather imported from Canada.

From an interview published in the *Montreal Herald*, I cull the following with reference to canned goods. Mr. Innes, the name of the gentleman being interviewed, said:

'They give the preference to Canadian goods, and are learning to trust us as to quality.'

'Do you think that the strong Imperial sentiment fostered by this government has helped your sales at all in Great Britain?'

'I do, most certainly,' was the reply; 'and I may say that we have sold thousands of dollars' worth of canned apples this past season through a happy idea in having the labels engraved so as to convey that sentiment.'

The following was cabled to Sir Wilfrid Laurier by Sir Howard Vincent, M.P., one of the leading statesmen in the old country, and a Conservative also. It is an astonishing thing about this whole business that almost every Conservative statesman in the old country is against Conservative statesmen in this country. Sir Howard Vincent is one of the leading Conservative members of the British House of Commons:

The United Empire League in motherland, Australia, Africa and Oceania affectionately salutes Greater Britain in Canada, and confidently expresses the undying gratitude of the British race of to-day and for ever to their brothers throughout the vast Dominion, for their patriotic and filial inauguration of preferential trade between British kith and kin in this the first minute of freedom from restraining treaties. May this preferential trade grow and grow into the complete commercial federation of British peoples and possessions the whole world over, to the honour of our sovereign, the glory of the English name, and the increasing welfare of all in Britain and Greater Britain.

How does that compare with the speeches we have had from the other side of the House? And yet we are asked to believe that we befooled the United Empire Trade League. Why, the mere thought of such a thing is enough to make angels weep.

Mr. MONTAGUE. What is the date of these extracts?

Mr. MAXWELL. I did not take the trouble to get the dates.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). The date of the telegram from Sir Howard Vincent is the 1st of July, 1898.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). Sir Howard Vincent's cablegram was sent fifteen months after the tariff was brought down.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Before any figures were brought down?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. He is not half so stupid as you think he is.

Mr. MAXWELL. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) has no consolation in that respect at all. These testimonies, I must confess, Sir, are most gratifying, but these are not the only evidences we have in favour of this preference. The press of England was also befooled—if we are to believe the statements of hon. gentlemen opposite. The fooling must have been marvellous—due, no doubt, to the marvellous hypnotic powers possessed by the government—for the fooling extends everywhere. The founts of public opinion in the old land have all been tampered with, for the utterances of England's leaders clash with the complaints of men on this side who realize in their inmost souls that they have been politically dished by this new policy. Take the *London Times*, what does it say? It says:

This new departure is most gratifying to all who desire to see the empire knitted more closely together, and that it is the most remarkable step yet made towards the fiscal confederation of the empire.

The *Daily News*, the great organ of the Liberal party in the mother country, is also 'stage struck,' for it said:

The new policy is advantageous and likely to lead to development in the direction of free trade. The new Canadian tariff is not avowedly and in terms a measure for the benefit of Great Britain—that was written in 1897—but England will profit more than any other nation. As free traders we rejoice—

Mr. MONTAGUE. Is that the case?

Mr. MAXWELL. That is perfectly true. That man knows what he is talking about.

—in this consequence of the Dingley tariff; as patriots, we welcome this significant display of attachment from the greatest of our colonies, and as Liberals we congratulate the leader of the Liberal party of the Dominion.

With all due deference to my hon. friends, these words appear to me to indicate great rationality, and are evidently written by a man who knows what he is talking about. There is another very interesting statement made by the London correspondent of the *New York Times* with regard to this policy:

For the first time in my experience, England and the English are regarding Canadians and the Dominion with affectionate enthusiasm. When the net benefits to England of the Premier's tariff come to be figured up, I do not know that they will bulk very large; but the spirit of preference for the mother country directly appeals

to the imagination here. Englishmen have always been particularly sore on this point of her colonies rearing protection walls against British trade, and nobody can blame them for it. This change, therefore, will make Mr. Laurier, when he comes, the most conspicuous and popular of all the visiting Premiers of the empire.

I might go on multiplying these extracts, but sufficient is given to show that the press of the old land knew the significance of this move, and with a unanimity seldom ever seen, praise and laud it to the skies. It was at this moment, when the air was full of affectionate enthusiasm in the old land for Canada, that her poets began to see new visions and dream new dreams. The preferential tariff gave inspiration, and Kipling eclipsed himself in that poem which will stand for all time as a noble tribute to a noble nation—our Canada. Let me quote a few verses:

I called my chiefs to council,
In the din of a troubled year,
For the sake of a sign ye could not see,
And a word ye would not hear.
This is our message and answer,
This is the path we chose,
For we be also a people,
Said our Lady of the Snows,

Carry the word to my sisters,
To the queens of the east and south:
I have proved faith in the heritage
By more than the word of mouth.
They that are wise may follow,
Ere the world's war trumpet blows,
But I, I am the first in the battle,
Said our Lady of the Snows.

A nation spoke to a nation,
A queen sent word to a throne:
Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own.
The gates are mine to open,
As the gates are mine to close;
And I abide by my mother's house,
Said our Lady of the Snows.

Another man, befogged, say our friends of the Conservative party, but in spite of his hallucination, he strikes with convincing clearness the difference between the old policy and the new, and when he grandly makes Canada say: 'And I abide by my mother's house,' he reveals what is the gist, the meaning of our policy as shaped in the preferential tariff. The London correspondent of the *New York Times* said, that this new policy would make our great leader in London the most conspicuous and popular of all the visiting premiers of the empire. His prophecy came true. On that occasion, perhaps one of the most momentous which the world has ever known, in that throng, perhaps the largest, strangest and greatest the world has ever seen, one man was singled out for a people's praise and honour, and that man was our gifted Premier. There are two ways by which a man may receive the homage of men. His worth is one way, his work another. The worth of our Premier was not known to the British people, it is hardly known even

in Canada, where he is best known, but his work was known, as manifested in this tariff. Touched by that policy, which was a tribute of gratitude, the British people gave our Premier such a reception as gladdened the heart of every Canadian, and by that reception crowned the praises of all that this move on our part was regarded by all, from the Queen on the throne to the humblest merchant in the old land, as a permanent contribution to the unity of the empire and a striking act of devotion on the part of a wise young daughter to a mother, venerable with years and radiant with imperishable glory. Before I sit down, Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a few words of what I may call the value of the preferential tariff to Great Britain. I quote from the *Mail and Empire*, a paper which best reflects the opinion of hon. gentlemen opposite :

The so-called British preference is an imposture on Great Britain—

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). Who said that ?

Mr. MAXWELL. The *Mail and Empire*.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. What date ?

Mr. MAXWELL. I did not take the date; I did not think it would be asked for.

The so-called British preference is an imposture on Great Britain, and owing to the flourish of trumpets with which it was introduced, is a dishonour to us.

Very strong language, but that is its usual way of talking. I call to your remembrance, Sir, that one of the strong arguments used by hon. gentlemen opposite was, that in this preference we were giving the mother country something for nothing, and now the organ of the Conservative party declares that the British preference is an imposture on Great Britain. I can't reconcile irreconcilable statements, but there is the noticeable feature about all their contentions, and that is marked hostility to anything seemingly in favour of Great Britain. The quibbles which have been invented are amazing, and all to minimize the importance of one step in our daughterly relations with the mother country. One thing was evident to every honest lover of the empire, and that was our trade relations were in a very sickly condition, and the discredit belonged to the daughter. We were to blame by our adoption of protection for these unhealthy relations. We caused them. Why, Sir, in 1893, our imports were over forty-three millions, while in 1897, they were only about twenty-nine and a half millions. A big falling off, you say. Yes, and with all our talk about loyalty we were gradually severing one of the main ties by which the two nations can remain united. Cut that tie and all our slobbering gush won't amount to a hill of beans. We humbugged the old country—at least we tried it for 18 years—talking protection on

Mr. MAXWELL.

the one hand and loyalty on the other, but the shrewd Saxon mother saw that it was humbug, pure unadulterated humbug, 'an imposture on Great Britain,' to use the words of the *Mail and Empire*, and now there must be no more humbugging. We must give a preference, a real honest preference to the mother country in our markets. Yes, but hon. gentlemen say, the British preference is of no value, because it is only sufficient to meet the increased cost of goods from Great Britain, as compared with the cost of goods from the States. What have we here—why, the remarkable confession, that under the old protective policy of the Conservative party, Great Britain was bound to lose in the struggle for our trade. If to-day the getting a preference of 25 per cent over her competitors she is unable to compete, how would she compete against this competitor without the 25 per cent. But we claim the preference is of value to Great Britain. Let me illustrate. I shall read a short article which is important on this point, and for the benefit of the hon. gentleman who wants something recent, this is of recent date :

The Tariff Preference.

It has been asserted by Conservative leaders on the stump, and by Conservative journals, that the preference accorded to Britain by the Canadian tariff is useless in the way of favouring British trade. These opponents of the government would be satisfied with no tariff arrangement that would not carry a British preference for Canadian products as a *quid pro quo*. They have been told repeatedly, on the highest authority, that this is not possible; and as they would refuse to grant a preference without securing one in return, their attitude simply means that if they were replaced in power they would remove the preferential feature from the tariff. They would place British goods again on a level with those of foreign countries.

I want to ask hon. gentlemen opposite if they are prepared to do away with this preferential tariff. I would like to get some statement from some important member of the Conservative party here, and as soon as we possibly can, as to what may be the policy of the Conservative party on this question should it again be returned to power, which heaven forbid. The people of this country want to know what would be the policy of the Conservative party on that.

An hon. MEMBER. They won't tell us.

Mr. MAXWELL. We will try and make them tell us, if we can. The article goes on to say :

It is probably to make this programme appear less obnoxious to the people that the Conservative spokesmen come forward with the very silly contention that the preference has been of no benefit to British trade. The very figures they quote in support of their assertion are, in fact, sufficient to refute it, for these figures show that while imports of British goods into Canada declined steadily for years, they have been increasing steadily and rapidly since the tariff preference was established.

In regard to this matter, Mr. Stapleton Caldecott, the well known Toronto merchant and importer, furnishes some interesting information in the following letter to the Toronto 'Globe': 'I have just read your admirable article upon British preference in the tariff on imported goods, and I can from present experience amply confirm what you say of its happy effect upon inducing the importation of British in preference to foreign goods. I am largely concerned in the importation of wool, silk and cotton fabrics. In wool it induces the importation of British woollens and dress fabrics to a remarkable extent, giving to Yorkshire in particular a great leverage over foreign manufacturers, the difference in duty being 25 per cent less than the duty paid upon German and French wool fabrics. In cotton goods this also applies, and it has quite changed the importation of cotton shoe laces from German to English goods, or, rather, I should say, English goods which had almost disappeared from this market can now readily compete against German-made goods. In silks it has fostered the importation of English silks to a remarkable extent, as I know from my every-day experience. French and Swiss silks, as also Japanese, will always be used in Canada, but in the surah makes of silks, the preference given to British manufactures has induced a specially large importation of these goods since the new tariff came into force, and this can readily be proven to be because of the preference in favour of British manufacturers.

Such words coming from a business man are worth more than a bushel of criticisms coming from men who are more anxious to promote the interests of their party than they are to recognize the worth of legislation which they have not initiated. To some extent I can substantiate this. I had in my house at Vancouver the representative of a large firm in Belfast, Ireland, who told me that under the preferential tariff they were permitted to do business in Canada for the first time in eighteen years, and I know he received large orders in our city. I know, further, in my own city—a city which has been growing marvellously during the last three years, there is a growing demand for British goods. I ask the hon. member for Victoria (Sir Hibbert Tupper) if that is not so. I am sorry the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper) is not here, I am sorry in a way that he is not discharging his duties as he ought to do. He seems to me to have far more interest in local politics than he has in Dominion politics, for which he is paid to some extent, and which he is supposed to represent in this House. I say, I am sorry he is not here. I read a quotation from his speech this evening, about England being driven from the markets of the civilized world. I am glad to assure this House, however, that he is trying to make some amends. He is beginning himself to import from British markets; I do not know whether it is because he cannot get good enough goods in Canada, or because he cannot find tailors in Canada skilful enough to make clothing for his manly form; but, I know, that he is importing his clothing from Great Britain, and that he is anxious to get the full

advantage of the preferential tariff. But we must go to figures for the crowning confirmation of this point. In 1890, our imports from Great Britain amounted to \$43,320,241. In 1897, they dropped down to \$29,412,188, that was a bad drop—a most unsatisfactory drop—and one well fitted to make us pause and think. In 1899, however, these have risen up to the healthy figure of \$37,060,123. In other words, in 1897-8, the first full year when the preference of the one-eighth was in force, the trade increased over the year 1896-7, at the rate of 10 per cent; in 1898-9, when the full preference of one-fourth was in force, the increase over 1897-8, was at the rate of 14 per cent; and in 1898-9 over 1896-7 at the rate of 26 per cent. To put it in another way, if the preferential tariff had not been in force, Great Britain, in her importations, would have paid \$1,683,288.45 in customs duties more than she did. Look at it, then, any way you please, you have this fact impressed again and again, that British importations are increasing, instead of decreasing, and that the motherland is getting a substantial preference in our markets.

And, what is the value of the tariff to Canada? For one thing, we are getting cheaper goods, and that is a boon to our working classes. Twenty-five per cent means a benefit to the consumer; and no amount of quibbling can change, or twist, or contort that fact. Even if it were true, that the American manufacturer holds his ground under this tariff, he can only do so by lowering the price of his goods to the point at which these goods can be supplied by the British manufacturer; and, that again, enables the Canadian merchant to buy cheaper and sell cheaper. Sir, it is hardly fair to criticise the infant days of a new policy: because it does not, or cannot accomplish all we desire it to accomplish. Do not condemn the child, because he has not the strength of a man. So far it has accomplished something, and we expect that it will do yet greater things in the days that are coming. We are nearer the heart of the mother to-day, than we have been for a long, long time. The evidences of such are all around us. We are bearing her load to-day upon our young shoulders, and by God's help, we will bear it well. In no part of the empire is the struggle in which Britain is engaged watched more closely than in Canada. In a sense all things have become new; the old has passed away. Our admiration is unbounded, for her strength is as strong as ever, and her right hand has not forgot her cunning. Her magnificent exertions to-day remind me of a poem by Gerald Massey, which runs thus:

There she sits in her island home,
Peerless among her peers;
And humanity oft to her arms doth come,
To ease its poor heart of tears.
Old England still throbs with the muffled fire
Of a past she can never forget;
And again shall she banner the world up higher,
For there's life in the old land yet.

They would mock at her now, who of old lookt forth

In their fear, as they heard her afar;
But loud will your wail be, O kings of the earth !
When the old land goes down to war.

The avalanche trembles, half launcht and half riven;

Her voice will in motion set;
O ring out the tidings, ye winds of heaven !
There's life in the old land yet.

The old nursing mother's not hoary yet,
There is sap in her Saxon tree ;—
Lo ! she lifteth a bosom of glory yet,
Thro' her mists, to the land and the sea,
Fair as the Queen of Love, fresh from the foam,
Or a star in a dark cloud set;

Ye may blazen her shame, ye may leap at her name,

But there's life in the old land yet.

Let the storm burst, it will find the old land
Ready-ripe for a rough red fray;
She will fight as she fought when she took her stand,

For the right in the olden day.
Ay, rouse the old royal soul, Europe's best hope
Is her sword-edge by victory set.
She shall dash freedom's foes adown Death's bloody slope;

For there's life in the old land yet.

These are burning words—words which rouse the patriotic fire in every Canadian bosom. In response we are helping her to fight her battles. This preferential tariff as it now stands—and if not perfect, we must make it more perfect, as time discloses its imperfections—is helping, and will help her, to fight her great trade battles. Grand it is to think, that we stand side by side with her in her battles in South Africa ; but to me, it is grander still—yea, it is the grandest thought of all—that we are with her in all that makes her strong and great. Our life in her life, and her life in our life, will yet make the world to realize as it has never done, 'that there's life in the old land yet.'

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Speaker, as we are pretty well overcome with the poetic fervour of the hon. gentleman who has just spoken, and as the hour is getting late, I move that the debate be now adjourned.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). I do not think it would be reasonable to expect the hon. gentleman to go on tonight. He is quite unequal to the occasion, and I am willing that the debate should be adjourned.

Mr. MONTAGUE. No, I am ready to go on. I protest against the insinuation that we are not prepared to go on. I am moving the adjournment of the debate at the request of an hon. gentleman on the other side of the House.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 11.45 p.m.

Mr. MAXWELL.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 16, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 95) respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company.—(Mr. Britton.)

Bill (No. 96) respecting the Quebec Bridge Company.—(Mr. Talbot.)

Bill (No. 97) to incorporate the Portage du Fort and French River Railway Company.—(Mr. Mackie.)

PRIVILEGE—INDIAN AGENT KEITH.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I rise to a question of privilege. On the 12th of February, the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis) made the following statement :

Now, the less that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin), or any other hon. gentleman on the other side of the House, says about that, the better it will be for themselves. In one case there was one Indian agent by the name of Keith. Why was he dismissed? The reason was that the clergy petitioned the government to have that man dismissed from the position of Indian agent.

I have in my hand the following question, which I asked yesterday :

When did Hilton Keith cease to be an officer of the Indian Department? What was his position at the time? Was he subsequently employed in connection with treaty payments to certain Indians? Did he resign, or was he deprived of his position?

The answer given by the hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), acting Minister of the Interior, was as follows :

In reply to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say: 1. Mr. Hilton Keith ceased to be an officer of the Indian Department on the 15th October, 1898. 2. The position he held at the time was that of Indian agent at the Carlton agency. 3. He was not, subsequent to the date at which he ceased to be an officer of the Indian Department, employed in connection with treaty payments to any Indians. 4. He resigned.

The answer of the acting Minister of the Interior in reply to the hon. gentleman was : I beg to say that Mr. Hilton Keith ceased to be an officer of the Indian Department on the 15th of October, 1898. He resigned, so that the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis), in regard to an important matter affecting a prominent citizen of this country, and concerning which the House was deeply concerned to know the facts, deceived the House. I do not say intentionally, but you can put your own construction upon it.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—UN-
OPPOSED MOTIONS.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to move the adjournment of the House. I shall not take up very much of the time of the House myself, and if some hon. gentlemen think that when this matter was discussed before, I spoke with some warmth, I hope they will not deceive themselves in that respect at present, although I hope that I shall speak with equal earnestness.

I rise to make a second protest from this side of the House, on behalf of the opposition, on my own behalf and that of every fair-minded member of this House, on whatever side he sits—a protest as strong and earnest as I can make it—against the position taken by the right hon. gentleman who leads the government, and the government which he leads, with reference to the obtaining of information by members of this House, and I shall continue to make my remonstrance as strongly and as vigorously as I possibly can, until this present embargo—an embargo unheard of up to this time in the annals of parliament, an embargo which is just as outrageous, as unheard of—shall have been removed. There are but two ways in which you can get information in this House. One is by putting a question to a minister, and it is entirely within the discretion of the minister himself, as to whether the answer he gives will convey any information at all or not, so that this means of obtaining information is a limited and imperfect one at the best. Such, however, is not at all the case with the second method of getting information, namely; by putting on the paper a notice of motion, for a return, which motion will come up in its regular order, and then, when granted, relying upon the minister carrying out the order of the House and bringing down the information called for. I think I can say, that since we have had a parliament in Canada, the second method of obtaining information has been very freely exercised, and very carefully guarded by the members and the different ministers, who from time to time have had the direction of affairs in this House. There are two sets of motion which are put on the Order paper. One you may call the academic, and I do not attach the term as a stigma, but to mark the distinction. Such, for instance, would be the notice which stands in the name of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), with reference to the practice of delivering speeches in this House and deprecating the making of long speeches. That is a matter which is causing a good deal of hilarity, I see, to the acting Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sutherland), at present. But, a motion like that is what we may call an academic one, and, these academic questions give rise to a good deal of discussion and long discussions, in the House, and a large portion of the time of the House is

taken up by different members giving their views on the abstract questions raised, in the expectation that some time or other their ideas may fructify in a way of governmental action, or the enactment of a law. But, the other class of notices of motion is for an entirely different purpose. These are to get information, and nine-tenths of those notices are not for the sake of discussion at all. Sometimes a member may choose to open up a subject, when he calls for the papers, but as a general rule, that is not done, and I appeal to the record in my own instance, for proof of this statement. I think I can say, that, since I have been on this side of the House, there is not one instance in which I have attempted to discuss a motion of that kind made by myself, until I have got the papers and information. Such motions are merely perfunctory, so far as debate is concerned. They do not give rise to any debate, or at the most, a short debate, and are intended merely to obtain information. If you will take up the Notice paper, you will find that this session as in every session, there is quite a proportion of what I may call academic notices of motion, resolutions which will produce lengthy discussion with reference to some principle such as I have indicated in the case of the hon. member for North Norfolk. The practice, therefore, has grown up in this House, and has prevailed in it ever since I have been a member, of allowing the unopposed motions to pass, before taking up the others. I do not believe that there can be cited one instance in which the leader of the government refused to carry out that practice and allow members their privilege, until the right hon. gentleman did so the other day. But in what position are we now? How is a member to do his duty in this House? He cannot go into a minister's office, he has not the keys of the department, he has no right to rummage in the archives. He is absolutely at the mercy of the Prime Minister to-day, as to whether he will get one iota of information from this time until the end of the session. And it is a mercy which, so far as the Prime Minister is concerned, we have no doubt, will not be exercised; because he has stated, not once but twice, that he does not intend to allow it during the remainder of the session. Now, I will state my own position. I want information about certain questions and have put my motions on the Order paper. I am under the disability of coming behind these first academic resolutions, which will have to be debated. The government itself shears from the private members their time, and, as the session goes on, more of their time, so that greater prominence proportionately is given to the academic questions, and one's chance of reaching a motion calling for information grows less as the session goes on, down to the vanishing point. Dozens of other members in this House are in that position—

members on both sides. For instance, I wish to know something with reference to a very important matter—the railway subsidy payments. You have the Auditor General of this Dominion, an official of parliament, stating in his report that he finds that it is practically impossible to exercise any auditing power over the expenditure in railway subsidies under the present system, as to the scale of payments which has been adopted by the Minister of Railways and Canals. This House ought to have a chance to discuss that matter. So far as I know, there is but one instance of a road that has been brought under the operation of that Subsidy Bill. I have a notice of motion for, return of reports of the engineers sent to ascertain the cost basis of the subsidy to be paid to the Restigouche Railroad Company for the first ten miles of its line, and the reports and orders in council relating to the payment of the same. That road has been paid more than \$3,200 a mile on a certain statement as to basis of cost; and if you will read the Auditor General's report you will see that he says that the basis is very unsatisfactory. I want the engineer's report on that subject, and here is my motion for a return. And can I get it? No; it is absolutely and physically impossible to reach it under the embargo put on our proceedings by the leader of the House. Therefore, I am shorn of my power; I cannot do my duty as a representative of my constituents, I cannot do my duty to the general public. And what is it, I ask? To proceed upon imagination or hearsay? Do I ask grace, mercy or favour? No, Sir, I ask information as it exists in the department, and I cannot get it under that embargo. There is another thing I would like to discuss—the gold claims in the Yukon, which, to-day, I do not hesitate to say are in a most anomalous and unsatisfactory condition. I have a notice here calling for, return showing the number of gold claims in the Yukon which have been given in compensation for claims alleged to have been lost through mistakes of officials or otherwise, with all papers, correspondence, reports and orders in connection therewith and any regulations or instructions in relation thereto. Will any hon. gentleman say that that is not an important matter? What facts have so far been brought out? Why, that at the mere whim of the minister, it is possible for a man to have a gold claim given him. If a man comes up and satisfies the minister that he had a prospective claim, and that he lost it, because of some mistake of an official in getting out the forms, the minister may say: Very well, I will give you another gold claim instead of it. Does not everybody believe and know that that is a most important thing? I wish to get information upon this subject, and so do other members of the House; but an embargo is laid upon us, and it is absolutely and physically impossible that we can get that information. I have nearly a dozen motions on the paper.

Mr. FOSTER.

I am personal in speaking of this matter, because I am speaking for myself. But other members are in exactly the same position, and argument applies with equal force in their favour. Now, what is the reason that this embargo has been put on? Is it right that members should have the greatest facilities for securing information? Is it the constitutional practice in a British-governed country that they should have information? Without doubt these two things are true. Why, then, is this embargo put on? If it is an outrage to put such an embargo on under general circumstances, it comes mighty near, Mr. Speaker, to being a crime under the present circumstances. Why? Because the evident purpose is to keep back a motion which impugns the government officials in dealing with the dearest right of the people of this country, the right to have their ballots counted as they put them into the ballot boxes. Strip off all evasion—and it does not take any great acumen or brilliancy of mind to pierce through it—and the whole affair means: We are not going to let you get at Mr. Borden's notice and so get this question before the Committee on Privileges and Elections. That is why I say that if it is an outrage under ordinary circumstances, it comes very close to being criminal under present circumstances.

That is all I have to say. I make my protest as strongly as I can. I make it to men sitting opposite to me, and who have echoed in their hearts every word I have said, so far as the right is concerned. I say it is un-British that we should be put under an embargo of that kind, at the whim of any man, I do not care whom he is, because, by accident or otherwise, he happens to lead a government for the time being, what right has he, what moral right, what parliamentary right, what right in the government of a free people, to put an embargo of that kind, by his own whim, upon members on both sides of the House? I shall continue to make my protest as long as I am a member of this House until this outrageous and unheard-of embargo is raised, and members are allowed full opportunity to obtain the information they have a right to obtain.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I would once more appeal, not to the passions, but to the common sense of the House on this question. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) has spoken as though I had violated every rule of the House. I place myself in the judgment of the House that I have not violated a single rule, either the spirit or the letter thereof. The hon. gentleman is angry, because I have refused, as leader of the House, to grant him a privilege. Now, if I refuse a privilege to a man, I do not invade that man's rights. What reason has he to ask of me a privilege? What reason has he to complain if I say we will abide by the rules of the House? He said my conduct was un-British. Is it un-British to stand by the rules of the

House, which have been made the rules by the consent of all ?

Mr. FOSTER. Refusal of fair-play is un-British.

The PRIME MINISTER. I shall have great pleasure in discussing the question of fair-play with the hon. gentleman, and appealing on that ground even to his own followers. We have been in the habit of going through the Order paper and passing unopposed motions. What do we mean by 'unopposed motions,' I ask the hon. gentleman himself? But I already have his definition. In the light of the impassioned speech he has made, unopposed motions refer to motions, such as he has placed himself on the Order paper, calling for the production of papers and nothing else—calling for the production of papers to be placed on the Table of the House so that they may be the basis of discussion at a later period. That is what we understand by unopposed motions. Understanding this rule that unopposed motions are motions for the production of papers, at a late sitting of the House, I was asked that we should go through the unopposed motions. I granted the request willingly. We did the same thing upon another day ; we took up motions for the production of papers—

Mr. BERGERON. No, no ; that was not granted.

The PRIME MINISTER. Every unopposed motion which was not debatable was granted.

Mr. BERGERON. No, I have one here which my right hon. friend will remember.

The PRIME MINISTER. That is not an unopposed motion. What we understand by an unopposed motion is a motion that is not debatable. The motion of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) is debatable.

Mr. BERGERON. No, it is not a debatable motion.

The PRIME MINISTER. Does the hon. gentleman say that because it is not debatable by him it is not debatable by us ? My hon. friend has a motion on the paper, and, if, I, myself, or some other person, have some observation to offer upon it, the hon. gentleman says : No, I do not think it is debatable ; I do not want to discuss it, and, therefore, it is not a debatable motion. Again I appeal to the sense of fair-play of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster). The motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) was not a motion for the production of papers. It was not one of those motions, which, we understand, are unopposed motions. It was a motion which, in its character, was debatable. It never came within the category intended to be treated as unopposed motions, and because that motion was not of that character, I said, 'Stand.' On the following day I was attacked on the ground that I had refused to allow

this motion to be passed. If I refused to allow that motion to be passed I was strictly within my rights ; it was not an unopposed motion, it was not a motion for the production of papers, yet, I was accused and attacked because I said that we would follow the rules of the House. If that be considered fair-play, if that is what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) calls British, I do not understand the word British in the same way, I do not understand fair-play in the same way. Therefore, when an hon. gentleman asks us the same thing again, and if the same accusations are repeated against us, we shall stand by the rules of the House, and we stand by the rules of the House to-day. Is there any want of fair-play because we stand by the rules of the House ? What are the rules for ? The rules of the House are for the hon. gentleman, as for myself. Every man in this House stands upon an equal footing. There are sixty or seventy notices of motion on the Order paper to-day ; every one must be taken in its turn, one must be taken at a time, and the others must wait for their turn. Therefore, what right has the hon. gentleman to fly into a passion and to assail us in the manner in which he has when there is not the slightest cause whatever for it? What is the use of appealing to passions and trying to represent that we are arbitrary ? How can we be arbitrary so long as we stand by the rules and orders of this House ? Here is the Order paper ; every hon. member of this House, who has a notice on the paper, has it called in its turn and because we do that, the hon. gentleman flies into a passion and charges that we are violating all the rules of parliamentary government, that we are refusing fair-play to himself and to other hon. gentlemen opposite. Sir, if the hon. gentleman wants to have fair-play in this House, there are rules which provide for that, and we will follow these rules. That is what we call fair-play, but if the hon. gentleman wants to lay aside these rules, for the convenience of the House, he shall always find me ready to do that, but, not if, when that privilege is extended, it is abused, as it has been for some time past. If the hon. gentleman is willing to say unopposed motions for the production of papers shall be taken, I shall always be ready to do that, but this term 'unopposed motion' does not apply to the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden).

An hon. MEMBER. Yes.

The PRIME MINISTER. No, it does not ; it is not a motion of that character, and that is the reason I stated that the objection was made and that the request of the hon. gentleman could not be granted. I stated to the House the reasons which actuated me. The hon. gentleman was pleased to say that it was by an accident that I have been placed here. It is a misfortune, perhaps, but at all events, I cannot help that. He cannot help it, for he has done his best

to prevent it, and he will do it again. He will succeed or fail, but, at all events, so long as I am here and so long as I stand by the rules of the House, I do not think that anybody will have reason to complain. Let me say one word more, and in saying it I do not think that I claim any undue privilege for myself; I have endeavoured, so far as it was in my power, to act courteously towards every hon. member of this House. I have endeavoured to meet the convenience of hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House, and I shall always be ready to do so. But, certainly, I have a right to expect that, when hon. gentlemen ask for a departure from the rules of the House, it shall not be made a weapon of attack against me.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am quite certain, from the mode in which the right hon. gentleman who leads the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) has addressed it, on the present occasion, that he feels the gravity of the position, and I am not without hope that I may be able to suggest a *modus vivendi*. I may say that the point raised by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) who sits at my left, is a most important one, as every hon. member in the House must see. I will admit, for argument's sake, that the right hon. gentleman had reason to take exception to the complaint that was made when the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) was reached, and he said that it was to stand. I will, for the sake of argument, admit that the right hon. leader of the House is only standing on his rights when he says that it is for every hon. member of the House, on either side, to say if he wishes to debate a motion, whether the mover says that it should be debated or not. But I do not think the right hon. gentleman will want to take the position that because any person in this House has raised a question upon a subject in which, there is no doubt, a good deal of feeling, it is desirable that every hon. member in this House should be punished, or that he should maintain a position which has never been maintained by any of his predecessors in this House. He admits, himself, that the invariable practice has been, from time immemorial, since this parliament was a parliament, that, for the purpose of facilitating the passage of motions on which there is no desire on the part of the mover, or, on the part of any hon. member of the House, to introduce a debate, to allow that motion to pass, and he will admit that it is most undesirable that anything should stand in the way of securing a large amount of information, that every person wishes should be brought before the House, by preventing motions being reached in order that papers may be brought down. I am quite sure that there will be no difference of opinion on that question. I am bound to admit that, notwithstanding all that has been said, it was within the right of the right hon. gen-

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tleman to cause the motion to stand for discussion if he considered it was necessary, and that it is not for the mover or any other hon. member of the House to interpose his decision against that, because it is the invariable right of every hon. member on either side of the House to say: I want to discuss that motion.

The PRIME MINISTER. The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) need not go any further. I am quite satisfied the moment it is understood that the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) is not of that character. If it is not to be considered as an unopposed motion, I will be quite willing to go through the usual process.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am extremely glad to hear that, because I think it removes an obstacle to the proper conduct of the business of this House, and I shall not say another word.

The PRIME MINISTER. After the explanation of the hon. gentleman, the moment it is agreed that the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) is not to be considered as one of those unopposed motions, I shall be glad on Monday next to go through the usual process.

Mr. T. B. FLINT (Yarmouth). I wish, Mr. Speaker, to make a few remarks on this subject. I call attention to the fact that these motions to adjourn the House so frequently, made on private members days, have taken away from private members a great part of their privileges in this House. Hon. gentlemen in this House have placed on the Order paper a large number of motions, some of which are of an academic character, and some, if they pass the House, are supposed to be followed by returns being brought down. I point out to the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) that the reaching and the discussion of these motions is constantly delayed by the habit of members moving the adjournment of the House. Some hon. gentlemen, more anxious about matters personal to themselves than they are about the conduct of public business, take up the time of the House by discussing their peculiar grievances on a motion to adjourn, and we all know that had they abstained from doing this, motions would have been reached long ago which have not been reached yet. I have watched this carefully, because I have a notice of motion seventeen or eighteen numbers down the list which I am very anxious to have brought before the House. Inquiry is frequently made by persons interested in this motion as to why it is not proceeded with, and those who are not acquainted with the rules of the House sometimes attach blame to the member in whose name the motion is, for not pressing it forward. Although a motion to adjourn the House is strictly parliamentary, it is quite apparent to all that the right has been exercised to an un-

warrantable degree during this and the last session. The true purpose of such a motion is, that matters of great importance and of immediate urgency might be discussed, but during the last session or two some members have fallen into the bad habit of discussing everything beneath the sun under the guise of a motion to adjourn. It would appear that if any hon. gentleman is so disposed, he can move the adjournment in order to discuss his pet grievance or his pet hobby. The hon. gentleman for Halifax (Mr. Borden) has an important motion on the Order paper which some members on this side of the House intend to discuss, and the House has been treated to complaint after complaint with regard to the elections in West Huron and Brockville, and every detail in connection with them has been raked up at great length by hon. gentlemen opposite, who make a great outcry if those who object to some of their arguments desire to place another view before the House. I desire to intimate, Sir, that if this principle of moving to adjourn the House is to be adopted in season and out of season, and if the time allotted to private members is to be wasted by gentlemen opposite, I will undertake later on to bring up some of what may be called my own hobbies, in similar fashion, and take up the time of the House discussing them.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. FLINT. I do not see why hon. gentlemen opposite should have the right to monopolize the entire time of parliament discussing every matter they can think of under the cover of this motion to adjourn. I quite agree with many of the points laid down by the hon. member (Mr. Foster) in reference to passing these unopposed motions for papers which are required in the discussion of various matters that come before us, but I do think that the time is rapidly approaching when some modus vivendi should be established, or some new rule adopted to prevent the abuse of the motion to adjourn. I believe a committee from both sides of the House could, without unduly hampering the fair discussion of matters of urgent importance, agree on a rule which would prevent a great deal of the time of the House being wasted. I trust that hon. gentlemen of both sides of the House will combine to restrict as much as possible, this line of discussion, in order to give myself and my colleagues who have important notices of motion on the Order paper, an opportunity to discuss them and to amend them if necessary, earlier in the session.

Mr. JOHN HAGGART (South Lanark). This is, perhaps, one of the most important questions that has come before the House for years. I have been a member of this House for a long time, and my interpretation of the rule is, that when a member puts a notice on the Order paper, it merely

gives him priority of discussion for that question. It certifies that on a certain day, when that motion is reached, he has a right of priority to discuss it, but it does no more. We cannot discuss the question at all on a motion to adjourn, nor can we bring it up as an amendment in going into supply. When the motion is called on the Order paper, if a member of the government or any member in the House, says 'stand,' there is no opportunity for discussing it, and so the members of the opposition are completely estopped from taking any means to bring that matter before the House. For my part, I would like to have the opinion of the House as to what the proper procedure would be. As I have said, a motion on the Order paper gives the member the right of priority, and when it is reached, any member may insist that he should go on with it, and if the member does not proceed the motion is dropped. The practice grew up in the House of taking unopposed motions, and this motion of the hon. gentleman from Halifax (Mr. Borden) is literally an unopposed motion or should be, at all events. It is a reference to the committee of a matter which was before the House last session, upon which evidence was taken, and no one would have imagined that it was a question upon which there would be any discussion. But what position was my hon. friend (Mr. Borden) in? He was prevented from going on with his motion; he could not drop it; he could not discuss it on adjournment, nor in any other way. Surely, if that is the rule of the House, the rule should be changed. But, Sir, I have been in the House for nearly thirty years, and I have always seen the unopposed motions passed as a matter of course, or otherwise, of course, our rules would be a farce. Otherwise it is in the power of any member of the House, and especially the ministry, to prevent a discussion of any subject, by asking that any question which they do not wish to discuss, or which they wish to oppose, be allowed to stand. If that is the interpretation to be put upon the rules of the House, it is time those rules were changed, or that a universal consensus of opinion were arrived at that unopposed motions should pass as a matter of course.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). With a great deal of what the hon. gentleman says, who has just spoken, I fully concur. I think he has to a great extent correctly stated the rules of the House, and I agree with him, that they may require revision. But, we are not now discussing the question of a revision of the rules; we are discussing the rules as they exist to-day, and the question, what are unopposed motions? Neither the leader of the government, nor the leader of the opposition has any more right, with respect to notices of motion, than any other individual member. When a motion is made by a member of the House, any other mem-

ber has a right to discuss it. Unopposed motions are not merely motions relating to the production of papers, but motions which by unanimous consent, will be carried, whether they are for the production of papers or for the discussion of academic questions. If any member desires to discuss a motion when it is moved, he may desire it to stand. The fact that it relates to the production of papers has nothing to do with the question. Unopposed motions are simple motions which, by the unanimous consent of the House, are allowed to pass.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is quite right.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. In the particular case under discussion, my hon. friend from Kingston (Mr. Britton), has intimated that he proposes to discuss the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Borden), so far as it relates to the Brockville election; therefore, it ceases to be an unopposed motion, and it must take its place on the Order paper along with the other notices. The hon. member for Halifax has no more rights with regard to that motion, than any other member of this House, with regard to a notice which he may have on the paper. Each member may think that his own motion is of greater importance than others; but, each must submit to the rules, or obtain the unanimous consent of the House to the rules being set aside. That is, I think, a fair statement of the case, and I submit to the House, that, not only was the right hon. leader of the government in his right, but that, if he attempted to say to the House, 'I will allow this motion, and I will not allow that,' he would be usurping powers which do not belong to him.

Mr. FOSTER. Nobody asked him to do that.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. As the leader of the House, he has more responsibility than private members, but as to saying that he will, or will not allow a particular motion to be made, he has no more power than any other member, however humble he may be.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). I am very glad the Prime Minister has abandoned a punitive policy, the principle of which was borrowed from a savage and bygone age. The principle behind the policy of the right hon. gentleman was this, that because one member of the opposition offended, the whole opposition, and for that matter, all members of the House who might have unopposed notices of motion on the Notice paper would be punished. The right hon. gentleman having reflected and slept over the matter, has come to the civilized standpoint which is habitual to him, and has abandoned the savage standpoint that belonged to the policy of William I., and the Irish pale. But, Sir, I am going

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to deal for one moment with a more important question, which has been lost sight of for a moment. The right hon. gentleman has discussed the rules, and he has dwelt on the importance of carrying them out. He has talked of privilege, but what is beneath rule and privilege and procedure of this House? Is it not to secure efficiency? Is it not to make this House as complete an inquest of the nation as possible, to enable us to inquire into everything especially into everything connected with the government? Let me read to the right hon. gentleman what he himself said, speaking in one of the most important towns of this Dominion:

We are charged with corruption. Well, to all these charges of corruption the government of to-day have one answer: whenever a charge is brought we will grant an inquiry. That is the only answer we have to give.

Now, Sir, if there is anything in the motion of my hon. friend (Mr. Borden, Halifax), it is a charge of corruption; and what does the right hon. gentleman do? Does he facilitate inquiry? No; what he does is to put up the rules and the etiquette of the House as a barrier against inquiry. I say it is the duty of the leader of the House and the duty of the government to facilitate inquiry in every possible way. Anybody in this House who says this is an opposed motion, in the usual sense of that term, is really not talking by the book. We know that in grain and principle, it is an unopposed motion, and I appeal to the right hon. gentleman, as he is in his best mood to-day, to fall back on his own best traditions, and to say, 'Here I will use my authority with my party, and with the ebullient member for Kingston, and when this motion is arrived at, if the hon. member for Halifax moves it, I will see that nobody will say one word against it, and then it will pass, and we shall have an inquiry.' I assure the right hon. gentleman that, be the time near, or be it far—and very far it cannot be—when he goes to the country, he will be in a much better position before the country, if he does that, than if he places us in the position to say, 'There stands the Prime Minister; he is a very graceful character, a charming man, a most lovable person naturally, but he has sold himself to the Tartes and the Sutherlands.'

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. DAVIN. Who says 'ah'? Or, was it 'ba'? Or, was it 'bray'?

Mr. GIBSON. It was only the echo.

Mr. DAVIN. It is my obese friend. I thought that cry came from a ventrical region, and I see that it came from an hon. member of this House, who is very powerful in all directions, especially the ventrical. Well, Mr. Speaker, I say that the right hon. gentleman will stand better before the country if he does not put such a weapon as that

into our hands, because he is not a guiltless man. We took him at his word. He said that, if there was a charge of corruption, he would throw wide open the doors of inquiry, but when we came to the inquiry, he himself slammed those doors in our face, and barred and bolted them.

Motion (Mr. Foster) to adjourn negatived.

SUCCESSOR TO GENERAL HUTTON.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to ask the right hon. leader of the government whether he can inform this House if his government has appointed an Imperial officer as successor to General Hutton in command of the Canadian militia?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am not in a position to give any information to my hon. friend to-day.

P. E. I. MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. A. MARTIN (East Queen's, P.E.I.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to call the attention of the government to the fact that no mails have been received from the province of Prince Edward Island since the 10th of this month, and I am informed that the new boat, the *Minto*, has been floating helplessly in the gulf since last Monday.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The steamer *Minto* left on Monday, but got caught in the ice and did not reach Pictou until yesterday. On Wednesday, a telegram came that she was in the ice, and the *Stanley* was at once ordered to be put in commission to take her place. The mails have been landed at Pictou and are on their way up.

Mr. MARTIN. Has the Cape route been put in operation so that the mails could come that way? Have any orders been given to have the mails forwarded by the Cape, or what has become of the *Stanley*, which is yet an efficient boat, and is tied up at the wharf in Georgetown?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman could not have caught my reply. The *Stanley* has been in Georgetown all winter, with her officers and engineers on board, and the fires banked, ready to take the place of the *Minto* in case of accident. On Thursday, within half an hour after the news came that the *Minto* was in the ice, orders were telegraphed to put the *Stanley* in commission, and she was ready to start this morning. But the *Minto* has reached Pictou and landed her mails, and is now returning to Georgetown.

SUPPLY—PREFERENTIAL TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to again go into Committee of Supply, and the motion of Mr. Russell in amendment thereto.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). I wish, for a short time, to discuss the motion which has been put in your hands, Mr. Speaker, by the hon. the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), and seconded by the hon. member for Burrard (Mr. Maxwell). The mover and seconder of this motion both gave us yesterday afternoon well written and well read exercises, to which I am sorry a larger number of members did not take the privilege of listening. I am afraid, Sir, that I am not prepared to present to the House an equally well-written and well-conned essay upon the subject which these gentlemen introduced to your attention. I hope that *Hansard* got every word of the statements which the hon. gentleman from Halifax and the hon. gentleman from Burrard gave to the House; but if *Hansard* is in fault, I am sure that the notes which these hon. gentlemen have are sufficiently voluminous and complete to supply anything that may be lacking in the correctness and completeness of the *Hansard* report.

We are becoming accustomed to rather extraordinary parliamentary usage under hon. gentlemen opposite, but I think we may all agree that we had yesterday one of the most extraordinary spectacles yet exhibited, so far as parliamentary procedure is concerned, when we had a Minister of Finance of the present government moving that this House go into Committee of Supply, and one of his own supporters, and a very prominent supporter—evidently after very careful consideration, I am not going to say collusion—moving that instead of going into committee to grant supplies for the public service, this House should pause in its proceedings to express an opinion upon a policy which hon. gentlemen opposite placed upon our statute-books some three years ago. It appears to me there can be only one reason why that motion was placed in the hands of the junior member for Halifax, and why such exceedingly great care was taken in the presentation of the reasons for its adoption, and that must be this, that the case for that policy of the present government is so very weak that it requires a special debate and a special motion to impress its importance and value upon the attention of this House and the country.

There may have been another reason why the government were particularly anxious. It may be that the government were particularly anxious to give the hon. member for Burrard (Mr. Maxwell) an opportunity of declaiming to the House some fine patri-

otic poetry, which he did in the later stages of his speech—poetry which was so stirring in itself and so stirringly presented, that the Minister of Railways dropped off, under its influence, into a peaceful slumber, from which he was only awakened by the voice of the hon. member for Burrard declaiming later on: Behold, old things have passed away, and all things have become new. The Minister of Railways, evidently thinking that this was the announcement of the result of the general elections soon to take place, started up from his slumber and anxiously lent his ear to the carefully rounded phrases of the hon. gentleman. The hon. member for Burrard, however, evidently was not referring to events about to happen, but I fancy that he glanced around this House and referred to events which have happened, and if he referred to events which have happened within the circle of his own party and the circle of that party's dealing with public policies and issues, no truer words were ever spoken in this parliament.

Why, Sir, he glanced around for a moment and looked for those men, who only a few years ago, wept over the fate of the poor, downtrodden, highly-taxed farmers of the province of Ontario and the North-west; and lo and behold, each one of these gentlemen was either gone or dumb. He looked for the gentleman who, only a few years ago, declared that we were spendthrifts, that we were robbers, when we spent thirty-eight millions of public money; but he had gone and was resting peacefully and happily under the conviction that we were economists when we were spending fifty millions. He looked around for the gentleman who once voted for a Bill introduced by the present Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), declaring it to be against the independence of parliament for a member of this House to accept an office of emolument under the Crown; and he found that a large number had gone to take those offices, and still a larger number of those who remained were waiting for the chance. He looked around for the gentleman who, a few years ago, with his hand on his heart and a tear in his voice, declared that just so sure as the sun of springtime should break the fetters that bound the river Ottawa, just so sure would unrestricted reciprocity prosper and become triumphant in this country, and so far as he was concerned he was willing to live and die by it—and he found the hon. gentleman living by entirely other means. He looked around for a reciprocity treaty and found on his desk a bill of \$34,600 for a pleasure excursion to Quebec and Washington, but no reciprocity treaty, although these gentlemen declared that it would soon be secured provided the electors of Canada would place them in office. He looked around also for the anti-Imperialists of other days, he looked around for the men who sneered at the hon. member for North

Mr. MONTAGUE.

Bruce (Mr. McNeill) as the member for the empire, and he found that the anti-Imperialists had gone and that the Liberal party in Canada, at least as represented in parliament, has become still louder in their professions of Imperialistic ideas than we ever dared to be when we were on that side of the House.

Well, Sir, the hon. member for Burrard, and the hon. member for Halifax, are somewhat new to the House. This is their first parliament, and if they dreamed that they were endorsing the past Liberal members and Liberal leaders in this House by pronouncing so strongly in favour of Imperialistic policy, they were entirely mistaken. I can tell the hon. member for Halifax and the hon. member for Burrard that in the old days the Imperial Federation League used to meet in one of the small committee rooms of the House of Commons, and I can tell them that it was a surprise in those days to find a member of the Liberal party at any of those meetings. But we turned up at a meeting of the United Empire League in the railway committee room of the House of Commons, and there was scarcely room for the Conservative members who found in their hearts to come in, because of the large number of those not new Liberals, but new Imperialists, who find it profitable in these days to float on the current of popular Imperialistic policy. Why, Sir, I remember only a few years ago when the foremost advocate of inter-Imperial trade paid a visit to the House of Commons of Canada. I refer to a gentleman who time and time again in the Imperial House moved motions on this question. He was a guest there, and was given a banquet in the restaurant below; and I remember that on that occasion only one member of the Liberal party saw fit to lend his encouragement or pay us the compliment of his presence at that banquet—and he at the end, felt it necessary to privately make excuse for his presence there. I may tell the hon. member for Halifax and the hon. member for Burrard that when they were talking of the leader of this government being an empire-builder, it is not so many years past that the Prime Minister, when the American Senate had rejected a treaty which Grover Cleveland declared was a fair and honourable settlement of the fisheries questions that were in dispute, and when having rejected it, the Americans threatened retaliation—though what they should retaliate against us upon no one ever understood—when that bull of retaliation was threatened against Canada, the gentleman who is now called an empire-builder stood up in the city of St. Thomas and declared that the United States were right and that Canada and Great Britain were wrong, and that their conduct towards the United States in connection with the fisheries question had been vexatious and harassing. And I might tell these hon. gentlemen a fact

which they already know, I fancy, that, within sound of their voices, when they were talking of hon. gentlemen on that side of the House as empire-builders, when they were boasting loudly of their Imperialistic spirit, and moving and seconding a motion of compliment to the government on its so-called preferential trade, was a very distinguished gentleman who, only a short time ago, addressing an American audience, proposed his policy to them and declared that the result of that policy would be to turn over to the people of the United States the trade of half a continent. And that hon. gentleman is now classed with the Imperialists whom these hon. gentlemen are supporting in this debate.

We welcome, Sir, the change from anti-Imperialism to Imperialism. We find no fault with it. We are delighted and Canada is delighted. We are told by some who are ungenerous, I think, that it will only last as long as hon. gentlemen opposite are in power. I do not believe that. Hon. gentlemen during eighteen years of opposition learned one lesson at least—learned it well and by severe experience—that Canada will not support any policy that is not Canadian and British, and that it will not support any party that does not favour a Canadian and British policy. The special work of the hon. member for Halifax was to dilate upon the beauties of the so-called preferential tariff. And I am sorry that before he had well begun he made a few statements which were calculated to injure him in our good opinion, and to lessen our confidence in the fairness of his judgment on the questions he was about to discuss. He began by saying that the Liberal party, as regards the tariff of this country, had carried out their promises to the electors. I must conclude, Sir, that that was a 'lapsus linguae' on the part of the hon. gentleman. I do not think that the hon. member for Halifax believes any such statement as that, and I believe still less that the people of the province of Nova Scotia, from which the hon. gentleman comes, believe it. And I think that his colleagues, one of the gentlemen whom he supports, the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) can tell him this is not believed by the people of the province of Prince Edward Island, whose opinion has in some measure and to some extent, been recently expressed upon that question. If the hon. Minister of the Interior were here I think he would tell him, so far as the people of Manitoba are concerned, that they have no confidence in the statement which the hon. gentleman has made as regards the tariff of this country. I do not intend to deal at length with that question, except to give a few figures, if the hon. gentleman will permit me to do so. Unfortunately, they are figures which have been given in this House before, but, they must be given as long as the statements which they contra-

dict are made, and improperly made, in this House. The policy of hon. gentlemen opposite, was, as we all know, the destruction of protection. Now, let us see whether these promises have been carried out. The rate per cent upon dutiable goods imported into Canada, in 1896 was 29·94, in 1899, it was 28·74, a decrease of one and one-fifth per cent, the former figures representing what we called protection, the latter figures representing what the hon. gentleman declares to be the destruction of protection. On dutiable and free goods, taking them altogether, in 1896, the rate was 18·28 per cent; in 1899, it was 16·57 per cent, or 1·71 per cent of a decrease, the difference representing the difference between the two tariffs. I am quite aware that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), declares that it is a most fallacious system to take averages, such as percentages like these, and base an argument for comparative purposes upon them. I am not disposed to dispute with the hon. gentleman upon that point, because, I think it is useless to dispute with an hon. gentleman, who, in this House, only a few years ago, called us extravagant, called us robbers, called us wasteful, when we spent \$38,000,000, and who, in bad health, travelled all the way to Toronto to say that he and his colleagues were statesmen and economists when they spent \$50,000,000 of the people's money. I want to ask the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), whether, in view of these facts, in view of these statements, he will persist in his assertion, that the government of Canada have carried out their policy in regard to the destruction of protection? Is the hon. gentleman himself satisfied? If the hon. gentleman is satisfied, are his constituents satisfied, are the people of Nova Scotia satisfied? If the hon. gentleman will not answer, let me ask the hon. members from the province of Manitoba and from the North-west Territories, whether there is one of them who will stand up in this House and say that the Liberal party of Canada have carried out their promises in regard to the reduction of taxation in this country. The hon. gentlemen ought to know, and they will know, I fancy, in very good time, that there is not a farmer in the Dominion of Canada, with an unbiassed mind, with a mind that the light of the facts has clearly shone on, who will say that the burden of taxation, which rested upon him, has been lightened by the conduct, or by the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite. The right hon. Prime Minister smiles, a smile of dissent. Will he tell me an article on which the farmers of Canada, to-day, pay less taxes than they did when hon. gentlemen, upon this side of the House, were in power? I have talked with farmers upon both sides of politics, and I have yet to find a Liberal farmer, who will say that the Liberal party of Canada, by their tariff of 1897, have lightened the bur-

den of taxation, under which he, to use the words of hon. gentlemen opposite, groaned previous to the accession of these hon. gentlemen to office.

Mr. WOOD. What about binder twine ?

Mr. MONTAGUE. What about binder twine ? I thank my dear friend from Hamilton (Mr. Wood), for that.

Mr. WOOD. What about barbed wire ?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Barbed wire, my hon. friend (Mr. Wood), says, but binder twine is the chief thing that disturbs the hon. gentleman's happy meditations. How much less has the farmer paid for his binder twine than he paid in 1896 ?

Mr. WOOD. There is no duty on it, at any rate.

Mr. MONTAGUE. There is no duty on it. It is true there is no duty upon it, but, there is a combine, supported and aided and abetted and kept together by the action of the government of Canada, for the benefit of hardware merchants, such as the hon. gentleman opposite. Perhaps my hon. friend had better ask : What about coal oil ? I do not intend to go into these individual things, but I want to tell my hon. friend that if he and his colleagues go to meet the farmers in the province of Ontario, and in the other provinces of this Dominion, they will find that they are ready to declare, and are anxious to declare, that the policy of these hon. gentlemen is a humbug, a delusion and a snare, and no one knows it better than the hon. gentlemen opposite themselves, no one knows it better than their colleagues from the North-west. We had him, the other day, when he was discussing the question of the lumber duty, as the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), last night showed, stating that a delegation came before the government that had more influence than half a dozen provinces of Manitoba, and that he had to resign, or allow his colleagues to do as they wished. He did not resign, and the people of the North-west Territories have suffered just the same, if they did suffer, as in days gone by. The history of the preferential trade movement, it appears to me, divides itself into two periods ; the first one is up to the remarkable speech of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in March, 1896, and the second period is from that time on. What is the history of that movement up to the time to which I have referred ? A large amount of public opinion was being created and stirred in the colonies and at home, stirred in the colonies by such men as the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), who was sneered and jeered at, time and time again, in this House ; stirred by such men as the late Mr. Dalton McCarthy, who, at one time, paid a great deal of attention to that sub-

Mr. MONTAGUE.

ject ; it was stirred at home, by such men as Colonel Howard Vincent, whose visit to the capital of Canada, I have already referred to, and stirred at home by the present hon. leader of the opposition, as by no other man, as hon. gentlemen will find when he visited all the great centres of population, of trade and commerce in the mother country, and pointed out to the people the falseness of their position, and the value to Canada and the empire that would result from the adoption of preferential trade between the colonies and the motherland. I do not need to go over all the agencies that were at work, but, I want to say, that, in all that period, from the inception of the movement up to the year 1896, there is not a line on record of any work being done by a member of the Liberal party, or by the Liberal party itself. Whoever else did it, the Liberal party did not do it. They made no speeches upon the subject ; they addressed no meetings on the subject, they moved no resolutions on the subject, except a motion in 1892, which I shall refer to, and which, Mr. Chamberlain in his celebrated speech at the Canada Club dinner, did not think worth while referring to, when he came to discuss the subject of Imperial and colonial trade. Well, Sir, in 1896, the period closed with that great speech of Mr. Chamberlain at the Canada Club dinner. A very great deal of discussion has taken place as to what was said and as to what was not said in that speech. I had the pleasure of sitting very close to Mr. Chamberlain when he was speaking ; I had the pleasure of listening to every word of that speech, and not only that, but I had the pleasure of discussing the question with Mr. Chamberlain, both before and after this speech had been made. First of all, the hon. member (Mr. Russell) says that no proposition was made by Mr. Chamberlain as representing the Imperial government ; but Mr. Chamberlain specifically said that while it was not the duty of Her Majesty's government to make a proposition, it was the pleasure of Her Majesty's government—as I know it was the pleasure of Mr. Chamberlain—to consider, and to seriously consider, any propositions which might come from the colonies with regard to greater freedom of trade between the colonies and the motherland. What did Mr. Chamberlain mean ? I know what Mr. Chamberlain meant ; I know the purpose of his speech ; and the purpose of that speech was to put the subject of Imperial and colonial trade, from an official source, into the public mind in Great Britain. The purpose of that great speech was to open the question up for discussion in the higher field of politics in the old country, and the purpose was further, to lay the foundation for a work which would eventually complete the building up of that Imperial and colonial trade advocated by Sir Charles Tupper, and advocated by Howard Vincent and others in the old country. Now, what

was the foundation of that speech of Mr. Chamberlain's? Was it the resolution moved by Sir Louis Davies in 1892, which looked to some sort of a half-way or one-sided preference such as we have at the present time? No, Sir; Mr. Chamberlain never mentioned that resolution, but when he wanted a text for his speech, he went to the resolution and the speech of my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), and he quoted them both, giving them the stamp of his approval. No gentleman in this House will say that there are any two opinions with regard to what was meant time and time again by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) when he discussed that subject in this House.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Mr. Chamberlain was criticised, it is true, but Mr. Chamberlain said he was not afraid of criticism if only the colonies would stand to his back, and Greater Britain could be aroused to the importance of that question.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Then we come to the second period. Mr. Chamberlain had not been idle after his speech at the Canada Club banquet. He made several addresses on the subject. Strength was gathering around the movement, and there can be no doubt that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whose mind, to whose heart, that subject of Imperial and colonial trade was most dear, looked upon the coming jubilee as a time when great things would result from the policy which he had launched at the Canada Club dinner in 1896. We had our Prime Minister of Canada go to these jubilee ceremonies, and I fancy the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain expected a hearty support from him. Well, Sir, what support was he given? The Prime Minister of Canada, the leader of a government pledged to support Imperial and colonial trade; pledged before the electors of Canada to get it more quickly than Sir Charles Tupper could possibly get it, pledged to it as a great boon to Canada; the Prime Minister of this country stood up, when he had only been a few hours on the soil of the motherland, and kicked completely over the work which Mr. Chamberlain and others had been doing for years. Why, the New York press, when it came to report the incident, said:

Now came a dramatic turn in the history of this movement.

And what was the dramatic turn? It was that Mr. Laurier stood up and said: We have given you a preference and we want nothing in return; we do not come with it as the price of something we wish to receive; we give it to you as a present. And then, said the New York press, and it said it to its happiness:

Then was killed the question of Imperial and colonial trade, which Mr. Chamberlain has been supporting in the heart of the empire, and which others have been supporting abroad.

But, Sir, Mr. Chamberlain was not satisfied even then, and at the conference of colonial Premiers he brought the question up once more. He discussed it with the Prime Ministers of those various colonies, and he said to them: If you want to have a commission to inquire into the why and the wherefore and the how, that this object can be attained to the advantage of both the colonies and the empire, Her Majesty's government will be most happy to take part in that commission and to undertake that work. Where is the voice of the Prime Minister of Canada asking that that commission should be appointed and that that work should be undertaken? Surely nothing less would have been expected of him than that he would have said, as a Prime Minister of Canada pledged to the support of that policy in the campaign of 1896; nothing less could have been asked of him than that he should have stood up for Canada and said: Let us have a commission to investigate the subject and to see whether it can be worked out upon a practical plan, if possible, and if we can we want it for the Dominion of Canada. But, there was the statement which Sir Wilfrid Laurier had made after he had landed in Liverpool; there was his statement: We give you this preference; we give it to you freely, and we ask and we expect nothing in return.

The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) has referred to all this movement as a beautiful dream, as a day dream, as a myth, as a charming myth, as a will-o'-the-wisp, in the labyrinthian pursuit of which the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) had many a time lost his way. Well, Sir, if it was a dream, a myth, and a charming myth, and a will-o'-the-wisp, it was a myth, and a charming myth, and a will-o'-the-wisp that attracted the attention of a man equal in intellect to the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell); I mean the Right Hon. Jos. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. And, Sir, it was a day dream, and a beautiful dream, and a charming myth and a will-o'-the-wisp that that Secretary of State for the Colonies thought sufficiently important to invite the assembled Prime Ministers of the colonies to discuss, and to try and work into practical shape. And, if it was a beautiful dream, and a charming myth, why did the present Prime Minister say, in 1896, that it would be a boon to Canada, and why did he promise, if he came into power, to secure it for this country in right short time? Does the hon. member (Mr. Russell) see that in so describing this great policy, he is casting a slur, not only upon the Prime Minister of

Canada, but a slur upon him who, I venture to say in the judgment of this House, is the livest, is the ablest, and the most up-to-date Secretary of State for the Colonies that Her Majesty's government has ever included among the members of any cabinet.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Now, Sir, what is the resolution which has been moved by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell)? It is a resolution that asks us to assert three things. First, it asks us to say that the working of this so-called preferential trade of hon. gentlemen opposite has been satisfactory and advantageous to Great Britain and Canada—and that is asking us to go a long way. Second, he asks us to say: That it has welded the empire and Canada into one, and, third, he asks us to express our approval of the plan on which this preference has been granted. The real purpose is not particularly to get the opinion of this House, but the real purpose is to make campaign literature with which to go to the country to try and convince the people of Canada, that these gentlemen with their one-sided policy have got a real preferential trade with the motherland, which every one in this House and in the country knows they have not.

As to its being satisfactory to Canada, on what ground does the hon. member for Halifax ask us to say that? Has this half-way, one-sided Imperial preference done anything for Canada? Will the hon. gentleman tell us of a dollar of taxation that it has saved to anybody? Will he tell us of a single settler whom it has placed on the fields of the North-west Territories, which would be filled to overflowing to-morrow with hardy toilers if we had the proper preferential trade with the mother country. Will he tell us of one individual who has gone there as the result of that policy? Will he tell us of any way in which this half-hearted, one-sided preferential tariff has provided a market for our products? There is not a gentleman in this House who would dare to stand up and say that as a result of this policy the market for Canadian agricultural products has been widened to the extent of one single dollar. Why then does the hon. member for Halifax ask us to say that it has operated satisfactorily for this Dominion? I think I heard it stated by the hon. member for Burrard last night that it had largely increased our trade in bacon, pork and hams; and we had a letter read, which had been written to the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell), stating that because of the reductions which had been made in favour of Great Britain, the sincerity of which I shall discuss a little later, the people of Great Britain were now going to use Canadian flour. Was ever a more ridiculous statement made in this House? The hon. member for Burrard and the hon. member for Kent would have us believe that the

English people are going to prefer Canadian products because we put up the taxes against Great Britain 25 per cent, and then took them down 25 per cent. We had the Prime Minister declaring last session that as a result of their policy \$2,000,000 worth of eggs had been sold to Great Britain. Last night we had the declaration of the hon. member for Burrard that not only had the policy increased our trade, but that it had set aflame the poetic genius of Great Britain, and as a consequence we had magnificent patriotic odes written by British poets to bind the different parts of the empire together. Well, if we can only prove that it has set aflame the poetic souls of Great Britain, and that it has caused the sale of \$2,000,000 worth of eggs, I would be inclined to withdraw my objection to this motion; but what are the facts with regard to the trade in agricultural products in the markets of Great Britain? The fact is that this increase is the result of the policy pursued by the government which departed from office on the 20th of June, 1896. It is the result of the care we took in cultivating that market; and how did we find the sympathies of hon. gentlemen opposite on those occasions? Where were the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), when we were trying to increase the market of Great Britain for Canadian products? They were shouting with all their power of a great market of 60,000,000 people to the south of us, from which we had been shut out, and to enter which they were willing almost to sacrifice our nationality, the control of our tariff and the control of our territory. I adopt the words of the hon. member for Burrard, and I tell him that as for this preferential clause of the tariff being an advantage to Canada, it is a myth, a delusion, a snare; and the hon. gentleman who moved this resolution and the hon. gentleman who seconded it are only trying to make the delusion greater and to impress the humbug more fully on the electors of Canada, by moving this resolution and by placing on *Hansard* the speeches to which we listened yesterday.

What are the advantages of this clause to Great Britain? If there are none to Canada, we are asked to say, 'Oh, there are great advantages to Great Britain.' We pointed out last year and in 1898, that the clause was not calculated to give any advantage to the trade of Great Britain. We were told then that we were speculating, and speculating with sinister motives. To-day we are no longer called speculators with regard to facts, because we have the returns brought down by the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), which show what we stated in 1898 and 1899, that this policy is a delusion so far as any increase of British

trade in this country is concerned. Let me give the hon. gentleman some figures culled from the reports of the Minister of Customs and the Minister of Trade and Commerce. The imports last year were : From England, \$37,000,000 ; from the United States, \$93,000,000 ; increase from Great Britain over previous year, \$4,500,000 ; increase from the United States over previous year, \$14,400,000. Compared with the last year that the Conservative party were in office, there has been an increase in the imports from Great Britain of \$4,000,000, and an increase in the imports from the United States of \$35,000,000. In other words, under the preferential tariff that was to increase the imports from Great Britain to Canada, we have nearly nine times as large an increase of the imports from the United States as we have of the imports from Great Britain. Let us see what were the imports for home consumption from various countries since 1896 : From Belgium, 151 per cent ; from South America, 107 per cent ; from Switzerland, 76 per cent ; from Holland, 67 per cent ; from the United States, 59 per cent ; from Italy, 52 per cent ; from Spain, 48 per cent ; from Portugal, 39 per cent ; from France, 38 per cent ; from Germany, 24 per cent ; and from Great Britain, 12 per cent. Will the hon. member for Halifax, in the face of these figures, ask us to say that these preferential clauses have worked advantageously with respect to the importations from Great Britain ? These figures show the actual situation, and they show that the whole thing is a sham, a delusion and a snare.

I remember how in 1891 hon. gentlemen opposite made the country ring with charges that we were discriminating against Great Britain. I remember how the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) stood up in this House and in the greatest passion made that charge against us, because we were buying more raw materials from the United States than from Great Britain, claiming that the average tariff against Great Britain was greater than that against the United States. If the hon. gentleman wishes, I will turn up his speech for him. He challenged our loyalty, and gave us a scolding that made this House ring. What is the government doing of which the hon. gentleman is a member ? On the goods imported from the United States last year the average tariff was 12½ per cent. From Great Britain it is 18.8-10th per cent. Let us see what the actual figures are ? In 1896, we got \$29,000,000 worth of free goods from the United States and \$9,000,000 from Great Britain. In 1899, we got \$48,000,000 of free goods from the United States and \$10,000,000 from Great Britain. The increase of free goods from the United States has been in that time \$19,162,964, and from Great Britain a little over three-quarters of a million.

But these hon. gentlemen say : Look at the press comments on what this has done

for Great Britain. We had article after article read by the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) last night from the London press, from the *London Times*, and all the great journals in England, complimenting this government on giving a preference to the motherland in the markets of Canada. I asked the hon. gentleman what was the date of these articles, but he did not give the date. He will find that the dates correspond with the time when these resolutions were introduced and when the Imperial government did not think they were humbug. I ask the hon. gentleman to give us now the opinion of the London press upon the trade figures which are published, and as to which the London press are dumb and critical. But while the English press is dumb, there is a class of newspapers that is jubilant, and that class is the United States journals. You can scarcely take up a leading United States journal which to-day is not laughing at this Imperial colonial preferential trade. These journals say : They may have as much Imperial colonial preferential trade as they like, but our trade with Canada is swelling and that is all we care about. If the hon. gentleman will change his resolution and ask us to say that it has been advantageous to the people of the United States, we could vote for it, but to say that it has been advantageous to the people of Great Britain is utterly at variance with the facts and figures which they themselves give.

We are asked by the hon. gentleman to say that this policy has been one of the main factors in welding the empire together. Oh, how the hon. gentleman dilated upon that. The very announcement of it, he said, stirred the heart of the empire, and gave Canada a position that she never before occupied in the Imperial mind. He says it gave Great Britain a new idea of the colonies, that were once looked down upon, in the Imperial mind. Well, I can tell the hon. gentleman that if we had to depend upon this policy to weld the empire together, the empire would be sadly apart. Sir, what is it that has changed the sentiment in Great Britain with regard to the colonies ? It is the success of the colonies themselves ; it is the success of such grand schemes as that of confederation, which tied these colonies together in a great empire upon this side ; it was the construction of such magnificent public work as the Canadian Pacific Railway—a colonial but an Imperial highway also, against which these hon. gentlemen kicked and rebelled with all their might ; it was the construction of our great canals, and the rejection, emphatic rejection, of such policies as these hon. gentlemen supported in 1891, when they proposed to cut adrift practically from the empire by discriminating against her. It was the rejection of such policies as that which raised Canada to its present high position in the Imperial mind ; it was the declara-

tion in 1896 by this parliament—and I had the privilege of reading a telegram announcing that declaration to a London audience myself, and that audience nearly went wild with enthusiasm over it—it was the declaration of this parliament that no matter what might be the dangers to the empire, Canada would stand by her side in the forefront of the battle, and it was the implementing of this offer in 1899 and in 1900—an implementing made slowly when it ought to have been made rapidly—it is all these things that have cemented Canada to the empire, that have made its heart beat in unison with ours; and I tell the hon. member for Burrard and the hon. member for Halifax that the fall of one brave Canadian lad in front of the trenches at Modder River has done more to cement the empire together than the operation of this policy could do in a thousand years.

I am sorry that the Prime Minister is not here at the moment, and I was sorry he was not here last night. He declared himself a nation builder, but last night he was called an empire builder. I want to pause for a moment just to see what the hon. gentleman has done in the way of empire building. In what way has he been an empire builder? Was it in waiting until seven other colonies had offered their assistance to the motherland? Was it raising constitutional reasons and saying we had no power to spend the money to send these men to help the mother country? Was it in declaring in his order in council that the sending of the first contingent should not be taken as a precedent? Is it by such actions that the Prime Minister is to be regarded as an empire builder, or is it the support he has given the lines of public policy during his long years of public life, every one of which has been shown to be wrong as the years went by.

I want to say just another word. The hon. gentleman himself claims to be the builder of a nation. He has told us that Canada was a mere collection of scattered provinces, but he woke up one morning, after he got over in the old country, to find that we were a nation. For my part—and I am sure this House agrees in the opinion—I do not believe that nations are built in a single day. They come of long paths of difficulty, through floods of affliction, through fires of trial, they come up slowly and are the growth of wise public policy and labour. The men who dropped politics in 1865-6 helped to build our nation; the men who built the Canadian Pacific Railway helped to build the Canadian nation; the men who instituted the national policy helped to make the Canadian nation, and that help was so important that when these men came into power, after opposing that policy for eighteen long years, they feared to remove a stone of that structure because they knew that if they did so they would be kicked out of power. And where is the hon.

Mr. MONTAGUE.

Minister of Trade and Commerce, who was Finance Minister in the Mackenzie administration? Where is all his abuse of the manufacturers, as 'robbers great and robbers small?' What has become of his cry that the farmers were being bled white? He has closed his shop where he once dispensed unrestricted reciprocity and commercial union, and has put up a sign: Closed until the Imperial procession goes by.

We are asked to declare that this one-sided preferential policy is a wise one. I am not prepared to say that it is the wisest policy in regard to this matter that could be adopted. I am not prepared to say that Great Britain ever asked for any such thing—she never asked for it. We were told last night in a voice almost of tears, that it was just the thing for a daughter to make such a present to her mother, that it was a generous thing, that it was a humane thing, that it was a filial thing for a daughter to make such a gift to her mother; and we were asked to believe that it was in pure sympathy, for all Great Britain had done for us, that we, as a loving, filial and obedient daughter, should hold out our hand and present this boon to Great Britain. Why, were we asked to do it? Because of the good things that England has ever done for us? What has she ever done for us? 'We owe nothing to the old country, unless it be Christian forgiveness for her mismanagement of our affairs. I tell the hon. gentleman, if he wants to know it, that England owes more to Canada, than Canada owes to England.'

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Hear, hear.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The Minister of Trade and Commerce recognizes it in a moment. He has said it—

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I am ready to prove it anywhere.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Now, we have the pair—we have the hon. member for Burrard, who, with tears running down his cheeks, told us that this was in return for all we owe to Great Britain, because of her goodness to us, because she had done so much for us; and one of the members who offered it, I mean the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), said that the only thing we owe to Great Britain is Christian forgiveness for having mismanaged our affairs. It cannot be that the Minister of Trade and Commerce, ever presented it for that reason, because he surely would not present such a great boon as this when England had never given anything to us. Well, what was the reason? We got nothing in return for it, so it cannot be for that reason. The Minister of Trade and Commerce knows the reason,—it was to catch

the popular breeze, to do something in the hope of gaining the support of the loyal people of Canada.

Now, I feel that I have already detained the House too long, but, I wish to say a few words more before I resume my seat. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Maxwell), asks us what we, on this side, ever did for the motherland. Oh, he says you jawed, and jawed, and jawed, and jawed.

Mr. MAXWELL. No.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Maxwell), takes it back. He said some people jawed, and jawed, and jawed, and jawed.

Mr. MAXWELL. I did not say that at all.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I tell the hon. gentleman, that Canada has done a good deal for the motherland. I agree with the Minister of Trade and Commerce, in that regard, but, I will not go so far as he has gone in the statement which he has made to-day, and which the Prime Minister the other day tried to get him not to make. What have we done for the motherland? We refused to discriminate against her, even when she asked us to do it. We built our great continental highway, which, as I say, is an Imperial, as well as a colonial highway. We have extended our hand in the time of threatened trouble, and in the hour of actual trouble, we have sent our assistance. This is the outcome of Imperial pride, a manifestation of the spirit of Imperial and colonial attachment. But it is a separate thing entirely from trade. I learned one lesson from the hon. gentlemen opposite, when, for a great number of years, they sat on this side. That lesson was that sentiment was one thing, and trade another thing. And, I want the hon. gentlemen to carry that out now, Sir. I express the sentiments of this House, and I believe, even of members of the government; I express the sentiments of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of Canada, when I say that we would pay our last dollar and send our last man to defend the honour of the British flag. But, when it comes to a matter of trade, we have as much right to ask a quid pro quo from John Bull, as we have to ask it from any other party on earth. While we are willing to join in all these great Imperial projects, while we are willing to lend our strength and support to the empire, we must not forget that we are a struggling people, and that we are along side a great, strong and progressive nation, and that we have to protect our own trade, we have to protect the labour of our own people. I say that the proper policy for this parliament to pursue and the proper policy for the government to pursue, is to adopt the resolution moved by the leader of the opposition, I think in the year 1897, which looks to the

opening up of negotiations between this country and the motherland, letting them know, that if they will give us a preference in their markets, we will give them a large preference in our markets. In other words, this is a matter of business. When it is a matter of sentiment, when it is a matter of empire, we stand by them as closely and as warmly as places nearest the Throne. But, when it comes to business—why, business is business, as I have the authority of a member of the government for saying. In closing, I wish to say, that we on this side enter most loyally and heartily into every project which looks to the upbuilding of the empire; and, we only ask that, in dealing with matters of trade, the rights of Canadian labour, the rights of Canadian capital, the rights of Canadian enterprise, shall be protected; and if we open our markets to any other country, we expect an opening in their markets. It is true, as hon. gentlemen opposite have told us, in the resolution that Great Britain has opened her markets to us. She has opened her markets to every one. The Transvaal Republic had as free a field in the markets of Great Britain as Canada. She has abused it. We have not abused it. But, we have had no special terms in the markets of Great Britain. She has only given us what she has given to the world. And, as we are here, trying to build up a nation on the northern half of this continent, it becomes the government of Canada, and it becomes the Liberal party of Canada, so long as they are in power, to deal with a business matter in a business way.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). The hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), has indulged in generalities. In the statements he has made of Mr. Chamberlain's utterances, and the deductions which he draws from what Mr. Chamberlain says, he never quoted a single word that Mr. Chamberlain uttered. My hon. friend (Mr. Russell), in his address last night quoted from statements of Mr. Chamberlain and other prominent men, on this important question. But, the hon. member for Haldimand, in the address that he has just delivered, did not give us a single extract to back up the statements that he made. He dealt with generalities only. He made a few remarks with regard to the down-trodden farmers of this country. Mr. Speaker, the farmers of this country did suffer for many years under the policy adopted and carried out by hon. gentlemen opposite. They are a pretty hard class to educate, but eventually they did get their eyes opened, and saw and realized that the national policy, which was supposed to be the cure for all their troubles, and, which, they were told, would make them rich, instead of making them rich had, year by year, made them poorer. The best evidence of that is, that to-day, there is not a farmer in Canada, I care not whether he is a Conservative

or a Reformer, that will not openly and frankly admit that his financial position to-day is greatly improved as compared with what it was under the policy of the hon. gentlemen opposite. There is not a man in Canada to-day, from the little urchin who sells his papers on the corner of the street for a cent apiece, to the man who counts his millions in his office, but is ready to admit and to declare that the condition of Canada is very much better than it was under hon. gentlemen opposite. In regard to this question of the preferential tariff, hon. gentlemen opposite feel pained because they are forced to realize the difficulty they have to overcome when they go before the electorate of this country, because of the position they have taken upon this question. The people have reaped a very considerable advantage from the adoption of the preferential tariff. I challenge my hon. friend (Mr. Montague) to go into a wholesale house in the city of Toronto, in the city of Montreal, or in any wholesale town in this Dominion and get into quiet conversation with the merchants of this country. I will venture to predict that he will not find a Tory, however pronounced, but will, quietly and secretly admit that the preferential tariff has been a decided advantage to the trade of this country, and that the people to-day are reaping the benefit of that tariff. Hon. gentlemen opposite realize that they have lost the golden opportunity which they had for eighteen years. During all that time they never dared to handle, with a master hand, the great question of securing better and closer trade relations with Great Britain, than, at that time, existed. They lost their opportunity, but it has been taken by the present government. My hon. friend says that we got nothing in return. I deny that statement; I claim that there is not a Canadian who enters the British market, but is given a warmer welcome than ever before in the history of this country. There is not a Canadian who has any produce to sell but who finds, when he enters the English market, that the hearts of Englishmen are opened to him, and that there is a feeling of kindness and cordiality which he never realized before. I know it; I know men who have gone into the English market with commodities from Canada to sell, and I know that, in every case, to-day, Canadian products receive priority over those of any other country, the commodity being equally good. Take the increases in the exports from our shores for the last number of years, take the enormous increases that have taken place recently in the exports of this country, and you will come to the conclusion at once that there is a decided improvement in our trade with Great Britain, and that the general returns received by the people of Canada are more satisfactory, more along the line that will secure an extension of trade than ever they have been

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before in the history of the country. I say that it is a very great boon, and the people of the country are reaping that advantage to-day. In addition to that the sending of the contingent that has gone to South Africa from this country has intensified the feeling of kindness and cordiality of the English people towards the people of Canada, and that action is one that will tend to improve our trade conditions and will create a feeling of kindness and cordiality in the minds of people throughout Great Britain that never existed under the national policy. Never, in the history of this country, did a more unfortunate day dawn for the kindly intercourse of trade between Canada and Great Britain than the day when the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), who sits, now, in his seat, introduced the measure of protection into Canada. There was not a chamber of commerce, there was not a board of trade, there was not an iron-mongers' association, that did not, in their meetings, pronounce themselves in the most pointed terms, in opposition to the tariff which was proposed to be put in force in Canada. It was a step that was intended to administer a slap in the face to the people of England. Yet, that policy was continued for eighteen years. They kept on, from year to year raising the tariff. What was the declaration of that tariff? The declaration was that we want to shut out every portion and every pound of English goods from Canada that we can.

An hon. MEMBER. No, no.

Mr. McMULLEN. Under the tariff, that these hon. gentlemen adopted and maintained for years, they declared that they wanted to make the people of Canada manufacture every dollar's worth of goods and shut out all the British goods that they possibly could. Was that a tariff that was likely to create a kindly feeling in English hearts towards the people of Canada? No, it was a tariff to estrange the feelings of Englishmen and to produce resentment in the English mind. When the present government came in power they introduced a preferential tariff; they turned the face of Canada to England and the face of England to Canada, so that we should trade with the friends of Canada rather than with the enemies of Canada. It was an unfortunate period when that policy was inaugurated, and which continued for eighteen years. It has been changed now, and I repeat that the face of Canada is turned towards England, that the smiles of Canada and desires of the colony are towards the motherland, that the face of England is looking towards Canada, and that the great motherland is smiling upon us as it has not done for a quarter of a century. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) has spoken about honest government. The people of this country have been sickened and nauseated by the corruption and debauchery that character-

ized the administration of the affairs of this country for eighteen years. The people are not so exacting in regard to the amount that a government will spend, but they are exacting, and they are going to be exacting in regard to the measure of honesty that characterizes that expenditure. Hon. gentlemen opposite spent \$36,000,000, and they say it has run up to \$54,000,000. The people will not grumble, and there is no complaint about increased taxation, so long as the money is honestly expended. If there is any one thing which is an indisputable fact it is, that the hon. gentlemen who sit on the Treasury benches are endeavouring to honestly administer the affairs of this country. They have been subjected to criticism, day after day, they have been subjected to investigation, they have been subjected to charges, yet, up to the present time, and they have occupied those benches for four years, they have never been proved guilty of one single act that was wrong. This is the kind of government that the people want. They are not so particular in regard to the expenditure. What they want is an honest return for their taxes, and they are getting it now. When I used to sit upon the other side of the House, year after year, from session to session, we were investigating scandals, we were unearthing wrong-doing, we were disclosing acts that were a disgrace to any country. What was the result? The people were long suffering, they endured it a long time, but, in 1896, they took the bit in their teeth and turned out of office the men whose administration was so characterized by wrong-doing that they had forfeited their claim upon the further confidence of the people, and new men were put in their places. These men have proven worthy of their trust. I say to the men who occupy the Treasury benches to-day that they shall have my support as long as they conduct the affairs of this country honestly. But, Sir, the very moment it can be proved that they are guilty of a Pacific scandal, of a Curran Bridge scandal, of a Printing Bureau scandal, or a Langevin Block scandal, this government cannot have my support any longer. The people of this country want honest government, and they are getting it now, and they appreciate that fact. My hon. friend (Mr. Montague) has declared that this government did not carry out their pledges. Sir, there never has been a government in Canada which has fulfilled so many of the promises they made to the electors as the government that now occupies the Treasury benches during the four years they have been in power. We promised we would abolish the abominable Franchise Act that cost this country such a vast and useless expenditure, and it has been abolished. We promised that we would reduce the duties and we have done it. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) admitted that there had been a small reduc-

tion, but let me tell him that the reduction is very considerable. In 1896, the taxation was 18·26 per cent, in 1897 it was 17·87 per cent, and in 1898 it was 16·95. Had the Foster tariff been kept in operation, last year, then there would have been collected by it out of the pockets of the people of this country \$27,282,000, while under the Fielding tariff, there was only collected \$25,382,000, or a saving of \$2,000,000 to the people of this country, amounting to forty cents per head of the population. This government has changed the tariff, and the tariff is now heading in the right direction. I can remember that when the Conservatives were adjusting the tariff the corridors around this Chamber were crowded with men from all parts of Canada seeking increases and increases of duty all the time. These men are not to be found in the corridors of the House to-day. Any of them that come begging here at all come to ask that they be tenderly dealt with. They say: Don't reduce the tariff too far; we are now struggling. That is a very different picture from what it used to be when the Tories were in power, when these people came here demanding increases of duty, and when the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) opened his ears to their demands and gave them all they wanted. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) talked about binder twine, and I must say that gentlemen opposite are hard-pressed for a grievance when they have to come to binder twine to make a charge against the government. These gentlemen opposite know well that the increase in the price of binder twine was on account of the raw material becoming scarce owing to the Spanish war.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, no.

Mr. McMULLEN. Yes, they know that.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, no.

Mr. McMULLEN. You may say no, if you like, but you cannot get up in your places and prove your 'no.' We know that because the manila, the raw material for the manufacture of binder twine, could not be obtained during the war with Spain, the inevitable result followed that the manufactured article increased in price. That is the true explanation of the increased price of binder twine. I tell these gentlemen opposite that they cannot blind the farmers of this country into the belief that the government is responsible for the increased price of binder twine. The farmers were humbugged for eighteen years, but they have got their eyes opened now, and the Conservatives cannot humbug them any longer.

The other night the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) told us that the Prime Minister had stolen his horse. He said that he and the Premier were going to run a race, and when he came to mount his horse he found the Prime Minister had

taken it for himself. The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) meant, of course, the national policy horse. Allow me to tell him that when he stabled that horse in 1896, the old nag was knee-sprung, and foundered, and ring-boned and spavined, but under the magnificent treatment of the financial veterinarian, Mr. Fielding, that horse has been cured of all its diseases. My friends opposite rode the old horse and brought it under the wire at the rate of three or four million dollars a year deficit, but my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) has taken him under the wire gallantly with a surplus of three or four million dollars every year for the past four years. He has cured the old animal, and it is a good thing for the country that he did. If the leader of the opposition has lost his horse, the country has found out that it would be a blessing to Canada if he had lost that horse years before 1896. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) complained that the country was not experiencing the increased population that was anticipated. Well, we are perfectly willing to compare the record of the immigration department now, with the record of that department under the rule of the Conservative government. Is it to be wondered that when we sat on the opposite side of the House we advocated the absolute necessity of retrenchment in the expenditure, in face of the fact that our population was fleeing to the United States? But, Sir, a new era has come; the tide has turned; and in place of Canadians going to the United States, thousands of citizens from the United States are returning to cultivate our fertile fields in Canada and to engage in our industries; so that, we now see the dawn of a more hopeful future. Under the wise and prudent administration of my esteemed friend the Prime Minister, prosperity will undoubtedly crown the future of our country, and ensure to us a measure of success that we have never experienced in the past. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) has commented upon the fact that we have increased our imports from the United States during the past two years. Allow me to tell you that that very thing is a grand evidence of the prosperity of the country, for the simple reason that nearly 90 per cent of what we import from the United States is raw material. We take our raw material from there, and we increase its value in the process of manufacture, and our people get the benefit of that increase. In Canada we do not grow manila, we do not grow corn to a large extent, we have not our coal areas just at the points where we want them, we do not grow a quality of tobacco that suits the taste of the majority of our people, and so we have to import the raw material. And so it is in many other lines. The result is that our people have been given labour, that labour has increased the value of the goods, and they are satisfied. We

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have not the complaints now that we had years ago. Go to the different factories in the country, and inquire of the artisans and mechanics, and you will find that there has not been for twenty years such a spirit of contentment among them as prevails to-day. Every mechanic in the country is employed, his home is comfortable and his children are well clad, and a feeling of general confidence and satisfaction prevails that has never prevailed before, and why? Because they realize that under the application of the tariff, as now adjusted, and under the able statesmanship displayed by the government in power, they are progressing and getting better off.

Now, to come to the question of preferential trade. There has been accomplished by the adoption of that policy a grand stroke of statesmanship on behalf of the people of this country. As I said before, hon. gentlemen opposite missed their opportunity; they did not venture to strike promptly to secure for Canada the privileges she would have secured under the application of that principle. They say the present government committed a great blunder in 1896, and I wish to heaven that they had blundered ten years ago. If blunders bring about such advantages, I say, in the name of Heaven, let us have more of them. The British preference has done good, and I hope the government will go on and increase it. Hon. gentlemen opposite, in averaging the present tariff, never give credit for the reductions given by the application of the British preference; and consequently they try to blind the eyes of the people by saying that there has been a reduction in the tariff of only 74-100 of 1 per cent. As to that, the business men of this country are the best judges, and they know that this tariff, as compared with the old one, gives them very decided advantages indeed. Let me give you a few items to prove this. For instance, take iron and steel. Under the old tariff the duty on scrap was \$4 a ton, while under the new tariff it is \$1 a ton. Under the old tariff the duty on pig iron was \$4 a ton; under the new it is \$2.50. On rolled iron and steel, the duty under the old tariff was 35 per cent, or \$10 per ton; under the new it is \$7 per ton, and on British goods \$5.25. You can go through the whole list, and in every item you will find a corresponding reduction. Hon. gentlemen opposite will have great difficulty, when they go before the business men of this country, in persuading them that there has been no reduction. It is pretty hard to persuade a man that the tariff has not been changed in his favour when he is getting for \$1 what he used to pay \$4 for, and when he is getting for \$5.25 what he used to pay \$10 for. The fact is demonstrated to every business man when he finds that on all the articles he requires there has been a decided reduction, and that he is very much better off than he was before.

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

AFTER RECESS.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 71) respecting the Dominion Cotton Mills Company.—(Mr. Quinn.)

Bill (No. 75) to incorporate the Quebec Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. Bernier.)

Bill (No. 86) respecting the Thousand Islands Railway Company.—(Mr. Taylor.)

Bill (No. 87) respecting the Manitoba and North-western Railway Company of Canada.—(Mr. Roche.)

Bill (No. 88) to incorporate the St. Mary's River Railway and Colonization Company.—(Mr. Oliver.)

Bill (No. 91) respecting the Oshawa Railway Company.—(Mr. Burnett.)

Bill (No. 92) to incorporate the Royal Marine Insurance Company.—(Mr. Penny.)

SUPPLY—PREFERENTIAL TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. McMULLEN. When you left the Chair at six o'clock, Mr. Speaker, I had spent a few moments trying to point out the decided advantage which the preferential clause in our tariff has been to Canada. I think that any one, on reviewing the history of this country during the time that tariff has been in force, could not fail to come to the conclusion that under the operations of that tariff the relations between Canada and the mother country are infinitely better and more cordial than they ever were before. I was rather surprised at the course taken by the hon. leader of the opposition. If there is any man in this country who should congratulate the present government upon the effects of that new departure, it is that hon. gentleman. He had the privilege—and I do not deny for a moment that it was to Canada's advantage—of discharging for a number of years—the distinguished duties of High Commissioner in England. He had the opportunity of interviewing and being in close conversation with the highest dignitaries of the realm. He rubbed sleeves, I may say, with royalty every day in the year. He has come back to us after a number of years bespangled with honours, he and a distinguished member of his own family—and in place of appreciating the honour done him by supporting the action of the government and recognizing the honour we have done to the mother country and to ourselves, he opposes that tariff and the manner in which it was brought into existence. He should be the first to congratulate the government of this country on that noble and patriotic achievement. I am sorry that he has not chosen to take that course rather than the course he has out-

lined for himself as shown by the speeches made by him in this House.

Now, the hon. leader of the opposition is very fond of finding fault with this government and saying they have not fulfilled their pledges. If there is any man in this House or any man in this country who should hesitate to challenge any government for not fulfilling its pledges, it is the leader of the opposition. In 1878, the Conservative party came into power, the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) being Finance Minister at that time. He had declared that an expenditure of \$24,000,000 was altogether too high for the people of this country at that time, and it ought to be reduced to \$22,500,000. The debt of this country was at that time \$140,000,000. When the Canadian Pacific Railway resolutions were before this House, the hon. gentleman declared that the receipts from lands and other sources in the North-west would be so great that within ten years the country would have recouped to it every dollar of the large sum expended for the road, and the debt would be reduced to one hundred million dollars. And what was the result? Instead of the debt being reduced to \$140,000,000, it was increased to \$253,000,000; the annual expenditure, in place of being reduced to \$22,500,000, was actually increased to over \$40,000,000. Now, this is the history of the hon. gentlemen opposite, as outlined in the record of their leader. But we have a right to refer to the promises made by the hon. gentleman in the election of 1896. The hon. gentleman complains of the increased debt and increased expenditure. These points may be regarded as a little aside from the question before the House, but the leader of the opposition opened this line of discussion, and we must deal with the points he has brought forward. What were the promises he made in 1896? He promised he would build the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, the British Pacific and Vancouver Inland Railway in British Columbia, a line of railway to Hudson's Bay—he promised that in Manitoba—to extend the Manitoba and North-western, to improve St. Andrew's Rapids, to build the Rainy River Road, to virtually gridiron Prince Edward Island with branch roads, to make a net work of new local roads in all the older provinces, to build the Quebec Bridge, to renew the guarantee to the Chignecto Ship Railway, and to put a fast line of steamers on the Atlantic. At the same time there were hawked about by parties in close connection with the government of that day promises of all kinds with regard to the building of roads. What would have been the result if the hon. gentleman had got into power? In place of the debt of this country being increased by the very moderate sum it has been, we should have had an enormous increase, if the hon. gentleman made any attempt to carry out the promises he made. He finds fault and his followers find fault with the increased debt.

I ask leave of the House to draw attention to this point for a moment. It cannot be referred to too often. I have here a statement of the debt since 1878. I shall not give the different increases during that period; but we will take the five years up to 1896, when the present opposition were in power. We find that in these five years, they increased the debt by \$20,688,397, or an average increase each year of \$4,137,679. Under the present government, notwithstanding the fact that they have carried out enormous undertakings, spending between \$12,000,000 and \$13,000,000 to build a canal system and other public works, the increase by years has been as follows:

1897	\$3,111,163
1898	2,417,802
1899	1,100,100

This shows a continuous decrease and makes it clear that if the present government remain in power, in a very short time, in place of an increase there will be a continuous decrease of the debt. The net result is this: Taking the eighteen years of the Conservative government, we find that they increased the debt an average of \$6,563,075 a year. In the last three years, the average increase has been \$2,186,321. Hon. gentlemen opposite say that the present government promised to reduce the debt. I think this is virtually a reduction as compared with the great increases under the previous government. Under that government there was a continuous increase, the average for every year of the administration being six and a half millions, while under this government it is only about two millions, and this, notwithstanding that they have carried out as great public works—and, we might say greater—than the amount ordinarily carried on by the recent government for many years. Virtually this is a reduction of the debt by about four and a half millions a year. Now, take the matter of taxation, and how does it compare? In 1896, the average taxation was 18.26 per cent; in 1897, 17.87 per cent; in 1898, 16.95 per cent; and in 1899, 16.70 per cent. There has been a continuous reduction in taxation every year. During the time that hon. gentlemen opposite were in power the tendency was the other way, but during the time that the present government have been in power the reduction in taxation has been continuous. Hon. gentlemen opposite say that free trade was promised to the people of Canada. I challenge that statement; I never heard it made by any member of the cabinet. I heard our leader say that it would be well that our tariff should point in the direction of free trade, and it does to-day. Every reduction in taxation is pointing in the direction of free trade. You would fancy, to hear these gentlemen talk, that the country should put off a protective system, or a revenue tariff system and adopt free trade next day. They say that you

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ought to adopt the principle of free trade and put on our free trade suit the next morning. That is a fallacy. Take England herself. How long did it take England to carry out the principle of free trade? It took her over forty years. In 1842 the duty was lowered on 750 articles. In 1844, the duty was abolished on wool; in 1845, the duty was abolished on 430 articles, the raw materials of manufacturers; in 1846, the Corn Laws were repealed; in 1853, the duty was repealed on 123 articles; in 1860, the duty was abolished on butter, cheese, tallow, etc.; in 1861, the duty was abolished on paper; in 1866, the duty was abolished on timber; in 1870, the duty was lowered on sugar; in 1873, it was again lowered on sugar, and in 1880, it was abolished. So that it took England over forty years to reach the goal of free trade. Yet, hon. gentlemen say that this government, or some members of it, or some person authorized to speak for it, had promised to clothe this country in a free trade suit the next morning after the election was over. There was no such promise given. But, I say, that the tendency of the tariff, as it is at present, is in the direction of freer trade, of lower duties, and that it plainly indicates that in place of imposing higher taxes on the people, it is actually reducing them. I have pointed out what the additions to the debt have been, and I have told the House that the amount expended on public works contracted for by the old government is something like \$11,300,000, which shows clearly that there has been prudent, careful and statesmanlike management of the affairs of this country. I do not desire to go, at any length, into the further consideration of this question. I simply want to add that I sincerely regret that we are not likely to have a unanimous vote in this House in favour of the resolution which is now presented. I had hoped that hon. gentlemen opposite, as a matter of justice, as a matter that they felt was prudent on their own part, would have joined with the government and with hon. gentlemen on this side of the House and would have made a pronouncement in regard to the preferential tariff that would have satisfied England, that would have satisfied those that are near to us in the south, that would have satisfied other portions of the empire, that this question of preferential consideration for the mother country has become a settled policy now, and, that whoever may be in power in future, whether it be a Conservative or a Liberal government, the mother country can depend upon Canada giving her an advantage in her market such as she enjoys to-day. It certainly would have told well in Canada's favour, and I am sorry that hon. gentlemen have indicated by their speeches, particularly the speech of the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), that this is not to be their course. In my humble judgment it would have been a pru-

dent part for hon. gentlemen to have taken. In view of the fact that we will have the budget before very long, and that many of the questions that have been brought up in this discussion by the hon. leader of the opposition may have to be touched upon again, I shall not proceed further. I considered it my duty to offer these few remarks in favour of a policy that, in my humble opinion, has been of such advantage to this country, and I earnestly hope that it will become the permanent policy of the country. I do not think that if hon. gentlemen opposite were to-morrow returned to the Treasury benches, of which I do not think there is the slightest ghost of a chance, they would dare to turn back and to lay violent hands upon that policy which has been established by the present government.

Mr. DAVID HENDERSON (Halton). Mr. Speaker, were it not for the great importance of the question which has been brought to the notice of the House by the hon. the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), I think, that, at this time, I should not have risen in my place to take part in this discussion, but, like the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) who has just taken his seat, would have waited for the budget speech before discussing this very important question. However, the question is before us and we desire to investigate it, to answer the statements made by the hon. gentlemen on your right with which, I need not tell you that we, on this side of the House, cannot agree. However, there are some things that have been said in this debate in regard to which I think the House is quite unanimous. The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat, congratulated the House and the country on the great prosperity that prevails in Canada at the present time. We join heartily with the hon. gentleman in congratulating the country on the great measure of prosperity that has prevailed in Canada for the last few years. We do that with the greater pleasure because, largely, I may say almost mainly, that prosperity, so far as it could be brought about by legislation, is due to the legislation that was put upon the statute-books of the country by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House. In 1878, our great leader, Sir John Macdonald, inaugurated the national policy. Under that policy Canada prospered and became great for years and years. In 1890, 1891, 1892 and 1893 very serious attacks indeed were made by hon. gentlemen on your right on that policy, and an agitation arose in the country which endeavoured to persuade the people that times would be better if something like unrestricted reciprocity, continental free trade, or free trade as they have it in England, was adopted as the policy of the country. The minds of the people became somewhat unsettled, and so urgent were the appeals of hon. gentlemen opposite, so strong were their denun-

ciations of the national policy, that the people became alarmed, capital was withdrawn from profitable investment, business, to a large extent ceased to become profitable from the fear that hon. gentlemen might some day attain the Treasury benches and that the whole fiscal policy of the country would be turned over. It is no wonder that during these years, periods of depression did prevail, but after the elections of 1896, when fortune favoured hon. gentlemen to your right, and when they brought their tariff down to the House, and the country became aware that instead of unrestricted reciprocity, instead of continental free trade, instead of free trade as they have it in England, instead of protection being wiped out, the national policy was still maintained by this government, then the country was rejoiced, and I am proud to join with the hon. gentlemen in congratulating Canada on the prosperity that prevails to-day. I am proud to join with him in that congratulation, because the Conservative party of this country have the right to claim to be the authors of the policy which prevails to-day, and under which that prosperity reigns. If hon. gentlemen opposite do not give us credit for it, the people of the country do. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen), digressed from the question before the House, and, although, I would have preferred to adhere to a discussion of the preferential tariff, and, as to whether or not it was of material benefit to the mother country, and more especially to Canada, yet I shall have to digress a little in order to answer my hon. friend. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen), told us that the government have kept the pledges which they made to the people, and he instanced the Franchise Bill as a fulfilled pledge. Well, these gentlemen opposite have not repealed the Franchise Act in toto, because that great item of expense which was complained of more than any other, the expense of printing the voters' lists in Ottawa, has still to be incurred. And, may I ask what kind of a Bill have they substituted for the Franchise Act? Why, we need only refer to the fact that the important city of Winnipeg remained unrepresented in this House for twelve months, because the present law was so defective. Hon. gentlemen opposite have very little reason indeed, to be proud of their legislation with regard to the franchise. The hon. gentleman from North Wellington told us that the government had redeemed their pledge to reduce the taxation, and he gave us figures to show that from 1896 to 1899, they had cut down the taxation by two millions of dollars. Let him go back to the year 1892, and he will find that the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), in five minutes struck three and a half million dollars off the taxation of Canada by removing sugar duties, and even if this government have reduced the taxation two million dollars in three

years, they have not a great deal to boast of. But, Sir, have they reduced the taxation? The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen), set forth a most extraordinary theory, when he stated, that the increase of the debt of Canada was practically a reduction of that debt, and I presume he applies the same principle to the taxation of the country. Now, if the increase of the public debt is practically a reduction of it, then the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), must admit that the Conservative party during their eighteen years of power, reduced the public debt of Canada by \$115,000,000. That is the logical sequence of his argument. However, that is not the true result because the reasoning of the hon. gentleman is absolutely unsound. Let us see how the Liberal government have reduced taxation? In 1896, when they came to power, the per capita taxation was \$8.14, and in 1899, the taxation has been increased to \$9.40 per head of the population. That is a peculiar way of reducing taxation. And how have they redeemed their pledge to decrease the expenditure? Why, instead of an annual expenditure of \$38,000,000, condemned by Liberals when in opposition, it is now \$51,000,000 a year, an increase of \$13,000,000, and yet the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen), unblushingly tells us that the expenditure has been reduced. His contention in this respect can only be explained on the extraordinary theory of the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), that the increase of the national debt was practically a reduction of it. Sir, the increase of the public debt since the Liberals came into power is anywhere between \$7,000,000 and \$8,000,000.

One of the most solemn pledges which the Liberals gave, was that they would exterminate the principle of protection. It does not require much effort to prove beyond cavil, that they have not redeemed that pledge. Why, instead of a reduction in the tariff, we have many increases, and in order to illustrate that point, I will simply deal, at the present moment, with one or two items, because when the budget is brought down, we will have a better opportunity of discussing this question in detail. In cotton goods alone, we bought from the United States last year \$894,000 worth, and a duty amounting to \$44,700 more was paid on them, under the Fielding tariff, than would have been paid had the tariff of 1894 remained in force. Had the Foster tariff instead of the Fielding tariff been in operation last year, the people of Canada, on imports from United States, would have paid \$1,243 less duty than they did pay on gray cotton, \$1,122 less duty on cotton handkerchiefs, \$322 less on cotton bats, \$953 less duty on sheets and quilts, and \$5,060 less duty on cotton clothing. Of course the contention is that this is offset by the fact that these cotton goods, when imported from Great Britain, come in at a reduced duty.

Mr. HENDERSON.

I challenge that statement. There is no doubt a so-called preferential rate of 25 per cent, but who gets the benefit of that? Does one fraction of a cent find its way into the pockets of the consumer? I say no. It is an utter impossibility that any one purchasing a yard of gray cotton, for instance, or even ten or twenty yards, can get the advantage of any small reduction in the duty. The advantage of the reduction either finds its way into the pockets of the manufacturer in Great Britain or into the pockets of the importer. Most assuredly not one cent of it finds its way into the pockets of the consumers of this country. Every business man engaged in selling goods in Canada to-day knows it to be a fact that prices can not be reduced to the consumer simply because there is a reduction in the duty, the reduction on a single item being so small. Therefore, so far as cotton goods are concerned, the great consuming classes of this country get no benefit whatever from the preferential tariff. It is of material value, I admit, to the cotton lords of Great Britain, the millionaires who manufacture cotton goods participate in the profits to the extent of what is taken out of our treasury; it may be divided between the manufacturers and the importers; but I repeat, as a practical business man, that the consumers of this country get no benefit whatever from the reductions, and therefore it is of no material benefit to the people of this country.

While dealing with this question, let us see how far British goods get the advantage of this preference. In examining the imports from the various countries of the world which send goods to Canada, I am surprised beyond measure to find the very small increase in the imports from Great Britain, showing that as a matter of fact the people of Great Britain do not attempt to push their wares in Canada. Instead of selling their goods at a lower price, and giving Canadians the benefit of the reduction of duty, they simply increase their profits by taking advantage of that reduction for their own benefit. A buyer of goods from Canada going to Great Britain to buy cotton goods, for example, is asked how much he can get them for in the United States. In the case of an article that costs \$10 in the United States, it would cost \$13.50 brought into Canada. The British manufacturer tells the Canadian buyer that if he buys from him he can have the article for \$13.25, giving him some little inducement to buy in Great Britain instead of in the United States. If Canada obtained the benefit of the 25 per cent reduction in duty there would surely be some increased trade with Great Britain. But such is not the case. An increase of three or four millions would only be what we would expect from the increased prosperity of the country; but beyond that we find there is nothing at all to lead us to the conclusion that the peo-

ple of Great Britain are pushing their wares to any great extent in Canada. We find that the increase of imports in 1899 over the imports in 1896 from Belgium was 151 per cent, from South America 107 per cent, from Switzerland 71 per cent, from Holland 67 per cent, from the United States 59 per cent, from Italy 72 per cent, from Spain 48 per cent, from Portugal 39 per cent, from France 38 per cent, from Germany 34 per cent, and from Great Britain only 12½ per cent, the smallest of all the chief countries in the world with the exception of China and Japan, from which the increase was only 4 per cent. Is it not humiliating to the people of Canada to find that China and Japan are the only countries whose increase of trade with us during the last three years is less than that of Great Britain itself? The West Indies did not take advantage of the preferential tariff. In fact, there was a reduction in the trade with the West Indies between 1896 and 1899 to the extent of 28 per cent. There was also a reduction in the case of Newfoundland to the extent of 4 per cent. The imports from Great Britain in the years 1898 and 1899 we know not only include British manufactures, but also large quantities of foreign goods which are brought into England for the purpose of being exported to Canada: which is permitted when the value of these foreign goods is enhanced in Great Britain by 25 per cent: and we have every reason to believe that a considerable amount of the increased trade, if not the whole of it, during the last two years between Great Britain and Canada has been brought about by the efforts of foreign countries to get their goods into this country and to save thereby a portion of the duty. The British imports into Canada in 1899 were less than those of any other year from 1880 down to 1895, or less than the average of five years prior to the change of government. With such a history as this before us, I fail to see that we at any rate on this side of the House, whatever hon. gentlemen on the government side may do, will be able to give an honest vote and say that the preferential tariff has been of material benefit to the mother country. I grant that it has been a material benefit to a few cotton lords or a few manufacturers, but as to being a benefit to the country as a whole, we lack evidence.

Now, Sir, we are told that hon. gentlemen opposite have kept their pledges, inasmuch as they have preserved the independence of parliament. Well, Sir, I scarcely understand the meaning of the term independence of parliament if these hon. gentlemen can get up and honestly say that that pledge has been maintained. I find a list of hon. gentlemen who were members of this House a few years ago, but who suddenly disappeared, some of them, I have no doubt, with their commissions in their pockets, though some of them possibly did not receive their

commissions until they had resigned their seats. At any rate, we find that the independence of parliament has been violated by the retiring of Mr. Béchard of St. John's to a senatorship, Mr. King of Sunbury and Queen's to a senatorship, Mr. Forbes, a former member of this House, to a judgeship, Mr. Devlin to an immigrant agency, Mr. Lavergne of Drummond and Arthabaska to a judgeship, Mr. Fiset of Rimouski to a senatorship, Mr. M. C. Cameron of West Huron to a governorship, Mr. Lister of West Lambton to a judgeship, Mr. Choquette of Montmagny to a judgeship, Mr. Yeo of East Prince to a senatorship, Mr. Rinfret of Lotbinière to a revenue inspectorship, and Mr. Beausoleil, of Berthier, to the postmastership of Montreal. Will hon. gentlemen rise in their places and tell the country that the pledge which they made to the people to maintain the independence of parliament has been honestly kept?

They also told us that purity of elections was one of the planks in their platform. I really do not care to refer to that question, we have heard so much of it during the last few days in this House, and have read so much about it in the reports of the Toronto legislature, but when we think of the frauds that have been perpetrated on the people, it is difficult to understand how hon. gentlemen opposite can have the effrontery to get up and declare that their pledge with regard to purity of elections has been kept. Why are we voting \$2,000,000 of money to send the best and brightest of our young men to South Africa, but to maintain the purity of elections, but to insist that the franchise be given to every man who is entitled to it? And yet, in this parliament and in the Ontario legislature, the electorate of this country are unscrupulously robbed of their legitimate votes. It is somewhat surprising that we should spend so much money and blood in order to secure to the electorate of South Africa their rights and yet trample under our feet these same rights in this Dominion, and more especially in the province of Ontario.

Another plank in the Liberal platform was the abolition of railway subsidies, yet we find that the only difference between now and former days is that under this government railway bonuses and subsidies are doubled.

Then, we were to have an honest, economical, and a business administration. As regards economy, all that I require to prove the utter failure of the government to keep that pledge is to point to the fact that the expenditure of this country has gone up, since they took office, by leaps and bounds. From about \$38,000,000 a year complained of, it has reached the enormous sum of \$51,000,000. On this question of expenditure, hon. gentlemen opposite were explicit in 1896. Mr. John Charlton said that the Liberal party, if in power, would at once reduce public expenditure to the ex-

tent of \$5,000,000 per annum without impairing the efficiency of the service. Have they done that? They have not. They admit their inability to do it. They admit, in fact, that they are not the business administration which they claimed to be since they have been unable to carry out their own pledges. Sir Louis Davies—then Mr. Davies—was very plain on this point. He said: 'Several million dollars may be lopped off the present expenditure without injury to the service.' Yet, we find instead of \$38,000,000 complained of, it is \$51,000,000, and the hon. gentleman is quite ready to see it increased to any amount, provided he is only kept in office. The hon. gentleman who preceded me (Mr. McMullen) was one of those who never ceased urging economy. He was, perhaps, the greatest economist then in the House, and we fully expected to see the expenditure reduced to \$30,000,000 as soon as his party came into power. That hon. gentleman, however, was not given a seat on the Treasury benches, and, consequently, no doubt does not consider himself bound to see that his pledge is redeemed. Mr. McMullen said:

If we do not give reciprocity in three years and reduce the expenditure to \$35,000,000, turn us out.

Well, they have not given us reciprocity in three years, and they have not brought the expenditure down to \$35,000,000, and neither of those pledges having been kept. I am under the impression that the hon. gentleman's alternative is very likely to be acted on.

The right hon. First Minister, when on the platform in Toronto, was most explicit on this question. He said:

Has the expenditure gone down? No, it has gone up. It has gone up \$2,000,000, \$3,000,000, \$5,000,000, and more, until it is now about \$38,000,000, and the Conservatives do not shrink from it, but swallow it.

I must say that if the Conservatives swallowed \$38,000,000 without hesitation, the right hon. gentleman and his party are considerably more adept in that line, since they swallowed \$50,000,000 without a grimace. The right hon. gentleman also said:

If we get into power, we will follow the example of Mr. Mackenzie.

I believe that is one of the pledges that will be acted on. They have got into power, and will, no doubt, follow the example of Mr. Mackenzie by retiring into private life at the end of five years.

The present Minister of Justice (Mr. Mills) was also very plain on this question. He was going to reduce the annual expenditure of the country by some \$4,000,000.

I submit that until these hon. gentlemen can come a little nearer the accomplishment of their pledges, they should cease their

Mr. HENDERSON.

boasting, because it only draws public attention to the fact that they have not made the least effort to redeem the pledges they gave the electorate in 1896.

They told us that this was to be a business administration. I submit that no administration can call itself a business administration which makes no attempt whatever to carry out the pledges and promises it gave the people.

The hon. gentleman who preceded me did not follow at all closely the subject before the House, but endeavoured to draw a herring across the path by introducing matter quite foreign to the question, and he fell back on his old boasting of how the tariff had been reduced and the people benefited. Before sitting down, I just wish to instance a few of the cases in which the tariff was reduced, because there was some attempt made to reduce it. We know that the principles these hon. gentlemen acted on was to reduce the tariff on things that came from the United States and increase it on those that came from Great Britain. On table cutlery, for instance, a good deal of which comes from the United States, they gave us a reduction of 2½ per cent; on saws, 2½ per cent; on locks, a reduction of 2½ per cent; on trifling articles, such as curry combs, they condescended to give a reduction of 2½ per cent. As a matter of fact, nearly all the reductions given by the government were on articles that were of insignificant importance, articles that do not come into general use with the people, articles that were seldom bought by the people, and on which the saving to the people would amount to almost nothing. But, articles of importance and of general use, articles that would cost a considerable sum of money, were allowed to remain where they were. For example, the farmer who had been told over and over again, that his binder would be reduced in duty, if not placed on the free list, finds that under the new tariff, there is no reduction whatever. The duty was twenty per cent before, and it is twenty per cent now. But the farmer is comforted by the Minister of Finance, who tells him that he has made reaping hooks 10 per cent lower—as if the farmer was going to go back to the customs of olden times, and destroy the industry of my hon. friend from Leeds and Grenville (Mr. Frost), by cutting his grain with a reaping hook, instead of a binder. There is no reduction on the plough. The government could not afford to do that, because some friends of hon. gentlemen opposite make ploughs. But they take about 3 per cent off the shovel, and tell the farmer he can dig his summer fallow with a shovel. When he goes to rake his hay, the farmer is reminded that he expected a reduction in the duty on his sulky rake, which costs a considerable sum of money. But the government refused this reduction. However, they think that the farmer must be satisfied

somehow. There is a little hand rake, which costs about 7 cents, and they allow him 10 per cent on that. And, in the case of the mower, it is the same way. This is an article required by every farmer. The government says: Our friends cannot be allowed a reduction of duty on mowers, but we will allow a reduction on the old scythe and snath, that was cast aside forty years ago. The duty on these they reduced 10 per cent. What signifies a reduction of duty on a scythe and snath, when a farmer does not want to buy them. Then, they tell us, they have reduced the duty on wind-mills. There may be something in that, but the farmers do not grind their corn with a wind-mill. Then there are some articles that the farmers do not often buy. They reduced the duty, for instance, on post-hole diggers. How many post-hole diggers do you find in a township in the province of Ontario? You will not find them in the hands of one farmer in a hundred. The government knew that by this reduction, they would not hurt the revenue. Then, there are potato diggers. I do not suppose there is one farmer in fifty who owns a potato digger. They use the same plough that they plough the land with, and gather the potatoes by hand.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Oh, oh.

Mr. HENDERSON. That is the way they do in the county of Huron. I undertake to say that the hon. gentleman who has just interrupted me, cannot find in his whole riding ten potato diggers. But, by taking the duty off post-hole diggers and potato diggers, the government seem to think they have done a great deal for the industrial classes of this country—just as if a farmer lived by digging potatoes and post holes. There are other articles, but I need not go into details; the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), knows all about them. But he made an attempt to cover this matter up, and informed the House and through the House, the country, that the government had made enormous reductions, that they had reduced the duties by two million dollars. But, he knew that a few years ago the Conservative Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), reduced the duties by three and a half millions in one year, in one day, in one speech. Yet, it took two years to reduce the duties by two millions of dollars under this government. What are the chief items of that two millions of dollars? Corn was put on the free list, making a very considerable part of the whole reduction. Where is the advantage in free corn to the farmers of this country? None whatever. Putting corn on the free list, simply destroys the market for the farmer's coarse grain, and injures him rather than helps him. The abolition of the duty on corn was for the benefit of the people of the United States, not for the benefit of the people of Canada.

It enables the people of the United States to make a market in this country for a very large quantity of surplus corn. I might go on by the hour, pointing out the iniquities of this preferential tariff, but the question is so well understood in the country that the people do not require to be reminded of it. The fact is, the farming community, throughout the province of Ontario, at any rate, know that everything they have to buy at the present time is dearer and everything they have to sell is cheaper.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). No.

Mr. HENDERSON. I tell the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries that a day is coming when he will find that I am right, and he is wrong. That is the opinion, not only of the Conservative farmers, but of the Liberal farmers throughout the province of Ontario. The farmers of this country are no fools; they are not going to be put off with a 10 per cent reduction on a scythe, when when they were promised and expected a reduction on the mower, they are not going to be put off with a little reduction on an obsolete hand rake, that was put aside years ago, when the implement that they are using now, is left as it was. The farmers of this country see through the game, and, I misjudge them, if they do not resent the insult thrown upon them by this government—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. What are the articles the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) wants reductions on?

Mr. HENDERSON. I am not speaking about the articles there should be reductions on.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. HENDERSON. That is not the question. The hon. gentlemen say 'hear, hear,' but what I am dealing with is the violation of their pledges by the hon. gentlemen opposite, and their attempt to humbug the people of this country. I am a protectionist, I believe in the principle of protection. The difference between hon. gentlemen opposite and myself is that I am a protectionist of my own free will, and they are protectionists by force of circumstances. An hon. gentleman sitting on that side now, told me within a few months after their tariff came down, that if they had done anything else, they would have been out of power in two years. They realized that. They understood perfectly well that if they had abolished the protective principle, they would have had to face the electors of this country and answer for it at the end of their term. Consequently, they were compelled to adopt that principle, and I say that it is a good thing for the country that they had

the business capacity to see what the voice of the people was. I do not wish to detain the House any longer. I hope to have the opportunity at a later date, when the budget comes down, if there is to be a budget, and we hope there will be, of discussing this question further. I hope to have the opportunity of placing some of these matters before the House and the country, in a more connected and a more extended form.

Mr. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL (Kent. Ont.) Mr. Speaker, I think it would be very difficult for any one to understand the question that is now before the House by listening to the speech of the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson), because, instead of discussing the question before the House, he has wandered through some of his old campaign speeches, and he has touched on almost everything except the subject before the House. He dismissed the question of preferential trade with the remark that he believed the people of this country thoroughly understood it. I quite agree with this opinion; I believe that the people understand some of the benefits that have resulted to this country from the adoption of this policy which has made the name of Canada ring throughout the British Empire. Not only do I believe that they understand it, but I believe that they approve of that policy as they have shown in some thirty-six elections that have taken place. Out of these thirty-six elections there have been only three Conservatives returned. The hon. gentleman, taking his cue from the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), from the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), and from the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), has taken credit to the party which he represents for all the virtues possessed by the human race. The hon. gentleman and his colleagues do not give credit to this government for knowing anything that is good. All the good that this country enjoys at the present time, all the prosperity, is due entirely to them and to their policy. They seem to arrogate to themselves all the virtues and to say that they are the only persons fit to govern the country. They say that they are, alone, possessed of the genius of government. Looking over the history of this country for the last twenty-five years, it is strange, it is amazing, that any hon. gentleman should get up in this House and have the assurance to make the statements that have been made here to-day. If you look at the history of the country for the last twenty-five years, during eighteen of which the administration was in the hands of these men who possess the genius of government, who are the only ones fit to rule the country, these eminent statesmen who pretend that they have all the instincts of government, you will agree with me that no government ever made a more lamentable failure to ad-

Mr. HENDERSON.

minister the affairs of the country than these hon. gentlemen made. What was the state of affairs in 1896? It has been stated, very freely, here to-day, but, perhaps, a brief repetition of it will not be out of place. In the first place, we find that the trade and commerce of this country were going forward only at a snail's pace. During the eighteen years that they were in power they only increased the foreign trade of the country by about \$3,500,000 a year, or, in the whole eighteen years during which they ruled over this country, the foreign trade of Canada only increased by \$67,000,000 all told. The finances of the country were in a low state. We had year after year deficits, until in the last three years of their administration, these deficits amounted to about \$7,000,000. The public debt of this country, as has been stated here to-day, was going up by leaps and bounds. It increased, during the whole eighteen years that they ruled over the country, at the rate of \$6,500,000 a year. Manufactures were at a standstill, our great railways were almost paralyzed, our merchant vessels were tied up at the wharfs for want of trade; the farmers were depressed and in a very bad state financially, the mechanics and artisans were looking in vain for work, our immigration was going from us instead of coming to us, and the population was almost at a standstill. This was the state of affairs in 1896, when this government came into power, and I say that the record they have made during the three and a half years that they have been in power has been most gratifying indeed. This is principally due to the businesslike way in which they have managed the affairs of the country. It is largely due to this very preferential tariff that we are discussing here to-night that I know this House will approve of and that the country will approve of by an overwhelming majority. Let any man look into the affairs of this country to-day and contrast the conditions with the state of affairs that existed in 1896. I do not wonder that the hon. gentlemen get up and with hesitating voices and uncertain sound, ramble and depart from the question, because the question is one that is not very profitable for them to discuss. We should not censure them too severely, because I pity the opposition. They have so little to complain of, they have so little ground to stand on. Without any policy, without any line of action, without any faults to find, without any scandals to exploit, they are in a helpless way indeed, and we ought to make them every allowance and give them every latitude, because the present state of the country is very gratifying. To-day, instead of having a deficit of \$7,000,000, we have a surplus of nearly \$7,000,000 in the Treasury. Instead of our foreign trade increasing at the rate of \$3,500,000 a year it has been going up by leaps and bounds, and it has increased in three years far more than it

did in the whole eighteen years that they were in power. Our foreign trade, when this government came into power, was only \$239,000,000. It rose to \$257,000,000 next year, it rose again from \$257,000,000 to \$304,000,000 in the following year, and if it goes on at the same rate of increase as has been taking place during the eight months of this present year, the foreign trade of the country will be nearly \$400,000,000 on the 30th of June. Instead of \$239,000,000, the actual figures show that during the first eight months of this year the foreign trade of Canada has been over \$250,000,000, so that we have actually done more business for eight months of this year than we did for the whole twelve months of the year 1896, when the Conservatives were in power. The hon. gentleman from Halton (Mr. Henderson) told us—and I particularly noted his words—that this government increased the annual expenditure from \$38,000,000 to \$51,000,000. I ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) if he adheres to that statement?

Mr. HENDERSON. I certainly do.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Then I would advise the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) to study the public accounts before he makes a statement of that kind.

Mr. HENDERSON. I have done so.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I do not think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) wants to mislead the House.

Mr. HENDERSON. Not at all.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) must know that the statement he has made is utterly devoid of truth.

Mr. HENDERSON. I quite understand that the statement the hon. member (Mr. Campbell) is making now, is quite devoid of truth.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) point to the public accounts to justify his statement?

Mr. HENDERSON. There is no use of these hon. gentlemen playing upon words and dividing up the expenditure. We are talking about the expenditure of the country. They may hide part of it away in capital account if they like, but do not imagine that the people of Canada are so silly as not to understand that.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I find from the public accounts that the \$38,000,000 expended by the Conservative government was only the yearly expenditure on the consolidated revenue account, but if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) calculates the whole expenditure he will find that the Conservatives got away with about \$44,000,000 a year.

Mr. FOSTER. In what year was it \$44,000,000?

Mr. CAMPBELL. In 1895.

Mr. FOSTER. Look at it again.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Look at it yourself, I have made the statement, and I can prove it. The expenditure of the Conservative government on the consolidated revenue account was about \$38,000,000, and our expenditure for the same service last year was \$41,000,000, and not \$51,000,000, as stated by the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson). Why did not the hon. gentleman make his comparison fairly and honestly. I admit that \$41,000,000 is quite an expenditure, and if we could not show that that expenditure was justifiable in the public interest, then these gentlemen opposite would have cause to complain. But what do we find when we come to examine the nature of that expenditure? We find that \$2,000,000 is included in that, for the opening up and development of the Yukon, a service for which the Conservatives only spent ten or fifteen thousand a year. Deduct that expenditure of \$2,000,000 on account of the Yukon, and you have the Liberal expenditure reduced to \$39,000,000 a year, or about the same as it was in 1896. But let us consider the matter further. It is a well-known fact that during the last few years the Conservative government were in power they spent nothing on drilling the militia. What is the use of having a militia at all unless we prepare them for the duties that may devolve upon them. This government has wisely spent large sums for the drilling and perfecting of the militia force of Canada, as compared with which the Conservative government spent nothing during the last years they were in office. Let me point out that although we have spent \$2,000,000 in developing the Yukon, yet the people of Canada do not pay one single farthing of that because the revenue we get from the Yukon territory is somewhat more than we expend on it. That, therefore, is a wise expenditure. It is an expenditure which redounds to the benefit of the whole country, and as a matter of fact it costs the people of eastern Canada not one cent. We have in other ways vastly increased the resources of this country. We have expended large sums of money to bring the Intercolonial Railway into Montreal, and that money was well expended, and a return for every dollar of it comes back into the treasury. Look at the past history of the Intercolonial Railway. During the eighteen years that the Conservative guided the ship of state that railway instead of paying its expenses consumed all its receipts, and \$250,000 a year more besides to keep it running. The hon. Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair), saw the necessity of extending that road to the great metropolis of the Dominion, and instead of the Intercolonial Railway having a deficit of \$250,000 a year, as was the case during the Tory regime, last fiscal year the Intercolonial Railway not only paid its

working expenses, but it yielded a revenue of \$62,000 as well, to the treasury of this country. I believe, Sir, that when the public accounts are closed this year the returns will be still better, and the Intercolonial Railway will show a respectable surplus on the right side. Therefore, although our annual expenditure is a little more than in 1896, yet taking service for service, our expenditure is less to-day than it was under the late government. Take the Post Office Department as an example. There was a deficit of \$700,000 in the management of that department when the Conservatives were in power. But what a change has been effected there! Since 1896, we have increased the mail mileage by 2,000,000 miles, or, in other words, the mails are carried now about 33,000,000 miles every year, as against 30,000,000 miles in 1896. Since the Liberals came into power, we have opened up over 500 new post offices. In 1896 there were 9,011 post offices in Canada, while to-day there are 9,570, but notwithstanding that increase in mail mileage and in the number of post offices, the expenses of management under the economic rule of the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) were \$62,000 less in 1899 than they were in 1896. So we might go on through all the different departments, and you will find that taking service for service the expenditure under this government is less than it was under the late government. But there never was a government that was called upon to face such enormous tasks as this government. New questions have constantly arisen commanding the best attention of parliament. The trade of the country has enormously increased, the country has grown larger, and it necessarily costs more to run it. You cannot do a business of \$400,000,000 for the same money that you did a business of \$239,000,000 for. The country has become a great and prosperous country; railways have been spreading everywhere; our foreign trade has gone up by leaps and bounds; and, consequently, it costs more to run the country than it did before.

Now, I want to say a word in reference to the public debt of this country. Under the late government the public debt increased \$6,500,000 a year. It increased from \$140,000,000 in 1878 to \$258,000,000 in 1896. In the last five years the public debt has gone up about \$7,000,000 a year in round numbers, but what have we to show for that?

Mr. CLANCY. Nothing.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Has my hon. friend not studied the public accounts? Has he been deaf, or has he listened to the debates in the House? Surely my hon. friend knows better than that. We have spent \$11,000,000 odd on our canals alone in the last four years. We have spent \$3,500,000 in opening up the Kootenay country with the Crow's

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Nest Pass Railway, a measure that passed through this House unanimously. We have voted large sums for the aid of agriculture. We have carried on an elaborate and very profitable system of cold storage, which has enormously increased the wealth of the farmers of this country. That money has been well expended, for it is bringing back to our people far more in results than the money expended. The people of this country do not care whether we spend \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 a year so long as they get value for their money. To spend \$1,000 if you get back \$1,500 for it is a wise investment. But what the people complained of under the late government was that their money was wasted in transactions which did not bring a profit to the country. Take, for instance, the construction of the works at Quebec, which cost \$3,000,000, although it was shown in the committee of this House that \$1,000,000 of that money was wasted and stolen. Take the Curran Bridge in Montreal, where \$450,000 was wasted and stolen. Take the Tay Canal, on which \$476,000 was spent, although the total receipts from that canal are only \$126 a year. That was the kind of expenditure the people of this country objected to; but all the expenditures which this government has made have been wise expenditures, which redound to the credit of the government and the credit of the country.

With regard to the preferential tariff, the result has shown that it has conferred the greatest possible benefits upon Canada. I can scarcely speak about that measure in moderate terms. It is the one thing that is drawing England and her colonies closer and closer together. My hon. friend from Halton (Mr. Henderson) said that it had not done any good to the people of this country, and that it was of no benefit to England, because he pointed out that our imports from Holland, Italy and some other countries had gone up a little faster than our imports from England. From Holland we import only \$500,000 all told, and from Italy, about \$400,000. But take the history of our imports from England for a number of years back. Under the policy inaugurated by hon. gentlemen opposite our trade with England was going down year after year until our imports had gone down in a few years from \$52,000,000 to some \$29,500,000 in 1896-7. The preferential tariff came into force, and immediately there was a change. Our imports from Great Britain began to go up. In one year they went up to \$32,500,000; last year they went up to \$37,000,000, and the indications are that this year they will amount to \$45,000,000. When a new tariff is brought into force, you cannot expect to get the full benefit of it immediately; it takes some time to get the manufacturers to adapt their machinery to the changed conditions; but the good feeling that is engendered by that 25 per cent preference given to British goods is bringing about the results that we all de-

sired. It is true, our importations from the United States have increased considerably, perhaps a little faster than those from England. What does that show? It shows that as our raw materials come largely from the United States, the beneficial results that flow from the tariff inaugurated by this government have enabled our manufacturers all over this fair Dominion to extend their business and run their factories night and day. In the great city of Toronto, the Massey-Harris Company alone spent \$258,000 last year in enlarging their establishment; and go into almost any town or city in this Dominion, and you will find the chimneys that were formerly smokeless belching forth their smoke day and night, and thousands of mechanics busily employed who formerly sought work in vain. I believe all our raw cotton comes from the United States. Our corn comes from the United States, and although I represent a county that largely produces corn, yet I say that the placing of corn on the free list has been one of the great blessings to this country. It has enormously increased the manufacture of bacon and hams. The farmers of this country are getting more for their peas, their barley and their oats this year than they ever got before. They are getting more this year than ever before.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is not so.

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is, and the House knows it. In the city of Toronto peas were selling from 65 to 67 cents a bushel last fall, and you can buy corn at 38 to 40 cents a bushel. Do you not suppose that the farmers know their own business? Do you suppose that they would sell peas and barley and buy American corn if it did not pay them? They are doing this and making money by it, and that is one of the reasons why they are so prosperous to-day. Last year our exports of bacon amounted to no less than 111,000,000 pounds, and our exports of cheese were no less than 189,000,000 pounds, valued at nearly \$17,000,000. Our exports of butter last year were over 20,000,000 pounds, and valued at nearly \$4,000,000. These heavy exports were due largely to the fact that our farmers were able to get their raw material cheap. They could get their corn in free, and could sell their barley, peas and oats, and make money by buying corn to take their place. It has been a good thing for our farmers that they have been able to prosecute their manufactures to such an extent through being enabled by our present tariff to get cheap food.

I cannot forbear expressing my surprise that the hon. leader of the opposition should oppose a motion of this kind. I do not see how any one can question the fact that this preferential policy has been the means of bringing closer together Canada and the

mother country. It has done more in this respect than any other legislation we have ever placed on our statutes. These gentlemen opposite have been howling about their loyalty for the past eighteen years, but in all that time they never did anything. They talked about loyalty but never did a single act to bring this country closer to the empire. The present government, however, gave to old England a preference in our markets, and have made the name of Canada resound throughout the world. The action which Canada has taken in this respect has done more to build up this country and to cement together the various colonies of the empire than anything that has been accomplished since confederation, and I am glad to know that the example we have set has been followed by some, and is about to be followed by other colonies. I believe that this preferential tariff will commend itself to the majority of this House, and I am sure that the people of this country will approve of the course this government has taken. The policy adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite, if it means anything, means that if they come into power, this preferential tariff will be repealed. Pretty loyalists they are to talk about loyalty, and then repeal the preference which we have given Great Britain. I am sure that the House will approve by a very large majority the policy of this government and support the motion made by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), and when the time comes for appealing to the country, I am confident that from one end of Canada to the other that policy will be supported by an enormous majority of the people.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Campbell), has treated the House to a number of assertions utterly unsupported by either facts or figures. When he did venture to quote figures, he did so at random, and they will be searched for in vain in any parliamentary return. I do not propose to deal with his statements at any great length, but wish briefly to refer to one of the last assertions he made. What was it? He said that the large increase in our exports of butter, cheese and bacon, is due to the action of the government in putting corn on the free list. Well, if that be the case, you would naturally expect to find that in those localities where the production of bacon has increased the most, the consumption of corn has been the greatest. But in reality that is not the case. Take my own section of country, there has been in that section a rapid development in these three lines, but I do not know of any farmer who uses a pound of corn to feed to his hogs except perhaps just in the middle of summer when other feed is scarce. The same remark will apply to the increased production of cheese and butter. That is due altogether to causes over which the

policy of this government has practically no control. It is due to the splendid provision which was made before the present government came into office for giving instructions to the farmers, and the provisions for cold storage, and the educational work carried on during many years by commissioners whom we sent to England to study the requirements of the markets there, and who came back and instructed our farmers what they should provide for that market. The results of work such as this could not be seen in one or two years, but must extend over a number of years. The late government were for several years carrying on that work of education. Of that there can be no question, because it is a matter of record, and the farmers of this country know it quite as well as any hon. member in this House. The fruits of that work could not be seen in the first year or the second or third, but any one who will take the trouble to look up the trade and navigation returns will see that year after year our trade was increasing. This was due to the educational work being carried on and to the provisions made for the better transportation of the products of the farm to the markets of the old world, and about the time the late government left office they had in a measure perfected those various lines, and the people were beginning to reap the advantage of their work. The increase in that trade is therefore not due to any change in the tariff or to anything the present government has done, but to the very valuable work done by their predecessors.

We are sometimes told that it was this government which established the system of cold storage. Why, Sir, the whole cold storage system was outlined and started and in process of development before the present government came into power. All that they have done since has been to endeavour to perfect this system, and in my judgment they have proceeded at a very slow rate. We were told in triumphant tones last year that what they had done had resulted very much to the benefit of the farmers in taking their fruit to the other side. But we find there was a falling off this year, that the cold storage was not exactly what was required for the benefit of the fruit-growers. There is a great deal to be learned and a great deal to be done before we reach the stage of perfection that will give the farmer the benefit he ought to have from cold storage. When the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) said that the development of these three lines is due to anything the present government has done, he is misleading the people, wittingly or unwittingly, and he is doing a great injustice to his predecessors and unfairly representing the situation to the people.

We had yesterday afternoon what was to my mind one of the strangest spectacles I have witnessed in this House for many years—a prominent supporter of the government rising in his place, when the motion

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was made by the Minister of Finance, that the House resolve itself in Committee of Supply, and moving an amendment. A motion of amendment to supply is usually regarded as a motion of want of confidence in the government. Do the government so regard it in this case? I am inclined to think they will accept it, under the circumstances. The government, I have no hesitation in saying, by prearranged action, put up one of their own supporters to move that the House do not resolve itself in Committee of Supply, but that a motion in amendment be adopted. And what was the character of it? It was a gushing eulogium upon the government for giving preferential trade to the mother country. They had affirmed that principle two or three times in this House, and their followers had spoken in favour of it at great length. We thought that no more time of the House would be wasted in moving motions in favour of it. But, they are not tired of talking about it yet, and one of their supporters is put up to eulogize the government for what they have done. And for what reason? According to the motion, because they did give a preferential tariff to the mother country, and because it is of some special advantage to Canada and of some special advantage to Great Britain. In what respect, we naturally ask ourselves, has it been of advantage to Canada? The statement of hon. gentlemen opposite is that it has reduced the duties on goods coming into Canada. But, as has been stated by previous speakers, before they reduced the tariff by the preferential clause, they increased the tariff on these same articles. Reducing it by preference, they left it practically where it was before. Consequently, it has not done much good to Canada. On the other hand, in my judgment, it has done substantial injustice and harm to Canada. It has prevented Canada from getting what otherwise, I believe, she could have got a substantial advantage for her goods in the British market as compared with other countries that had not given Great Britain preferential treatment. Had we succeeded in getting England to give us a preference in her market in return for the advantage we would give her, see what an advantage it would be to the farmer, the artisan and the labourer of this Dominion. It would have been of substantial advantage to Canada, but, instead, we have the very reverse. What this House should do, and what this country, I believe, will do, when it has an opportunity, is to pass a vote of censure upon the government for giving so much to England and getting nothing in return.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). I hope my hon. friend (Mr. Sproule) will move it here first.

Mr. SPROULE. Perhaps the hon. minister will have an opportunity of expressing his opinion upon it and giving his vote upon

it, if they do not break down and go to the country too soon, as the indications are now that they will.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE**. I venture to predict that my hon. friend will not move it.

Mr. **SPROULE**. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) has not proved up to the present that he is a prophet or the son of a prophet; and I am afraid that if his reputation in that regard depended upon his present prediction, he might find himself in an awkward predicament in the future. I say, had we succeeded in arranging trade relations with the mother country upon the lines suggested by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) we would have done a good thing for the Canadian people and no injustice to England. Then we should have been bringing England and, at any rate, one of her colonies close together in trade relations to their mutual advantage.

Now, how far is this so-called preference an advantage to England? I remember that for several years, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), endeavoured to convince this House and the people of the country that the policy known as the national policy discriminated against the mother country; and the argument they offered to prove it was that each year we were importing less from the mother country than before it was brought into force and importing more from the United States. Therefore, said these hon. gentlemen, we were discriminating against the mother country. By the same parity of reasoning, applied to the tariff of 1896, what do we find? From the time this tariff was introduced our trade with the United States has been growing greater and our trade with the mother country is going down—what we import from Great Britain is growing less and what we import from the United States is growing more.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. The hon. gentleman does not mean that, surely?

Mr. **SPROULE**. I do, distinctly.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. That our importations from the mother country are going down?

Mr. **SPROULE**. I say, compared with our trade with the United States. There can be no doubt of it. Our trade with the United States is going up largely every year, while with the mother country there is a reduction rather than an increase.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. No, no.

Mr. **SPROULE**. Except our exportations to the mother country, where we find our

natural market. If these hon. gentlemen succeeded in proving that the trade relations between Canada and the mother country under the national policy were injurious to England, then, this tariff is injurious to England, in even a greater degree. If the other tariff discriminates against England, this also discriminates against England to a larger extent than the other. This is a tariff that has neither been advantageous to Canada nor to the mother country. I say it is distinctly disadvantageous to both. I quite believe that it has brought the colonies closer to the mother country. There is a national sentiment, which is being created by it, that is distinctly in advance of anything we have had heretofore. I agree with the hon. gentleman that to some extent that is the case. I believe it has tended to awaken towards us feelings of sympathy in England, and that the people of England have become better acquainted with the people of Canada, than they have been heretofore. They have a substantial reason for that. We gave the people of England a valuable consideration for which we got nothing in return. We could do that with any nation in the world if we generously give away what belonged to the people of Canada. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), said: I may be allowed to elaborate a little on this question. We are sometimes told that the present government have not fulfilled the promises they made to the people before they came into power. He said, that, subsequently, they had carried out every plank in the platform that they had laid down to the people of the country, before they were elected to power, he said: I know of no government that has ever lived in Canada, that has been so successful or so correct in carrying out the principles which they propounded to the electors of the country, as the present government. I asked myself: What were these promises? Let me ask the people of this country, and the hon. members of this House, whether that statement is absolutely correct or not. I know that in dealing with this question, I am only dealing with subjects that have been dealt with by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House more at length than I intend to do, and who have supported their arguments with a greater array of facts and figures than I propose to bring forth tonight, because, I think it would be a waste of the time of the House to go, at length, into points that others have taken up and which have been gone over several times before. What were the promises made to the people of this country? The first was the reduction of taxation. The hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson), has given facts and figures to show that hon. gentlemen opposite did not reduce taxation, but rather increased it. Will the hon. member for Halifax say that plank in the platform was carried out? Will the people of Canada say it was carried

out? I am quite sure that they will not, and I say that no hon. gentleman, having any regard for integrity, or intelligence, or honesty, or truthfulness, can fairly stand up and say that that plank of the platform was honestly carried out. Yet, we are told that every plank in the platform was carried out. The second plank was, that they were to reduce the expenditure. The hon. member for Kent, Ont., (Mr. Campbell), said that it is true that they have increased the expenditure from \$38,000,000 to \$41,000,000, but he asks: Has the expenditure been unwise: will any hon. gentleman show in what particular the government have expended that money foolishly? The hon. member was frank enough to admit that there was an increase in the expenditure, but, we have the word of the hon. member for Halifax for it, that every plank in the platform was carried out. Why did they not decrease the expenditure instead of increasing it? Then, I say, that that plank of the platform was not carried out, that there was a violation of the promise made to the people, because, instead of reducing the expenditure, it was increased at least \$3,000,000 over what it was during the last year that their predecessors were in power. The next plank in their platform was, that there was to be no increase in the public debt. The hon. member for Kent, Ont., admitted that they had increased the public debt, but he said that they had not increased it as rapidly as their predecessors. Then, I say, that that plank was not carried out. The statement of the hon. member for Halifax is, that every plank was carried out, that every promise was fulfilled, but I have shown that not one of these three promises was fulfilled. What must the people think when an hon. gentleman stands up, belonging to the other side of the House, and says that the promises made to the people before the elections have been substantially fulfilled. Then, hon. gentlemen were to reduce the cost of agricultural implements to the farmers. Have they done that? How did they reduce the cost? They led the farmers to believe that they would reduce the cost of agricultural implements, by reducing the tariff on agricultural implements. The tariff on agricultural implements is 20 per cent to-day, the same as it was when they came into power. Agricultural implements are not any cheaper than when they came into power, but, in some respects, they are a little dearer. Hon. gentlemen say, it is true, but we reduced the duty on raw material so as to enable the manufacturers to turn out their implements at a lower cost. If they have made a reduction in the cost, they have put it in their own pockets, by way of profit, because, the farmers are getting their implements no cheaper. But, it was said, that the farmers were to get cheaper binder twine when hon. gentlemen came into power. They have been in power

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for three years, and what is binder twine sold at to-day? Last year binder twine was sold in our country at from 11 cents to 13 cents per pound. I know that I paid 12½ cents a pound for binder twine, and did not get the best quality at that. In 1898, it was from 14 cents to 16 cents per pound. Have hon. gentlemen kept their promise that they would reduce binder twine? In 1897, it was from 8 to 9 cents a pound, while, in 1896, before hon. gentlemen came into power, and before the duty was taken off, it was from 6 cents to 7½ cents a pound. From that time to last year, the price has gone up, although last year, there was a little reduction. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), says that it is true that binder twine has gone up a little, but it was due to the Spanish-American war, which increased the cost of the raw material, so that the price had to be put up. The hon. gentleman, for many years, was an ardent student of the Auditor General's report. I wondered, when he was speaking, if he had looked over that volume for the last three years, because, if he had, and if he had taken the trouble to look at what the cost of the raw material was, he would have seen that the raw material, used in the manufacture of binder twine, that was sold in Canada in 1897, cost, laid down at the penitentiary, 3½ cents a pound. The hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Mills), in a pamphlet, which I have before me, states that it cost three-quarters of a cent per pound to make the binder twine. If the raw material was laid down at 3½ cents a pound and it took three-quarters of a cent a pound to manufacture it, how was it that the farmers of Canada paid so much for their binder twine in that year? They paid in 1897, from 8 cents to 9 cents a pound.

Mr. WILSON. How much did it cost to make it?

Mr. SPROULE. Three-quarters of a cent a pound. The raw material cost 3½ cents a pound, and it cost ¾ of a cent a pound to make it. Four and a quarter cents a pound was the cost of this binder twine which was sold to the farmers for 7 cents, 8 cents and 9 cents a pound. Where did the difference go if it did not go to the middlemen, who by virtue of the manner in which the government sold that binder twine, were enabled to control the sale to the farmers, and thereby reap the large profits represented by the margin between 4¼ cents and 9 cents a pound, which the farmers were forced to pay for it. Was that exorbitant price due to the increased cost of raw material, as the hon. member for Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says? Not at all. Was it due to the fact that they had to pay a higher price for raw material because of the difficulty of getting manila and sisal on account of the Spanish-American war? Not at all. Why, Mr. Speaker, let me tell the hon. gentleman that the raw material for the binder twine was laid down at Kingston peni-

tentiary for the year 1898 for $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, the same exactly as the year before. The cost of manufacture was the same, but the farmers in the year 1898 were compelled to pay from 14 to 16 cents a pound, although that twine only cost $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Who got the difference? It certainly was not the farmer, but it was the middleman who was able to operate in that way on account of the manner in which the government sold the binder twine to the monopolists. One of the planks in the Liberal platform was that they would destroy monopolies, but from the day they came into power until the present hour, they have played into the hands of the monopolists who, in turn, bled the farmers and the honest people of Canada. Last year the raw material laid down at Kingston cost 4 cents a pound, as compared with $3\frac{1}{2}$ the year before. Allow $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cent a pound for manufacture, and that twine cost at Kingston $4\frac{1}{4}$ cents a pound, but in my part of the country the farmers had to pay from 11 to 13 cents a pound for it.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). It must be the abolition of the duty that brought about the increased price.

Mr. SPROULE. I did not say it was the abolition of the duty that was altogether the cause, but, I say, as I have always said, that it does not follow as a matter of fact that the price of binder twine will be reduced if you take the duty off. If that twine is under a combine in the United States, and if you allow your unscrupulous speculators in Canada to join with that combine, as the government has done by reason of the manner in which they sold the output of the Kingston penitentiary, then these monopolists will run up the price on the poor farmers. Why did not this government do as the Liberal-Conservatives did? Why did they not hold a portion of that twine to sell to any farmer in the country a carload at any season in the year at the same price as it was sold to the man who purchased the whole output. If the government did this, and then, even if every twine factory in the country combined to put up the price, the farmer could, through his agent, order it from the Kingston penitentiary and obtain it at an honest profit over the cost of the raw material and the cost of manufacture. If the government did that last year, does any sane man think that the farmers would have to pay 11 to 13 cents a pound for it, and if the government did that the year before would the farmers have had to pay from 14 to 16 cents a pound for binder twine, which only costs $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents? No. If the government had done as they should have done, the farmers could buy it at $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound at Kingston, the same as Hobbs, of London, and Bates, of Ottawa, bought it. A farmer ordering a carload could have distributed it amongst his neighbours, and

then the people of the country would have received a substantial benefit therefrom. Last year the government sold the output of the Kingston penitentiary, and the Ontario government sold the output of the Central prison in such a way that they played deliberately into the hands of the combine, and enabled that combine to extort over \$200,000 from the farmers of Canada, and I am within the mark when I place it at that figure. There is the Farmers Binder Twine Company, of Brantford, that was established by the Patrons of Industry ostensibly for the purpose of keeping the cost of binder twine down to a normal price. Up to the time the present government came into power the Brantford factory paid a small dividend upon the money invested, and which I believe was a reasonable profit. But what has occurred since the Liberals attained power? The monopolists to whom the government sold their twine arranged prices with the Brantford factory, and so the Brantford factory the year before last paid a dividend of 60 per cent on its stock, and last year they paid 100 cents on every dollar of stock that a shareholder invested in that factory. Where did that enormous profit come from? Why, it was taken out of the poor farmers of Canada by virtue of the manner in which this government sold the binder twine output of the Kingston penitentiary, and in which their friends in the Ontario government sold the binder twine output of the Central prison.

Mr. McNEILL. Shame.

Mr. SPROULE. This government put it within the power of Hobbs Bros., of London, and H. N. Bate, of Ottawa, and a few others of their friends to make arrangements, so that they controlled the output of binder twine in Kingston, Toronto, Cobourg and Brantford, which means the entire output of the Canadian factories except what was manufactured by the Cordage Company, of Montreal, and I am quite sure that that company joined with them, because they endeavoured to effect a combine years ago in order to make a larger profit on their investment.

Mr. TAYLOR. They are all in the ring.

Mr. SPROULE. That is a sample of the administration of this Liberal government, and in the face of that the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) has the hardihood to state in this House, that no government ever fulfilled so many of its promises as did this government during the last four years. The junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) also told us that every promise made by the Liberals out of power had been substantially and literally fulfilled since the Liberals came into power. Let me ask him (Mr. Russell) a few questions. Did they do away with monopolies? Not

at all. The fact is that ever since they came into power they have played into the hands of monopolies to the extent of bleeding the farmers of Canada almost white, and in the matter of binder twine alone they bled the farmers to the extent of several hundreds of thousands of dollars inside of a few years. What becomes of the argument of the hon. member for North Wellington when he sees that binder twine was cheaper last year, although it was the only year that the raw material had increased in price? I was amused the other day to hear the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) state, in reply to the hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor), that in the interest of the farmers the government are offering their binder twine now at a very slight profit over cost price. He told us that they sold to the farmers of Canada in lots of less than one ton, at the following prices: 14 cents for manila, 11 cents for mixed manila, and 10 cents for New Zealand; and up to when did they offer the binder twine at these prices? Up to the 20th of March of this year. They offered it to the farmers in winter, when they do not want binder twine, at 14 cents a pound. I was at home a week ago to-morrow, and I went into two hardware stores, and asked them at what price they would sell me binder twine? They said the same as last year—at 11 cents, 12½ cents and 13 cents a pound in five-pound lots, whereas the government offered to sell it in wholesale lots to the farmers of the country at 14 cents a pound in winter, when they do not want it. This is a wonderful thing that they have done for the benefit of the farmers; they will sell them at 14 cents a pound what costs the government exactly 6 cents a pound, so that they are going to make 8 cents a pound out of the farmers.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Does the hon. gentleman deliberately commit himself to these figures?

Mr. SPROULE. They are the figures the government give, and I take their own figures. If they are wrong, the government are responsible for it, not I; it is their funeral, not mine. What was the cost of the raw material? The Auditor General says 5½ cents a pound laid down at Kingston, and I have the statement of Hon. Mr. Mills in this pamphlet that it costs ¼ cent a pound to make the binder twine; therefore it cost only 6 cents a pound if the Auditor General and Mr. Mills are telling the truth. And the government are magnanimously and generously offering it to the farmers at 14 cents a pound.

Mr. ROGERS. I ask the privilege of asking the hon. gentleman a question. I say that the statement he has made is thoroughly misleading; the figures contradict him.

Mr. SPROULE.

Mr. SPROULE. What is the hon. gentleman's question?

Mr. ROGERS. I ask what authority you have for the price of the raw material this year?

Mr. SPROULE. I have the authority of the Auditor General's Report. Does the hon. gentleman dispute that? It is made up by his own friends. Therefore, if it is wrong, I am not responsible for it; but I believe it is not wrong. I have reason to believe that it is right.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The Auditor General's Report does not speak of the cost this year.

Mr. SPROULE. It speaks of the cost last year, and that is what goes into the binder twine used this year; and the government are magnanimously offering to sell to the farmers of Canada binder twine in less than ton lots at 14 cents a pound, which only costs them 6 cents, and that in the winter time, when they do not want it; but after the 20th of March, they will not sell them a pound at any price. I want the farmers of the country to know this. I want to ask how it squares with the statement of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), that this government have substantially carried out every promise they made to the people before they came into power. What about coal oil? Is it cheaper to-day? It is dearer. That is because the government have played into the hands of the combine, the gigantic oil trust, just as they played into the hands of the binder twine combine.

We were also told that if they came into power they would secure a reciprocity treaty with the United States, so that our people would have a market of 60,000,000 people to the south of us. The Prime Minister said distinctly in this House and in the country: 'As soon as we are returned to power, our first duty will be to negotiate a reciprocity treaty that will give you the advantage of that market of 60,000,000 people, and we have good grounds to believe that we can do it, because we are friendly to the United States, we have not exasperated them as our predecessors did.' The people of the country took them at their word, and elected them to power. Where is the reciprocity treaty they promised? We have had excursion after excursion to Washington, one member of the government with a palace car, another with a palace car, a third with a palace car. Every one who went to Washington had to go in a palace car. We have the accounts of their expenses given in the public accounts; and these excursions cost the country a large sum of money. These gentlemen had a good time, feasting, drinking and enjoying themselves; but they came back with-

out a reciprocity treaty. I ask the junior member for Halifax if that promise was carried out; I ask the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), was that promise carried out; I ask the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell); and I ask the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald), who is likely to speak after me, if he will kindly direct his attention to that matter for a short time and tell me if that promise was carried out. Have we a reciprocity treaty? No more than we had before these hon. gentlemen came to power.

But they were to get other markets for the people. Have they got any? Not one—east, west, north or south. The people have no other markets than they had before these hon. gentlemen came to power. They have not carried out their promise in that respect.

Now, I want to appeal to one or two hon. gentlemen, because this question applies to them more than to others. The hon. member for North Wellington who is always a very loud denouncer of the late government, said: 'When our party comes to power, one of the first things we will do will be to do away with the superannuation law. It is a great injustice to the people of the country for the government to be superannuating men who are practically in the prime of life and as well able to do their work on the day they were superannuated as at any time in their life. We are paying year after year thousands of dollars of superannuation allowances to men who are walking around the streets of Toronto and Ottawa idle. As soon as our party comes to power we will do away with superannuation.' I ask if they have done it. In three years they superannuated 155 civil servants. I have not had time to collate how much it costs this country a year to pay the superannuation allowances for these men, many of whom are likely to draw them for twenty years hence. I ask the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), I ask the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), and the hon. member for Kent, Ont. (Mr. Campbell), did they carry out their promise to do away with the superannuation law? They did not. That law stands on our statutes practically the same to-day, and these gentlemen are superannuating many clerks every year. They are adding to the burden of taxation in that respect to a larger extent every year than their predecessors did, yet they have the audacity to tell the people that they have carried out their pledges.

Then, we were to have no more appointments to office of members of parliament until at least two years after they had ceased to be members. The hon. Postmaster General introduced a Bill to that effect, and supported it by as able an argument as he could. He said it was demoralizing to public life and subversive of the independence

of parliament to have hon. members sitting in this House with promises of office in their pockets. Such men could not be independent, and to do away with that vicious practice, he introduced a Bill to make it impossible to appoint any member of parliament to any office of emolument under the Crown until two years after he had ceased to be a member. Every member of the present government supported that measure.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No.

Mr. SPROULE. Will the hon. gentleman tell me who did not?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I do not know one who did.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman has either a very bad memory—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I challenge the hon. gentleman to name one who did.

Mr. SPROULE. Several members spoke on it and supported it, and if they did not support it by their speeches, I do not know what they did. The hon. minister has made a gratuitous statement not founded on fact.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. My statement was that there was no division on that Bill.

Mr. SPROULE. I did not say there was, but I say that hon. members of the government supported it and the hon. gentleman said they did not.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Who did?

Mr. SPROULE. Several members, but I cannot give their names just now.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman's statement was that there was not a member of the present government, then in opposition, who did not support the Bill. I say that the statement is without any foundation.

Mr. SPROULE. I said that so far as I know that there was not a member who opposed it. Was there one who spoke or said a word against it? Did the hon. Minister of Marine oppose it?

Mr. TAYLOR. He advocated it.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I did not.

Mr. SPROULE. Not one of them raised his voice against it, but to-day they are so

much ashamed of their conduct that they are trying to creep out of the small end of the horn by saying that they did not support that Bill. But if they did not speak in its favour, they did not oppose it and supported it by their silence. How many members of parliament have been appointed to office under the government during the past three years? The hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson) gave the names of thirteen who have been appointed either to offices of emolument under the Crown or to the Senate, and who were members of this House when appointed. This was done in deliberate violation of the principle laid down by the Postmaster General, who is to-day a member of that government, and looked up to by the people of Canada as one who, at least, ought to endeavour to carry out the principle which he advocated before he came to office. Yet, this practice which the Postmaster General said was demoralizing and undermining the freedom and independence of parliament, is being carried on to a greater extent by this government than ever before by its predecessors, and that hon. gentleman has not a word to say either in condemnation of this course or in explanation of his own very strange conduct.

We were promised also purity in elections. The changes were run on that cry on every hustings in this country, and by none was this great principle more upheld than by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen). To hear him speak you would have thought that there was nothing in him but what was of the most unsullied purity. You would think that it was utterly impossible for him to do anything wrong; that he could not, under any circumstances, support a party that did anything wrong; and that if there was the slightest scintilla of evidence to show that even his own party had been guilty of electoral corruption, he would be the first to condemn it. But what has that hon. gentleman to say about the hon. member for West Huron (Mr. Holmes) and the means by which he secured his seat in this House? Did the evidence brought before the Committee on Privileges and Elections show that it was by the exercise of purity that he obtained it? Was it to further purity of elections that so much money was spent in that constituency in order to return its present member? Was it the exercise of purity in elections that enabled the hon. member for Brockville (Mr. Comstock) to reach this House? I was in that last election, and I never saw such a demoralization of the people, such corruption practiced, so much money expended and promises of office given since the first day I set my foot in that constituency up to the present. And the hon. member for North Wellington, I believe, was there helping in that election, and he had not then a word to say against the devices there being resorted to. What kind of purity of elec-

tion did hon. gentlemen opposite practice in North Grey, when they elected the hon. member who is to-day Minister of Customs? Were they living up to their promises then? I took part in that election, and I know that we have about 200 affidavits showing that electors in that constituency were deliberately bought up by means of money furnished by the Reform party and their agents, and some of them were bought three times and paid the cash. We hold affidavits showing the men from whom they got the money, how they were purchased, where they were purchased and the amounts they got to support the hon. member for North Grey, who to-day has a seat in this House by virtue of that kind of purity in elections. I have lived in the county of Grey for forty-five years, and I never saw such a saturnalia of corruption in all the elections in which I have taken part as in that election which returned the hon. Minister of Customs to this House. Who helped him to carry his seat? The hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), who is now a member of the cabinet. Who else assisted him? W. T. R. Preston, who is now, I was going to say, on ticket of leave, but who is instead receiving a big salary to stay away in England lest he might be brought before the election courts in this country or the parliamentary committee. Cap. Sullivan was another who, it is said, helped in that election, and Sam Hewitt, Linklater, Thomas Lewis and Duncan Bole, some of whom were employees of the local government. We found many employees of both the local and provincial governments in every constituency where elections were going on, helping the government candidates, and yet, there is not a word from the hon. member for North Wellington in condemnation of such nefarious conduct. These are men sitting in this House, supporting the government who were elected. I am convinced, by the most unblushing bribery and corruption ever perpetrated in Canada, and yet, we are unable, on account of the tactics of the government, to inquire into these matters and show to the world the extent of that bribery and corruption. Who were the men that were guilty? Many of them are civil servants, some employed by the local government and some by this. When we wanted to bring them before the courts they could not be found. They had fled the country, like Linklater and Bole, and, therefore, could not be subpoenaed. But when their month's pay comes round and the pay sheets have to be signed, there is no difficulty about their signing the sheets and getting the money. And yet the Attorney General has the unblushing effrontery to declare that these men cannot be found. Does that look like honesty? I say that from the time the present government came into power up to the present, every by-election, at least in the province of Ontario, has

been carried, I believe, by the most unblushing corruption that ever was known in this country. If we had been able to bring these cases into court, as I endeavoured to do, we would have left a record which would have been a disgrace to them for all time to come. I ask them, was their promise fulfilled which they made, when they said that if returned to power, they would give the people purity of election? They may call this purity, but we know it by a different name. They were going to exercise economy, and particularly they were going to give no more subsidies to railways. The Patron's platform was no more subsidies to railways, and the Liberals, declaring that to be their platform, also, were ready to take Patron candidates wherever they could find them. But did they stop subsidies for railways? By no means; they increased them, violating not only their own platform, but the platform of the Patrons, a representative of whom is sitting before me now, the gentleman who asked me a question about binder twine. If that hon. gentleman can go back and square his conduct before the Patrons of this country, it will be done by some legerdemain that I and many members in this House know nothing about.

Now, I have only given a few of the promises they made to the people of this country, but I have shown that in every case they have deliberately misled the people, they have refused to carry out the promises they made, and have done the very reverse of what they said they would do. And, now we are asked to pass a motion praising them for carrying out their pledges, to eulogize them for what they did. We sometimes say that whatever there is good in the policy they have carried out, they got from the Conservative party. They pretend that there is great benefit in the preferential tariff, that it is a benefit to Canada, and a benefit to England as well. I would like to ask them where they got that? Would any one of them unbosom himself so far as to tell where they got it? If they will not tell, I will tell where they got it, because I heard it before they came into power. They got it from the late Dalton McCarthy, who laid it down in 1896, and asked the Conservative party to take it up. The Conservatives refused to do so. And the Liberals adopted it, as they adopted from the same source the proposed settlement of the Manitoba school question. And, they take credit for it to-day. It is well for them that Mr. McCarthy is dead. I know from conversations that I had with him, before he met with the unfortunate accident that deprived us of his presence here, that, had he lived he would have stood up publicly and condemned hon. gentlemen opposite for the way they carried out their policy. He admitted himself that it was his policy, and he was the party

who gave it to them. If there is any good in it, they are indebted to him for it, and they ought to be generous enough to give credit where credit is due. If they do not, it is only another evidence of petty larceny, so pronounced through their policy in every part of it. I think I have said enough to convince the people of this country that hon. gentlemen opposite have not carried out their platform in any respect. And, we are asked to-day to slobber over them and eulogize them because they gave this preferential tariff, so valuable, they say, to Canada. We are now going to thank them for it, and the people of the country will not thank them. They may get their own supporters, I was going to say servile supporters, and at least they have supported them in everything. They are obliged to get one of their own friends to move a motion thanking themselves and eulogizing themselves for what they have done. They cannot get it from any other source either in the House or in the country. They are a mutual admiration society; if they do not admire themselves, and praise themselves, nobody in this House, or in the country will. They are entitled to all the credit they can get from it. But, when the dissolution of this House comes, whether it be early or whether it is late, when an appeal is made to the great electors of this country, and the people are asked to say either the hon. gentlemen have carried out their promises, or not, I am very much mistaken if they are not told by the people: We do not believe you carried out your promises; you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting; we will turn you from power, and put others in your places, whose policy we approve, and upon whose promises we can depend.

Mr. MACDONALD (East Huron) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. TAYLOR. Before the motion is put, I would like to ask the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), when we may reasonably expect the budget to be brought down?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). We seemed to be having an interesting parliamentary budget debate, and I think we had better get through with it before we deal with the formal budget. An early announcement will be made.

Mr. PRIOR. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman who leads the House, when he expects the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden), back ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I understand he will be back to-morrow.

Mr. PRIOR. He will be here the beginning of next week ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Yes.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 11 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, March 19, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 98) respecting the Yarmouth Steamship Company, Limited.—(Mr. Flint.)

Bill (No. 99) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Miami Cycle and Manufacturing Company.—(Mr. Britton.)

Bill (No. 100) respecting the Buffalo Railway Company.—(Mr. Gibson.)

THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask my right hon. friend whether he proposes, now that the negotiations between the United States and Great Britain and Canada seem to be at an end, to furnish the House with the information usual in such cases as to the protocols that were laid by either party, and to state to the House in what position the whole matter stands ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am glad to be able to say to my hon. friend that neither the government nor the commissioners consider that the negotiations have come to an end. They are

Mr. FIELDING.

only temporarily suspended, but I am not prepared to say when they shall be reopened. In the meantime, neither am I in a position to state whether the protocols can be laid on the Table, but this is a matter to which my attention has been called and I will be in a position in a few days to give my hon. friend an answer.

CANADIAN TROOPS TO GARRISON ESQUIMALT.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) I wish to call the attention of the hon. Minister of Militia to the following article in to-day's *Citizen* :

A militia order has been issued directing that the right half of 'A' company of the provincial battalion which is being raised to replace, temporarily, the Leinster Regiment, is to be sent to Victoria, B.C., to assist the Imperial troops in garrisoning Esquimalt.

Is it the intention to garrison Esquimalt with Canadian troops exclusively, or are these troops to be sent only to assist the Imperial troops ? I would also like to call the attention of the hon. Minister to the fact that the Leinster Regiment in Halifax has received marching orders for England or Africa, I do not know which.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). Africa.

Mr. PRIOR. But I am told on very good authority that they are going to leave behind all the men under twenty years of age and the men who are physically not fit to proceed on active service, and I would like to ask the hon. minister whether that would not be a good nucleus for a battalion for the repatriation of the 100th Regiment, in which, I know, the hon. minister, like myself, has taken an interest for several years.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. With regard to the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Prior's) first question, I can only say that having returned only this morning to my office, I have no statement to make in respect to the item in the *Citizen*. To-morrow, I shall be able to give my hon. friend the information. With regard to the repatriation of the 100th Leinster Regiment, I do not care to express an opinion on the point raised by him ; but I can say, and I am sure the hon. gentleman will be very glad to hear it, that the War Office is now seriously considering the question, and, I believe, has strong hopes of being able to carry out in the future, the repatriation of that regiment.

Mr. DAVIN. I would like to ask the hon. minister a question in that connection. I understand that recruiting is going on at

present to fill the vacancies in the ranks in the first South African contingent. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) is aware that several enthusiastic officers in the militia resigned their commissions to go into the ranks of that contingent.

Mr. PRIOR. There is a question on the Order paper on that subject.

Mr. DAVIN. Oh, very well.

PACIFIC CABLE.

Mr. GEORGE E. CASEY (West Elgin). Before you pass to the Orders of the Day, Mr. Speaker, I have to call the attention of the House again to certain matters connected with the Pacific cable, which seem to place the action of some of the parties to the arrangement in a new light, and a light which certainly must give rise to some uneasiness on the part of friends of the cable scheme. I have received through the post to-day a copy of the debates of the Victoria legislature of the 9th of February, containing the debate, of which some inkling was given to us in the telegraphic despatches about that time, as to the concessions asked for by the Eastern Extension Company from the Australasian colonies. Mr. Duffy, who was formerly Postmaster General, and whose name is well known in this country, brought the matter up and discussed it at some length.

I may say there were two propositions before the Victorian assembly and government on the part of the Eastern Extension Company—a first proposition and a subsequent modification of it. The first proposition was that the company should be allowed to land a cable in the colony; not only to land a cable in the colony, but also to open offices of their own in the colony independent of the postal telegraph system operated by the government. Upon that being objected to on certain grounds, which I shall point out later, it was modified into a proposition that they should have no extra facilities of this kind until after the Pacific cable had been laid. Mr. Duffy discussed both these propositions. He said:

I notice, from the press, that the government are negotiating with the Eastern Extension Company, with the view of entering into some agreement with them. As parliament is about to prorogue, that agreement will necessarily be concluded without hon. members having an opportunity of saying anything regarding it. We are told that it is necessary to enter into an agreement. That statement has been made frequently by two sections of the press, and the reason given is, that the present agreements are about to expire. That is absolutely true. Under one of the agreements, we are bound to pay £32,000 a year, and, under the other, we were bound to guarantee the company against loss. I do not know that any great harm will be done

to this colony or Australia, if the agreements are allowed to expire. But then we are told also by the press that the company may raise their rate from 4s. 9d. to 8s. a word. Of course, they may. They may take up the cables that have been laid, cut them into pieces and let the babies play with them in the back yards. They are just as likely to do one of these things as the other. The company are remarkably well managed. They know their way about, and they know on which side their bread is buttered as well as any company in the world. As long as they have no fear of competition, they will be prepared to charge the highest price they can claim; but, if there is competition, you may rely upon it that they will deal with their customers, to whom they look for their profits, in the most reasonable manner possible.

Here he comes to notice an aspect of the affair, which, I think, explains the whole situation:

I have mentioned the press in connection with this matter, because the whole agitation in regard to the agreement with the Eastern Extension Company and the Pacific cable has been got up by the press. The 'Argus' said recently, in a burst of delicious frankness,—

That is, the Melbourne *Argus*.

—that we need not pay any attention to the criticism of the 'Times' on the Transvaal war, because it was all 'newspaper clamour.' Well, I take it, that the agitation against the Pacific cable, and in favour of the Eastern Extension Company, is mere newspaper clamour, and clamour which is not echoed by the House or the great commercial interests on whose behalf the press, or a section of the press, profess to be speaking.

It has been understood for a long time the Eastern Extension Company has entered upon a regular campaign intended to mould and modify the opinions of the Australasian press in a manner best known to Australasian editors and the promoters of great monopolies. And it may be quite possible that the opinions of this section of the press were unduly favourable to the monopoly in consequence of that campaign. Then, Mr. Duffy goes on to speak of the commercial community:

The commercial community, although they are anxious to get their cable messages sent to England as cheaply as possible, are not anxious to throw away a mackerel in order to catch a sprat. They do not desire to lose, for the sake of a small decrease in the present rate for cables, the great Pacific scheme, which will bring about competition, and will result in the rates being permanently and materially lowered. I notice that the modified proposals of the government were placed before the company, and the managers of the company could not agree to them. The directors said they were unheard-of proposals, and that they would never consent to them. Well, I have been accustomed to that sort of thing for years. The company, at the first overtures, are never willing to consent to anything until they are driven to it; but, as soon as they see that they must consent, they consent with a good grace.

It appears, then, that, in the opinion of Mr. Duffy the people of that colony do not desire to do anything that would interfere with the Pacific cable scheme, but that the government and a large number of legislators have been influenced by the clamour in the press to such an extent that it appears to be impossible to defeat the arrangement proposed by the company. Mr. Duffy goes on to speak of the possibility of getting the company to consent to these better terms.

Further on, he refers to the compact that has been entered into with the different colonies, very much in the sense in which it has been referred to in this House :

To show that the prejudice to the Pacific cable does not exist purely in my imagination,—

That is, the prejudice caused by the scheme proposed.

—I will call the attention of the Premier to two telegrams which appear in this morning's 'Argus,' and which, no doubt, he has not had time to see. One of those telegrams is from the Premier of New Zealand. It is addressed to the Postmaster General of Victoria, and it runs as follows :—

'New Zealand considers the acceptance of the Cape cable scheme a breach of faith in connection with the Pacific cable arrangement, seeing that it must reduce the earnings and increase the liabilities of the present cable.'

And the Premier of Canada, which is our other partner in the scheme—a large partner, and one that has not so much interest in the scheme as the Australasian colonies have—telegraphs as follows :—

'Canada strongly objects to the last proposal of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, or any other that will remove the control over the telegraph business from the local government, and give the company a free hand in competing with the Pacific submarine cable.'

While objecting to the Eastern Extension Company have an undue advantage over our local administrations, I still more strongly object—and this is the vital point—to anything being done that will at present jeopardize the construction of the Pacific cable, and I believe that the effect of any proposed arrangement, even the modification, even though that is not so bad as the original proposal—proposed by the government, and under the consideration of the Eastern Extension Company, will, as shown by those telegrams, lead our partners to believe that we are committing a breach of faith towards them.

Well, Sir, it certainly strikes my mind in that way. I do not know whether this government are willing to take the responsibility of saying to the Australian colonies that it would be a breach of faith on their part to enter into any such side bargain ; but I think it is proper to state in this House that it strikes the average man so—that after agreeing to go into a large scheme of this kind, it would be a breach of faith to enter into a side bargain with a competing company. This speaker continues :

Mr. CASEY.

And, believing that, they will not enter into further negotiations with us, so that the whole Pacific cable scheme will fall through, to the great delight, the great joy, and the exceeding great profit of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, but to the great loss of the whole of Australasia. I do not think that any agreement ought to be entered into. I am inclined to think, from my knowledge of past negotiations, and of the company generally, that if we simply keep 'never minding,' as they say in Scotland, it will be best for us in the long run, that a policy of masterly inactivity at this juncture would lead to our getting what we want in the end, namely, the construction of the Pacific cable and the doing away with the monopoly.

Then he goes on to discuss the evils of a telegraphic monopoly generally, and finally states more particularly his objections to both the schemes that have been proposed.

Speaking of the first scheme which would allow the Eastern Extension Company to have competing offices in Australia, Mr. McLean says :

The objection to that was, that if they were brought into direct communication with their customers, it would enable them to enter into secret contracts, and to make arrangements by which they might secure the custom of those people after the Pacific cable had been laid, to the great injury of the Pacific cable, and that it probably might result in effectually blocking the construction of that cable.

I am quoting now from Mr. McLean, who followed Mr. Duffy, and who—I am not very well posted as to the members of the cabinet over there—but it appears from what Mr. McLean says, that he must be a member of the government :

Mr. DUFFY. It would, certainly.

Mr. McLEAN. Yes ; and I believe, with my hon. friend, that it would have that effect. But what is now proposed is an entirely different thing. The present proposal, to which I am very pleased to say, the Eastern Extension Company's representative has consented, subject to the approval of his principals, is that they shall not get any of those facilities until the Pacific cable has been laid. They agree to make the reduction at once, and, as stipulated by Mr. Chamberlain, they agree that any reductions made shall never be increased.

By which I suppose he means that when the price has once been reduced it will never be increased.

As my hon. friend knows, the Imperial government—

I wish to call the especial attention of the House to this extract, for this is what affects the position of the Imperial government in the matter.

As my hon. friend knows, the Imperial government, who were parties to the contract for the laying of the Pacific cable, saw no objection to the granting of the full concession asked for

by the Eastern Extension Company, providing they would agree that the cable should be laid in such a way that it would be under the control of British troops, and that the rates, once reduced, should never be increased. Those were the only safeguards that the Imperial government, who are parties to this contract, saw necessary. And that view was adopted by the Premier of New South Wales, which was a party to the contract. The other premiers, with the exception of the Premier of Queensland, favoured the same view.

Now, this is a point to which I wish to call special attention; that on the statement of this member, apparently, of the Victoria government, certainly a member of some conference that had to deal with cable matters, the Imperial government thought the Colonial Office had declared their approval of even the gross breach of faith involved in the first scheme proposed by the Eastern Extension Company. It seems hard to believe that the minister himself who has taken such an apparent interest in colonial development, in the unification of the empire, should agree to a course which would so effectually prevent the realization of this great scheme. But, the assertions made uncontradicted in the Victoria House, must have some weight; the approval may have been given unofficially, casually in some way by the minister. It may have been given through the gentleman, Sir Robert Herbert, who I believe is acting as under-secretary of that department, and who is a director of the Eastern and South African Telegraph Company, the company which was to make direct connection with the proposed Cape and Australia cable. He may have been influencing the opinion of his superior on this matter at a time when the colonial minister's mind was so much taken up with affairs in Africa. I am sure that when the facts are properly brought before the minister, and the importance of this thing insisted upon, we will find that he will not agree to any proposal of that sort. But, the assertion of this responsible statesman in Victoria seems to require some explanation from the Colonial Office. I do not know whether the government have information on that point themselves; if they have, I should ask that the information be given to the House, at the close of these remarks.

Then, Sir, Mr. McLean went on to mention the difficulties they had had in inducing the company to accept the modified proposal referred to. He adds:

But they have now agreed, subject to the approval of their principals, to give us largely reduced rates as soon as the contract is signed, and they are not to get the facilities asked for until the Pacific cable has been laid.

Mr. DUFFY. Canada, New Zealand and Queensland object to that.

Mr. McLEAN. What will the effect of that arrangement be? Hon. members will see that

it will place both companies on an absolute equality after the Pacific cable has been laid. It gives the Eastern Extension Company no advantage whatever over the Pacific Cable Company. But when both are laid, both will be on exactly even terms, and the effect of the competition will be to give the public the cheapest possible service. If we give either one party or the other a monopoly, as I infer from my hon. friend he would be disposed to do—I infer that he would be disposed to give the Pacific Cable Company what he would deny to the other companies—

Mr. DUFFY. Oh, no; we cannot do that, under the general telegraph law of the world.

Mr. McLEAN. Then, what does my hon. friend object to, seeing that we give up no facilities until the Pacific cable is laid? If the Pacific cable is never laid, the Eastern Extension Company will never get those facilities, while we will get the reduced rates, under a binding contract that those rates, once reduced, can never be increased.

Later on, he says:

This scheme could not possibly kill the Pacific cable project, but it might possibly prevent it having an undue monopoly or advantage over the other.

Now, it would seem as if Mr. McLean had the idea that the proposed Pacific cable was to be laid by a cable company, a commercial corporation competing with the Eastern Extension Company, and that there was danger of giving them a monopoly for that reason, and danger of the rates being kept unduly high if other companies were not allowed to compete with them. Mr. Speaker, I cannot imagine how such an absurdity could have entered the mind of a public man. The Pacific cable is not to be laid by a company at all; it is to be laid by a commission composed of the representatives of the governments interested. It is to be laid and operated, and the rates are to be levied, by a commission, not for the purpose of making money, but, merely, for the purpose of affording the cheapest public service possible. The rates would have to be placed at such a figure as would pay the cost of operation of the cable and the interest on the capital invested, with a trifling margin over, to provide against accidental loss. To speak of the Pacific cable being a monopoly in the ordinary sense of the word, is just about as absurd as to speak of the post office system being a monopoly, since both systems are operated under government control, to provide for the public convenience, the profits arising from them, if there be any, going into the public treasury, and no profits being derived over those necessary for the operation of the scheme. That consideration seems to me to dispose, at once, of any objection on the ground of giving a monopoly to the Pacific cable. It seems to me, on the other hand, that, allowing the company that has hitherto had a monopoly

in these regions, to compete with the government scheme, would be just as absurd as allowing a railway company in this country, to compete with the Post Office Department in the carriage of letters, or, in Australia, to compete with the postal system in the carriage of letters. As it is proposed that the governments shall go into the scheme, own the cable and operate it purely in the interest of the public, it can have none of the effects of a private monopoly operating a private enterprise. On the other hand, to allow competition, even prospective competition, may possibly have the effect of killing the whole scheme. I do not know how the government look upon it, or whether it would have that effect in their opinion, but, if this competition were allowed, it seems to me, that it would give ground for asking for the revision of the whole scheme. It ought in that case to be revised in such a way that those parties who are injuring the scheme by any such act as is proposed, should bear a larger proportion of the cost, than they have agreed to at present.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). Mr. Speaker, I have listened to the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey), but, the only point in his remarks that appears to me to call for observation, is the quotation from Mr. McLean's speech, alluding to the action of the Imperial government in respect to this scheme. I am quite of the opinion that the Imperial government are not correctly represented in this report. This paper that the hon. member has read from is the *Victoria Hansard*, of February 9th, of this year, but, I do not understand that the report is a verbatim copy of the speaker's remarks. But, even assuming it to be so, there has been a very decided change on the face of the question since the 9th of February. If the hon. gentleman's point is that the Imperial government have given their consent to the Australian colonies varying the conditions enforced at the time, I should prefer to reserve judgment until I know distinctly, as we will know, what has transpired between the Imperial government and the Australian colonies. Mr. McLean, I suppose, is a member of that government. He is reported to have said here :

As my hon. friend knows, the Imperial government, who are parties to the contract for the laying of the Pacific cable, saw no objection to the granting of the full concession asked for by the Eastern Extension Company, providing they would agree, &c.

Then :

Those were the only safeguards that the Imperial government, who are parties to this contract, saw necessary.

I entirely question the accuracy of that statement. It is not in harmony with our views as to the attitude of the Imperial government, and, whatever may have been in-

Mr. CASEY.

formally expressed at that early date by the Imperial government, or by any other government, I believe there have been decided changes in the situation even since the 9th of February. Since then, a great deal of cable correspondence has taken place between this government, the Imperial government and the Australian government, and without going farther, I can say that the declaration as to the attitude of the Imperial government, is at direct variance with our information as to the views of the Imperial government on this question. As the hon. gentleman is aware that there should be no change in the fundamental conditions existing after the contract was made, we believe the Imperial government are equally anxious with us ; so that, precarious as the situation is, I think that we have the right yet to hope for this scheme being successfully carried out. I do not know that I can add anything at all to my hon. friend's information on the subject. We are not discussing the merits or demerits of the scheme, but, if we were, we hardly could do more than bring friendly advice and pressure to bear on our sister colonies in Australia. They happen to be in a special position. They perhaps feel that cable communication from Australia, directly to the Cape, would be of great importance to them. We cannot quarrel with that view, but we must take exception to anything that will injure this scheme. I think that the extract is an entirely incorrect representation of the views of the Imperial government.

Motion (Mr. Casey) to adjourn, negatived.

PRIVILEGE—MR. RICHARDSON.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Lisgar). Mr. Speaker, before you call the Orders of the Day, I wish to make a personal explanation. I received a telegram from the west stating that a report is being circulated amongst my constituents, that I had, in the House of Commons, made statements reflecting upon the loyalty of the Mennonites. I wish to give that statement an emphatic denial. Inasmuch as I did not participate in the debates in reference to the sending of the Canadian contingents to South Africa, of course, I said nothing of the kind. As I am on my feet, I would like to bear testimony to the loyalty and peace-loving qualities of the Mennonites. There are about 12,000 Mennonites in my constituency, and I do not think that there can be found in the Dominion of Canada to-day, a better, a more independent, a more loyal, or a more industrious class of settlers than they are.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 81) to incorporate the Accident and Guarantee Company of Canada.—(Mr. Penny.)

Bill (No. 82) to incorporate the Crown Life Insurance Company.—(Mr. McCarthy.)

Bill (No. 95) respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company.—(Mr. Britton.)

THE LEE-ENFIELD RIFLE.

Mr. OSLER (by Mr. Clarke) asked :

1. On what rifle ranges throughout the country is practice permitted with the Lee-Enfield rifle?
2. How many battalions are armed with the Lee-Enfield rifle?
3. How many are not so armed?
4. What rural corps, if any, are armed with the Lee-Enfield rifle?
5. How many rounds of ammunition per man are issued to the militia for class firing?
6. How many rounds per man are issued free for practice purposes, exclusive of class firing?
7. What financial or other aid is granted to the various regiments for the purpose of rifle practice?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. In Ontario—Leamington, Woodstock, Point Edward, Guelph, Walkerton, Wiarton, St. Thomas, Barrie, Brantford, Dundas, Hamilton, Niagara, Toronto, Picton, township of Pittsburg, Belleville, Campbellford, Peterborough, township of Ernestown, Pembroke, Prescott, Ottawa. In Quebec—Laprairie, Huntingdon, Covey Hill, Odelltown, Hemmingford, Roxham, Aubry, St. Johns, Sweetsburg, Windsor Mills, Richmond, Cookshire, Barnston, Somerset, St. Genevieve de Batiscan. In New Brunswick—Fredericton, Sussex, Baker Brook, Moncton, Chatham. In Nova Scotia—Bedford, Aldershot, Paradise West, Kentville, Canning, Bear River, Nictaux, Digby, Truro, Windsor, and Maccan. In Manitoba—Winnipeg, Virden, Brandon. In British Columbia—Clover Point. In Prince Edward Island—Charlottetown, Little York, Pownal, Souris, Fortune, Cove, Montague. 2. Thirty-four. 3. Fifty-seven. 4. 16th, 41st, and 82nd Battalions. All rural corps undergoing annual training in camp are supplied with the Lee-Enfield for target practice. 5. For each officer and man, 40 rounds of ball and 10 of blank. A further allowance of 10 rounds ball ammunition is issued to each man who has qualified as marksman, to enable him to compete for position of best shot in the battalion. 6. Answered by No. 5. 7. No grants are made to regiments. Rifle Associations recognized by the department, are paid such annual grants as the annual returns show them to be entitled to, according to a fixed scale.

MAILS BETWEEN BENNETT AND DAWSON.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

What has been the time occupied, per trip, in the carriage of mails between Bennett and

Dawson during the present winter? What is the length of time occupied in the carriage from Dawson to Ottawa during the winter season?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). During the earlier portions of the months of November and December it will be noticed by the inclosed statement that the time occupied was from 34, 32, 26, and 19 days with a gradual improvement in the time of the service until in the month of February the mails were being carried from Bennett to Dawson in a period of from 6 to 8 days. The difference in the time during the months of November and December and the months of January and February is largely due to the climatic conditions prevailing during the different portions of the year. During the earlier portion of the season that part of the river nearest to Dawson freezes before the portion near Lake Bennett, and it is not possible to employ steamers the whole distance. It has happened that steamers leaving Lake Bennett with the mails have only been able to proceed part of the way and then become jammed in the ice, necessitating the mails being forwarded from that point by dog teams, the procuring of which would necessarily cause delay. It has also happened, particularly last fall, that after the cold weather set in a thaw took place and it was found impossible to operate either by steamer or dog team for days on account of the condition of the trail. The same objection prevails in reference to mails going from Dawson to Bennett, the mails having to be despatched from Dawson by dog teams and then transferred to steamers wherever practicable. 2. Letters have reached Ottawa from Dawson within twenty days.

Despatch of Mails from Dawson to Bennett.

Left Dawson.	Arrived at Bennett.	Number of Days.
1899.	1899.	
November 6	December 10	34
" 8	" 10	32
" 14	" 10	26
" 21	" 10	19
" 23	" 18	25
December 5	" 18	13
" 12	" 26	14
" 19	" 30	11
	1900.	
" 26	January 5	10
1900.		
January 2	" 11	9
" 9	" 22	13
" 18	" 27	9
" 25	February 3	9
February 1	" 8	7
" 7	" 15	8
" 14	" 20	6

Despatch of Mails from Bennett to Dawson.			Rank.	Daily pay.
Left Bennett.	Arrived at Dawson.	Number of Days.		£ s. d.
1899.	1899.		Sergeant-Major, W. O.....	0 5 4
November 2.....	December 1.....	29	Quartermaster Sergeant	0 4 4
" 3.....	" 1.....	28	Farrier Quartermaster Sergeant	0 4 0
" 9.....	" 7 and 9.....	28 & 30	Squadron Sergeant Major	0 4 4
" 16.....	" 9 and 15.....	23 & 29	Squadron Quartermaster Sergeant	0 3 4
" 17.....	" 9 and 15.....	22 & 28	Farrier Staff Sergeant	0 3 4
" 23.....	" 18.....	25	Sergeant	0 2 8
" 30.....	" 20 and 25.....	20 & 25	Sergeant Trumpeter	0 2 8
December 2.....	" 20 and 25.....	18 & 23	Saddler Sergeant	0 3 8
" 7.....	" 30.....	23	Farrier Sergeant	0 2 10
" 14.....	" 30.....	16	Corporal, if paid as Lance Sergeant ...	0 2 4
	1900.		Shoeing-smith Corporal	0 2 2
" 18.....	January 2.....	15	Corporal	0 2 0
" 21.....	" 2.....	12	Private, appt. Lance Corporal	0 1 6
" 28.....	" 6.....	9	Saddler	0 1 9½
1900.			Saddletree-maker	0 1 9½
January 5.....	January 14.....	9	Shoeing-smith	0 1 8
" 11.....	" 20.....	9	Trumpeter	0 1 4
" 25.....	February 3.....	9	Private	0 1 2
" 27.....	" 5.....	9		
February 1.....	" 10.....	9		
" 2.....	" 11.....	9		
" 9.....	" 15.....	6		

IMPERIAL ARMY PAY.

Mr. DOMVILLE (by Mr. Ellis) asked :

What is the rate of pay in the Imperial army to officers, non-commissioned officers and men in the various branches of the service, infantry, cavalry and artillery? Under the Militia Act what is the rate of pay allowed to officers, non-commissioned officers and men in the Canadian militia, including the permanent corps?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The following are the rates :

CAVALRY—IMPERIAL RATES.

Rank.	Daily pay.
	£ s. d.
Lt.-Col. commanding regiment	1 1 6
Major	0 15 0
Major, after two years' service in rank..	0 17 0
Major, second in command, in addition..	0 1 0
Captain	0 13 0
Captain having higher rank by brevet..	0 15 0
Lieutenant	0 7 8
Second lieutenant	0 6 8
Adjutant, in addition to pay of rank ...	0 5 0
Quartermaster, on first appointment	0 10 6
Quartermaster, after five years' commis- sioned service	0 12 0

Staff Officers.

Major or Lt.-Col., R.A.M. Corps	1 0 0
Captain or Lieutenant, R.A.M. Corps....	0 12 0
Captain, after five years' service	0 13 8
Captain, after ten years' service	0 15 0
Veterinary Lt.-Col.....	1 5 0
Veterinary Major	0 15 6
Veterinary Captain	0 15 6
Veterinary Lieutenant	0 13 8

Mr. MULOCK.

Rank.	Daily pay.
	£ s. d.
Sergeant-Major, W. O.....	0 5 4
Quartermaster Sergeant	0 4 4
Farrier Quartermaster Sergeant	0 4 0
Squadron Sergeant Major	0 4 4
Squadron Quartermaster Sergeant	0 3 4
Farrier Staff Sergeant	0 3 4
Sergeant	0 2 8
Sergeant Trumpeter	0 2 8
Saddler Sergeant	0 3 8
Farrier Sergeant	0 2 10
Corporal, if paid as Lance Sergeant ...	0 2 4
Shoeing-smith Corporal	0 2 2
Corporal	0 2 0
Private, appt. Lance Corporal	0 1 6
Saddler	0 1 9½
Saddletree-maker	0 1 9½
Shoeing-smith	0 1 8
Trumpeter	0 1 4
Private	0 1 2

FIELD ARTILLERY—IMPERIAL RATES.

Rank.	Daily Pay.
	£ s. d.
Lt.-Colonel	0 18 0
Major	0 16 0
Captain	0 11 7
Captain, having higher rank by brevet..	0 13 7
Lieutenant	0 6 10
Lieutenant, after seven years' service ..	0 7 10
Second Lieutenant	0 5 7
Adjutant, in addition to pay as captain..	0 2 6
Adjutant, in addition to pay as lieuten- ant	0 3 6
Sergeant Major, W.O.	0 5 10
Battery Sergeant Major or Battery Quar- termaster Sergeant	0 4 2
Farrier Staff Sergeant	0 4 1
Sergeant	0 3 2
Sergeant Trumpeter	0 3 2
Farrier Sergeant	0 3 7
Collar-maker Sergeant	0 3 2
Wheeler Sergeant	0 3 2
Corporal	0 2 6
Shoeing-smith Corporal	0 2 4
Collar-maker Corporal	0 2 6
Wheeler Corporal	0 2 6
Bombardier	0 2 3
Collar-maker Bombardier	0 2 3
Wheeler Bombardier	0 2 3
Acting bombardier	0 1 7
Shoeing-smith	0 2 0
Trumpeter	0 1 2½
Gunner or Driver	0 1 2½

(For medical officers, veterinary officers and quartermasters, see rates given for cavalry.)

INFANTRY—IMPERIAL RATES.

Rank.	Daily Pay.
	£ s. d.
Lt.-Colonel	0 18 0
Major	0 13 7
Major, after two years' service	0 16 0
Major, second in command in addition...	0 1 0
Captain	0 11 7
Captain, having higher rank by brevet..	0 13 7
Lieutenant	0 6 6
Lieutenant, after seven years' service as such	0 7 6
Second lieutenant	0 5 3
Adjutant, in addition to pay as Captain or Lieutenant	0 5 0
Sergeant Major, W. O.....	0 5 0
Quartermaster Sergeant	0 4 0
Colour Sergeant	0 3 0
Sergeant	0 2 4

Rank.	Daily Pay.
	£. s. d.
Sergeant, Drummer or Sergeant Bugler.	0 2 4
Corporal, if paid as Lance Sergeant	0 2 0
Corporal	0 1 3
Lance Corporal	0 1 3
Bugler or Drummer	0 1 1
Private	0 1 0

(For medical officers, veterinary officers and quartermasters, see rates given for cavalry.)

PERMANENT CORPS—CANADIAN RATES.

Rank.	Daily pay.
Lt.-Colonel—Cavalry	\$4 00
Lt.-Colonel—Artillery	4 00
Lt.-Colonel—Infantry	4 00
Majors, also commanding School of Instruction	3 50
Majors, after four years in rank	3 75
Captains	2 82
Captains, after four years in rank	3 32
Lieutenants	2 00
Adjutants, in addition to pay of rank	0 50
Quartermasters	2 82
Quartermasters, after four years in rank	3 32
Medical officers	3 00
Medical officers, after four years in rank	3 50
Veterinary officers	2 00
Veterinary officers, after four years in rank	2 50

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE.

Commissioner	\$7 12
Superintendent	3 83
Inspector	2 74
Sergeant Major, W. O.	1 25
Quartermaster Sergeant	1 00
Sergeant Trumpeter or Drummer	1 00
Hospital Sergeant	1 00
Orderly Room Clerk (according to rank)	....
Squadron or Battery Sergeant Majors or Colour Sergeants	1 00
Sergeant Farrier	1 00
Sergeants	0 80
Corporals	0 70
Bombardiers	0 65
Acting Bombardiers or Lance Corporals	0 50
Saddlers or Collar-makers, Wheelers, Shoeing-smiths, Trumpeters, Buglers or Drummers, according to rank	0 40
Gunners or Privates and Drivers	0 40

ARTIFICERS, ROYAL CANADIAN ARTILLERY

Gunner Artificers	0 50
Bombardier Artificers	0 75
Corporal Artificers	1 00
Sergeant Artificers	1 25
Staff Sergeant	1 50

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE.

Staff Sergeants	\$1.25 to 2 00
Sergeants	1 00
Corporals	0 85
Privates	50c. to 0 75

CANADIAN MILITIA.

Regimental Pay (ordinary) City and Rural Corps—Officers.

	Per day.
Lt.-Colonel in command of a battalion	\$4 87
Major	3 90
Paymaster	3 05
Adjutant, with rank of Captain	2 82
Adjutant, with rank of Lieutenant	2 44
Quartermaster	2 82
Surgeon	3 65
Assistant Surgeon	2 43
Veterinary Surgeon	2 50
Captain	2 82
Lieutenant	1 58
Second Lieutenant	1 28

Non-Commissioned Officers and Men (ordinary.)

	Per day.
Sergeant Major	\$1 00
Quartermaster Sergeant	0 90
Paymaster's Clerk	0 90
Orderly Room Clerk	0 90
Hospital Sergeant	0 90
Pay Sergeant and Squadron Sergeant Major.	0 80
Sergeant	0 75
Corporal	0 60
Bugler, Drummer, Trumpeter	0 50
Private, Gunner, Engineer, Trooper	0 50
Farrier Sergeants	0 75
Corporals (Artillery)	0 65
Bombardiers (Artillery)	0 60
Bandmaster	1 00
Sergeant Drummer, Bugler and Piper	0 75

IMPERIAL ARMY PENSIONS.

Mr. DOMVILLE (by Mr. Ellis) asked :

1. What is the rate of pension allowance in the Imperial army in the case of officers, non-commissioned officers and men in the cavalry, infantry and artillery? Is such allowance fixed by statute? If not, how?

2. What scale of pensions are provided in the case of persons serving in the Canadian militia? Is the same fixed by statute? If not, how is the same determined?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. The rates of pension allowances in the Imperial army in cases of officers, N. C. officers and men in cavalry, infantry, and artillery are to be found in the Royal Warrant for Pay of the Army, 1899, pages 108, etc., 137, etc., 140 etc., 160, etc., 267, etc., 277, etc., and 304, etc. The foregoing is exclusive of the Army Medical Department and the Army Veterinary Department. As regards whether the allowances are fixed by statute, presumably they are approved by Her Majesty in Council. After promulgation in army orders they no doubt have practically the same effect as if embodied in the statutes. 2. The scale of pensions provided in the case of persons serving in the Canadian militia are to be found in the Regulations and Orders 1898, pages 133 to 141. These regulations have been approved by His Excellency in Council, and promulgated in general orders.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I call the attention of the minister to the different mode he has adopted in answering those questions from that followed by his colleagues, who, instead of referring us to the blue-book, which is in every member's hands, go into details and repeat their information from the public documents. The minister (Mr. Borden) has referred us to a source of information which is not available to a great many members.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The book I refer to is to be found in the library and it would probably take me the greater part of the afternoon to read these extracts. I shall send and get the book for the hon. gentleman if he so desires.

ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE—APPLICANTS FOR STAFF COURSE.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What were the ages and military position held by the several applicants for the staff course at the Kingston Royal Military College?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). Officers were selected for the staff course at the Royal Military College from the whole militia. Applications were not requested. Two, however, were received as follows: Lieut.-Colonel J. Stacey, 25th Battalion, Commanding Officer, born 13th October, 1858; 2nd Lieutenant J. A. Gunn, 2nd Battalion, born 5th August, 1873. The following officers were authorized to undergo the course: Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Hodgins, Reserve of Officers, born 3rd October, 1851; Lieut.-Colonel A. Roy, Officer Commanding No. 6 Military District, born 23rd September, 1859; Lieut.-Colonel G. E. A. Jones, 8th Battalion, Commanding Officer, born 28th September, 1860; Lieut.-Colonel H. McLaren, 13th Battalion, Commanding Officer, born 2nd June, 1847; Major G. Galloway, 14th Battalion, born 28th November, 1851; Major W. G. Mutton, 2nd Battalion, born 13th May, 1852; Major E. Chinic, R.C. R.I., born 15th October, 1858; Captain A. E. Carpenter, R.C.R.I., Adjutant, born 2nd September, 1867; Captain J. J. Sharples, 8th Battalion, born 9th September, 1874; Captain W. S. Smith, 7th Battalion, born 22nd June, 1870; Captain E. E. F. Taylor, Governor General's Foot Guards, born 19th December, 1865. The two officers whose names follow, were recommended by the General Officer Commanding to undergo the course, but the authority was not granted by the minister: Lieut.-Colonel W. W. White, Reserve of Officers, born 4th October, 1843; Lieut.-Colonel D. McL. Vince, Reserve of Officers, born 20th November, 1848.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTINGENTS.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Is the hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence aware that several officers of the militia holding the rank of captain and lieutenant voluntarily enlisted in the ranks of the South African contingents and went to the front as privates?

2. Is it the intention of the minister to allow these officers to fill vacancies caused by casualties amongst the officers in those contingents, instead of sending other officers from Canada?

3. If not, why not?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Yes. 2. Not unless recommended in the usual way. 3. The department is not aware of their being recommended by their commanding officers to fill such vacancies.

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE—MAJOR GENERAL CAMERON.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

1. During what years was Major-General Cameron the head of the Royal Military College at Kingston?

2. When did his connection with the college cease?

3. How many cadets were in attendance at said college during each year that Major-General Cameron was in charge?

4. Who succeeded Major-General Cameron?

5. How many cadets have been in attendance at the college, each year, since Major-General Cameron's official connection therewith ceased?

6. Is it the intention of the government to re-instate Major-General Cameron? If not, why not?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Major-General Cameron was head of the Royal Military College from the 16th August, 1888, until the 25th August, 1896. 2. 25th August, 1896. 3. In 1888, 81 cadets; in 1889, 76 cadets; in 1890, 71 cadets; in 1891, 57 cadets; in 1892, 66 cadets; in 1893, 63 cadets; in 1894, 56 cadets; in 1895, 59 cadets; in 1896, 50 cadets. 4. Major Gerald Charles Kittson. 5. In 1897, 57 cadets; in 1898, 75 cadets; in 1899, 87 cadets. 6. No.

THE ST. LAWRENCE CANALS.

Mr. McMULLEN asked :

Whether it was the policy of the late government of Canada or of the late Finance Minister of Canada to complete the St. Lawrence canals with all possible despatch, or to pursue a dilatory policy in connection with the work?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). I am of opinion that the policy of the late government was not to complete the St. Lawrence canals, with all possible despatch, but, was to pursue a dilatory policy in connection with the work.

WEST POINT, P.E.I., WHARF.

Mr. McLELLAN asked :

Have tenders been called for the extension of the West Point, P.E.I., wharf? If so, when? If not, why?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Tenders were called for by public advertisement on Saturday, the 17th instant.

PAY OF PERMANENT CORPS.

Mr. GILMOUR asked :

Under what statutory authority did the government of Sir John Macdonald reduce the pay of the Permanent Corps by order in council?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The authority was contained in 31 Vic., chap. 40, section 63, now reproduced in the Militia Act, 49 Vic., chap. 41, section 81.

CONTRACTS WITH PHILIP VALLIERES

Mr. DUGAS (by Mr. Cleary) asked :

1. Have any contract or contracts for furniture been given since June 23, 1896, by the Department of Public Works or any other department of the government, to Philip Vallières, of Quebec?

2. If so, what is the nature of such contract or contracts?

3. What is the price or consideration of such contract?

4. Were any tenders asked for such contracts? If so, in what manner, and was the said Vallières the lowest tenderer?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). No contract has been made by the Department of Public Works with Philip Vallières of Quebec, since 1896.

MAJOR FOSTER BLISS.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

1. Has Major Foster Bliss been recalled from the Yukon, and if so, why?

2. Is it the intention of the Minister of Militia to send him to South Africa in any position in connection with the Canadian troops there?

3. What positions in the employment of the government of Canada has he held since 1896, and at what salary and allowances?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Yes, his services not being longer required there. 2. He has gone to South Africa. 3. Deputy Assistant Adjutant General up to 16th December, 1897; salary, \$1,800, and staff allowances, \$200. Thereafter second class clerk in the Department of Militia and Defence, salary \$1,400, up to May, 1898; and then supply officer in the Yukon field force, with pay of his rank as major, viz.: \$7.80 per day, no allowances.

ADDITIONS TO RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE MILEAGE.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What additions were made to the railway mail service of Canada from July 1, 1890, to June 30, 1896? What was the number of post offices open on March 1 in each of the years from 1880 to 1890?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I beg to reply :

1890-1891.

Name of Railway.	Route.	Miles.
Columbia and Kootenay	Nelson and Sproat	28
Manitoba and North-western	Extension from Saltcoats to Yorkton	17.5
Canadian Pacific	Prince Albert and Regina	247
Montreal and Ottawa	Vaudreuil Junction and Rigaud	16.5
	Total	309.0

1891-1892.

Canadian Pacific	Huntingdon and Mission Junction	10
"	Sicamous Junction and Vernon	46.1
"	Edmonton Section	190.6
"	Brandon and Oxbow	122.6
"	Glenboro' to Nesbitt	27.1
"	Mattawamkeag and Ste. Croix	57.3
"	Gibson and Newburg Junction	56.6
Central Vermont	Ste. Angèle and Farnham	10.08
Grand Trunk	Galt and Elmira Branch	15.59
Intercolonial	Derby, Oxford and Point Tupper Section	168
Irondale, Bancroft and Ottawa	Irondale and Victoria Junction	10
Joggins	River Hebert to Joggins Mines	4
Main Central	Lime Ridge and Quebec Junction	46.3
New Westminster and Southern	South Westminster and Blaine	24.3
Northern Pacific	Winnipeg, Emereon, Morris, &c.	210.4
Nova Scotia Central	Middleton and Lunenburg	74
Ottawa and Gatineau Valley	Gatineau Valley Junction and Farrelton	27
Quebec and Lake St. John	Canadian Pacific Junction and Quebec	4.8
Temiscouata	Connors and Rivière du Loup	113
Western Counties	Digby to Annapolis	20
	Total	1,237.77
Less the following decreases since June, 1891:		
Great Eastern Railway	42	
Other railways	13.63	
		55.63
	Actual increase	1,182.14

1892-1893.

Name of Railway.	Route.	Miles.
Alberta	Extension Lethbridge to Coutts.....	67
Canada Atlantic.....	Hawkesbury and Glen Robertson	21
Canadian Pacific.....	Vernon to Okanagon Landing.....	4 5
"	Calgary Junction and Macleod.....	103 8
"	Deloraine to Napinka.....	18 6
"	Nesbitt to Souris.....	18 6
"	Kenmay and Estevan.....	33 6
"	Eganville and Renfrew.....	22 5
"	Rigaud to Point Fortune.....	7 01
"	Gibson to Fredericton.....	1 7
Grand Trunk.....	Whitby and Whitby Junction.....	1 43
"	St. Henri and St. Laurent.....	10 34
Lower Laurentian.....	Rivière à Pierre and St. Tite Junction.....	39
Ottawa and Gatineau Valley.....	Farrelton to Kazabazua.....	17 5
Quebec and Lake St. John.....	Chambord Junction and Chicoutimi.....	51
Windsor and Annapolis.....	Kentville and Kingsport	14
	Total.....	431 58
Less the following decrease since June, 1892:		
Canadian Pacific.....	Sorel and St. Guillaume..... 21 65	
	Irondale, Bancroft and Ottawa..... 10	
		31 65
	Actual increase.....	399 93

1893-1894.

Canadian Pacific.....	Reston and Monteith Junction.....	31 30
"	Pasqua and North Portal.....	160 30
"	St. Jerome to Ste. Agathe des Monts.....	30 40
Drummond County.....	Nicolet and St. Hyacinthe.....	64
Irondale, Bancroft and Ottawa.....	Gooderham and Grand Trunk Junction.....	17
Montreal and Sorel.....	St. Lambert and Sorel West.....	45
Nelson and Fort Shepherd.....	Kootenay and Waneta.....	55 20
New Glasgow Iron, Coal and Railway Co.....	Ferrona Junction and Sunnybrae.....	13
Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound.....	Ottawa and Eganville.....	75 30
Ottawa and Gatineau.....	Kazabazua to Wright.....	10 20
St. Lawrence and Adirondack.....	Beauharnois and St. Stanislas.....	5 50
	Total	507 20
Less the following decrease since June, 1893:		
Canadian Pacific.....	Buckingham and Buckingham Junction.. 4	
"	Perth and Toronto..... 5 40	
"	St. Guillaume and Drummondville..... 22 04	
Great Northern.....	St. Jerome and New Glasgow..... 8 01	
		39 45
	Actual increase..	467 75

1894-1895.

Atlantic and Lake Superior.....	Metapedia and St. Charles de Caplin.....	79
Canada Eastern.....	Loop line at Chatham.....	3
Canadian Pacific.....	Revelstoke and Wigwam Junction.....	16
"	Ste. Agathe des Monts and Labelle.....	36 5
Grand Trunk.....	Park Head Junction and Owen Sound.....	12 40
Irondale and Bancroft.....	Gooderham to Wilberforce.....	13
Nakusp and Slocan.....	Nakusp and Three Forks.....	37
Orford Mountain.....	Eastman and Kingsbury.....	27 75
Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound.....	Eganville to Whitney.....	68 4
	Total	293 05

1895-1896.

Name of Railway.	Route.	Miles.
Brockville, Westport and Sault Ste. Marie	Brockville and Westport	45
Canadian Pacific.....	Wigwam Junction to Arrowhead	11 7
Montfort Colonization	Montfort Junction and Montfort.....	13
Nakusp and Slocan.....	Three Forks to Sandon.....	4
Nelson and Fort Shepherd	Kootenay to Neison.....	4 8
New York Central and Hudson River	Montreal and Boundary line.....	66 8
Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound	Elgin Street Station to Central Station.....	1 7
Ottawa and Gatineau	Wright to Gracefield.....	2 3
Parry Sound Colonization.....	Elmsdale and Parry Sound.....	49 25
Pontiac Pacific Junction.....	Fort Coulonge to Waltham.....	11 3
Quebec Central.....	St. Victor and Tring Junction.....	12
Quebec and Lake St. John.....	St. Tite to Garneau Junction.....	1
Quebec, Montmorency and Charlevoix.....	Quebec and St. Joachim de Montmorency.....	25 22
Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo.....	Brantford and Waterford.....	17 95
United Counties.....	Sorel and St. Hyacinthe.....	36
Victor and Sidney.....	Victoria and Sidney.....	16
	Total	318 02
Less the following decreases since June, 1895:		
Atlantic and Lake Superior.....	Metapedia and St. Charles de Caplin.....	79
Canadian Pacific.....	Hull and Aylmer	7 5
Grand Trunk.....	Ste. Martine Junction and Valleyfield.....	19 12
New York Central.....	Coteau Junction and St. Stanislas	5 5
		111 12
	Actual increase.....	206 90

RECAPITULATION.

Addition to railway mail service for fiscal year 1890-1891	309
" " " 1891-1892	1,182 14
" " " 1892-1893	399 93
" " " 1893-1894	467 75
" " " 1894-1895	293 05
" " " 1895-1896	206 90
Total.....	2,858 77

The number of post offices open each year from 1880 to 1890 is as follows :

On March 1, 1880.....	5,630
" 1881.....	5,826
" 1882.....	6,002
" 1883.....	6,238
" 1884.....	6,531
" 1885.....	6,911
" 1886.....	7,128
" 1887.....	7,378
" 1888.....	7,596
" 1889.....	7,712
" 1890.....	7,856

MILEAGE OF MAILS.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What was the extent of the mileage of mails in the years ending June 30, 1890 and 1893, divided into railway, water and ordinary land carriage?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). In reply, I beg to say : The annual

mileage for the year ended June 30, 1890, was as follows :

Ordinary land service	12,471,849
Railway service	12,830,045
Water service—	
Paid for by department	907,251
By subsidized steamer, department paying a share	94,122
By subsidized steamer, department paying nothing	195,230
	26,498,497

For the year ended June 30, 1893, the mileage was as follows :

Ordinary land service.....	13,501,472
Railway service	15,579,483
Water service—	
Paid for by department	1,172,107
By subsidized steamers, department paying a share	22,570
By subsidized steamers, department paying nothing	220,086
	30,495,723

DREDGING AT BERTHIER EN HAUT.

Mr. BERGERON (by Mr. Mills) asked :

What is the name of the dredge which has been employed in the deepening of the channel opposite Berthier en haut ? Who was the engineer ? Who was the craneman ? Who was the fireman ? Who were the deckhands ? Who were the scowmen ? Who were the tug wheelmen ? Who were the firemen ? Who was the watchman ? Who was the carpenter ? Who were the machinists ?

From whom were the supplies purchased ? Were they purchased by tender ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). In reply, I beg to say : The dredge St. Pierre was rented by the department to do the work at Berthier at the rate of \$7 per hour. Do not know names of employees, as they were paid by the owners of dredge. Supplies were purchased by owners, the Department of Public Works does not know from whom nor in what manner.

THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

Mr. TAYLOR (by Mr. Mills) asked :

1. Have the government taken any action in relation to the matter of acquiring the Plains of Abraham, so as to prevent this historical ground from being divided up and sold as building lots ?

2. If so, what steps have been taken ?

3. If not, do the government intend taking any such steps ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). There have been no formal negotiations for the acquiring of the Plains of Abraham. There has been some informal negotiations, which are still going on. The government would be disposed to buy that property, if it could be bought at any reasonable price.

SYSTEM OF SUBSIDIZING RAILWAYS.

Mr. CAMPBELL (by Mr. McMullen) asked :

1. When was the system of subsidizing railway enterprises begun ?

2. What amount, by way of railway subsidies, was paid each year ?

3. Were the railways, or any of them, required to pay back such subsidies, or render any services to the government in consideration of such subsidies ? If so, what cases ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). I will have to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Campbell) to move for a return.

LAND PATENTS AND MINERAL RIGHTS.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

Do patents of lands issued by the Dominion government and the various provincial governments entitle the patentees to all the minerals in the patented lands ? If not, what is excepted from such grants in the case of (a) Dominion government patents ? (b) provincial patents ?

Mr. MULOCK.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. (a) All patents for Dominion lands in the North-west Territories entered for prior to the 31st of October, 1887, cover both surface and under rights, which include all mines and minerals, except the precious metals ; and all patents for Dominion lands in the Territories east, of the third meridian, entered for subsequent to that date, reserve to the Crown all mines and minerals. All patents for Dominion lands entered for prior to the 11th of January, 1890, cover both surface and under rights, which include all mines and minerals except the precious metals ; and all patents for lands entered for since that date reserve to the Crown all mines and minerals. All patents for lands in the railway belt in British Columbia reserve to the Crown all mines and minerals ; and, since the 22nd October, 1887, all merchantable timber is also reserved. All patents for ordnance lands cover both surface and under rights, except the precious metals. All patents for Indians lands cover both surface and under rights, except the precious metals. In some cases patents for lands granted in aid of the construction of railways cover only surface rights, while in other cases they cover both surface and under rights, except the precious metals, the rule being to issue the patents in accordance with the practice which obtained at the time the land subsidy was voted by parliament. (b) The government is not in a position to state what is, or is not, covered by land patents issued by any of the provinces.

I.C.R.—MILEAGE MAIN LINE AND BRANCHES.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

1. What is the mileage of the main line of the Intercolonial Railway ?

2. What is the mileage of all branch lines of the Intercolonial Railway ?

3. What is the total mileage of the whole Intercolonial Railway system ?

4. What are its various branch lines ?

5. What is the mileage of such branch lines in each province ?

6. What is the cost per mile of each branch line and of the main line ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. The mileage of the main line of the Intercolonial Railway is 1,140.11. 2. The mileage of all branches of the Intercolonial Railway is 201.13. 3. The total mileage of the whole Intercolonial Railway system is 1,341.24. 4. Dartmouth to Windsor Junction ; North Sydney Junction to North Sydney ; New Glasgow to Pictou Landing ; Stellarton to Oxford Junction ; Brown's Point to Pictou ; Pugwash Junction to Pugwash ; Painsec Junction to Point du Chene ; Derby Junction to Indiantown ; Dalhousie Branch ; St. Charles to Chaudière Junction ; St. Leonard Junction to Nicolet. In addition to these there are a number of short freight branches.

5. The following is the mileage of the branch lines in :

Nova Scotia.....	120-77
New Brunswick.....	39-77
Quebec.....	40-59
	201-13

6. It is impossible to give the cost per mile of each branch line.

REDISTRIBUTIONS—HIGHEST AND LOWEST POPULATION.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron) (by Mr. Calvert) asked :

1. What constituencies (represented by one member each) in each province had the highest and what the lowest population after each decennial redistribution of seats since confederation?

2. What are the names of such constituencies?

3. What were their populations after such redistribution?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I will ask my hon. friend (Mr. Macdonald) to move for a return. It is impossible to give the information in answer to a question.

RAILWAYS SUBSIDIZED BY GOVERNMENT.

Mr. CAMPBELL (by Mr. McMillan) asked:

1. What are the names of the various railways subsidized by the government?

2. What is the amount and nature of such subsidies in each case?

3. What is the amount of operating expenses and earnings of each of the subsidized railways for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). I will have to ask my hon. friend (Mr. Campbell) to move for a return.

'COMMANDING OFFICER'—TENURE OF COMMAND.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

1. Was it stated in a general order published in July, 1899, that a misunderstanding has arisen as to what is 'a commanding officer'?

2. Under the Militia Act what is a 'commanding officer,' to which paragraph 31, section IV., part I., Regulations and Orders, 1898, applies?

3. (a.) Is a 'commanding officer' under paragraph 31, section IV., part I., R. & O., 1898, identical with a 'commanding officer' under paragraph 219, section XI., part I., R. & O., 1898?

(b.) Is this paragraph 219 copied from the Queen's Regulations for the (regular) army?

(c.) Does the lieutenant-colonel commanding a regular (British) army battalion come under a rule limiting tenure of command?

(d.) Does a major commanding a regular (British) field artillery battery come under the same rule (c) limiting tenure of command?

4. Is a 'corps' under the provisions of the 'Militia Act' (sections 22 and 23) and the regulations (as amended by general order, dated Ottawa, January 20, 1893) a militia body having a regimental establishment approved by the

Governor in Council, submitted to parliament and published in General Orders?

5. (a.) Was W. Arthur Weeks the commanding officer of the Charlottetown Engineer Company on April 3, 1886?

(b.) Is W. Arthur Weeks still the commanding officer of this company?

(c.) Has W. Arthur Weeks had an extension of tenure of command?

6. (a.) Was Neil F. MacNachtan the commanding officer of the Cobourg Garrison Artillery Company, June 2, 1894?

(b.) Is Neil F. MacNachtan still the commanding officer of this company?

(c.) Has Neil F. MacNachtan had an extension of tenure of command?

7. (a.) Was John Davidson the 'commanding officer' of the 11th Field Battery on April 19, 1890?

(b.) Is John Davidson still the commanding officer of this battery?

(c.) Has John Davidson had an extension of tenure of command?

8. (a.) Were the following commanding officers in 1898?

(b.) Had they in 1898 exceeded the regulation tenure of command?

(c.) Were they retained after the regulation tenure of command had expired?

Lt.-Col. King, 7th Field Battery, major, May 31, 1893.

Lt.-Col. Mead, 9th Field Battery, major, December 23, 1887?

Major Vince, Brighton Engineer Company, captain, February 27, 1880.

Major Martineau, No. 1 Company, Lévis G.A., captain, February 12, 1886.

Major Vien, No. 2 Company, Lévis G. A., captain, October 9, 1880.

Captain Ernst, Mahone Bay G. A. Company, captain, November 28, 1890.

Captain Daley, Digby G. A. Company, captain, October 24, 1878.

Captain Jolley, Yarmouth G. A. Company, November 5, 1880.

9. Was the number of guns of a field battery increased from four to six, the number of officers and men, the establishment of a field battery increased in 1896-7?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. The introduction to the amendment to regulations regarding tenure of command in G. O. 67, of July, 1899, reads as follows :

In order to prevent a misunderstanding which has arisen, the following is added to Regulations and Orders, part 1, section iv, paragraph 31.

2. No exact definition of what constitutes a commanding officer is given in the Militia Act. 'Commanding officer,' to which paragraph 31, section 4, part 1, R. and O., 1898, may be interpreted as meaning the officer appointed to the command of a regiment, battalion, brigade division of field artillery, battery of field artillery, independent squadron or troop of cavalry, and company of garrison artillery or infantry. 3. (a) Yes, within relative commands ; (b) No, but similar ; (c) Yes ; (d) No. 4. Yes ; a battery and independent squadron or company which have not a regimental establishment is also a corps. 5. (a) Yes ; (b) Yes ; (c) No. 6. (a) Yes ; (b) Yes ; (c) No. 7. (a) Yes ;

(b) Yes ; (c) No. 8. (a) Yes ; (b) Yes ; (c) Yes.
9. Yes.

EXPENDITURE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION.

Mr. TAYLOR (by Mr. Mills) asked :

What has been the total expenditure in connection with the International Commission? When will the commissioners make a report of the proceedings? Are the following amounts all that have been paid up to the 1st of July, 1899, as shown in Auditor General's Report, 1899, part P, page 5 :

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION.

<i>Personal Expenses (\$25,091.05).</i>	
	\$ cts.
High Commissioners—	
Sir Wilfrid Laurier	3,821 39
Sir Richard Cartwright.....	3,361 68
Sir Louis Davies	2,630 91
John Charlton	1,766 48
Hon. W. S. Fielding	200 00
Staff and Assistants—	
H. Bourassa, Secretary.....	2,200 00
W. G. Parmelee.....	911 28
Joseph Pope.....	1,852 15
W. F. King	1,345 25
R. N. Venning.....	1,130 00
F. Gourdeau.....	37 25
R. Boudreau, private secretary of Premier.....	807 60
S. Lelièvre, asst. secty. of Premier.....	435 00
F. C. T. O'Hara, private secretary of Sir R. Cartwright.....	854 41
E. B. Williams, private secretary of Sir L. Davies.....	102 50
W. C. Gordon, private secretary of Sir L. Davies.....	851 85
C. B. Burns, private secretary to W. S. Fielding	101 75
W. Simpson, secty. of Mr. King.	181 60
Capt. Herbert Taylor.....	600 00
Capt. O. G. V. Spain.....	300 00
Capt. Wakeham.....	163 13
J. J. McArthur.....	175 00
Messengers—	
P. Connolly.....	475 46
P. J. Connolly.....	511 36
R. Archambault	275 00
<i>General Expenses.</i>	
Office Rent (\$1,814.02)—	
Hotel Frontenac, Aug. 24 to Sept. 2.....	50 00
Hotel Frontenac, 21 days to Oct. 11.....	105 00
The Shoreham, Nov. 7 to Feb. 21, including service.....	1,659 02
Entertainments (\$1,637.32)—	
Quebec Garrison Club—dinner.....	308 35
Trip on Str. Aberdeen to the Saguenay.....	132 00
Trip with Lord Herschell and party on Str. Aberdeen to the Saguenay.....	202 50
Trip on Str. Aberdeen.....	100 35
Trip on Str. Druid.....	62 00
Trip to Tourville Fish and Game Club's preserves.....	225 22
$\frac{3}{4}$ share of banquet at Shoreham	606 90
Printing and Stationery (\$1,992.54)—	
Pamphlets—Trade between Canada and United States.....	1,112 32
Paper and envelopes	487 93
Lithographing.....	34 38
Office requisites.....	150 34

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

—Con.

<i>General Expenses—Con.</i>		\$ cts.
Printing and Stationery—Con.		
Forms		155 49
Maps and charts.....		31 08
Books, pamphlets, &c.....		21 00
Messengers, &c., at Quebec (\$603.60)—		
D. H. Dubé, stenographer, 44 days at \$3.....		132 00
Michael Nolan, messenger, 30 days at \$2.....		60 00
J. T. Lamb, 30 days at \$2.....		60 00
F. H. Gauthier, 30 days at \$1.50.....		45 00
J. McAlister, 11 days at \$1.50.....		16 50
Andrew Cline, 11 days at \$1.50.....		16 50
J. B. Plante, 30 days at \$1.50.....		45 00
Alfred Bedard, 19 days at \$1.50.....		28 50
J. Montreuil, 19 days at \$1.50.....		28 50
J. O. Delisle, 11 days at \$2.....		22 00
Flore Legaré, charwoman, 11 days at 60c.....		6 60
Caroline Guy, charwoman, 19 days at 60c.....		11 40
No name, charwoman, 11 d. at 60c.....		6 60
Hon. H. Archambault, Speaker, to pay permanent employees of Legislative Council.....		75 00
G. Laroque, Sergeant-at-Arms, to pay permanent employees of Legislative Assembly.....		50 00
Telegrams (\$529.24)—		
G. N. W. Tel. Co.....		104 58
C. P. R. Tel. Co.....		25 50
Western Union Tel. Co.....		379 17
Paid by Mr. Pope.....		19 99
Gratuities to servants.....		407 95
Express and freight (\$326.88)—		
Can. Express Co.....		157 63
Dom.....		58 40
Can. Atlantic Ry.....		87 00
The Shoreham.....		22 55
Thomas Norris.....		1 30
Cabs, including baggage.....		219 86
Legal services—Alphonse Pouliot.....		200 00
Typewriting—		
At Ottawa.....		50 80
At Washington.....		130 35
Luncheons sent to Parliament Bldgs. by Quebec Garrison Club.....		179 45
Lord Herschell and party—		
Expenses of trip to Manitoba, N.W. Territories and B. Columbia.....		239 81
Lord Herschell's funeral—		
Expenses of Can. representative....		128 57
1 floral cross and crown.....		46 00
Postage.....		168 14
Newspapers, &c. (\$137.34)—		
At Washington.....		76 51
Canadian papers.....		31 87
Press clippings.....		28 96
Cards and printing (\$96.03)—		
Quebec Engraving Co.....		28 00
Geo. Cox, Ottawa.....		5 00
W. F. Roberts, Washington.....		51 25
Woodward & Lothrop, Washington.....		11 75
Photographs (\$52)—		
M. A. Montminy, Quebec.....		30 00
Gilbert Photo. Co., Washington,...		10 00
Views of Washington.....		12 00
Telephone service—		
3 mos. priv. phone between Chateau Frontenac and Parliament Bldgs..		50 00
Messages to Montreal.....		1 25
Typewriter—		
E. R. McNeill, Ottawa, difference on exchange.....		50 00

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION
—*Con.*

General Expenses—Con.

	\$	cts.
Sundries—		
Books of reference.....	32	21
Provisions for official car on trip to Washington Jan 4.....	18	90
Towels, &c.....	15	10
Brushes and combs.....	12	85
Crockery.....	12	75
Soap, matches, &c.....	12	35
Iron boxes for papers.....	11	75
Bag and lettering.....	7	95
Trunk for papers.....	7	00
Packing cases.....	4	75
Commission on cheques.....	1	22
Office sundries.....	18	72
Cash in hands of Mr. Pope.....	43	45
Refunds made but not entered till accounts of 1898-99 were closed, credited to casual rev., 1899-1900.....	254	80
	34,600	00

with the commission is just the amount stated in the Auditor General's Report, and introduced in the question, with the exception of \$171.68 paid to Captain Herbert Taylor, balance due for services in the Behring Sea seal fleet in 1898. As to the other question, I am not in a position to give any information to-day.

MANUFACTURE OF CANADIAN TOBACCO.

Mr. FORTIN (by Mr. Talbot) asked :

How many pounds of Canadian tobacco have been manufactured in each of the following years, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899 ? How many manufacturers of Canadian tobacco existed at the end of each of the same years ? How many pounds of the said tobacco have been produced in same years ?

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). The following table gives the information desired :

Years.	CANADIAN TOBACCO.			CANADA TWIST.	
	Licenses.	Tobacco.	Cigarettes.	Licenses.	Pounds.
	No.	Pounds.	No.		
1895.....	11	523,347	.....	109	65,710½
1896.....	9	474,205	.....	84	51,903½
1897.....	11	690,141	.....	71	78,370½
1898.....	12	1,949,429	1,289,000	81	55,379
1899.....	13	*2,193,863	.....	140	84,115

* Plus what enters in the combination leaf factories which we cannot precisely state at this moment.

The last question cannot be answered by the department, as it has no data as to quantity of Canadian leaf tobacco grown.

SUMS PAID FOR SUPERANNUATION.

Mr. BERGERON (by Mr. Mills) asked :

What was the amount of money paid for superannuation for the year ending the 30th June, 1896 ? What is the amount of money paid for superannuation on the 1st February, 1890 ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The amounts paid for superannuation during the last four years were :

Year ended 30th June, 1896.....	\$311,231.79
“ “ 1897.....	307,792.66
“ “ 1898.....	340,185.67
“ “ 1899.....	325,560.47

The amount paid for superannuation from 1st July, 1899, to 1st February, 1900, was \$159,459.27, as compared with \$162,255.34 for the corresponding period in the fiscal year 1898-9, that is, from 1st July, 1898, to 1st February, 1899.

J. B. CHARLESON'S EXPENDITURE.

Mr. TAYLOR (by Mr. Mills) asked :

Are the government aware that in the expenditure of Mr. J. B. Charleson, as shown by his accounts for \$1,494.85 in the Auditor General's Report for 1899, part Q, page 267, the following items appear:

March 25, Hotel Vancouver—Bills of Messrs. J. B. Charleson, Taché, Gobeil, Boyer and Richardson	\$193 60
Wine, A. Boyer	3 75
“ J. Gobeil	0 80
“ J. C. Taché.....	4 05
Sundry outlay	119 00
“	457 70
“	303 50

Is it the policy of the government to supply wine to all civil servants when travelling?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). No ; such items are never allowed. These must have been passed through an oversight and a refund shall be ordered to be made. The department is surprised that the Auditor General did not call attention to

this when he picked out the items from the accounts. A refund would have been ordered immediately, as the government allows no such charges in any of the bills rendered.

TRIP OF MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS TO MARITIME PROVINCES.

Mr. TAYLOR (by Mr. Mills) asked :

Are the government aware that in the expenditure of the Minister of Public Works, amounting to \$2,236.82, on his trip to the maritime provinces in 1898, as shown in the Auditor General's Report for 1899, part Q, page 145, that the following items appear:

Paid for laundry	\$35 80
" American flag	7 50
" James Bain, Yarmouth, for four-horse team to drive to Weymouth, two days at \$10.....	20 00
" Sundry driving	10 50
" Hotels and meals	34 30
" Cabs	68 25
" Doctor	7 00

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). Yes, the government is aware that these items appear in the Auditor General's report. Laundry bill was for ship's laundry. The doctor's bill was for services in attending one of the crew who had sprained his ankle in the performance of his duties.

VOLUNTEER COMPANY IN SUMMERSIDE.

Mr. BELL (East Prince)—(by Mr. McLellan) asked :

Has any petition or other application been recently received by the government respecting the proposed organization of a volunteer company in Summerside, P.E.I.? If so, what action does the government propose to take in the matter of such application?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Yes. 2. The application will receive due consideration when the Regimental Establishments for 1900-1 are under revision.

LAND SUBSIDIES BY ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

How many acres of land have been authorized by order in council to be given to proposed lines of railway in Canada since July 1, 1896, and to what proposed lines?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. None.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE COLLECTED SINCE 1890.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What was the amount of customs and inland revenue collected in each year, from July 1, 1890, to date?

Mr. MULOCK.

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière) :

Year.	
1890-91	\$7,038,847 52
1891-92	8,069,394 61
1892-93	8,528,364 79
1893-94	8,457,106 97
1894-95	7,900,093 16
1895-96	8,034,077 50
1896-97	8,005,294 08
1897-98	9,288,680 94
1898-99	9,802,270 12
1899-1900, up to March 1, 1900..	6,619,685 70

RAILWAY SUBSIDIES SINCE 1896.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What is the number of miles of railways subsidized each year since July, 1896—the rate per mile, and the total amount, and the province in which the lines are situated?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) desires me to say that that information will have to be obtained upon a motion for a return.

PROHIBITION PLEBISCITE—SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What was the total cost of taking the plebiscite on prohibition? How many returning officers and poll clerks were appointed for this purpose, and what was paid to each?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) :

206 Returning officers—fees	\$17,833 00
206 Election clerks—fees	1,766 00
8,212 Deputy returning officers—fees ..	40,967 00
8,189 Poll clerks—fees	16,839 00
4,315 Constables—fees	4,350 50
7,726 Polling booths—rent	35,464 84
Enumerators—compiling voters' lists for 241 polling districts, N.W.T....	9,582 48
Voters' lists	10,108 74
Printing	4,208 97
Mileage	41,402 53
Stationery, postage, telegrams, &c....	7,304 66
	<hr/>
	\$189,827 72

Paid in 1898-9, see Audit Report, page J—35

Paid in 1899-1900, to March 19

\$189,827 72

NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. MONTAGUE asked :

What is the number of permanent employees at present engaged in the Department of Agriculture? What is the number of temporary employees so engaged?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I may say to my hon. friend that this question calls for information that can only properly be obtain-

ed on a motion for a return. It is quite impossible to have it covered in a reasonable time to allow an answer to be given. I would be very glad to facilitate the hon. gentleman's acquiring the information if he will move for a return, and I will have it prepared as quickly as possible.

EMPLOYEES ON THE WELLAND CANAL.

Mr. MONTAGUE asked :

(a) What number of employees were engaged in connection with the Welland Canal and Welland Canal Feeder, whether permanent or temporary employees, during the following years: 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899?

(b) What was the number of the permanent employees in each of the years mentioned?

(c) What was the number of the temporary employees in each of the years mentioned?

(d) What was the total amount of money paid, in each of the years mentioned, to the permanent and temporary employees engaged in connection with the Welland Canal and the Welland Canal Feeder?

(e) What number of employees engaged in connection with the Welland Canal and Welland Canal Feeder on July 1, 1896, have, since that time, been relieved of their duties, with cause of dismissal in each case, and names of the parties dismissed? What men have been appointed to take the places they vacated; what salaries were paid to the men removed from the employment, and what salaries are being paid to those who have been appointed in their places?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) desires me to say that this question calls for information which must be moved for in the usual way.

VOLUNTEERS FROM ONTARIO.

Mr. CARGILL asked :

What are the names of the men who volunteered from Ontario for service in South Africa?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). It is not possible to furnish the names of the men who have volunteered from Ontario for service in South Africa. Some 900 men have been accepted for such service and their names have appeared in the published nominal rolls of N.C. officers and men, excepting the 40 men from Ontario in the reinforcements and a few enlisted in Strathcona's Horse. These names will be published later. Large numbers of men who offered their services were rejected, either because they could not pass the medical examination, or did not satisfy the requirements as to standard, age, etc. Many hundreds more volunteered, but their services were not required. No record has been kept of those who volunteered and were not accepted, except those who applied direct to the department.

NUMBER OF VOLUNTEERS BY PROVINCES.

Mr. CARGILL asked :

What is the total number of volunteers, by provinces, for service in South Africa since the call for the organization of the first contingent?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). It is not possible to furnish the number of volunteers by provinces for service in South Africa since the call for the organization of the first contingent. No record has been kept of those who volunteered and who, owing to their not passing the medical examination, or not satisfying the requirements as to standard, age, etc., were rejected. A great many more were rejected because there were no vacancies for them. No record of their names has been kept, except, of those who applied direct to the Department of Militia and Defence.

Mr. PRIOR. Might I ask the hon. gentleman whether a record has been kept of those who applied to the district officers commanding the districts?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I will make inquiry. This answer was handed to me by the Deputy Minister of Militia.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY—CLAIM FOR KILLING HORSE ON TRACK.

Mr. GAUVREAU asked :

Whether the Minister of Railways is aware that the horses of one LeBlond, were killed at Trois Pistoles, by the cars of the Intercolonial Railway, in 1894? If so, by whom was the inquiry made? Was a report made to the department, and what was the purport of the said report? Was it referred to the Department of Justice, and if so, what was the report of that department on the merits of the claim?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. The government is aware that a horse, belonging to one Eugene LeBlond, of Trois Pistoles, was struck by the train on the 23rd October, 1894, and subsequently killed. 2. Inquiry was made by W. B. McKenzie, chief engineer of the Intercolonial Railway. 3. The report has not yet been received by the department. 4. It has not been referred to the Department of Justice.

CONSOLIDATED REVENUE FUND.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

What was the amount of expenditure chargeable to Consolidated Revenue Fund for each of the following years, viz.:—Year ending 30th June, 1896; year ending 30th June, 1897; year ending 30th June, 1898; year ending 30th June, 1899?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The amounts chargeable to Con-

solidated Revenue Fund for the past five years were :

Year ended 30th June, 1895.....	\$38,132,005.05
“ “ 1896.....	36,949,142.03
“ “ 1897.....	38,349,759.84
“ “ 1898.....	38,832,525.70
“ “ 1899.....	41,903,500.54

Mr. FOSTER. Why does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) answer more than the question calls for ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I thought it was desirable to give my hon. friend (Mr. Casgrain) the figures for the additional year. So long as I give him all that he asks for, I do not think that he can find fault with me for giving this additional information.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) did not think it was desirable in the case of the prohibition commission, because he left out the exact number of days that McLeod was engaged in that service.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I was not aware of there being any omission in the answer to the question about the commission. I gave all the information desired by the hon. gentleman. If there was anything more asked for I was not aware of it.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman shows himself to be very small.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Mr. Speaker, I take exception, and I ask the hon. gentleman to withdraw that remark. I think it is quite improper, and I do not think it is creditable to the hon. gentleman or to the House. I ask the hon. gentleman to withdraw.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not propose to withdraw it.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I would like to know, Mr. Speaker, if the hon. gentleman has the right to make any such observation.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I think my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) must show ground on which he raises the question of order. At the moment that anything is said in this House, which is not particularly too palatable to an hon. gentleman, he cannot demand its withdrawal unless it violates some rule of order. I think it is incumbent upon my hon. friend to show what rule of the House is violated by the remark which has been made in reference to the personal stature of the hon. gentleman.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) has a right to make observations in regard to the stature or physical form of an hon. member, and I certainly did not understand him to intend that. But I think the remark of the hon. gentleman was quite improper.

Mr. FIELDING.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) has violated a well-known rule of this House. It is most distinctly forbidden to make remarks or to raise any debate when any question is answered.

Mr. FOSTER. It is only a few days ago that the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) applied the same criticism to myself, referring to things which were said in this House by a small man.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I stated the other day, when certain personalities had been indulged in, that I never did indulge in personalities, but that I left them to small men. Those were the words I used on that occasion. On the present occasion the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) must admit that he is quite out of order. First of all, he has no right to make any observations upon answers when they are given. The words which the hon. gentleman applied to my hon. friend the Minister of Finance were of a strictly personal character, because he said: You show yourself very small. First of all, he had no right to address my hon. friend personally, and moreover, this was a personal attack. At all events, I suggest to both sides of the House that we should observe that decorum which ought to be observed between gentlemen. Words may be spoken in the heat of debate which are regrettable, but here are words used for which there was no justification whatever. I would ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) not to allow himself to remain under the imputation, but to withdraw the words objected to.

Mr. SPEAKER. I may say that I was perhaps to blame in allowing the discussion to go on. But it occurred to me that the last remark of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) had no bearing on the question under discussion, and I think he should withdraw it. I would ask the hon. gentleman to withdraw it.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, if you will allow me; the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) has said that I was entirely out of order in making any statement at all in reference to an answer to a question, and I was criticised by the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) because I used the word 'small.' I would like Mr. Speaker and the House to understand exactly the situation, and it is this: It is well understood that when an hon. minister rises to answer questions he is to give what is necessary in order to answer the question asked and nothing more. Now, on two occasions this afternoon, the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) has gone out of his way for purely partisan purposes, in order to answer

what was not asked him at all. He did that in order to show, in regard to the question of my hon. friend (Mr. Casgrain), that if you were to take the year preceding, it would be somewhat to the advantage of his own party and his own side, but, when the question relating to the prohibition plebiscite was being answered, when a one-sided statement was made for the benefit of his own party, when he stated that the Rev. Mr. McLeod was paid \$6,000, and when there was a general 'oh' on the other side of the House, because of the large amount as compared with that received by the other commissioners, he had not the fairness to state that Mr. McLeod had been 667 days on the commission, whereas the others had been but a very small number of days on the commission in comparison. It was because of that very marked difference in treating hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House that I took occasion to make the remark that the hon. Minister of Finance showed himself rather small in making that discrimination, and I must abide by that.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. gentleman is discussing the merits of the answer. The answer that I read in reference to the prohibition commission was prepared by an officer of the department, and I never discussed it with anybody. I read the answer as it was prepared.

Mr. FOSTER. Did the hon. gentleman simply send this question to his official to prepare the answer, and did he read what the official gave him?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I was discussing the question in regard to the prohibition answer that the hon. gentleman takes exception to. I read the answer exactly as it was prepared, and I had no opportunity of consulting with any of the officers in respect to the question. I take the responsibility of saying that it was a fair and correct answer to the question in reference to the commission. As to the other point, I disagree with the hon. gentleman, that we are to answer a question categorically. If we give the information desired by an hon. gentleman I do not think that there is anything improper in giving him additional information, which in no way detracts from the information given. I take the responsibility of saying that this is a proper answer to the question that the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) asked, and if it gives an additional year he can take no exception to it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I think we ought to know whether the hon. Minister of Finance considers it is fair and manly and just to both sides of the House to answer questions in an entirely different way according as the hon. minister may think fit. interposing something that will agree with the complexion of one party in one case and not in another. In regard to the ques-

tion answered by the hon. Minister of Miiltia (Mr. Borden), if he had taken the trouble to give the reasons for the answer that he gave in order to give a very strong party complexion to it he would have wiped out the question altogether, and it would prevent such questions being answered in this House at all. We must have fair-play in this House. We have questions asked that are very often of a partisan character, and intended to give information in favour of one side or the other, and we must have some fair rule laid down in reference to the answering of these questions. We must have the answers confined absolutely to a categorical reply to give the information that the question asks, and we must allow it to remain there, or, if hon. gentlemen answer questions from the Treasury benches in any other way they must expect to be criticised as to the character of their answers. The whole difficulty would be avoided if the proper parliamentary practice were adopted of giving simply a categorical answer to the questions, stating the facts. If the members of the government want to bring out something that is not in the question, they can get one of their friends behind them to put a question which will bring it out. I believe the Treasury benches should give impartial answers to these questions, no matter from what side of the House they come, and if they did, then this criticism would be avoided.

Mr. SPEAKER. I may say to the hon. the leader of the opposition that the discussion is outside the question now before the Chair. I remarked to the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) that I thought his last expression was personal in its nature, and did not appertain to the discussion. I thought it was an observation that, on sober second thought, he would not make.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). I am not anxious to press that point, but I would say that I entirely agree with the view of the leader of the opposition, that a question should be answered in the same frank spirit towards members on both sides of the House. I have endeavoured to do that in my department. But, when a question is put which we consider cannot be answered in a fair light by a categorical reply, there is no rule to prevent a minister answering in a manner which he thinks will fully explain the question. If, in answer thereto, we give some information from the public documents, the hon. gentleman who asks the question has no right to complain.

Mr. FOSTER. Does not the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) think that this would be a better course to pursue? When the question for the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) was answered as to the prohibition commission, I saw at once how unfair it was, but I did not raise

a discussion then, but rather contented myself by putting a question which brought out the other point, so that the two answers taken together would show the whole truth. Does not the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) think it better that a member on his own side of the House should put a supplementary question to bring out what he thinks has been omitted from a question put on this side ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I was not conscious that there was anything in my answer which could be taken exception to by hon. gentlemen on the other side.

The PRIME MINISTER. Now that this point has been elucidated, I hope my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) will withdraw the expression that has been complained of.

Mr. FOSTER. I have violated no rule of the House, and, consequently, I do not propose to take back any word that I said.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Then, although the matter is a little stale, I must ask the Prime Minister to withdraw the remark that he made, that he left to small men certain things that he did not do himself. The Prime Minister referred to my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) as a small man. Well, my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) is not particularly small, taking either his physical standard or his intellectual standard. If the Prime Minister is going to insist on a withdrawal he had better set a good example to the House.

The PRIME MINISTER. There is this difference between the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding) and the ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster). If I was personal, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) did not seem to think so. The expression apparently suited him.

Mr. FOSTER. I did not care.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I say now that I do not care.

Mr. FOSTER. If the Finance Minister says that he cares, I might consider the question of withdrawal.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not care.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I would like the point understood about the manner in which ministers answer questions so that there may be no mistake. Every one knows that the right of answering questions for information is—

Mr. DAVIN. I rise to a point of order. There is no motion before the Chair.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am speaking to the point of order.

Mr. LARIVIERE. It is settled long ago.

Mr. FOSTER.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The rule is plain that if a minister thinks a question is asked for an improper partisan purpose, he can answer it just as he pleases.

Mr. DAVIN. No.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The answer may not please the person who put the question, and the answer may be criticised, but the time for criticism is not when the question is answered. There are ample opportunities afterwards to criticise any answer which a minister may give. The point to be observed here is that if we are to get on with the business at all, when the minister gives an answer—as he has a right to do in any way he pleases—

Mr. CASGRAIN. That is not correct.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. It is absolutely correct.

Mr. CASGRAIN. Not at all.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. It is quite evident that some gentlemen in this House do not understand what the rights of a minister in this parliament are.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I call your attention to the point of order, Mr. Speaker. I have a question on the paper which I desire answered, as I wish to proceed with the business of the House. The minister is out of order.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. If the business of the House is to be proceeded with it is quite plain we cannot have a discussion every time an answer is given to a question.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the House will indulge me, I will read the rule as laid down in Bourinot, and give you the reference to the English practice as well, so that it may go on record for the information of hon. gentlemen. At page 384 of Parliamentary Procedure, by Sir John Bourinot, the rule is laid down in this form :

The answer to a question should be brief and distinct, and limited to such explanations as are absolutely necessary to make the reply intelligible, but some latitude is allowed to ministers of the Crown whenever they may find it necessary to extend their remarks with the view of clearly explaining the matter in question.

Bearing on that, permit me to read the next sentence :

When the answer to a question has been given it is irregular to comment upon it, or upon the subject thereby introduced to the House; the necessary consequence of which would be to engage the House in a debate when there was no motion before it at all.

This is the reason assigned by Sir John Bourinot for not permitting a discussion on an answer to a question.

Mr. DAVIN. Therefore, the Minister of Marine was out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER. Let me add as to the English practice, from Denison's and Brand's Decisions from 1857 to 1884 :

A minister, in reply to a question relating to an individual and the action of the police, is allowed to give full particulars illustrating the case.

Considerable indulgence is allowed to a minister in replying to a question relative to his department.

Again :

Great latitude is allowed to a minister in answering a question with a view to making his answer complete.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. While admitting that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is technically right, that you cannot raise a debate on an answer to a question, it will, I think, not be found in the interest of the despatch of business to adhere too closely to that rule. A single observation, for instance, may remove a doubt, and if a member feels aggrieved, it would be better for him to remark on it at the moment than to afterwards move the adjournment of the House, which would, of course, take up more time. Therefore, I say that a rigid adherence to that rule is scarcely desirable.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO ACCEPTED OFFICE.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. How many members of the House of Commons have been appointed to and accepted office, in the service of the government of Canada, since June 23, 1896, to the present date ?

2. What are their names ?

3. To what offices have they been appointed ?

4. What are the salaries of each of them ?

5. Have any of the members of the House of Commons been called to the Senate within the same period ?

6. If so, what are their names ?

7. Is it the intention of the government to appoint any other member or members of the said House to any such public office ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The following is the answer to the first six questions : Francis Gordon Forbes, sub-collector of customs, \$120 per annum. Mr. Forbes has since been appointed a county court judge.

Mr. WALLACE. At what salary ?

The PRIME MINISTER. I have not the salary stated here. Judge Lavergne, judge Superior Court, P.Q., salary, \$4,000 a year ; C. R. Devlin, immigration agent to Ireland, salary, \$2,000 ; François Langelier, judge Superior Court, P.Q., salary, \$4,000 ; M. C. Cameron, Lieutenant Governor North-west Territories (since deceased), salary, \$7,000 ; J. F. Lister, judge Court of Appeals, Ontario, salary, \$5,000 ; P. A. Choquette, judge Superior Court, P.Q., salary, \$4,000 ; C. J.

Rinfret, district inspector of inland revenue, Quebec, salary, \$2,500 ; C. Beausoleil, postmaster at Montreal, salary, \$4,000. The following members of the House of Commons have been called to the Senate since the 23rd June, 1896 (1) G. C. King ; (2) J. B. R. Fiset ; (3) John Yeo. In answer to the 7th question, I must say to my hon. friend that our relations have always been cordial and friendly, but I do not feel inclined to gratify his very fastidious curiosity.

REVENUE FROM LETTER POSTAGE.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Has the reduction on postage on letters from 3 to 2 cents produced a diminution in the revenue of the government? If so, what is the amount of such diminution ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Yes, the reduction of postage on letters from 3 cents to 2 cents has produced a diminution in revenue. The exact amount of such diminution for a fiscal year cannot be readily determined at present time, as the reduction, although in force for two portions of separate fiscal years, has not yet been in force for one complete fiscal year. There is reason to believe that the postal revenue is so increasing that within less than a year it will attain a figure in excess of the rate of revenue prior to such reduction.

FAST ATLANTIC STEAMSHIP LINE.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Are negotiations still being carried on by the government, or any member thereof, with a view of establishing between Canada and Great Britain a fast line of steamships ? 2. In the affirmative, what is being done ? 3. When does the government expect that such service will be in operation ?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). In view of the great disturbance caused by the war to all shipping interests, the matter at present must remain in abeyance.

THE QUEBEC-MONTREAL SHIP CHANNEL.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. What amount has been spent for deepening the ship channel between Quebec and Montreal, up to date ? 2. What amount was spent on said work during the season of 1896 ? 3. What amount has been spent on said work during the last three seasons ? 4. To what depth has the channel been deepened ? 5. What was the lowest depth of water in said channel during the last season of navigation ? 6. Is the work of deepening the said channel nearing completion ? 7. When does the government expect the said work to be completed ? 8. To what depth does the government intend deepening said channel ? 9. From observation to date, is the government able to state that when the deepening

ing will be completed to the extent indicated by the government, there will be sufficient water in the said channel to permit ships drawing from 25 to 27 feet of water to navigate with safety between Quebec and Montreal, during the whole season of navigation, or will it be necessary to do other work besides ordinary work of repair and maintenance, to ensure such safety to navigation ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. The total expenditure by the Quebec harbour commissioners and the Dominion government prior to and since confederation up to December 31, 1899, is \$5,389,290.39. 2. Fiscal year 1895-6, \$117,393. 3. Fiscal year 1896-7, \$106,832.02; fiscal year 1897-8, \$177,939.45; fiscal year 1898-9, \$385,692.83. These expenditures cover cost of dredging and plant. 4. 27½ feet at ordinary low water. 5. 26 feet 8 inches. 6. Yes, to 27½ feet at extreme low water. 7. In 1902. 8. 27½ feet. 9. The chief engineer is of opinion that when so completed the channel will be sufficient for the purposes mentioned in the question.

THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY— FREIGHT SERVICE AT QUEBEC.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Is the government aware that there exists among the Quebec merchants and traders a great deal of dissatisfaction at the manner in which they are treated by the authorities of the Intercolonial Railway, in the matter of shipping and handling freight by said railway, between Quebec and points on said railway ? 2. Is it the intention of the government to remedy the existing state of things, and give a better freight service to the people of Quebec ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The Minister of Railways and Canals has placed the following answer in my hands : 1. The government is not aware that dissatisfaction exists among merchants and traders at the manner in which the Intercolonial Railway authorities ship and handle freight between Quebec and points on said railway. 2. Every effort is being made to handle and ship freight satisfactorily between Quebec and points on said railway and the government will continue the efforts to that end.

ST. JOSEPH DE LEVIS GRAVING DOCK.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. When did the work of enlarging the graving dock at St. Joseph de Lévis begin ? 2. How many men are employed on such work ? 3. Was there any interruption in said work since it began ? 4. If so, what was the cause of said interruption ? 5. When will said work be terminated ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. On 15th October, 1899. 2. Fifty. 3. Yes, from 1st November to 9th of January. 4. The contractor awaiting satisfactory plant. 5. 23rd April, 1901.

Mr. CASGRAIN.

THE I.C.R. STATION AT LEVIS.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Has the work of enlarging and improving the Intercolonial Railway station at Lévis been begun ? 2. In the affirmative, what has been done ? 3. How much has been paid upon said work up to the 1st March, 1900 ? 4. When will said work be completed ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. The work of enlarging and improving the station accommodation at Lévis has been begun. 2. The contract for cribwork and earth filling has been let, and plans and specifications of enlargement of station building have been prepared, and tenders invited therefor, and some land has been purchased. 3. \$14,524.21 has been paid for lands, etc., up to 1st March, 1900. 4. It is hoped the work will be completed by 30th June, 1900.

THE QUEBEC BRIDGE.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Has the subsidy, appropriated during last session for aiding the construction of the Quebec bridge, been paid over to the Quebec Bridge Company, or to anybody, on behalf of said company ? 2. Has the actual construction of such bridge been commenced ? 3. If so, how much of said bridge is built ? 4. Is it the intention of the government to ask parliament to vote a further aid towards the construction of the said bridge, during the present session of parliament ? 5. Did any person or company apply to the government for a transfer to him or them of said subsidy, and if so, on what grounds ? 6. What action did the government take in the matter ?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. The subsidy appropriated during last session for aiding the construction of the Quebec Bridge has not been paid over to the Quebec Bridge Company, nor to anybody, on behalf of said company, as construction of such bridge is one of the conditions precedent to payment on subsidy account. 2 and 3. Not aware of the construction of the bridge having been commenced. 4. The government will be prepared, in due season, to announce its intention with regard to subsidies to railways and railway bridges, and does not deem it expedient to make any previous statement as to particular works of that character. 5. No. 6. None.

THE HILLSBOROUGH BRIDGE.

Mr. MARTIN asked :

1. What amount has been paid since 30th June last, on surveys for the proposed Hillsborough bridge, in the province of Prince Edward Island ? 2. What amount has been paid engineers for the same period, and separately, the amount for ordinary labour ? 3. What amount has been paid for tugs, boats, scows and lighters ? 4. What are names of the owners, and the amount paid each ?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). 1. Since the 30th June last, \$2,383.47 has been paid on surveys for the proposed Hillsborough bridge in the province of Prince Edward Island. 2. The amount paid engineers for the same period is \$408.46; for ordinary labour, is \$1,975.01. 3. The amount paid for tugs is \$5; for boat, \$66.20; for scow, \$231. 4. George Batt, owner of tug, amount paid, \$5; John Quinn, owner of boat, amount paid, \$13.93; John Corrigan, owner of boat, amount paid, \$27.20; Michael Poor, owner of boat, amount paid, \$25.07; John Quinn, owner of scow, amount paid, \$231.

BRONTE HARBOUR IMPROVEMENT.

Mr. **HENDERSON** asked :

1. Has the government decided to place in the estimates this session any sum of money for the improvement of Bronte Harbour? 2. Has the Minister of Public Works informed any person outside of the government that the sum of \$5,000 will be placed in the estimates this session for improvement of Bronte Harbour?

The **POSTMASTER GENERAL** (Mr. Mullock). 1. The answer to this question will appear when the supplementary estimates are laid upon the Table. 2. I have no information touching the second part of this question.

BOARD AND NURSING OF GEORGE V. VROOM.

Mr. **MILLS** asked :

1. Has any account for the board and nursing of George V. Vroom (in 1899), a seaman of Deep Brook, in the county of Annapolis, been rendered to the Department of Marine and Fisheries? 2. What was the amount, and when was it rendered? 3. Through what local officials was it rendered? 4. Who was the medical doctor? 5. Did he certify to the account? 6. Has said account been paid? 7. If not, why not?

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). 1. Yes. 2. \$21. November, 1899. 3. The collector of customs, Bear River, N.S. 4. Dr. Lovett. 5. Account certified by the collector of customs, Bear River. 6. Yes. 7. There was delay in paying this account for board owing to official correspondence with the collector of customs, who, instead of providing board for the seaman near the customs house and doctor, allowed him to board at his own home, whereby a heavy medical account was incurred, the doctor having to travel five miles, and making 25 visits.

J. G. TURRIFF AND EDGAR A. CHAPPELL.

Mr. **DAVIN** asked :

1. What is the position held by J. G. Turriff? 2. Was he Land Commissioner during the autumn and winter of last year? 3. Was he en-

gaged in political work in connection with the Manitoba election? 4. Has he since his appointment been engaged in any political work? 5. Did he introduce Edgar A. Chappell to the Hon. Mr. Sifton at any time last year? 6. What was the date of the interview? Was Chappell employed in any capacity? 8. If so, how much was he paid? 9. Did Chappell have an interview with Mr. James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior? 10. Did the Hon. Mr. Sifton write from Regina, giving to any of his officers any directions respecting Edgar A. Chappell?

Mr. **SUTHERLAND**. 1. Commissioner of Dominion Lands. 2. Yes. 3. No. 4. No. 5. Yes. 6. The exact date cannot be stated, but it was in the summer of 1899. 7. No. 8. The answer to the seventh covers the eighth question. 9. No. 10. The records of the department do not show that the Hon. Mr. Sifton wrote to any of his officers respecting Edgar A. Chappell.

NIAGARA FALLS PARK—OLD FORT ERIE.

Mr. **McCLEARY** asked :

1. Is it the intention of the government to invest in the commissioners of the Niagara Falls Park the control of the ordnance land, consisting of about seventeen and one-half acres, in which are the ruins of old Fort Erie, as requested by the petitions of the municipal councils and county councils of Welland?

2. Has any application been made by the Buffalo Golf Club (or any one representing them), or any other persons or corporation for the use of or control of the above lands?

3. If so, has the government decided to make such transfer, or has such transfer actually been made?

4. Will the government say in what position the matter stands at present?

Mr. **SUTHERLAND**. In reply, I beg to say: 1. The matter is under consideration. 2. Yes. 3. No. 4. The land is still leased to the corporation of the village of Fort Erie.

MOOSE MOUNTAIN RESERVE.

Mr. **DAVIN** asked :

Whether it is intended to sell the Indian Reserve at Moose Mountain?

Whether the parties to whom it is about to be sold are an United States syndicate?

How much an acre is the syndicate to pay?

What is the average price of land at Moose Mountain?

Mr. **SUTHERLAND**. In reply, I beg to say: 1. The question of the sale of 'Pheasant Rump,' and 'Ocean Man' Reserves, is under consideration. 2. Application to purchase the lands, comprised in these reserves, has been made by a number of gentlemen residing in the state of Nebraska; but no decision has been arrived at, with regard to the sale. 3. The price to be put upon these lands, in the event of their being sold, is under consideration. 4. The government has not the information requisite to answer this part of the question.

LABOUR COMMISSION, B.C.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What amount of money has been paid for the commission to examine into labour troubles in British Columbia? To whom has it been paid, distinguishing between payments for services and expenses?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The following amounts have been paid: To R. C. Clute, commissioner, on account of expenses, \$1,200. To R. F. Harris, secretary, on account of expenses, \$250. To Printing Bureau, for stationery, \$23. Total \$1,473. Nothing has yet been paid for services.

LOBSTER INVESTIGATION.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

1. What amount of money has been expended since July, 1896, on account of investigation into the lobster industry?

2. To what persons has the money been paid, and how much in each case for services and expenses respectively?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). In reply, I beg to say: Total amount expended since July, 1896, \$9,564.85. To the following commissioners appointed to investigate and report :

	Expenses.
E. E. Prince	*\$845 95
Donald Campbell	\$616 00 276 90
Archibald Currie	525 00 175 44
S. E. Gallant	609 00 224 48
H. C. LeVatte	469 00 247 60
R. Lindsay	714 00 431 85
M. H. Nickerson	490 00 223 15
P. J. Sweeney	616 00 263 24
Wm. Whitman	448 00 203 79
Dr. A. McPhail, travel, disbursements and allowances in connection with investigation into cause of discoloration of canned lobsters	2,185 45

*Professor Prince, as chairman of the commission, was responsible for and disbursed for the travelling and all horse-hire and the principal hotel expenses of the various commissioners: hence, the apparent excess of his expenses.

INDIAN TREATY—SASKATCHEWAN.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What has been the total cost to date of the commission for making treaty with the Indians north of the Saskatchewan? To whom has the money been paid, and what amount for services and expenses respectively to each?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The government is not aware of any treaty having been made with the Indians whose habitat could be described as 'North of the Saskatoon.' It is presumed that the hon. gentleman refers to the treaty which was made with the Indians of the district of Athabasca and por-

Mr. SUTHERLAND.

tions of the country adjacent thereto, and which is known as Treaty No. 8. The total cost of making the treaty was \$25,467.20. Payments for services, were made as follows :

Hon. D. Laird, commissioner	\$ 744 00
J. A. J. McKenna, commissioner	744 00
Hon. J. H. Ross, commissioner	1,240 00
Rev. A. Lacombe, attaché to commissi. .	1,060 00
H. S. Young, secretary	626 06
C. H. West, physician	676 00
H. A. Conroy, clerk	393 50
J. W. Martin, clerk	312 80
P. Deschambault, interpreter	370 00

The balance of the expenditure was mainly for transport and supplies. The details will be given in the form of a return, if the same is moved for.

DISMISSALS FROM CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

How many employees have been dismissed or retired from the service of the government on account of alleged partisanship since July 1, 1896, and what is the number for each department? In how many cases was the dismissal or retirement preceded by an official investigation?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The answer to this question, in so far as the Department of Indian Affairs is concerned, is that there were twelve employees retired from the service of that department, for political partisanship. No formal investigation was considered necessary in these cases. The answer to this question, in so far as the Department of the Interior is concerned, is that six employees were retired from the service of that department, for political partisanship. No formal investigation was considered necessary in these cases.

NEW BRUNSWICK VOLUNTEERS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. McALISTER asked :

(a) How many members of the active militia from New Brunswick volunteered for active service in South Africa?

(b) From what counties did these offers of service come, and how many from each?

(c) What are the names of those who so volunteered?

(d) How many were accepted, and what are their names?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). In reply to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say that: The great majority of men who volunteered for service in South Africa, did so in person, and, therefore, there is no record of those who so volunteered and were not accepted. (We have the names of those who applied direct to the department.) A list of the volunteers who were accepted is now being prepared.

FRANKING PRIVILEGE ACT—MONTREAL STAR.

Mr. ETHIER asked :

1. Is the government aware that Mr. George Taylor, M.P., is using his privilege as a member of this House to frank through the mails daily to all parts of Canada thousands of copies of the Montreal 'Star' newspaper?

2. Is the government aware that car-loads of the Montreal 'Star' are being shipped to Ottawa to the said George Taylor, M.P., to be franked by him through the mails to the electors of Canada?

3. Is the government aware that the proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' has organized a staff of his employees to co-operate with the said George Taylor, M.P., to assist in the work of addressing and franking immense quantities of the Montreal 'Star' through the mails?

4. Is the government aware whether the said George Taylor, M.P., in order to more effectually accomplish the work of franking the Montreal 'Star,' has caused facsimiles of his signature to be prepared on stamping machines, and has intrusted the use of such stamping machines to others to be used in franking the Montreal 'Star'?

5. Is the government aware that the reputed proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' is also interested in another paper recently established in Montreal, called 'Le Journal,' issued in the French language, and printed in the office of the Montreal 'Star,' that the Montreal 'Star' is daily denouncing the government because of not having, as it contends gone far enough in aiding Great Britain in connection with the war in South Africa, and is also assailing the government in 'Le Journal' for having rendered any aid to Great Britain in the war; that the Montreal 'Star,' published in English, is being so franked to English-speaking electors by the said George Taylor, M.P., and that 'Le Journal,' published in French, is being distributed amongst French-speaking electors?

6. Is the Postmaster General aware whether the said Montreal 'Star' is sending free from Montreal to the said George Taylor at Ottawa large quantities of the Montreal Daily 'Star,' to be distributed free from Ottawa through the mails? If so, does the government consider it a proper use to make of the mail? If not, what action does the government propose to take in the matter?

7. Does the government intend to adopt any, and if so, what steps, to prevent the said George Taylor, M.P., franking broadcast throughout Canada, at the expense of the whole people, a paper of the character of the Montreal 'Star'? If not, why not?

Mr. CASGRAIN. I rise to a point of order. I beg to refer you, Mr. Speaker, to this question, as containing statements of fact and an imputation injurious, unjust and damaging to the proprietor of a certain paper, not here to defend himself. I would like to call your attention to the references to this point, in Sir John Bourinot's work. At page 383, referring to rule 29, it says, among other things :

In putting such questions, no argument or opinion is to be offered, nor any facts stated, except so far as may be necessary to explain the same.

Then again, a little later on, a ruling of Mr. Speaker Brand, in the English House of Commons, is quoted :

No argumentative matter shall be introduced, and if such argument appears, it is always struck out by the clerks at the table, by the orders of the Speaker.

Then, again at page 384, you will find this statement which is founded on the authority of a decision in the House of Commons in England :

It should not be ironical or convey an imputation.

Then, May's Parliamentary Practice, page 238 :

The purpose of a question is to obtain information, and not to supply it to the House. A question may not contain statements of facts, unless it is necessary to make the question intelligible and can be authenticated ; nor should a question contain argument, inferences, imputations, epithets, or ironical expressions.

Then, further on :

A question cannot be placed upon the notice paper which publishes the name of persons or statements not strictly necessary to render the questions intelligible.

I call your attention, Mr. Speaker, especially to what is stated as to imputations being made in questions. Now, you will see in this question, section 5 :

5. Is the government aware that the reputed proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' is also interested in another paper recently established in Montreal, called 'Le Journal,' issued in the French language, and printed in the office of the Montreal 'Star,' that the Montreal 'Star' is daily denouncing the government because of not having, as it contends gone far enough in aiding Great Britain in connection with the war in South Africa, and is also assailing the government in 'Le Journal' for having rendered any aid to Great Britain in the war ; that the Montreal 'Star,' published in English, is being so franked to English-speaking electors by the said George Taylor, M.P., and that 'Le Journal,' published in French, is being distributed amongst French-speaking electors ?

Now, I take it that the question put upon the Order paper by my hon. friend from Two Mountains (Mr. Ethier) is to elicit information as to whether a number of copies of the Montreal Star are being franked by the hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor). The other statement, that concerning *Le Journal* of Montreal, is altogether irrelevant to this question upon which information is sought. Not only has this question nothing to do with the franking of numbers of the Montreal Star, but it contains an imputation against the proprietors and editors of *Le Journal* which, if they were here, they could contradict ; because it is not true, it is absolutely false that the *Journal* is doing what the question imputes. On the contrary, from the first, this newspaper took an attitude which is absolutely different from the attitude attributed in this question. It is unjust to them that this statement of fact should be made when they are not here to contradict it. The imputation is made that they have acted in a disloyal manner. The statement is

improper and should not be contained in a question before the House, and especially in relation to a question to which it has no relevancy. Of course, it is put in the form of a question to the government; but I will ask any reasonable man in this House if it would not leave the impression on the mind of the reader that the statement of fact is true. I would ask you, therefore, to rule it out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the House will allow the question to stand, I will look into the facts and see that the question is brought within the rules of the House.

The PRIME MINISTER. I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, also to consider question 21, which is very much of the same character.

Mr. SPEAKER. Very well.

MARCONI SYSTEM OF TELEGRAPHING.

Mr. BELL (East Prince)—(by Mr. McLellan) asked :

Has the government given consideration to the 'Marconi' system of telegraphic communication with a view to its being adopted in connection with any parts of the sea-coast telegraphic service? If so, has any, and what conclusion been reached?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I have the following answers from the Public Works Department: 1. Yes. 2. The matter is now under consideration.

LIGHTHOUSES AND AIDS TO NAVIGATION SINCE 1886.

Mr. BELL (East Prince)—(by Mr. McLellan) asked :

1. What lighthouses and aids to navigation have been constructed and added to those previously existing since the year 1896? 2. What is the yearly cost of sail lighthouses and aids to navigation?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The answer to this question involves reading over more than seven pages of matter, and I think it ought not to be put on *Hansard* in the form of a question. I would ask my hon. friend (Mr. Bell, East Prince) to move a motion, and I will bring the information down at the earliest possible time.

CLAIMS FOR FISHING BOUNTY.

Mr. BELL (East Prince)—(by Mr. McLellan) asked :

1. How many claims for fishing bounties were made in the years 1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899? 2. How many of such claims were rejected each year? 3. What was the total amount of such bounties paid during each of said years? 4. What was the value of the fish exported by Canada during each of said years?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. Num-

Mr. CASGRAIN.

ber of claims received are: In 1896, 15,211; 1897, 14,847; 1898, 14,679; 1899, 13,912. 2. Number of claims rejected: In 1896, 261; 1897, 125; 1898, 160; 1899, 56. 3. Total bounty paid: In 1896, \$154,389.77; 1897, \$157,504; 1898, \$159,459; 1899, the bounty is now being paid, and it is impossible as yet to give the exact amount, but it is thought that the total appropriation of \$160,000 will have been paid. 4. The total value of fish, the produce of Canada, as shown in the Trade and Navigation tables: exported in 1896, \$10,280,952; 1897, \$9,801,516; 1898, \$10,000,848; 1899, \$9,557,951.

UNOPPOSED MOTIONS.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would ask my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to agree to our running over the Order paper so that we may get rid of the unopposed motions.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Very well.

UNOPPOSED MOTIONS.

Return showing: 1. Names or official number of boys reprieved from the Penetanguishene Reformatory and of girls reprieved from the Industrial Refuge for girls at Toronto during the two years previous to the 1st February, 1900.

2. The date when the petitions or applications were received by the Department of Justice asking for a reprieve.

3. When the report of judge (if any) was received.

4. When the report of the superintendent was received.

5. When the reprieve was granted.—(Mr. Clarke.)

Copies of the order in council on which the Royal Commission on the shipment and transportation of grain was issued, of the commission, and of the letter of the Minister of the Interior to the late Judge Senkler, the chairman of said commission, respecting its issuance.—(Mr. Davin.)

Return showing:—1. Names of all officials in the Interior Department in Manitoba and Assiniboia. 2. The whereabouts of those officials between the dates November 15, 1899, and December 15, 1899, and the particular work in which they were engaged.—(Mr. Roche.)

Copies of all contracts, petitions of right, memorials, letters, correspondence, orders in council and other papers and documents relating to or connected with the claims of John W. Broderick, Elliot H. Fuller, Lewis A. Dickie, W. B. Harrison, Charles W. McDormand, Margaret Chapman, Thomas D. Curtis, James Barclay Havelock, H. Mosher, James Hermigas, D. Sauntry, Jerome Scott, William Neville, Graham Timmons, George W. Stone, George Moffatt, Peter S. Rose, Samuel Sloan, Samuel Squires, Elizabeth Coke, Albert H. Hagen, E. J. Smith, Joseph W. Rinn and John Medd Coulson, respectively, against Her Majesty upon or in respect of contracts or renewals thereof entered into by the said respective persons for the carriage of mails, or by reason of the breach of rescission by the Postmaster General of any such contract.—(Mr. Borden, Halifax.)

Copies of all papers, reports, correspondence and cablegrams between the Imperial government and the Dominion government, and of all orders in council passed by the Dominion government in regard to the repatriation of the 100th Regiment.—(Mr. Prior.)

Copies of an order in council passed in 1856, appointing Mr. Walter Shanly to make a survey of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal.—(Mr. Monk.)

Copies of all correspondence, specifications, plans, tenders received, and contract or contracts entered into by, or on behalf of, the government relating to the straightening of about two miles of the Prince Edward Island Railway between Colville and Loyalist.—(Mr. Martin.)

Copies of all letters and memorials of the town council of Moosejaw to the government, or the Department of the Interior, on the subject of the Moosejaw town site and certain lots claimed by certain parties to be exempt from taxation, and the replies sent thereto.—(Mr. Davin.)

Return of reports of the engineers sent to ascertain the cost of basis of the subsidy to be paid to the Restigouche Railroad Company for the first ten miles of its line, and the reports and orders in council relating to the payment of the same.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return showing the number of gold claims in the Yukon which have been given in compensation for claims alleged to have been lost through mistakes of officials or otherwise, with all papers, correspondence, reports and orders in connection therewith and any regulations or instructions in relation thereto.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all correspondence between this government and the provincial government of British Columbia, or their respective agents, in regard to the removal of the Indians from the Scrghees Indian Reserve, since the return on the same subject brought down to the House last session.—(Mr. Prior.)

Copies of all papers, petitions, affidavits, reports, charges and correspondence between the government and any person or persons in connection with the dismissal of R. W. Miller, Postmaster of Actinolite, Hastings County.—(Mr. Carscallen.)

Return showing the number of envelopes and the kind supplied to the Department of Trade and Commerce, or to any officer or employee thereof, from 1st August, 1899, until 1st January, 1900.—(Mr. Taylor.)

Return showing all regulations passed with respect to the sale of liquors in military cantons since 1890, denoting those now in force. And all correspondence had with the Militia Department, or any of its officers, since 1896 in relation to the carrying out of the existing regulations at the military camps.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return showing the amount of wharfage collected at Tignish, Prince Edward Island, in 1899.—(Mr. Macdonald, King's.)

Statement of the living allowance scale now in effect with relation to Yukon officials, and for all orders in council in connection therewith.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return of details included in the \$4,744.25, collected by Clement, Pattulo & Ridley, on account of Dawson Water Front, H-107, Auditor General's Report; also of fines, \$23,861, collected as per Auditor General's Report, H-107.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return of all liquor permits for the Yukon District granted by government, or by the Commissioner in Council of the Yukon Council, since July, 1898; amount, and to whom granted.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all papers, letters, or other communications, between the Department of Marine and Fisheries, or any other department of the government, and any person or persons, relating to the application of Goff and Batson for a weir license on the eastern side of Frye's Head, Campobello, New Brunswick, or relating to the refusal to grant such license in the years 1897 and 1898.—(Mr. Ganong.)

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams and reports since 1st September, 1899, between the hon. the Minister of Militia, or his agents, and the District Officer Commanding Military District No. 11, or any other person, in regard to the rifle range at Clover Point, Victoria, B.C.—(Mr. Prior.)

Copy of the report and evidence of the Royal Commission on the shipment and transportation of grain.—(Mr. LaRiviere.)

Copies of all pay-sheets and accounts in connection with all work done on the wharf at Les Eboulements, in the county of Charlevoix, during the years 1898 and 1899.—(Mr. Casgrain.)

Copies of all pay-sheets and accounts in connection with the construction of a wharf at Peribonka, in the Lake St. John region.—(Mr. Casgrain.)

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams, reports of engineers and other papers relating to, or in any way appertaining to the contract between the Public Works Department and Messrs. Brennan and Ramsey, for repairs to the breakwater at Souris East, Prince Edward Island, entered on in the year 1898.—(Mr. McLellan.)

Return showing in detail the engineer's estimate of the work now being done in Toronto Harbour by W. A. Phin; also copies of all correspondence between the Department of Public Works and the said Phin, relating to such work.—(Mr. Clancy.)

Copies of all accounts rendered by Captain S. M. Hatfield, fishery overseer for Yarmouth, and a return showing all amounts paid to him for salary, and all amounts paid to him for travelling expenses in each year since his appointment.—(Mr. Borden, Halifax.)

Copies of all correspondence between the Department of Marine and Fisheries and persons in the province of Prince Edward Island, during the year 1898-9, relative to the removing of the range light from Savage Island to the sandhills at Cascumpec Harbour in that province.—(Mr. Martin.)

Return giving in detail the number of animals killed or injured by trains of the Prince Edward Island Railway between the 1st day of January, 1890, and the 1st day of January, 1900; the names of the persons owning such animals, so far as known; the amount claimed by each of the owners of animals so killed or injured; the amount paid to said owners by the government; also, copies of reports of officials of the Prince Edward Island Railway, and all correspondence relating to said claims.—(Mr. McLellan, P.E.I.)

Copies of all pay-sheets and accounts paid by the government of the Dominion in connection with the construction of the Soulanges Canal, from the 23rd January, 1896, up to date.—(Mr. Bergeron.)

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams and reports between the government and the provincial government of British Columbia or their agents, since 1st June, 1899, in regard to anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese legislation.—(Mr. Prior.)

Copies of all petitions and representations forwarded to the Department of Marine and Fisheries, and of all correspondence, orders in council and memorials, in relation to the incorporation of the pilots between Montreal and Kingston.—(Mr. Talbot.)

RETURN OF POSTAGE ON NEWS-PAPERS.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax) moved for :

Return showing the amount paid to or received by the Post Office Department for postage upon and in respect of each newspaper published in Canada for transmission of the issues of each such newspaper respectively through the mails in Canada, (a) during the year ending December 31, 1899; (b) during the month ending January 31, 1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I would like to draw the attention of my hon. friend to a part of that motion, and ask that it be excised. Last session, it is true, an order of that nature was passed, and in compliance with it the information was brought down to the House. But my attention was afterwards called to that report, and I came to the conclusion that it was not the correct thing to have done, because one newspaper thereby acquired information as to the extent of another newspaper's business. I think information of that kind ought not to be given to the public. My hon. friend will perhaps leave out the names of newspapers; I have no objection to the postage.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I think probably I will acquiesce in the suggestion of the hon. gentleman; but in the meantime, perhaps it would be better to let the motion stand.

Motion allowed to stand.

DISMISSAL OF MR. R. K. BRACE, GAS INSPECTOR, P.E.I.

Mr. A. MARTIN (East Prince) moved for :

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams, &c., in the hands of the government or any member or official thereof, relating to the dismissal of Mr. R. K. Brace, as gas inspector in the province of Prince Edward Island, and the appointment of his successor.

He said: I wish to amend this by adding after the word 'telegrams' the words 'petition or petitions and the names attached to them.'

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). There is no objection to the motion, of course, but it had better stand until we know what this amendment means. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) mean petitions for dismissals?

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). There never was any petition for dismissal so far as I know.

Mr. SPEAKER. The motion stands.

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

AFTER RECESS.

NEWFOUNDLAND AND CANADA.

Mr. A. MARTIN (East Prince, P.E.I.) moved for :

1. Copies of all correspondence, telegrams, memoranda and all papers in the hands of the government, or any member or official thereof, relating to the admission of Newfoundland into the confederation of Canada.

2. Also all similar documents relating to any proposals for the establishment of reciprocal trade relations between Newfoundland and Canada.

He said: Mr. Speaker, it is not necessary for me to offer an apology to you or to the House if I make a few remarks in moving for these papers. The growth and development of Canada may well be a matter of just pride and satisfaction to all true Canadians, as it is undoubtedly a subject of admiration to the whole world. The fathers of confederation, the men who planned it, even in their fondest dreams, could hardly anticipate, at the initiation of that great scheme, the gratifying success which crowned their efforts. It is true, Sir, that that success could not have been achieved if the scheme had only embraced the four provinces originally confederated. Those four provinces contained a very large area of land; but it was a very small area compared with the extent of the Dominion of Canada as it exists to-day. It is an accepted truth that no country has ever become either very great or progressive without an extensive seacoast, instance Great Britain, and the addition of the maritime provinces to Quebec and Ontario was a very large element in contributing to the success of the confederation. But, still a great deal more was required to complete confederation, and the prospects of its success became brighter when British Columbia was added to it, even if it was called by a Liberal statesman 'a sea of mountains.' In 1870, Manitoba was added, in 1873, the little province of Prince Edward Island threw in its lot with the other provinces, and finally the North-west Territories joined the union, adding three million square miles to our territory. We hear a great deal about the Liberal party as empire builders, but I do not think any one will seriously question that the right to that title belongs to the statesmen who added those millions of square miles to the Dominion of Canada.

In every sense of the term, they are more justly entitled to be called empire or nation-builders, than any of their successors. Without the addition of this territory, Canada could never hold the position she does to-day. By the entrance of British Columbia into confederation, 383,200 square miles of territory were added to the Dominion. Manitoba brought in 73,906 square miles, and when the North-west Territories were added, the area of Canada was increased to 3,653,946 square miles. I think it goes without saying that the men who were instrumental in thus increasing the bounds of Canada, and making it the nation it has become to-day, are those who are entitled to the credit of being nation, or empire-builders, and I hardly think that any claim to such a title at the present day can seriously be put forward by the government, of the day, and I am proud to say that the credit of adding every foot of territory added to this Dominion belongs to the great Conservative party.

In proposing this motion for the addition of Newfoundland to the confederacy of the empire, I am not proposing a small addition to the territory of Canada. Newfoundland, including Labrador, has an area of 162,200 square miles, and a population of 208,000. That area is nearly as large as that of France, it is larger than the area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, which is 122,098 square miles. It is larger than Italy, which is only 110,623 square miles, and when we contemplate the area of the Dominion, as it is to-day, 3,653,000 square miles, which is one-third of the whole area of the British Empire, we can readily realize the position which Canada has already attained among the nations of the world. The grand total for the British Empire is 11,552,531 square miles, of which Canada has about one-third. France, with her possessions, has only an area of 2,804,939 miles. Germany and her possessions have an area of only 1,228,740 miles; so that we can form an idea by comparison of the position Canada occupies. With her immense areas capable of development, we can offer homes to millions of people besides those we already have here.

The union of Canada to Newfoundland will, beyond doubt, be of mutual advantage to both countries. It would be as advantageous to Newfoundland as to the Dominion. I have here a small work entitled 'An account of Newfoundland, its people, politics, problems and peculiarities.' The writer is Mr. Beckles Wilson, and there is an introduction by Sir William Whiteway. At page 92, the author says:

We stand alone, outside now in all British North America. For our fishing population—and they, of course, form the bulk of our working folk—it would be a great benefit. With the solitary exception of pork, which would still come from the United States, every article of diet for them would come duty free from Canada.

Our average import duties are now 30 per cent. You see what an advantage the abolition of those duties would be.

I agree with the writer; but I think the exception he has made in regard to pork is not well taken, as Canada could supply Newfoundland with all the beef, pork, mutton, etc., her people require; in fact Prince Edward Island alone could furnish the whole of it, and at a cheaper rate, as the duty would be removed.

It is true that in years gone by, there was great antipathy in the minds of the people of Newfoundland against union with Canada. Whether these antipathies were well founded, or merely aroused for party purposes, it is not very easy to find out, but there is a feeling to-day, that with the passing away of the older generation, and the growing up of a younger one, with broader and better ideas, this question will be taken up in the proper spirit, and be satisfactorily settled.

I have here a work by Judge Prowse, containing a history of Newfoundland. I find at page 494 this petition:

The consolidation of British North America is an Imperial as well as a colonial question; it was unfortunate that at this particular juncture of affairs both Canada and Newfoundland had to deal with a moribund Liberal government in England. Had the present enlightened chief of the Colonial Office been at the head of affairs, with his large views of Imperial confederation, Mr. Chamberlain would not have allowed such a favourable opportunity to unite British North America to elude his grasp. All the elder statesmen of Canada have repeatedly declared that the Atlantic terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway should be in Newfoundland. In these negotiations the railway across our island should have been considered as part of the great Imperial highway.

On this page I find a foot-note by Judge Prowse in regard to a speech made by Sir Charles Tupper, which, I think, I quoted in this House before. But it bears very directly on this question; so I quote it again:

Regarding the admission of Newfoundland as a member of confederation, Sir Charles said he had always attached great importance, and had told Sir John Macdonald, when the question first came up, that the rounding off of the confederation by its entrance, was an all-important one. He did not for a moment wish that the island should be brought into confederation unless it be accomplished on terms that would substantially benefit the people of Newfoundland. He believed that the union would contribute to the happiness and well-being of that people. He had no desire to see them enter the confederation except with their hearty concurrence, and he deeply regretted the collapse of the recent negotiations.

That, in my opinion, is the spirit in which Canada wishes to approach Newfoundland. We believe that union will be mutually beneficial. One of the great benefits to Newfoundland will be that these very fishermen and labourers in that colony, who have to pay excessive prices for every necessary of

life, will be able to obtain those necessaries at much reduced rates, and if the advantages of a union with Canada were properly laid before the people there could only be one result. Before I go any further, I must refer to one more of the reasons that go to explain why Newfoundland has not been more anxious to enter confederation with Canada. In this little work 'the Tenth Island,' which is written in racy style, I find at page 90 a statement of the ideas of the people of Newfoundland with regard to the people of Canada. Referring to the ignorance and fanaticism of the fishermen, the writer illustrates it by saying :

If another illustration were wanted, I hardly think a better one could be found than in the superstitious antagonism to confederation with Canada. There are thousands of fishermen and the wives of fishermen on the southern and north-eastern coasts who believe to-day that Canada is a land of demons and monsters, just as the more ignorant Southerners of the States during the civil war believed the Yankees had horns and tails. The most singular legend exists in the bosom of these humble families. They have heard that 'new-born babies are rammed down Canadian cannon,' and that if confederation were brought about, the terrible Canadians would usurp their industries, leaving them to 'bleach their bones on the desert sands of Canada.'

This is a wild picture that this writer, Mr. Beckles Wilson, presents ; but, if any hon. gentleman will take the trouble to turn to Judge Prowse's work, 'The History of Newfoundland,' page 495, he will find nearly the same sentiments expressed. I think Canada owes it to herself, if possible, to create a better feeling in the minds of the people of Newfoundland in regard to this Canada of ours. I do not know that the government has done what I would consider its duty in this regard. We have time and again sent missions to the country to the south of us even going on our knees to them to secure reciprocal free trade. But what have we ever done in this respect for our sister colony ? We have never, so far as I know, done anything. Even last summer, \$34,000 was spent on a mission to Washington, mainly to obtain reciprocity with the United States, which the Premier described in this House last year as not necessary for the welfare of Canada. That money was as good as squandered. But we have done nothing to obtain reciprocity with the colony nearest to us, probably the most loyal under the British Crown, a colony that has remained true to Great Britain under very serious difficulties and whose trade is mainly in British channels. There has never been any effort to bring Canada and Newfoundland together. If the time and money that have been spent in dealing with the country to the south of us had been spent in educating the people of Newfoundland on the subject of Canada, that colony, in place of being separated from us would now be part of this great Dominion.

Mr. MARTIN.

In speaking on this question a few years ago, I mentioned some of the difficulties and barriers that stood in the way of trade between Canada and Newfoundland. One was that Canada did not offer a sufficient market for the output of Newfoundland, especially in fish. I think that that barrier exists to-day. While our government has provided very liberally for the conveyance of the products of the west to the sea coast, the people of the maritime provinces and Newfoundland are still at a great disadvantage so far as concerns any arrangement made by the government for the transportation of fish, especially fresh fish, from the sea coast to the heart of Canada and to Manitoba and the North-west Territories. That is something that, I think the government of Canada will have to undertake in the interest of the large fishing industry of this country.

If the same market were found in Canada as the people of Newfoundland are now obliged to seek in the United States, I think there would be no hesitation on their part of casting in their lot with us. But the government has been slow to act ; it has done nothing. To win that ancient colony to fulfil the design of the founders of confederation, I think it would be well to offer as many inducements to the people of Newfoundland as possible. The question should not be looked upon as a mere matter of dollars and cents. By taking hold of the transportation of fresh fish the government will also provide a market for the fish of the maritime provinces as well.

I think, Mr. Speaker, that we in Canada need something else besides to make us a great country, such a country as would make it desirable for Newfoundland to join, and Canadians would wish it to be. We want a truer patriotic sentiment for Canada. Every one will admit that we want more confidence in our own country. In order to get that confidence we must begin with the education in our schools, teach our children what our country is, how great it is, how great its resources are, and how great the empire of which we form a part. We must have a patrie of which our young suit it. If you want to have a patrie of which you can be proud, you must have a Canadian policy for the mines, a Canadian policy for the fisheries, a Canadian policy for the lumbermen and the agriculturists as well, and we must have a Canadian policy for the labourer and artizan. We must meet American alien labour law by a Canadian alien labour law and enforce it, as our neighbours are enforcing theirs.

The privileges which we Canadians enjoy by birthright are equally shared by the people to the south of us ; but when we cross the line we find a difference existing. The privileges which the Americans enjoy are their own exclusively, which no one else can enjoy ; but, in addition, they also enjoy the privileges given them by Canada.

Why, you hear the wail that goes up from the Yukon miner that Canadians have not their just privileges in their own country, the same as the Americans have in theirs. You also hear the same voice, not so loud, perhaps, going up from the fishermen on the maritime coast. Let me read to you some figures showing the imports of fish from the United States. We know that Canada has the greatest fisheries in the world, and there is no gainsaying the fact that Canada should, at least, supply her own market with all the fish that she requires. But, in place of that, Canada goes to the country to the south of us and imports large quantities of fresh fish every year, although that country has fisheries not nearly so valuable as our own. In 1899, the imports of fresh fish from the United States amounted to \$410,458; and the imports from all foreign countries amounted to \$593,607. Under the late government we had protection for the agriculturist. His meat was protected, his pork was protected, his farm produce was protected, but, unfortunately, the protection extended to the fishermen is not as much as that extended to the farmers. I agree that the protection given the agriculturist has been a great boon to him, and am only sorry that the present government has undermined it, but the fishermen should be equally protected. Let me give you, Mr. Speaker, the duties which obtain to-day in Canada on some of the principal importations of fish. Mackerel is only one cent a pound, whereas, there are two cents a pound on pork. Why should not mackerel have the same protection as pork? A pound of mackerel is at least equal in value to a pound of pork; but it appears to me that the poor fishermen have no friends, or if they have friends, they do not look after them so well as they do the farmers. There is herring, pickled or salted, one-half cent a pound; fresh salmon, one-half cent a pound; salmon, pickled or salted, one cent a pound; all other fish, pickled or salted, in barrels, one cent a pound; foreign-bought fish, imported otherwise than in barrels, whether fresh, dried, salted or pickled, fifty cents per one hundred pounds. On shelled oysters there is ten cents per gallon. Last year the importations of shelled oysters from the United States amounted to \$169,559. Now, the duty on oysters would be only about five or ten per cent, while we have duties ranging from 25 to 30 per cent and 100 per cent on other items which the fisherman consumes. I do not think that this is fair in the interests of the fishermen of the Dominion; I think we ought to do justice to them as well as to the agriculturists and the manufacturer.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I note that our trade with Newfoundland is yearly decreasing for the last three or four years. The present government take a great deal of credit for their preferential tariff, but what has that tariff done for Newfoundland, the nearest colony

to Canada? How has it affected Newfoundland in promoting trade? I see that, in 1895, our exports to Newfoundland were \$2,325,196; in 1896, \$1,782,309; in 1897, \$1,692,798; in 1898, \$2,167,860; in 1899, \$1,888,317. That is not a very satisfactory trade. While the trade of Canada has increased by leaps and bounds, as we have often been told, here is a colony right alongside of us, the nearest one to Canada, with which our trade in exports has been yearly decreasing. They have decreased from \$2,325,000 to less than \$2,000,000. Not only have our exports to that country decreased but our imports from that country have also decreased. They are as is shown by the following statement:

1895.....	\$739,850
1896.....	551,412
1897.....	452,076
1898.....	464,324
1899.....	527,006

This shows that our imports from Newfoundland have decreased, as well as our exports to that colony. I think the government of the day have shown a great deal of apathy in dealing with this ancient colony of Newfoundland. They have done nothing at all as regards that colony, although they have been trying to increase our trade with foreign countries. There has been a decrease of exports to Germany as a result of the so-called preferential tariff; and Canadian goods are nearly shut out of that country. Here is this colony alongside of us, and yet they do not stretch out a hand to help her. Not only is trade with Newfoundland decreasing, but I am sorry to say that our trade with the West Indies is decreasing as well. It was supposed that their policy of preferential trade would have the effect of stimulating trade between Canada and her sister colonies, but, to show how it is acting in regard to the British possessions in the West Indies, I will read to the House the following statement, showing a decrease of exports from Canada to the West Indies:

1895.....	\$3,725,426
1896.....	2,810,817
1897.....	2,643,360
1898.....	2,749,080
1899.....	3,043,963

Here is a decrease, since 1895, in our exports to the West Indies, of three-quarters of a million dollars. It is singular that the decrease in our importations is still more marked, the following statement will show:

1895.....	\$4,794,020
1896.....	1,896,426
1897.....	1,678,870
1898.....	1,080,266
1899.....	1,354,939

Our importations from the West Indies have decreased by over \$3,000,000 in the space of three or four years. But, perhaps, hon. gentlemen opposite may tell me that they cannot increase our trade, that they cannot do anything to foster trade. I re-

member, some years ago, when the late government tried to open up trade with Australia, that hon. gentlemen opposite were up in arms. We were told that if the government provided any means of communication between Australia and Canada, the result would be that Canada would be flooded with Australian cheese and beef, but, in place of that, we find that our importations from Australia are not increasing at all, while our exportations to Australia are largely increasing, year by year. We are told the so-called preferential tariff is a British policy; but I have shown that under it trade with Newfoundland and the West Indies has actually decreased. Trade returns show our imports from Great Britain is almost stationary, while foreign countries reap the benefit. Hon. gentlemen may think that this has no direct bearing on the question, but it has this bearing on the question, that, while the government have been spending thousands of dollars in trying to promote an exchange of products with the United States, they have done nothing at all with this colony alongside of us, in which education has almost dispelled the ideas that were prevalent in regard to the people of Canada. I have here some statistics of the trade of Newfoundland with the Dominion, but, I am afraid to detain the House by going over the list. There is this one thing, however, which I am convinced of, and it is that a largely increased trade could be done with Newfoundland, if Newfoundland were in the union. I find in this list, that, last year, in apples alone, Canada sent \$33,545 worth to Newfoundland; bacon, hams and sausages, \$23,920; butter, \$103,110; flour, \$1,431,822; fruit dried, \$31,835; butter, \$20,622; poultry, \$27,379; oats and potatoes, \$71,466. Grand total, \$5,938,334. There is no one article in this list which I have not time to read out in full, but the trade in it, in the event of union, would be largely increased. It is said, that an obstacle in the way of the union of Newfoundland with the Dominion of Canada, is what is known as the French shore difficulty. I find in this work 'The Tenth Island,' page 107, a reference to this very difficulty of the French shore. Canada has assumed the position that it would be premature to do anything in regard to union with Newfoundland until this question had been settled. Here is the way this question is looked at in Newfoundland. In an interview, Captain Delaney says:

We cannot afford to enforce the Bait Act. For one thing, Canada won't help us. Suppose we deny bait to the French, what is to prevent the Canadian selling it to him—coming over to our coasts even, and buying it from our men, and then passing it on for a profit. Our law won't say our fishermen can't sell bait to Canadian fishermen; the only result will be that the profits of the bait business will pass from our hands into the hands of the Canadians.

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'You won't get Canada to help Newfoundland,' said another man, 'until we get a statesman with more youth and backbone than old Bill Whiteway to ask her to help. As far as I can see at present, she will only help us beat the French if we become a part of the Dominion, and she won't let us join the Dominion until we have settled the French shore question.'

That, Sir, in my opinion, is rather a mercenary view for a great country like Canada to take of the union with Newfoundland. Might we compare it with a matrimonial alliance. Here is the rich suitor Canada, approaching Newfoundland for a union, and Newfoundland is the bride with a rich dowry. There is nothing to prevent the union. The suitor is wealthy, with broad lands; so is the bride. Her dowry is large in mines, lands, minerals, fisheries, but a question arises. There is a dispute about the title to a little corner of the dowry of the bride, and the suitor meanly says: We will delay the publication of the banns until you settle that little difficulty of yours. I assume, Mr. Speaker, that if men in private life would be as mercenary as that in their views of matrimony, there would be a great many bachelors amongst us. The gallant way in which Canada should act would be to come to the rescue of Newfoundland, help her out with her difficulty and do all in her power to promote that union which, in my opinion, must eventually result from this agitation. I have here the *Montreal Gazette*, one of the great dailies in the province of Quebec, in which is a letter from its special correspondent, and in referring to the death of Sir Frederick Carter, the late Chief Justice of Newfoundland, that correspondent writes:

Since 1869, confederation has been shelved as a political issue. The subject was tabooed. No party or party leader adopted it as a policy. After the bank crash of December, 1894, when the colony was tottering on the brink of bankruptcy from which it was finally saved by the loan which Mr. Bond negotiated, a deputation consisting of Messrs. Bond, Morris, Emerson and Harwood proceeded to Ottawa to negotiate terms of union. What an ignoble failure followed is fresh in the memory of every one. The Canadian ministers who then held the reins are responsible for the failure. The blunder they committed is now generally deplored; but the golden opportunity was lost, though not for ever.

Here is what I want to call special attention to:

There is now a fresh opportunity presenting itself, and if the tide be taken at the flood it will lead on to fortune. The great wave of loyalty and patriotic fervor that is now swelling higher and higher, the feeling in favour of a closer union of all the colonies with the motherland are felt strongly here; and if taken advantage of, and the right leader come to the front, these influences would sweep us into the long-delayed union. It seems to me that the hour has struck, and soon perhaps the man may appear. The old generation who so fiercely op-

posed confederation are nearly all gone, and the younger generation have wider views and aspirations than their fathers. Had the departed chief justice lived to see a consummation of this union which he fought for thirty years ago, it would have gladdened his heart. The seed he cast upon the waters will be found after many days.

The language of this special correspondent shows that there is a change for the better in the public opinion of Newfoundland with regard to its union with Canada, and he tells us: They are only waiting for the man to appear. We have no information before the House as to what steps the government have taken, or if they have taken any, since they came into power, in regard to this question. I find here on page 93, of this book, an account of an interview between this writer and a leading Newfoundlander. The question came up as to Newfoundland being associated with the United States, and here is the account which the writer gives:

You put political association with the United States out of the question.

Yes, the United States does not come into the discussion at all. There was once a vague sort of talk of annexation and the rest of it, but Mr. Cleveland's war message killed what little there was of that—killed it absolutely. Directly the head of the American Republic held up his fist to old England, and talked war to her—that was enough for even the wildest annexationist we had, and he was really a mild specimen. We remembered our British stock, and you don't hear a whisper of annexation now. We are British stock—English, Irish or Scotch descent; we are more proud of the fact than you in England would believe if I told you, and we mean to remain British to the end.

That shows the truly loyal spirit of the people of Newfoundland. Another question was proposed as follows:

And work out your destiny as part of the Great British federation of North America. On what terms?

Ah, that's the question. You had better ask Sir William Whiteway and his fellow ministers that, or rather perhaps, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues, for it was at Ottawa that negotiations fell through the other day.

This was written in the year 1897, and we have no evidence in any correspondence which was ever brought down to the House whether this government has opened up any negotiations with Newfoundland in regard to the union. But this article would indicate that there had been correspondence for it states:

You had better ask Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues, for it was in Ottawa that the negotiations fell through the other day.

I do not propose, Mr. Speaker, to dwell much longer on this question, I think that I have voiced the sentiment of every member of this House when I say that it would be very desirable to have this great confederation rounded off by adding Newfoundland to it as was first proposed in the year 1867. It is true the Canadian confederation

has increased in directions which were not contemplated in 1867, but that ancient colony of Newfoundland is still not a part of the Dominion of Canada, as we all desire it should be. We have to-day reached a period of amalgamation all over the world. In the great confederacy to the south of us we have an instance of amalgamation and concentration. In the Dominion of Canada and in the new Australian confederation we have instances of the same thing; and now, in Africa, as a result of the fierce struggle which has taken place there, we are likely, and more than likely, to see a powerful confederacy arise, extending from Cape Colony to Cairo and cemented by the best blood of all parts of the empire, and in which Canadian soldiers displayed such gallantry and heroism. We in Canada, in establishing this great nation, have not been called upon to undergo the effusion of blood, for which we should be thankful. We have a country which was established in peace, which is to-day the happy home of millions, and which will be the happy home of many millions more in the future. We hope that the people of our country may increase in number, in happiness, and in loyalty to the empire to which we belong, and in the enjoyment of the civil and religious liberties which distinguish the British people in all parts of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I move the motion which you have read to the House.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). Mr. Speaker, before that motion passes, I wish to say a few words upon it—not because I hope to add any light to that which has been thrown upon the subject by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin) who has just taken his seat, but because I think it well that members of the House of Commons who have a sentiment on the question should give expression to that sentiment. I have always held that confederation will never be properly rounded off until it takes in Newfoundland. When that is done, our territory will extend as far to the east as it is possible to go, until it is stopped by the briny Atlantic. We shall then have a country extending without a break from ocean to ocean, varied in its soil, in its climate, and in its productions. Although confederation at first consisted of only four provinces—Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—we have been from time to time adding to it, until it now extends westward to the Pacific Ocean. At every stage, when a new province was taken in, we had croakers opposing its addition. That was the case when Manitoba, the North-west Territories, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island respectively were taken in. So it is to-day whenever there is a rumour afloat that the government is likely to endeavour to secure the union of Newfoundland with Canada. I have never regarded that as a sufficient reason why in-

telligent statesmen—and I believe that our government, no matter which party is in power, is usually in the main composed of intelligent statesmen—should refrain from grappling with this problem and endeavouring to bring about that desirable end. There have been several periods since confederation which seemed to me especially opportune for dealing successfully with this question, if we only had the right class of men for the time being controlling the destinies of this nation. With the desire of Newfoundland to enter the confederacy, the people representing Canada have nibbled at the problem as a fish would nibble at a bait; but they never seemed to be in earnest, as men are who ever accomplish any great thing in life.

What have been the deterrent influences which have prevented us reaching the fruition of our ambition in this matter? There have appeared to me to be two things—the dispute with regard to the French shore fisheries, which was continued from generation to generation between France and Newfoundland, and the debt of Newfoundland. I have always thought, however, that able men could quite easily overcome these difficulties. It has always seemed to me that the debt of Newfoundland should not be a great obstacle to the bringing into this confederacy of that portion of British North America. It is, comparatively speaking, a small debt, which Canada could handle without any trouble, which, I have no doubt, could be financed without the slightest injury to Canada or the slightest danger of disturbing our credit in the markets of the world. As to the question of the French shore fisheries, I think we can safely rely on the wisdom, the power and the good intentions of England to settle that question in the near future. We know that her aim has been to do so, and that considerable progress has been made in that direction within the last year or two, and I have no doubt whatever that in a short time the problem will be settled to the advantage of Newfoundland, as well as that of Canada and England.

Now, what advantages would accrue to Canada from the proposed union with Newfoundland? As I have said, it would round off this confederation, which will never be complete until Newfoundland is part and parcel of it. The interprovincial trade which would be developed would be in itself a valuable consideration for us. It is true that to some extent we share in that trade to-day, but not by any means to the extent to which we should or would if Newfoundland were part of this confederation. The United States, which may be regarded as a foreign power, is receiving more benefit from the trade of Newfoundland than Canada is. Why is that? Not because Canada could not supply the requirements of the people of Newfoundland quite as well as the people of the United States; not because

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the people of Newfoundland get any special advantages from the United States which they could not get from Canada; but because the trade with the United States has been carried on for a length of time, and the people of Newfoundland have become more and more associated with the people of the United States in their social and commercial relations, while we have made no special effort to break up that trade or to direct it towards our own country. The statistics which the hon. member from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Martin) has given to the House show that the trade of Newfoundland is of no mean proportions, when we consider the population and the size of the country—\$1,692,000 in one year, \$2,167,000 in another year, and \$1,188,000 last year. There is no doubt that our trade could be enlarged to a very great extent if Newfoundland were in this confederation. Her wealth in minerals, and fisheries, and the forest would be a great addition to our resources, and she would besides furnish the most valuable recruiting grounds for the naval wants of England, in every part of the world. There is no doubt the hardy fishermen on the coast of Newfoundland, inured to the hardships incident to their calling, and the climate of that country, would prove a most valuable addition to our supply of mariners from which to obtain recruits for our own and the Imperial navy. It is only within the last year, that we have had hints in that direction from English public men, who have declared that Newfoundland and Canada are two of the best recruiting grounds in the world from which England could supply the needs of her navy. And, I have no doubt, whatever, that if Newfoundland were in the confederacy, our trade relations would quickly cement the two countries in a close national union, the same sentiment which pervades the confederation of Canada to-day, would find a responsive echo in Newfoundland, and the two countries become assimilated in sentiment, as well as in material interests.

The acquisition of Newfoundland would also be the means of shortening the sea voyage between Canada and Europe, by giving a terminus to the railway system of our country, much closer to Europe than our present one, and, thus make inter-communication between Canada and Europe much shorter and more pleasant than what it is at present. The shortening of the sea voyage to Europe is a matter of increasing importance, it is one of the great requirements of the day, and one which would be solved by the completion of the railway system of Newfoundland, and the extension of our system eastward to join the railway system of that colony.

We ought not to hesitate making every effort to accomplish this very desirable union, and we should not be deterred by any question of debt, because that, to my mind, is

no great obstacle. Neither should we be deterred by the difficulties of the French shore fisheries, because they could be easily settled once the two countries became one. Another important consideration which should not be lost sight of, is the fact that the addition of Newfoundland to the Dominion, would offer a most favourable strategic base of operations, from a military point of view.

From every point of view, therefore, it is of the greatest importance that we should at the earliest possible moment bring Newfoundland into the confederacy. It is sometimes said, that when one party is willing, there seems to be no indication, that the other is desirous of bringing about the union. I do think that a few years ago, when Newfoundland was so anxious to come into the union, if we had had the right class of statesmen at the head of affairs, that union would have been now an accomplished fact. I believe that if the late Sir John Macdonald had been the head of the Canadian government at that time, we would have confederation by bringing Newfoundland into it, and I have always been at a loss to account for the indifference of Canadian statesmen to this very important subject. I thought that the present government, when they took office, would see that the one great chance of their life was to bring about a confederacy between Canada and Newfoundland as soon as possible. I have no doubt that when this is accomplished, it will be an event in the history of Canada, which will redound to the credit of the statesmen who bring it about. We are allowing golden opportunities to pass, but no doubt the day will come when that union will be accomplished by men who are more far-seeing than those who now control the destinies of our country. It is a matter of surprise to me that there has been so little said about this question in this House, and so little written about it in the country. I am confident that if it were seriously taken up by the politicians or statesmen of the day, it is one of the things that would be accomplished without much difficulty. I think it would be the part of wisdom, for every member of this House, who holds views on the lines I have expressed, to give utterance to them in this House, and thus arouse the attention of the public to the importance of this question, and force it on the attention of the public men who for the time being are charged with the destinies of this country. If this were done, I am satisfied that we could force the government to take up this important problem and bring about a solution of it in the near future.

Mr. C. E. KAULBACH (Lunenburg). I have much pleasure in endorsing the remarks of my esteemed friend, the member for Queen's East, P.E.I., (Mr. Martin), and those of my hon. friend, the member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), relating to the admission

of Newfoundland into the confederation of Canada. On the principle that 'Union is strength,' I have no hesitation in saying that were our sister colony, Newfoundland, placed as she is geographically, at the entrance of our great national and commercial highway—the River St. Lawrence—passing through the very heart of Canada, to become a part and parcel of our great Canadian confederacy, both countries would be materially benefited. It would add to our material strength as an arm of the British Empire, to which we are so proud to belong; and, as our Canadian provinces, under the British North American Act, have grown and prospered, by being confederated from ocean to ocean, under a federal system of government, were Newfoundland associated with us, as I feel she ought to be, her resources of various kinds would be greatly developed, and her trade increased to an immeasurable extent. Besides I can give the assurance, were such to take place, every loyal Canadian would welcome her coming, and give her a cordial reception, as sister would sister, should she feel inclined to unite with us. As this is a subject of vital importance to the maritime provinces and Canada, as a whole, it certainly is not any less so to the interest of our sister colony, Newfoundland, and, therefore, it should be seriously dealt with by the government, and every effort made to bring about a federal union of this colony of Newfoundland with the Dominion of Canada, and press for the consummation of such an event, thereby forming one united, or consolidated whole.

The question of admission of Newfoundland into the confederacy of Canada, might be conveniently discussed at the present time, by political parties on both sides of this House, free of any party predilections or sinister motives, and if received favourably in that spirit, as I claim it should be, I feel no difficulty will be experienced on the part of Newfoundland as well as of Canada in arranging terms on a basis satisfactory and profitable to both. Why should there be any difficulty when we are of one race, of one nationality, and our community of interests so assimilated, that there should really be no friction or difference as to the relations between us? For whilst Newfoundland has her fishing and mineral interest as her chief source of revenue, we have corresponding interests precisely the same, but only to a greater extent, and beside all this we have our valuable farming and lumbering industries to counterbalance, with a population capable of taking a very large percentage of her (Newfoundland) fish products, showing our sister colony, would by such a union, be receiving the greater benefit by the alliance, in that she receives the greater amount of trade from Canadians, for a lesser amount she could give us in return. It has always occurred to me that we, as sister colonies, geographically so near

to each other, should be more closely allied, and not have the separation as at present exists, we to be known as Continental British North America or Canada, and our sister colony, only a few miles removed, to be known as Newfoundland. I believe nature had destined us to be one, and, as we are under the same flag, we should be one country and one people.

I must say here, that I did not admire the feeling that prompted Newfoundland some years ago to propose a trade treaty with the United States, known as the 'Bond-Blaine' treaty, when we were giving her as a sister all the encouragement to come into the union with us, and share her lot in common with ourselves, which, had she consented to, would now with us be more happy and prosperous, and be part of a great country under one great confederacy, destined, as I believe we are, to be one of the fairest on God's earth.

We are really almost one now, when we consider the ready means of communication between us, a question of only a few hours by boat from North Sydney, C.B., to Port au Basque, and from thence by rail to St. John's, connecting our extreme east with theirs; but were she one with us, under one confederacy, she would find herself with railways stretching over that island to the various points of interest, and her mineral resources developed wherever they present themselves, which is at present little known beyond the line of the Reid Railway.

So strong am I on the question of the confederacy of our sister colony with Canada, realizing the advantages naturally resulting to each by such a union, that I feel were this government, through the Secretary of State, to communicate with Newfoundland on the question, asking that their government should take action simultaneously with our government, and arrange a deputation with power to negotiate terms, happy results would, I have no doubt, follow as a reward for their labours. I would recommend, at the same time, the expediency of the opposition, as well as the ministerial party, being represented on such delegation with power, as prescribed under section 146 of the British North America Act, and other sections relating thereto, which, I claim, should meet the approval of both political parties in this House, and which, if carried out as suggested, I feel would result satisfactorily.

I may just here state that I am sorry to find a great falling off in the trade between Newfoundland and Canada since 1895, which is not by any means satisfactory, despite the better communication now had with that island. I find in our trade returns the figures of our exports to Newfoundland, and the consumption here of the island colony's produce have been as follows:

	Exported to Newfoundland.	Entered from
1895	\$2,325,196	\$739,850
1899	1,808,317	527,006

Mr. KAULBACH.

Which falling off, I may say, quite surprised me, and which causes me to feel that our trade with our sister colony, Newfoundland, is not encouraged by this government as it should be. The same can be said as respects our trade with the British West Indies. We find differences of opinion to exist as respects trade between us and that colony, which, to my mind, are not tenable, nor well founded, but which could be removed, were Newfoundland a part of our confederacy, which, as I said already, can be brought about by the appointment of a delegation such as I have suggested.

I would ask: Why should either of us suffer ourselves to remain passive in this respect, when by an active effort such as I refer to, on the part of each, a bright future awaits us and now available, which by delay may pass from our grasp.

At present men's minds are widening by the troubles in South Africa, and we realize our position from an Imperial standpoint, and not from an isolated or provincial one, and it appears particularly favourable at this juncture to favour the rounding off of the Dominion by adding to Canada on the east the most ancient of Britain's colonies, the Island of Newfoundland. I feel confederation is not complete without this being done, and I consider there is no more opportune time than the present, when the feeling of loyalty runs high to have Canada with the sister colony united or consolidated.

When the matter of Newfoundland becoming part of the Dominion was mooted in Canada some five years ago, it was regarded purely by Canadians from a provincial standpoint, and the question of \$16,000,000 as the debt of Newfoundland, which was larger per head than our own, weighed heavily on the minds of many, and to assume that amount by Canada appeared larger than any corresponding advantage Canada would be receiving by having Newfoundland with us, which was, unfortunately, a mistake on our part, forgetting for the time that the advantages that would result to both countries, by the removal of a hostile tariff, and by dealing with a colony that was taking from us at that time upwards of \$2,000,000 worth of goods each year, would counterbalance the assumption of her debt and remove in a short time by the development of her industries all the difficulties, such as deterred Canada from taking Newfoundland in with us.

At present we can, as I have said, were Newfoundland confederated with us, be an arm of strength to each other, and a great support to the empire of which we form a part, and thus be better able to dispose of that vexed question, 'The French Shore,' which has been a disturbing element with our sister colony for a long time.

We could also better control the nefarious traffic of intoxicating liquors from St. Pierre brought into the maritime provinces, on which little or no duty is collected, hence lost to our revenue.

Again, were we having Newfoundland with us, we could each look for advantages from an Imperial standpoint, without a fear of being assailed by a foe from without, and at the same time, I repeat, be unhampered in the sale of our goods by a hostile tariff, and besides, we could foster, and better protect the coast and deep sea fisheries in common with our own, so valuable to both of us, as a food product, and an article for export, the very life, stay and support of the fishermen of the maritime provinces, as well as an important source of revenue to each.

In conclusion, I would say that now is a propitious time to unite. Let us avail ourselves of the opportunity to cast in our destinies together, so that Newfoundland remain no longer isolated, but form part of the confederacy of Canada, ever happy, loyal and prosperous.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). It is an indication of wonderful devotion to public business to witness the government benches opposite when a motion of this kind is submitted for the consideration of the House. I doubt, Sir, if a more important motion could be laid before this parliament. Unfortunately, I was prevented from hearing all that has been said by the previous speakers, but I was in early enough to hear the cogent and unanswerable arguments of my hon. friend from Lunenburg (Mr. Kaulbach). Apparently, the government treat this question with sovereign contempt, since they have, I may say, no representation on the floor of the House to-night with the exception of the two ministers, which, I take it, is an evidence of the utter contempt with which they regard the proposition of bringing Newfoundland into this confederation. Of course, I do not underate the importance of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and of the Minister of Inland Revenue; but I hold that they do not constitute a proper representation of the government of Canada on an occasion when one of the most important subjects which this House can be called upon to consider has been brought before it. Although the preceding speakers may have better stated the case than I am able to do, still I may take advantage of the opportunity to say a few words upon it. The Island of Newfoundland lies at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, in a position to dominate Canada. It is the only portion of British North America that is not to-day a part of the confederation of Canada. I need not say that in view of the common interest which Newfoundland has in the fisheries of Canada, she is in a position to seriously interfere with the commercial interests of Canada. That is a danger with which we have been threatened in the past, and a position which she should not be left in. The island of Newfoundland, like the other provinces of this

Dominion before confederation, is an autonomous colony, self-governing to the fullest extent; she is, therefore, in a position, by uniting with Canada, greatly to promote the interests of this Dominion, or, on the other hand, is in a position to take a line of action that will be most inimical and most injurious to this Dominion. Consider it from a defensive point of view, and it is impossible to overrate the importance of making Newfoundland a part of this Dominion; and, in my judgment, it is not more important to this Dominion to have Newfoundland a part of this great confederation than it is to the people of Newfoundland themselves. I believe that no step that can be conceived would more suddenly lift that island from the position we have often had reason to deplore, and there is no question, in my judgment, that is more calculated to be of benefit to every inhabitant of the island of Newfoundland. In becoming a part of this confederation, they would share in that great and abounding prosperity and progress which Canada now enjoys, and which is going on by leaps and bounds. There is no part of this confederation that was influenced more by hostility to the subject of confederation than the province of Nova Scotia; and yet, every intelligent man in Nova Scotia now recognizes the fact that the greatest benefit that ever happened to that province was in becoming a part of this confederation. That province fought bitterly against the scheme; but every hostile attitude they were induced to take up towards confederation has been proved to be utterly illusory and without foundation; and there is no part of this wide Dominion to-day more heartily in unison with the rest of this great Dominion than the province of Nova Scotia. Exactly the same thing would have happened in the Island of Newfoundland had it become part of confederation. At the Quebec conference in 1864, the Island of Newfoundland was represented by two of the ablest and most important public men that that island has ever had, the late Sir Frederick Carter, whose death I was sorry to see occurred a very short time ago; and another gentleman, who, I am happy to see, is still alive, Sir Ambrose Shea. Both of these gentlemen, intimately acquainted with its interests from long association in the management of its affairs, entered heartily into the project of confederation at the Quebec conference; and had the policy of that conference been carried out, a policy that the question of confederation should be referred to the legislatures of the different provinces, as was done in every instance, except that of New Brunswick, which was a mere accident—had that policy been carried out, had it been referred to the existing legislature of Newfoundland, I have no doubt that that island would long ago have become a portion of this great confederation, and all the ground of hostility which

kept that island out of confederation would long since have proved as delusive as the objections that were entertained in the province of Nova Scotia have since been proved to be utterly without foundation. As I said before, this is a result which, of course, in its present position, can only be attained by the action of the government of this Dominion and the government of the Island of Newfoundland.

As to the importance attached to that measure, I hesitate to go into details, I hesitate to say to this House, because, it would perhaps be turned into account in a hostile way, how vitally important to the Dominion of Canada and how important to the island, situated as it is, both commercially and from a defensive point of view, it is that it should become a part of this confederation. I believe that if the question were taken up by the two governments, they could arrange terms that would be mutually beneficial, that would be of great value to Canada, and that would be sufficiently liberal to satisfy the objections of the great mass of the inhabitants of Newfoundland. The result of Newfoundland becoming part of the Dominion of Canada would be to give it the same abounding prosperity in which we now rejoice. I only regret that the government consider this subject so utterly unworthy of their notice, or of their attention, that there is no representation of the government here to-night, and that the party supporting the government seem to be fully imbued with the same sentiment. Nothing that can be brought before the House can hope to attract the attention of hon. gentlemen opposite except it be some party measure, some means to get an unfair advantage by breaking down the franchise of the country, a redistribution so as to enable a decided minority to have the means of electing a majority to this House. It is only measures such as these, that are assumed to be of great party advantage, that can obtain the attention of hon. gentlemen opposite. We had the benches filled the other night, by hon. gentlemen opposite, listening to a harangue in regard to which no person now can form any judgment as to what was intended. Have the government fallen so low that they must put up one of their supporters on the back benches to propose a motion of confidence in them? There seems to be no other excuse for such a motion as was moved, no doubt, at the instance of the government, by one of their subservient supporters, than that it was for the purpose of preventing them getting to supply and proceed with the public business before the House. Then, we could find these hon. gentlemen cheering to the echo all those fallacies that were presented to the House, while to-night, when we have a measure of really national importance put before the House, the government mark their contempt for any such question as that

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

by being conspicuous by their absence, so that hon. gentlemen are obliged to address themselves to empty benches. I believe the day is near at hand, from what I know of the overwhelming public sentiment of the Dominion, from sea to sea, when this government, or any government, controlling the affairs of this Dominion, should give full and fair consideration to this important question, instead of wasting the time of the House by bringing forward measures that can have no object except to prevent the progress of public business. I will not say more on this subject because we will wait until the papers are brought down, but I may say that a more important question has not engaged the attention of this parliament since the first hour it was elected. Yet, we can estimate how much importance is attached to it by hon. gentlemen opposite by the fact that none of them consider it worthy of the slightest attention.

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). Mr. Speaker, I think that no one appreciates the importance of Newfoundland more than the government does. I think, at the same time, that the hon. leader of the opposition, and the government of which he was a member did not show that they appreciated the importance of Newfoundland. There is no evidence that any effort was ever made by these hon. gentlemen to carry out such an arrangement as might result in the union of Newfoundland with Canada. As for the attack that the hon. gentleman chose to make upon the government in saying, that, instead of giving their attention to an important question of this sort, they could only attend to party politics, I think my hon. friend did not hear the explanations given by hon. members on his side of the House, as he came in after these explanations had been given. He did not hear them, but we did hear them, and I think the hon. gentleman might have spared the attack he made upon the government, by saying that we had no attention for anything but party questions. The best way we can show this is by not opposing the motion which has been made to-day. It asks for the papers, and when the moment comes to act on this information perhaps the government will show sufficient activity.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). Mr. Speaker, before the motion is put I wish to make a few observations. I am amazed that when a question of such great importance to this whole Dominion, that when a question of such vital importance, in many ways, is brought before the House we have, at the present moment, out of 88 seats, on the other side of the House, only two occupied by ministers. I am sorry that the right hon. First Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) is not here because this is a matter in which the government, through the First Minister,

must feel interested. The hon. Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière) tells us, in his statement on behalf of the government, that there was no attempt made by the opposition, when they were in power, to secure the union of Newfoundland with Canada. The hon. gentleman was not here at that time, but, I am sure he must know that in 1895, the government made every effort in order to come to terms, but, they found the government of Newfoundland distinctly hostile at that time. I know very well, as the House knows, that Mr. Bond was not favourable to the union of Newfoundland with the Dominion of Canada.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. He is the present Prime Minister.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, and that is a point that I am going to call attention to before I sit down. As to the importance and the necessity of the joining of Newfoundland with our Dominion, convincing evidence is presented in the speeches to which we have listened. As the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) has pointed out, the history of Nova Scotia would be repeated in the case of Newfoundland. The same predictions had been made in Nova Scotia as to the disasters that were sure to follow confederation, but, to-day, every prediction that was made in that regard has been belied by the events, so that to-day, Nova Scotia is a satisfied and contented member of confederation. Not one of the evils that were predicted has ever come to pass and the same would be the case in Newfoundland. But how about the Dominion of Canada? Do we not know that they are joint owners of the fisheries? Do we not know that these gentlemen on the Treasury benches were pledged to make complete reciprocity negotiations with the United States government, which they said was necessary for Canada, and yet they have been four years in power and they have accomplished nothing. They know how the present leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) had settled these difficulties with regard to the fisheries many years ago, and had established the *modus vivendi*. For four years these gentlemen on the Treasury benches have accomplished nothing, and now that they are about to step out of power, and when they feel the reins of government slipping out of their hands—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, and all we are met with from them now is a vacant laugh. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), laughs, but he knows that the government have not redeemed their pledges, and he knows that they have neglected to attempt any negotiation with Newfound-

land. The government of Newfoundland sought negotiations with the United States government, and these were found to be most injurious to the interests of Canada, because if they had been carried to a conclusion, and a treaty had been made, the Americans would have become joint owners of our fisheries, without our being consulted. And, Sir, as these gentlemen opposite have for four years failed, so they must fail for the few remaining months they will be in power, for they make no pretense that they will institute negotiations with Newfoundland before the general elections. If, in the interim, the United States and Newfoundland should come to an arrangement, see how the interests of Canada will be detrimentally affected? The people of Newfoundland can well tell us: Your Canadian government promised to negotiate a treaty, we went down with you to Quebec, and to Washington, but failed to do business, and now we will see what we can do for ourselves. Nobody knows better than the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, that the government of Sir James Winter were tooth and nail bound up in the union of Newfoundland with Canada, and that they were the warmest advocates of that union. He knows too, that when the Conservative government was in power, we had to confront the Bond government of Newfoundland, who came to Ottawa hostile to the idea, and he knows as well, that Sir James Winter was ready the moment the hand was held out to him, to do all in his power to bring Newfoundland into confederation. Why did not the Liberal government of Canada, take advantage of that most favourable circumstance? Owing to internal dissensions, the government of Sir James Winter went out of power recently; but, outside these internal dissensions they were a dominating power, they had a large majority in both houses, and that government was a unit for federation with Canada. If the Dominion government had exerted themselves in the smallest degree to bring about that union, there would have been no difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, and if difficulties should arise, they could have been satisfactorily adjusted. To-day a new government has come into power in Newfoundland, and these gentlemen opposite tell us to-night that the government of Newfoundland is hostile. Why did the Dominion government neglect its duty when there was in power in Newfoundland a government favourable to the scheme? The Liberal government of Canada failed in its duty in a matter of the most vital importance to our future relations with the United States and to our future commerce, because, growing as we are, into a great maritime nation, nothing could be of more value to us than that there should be included in the population of the Dominion, the thousands and tens of thousands of hardy fishermen

of Newfoundland. From whatever point of view you look at it, the Dominion government was derelict in its duty. And, why did they stay their hand? There is no use shirking the question, for the best plan is to meet it and tell the truth about it. This government failed in its duty, because the French shore question was not settled. What are governments for? Is it the mission of a government to shirk difficulties. No, Sir, the duty of a government is to meet difficulties and to settle them. I believe that the Newfoundland government held a just and a moderate view on that French shore question. In fact, I do not think they pressed their claims firmly enough, but they were a weak power. Had they been part of the Dominion of Canada, then this great empire of the west, this great dominating force, as it is going to be in the councils of the nation, this rich country, peopled by six millions of all sorts and conditions of men, with its vast agricultural interests, its great manufacturing interests, its vastly developing mining interests; this great country with all its force could make representations to the British government that would be attended to, and the French shore difficulty might be settled to-day. Sir, I say that the French shore question can be best settled by a united Dominion, with Newfoundland a part of it. This Liberal government was afraid to touch the question of union with Newfoundland until the French shore difficulty was settled. Sir, I believe that if the whole force and power of the Dominion of Canada, with Newfoundland included, were to present the case to the British government, the French shore question could be settled honourably and equitably. As the leader of the opposition has pointed out, when it comes to a demonstration only to delay the business of the country, hon. gentlemen opposite can turn out in full force. When it comes to a railway scheme, in which hundreds of thousands or millions of the people's money is to be thrown away into the hands of grabbers or despoilers, there is a majority of fifty or sixty to back up the government. But, this matter, in which the vital interests of the Dominion are concerned, the government take so little notice of, that we have only two ministers of the Crown here, barring our friend, the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), who has just come in, and who has not realized the importance of this debate.

Mr. TALBOT. The Minister of Agriculture was here before.

Mr. WALLACE. I beg the hon. member's pardon. The hon. member himself was not here, and could not tell. Neither he nor the Minister of Agriculture were here.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I was here for a long time.

Mr. WALLACE.

Mr. WALLACE. Who was speaking when the hon. minister was here?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. The hon. member from Prince Edward Island (Mr. Martin), the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), and the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Kaulbach).

Mr. WALLACE. And the hon. gentleman went out then, and stayed out until a few moments ago. I say that the government have let the favourable opportunity pass which they ought to have seized in the interest of the people of Canada, and in the interest of the integrity of this great northern empire of ours; because I contend that while such a union would be beneficial to Canada, it would be of still greater importance to Newfoundland. Newfoundland's business would increase, its prosperity would be on a stable basis, and the financial arrangements would relieve it of those necessities which have been the cause of great disturbance and difficulty to that country. The financial arrangements could easily be adjusted. But, Sir, the government have absolutely ignored the whole question during the four years of their power, although a government favourable to confederation was in power in Newfoundland. That government has now gone out, Mr. Bond has come into power again, and that favourable opportunity has been lost. The government have failed in their duty in this matter; and to-night they have shown by the absence of themselves and their supporters from the House how little care they have for so important a matter. This is a matter that deserves and must receive the careful and earnest attention of parliament, because we are going to have the union of Newfoundland with confederation, and if these gentlemen on the Treasury benches cannot bring it about, the people will endeavour to put in a government that will.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Mr. Speaker, I think it is wholly gratuitous and unjust to assume that because the benches have been empty to-night, that indicates an indifference on the part of the members of the House to the great subject that has been dealt with in to-night's debate—the union of Newfoundland with Canada. The motion is a simple one for papers, and it is not being resisted, but on the contrary, is being facilitated by the government. No one had any reason to expect that there was going to be a debate at any length on this question. If the opposition knew that there was going to be a debate upon it, they are more responsible than any one else. It is very refreshing to hear the leader of the opposition. He was not here to-night when the motion came up. He did not do the member who made the motion the honour of listening to a word he said. He did not

listen to the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), who made a lengthy speech. He came in when the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Kaulbach) was speaking. The hon. leader of the opposition sits there alone; he has not a lieutenant with him. During the greater part of the time, with the exception of the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), the whole row of front benches on the opposition side were vacant. There was not a baker's dozen of the members of the opposition here.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Will my hon. friend allow me to make a remark on that point? I had no idea that this motion would be reached until very late, because I assumed that the one that stood before it on the order paper would occupy the attention of the House, and I had no desire, I confess, to hear the discussion on that motion.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. So the hon. gentleman was not here, his lieutenants were not here, his followers were not here, and according to his own reason, he did not care about the subject at all. Four or five members of the government were here off and on during the evening. I was here during the whole debate, and as was also the Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière), the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), was here most of the time, and the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) was either on the floor or within hearing. I ask these hon. gentlemen opposite, therefore, to pull the beam out of their own eye before they attempt to pull the mote out of ours. The hon. leader of the opposition said that he would not discuss the question to-night because he feared his remarks might be misunderstood. In that he was very wise. This is not the time for Canada to press Newfoundland unduly to enter the Dominion. Whatever our views may be, we all know that Newfoundland will not be asked to come into this Dominion unwillingly. We are perfectly desirous that she should come in on fair terms if they can be arranged; but there is not a man on either side of the House who wishes to use any undue means to bring her in. The time will come when she will come in; but, as my hon. friend has remarked, the leader of the government in Newfoundland to-day, Mr. Bond, is bitterly hostile to union with Canada. The negotiations undertaken by the late government to bring about such a union collapsed and failed miserably. Sir John Macdonald stated in his place in this House, near to where I stand, a few years ago that he doubted very much whether it was desirable to bring about that union until the unfortunate foreshore question were settled. Every man who has taken cognizance of what has been passing in the last three or four years knows that, if we are to believe the newspapers, Lord Salisbury has given

this question a great deal of attention, and that negotiations have taken place between the British government and the French government in regard to it. It may be that that difficulty will soon be removed, and then we shall be in a position, if both countries desire it, to consider the financial and other conditions on which a basis of union can be formed. But I repeat that the politicians neither of Canada nor of Newfoundland should endeavour to force this question on either country, until the people are thoroughly satisfied and in favour of the union. I for one would not give my consent to Canada taking the initial step in this matter until we believed that the people of Newfoundland were thoroughly satisfied that it would be to their interests to come in. I believe myself that the day is not far distant when they will come and rap at our door for entrance, because they will see that it will be to their interest to come, and when they do come I am sure that they will receive a cordial reception at our hands, whoever may be at the head of this government. So far as this motion is concerned, it is what my hon. friend from York (Mr. Foster) called the other day an academic motion. It is a motion rather for papers, what the hon. gentleman called one of those academic motions and we will not oppose it. When the House is in possession of the papers, hon. members will be in a better position to form a judgment. In the meantime, I think the less we say, which may be twisted by the people of Newfoundland into a belief that we are endeavouring to force or drag them into a union, the better on the merits of the question.

Motion agreed to.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 10.45 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, March 20, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

PRIVILEGE—MR. BERGERON.

Mr. J. G. H. BERGERON (Beauharnois). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I desire to say a few words on a question of privilege. And, if necessary, though I think it will not be necessary, I will conclude my

remarks with a motion. I find in *La Patrie*, Montreal, the organ of the government, and particularly of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), an article which I translate as follows :

Mr. Clarke Wallace, the ally of Mr. Bergeron, and Mr. Taylor, the whip of the Tory party, have manifested the intention of presenting to the House of Commons a resolution having the effect of pledging the Canadian government in advance to participation by Canada in all the wars of England in the future, with or without the consent of parliament, and to engage the Federal treasury for the complete payment of all expenses that such participation will entail.

The 'Herald,' of Montreal, combats this movement of the Tory party as inopportune, and as having been conceived with the sole object of hurting Sir W. Laurier and embarrassing the government, and not with the object of helping the cause of the empire. We share the sentiment of the 'Herald,' and say with that paper that the Tory chiefs are doing a very dangerous work. If they wished to sap the foundations of the edifice of confederation, they could not have taken a better way of doing it than they are taking to-day.

This, as I say, is an editorial article in *La Patrie*. It would be useless for me to say in this House that there is not a word of truth in it. It is not written for this House, it is written for the public at large. Consequently, I think it my duty, so far as I am concerned, to put this article on record in *Hansard*, and to couple with it some of the expressions that fell from the lips of the right hon. Premier (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), which, I hope, will be reproduced in *La Patrie*, and given to their readers.

In a speech delivered in this House, the Premier said :

But if the day should come—which God forbid—if the day should ever come—which I again say God forbid—when England should have to repel foes, I am quite sure that all British subjects, all over the world, would be only too glad to give her what help they could—all British subjects all over the world, not only British subjects of her own blood, but British subjects who are not of her own blood, but who have received from her the inestimable blessing of freedom.

I find in the last speech delivered by the right hon. gentleman in this House—and a very good speech it was, one that was heralded throughout England, as showing to the whole British Empire, a most patriotic utterance from the Prime Minister of England's greatest colony, and a speech that was applauded on this side of the House, as well as on the other—the following words :

No, Sir, we were not forced by England, we were not forced by Mr. Chamberlain or by Downing Street, to do what we did, and I cannot conceive what my hon. friend meant—

—the right hon. gentleman was speaking of the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa)—

Mr. BERGERON.

—when he said that the future of this country was not to be pledged by this government. When and where did we pledge the future of this country? We acted in the full independence of our sovereign power. What we did, we did of our own free will, but I am not to answer for the consequences or for what will take place in the future. My hon. friend says the consequence is that we will be called on to take part in other wars. I have only this to answer to my hon. friend, that if it should be the will of the people of Canada, at any future period, to take part in any war of England, the people of Canada will have their way.

I need not go any further. My desire is just to point out that these beautiful sentiments expressed by the right hon. the Premier in this House, were not mentioned in the paper which is trying to continue in Quebec, the course it took in the month of October last, when it was doing everything in its power to prevent the government of Canada doing what it has since done. I desire that their leaders may see what the Premier of Canada has said since then, since the time that the right hon. gentleman declared to the *Globe* newspaper that he could do nothing for England under the circumstances. I want to put myself right, both in this House and before the country, and to show that I hold to-day the same position that I did ten months ago, and to show the people who read those newspapers that the editors are putting us in a false position. These things only go to show the country the kind of political warfare which our opponents are carrying on in the province of Quebec, and I think it my duty to call the attention of the Premier to their action. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. WALLACE. I will only add in addition to what the hon. member for Beauharnois (Mr. Bergeron) has said, that I refuse to make *La Patrie* either my organ for the expression of my views, or my father confessor in any way.

Mr. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). Before the motion is put, I just wish to join in the sentiments expressed by the ex-Minister of Customs (Mr. Wallace), that in so far as I am concerned personally, I do not care how far *La Patrie* goes on abusing me, because it does not have much effect in my constituency. The object *La Patrie* has in view is not to influence Ontario, but the object it has steadily pursued for the last six months is to raise trouble in the province of Quebec. Every person who reads that paper between the lines can easily see that that is its only motive. That paper being the organ of the government, I think the Prime Minister, if he is sincere in what he said the other day, that his object in life is to cement the races of this country, and his boss, I may say, the Minister of Public Works, who controls the paper, and whom he can direct—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. TAYLOR. Who is out of order? I say let him instruct that paper to moderate its tone if he wants to carry out what he professed in this House in his speech the other day. But, his speech is not intended for the province of Quebec, it is intended for the province of Ontario, and he expects *La Patrie* to do the work in the province of Quebec. But, if he is sincere in the statement that he made here, from this day forward he will muzzle *La Patrie*, the organ of his government, and compel it to conduct itself on respectable lines, and in a manner that will cement the races of this country.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). I desire to say a word on this question. If there ever was a man who occupied a distinguished position in Canada that has been maligned, and abused, and vilified, and misrepresented, it has been the right hon. leader of this government by the *Mail and Empire* of Toronto and by the *Montreal Star*. Hon. gentlemen opposite talk about the press of the Reform party. Sir, the *Montreal Star* and the *Mail* of Toronto have never ceased day or night for the last four years to malign everything the right hon. gentleman has said or done. There never was a man who has been submitted to more unjust criticism than he has been. While I am not prepared to defend any attempt to misrepresent men holding public offices, I do say, on the other hand, that it becomes hon. gentlemen opposite when they call upon hon. gentlemen on this side to muzzle their organs, to keep them within proper limits—I say it becomes them to look to their own organs and prevent them from indulging in the misrepresentation and abuse to which the government have been subjected by the *Mail and Empire* and by the *Montreal Star*.

Motion (Mr. Bergeron) to adjourn, negatived.

SUPPLY—PREFERENTIAL TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go again into Committee of Supply, and the motion of Mr. Russell in amendment thereto.

Mr. PETER MACDONALD (East Huron). Before the resolution which was moved by my hon. friend the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) is voted upon by this House, I beg leave to express my opinion upon it; and in doing so, I will endeavour to confine myself as far as possible to the question under discussion. I will not attempt to follow the meanderings of the hon. gentlemen who have spoken on the other side, nor to pursue them into the wild excursions they have taken. I will confine myself as far as possible to the tariff, and during my discussion of that question, I will

refer to the general tariff of the party, to the preferential tariff; and I think I will also give some attention to the policy of quid pro quo of the Liberal-Conservative party. My first duty will be to show what we did in 1897, when we assumed the reins of power. We promised the people of this country that we would readjust the tariff in the interest of the general consuming classes of the community. We believe we have done that to a very large extent; and I want to point out, not in detail, but in a general way, what the Liberal party did in 1897 by the Fielding tariff. In the first place, we readjusted the various duties so as to impose a moderate duty upon the necessaries and comforts of life, and to place a heavier duty upon the shoulders of those people who are better able to pay taxes. In the first place, we reduced the duty on about two hundred articles, all told; we increased the free list to the extent of about fifty articles; and we largely eliminated the specific duties against which we had frequently protested in this House, believing those specific duties to press hardly upon the quality of goods used by the working and middle classes. Then, in addition to that, we had a clause in our policy offering to Great Britain a preference in the Canadian markets for the first year of 12½ per cent lower than the ordinary duty; and in the second year we reduced that preference to 25 per cent. Now, that is, in a general way, what we accomplished in 1897. But, it is well to pause for a moment to consider what was the Liberal policy that we announced in that year. Those of you who were present will remember that the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) made a very able and comprehensive exposition of the policy of the Liberal party at that time; you will remember that the Conservative papers throughout the country passed judgment upon that policy so enunciated by the Minister of Finance; you will remember also that the leader of the Conservative party in the House, during a long and able speech, passed his opinion upon that policy. Neither the members of the Conservative party nor the leaders of the party claimed at that time that this was a policy belonging to themselves, as they did claim afterwards.

I want to point out some expressions and prophecies that were made by one of the leading papers of the Conservative party. I refer to the *Montreal Star*. Now, every one here knows that the *Montreal Star* is certainly the leading organ of the Conservative party, that it is largely subsidized by the Conservative party for the purpose of putting before the country the opinions held by the Conservative party; and when those opinions are expressed in the columns of that paper, it is reasonable to infer that those prophecies or expressions are uttered as being those of the party which it represents.

Now, I want to draw attention, before I deal with the opinion of the *Star*, to an expression made use of by the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) the other day, in regard to the reductions in the tariff. He made use of this sentence, looking across towards the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) :

The right hon. Prime Minister smiles a smile of dissent. Will he tell me an article on which the farmers of Canada to-day pay less taxes than they did when hon. gentlemen upon this side of the House were in power?

That question signifies, to my mind, one of two things : first, that he put that question knowing, in his own mind, that he possessed the means of arriving at the answer for which he asked the Prime Minister, or, in other words, it signified an ignorance on his part in regard to the reductions made in favour of the farmers, because, I find that on the following articles reductions were made : wall paper, cut nails, wire nails, wood screws, wire fencing and cutlery. On these articles, largely used by farmers, as well as others, there was a reduction in the general tariff of 26 per cent.

Mr. CLANCY. Are they 26 per cent cheaper now than they were ?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). That is one of the foolish questions put by hon. gentlemen opposite. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Clancy) knows very well that if the same conditions prevailed to-day as prevailed when these reductions were made, the prices would be less, but, as he knows very well that prices have gone up on every market in the world. Steel and iron and many other things have gone up, and when the hon. gentleman puts such a question as that to me, when the conditions are entirely different from those that existed in 1897, it shows that he is neither honest—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Politically honest.

Mr. CLANCY. I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald, Huron) has no right to say I am not honest in asking that question.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Very well, I will put it in another way.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I have no intention at all of insulting any one. I have no intention of insulting the hon. gentleman, but, if he is honest—

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald) has no right to discuss the matter.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I have no right to say that you are honest. I do not

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

say that you are dishonest, and I have no right to say that you are honest. But, I certainly say the hon. gentleman cannot be sincere—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I withdraw the statement.

Mr. SPEAKER. I understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald) to say that he withdraws the statement ?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Certainly, but I must say that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Clancy) could not be sincere in asking that question, because he knows that the conditions that prevailed a few years ago have changed, that prices have advanced in the markets of the world, and, therefore, his question has no point in fact. We also reduced the duties on the following articles : files and rasps, adzes, cleavers, hatchets, hammers and picks. These articles are largely used by farmers, and we reduced the duties 14½ per cent below the tariff that existed previously. Then, we reduced the duties on window shades, socks and stockings, collars, farm rollers, road rollers, wind-mills, horse powers, portable engines and threshers 16¾ per cent, and I might just here recall the fact that the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson) stated that the government had reduced the tariff on no article with the exception of potato diggers and post-hole diggers. That indicated that he had not made a very careful inquiry into the reductions that have been made. We have reduced the duties on manure spreaders, axes, hand rakes, feed cutters, potato diggers, grain crushers, fanning mills, hay tedders, sythes, sickles, reaping hooks, pronged forks, snaths and post-hole diggers, 28 4-7 per cent.

This will show, Mr. Speaker, that we did make large reductions along these lines, and if I were to take the time I could show hundreds of articles the duties on which were reduced in the interest of the farmers, as well as in the interest of other industrial classes in the country. Now, I want to refer to what the *Star* said in regard to our policy in 1897. This is one of the prophecies made by that paper :

The wages of all operators will fall.

Has that prophecy been fulfilled ?

An hon. MEMBER. No.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Will any hon. member on the opposite side of the House say that that prophecy has been fulfilled ? The wages of operators were never higher and operators were never so continuously employed as they are now.

The money in circulation all over Canada will shrink until scarcity of money will be a national cry.

Has that prophecy been fulfilled ?

An hon. MEMBER. No.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). In 1896, we had a circulation of bank notes to the extent of \$29,416,000, and in December last, under the policy of the Liberal party, we had over \$42,000,000 of bank notes in circulation, or over \$13,700,000 more bank notes in circulation in 1899 than in 1896, which indicates a prosperity and an activity in business which did not prevail under the old national policy. Then, the *Star* says :

The positions available for clerks, bookkeepers, cashiers and salesmen would diminish, to the utter destruction of thousands of lives.

Has that prophecy been fulfilled? Every person sitting on the opposite side of the House will say that that prophecy has not been fulfilled, but that there is more room in the industrial avenues of this country to-day for clerks, bookkeepers and office men than ever before in the history of Canada. Then, we were told that :

Americans, Germans, Swiss, will immediately invade the country as a slaughter market, and when the factories and shops have been destroyed, and Canadian mechanics driven from the country, will put up the prices of all imported goods, with the certain result of increased expense to every family.

Has that occurred? Have the Germans, the Swiss or the Americans made of Canada a slaughter market? Have they succeeded in closing up the factories and industries of Canada? We have more industries in Canada to-day than we ever had before; there is greater prosperity in Canada to-day than ever there was before; they are employing more operators than ever before, and the scale of wages is higher to-day than ever it was before.

Bank and joint company shares will suffer impairment.

Is that true?

An hon. MEMBER. No.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Are bank stocks higher or lower than they were in 1896? Let me give an illustration. I will take all the best banks in the Dominion of Canada and compare the value of their stocks as between what it was in 1896 and what it was last year. I will take the Bank of Montreal, the Bank of Toronto, the Standard Bank, the Imperial Bank, the Merchants Bank, the Bank of Hamilton, the Molson's Bank, the Bank of British North America, the Dominion Bank, the Ontario Bank and the Bank of Commerce. The average value of their shares in 1896 was 173½. The average value in 1898 rose to 193½. Does that prove that the banking institutions of this country are suffering from the policy introduced in 1897 by the Liberal party of Canada? No, Sir. That prophecy has utterly failed of fulfilment. Let me look at another evidence from the banking returns. You all know that the volume of the bank

clearings is an indication of prosperity; if the bank clearings of one year are larger than those of the previous year, it is an indication that the year of the largest bank clearing was more prosperous than the other. The bank clearings in 1897 amounted to \$1,175,000,000, and, in 1898, one year afterwards, they amounted to \$1,390,000,000, or an increase of \$215,000,000 for the one year. The Montreal clearings alone, increased by \$130,000,000; the Toronto clearings increased by \$78,000,000; and the Winnipeg clearings increased by \$7,000,000, proving beyond the possibility of contradiction that these institutions are in a prosperous condition under the new regime.

Mr. MCGREGOR. It is the same all through Canada.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Then, Sir, let us look at the condition of the trading companies of Canada. The *Montreal Star* said that the stocks of our trading companies would be reduced under the policy introduced by the Liberal party, but I will take ten of the principal trading companies of this country, and see how that prophecy has been falsified. I will take the Bell Telephone Company, the Montreal Street Railway Company, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the Dominion Cotton Company, the Toronto Street Railway Company, the Montreal Cotton Company, the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company, the Montreal Telegraph Company, the Coloured Cotton Company, and the Dominion Telegraph Company. You will notice that these mercantile companies cover various industries in this country, and when I look at the average value of their stocks, I find that in 1896, it was 111, and in 1898, the average value of the stocks of the same companies was 140. Let me give you another evidence of the prosperity that prevails in Canada under the regime of the Liberal party. Let me look at the loan companies. You will bear in mind that the object of the loan companies is to lend money to those persons who wish to borrow. Our farmers, it must be admitted, fell into debt in the province of Ontario, to the extent of about \$275,000,000, under the national policy. They were not able to pay this. Their lands fell in value; so much so, indeed, that some of the loan companies had not sufficient security for the amount of the money they had loaned on the farms, although the loan was only about two-thirds the value of the farm at the time the loan was made. It is natural to suppose that when the farmers of this country became more prosperous, when the lands increased in value, and the prices of their products increased, and, with many things flowing into them that did not accrue to them under the national policy, you would naturally suppose, I say, that they were better able to clear off this indebtedness and that they did not require to borrow as much

money as they formerly did. This, of course, would consequently have a prejudicial affect upon the loan companies; for they could not so readily secure investments for their money, and especially could they not realize so much interest as before. Now, I have the following eleven loan companies before me: The Canada Permanent Loan Company; the Freehold Company; the Western Canada Company; the Canada Landed Credit Company; the Imperial Savings Company; the London and Canadian; the Dominion Savings and Loan Company; the London and Ontario Loan Company; the Hamilton Provident Company; the Huron and Erie Company; and the Manitoba Loan Company. The average value of the stocks of these eleven companies, in 1896, was 117; but under the prosperous time that came with the accession of the Liberal party to power—the times were not prosperous for them, because the people had money now, and did not borrow—the average value of their stocks in 1898 fell to 99½. That indicates that there was not so much borrowing on the part of the farmers and labourers throughout the country as formerly, and the result was, that a larger number of these companies had to amalgamate and place themselves under one management, so as to reduce expenses; which all goes to show that prosperity had come to Canada under the influence of the policy inaugurated by the Liberal party. Let us come to some more of the prophecies made by the Montreal *Star*:

It will take twenty years, even with the abolition of the condemned revenue tariff, to climb again to the post where Canada stands to-day, and we believe tens of thousands of families will be pauperized beyond the possibility of recovery.

Sir, during no period in the history of this country, have there been less paupers and less poor people, than at present. No previous period in our history has seen the families of Canada in so good a position in their homes, as that which they enjoy to-day. No period in Canada ever saw the labourer of this country earn more money; to make his home happier and better, than under the present Liberal regime, and, therefore, this other prophecy of the Montreal *Star* has not been fulfilled. But, it may be said that the Conservatives are not responsible for what a paper may say, even though it is the organ of the party, and, so I shall draw attention to the language of the leader of the opposition, when this policy was announced by the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding), in 1897. This policy came fresh before him (Sir Charles Tupper); he knew how much the Liberal party had cut down the tariff; he knew about the preferential treatment of Great Britain; and he expressed his opinion of that policy. His tune is changed in later days, because he now tells us that we stole his policy. Just think a

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron).

moment, Mr. Speaker, of the opinion which that hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), had of the Liberal policy at that time, which he now says is the policy which was stolen from him. Speaking in this House, the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) said:

The result is that this tariff goes into operation, and the hon. gentleman knows that the industries of this country are already paralyzed in consequence, while hon. members gloat over the destruction of Canadian industries. I was reading the wail, the sorrowful wail, of those industries in the Montreal 'Gazette,' where one manufacturer after another declared that those industries were ruined, that their mills must close, and that they saw staring them in the face a return to the deplorable state of things that existed when the hon. gentleman who last addressed the House was in charge of the fiscal policy of this country. I say that a deeper wrong was never inflicted upon Canada.

What wrong was inflicted on the country, if it was the policy of the Liberal-Conservative party that was continued? What industries of this country could be destroyed if it was the policy of the Conservatives that was established by the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding), in 1897, as the leader of the opposition now says it was. But, the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), continued:

I feel that so far from rejoicing at it from a party standpoint, I deplore from the bottom of my heart the ruin that is going to be inflicted upon the best interests of Canada and upon its great industries. Still, I unhesitatingly say that, from a party point of view, the hon. gentlemen are doing our work; they are showing the people of this country that no reliance can be placed upon the most solemn declarations that they make either in the House or out of it; they are showing the people of this country that, having obtained power, which was all they wished for, they are now prepared to abuse that power at a cost of a sacrifice of the industries of Canada.

Have these industries been sacrificed, Mr. Speaker? Not at all. Are our industries not in a better condition to-day, than they were during any one year under the national policy? Have they not increased the number? Have the hands they employ not increased in number? Have there not been fewer failures among the industries in the country, than there were before?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question. Is he quoting from me?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Yes.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that he is quoting from a speech of mine in reference to the present tariff—the tariff of 1898? The speech he has quoted from was with regard to the tariff of 1897, which was as unlike the tariff which now exists as day and night. The tariff introduced in 1897 was a free trade tariff, according to the Minister of Trade and Commerce, who stated that it

was the intention of the government to carry on that policy until they had complete free trade. That policy was completely abandoned in the tariff of 1898. Under the first tariff the preference was open to the whole world; under the tariff of 1898 it was restricted to Great Britain.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The hon. gentleman will remember that this speech was delivered in answer to the speech made by the hon. Finance Minister in 1897.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Precisely. If the hon. gentleman will read the resolution which I moved on that occasion and the statement that preceded it, he will find a complete refutation of the argument he is now addressing to the House.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I am not addressing an argument to the House: I am simply reading what the hon. gentleman said. I have not put an argument into his mouth. I am repeating his actual expression of opinion in reference to the policy that was laid down by the Liberal party in 1897—a policy which has not been changed since.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Radically changed, completely changed in all its features.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The reduction in the duties, the increase of the free list and the preference to Great Britain are essentially the same, with the exception of a very few changes made in the following year.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. There was not a word of preference to Great Britain in the tariff of 1897. The preference in that tariff was open to the whole world. The tariff of 1898 limited the preference to Great Britain; but Great Britain could not have the slightest preference under the tariff of 1897.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Great Britain received a preference under that tariff, on the 23rd of April, 1897, and the hon. gentleman knows it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman knows nothing of the kind. The Minister of Finance in his speech at Sheffield long after declared that there was no preference.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The Minister of Finance never declared such a thing.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I have quoted his words to that effect, and he cannot deny them.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. gentleman has never quoted his words to that effect, for they do not exist.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). If the hon. leader of the opposition will put himself

to the trouble of reading the speech of the Minister of Finance, or that part of it referring to this question, he will find that the tariff of to-day is substantially the same as that referred to in that speech; and that the preference to England is to-day substantially what it was at that time, with this exception, that in the first year only 12½ per cent of discrimination was made in favour of Great Britain in the Canadian market, whereas one year afterwards there was to be a discrimination of 25 per cent. That was foreshadowed in that speech as clearly as language could convey it. It was in reference to the policy laid down in 1897 that that speech was made—a policy which has not in any material degree been affected since.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman read to the House the resolution offered by the Minister of Finance in regard to the preferential tariff of 1897? He will not find one word there with regard to England; but he will find that the preference was open to the whole world, as the Minister of Trade and Commerce made it; and that was completely and radically changed by the policy of 1898.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). That is merely a subterfuge put forth at the present time to blunt the sharpness of this argument against the leader of the opposition. It can be shown that he strongly and explicitly condemned the policy inaugurated in 1897, but that when he found that that policy was in the interest of the Canadian manufacturers and every class of the Canadian people, then he claimed that it was the national policy of the Liberal-Conservative party which had yielded all these fruits.

Now, Sir, I want to prove to the hon. gentleman that his statements were not based upon facts, and that his prophecies with regard to this tariff have not been fulfilled. For instance, we find that the present tariff instead of destroying the factories, has put them on a better footing than they were on before. This is made evident by a comparison of the number of failures that took place in Canada among the different classes in business since this tariff has been in force compared with a few years previous, during which the country had the full advantage of the national policy of the Liberal-Conservative party. The number of failures among the manufacturers of this country in 1894 was 494, in 1895 441, in 1896 590, and in 1897 459, or an average number of failures in those four years of 496. Now, compare that with the number of failures among the manufacturers during the years we have been in power. In 1898 there were only 303, and in 1899 318, an average in the two years of 310, or nearly 38 per cent of a decrease in the number of failures among the manufacturers whom it was asserted our policy of 1897 would ruin.

Now, take the failures of men in commercial business outside of manufacturing. In 1895 there were 1,891, in 1896 2,118, in 1897 1,809, or an average for those three years of 1,972. Now, under our policy the number of failures of commercial men in 1898 was 1,300, and in 1899 1,287, or an average for those two years of 1,293, as compared with an average of 1,972 under the tariff of the Liberal-Conservative party; or, in other words, a reduction in the number of failures among commercial houses of 34 per cent; showing that our policy, instead of destroying the industries of Canada, has had the effect of upholding and upbuilding them. Now, let us look at the number of failures of trading companies. In 1896 there were 1,401, and in 1897 1,315, or a total for the two years of 2,716. Under the tariff policy of the present government there were in 1898, 564 failures of trading companies, and in 1899, 950, or a total for the two years of 1,514; or a reduction in these failures under the new administration of no less than 44 per cent. These facts prove beyond a doubt the beneficial influence of the policy that was established in 1897, both in regard to the people generally, and in regard to those engaged in manufacturing and commerce. But we are told that our policy has not been beneficial with regard to our trading with the different countries. Indeed they go so far as to say that our policy has been the cause of the reduction of our trade with Great Britain. One hon. gentleman said the other day that our trade was gradually being reduced with Great Britain. It was the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), I think, who made that statement, and if he will say that I am not correctly quoting him, I will make no further reference to it.

Mr. SPROULE. What statement is that?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). That our import trade with Great Britain was continually declining.

Mr. WILSON. For the past three years.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Well, I will take the suggestion of the hon. member for Lennox and compare the past three years with the previous three.

Mr. WILSON. I just wish to say that what I mean is that our imports from Great Britain were less during the past three years than during the previous three years.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I will come to that point in a few minutes. The aggregate trade of the Dominion in 1880, the first year in which the national policy was in full vigour—the aggregate trade of the Dominion with the world during that year was \$159,700,000. In 1896, seventeen years later, under the ægis of the national policy and with the stimulus of all the efforts the Conservative party could make to increase our trade with the world, it had in-

creased to the sum of \$231,600,000, or an increase during the seventeen years of \$71,900,000. That is all hon. gentlemen opposite were able to accomplish in the way of extending the trade of Canada during all those years. In 1896, as I have said, our aggregate trade with the world was \$231,600,000. In 1899, it was \$312,948,000, or an increase during those three years of \$91,348,000, or, in other words, \$20,000,000 more in these three years than the Conservatives succeeded in bringing about in seventeen years under the influence of the national policy.

Now I come to our aggregate trade with Great Britain. During the years 1894, 1895, and 1896, it amounted to \$299,915,000, or a yearly average of \$99,972,000. But during the years 1897, 1898 and 1899, under Liberal administration, it increased to \$380,291,000, a yearly average of \$126,764,000, as compared with a yearly average of \$99,972,000 during the previous three years of Conservative rule, or an annual increase of \$26,792,000 in favour of the Liberal administration. The hon. gentleman can figure out as much as he likes from the official records, and he will find that is correct.

Mr. WILSON. Would the hon. gentleman give us the imports?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Yes, I have everything here for you just at hand. Our imports from Great Britain had annually been declining for a great many years. Under the regime of the national policy, the Conservative party made rather a bad mess of our import trade with Great Britain, for we find, on looking back to 1883, that our import trade from Great Britain was in that year \$52,052,000. In 1884 that declined to \$43,418,000. In 1885 it fell still further to \$41,406,000. In 1886 it still came down to \$40,601,000; and ten years later, in 1896, it fell to \$32,979,000. Or it fell during these years from 1883 to 1896, \$19,083,000. When the Liberal party came into power, they had to deal with a declining trade, and you will readily understand that it was difficult to get a declining trade to come to a stand at once and still more difficult to make it take the opposite direction and increase. The first year we were in power, in 1897, the decline still went on because our policy at that time was not fully carried out, so that in 1897 our import trade from Great Britain only amounted to \$29,412,000. But then came the preferential treatment given to Great Britain to the extent of 25 per cent. Under its influence, the decline ceased, and a start was made in the other direction. In 1898, instead of a decline below \$29,000,000, our imports from Great Britain went up to \$32,501,000. We not only stopped the decline but began an increase, and the following year, 1899, we had an import trade with Great Britain of \$37,060,000, or an increase during those three years of \$7,500,000. I challenge the hon. member for Lennox (Mr. Wilson) to

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look over the records, from the beginning of confederation down to the present, and he will find that our import trade with Great Britain was declining down to the time the present government took hold of the tariff, and, by applying the preferential rate to Great Britain, stimulated the imports from that country to this.

My hon. friend, the hon. member for East Grey—

Mr. SPROULE. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, he either misunderstood me, or else I failed to make myself clear. I understood him to say that I had stated that our trade with Great Britain had gone down from the time this preferential tariff was introduced. I said that the imports from Great Britain had gone down while the imports from the United States had gone up, but as England was our natural market we had exported nevertheless more to England.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I was dealing with the statement of the hon. gentleman regarding the imports, and he made this statement in his speech :

From the time this tariff has been introduced, our trade with the United States has been growing greater and greater.

That is true.

And our trade with the mother country is going down. What we import from Great Britain is growing less, and what we import from the United States is growing more.

Mr. SPROULE. Yes.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The hon. gentleman was perfectly correct in saying that our imports from the United States are increasing, but he was entirely incorrect when he said that our imports from Great Britain, under the present regime, were decreasing. They are increasing. As I have shown, they have increased \$7,500,000 in two years of our administration, whereas during the thirteen years of the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite, from 1883 to 1896, they declined \$19,083,000.

I come now to take up our imports from the United States. Hon. gentlemen opposite seem to think that the increase in our imports from the United States is a bad sign for Canada. It appears to me that any one who comes to that conclusion has not given this subject any thought whatever. For a large number of articles that we import from the American side are raw material which form the basis of the manufacturing industries in this country, so that the more we manufacture in this country the more we require of that raw material, and the greater quantity imported from the American market this year indicates greater prosperity in our manufacturing institutions. In the last three years of Conservative rule, the imports from the United States were as follows :

1894	\$ 53,034,000
1895	54,634,000
1896	58,754,000

Total \$166,242,000

Average per year \$ 55,414,000

Now, hon. gentlemen opposite will notice that there had been a gradual increase in the imports from the United States under their own regime, but there has been a greater increase under ours, as the figures will show :

1897	\$ 61,650,000
1898	78,705,000
1899	93,007,000

Total \$233,632,000

Average \$ 77,788,000

This shows an increase of net imports under Liberal, as compared with Conservative rule, in three years of \$22,373,000. The whole of this increase is largely owing to the activity and prosperity of the manufacturing industries of this country. I am in a position to show that we import from the United States more of the raw material which goes to make clothing, cotton and a thousand and one things turned out by our manufacturing industries. As has just been remarked to me, that these articles that we call raw materials we cannot get from England. In many cases England does not produce them, and in other cases, even where England does produce them, we cannot afford to carry them across the water. Now, that coal is a raw material is evident to everybody. It is used to run our railways, to raise steam power for our manufactories, to propel our steamboats on the lakes and our barges on the canals. The more business we do in these lines, the more coal do we require. The railways of our country did more business last year than they have ever done in any single year before. The same is true of our manufacturing industries. The increase in the import of coal in 1899 over that of 1896 has been 22 per cent. It will not be inferred for a moment by any person who understands the question that this is against the interest of this country. Then, again, we have large furniture factories in this country ; and last year and the year before have been the two most successful years of their career. We are now manufacturing furniture not only for the home market but for the markets of Great Britain. I live in a manufacturing centre of that kind, where we have four factories turning out furniture ; and I wish to tell you that while they have been working overtime, they have not been manufacturing so much for the English market, because they have been too busy trying to catch up with the demand in the Canadian market itself. We must import large quantities of those kinds of woods that are used in the manufacture of furniture and

are not produced in this country. As everybody knows, oak is the fashionable wood for furniture just now, and this has to be imported from the United States, particularly from the state of Ohio. The increased importation of oak set forth in the Trade and Navigation Returns indicates the prosperity and activity of the furniture manufactories of this country. And when I tell you that we have increased the importation of oak from the United States no less than 115 per cent over that of 1896, it will be clearly seen that we must have increased our output of furniture, and, increasing our output of furniture, we must have employed a greater number of hands in that industry. Instead of this increased importation being an argument against the policy, it is an argument in its favour. We manufacture largely of woollen goods in this country; and if I can show you that we import more wool, that will be equivalent to showing that we have manufactured more woollen cloth. We imported 10 per cent more wool than we did in 1896, and it was imported as a raw material for our industries to change into the finished article—indicating increased prosperity in this line of manufacture. Raw silk is imported to be made into undergarments, that being the line of manufacture in which this material is principally used in Canada. We find that the increase in imports of raw silk in 1899 over 1896 was 39 per cent. Pig-iron is a raw material worked into many forms, and we increased our import of pig-iron 10 per cent. We have a large number of cotton factories in this country. My hon. friend sitting opposite me (Mr. Bergeron) has a town in his constituency where they manufacture cotton very largely. If I can show him that we increased our imports of raw cotton from the United States, that will indicate very clearly to his mind that we have increased the manufacture which turns that raw material into the finished article and have given employment to a large number of hands. That increased output of our cotton manufactories we sell in the Canadian market or send it to other markets, and bring back a return in the shape of imports. So, when we import these raw materials more largely than under the regime of hon. gentlemen opposite, they will see at once that this indicates prosperity, advancement and development in our Canadian industries from one end of the country to the other. Let me show you the character of the articles that we import from the United States, and you will see that we cannot get them from England, and that in the nature of things, if our manufactories are to continue in a condition of prosperity, they must be imported from other countries and mainly from the United States:

Coal, gravel and sand, fence posts, railway ties, lumber, logs, pitch, pine, walnut, white ash, timber, tobacco (raw), asphalt, fire brick (for manufacturing purposes), coke, cotton waste,

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raw cotton, shingles, wood for fuel, raw furs and skins, hides and skins, wool, broom corn, Indian corn.

Now, Mr. Speaker, what do you think is the value of these raw materials—very raw materials—brought in to be used in this country? No less than \$30,000,000, which indicates an increase, as I said before prosperity in the industries of this country.

Now, having dealt with that, I wish to deal for a short time with a very important question, and I hope the House will be patient with me, because I wish to put this question in a nutshell to show how it stands.

Mr. BERGERON. Did my hon. friend (Mr. Macdonald, Huron) refer to me when he spoke of cotton manufacturers in the county of some hon. gentlemen on this side?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I was speaking about a factory in your county as one of them.

Mr. BERGERON. Is not the duty on cotton higher to-day than it was under the old regime?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). There is no duty on raw cotton at all.

Mr. BERGERON. Oh, yes, on yellow cotton.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). There is no duty on raw cotton.

Mr. BERGERON. The duty on a certain kind of cotton is higher to-day than it was four years ago.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I am talking about raw cotton coming into this country and forming the basis of manufacture.

Mr. BERGERON. My hon. friend some years ago said the duty on cotton should be abolished altogether; whereas it is higher to-day than it was before.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I never said the duty on cotton should be abolished, and if the hon. gentleman will find any such expression of mine in the *Hansard* in any speech that I ever delivered, I will give him a sovereign.

Mr. BERGERON. I do not want to earn the sovereign, but if my memory serves me well my hon. friend made long speeches in the old times to prove that the duty on cotton should be abolished.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). My hon. friend's memory usually serves him well, but it is in default at this moment. Now, as I was saying, it is frequently urged on public platforms that we might to-day have a preference in the English market for our goods provided our party had done their duty. It is stated that the leader of the Liberal party had been offered a preference in England if we would accept it; such is

the charge made by the press of the Conservative party and by the leader of the opposition. The object of this is to prejudice the people against the Liberal party for not accepting what it is said had been offered to Canada. But I want to call attention to what their quid pro quo policy is. I want first to say that the *Mail and Empire*, which is a Conservative organ, has spoken out vigorously against the leader of the Liberal party for refusing to accept the offer which, they say, was made by Mr. Chamberlain and others, and I want to read what he has said himself upon this point so as to give you an idea of the kind of attack that is made upon us. On the 24th of February, 1899, the *Mail and Empire* editorially said :

By Mr. Chamberlain, who wanted to draw British interests into closer touch, and, as he said, to reinforce sentiment by material advantages, it was proposed that duty should be levied on foreign produce entering Britain, and that colonial produce should go in free.

To our First Minister, who opposed this proposition, the United States owes its position in the British market to-day, and as a result of that position, a large measure of the prosperity now enjoyed.

Then, in another editorial on the same day, it says :

The proffered preference by Britain refused by Sir Wilfrid, because it implied a departure from free trade, and because it interfered with a reciprocity which the United States will not concede, must be sought once more and must be accepted.

Now you see, Mr. Speaker, the charge is made there against the Liberal party, and particularly against our leader, for refusing to accept something which was offered to him in the nature of preferential treatment of Canadian goods in the markets of Great Britain. Now, it is thought that the people of this country ought to know exactly the truth of this matter in order to enable them to form a conclusion based upon the facts ; and I intend this afternoon as briefly as I can to give a true statement of the case. We all admit that a preference in the markets of Great Britain would be of great advantage to us if we could accept that preference without compromising our own position, or placing ourselves in entanglements which would not be beneficial to the Dominion of Canada. A preference has only been indirectly offered, and under conditions which, in my opinion, could not be accepted and would not be accepted by either party in this country ; and I think when I have shown what was offered, it will be conceded by both parties that we could not accept the conditions therein contained. During the year 1896, the Colonial Secretary, the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, delivered several speeches in which he referred to the agitation by the Fair Trade League in favour of preference treatment from Great Britain to the products, and especially the food products of the colonies. The reference in

these speeches was no doubt made to prepare the English mind, and to prepare the minds of those who in the following year would visit England for the purpose of taking part in the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee. The Premiers of all the colonies were expected to be there the following year, and when Mr. Chamberlain drew attention to the agitation going on in reference to this question, it was to prepare the minds of those gentlemen who would visit England the following year. Now, we must bear in mind that Mr. Chamberlain has a remarkable gift of clearly expressing his opinions. No man in public life in England surpasses him, and very few equal him in the perspicuity of his language. That is an important fact to bear in mind in examining his utterances on this question. We must also bear in mind that the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain goes a great deal further on this question of offering a preference to the colonies than, I believe, do any of his colleagues or any members of the party to which he belongs.

Now, let us see what he said in 1896, speaking before the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the empire. He pointed out that there were only three lines of action, three lines of progress, which had been or could be suggested. The first was the proposal of the free traders that the colonies should form free trade arrangements between themselves. But, he pointed out, there are two objections against that. The first objection is that that would lead to a cosmopolitan rather than an imperial commercial union ; and the second objection was that the colonies would have nothing to do with it. And it is a fact that the colonies would have nothing to do with it. There is not a single member on the other side of the House who would agree to a free trade policy between the colonies. I know that Canada would not, and I do not think that there are ten men in the Dominion who would agree to enter into a free trade treaty with the other colonies. We could not do it ; we would place ourselves in such entanglements, we would surround ourselves with such environments, we would surrender our independence of action in behalf of the interests of Canada, which would make it out of the question. We would preclude ourselves from making any change in our tariff which the interests of Canada might dictate from year to year. Therefore we can exclude altogether from consideration the proposal of the free traders.

Now, there was a second proposal, and that was suggested at the Intercolonial Conference held in Ottawa, suggested by the leaders of the Tory party. They pressed upon the other members of the conference coming from the other colonies, a few years ago, when that conference met in Ottawa, a proposition something like this : The colonies should be left free to impose what

protective duties they liked upon foreign countries and British commerce, making a small discrimination in favour of British trade in return for Britain undertaking to change her whole system and imposing duties on food and raw materials imported from foreign countries. That is the meaning of the proposition that was laid down before the Intercolonial conference and which was discussed here. I think the present hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) was present at that conference. This is the proposition that was impressed upon the conference by the Conservative party, that was impressed upon the people of this country, and this is the proposition that the Conservative party continued to impress upon the British public and upon the statesmen of Great Britain. It will be interesting to know the opinion of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in regard to this proposition. In speaking in reference to it, he is reported as having used these words:

Well, I express my own opinion when I say that there is not the slightest chance that, in any reasonable time, this country, or the parliament of this country, would adopt so one-sided an agreement.

Then he goes on to give his reasons for this conclusion. He says:

The foreign trade of this country is so large and the foreign trade of the colonies is comparatively so small, that a small preference given to us upon that foreign trade by the colonies would make so trifling a difference—would be so small a benefit to the total volume of trade—that I do not believe the working classes of this country would consent to make a revolutionary change for what they would think to be an infinitesimal gain.

Is not that definite and conclusive? Does not that show beyond the cavil of a doubt that Mr. Chamberlain was absolutely opposed to the proposition made by the International conference delegates to the British government and which received this denial. Then, again, we have an opinion upon that proposition by another very able man, a man whose opinions have a great deal of importance attached to them, a man who never speaks until he weighs all the facts in connection with the proposition upon which he is expected to give his opinion. I refer to Lord Ripon. In his despatch of June 28, 1895, referring to the proposition made at the conference, he said:

The material results of this proposal would be even more prejudicial than appears from the general statement of its more obvious results. In the case of Great Britain the bulk of the imports from foreign countries and almost the whole of our imports from the colonies, consist of food or raw material for manufacturers.

To impose a duty on food means at once a diminution of the real wages of the workingman.

If in addition to this a duty were imposed on raw materials, a further encroachment would have to be made on the wages to enable the

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manufacturer to compete with his rivals in countries where there are no such duties.

Is there anything so plain or so reasonable as the statement that Lord Ripon has made there? He says that if they impose duties upon the necessaries of life, upon the food supplies of the people and increase the price of living, they, to that extent, reduce wages, and that, upon the other hand, if there is an import duty placed upon raw materials, used by manufacturers, in British factories, British manufacturers cannot manufacture as cheaply without reducing the wages of the factory hands. It will be done by increasing the price of the food supply and by a reduction of wages. But, supposing their wages were not reduced, by the manufacturers, then the result would be that the manufacture of British goods would be more costly; they would have to sell them at higher rates in the British market and this would compromise English exporters in the neutral markets of the world because these goods would be manufactured under a higher state of living. As to the two propositions, the one of the free traders and the one of the Intercolonial conference, we would not accept the first at all and the second was rejected by the Colonial Secretary in definite and absolute terms. On the other hand, the proposition formulated by the Intercolonial delegates at Ottawa was strongly pressed upon the government, and such was the answer which we have received. But, Mr. Speaker, there was a third proposition which came before the attention of the British people, in regard to this question. That proposition came from the Toronto Board of Trade, and it was crystallized into a resolution in the following terms:

Resolved, that in the opinion of this congress, the advantages to be obtained by a closer union between the various portions of the British Empire are so great as to justify an arrangement as nearly as possible of the nature of Zollverein, based upon principles of the freest exchange of commodities within the empire, consistent with the tariff requirements incident to maintain the local government of each kingdom, dominion, province or colony now forming part of the British family of nations.

That was the proposition made by the Toronto Board of Trade. That proposition came before Mr. Chamberlain for his consideration and he expressed an opinion upon it. This proposition involves a very similar condition to that prevailing among the German states and to that which exists among the American states. In regard to that proposition. Mr. Chamberlain said:

That resolution (of the Toronto Board of Trade) I understand to be one for the creation of a British Zollverein or customs union, which would establish at once practically free trade throughout the British Empire, but would leave the separate contracting parties free to make their own arrangements with regard to duties on foreign goods, except that this is an essential condition of the proposal—that Great Britain shall

consent to place moderate duties upon certain articles which are of large production in the colonies. Now, if I have rightly understood it, these articles would comprise corn, meat, wool and sugar, and perhaps other articles of enormous consumption in this country which are at present largely produced in the colonies, and which might, under such an arrangement, be wholly produced in the colonies and wholly produced by British labour. (Cheers.) On the other hand, as I have said, the colonies, while maintaining their duties upon foreign importations, would agree to a free interchange of commodities with the rest of the empire, and would cease to place protective duties on any product of British labour. That is the principle of the German Zollverein, that is the principle which underlies the federation in the United States of America, and I do not doubt for a moment that if it were adopted it would be the strongest bond of union between the British race throughout the world.

Hon. gentlemen will see that Mr. Chamberlain does not say that he is in favour of the proposition or opposed to it. He simply says that if it could be brought about it would be a bond of union between the different portions of the empire. Under this proposition, what the colonies would have to agree to would be to a free interchange of products between the various portions of the empire. Are we prepared for that? Are we prepared to have a free interchange of products with Australia, with Africa, and with New Zealand? Are the Conservatives prepared for that? Then, another condition was that protection was to be eliminated and that the duties placed upon articles for revenue would be simply revenue duties. Who shall decide that; whether it shall be Canada or England I cannot tell, but, I may point out that they have a different idea as to what are revenue duties from what we have. There would, no doubt, be a conflict of such a character that we would embargo ourselves with conditions and surroundings that would be far more prejudicial to us than all the advantages that would be realized from getting a preference in the English market.

Mr. BERGERON. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald) allow me to interrupt him now.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Yes.

Mr. BERGERON. This is a speech made by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald) on the 13th May, 1895, in which he says:

I will give the House an illustration. I will take a few articles, commencing with cotton. We manufactured last year cotton to the value of \$9,000,000, as was estimated by hon. gentlemen opposite, although hon. members on this side of the House give a somewhat higher estimate. That cotton is increasing in price by reason of the duty to the extent of, say, 25 per cent, or \$2,250,000, which amount the consumers have to pay on the home-manufactured article by reason of the duty. In 1894 we imported cotton to the value of \$4,007,000, on which a duty was paid of \$1,140,000. Now, we take the profit of the importer and retailer, say 40 per

cent, divided between the two, which amounts to \$446,000. Add these together, the increase of price on the home-made article, the duty paid on the imports and the wholesale and retail profit on the duty, and the result will be \$3,836,000, of which only \$1,140,000 goes into the revenue of the country. The balance of \$2,696,000 comes out of the consumers and goes into the pockets of the middlemen and the manufacturers.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald) further said:

Let me sum up and give you the amount on those few articles taken from the people of Canada in ten years by reason of bounties, duties and profits on duties by importers and retailers to protect the following industries:

1. Cotton	\$ 38,360,000
2. Pig iron	5,851,000
3. Manufactures of iron and steel	59,398,000
4. Boots and shoes	45,800,000
5. Coal oil	12,992,000

Grand total \$162,401,000

Mr. Speaker, how much of that immense sum of \$162,401,000 goes into the revenue? Just \$43,600,000, and the other \$119,401,000 comes out of the pockets of the Canadian people without adding one single dollar to the revenue, but goes into the pockets of manufacturers, middlemen, importers and retailers.

It was a very nice speech, and I remember listening attentively to it while I was sitting in the Chair, as Deputy Speaker of this House, and his concluding words were:

So it is with the national policy. The best thing the national policy could ever do for this country is to die, and let me tell hon. gentlemen on the other side: it is now in a moribund condition, it is in the last stages and throes of death, and if you only went to the country a few months ago the national policy would be dead now.

Just let me remind my hon. friend (Mr. Macdonald) that the tariff on cotton is higher to-day than it was when he made that speech.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The object of quoting that was to try to show to the House and to the country that I was in favour of removing the duties on cotton altogether. That is what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) undertook to prove, and he did not prove that or anything else.

Mr. BERGERON. I proved that what my hon. friend (Mr. Macdonald) said then is the reverse of what he is saying to-day.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Not at all. I maintained at that time that the duties were so high on cotton that they enabled the manufacturers to impose, not a duty but an increased price on their output, so that only a very small proportion of the tax went into the revenue and the increased price went into the pockets of the manufacturers. That is perfectly easy to be understood, but to say that I advocated the placing of cotton on the free list is to state something which I never said, because so long as we have to get revenue by a cus-

toms duty, then there must necessarily be an incidental protection, and it is wrong to give an incidental protection to one industry and to take it off from another. I always took the position in this House that it was wrong to place certain industries on the free list, whilst others were placed on the dutiable list whereby they received protection. Although I have been in favour of reducing the customs duties placed on certain commodities, yet I never said in the House, nor did the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) ever hear me state out of the House, that I would put this article on the free list.

Mr. BERGERON. Why, I read your speech.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). I challenge you to find any such statement in my speech. It was to prove that that you sent for the *Hansard*, and when you did not find it there, you read something else that had nothing to do with the case.

Mr. BERGERON. I do not want to interrupt my hon. friend, but the whole case is stated here, and the argument is against him. The national policy is not dead, notwithstanding the hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald) years ago told us it would die.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). There was no reason for this interruption and the only object the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) had was to thrust it into the middle of my speech. When I was interrupted I was proceeding to quote what Mr. Chamberlain said in regard to the proposition of the Toronto Board of Trade a few days after he made his other speech. He said :

But the principle I claim must be accepted, if we are to make any, even the slightest progress, is that within the different parts of the empire protection must disappear.

I now ask the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) would he accept that proposition as laid down here by the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain? Would he accept the proposition: That protection in all parts of the empire must disappear, because Mr. Joseph Chamberlain has said that unless that is agreed to no progress whatever could be made in such negotiations. If that proposition cannot be accepted by the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) or by the leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) then how could we make progress in obtaining a preference in the markets of Great Britain?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). According to their plan.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Yes, of course, according to the plan set forth by the resolution of the Toronto Board of Trade. Mr. Chamberlain goes on to say:

Protection must disappear, and the duties must be revenue duties, and not protection duties, in

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the sense of protecting the products of one part of the empire against those of another part.

I maintain that neither of the political parties of Canada to-day, is ready to accept that proposition. There is no party in Canada to-day prepared to accept a proposition to enter into an agreement to have free trade between all parts of the empire. What we want to do, if we can do it, is to get a greater advantage in the English markets on our own merits as Canada, and on the other side, that we will give Great Britain a preference in the Canadian markets. We do not want to bind ourselves in the entanglements that this proposition would lead us to, so that we could not move hand or foot in our fiscal policy without consultation, and by the consent of the other parts of the empire. We want to remain free. We are working out our own destiny, and we can work it out with that energy and force which is characteristic of Canadians. Give us freedom and remove the restrictions from us and we can work out a happy and prosperous future for our young nation. My hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) who is now looking at me so intently will not dare to say to this House nor to the country that he would accept that proposition according to the meaning placed upon it by the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary. Why, then, try to make political capital in the country and in parliament against the Liberal party, because our leader (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) refused that proposition, which was placed before him when he arrived in England two years ago. Were the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) in England and were he offered a proposition of that kind, he too would refuse to accept it in the interests of Canada, because the exigencies of our financial and commercial needs would prevent us from entering into an arrangement of that kind which would bind us hand and foot in our onward progress to a higher state of prosperity than we now enjoy. I wish to get into handy-shape the opinions expressed on the matter by men on whose judgment we must place the greatest confidence. And, Sir, I will quote the language of a man noted the world over as possessing a complete grasp of the financial affairs of Great Britain. I refer to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Liberal-Conservative, who, speaking at Bristol to his constituents, a few years ago, said :

To resort to the nostrums of free trade and protection would only obstruct the process of relief by restricting our intercourse with the markets of the world. In economics as well as in mechanics, to increase freedom of action and abate friction, are the conditions of effective working.

Is not that true? Give us freedom of action and abate friction and we can do far more than if we were crippled for want of free-

dom. I shall now quote from the *London Times*. You all know that the *London Times* does not profess to belong to either political party, but it professes every day to express the prevailing opinion of the day in Great Britain. It is an independent paper, and when its opinion is given it is given by probably the wisest journalists that can be found in Great Britain, expressing, as they believe, the opinion of the people of Great Britain. The *Times* makes reference to the speech of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach from which I have quoted, and speaking of the agitation of several parties in England in favour of Great Britain putting these import duties on foreign goods and giving an opportunity for goods from the colonies to come in free, it says :

Not only have the leaders of the Liberal Unionists, Lord Hartington, Mr. Bright and Mr. Goschen, entered a protest, promptly and energetically, against mischievous delusion, but Lord Salisbury and the principal members of his ministry, including Mr. Chaplin, the peculiar champion of British agriculture, have disavowed the movement set on foot by some ambitious mediocrities at Oxford. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, addressing his constituents at Bristol on Tuesday night as an independent Conservative, declared that in his opinion, the adoption of fair trade and protectionist theories, 'if it were possible, would only aggravate our present difficulties.' What is to be feared, indeed, is not the deliberate acceptance of protection by any body of well-informed and reflecting public men, but the adoption of it, without conviction and in the teeth of the most solemn declarations, by politicians in pursuit of a majority. It is when the masses of the people are suffering from such depression as that which has weighed on the country of late years, that they are open to the influences of political and economical quackery, and in such a condition of the popular mind it requires a certain rigidity of virtue on the part of the leaders of parties to refrain from offering what is believed to be pernicious, but is known to be pleasing to the many.

And it ends its editorial by quoting what I have already read from Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, namely :

To resort to the nostrums of fair trade and protection would only obstruct the process of relief by restricting our intercourse with the markets of the world. In economics as well as in mechanics, to increase freedom of action and abate friction are the conditions of effective working.

There is the opinion of the *Thunderer*, the great newspaper of the world, the exponent of the public opinion of Great Britain to-day, in reference to what the Liberal-Conservative party is urging the people of Great Britain to grant—something which they are not in a position to grant, something which the sentiment of the country is strongly against granting; yet, some of us, at least, are craven enough to urge Great Britain to change her fiscal policy in favour of Canada.

I am going to give you the opinion of another great man on this question. I am sorry that my hon. friend from North Bruce

(Mr. McNeill) is not here to-day so as to have an opportunity of hearing an opinion so adverse to the policy which he so ably maintains in this House. We all know that the leader of the Conservative party in England is a very great man, a man of large capacity, a man of deep philosophy, a man of large experience, a man who never expresses his opinion without knowing all the ins and outs of the question on which he expresses that opinion. He is a man who keeps himself in touch with the great electorate of the country, and, therefore, when he speaks, he speaks with authority; so that his opinion on this question may be accepted as one of great importance. Speaking in the House of Lords, on a motion made by Lord De la Warr, Lord Salisbury, as reported in the English *Hansard*, volume 323, page 1888, said :

I have simply to say, with respect to the question of protection, that this country has adopted the opposite system after a controversy unexampled in its length, in its earnestness, and in the decision with which the ultimate issue was arrived at. If we are to understand the re-examination of that question, it must not be done incidentally, by insinuation, by allusion, by hints. You must firmly walk up to the fortress that you have to attack and lay siege to it in form. . . . In my belief the economical arguments in favour of free trade are very strong, but they are not the strongest with which we have to deal. If he (Lord De la Warr) will look back upon the debates of 1846, and read the speech of Sir Robert Peel when introducing his great proposal, he will see that the political argument weighed more heavily than even the economical arguments in his mind, and I believe that the political argument has lost none of its force. I utterly disbelieve that it is in your power to introduce protection. If it were, I think it would be introducing a state of division among the classes of this country which would differ very little from civil war.

Is not that opinion strong enough against what hon. gentlemen opposite claim we could get? Let me give you Lord Salisbury's opinion as expressed on another occasion, when he was wiser, because he was older. He had learned what the fair traders had done; he had heard their arguments from the different platforms in the country; and three years afterwards, speaking to a motion made by Lord Dunraven, in favour of inviting the colonies to send representatives to a conference to consider the advisability of preferential trade with Her Majesty's dominions, Lord Salisbury expressed himself as follows :

I ask him to look at the state of opinion in this country, especially the state of opinion in our commercial, manufacturing and industrial classes, the state of opinion, above all, among the capitalists and the most educated classes, and say if he sees the slightest chance within any period to which we have a right to look forward, of such a modification of opinion in this country as will enable any statesman, whatever his opinions may be, to propose the establishment of retaliatory duties. It seems to me to be absolutely out of the question. If

you wish to set up a discriminating system in favour of the colonies as against the rest of the world, just consider what are the goods on which you would have to levy a heavy duty in this country in order to make that discrimination felt. They are grain, wool and meat. What chance have you of inducing the people of this country to accept legislation which would make these essential articles of consumption susceptible of such tariffs? I see no probability whatever of it. That being the case, I think we should be hardly behaving respectfully to the colonies if we asked them to send representatives to a conference to discuss the question, when we know that the answer which many of them, at all events, many of their statesmen, would give must be met immediately on our part by the information that such a thing is absolutely impossible.

Is not that definite enough? In the face of that statement, and the other statements which I have read, would not Canada be behaving disrespectfully to the British government and the British people to ask for something which the leaders of both parties have repeatedly declared they were not in a position to give? I think it would. If the agitation goes on and gains strength, and the people of Great Britain become convinced that a duty placed on foreign importations, and the free admission of the products of the various colonies, would be of advantage to themselves, no one in this country would be more glad than I, if I should live at that time, though I am sure I shall not live to see it. If the conditions were such as we could accept, it would be a great boon to this country for our products to be admitted into the British market free, while a duty of eight or ten per cent were placed on the imports from other countries. We should have that much advantage over other countries; but in the end it would not be advantageous to Great Britain. It costs Great Britain 2,000 millions a year for her food supply, of which 1,600 millions comes from foreign countries and 400 millions from the colonies. If she placed a duty of ten per cent on the 1,600 millions coming from foreign countries, it would entail an additional cost of \$25 a year on every family to live. The farmers of Great Britain, for a year or two, would gain an advantage, but that would be taken away from them, because the landlords would increase their rents, and labourers would require higher wages, because it would cost them more to live. Factory hands would demand higher wages, because they would have to pay more for the maintenance of their families; and manufacturers would have to get higher prices for their goods, because they would have to pay higher wages for labour and higher prices for raw materials. They would have to sell their goods in the English as well as the foreign markets at a higher price, and that would injuriously affect them in selling these goods in the neutral markets of the world, where they would have to compete with other nations,

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and, consequently, work injury all round. So that, when you look at the question from that standpoint, we cannot look to the day when English public opinion will be so changed that we may expect the establishment of such a preference in favour of the colonies.

Let me refer you to the opinion of another prominent man in England, the late Sir Thomas Farrar, Baronet, who gave a special study to the fiscal and financial policy of Great Britain and the effect moderate duties would have on the interests of that country. In his very able work, entitled: 'Fair Trade versus Free Trade,' you will find this statement:

In the last century (eighteenth) we alienated our colonies from the mother country by taxing them. In this century (nineteenth) our colonial Conservatives or protectionists wish to alienate the mother country by making her tax herself. They seek to bind our colonies to us by leaving them free to tax our products, whilst we are not only to abstain from taxing theirs, but are to burden ourselves with the worst of taxes, in order to give them an exclusive monopoly of our market. Surely if there is a policy which could make the mother country hate her colonies, it is this. But it is idle to talk of such proposals as these. England certainly will not contract her sources of supply to such an extent. Nor will she make a sacrifice at all where she gets nothing in return.

Such is the opinion of Sir Thomas Farrar. I have given you, Mr. Speaker, the testimony of the ablest man of Britain to show how impractical is this question of the mother country taxing her food imports for our benefit. It is a question which does not come into the politics of that country, it is a question that at present is outside the pale of practical politics.

Holding this view, the Liberal party in 1897, came to this conclusion: We cannot get this preference in the English market; we will, therefore, give the people of Great Britain a preference in the Canadian market. We believe that such a policy will give us a prestige in Great Britain that nothing else would. We believe it will bring us thoroughly into notice in the old country, and that it will have the effect of increasing our trade and prosperity.

The hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), said the other day, that there is no sentiment in business, but that business is simply business. I do not think he could have been sincere in making that statement. I do not think that his own experience in his own profession would lead him to believe in it. We know that sentiment is a force in business, and no mean force either. The merchant who has got the favour of the people about him, does more business than his neighbour who has not gained that popularity. That applies particularly to a doctor. I have known frequently of doctors being called in altogether from sentiment—not because they were the wisest and most

skilled, but because of the sentiment in their favour, and the man of skill and experience was passed by. You might make the circuit of every business in the country, and you would find that the sentiment prevails to a very large extent in all lines. The hon. gentleman himself refuted that argument before he got through his speech, for he said that in sending the contingents to the Transvaal, we did more to build our country up, and to unite us with Great Britain than anything else the colonies ever did. I endorse that opinion, but how is the sending of the contingents going to build us up? Just through sentiment. There has been created in Great Britain a very strong sentiment in favour of Canada, because Canada, partly through generosity to Great Britain, and partly through generosity to herself, gave Great Britain a preference in our market, and that sentiment has been increased by our policy in sending forward the contingents. Has that preference to Great Britain done us any good? I think it has. An hon. gentleman laughed, when I said that we sold more meat, and butter and cheese to Great Britain on account of it.

Mr. BRODER. They are shipping butter from England back to Canada.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). That does not touch the kernel of the question at all. I was going on to remark that the British dealers in butter to-day label their butter 'Canada butter,' and their cheese 'Canada cheese,' and so on, and there are hundreds of people in England to-day, who buy Canadian cheese, and butter, and bacon, and fruit, and other things, on account of the sentiment in favour of Canada, that has been aroused by our generous treatment of Great Britain in our policy of 1897, and there will be a still further increase in our trade with Great Britain, through the stand we have taken on behalf of British interests by sending the contingents to South Africa.

But, there is a considerable benefit derived by ourselves from the operation of this preferential rate. Let me point out the effect of the preferential tariff in controlling the prices of our importations from other countries outside of Great Britain. We purchase, for instance, common glass in Great Britain and Belgium. Last year we purchased \$121,830 worth in Great Britain, and in Belgium we purchased \$830,750 worth. On the imports from Great Britain we paid 15 per cent, and on the other 20 per cent. The Canadian importer is, therefore, in a position to say to the Belgium dealer: I can get a thousand dollars worth of glass in Great Britain, on the payment of \$150 duty, but on the same value of your glass, I have to pay \$200 duty. If you will make a rebate in the price to the extent of the difference, I will buy from you. Is it not evident that the Belgium manufacturer has to reduce the price, by reason of preferential

duty in favour of England? Take gloves and mitts. We buy those from Great Britain, Germany and France. Last year we bought \$127,000 worth from Great Britain; \$180,000 from Germany; and \$120,000 worth from France. On what came from Great Britain, we paid 26½ per cent; on what came from Germany, we paid 35 per cent, and from France, 35 per cent. Now, the Canadian importer can say to the French importer: I can get \$1,000 worth of gloves and mitts from Great Britain, on paying \$262 duty, but I have to pay \$350 duty, or \$87.50 more, on the same quantity of your goods. If you will make a rebate of \$87.50 on a \$1,000 worth of your goods, I will give you the preference. Thus, it will be seen at once, that by reason of the preference we give England, we can force down the prices of goods imported from other countries.

Take another. We import ready-made clothing from Great Britain, from Germany and from the United States. We imported last year \$392,000 worth of ready-made woollen clothing and underwear from the British manufacturers, \$263,748 worth from Germany, and \$157,687 worth from the United States. We paid on the British goods 26½ per cent, and on the others 35 per cent. That is \$1,000 worth if it came from Britain would cost \$1,262.50 to bring into the port of Montreal, not counting the freight. Of the goods from other countries, \$1,000 worth would cost us \$1,350. We would say to the manufacturers in the other countries: If you reduce your goods so as to enable us to get them into Montreal as cheaply as the Canadian goods can be laid down there, we will accept yours, but, if not we will have to buy in Britain. And so I might go through them all. Take every article that we import from Great Britain and from other countries, and you will find that, by reason of the preferential duty, the prices from other countries are reduced.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I think I have detained you sufficiently long. I have placed this matter before the House in order that hon. members may read it over and consider the points I have brought forward. I may recapitulate in a few words: In the first place, we said we would readjust and rearrange the tariff. This we did. At the beginning, the Conservative party said that that rearrangement would destroy the industries and institutions of this country; after that they said the policy was their own. We have gone on steadfastly during the years that are passed. We have made the country prosperous. We have increased manufacturing industries. We have increased wages and increased the number of hands employed. We have reduced the number of failures in the different lines of commerce. We have shown the absurdity of the quid pro quo policy of the Conservative party in respect to getting preferential treatment in the English market. We have

created a sentiment in England in our favour. We have brought ourselves prominently and favourably into notice. Otherwise also our preferential treatment of the mother country has been beneficial to Canada in reducing the cost of goods, not only those that we import from England, but those that we import from other countries. If you look upon the whole scene, you will see that the policy of the Liberal party is one that deserves the endorsement of this country; and in a few months at latest that endorsement will be given by a larger vote than we had in 1896.

Mr. T. DIXON CRAIG (East Durham). Mr. Speaker, there is one thing we know, and that is that the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) is satisfied with the tariff policy of the Liberal government. I do not think I have learned very much more from the hon. gentleman's speech, although I have listened rather carefully, because, I think, most of the members of this House have heard the greater part of that speech before. The hon. member for East Huron devoted a great part of his speech, I think about half of it, to proving what nobody denies—that this country is prosperous. If the hon. member had belonged to the Conservative party when they were in power, he might have felt called upon to spend some time in trying to prove that, because the Liberal party constantly denied that the country was prosperous, no matter how conclusively we proved that it was. No matter how we showed that employment was general and wages good, it did not make any difference to the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright); he always insisted that the country was going to the dogs on account of the national policy, and that settled the whole question so far as he was concerned. The farms were covered with mortgages, the black flags were flying over the farms of this country. These were some of the expressions used. But the members of the Conservative party, though in opposition, are not so derelict in their duty as to run down the country. When the country is prosperous, they are willing to say so, though hon. gentlemen opposite, when on this side of the House were never willing to admit it. Those hon. gentlemen only found the country prosperous when they got into power. I do not intend to spend time over that. We admit that the country is prosperous and are glad of it. But it is most absurd to say that the tariff of the Liberal party has made the country prosperous. I do not think their tariff has increased the prosperity of the manufacturers of agricultural implements, for instance. Not that it has hurt their business very much, for they did not either raise or lower the duty on those goods. They talked a good deal about it and sometimes moved resolutions that agricultural implements ought to be free

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of duty or reduced to 10 per cent. But as soon as they got into power, and realized that the principal makers of those implements in this country belonged to the Liberal party, they left that tariff alone—and, as an hon. member near me remarks, that is the way they fulfilled their pledges. While I do not wish to spend time talking about prosperity, I mention the matter merely to show how absurd is the argument of the hon. member for East Huron that this prosperity has been caused by the tariff policy of the Liberal party. For this prosperity is not confined to Canada; it is world-wide. I believe the United States has never been so prosperous before as it is to-day, and the same is true of Great Britain. That neutralizes in some respects the effect of this preferential tariff upon our manufacturing industries. When times are good all over the world, you do not need a protective tariff; it is when times are dull outside of your own country and comparatively dull in your own country, that you need a protective tariff, so that your country will not be flooded with goods from outside. Now the hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald, Huron), thought he made a great point by quoting the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) to show that that hon. gentleman had predicted disaster from the tariff of 1897. But, as the leader of the opposition pointed out, when he made these remarks, he was referring to the tariff as it was introduced in 1897, with a preferential clause which was open to the whole world. This point the hon. member for East Huron did not touch upon. He says the tariff is the same now as it was then. I say it is not. The preference to-day is confined to Great Britain. When it was introduced in 1897, it was open to other countries to take advantage of, and many of them did take advantage of it. Then it was found good policy by the government, after they had got the most favoured-nations treaty abolished, to confine the preference to Great Britain. So, in 1898, the tariff was changed in that respect. The remarks of the hon. leader of the opposition were quite justified as applied to the tariff of 1897. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonald, Huron), said there were very few failures in this country. When we admit that the country is prosperous, we admit that there are few failures. The hon. gentleman attributed this small number of failures to the adoption of this tariff. But the hon. gentleman says that this is a revenue tariff. That being the case, I would like to ask him how it came that there were so many failures under the policy of the Mackenzie government from 1874 to 1878, they having also a revenue tariff? Nearly all the merchants in the country were failing at that time. It is plain, then, that, whatever the reasons were, the number of failures is not reduced by the fact of having a revenue tariff.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Would the hon. gentleman allow me to say that he and his party had said that the tariff would destroy the industries. Now, by destroying industries, it will increase failures. Then, if it had the power of increasing failures from the standpoint of the Conservatives, would it not have the power on the other hand, if it worked harmoniously and in the interests of the manufacturers, of decreasing them? The hon. gentleman must take either one horn or the other of the dilemma.

Mr. CRAIG. I do not know whether the hon. member means that we said that about the tariff of 1897, or whether we said that the policy of the Liberal party, when they got into power, would have that result. I know we did say that the policy enunciated by the Liberal party, when they were in opposition would have the effect of destroying the industries of this country, and I am sure it would have had that effect if they had carried out what they said was their policy. But they did not do this, they in effect, maintained the national policy. They made some reductions, certainly, they had to do something; and they made some increases too, and they adopted this preferential tariff in 1897, which in 1898 they confined to Great Britain. So they minimized, as far as possible, the bad results which we might expect to flow from the tariff which they said they were going to introduce, if they got into power. We took the hon. gentlemen at their word, but we found they did not keep their pledges, and, we are very glad that they did not, because, if they had kept their pledges, all these disastrous results we prophesied would have come to pass.

The hon. gentleman talks a great deal about the increase of trade in the last three or four years. I want to say that there ought to be an increase of trade any how, when there is prosperity all over the world. There ought to be an actual increase of trade here, as well as elsewhere. But, the hon. gentleman forgot to mention that the great North-west is filling up rapidly, and increasing their exports every year. The quantity of wheat raised there for export, is increasing every year. If the Liberal party should be defeated at the next election, and the Conservative party come into power, as some of my friends say they will, and as I hope they will, and as I think they will—well, Mr. Speaker, if that should happen, the North-west will still continue to fill up and trade will continue to grow; and we should find the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald), if he happens to be in the House at that time, constantly saying that trade is not growing, or that if it is increasing, it would increase a great deal more if the Liberals had remained in power. Then we have British Columbia, a great mining country, growing rapidly. The resources

of the country are extending, and so foreign trade must grow naturally.

The hon. gentleman made some quotations from Mr. Chamberlain, from Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and from the *London Times*. I merely want to say, in the words of the Minister of Finance, that the world moves. When an hon. gentleman said it was impossible to have a real preferential trade, such as the Conservative party wished to bring about, the Minister of Finance said: I do not say it is impossible, because the world moves. I want to say also, that the world moves; I want to say further, that Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and the *London Times*, in a few years, will learn a great deal from the United States, as they are learning to-day. We know that this highly protective country is making greater strides to-day than any other country on the face of the globe, in manufactures as well as in agriculture. I was a little surprised that the hon. gentleman should say that the Conservative party were cravens, for asking that they should get this world preferential trade. That showed me that his own party will never ask it, and if they never ask it, they will never get it. So we have nothing to hope from them in that matter.

I wish now to make a few remarks upon the general question brought forward by the hon. the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell). I consider it rather strange, that the government should put up one of their own men to move an amendment on a motion to go into supply. That is rather an unusual thing. It would not be strange at all, if some one on this side of the House moved the amendment; but, when the Minister of Finance moves to go into supply, the government put up an hon. gentleman on their side to move an amendment. Well, we are led to ask ourselves, what this means? I asked myself, what is the reason? I think one reason might be, and one reason, no doubt is, that they are not ready to go on with the business of the House. Here we have been from the 1st of February in this House, and we have practically done nothing, the government are not ready. They advocated, when in opposition, that the House should be called together earlier than the Conservative party some times used to call it, and, so they have called it earlier this year, because they called it late last year. Now, we have come here, over 200 men, and we are practically doing nothing, we are waiting for the government to bring down some business to do. Day after day is passing, and no business of much moment is being done, just because the government is not ready with their measures. We ought to have had the budget speech before now. The country is waiting for that, and just when we might expect that speech, the government put up a gentleman on their own side to move an amendment, and then put

up their own members, one after another, to keep the discussion going on. They seem to be perfectly interested in the discussion, and I suppose they are so. Now, what is the object? As I say, one object is merely to mark time, they have nothing to do, and they want to make a show before the country of doing something, and so they have brought up this discussion. And, this, Mr. Speaker, is a business government, a government of business men. We have been told that over and over again. I wish, then, they would come down to business, and give us something to do.

The hon. member for Halifax has argued that the government have kept their pledges. Well, I think he must have been asleep. If he imagines that they have kept their pledges since they got into power, I must tell him that I never heard anybody else who thought so. I have talked with a good many Liberals, and they did not seem to think so. Perhaps he thinks the people of this country are asleep. He says the government have kept their pledges. Now, what pledges have they kept? First of all, the tariff. The hon. gentleman who spoke this afternoon, has argued that they have kept their pledges on the tariff. Now, Mr. Speaker, I say that if the present government did anything when they were in opposition, they led the people of this country to believe that if they got into power, they would reduce the tariff very materially. I was looking the other day into the time when the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), made reductions in the tariff. The present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), in making his speech, ridiculed those 'paltry reductions,' he said, they ought to have made four or five times as much. Well, perhaps that is the reason that he is not the Minister of Finance at present. I suppose that is the reason, because, I believe, that if the present Minister of Trade and Commerce had been Minister of Finance, he would have tried to carry out some of the pledges that he made when he was on this side of the House. But the very fact that the Minister of Trade and Commerce is not Minister of Finance, is a proof, to my mind, that the government did not intend to carry out the pledges that they made, and they had to set them aside, and get some one else to take that place. They found that the country was afraid to have that gentleman Minister of Finance of this country, after the pledges that he had made to destroy protection root and branch, after he had called the manufacturers of this country 'robbers great and robbers small.' Well, the manufacturers of this country quietly told the present Premier, when he was leader of the opposition, that they would not give him any support at all, if he took the present Minister of Trade and Commerce into his cabinet as Minister of Finance. There is

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no doubt of that at all. So the Premier had to set him aside, because he intended to break his pledges, all these pledges he had made throughout the country about free trade and about freer trade. Why, we are now told they never promised free trade. Well, I know this, that many Liberals throughout the country think they promised free trade. I know a great many Liberals with whom I talked, had that idea, and a great many opposed me because I was not in favour of free trade like the Liberal party. They thought the Liberal party were going to give free trade, they were going to cut down the price of everything and make it cheap.

Well, I leave hon. members to judge how they have done it. They were wise, I think, not to do it, and as an hon. member of that party said, in this House, upon one occasion: Don't think that we are a parcel of fools and that we are going to do that. I do not think that they are such fools as to carry out their pledges. These pledges were made not to be carried out, but to get into power upon and then to be thrown aside. I have here an amendment moved in 1893 by the present hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), which I will read for the delectation of the House:

That the present customs tariff bears heavily and unjustly on the great consuming classes of the Dominion, and should be at once thoroughly reformed in the direction of freer trade and—

Mr. McMULLEN. Hear, hear.

Mr. CRAIG. I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) will just swallow this part of it.

--and that the amount of taxes collected be limited to the sum required to meet the necessities of the government efficiently and economically administered.

Mr. McMULLEN. Hear, hear.

Mr. CRAIG. I thought the hon. gentleman would say 'hear, hear' to that, because he is so economical, especially since the present party has got into power. He will not say a word since the present party has got into power, because he has forgotten all about his principles of economy. But, the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, in 1893, moved that the amount of taxes collected should be limited. The hon. gentlemen do not want to limit them now. They are bragging about all they are getting in, and they are getting in so much that they can spend a great deal. The hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) says: We are making lots of money and we can spend lots of money. The hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, in 1895, spoke something in the same way. At that time the estimates amounted to \$38,517,000, and the hon. gentleman moved this amendment:

That inasmuch as enormous sums of money are now exacted from the people of Canada which are not paid into the treasury, and inasmuch

as the burdens of the people are thereby greatly and unnecessarily increased—

I wish he would think about the poor people now.

—and it is of the utmost importance to the well-being of the community that not only should the present extravagant expenditure be diminished—

That is \$38,517,000. He thought that extravagant in those days. I wonder what he would think of it to-day?

—that not only should the present extravagant expenditure be diminished, but that the burthens should be reduced as largely and as speedily as possible, it is expedient that in making provision to restore the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, as recommended in the speech from the Throne, the existing tariff be so modified that it may be made a tariff for revenue only.

That is a very nice amendment and the people gathered from it that when this party got into power they would spend less than \$38,500,000. In that case they must have been very much disappointed, especially those that did not get a part of the money. I suppose those who got a part of the fifty millions are not disappointed, but on the contrary, that they are quite satisfied. I have a little more to quote from the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, and I quote him because he represented the Liberal party in their financial policy. An hon. member asks me whether he does now. I do not think he does now, although he tried very hard to do so in Massey Hall a short time ago. In 1895, in the budget debate, the hon. gentleman made a speech. Before I read what he said, I will say that I was a little surprised when the hon. junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) spoke about the position of the United States in 1896 in the way he did. He talked as if they were going to war at once at that time and as if the party to which he belongs were determined to have nothing to do with them at all, but to turn to Great Britain to give them our trade. In short, the hon. gentleman spoke as if they were done with the United States entirely. They were talking about war with Great Britain, and so, we were to be done with them. In 1895, the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce said:

Here I will say one word as to the possible remedies for this state of things. I do not hesitate to say here that as regards any advantage or immediate relief to the farmers of Canada, I know of but one remedy, and that is the obtaining of access on fair and reasonable terms to the markets of the United States.

The hon. gentleman, in 1895, knew of only one remedy. What a revolution after they got into power a year or so and when they found out that this was no remedy at all! I do not know if he has changed his mind, but there is no doubt that some members of his party have changed their minds on that question, because, they want to make us believe that they will not have anything to

do with the United States, and that they are ready to trade with Great Britain.

Sir, I advise that we learn prudence and economy.

I think this is very good advice and it is the advice that I would give to the present government. Then, the hon. gentleman went on to speak about the manufacturers:

As to the manufacturers, I desire to say most emphatically that we have no ill-will on our side of the House to manufacturers as a class.

He said, a little further on:

It (the tariff) must be something which is fairly and honestly framed for the purpose of bringing revenue into the treasury, and not at the dictation of protected manufacturers' associations, for the purpose of enabling them to divide with the government the plunder unjustly obtained from the people.

He does not talk that way to-day about the manufacturers. The government want to get the votes of the manufacturers to keep them in power, and so they are quite willing to do everything they can for the manufacturers. Things have changed. They thought the manufacturers were supporting the Conservative party, and they thought they might be able to win them over and there is no doubt that they are willing to treat them with fairness now, instead of calling them plunderers and robbers. The hon. junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) in the face of these things says that the government have kept their pledges. If the government have kept their pledges as to the tariff I do not know what keeping pledges means. They might keep their pledges in regard to anything if they have kept their pledges in regard to the tariff, and I think that if it can be said that they have kept their pledges in regard to the tariff the same might be said of anything else. They made a pledge of economy. Economy was the great watchword of the Liberal party in opposition. The Conservative party, according to these hon. gentlemen, were most extravagant. It was a terrible thing that they should take \$38,000,000 from the people and spend it in a country like Canada, which had so many burdens. Sitting on the other side of the House and listening to the speeches of these hon. gentlemen, I used to think that the government of that day were extravagant. I thought that, perhaps, they ought to curtail their expenditure, and I was considerably surprised when I found this economical party, after they got into power, talking about spending fifty million dollars instead of thirty-eight millions. If this is the way they have kept this pledge, I think they will not keep any of their pledges at all. Then, there was the pledge about the independence of parliament. The present hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) was very anxious that parliament should be independent and that no member of parliament should receive an office from the govern-

ment in power. But, now he has changed all that. We have seen a great many members pass from their transitory positions in this House to permanent offices. I do not blame them for taking these positions, but this is another proof that the government have not kept their pledges. I was going to say something about the pledge in regard to prohibition.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Hear, hear.

An hon. MEMBER. Preferential tariff!

Mr. CRAIG. I am coming to the preferential tariff all right; this is only preliminary. The hon. junior member for Halifax introduced this subject himself, and if he had not done so, I would have left it out. The hon. gentleman spoke to us about the United States and said that they did not want to give them any privileges at all. I think they have given them a great many privileges. I find that they have made corn free. The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), himself, after he had been down to Washington, as a member of the commission, said that in doing so, the government had made a mistake. The Conservative party, when in power, said to the United States: Make barley free and we will make corn free. But as soon as the Liberal party got into power the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) said they wanted to retaliate upon the United States to pay them up for talking about going to war with England, and so they said: We will make corn free, and they took the duty off corn and punished them in that way. I do not think the United States object to punishment in that way. Let me ask the government: Was it for the sake of the farmers of Canada that they made binder twine free? Well, if it was, it has not turned out in that way. I would like that the farmers could purchase their binder twine cheaper because the duty was taken off, but I am afraid there is a combine in this article. From the manner in which the binder twine manufactured in the Kingston penitentiary was sold to supporters of the present government, there seems to be a combine in various quarters in this country to prevent the farmers getting their binder twine at a lower price. This government reduced the duty on coal oil, and they made certain regulations as to its importation, but the result is that coal oil, instead of being cheaper, is a good deal dearer than it was before. I do not blame the government for the mere fact that coal oil is dearer, but I do blame them for not listening to the advice of the former hon. member for West Lambton (Mr. Lister), who told them that this would be the result of their policy. I also blame the government, and blame is merited by them, that they constantly, while in opposition, got some of their supporters to rise in the House to

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move that coal oil should be free of duty, and then, when they got into power, not carrying out that policy, but adopting in its stead a policy which made coal oil a great deal dearer than it was when the Conservatives were in power—and in addition to being dearer, I am told it is not as good quality. I have taken up a very few minutes in proving that the government have broken their pledges, and I will now deal with the preferential tariff.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Call it six o'clock, then.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. CRAIG. When the House rose at six o'clock, Mr. Speaker, I was speaking about the remark made by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), that the Liberal party had kept all their pledges; and I think I proved that such was not the case. I shall now deal with the amendment of the hon. member (Mr. Russell) in reference to the preferential tariff, and the first question I ask myself is: Was this preferential tariff in the best interests of Canada? I have no doubt that members on the other side of the House would answer in the affirmative; but there are certain facts in connection with it that cannot be denied, and which I intend to present concisely to the House. One fact is, that the Conservative party all along advocated preferential trade relations within the empire. I feel sure that no hon. gentleman opposite will rise to deny that this was one of the planks in the platform of the Conservative party. My hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) was conspicuous in his advocacy of such a policy. He held that it was for the best interests of Canada that we should cultivate closer trade relations with Great Britain, and he contended that we might look forward to obtaining this preferential trade. Now, Sir, while the Conservative party were for years working in this direction and turning their eyes constantly across the ocean to the mother country, in what direction was the Liberal party looking? I would be satisfied to let them answer that question themselves; but I shall answer it for them by saying that during all this time the Liberal party looked to Washington. They were not looking across the ocean at that time. They seemed to forget that there was a country across the ocean that would take our products, and they laid down the proposition that the great thing for this country to do was to work to secure free access to the markets of the United States. From the principal speakers of the Liberal party when in opposition, we constantly heard of the sixty-million market, and about what would be accomplished if we could only get into that

market. We heard ridicule cast on the efforts that were made to obtain trade in Australia and in other distant countries while we neglected to secure trade concessions from a country right at our doors. So that the positions of the two parties at that time were directly contrary to each other. The Conservative party were looking to the mother country and trying to cultivate trade relations with her, and were cultivating trade relations with her. They were doing all they could to encourage transportation and to educate the farmers to ship to the mother country products which would suit that market. The Liberal party, on the other hand, were discouraging all these efforts, and were doing all they could to turn the thoughts of the farmers of Canada to the United States of America. This is a fact that cannot be denied, and I propose to ask this question, which is a most important question. To-day the Liberal party are boasting of this preference which they have given to the mother country; and I suppose that when we on this side of the House vote against the amendment which they have got the hon. junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) to move, expressing appreciation of their preference tariff clause, they will say we are not loyal. Well, Sir, I want to ask this question: In what condition would this country be now, and where would the Liberal party be now, if they had carried the elections of 1891? Why, Sir, it is a matter almost too serious to contemplate. What did they advocate at that time? They had been advocating commercial union. In 1891, they went to the country on the policy of unrestricted reciprocity.

Mr. MILLS. Unless they had swallowed themselves, as they do now.

Mr. CRAIG. In 1891 they went to the country on the single plank of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States of America. In fact, they almost carried the country on that plank. They had so indoctrinated the farmers with the idea that this was their only hope of salvation, they had so portrayed to them the great prosperity that would come to them if we could only secure that trade relation with the United States, that a great many men who before that had supported the Conservative party, were tempted to support them. I repeat the question, in what position would this country be, and in what position would the Liberal party be, if they had carried the elections at that time? It has been suggested by an hon. member that they might swallow themselves as they have done since the elections of 1896. But I am afraid they would not have done that. They were not sufficiently educated at that time. They received their education afterwards. The elections of 1891 taught them that no party which advocated discrimination against

Great Britain could succeed in this country; and they seem to have learned that lesson well, because to-day they talk altogether about the mother country, and the junior member for Halifax talked about the United States as if we did not want to have anything to do with that country.

If the Liberal party turned from the United States to Great Britain, it was because the Conservative party forced them to do so. I think that statement is incontrovertible; they were compelled to do so by the Conservative party. They were overthrown in the elections of 1891 with a great deal of difficulty, after almost superhuman exertions on the part of the late Sir John A. Macdonald, who was afraid of what might result to the country if they succeeded, and who made a great appeal to the people of Canada on the ground of loyalty to Great Britain. If they had not been overthrown then, you might have seen a strange state of affairs in this country. But, they were forced from that position by the victory of the Conservative party then, and by the conduct of the Conservative party since that time; so that, they deserve no credit to themselves for what they have done. In this matter, as in many others, they have not led, but have followed. As the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) stated not long ago, the Prime Minister is not the man who has led, but the man who has been pushed by the leader of the opposition.

Now, Sir, I think it will not be denied by any one that real preferential trade relations within the empire would be a great boon to Canada. The gentlemen who have spoken on this question admit that. We on this side of the House have always contended that; we have always held out to the people of this country that this is what we should look for and strive for; we have felt that it was worth striving for, and not only worth striving for, but worth waiting for. We have felt that it was well not to be too impatient, not to be in too great a hurry. The world moves, and while some of the statesmen in Great Britain two or three years ago, perhaps expressed opinions against this project, we have thought it possible that they might change. The world not only moves, but it moves quickly. Great changes come about rapidly in this age of the world. I hold that preferential trade would not only benefit Canada, but be a great benefit to Great Britain herself. I wish now to speak particularly about its benefit to Canada. One way in which it would benefit Canada would be by filling up the North-west. We have spent and are spending a great deal of money on immigration agents in order to induce settlers to go to Manitoba and the North-west. That country is gradually filling up; but if we had the right sort of preferential trade with Great Britain, whereby the products of Canada would receive preferential treatment

in Great Britain, we would find the North-west filling up rapidly with good settlers from both Great Britain and the United States. Then, by filling up our North-west, it would render the empire independent as to its food supply. There are some people who think this is not a very important matter; but I hold that it is a most important matter, that the British Empire should not be to any extent dependent upon foreign nations for its food supply. This is a matter that has been spoken of and written about a great deal by Col. Denison, of Toronto, who has devoted much attention to it, and impressed it most indefatigably on the Imperial authorities, and this object would be brought about by preferential trade. It would also create an enormous market for manufactured goods, and in this way it would benefit the British people themselves. The market for manufactured goods would be immensely enlarged; and as they would receive a preference in our markets in return for the preference Great Britain gave us, the benefit would be entirely reciprocal.

I do not think I need say any more to prove my proposition that this would not only be a great benefit to Canada, but also to the British Empire. Some people hold that the adoption of this policy would be injurious to the interests of the British Empire. I think just the contrary would be the case. While this policy might lead to some disadvantage at first, in a short time the British people would be able to obtain all their food supply from this country and other countries within the empire, and these same countries would be able to absorb nearly all the manufactures of Great Britain.

It is hardly necessary to argue that the adoption of this policy would be a good thing, but what is the great argument against it. What is the great argument against this real preference which the Conservative party is advocating and has advocated so long? The great argument is that it is impossible. We had quite a lengthy effort this afternoon to prove that contention. One would think that the hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) had a brief from some parties in England to talk against this preference, he was so anxious to show how bad it would be for the people of England. Instead of showing its good points, he was trying to show all its bad points. I do not consider that that is the proper duty for an hon. member in this House. It should be our part to show the good points and let the English people find out the bad points if there are any, and I maintain there are not. There may be arguments against the policy, but these can be satisfactorily refuted. The great argument used in this House is, that it is impossible, and that therefore we should cease advocating it. I hold that we do not know what is impossible to-day. While we may not succeed at once, if we can succeed in

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having this policy adopted by the English people in ten years hence, the result will justify all the trouble we will have taken to obtain it. To those who claim that the policy is an impossible one, I would refer them to what was said by the right hon. the First Minister himself, when leader of the opposition, and when speaking in the city of London, Ont., in 1896. He did not say then that this was an impossible policy. On the contrary, he held it up to the people of London as very desirable. He dilated on the advantage it would be for us if our butter and cheese and eggs and other products were given a preference in the British markets. He did not say then that such a consummation was impossible. Instead of saying that it was impossible he argued that it was fraught with great possibilities. Of course he was then going to the country and wanted the popular support, and he sought to delude the people by holding out to them the prospect of obtaining this boon if they would return the Liberal party to office. But, he said, in order to obtain it we must have a revenue tariff. We cannot obtain it so long as we have a protective tariff. Therefore, put me in power and turn out Sir Charles Tupper, who is a protectionist, and I will give you a revenue tariff and obtain for you this preference in the British markets which he, with his policy, will never be able to do. That certainly was no way for a statesman to talk concerning this policy, if he thought it an impossible one. But in my opinion he did not then think it was impossible, or else he was deliberately misleading the people, which I am very loath to believe. The words he then used are on record, namely, that all that was necessary to acquire this great advantage in the English market was for us to adopt a revenue tariff. The hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) said this afternoon that the conditions under which we could obtain this preference were such that Canada could not accept it, if it were offered to us. The only condition, he said, under which we could obtain it was to adopt the policy of free trade. But this is not the condition which the right hon. First Minister laid down as essential to our obtaining it. He said that if we were to get this preference at all, we would have to adopt a revenue tariff. Our tariff would have to be considerably reduced, but it does not follow that it would have to be reduced to any country except those within the empire.

However, when the right hon. First Minister went to England in 1897 to attend the Jubilee celebration, a great change came over the spirit of his dreams. He completely changed his attitude. The stand he took in England was that Canada did not want any preference at all, that Canada did not want any favours. Why did he take this stand? Simply because he was among free traders, who made a great deal of him, and so he accommodated himself to their

views. It seems that the leader of this government has the faculty of the chameleon of taking his complexion from his immediate surroundings. In 1896, when talking to protectionists and manufacturers, he said: We are not going to hurt you a bit; we may have to make some changes in the tariff, but we will make them gradually and you need not be afraid. But when, out in Winnipeg, talking to men who wanted the tariff reduced, he said: I will give you free trade as they have it in England. And when talking in the city of London, Ont., in 1896, he said: Put me in power, and I will give you a revenue tariff, and then there will be no difficulty in our obtaining preferential trade with England. We will then be in a much better position to get it than Sir Charles Tupper is in now. But when he went across to England and found himself among free traders, he changed completely and became an absolute free trader. He said: I do not want this preference at all, because if you give it to us there will be something of protection in it, and I do not want England to have protection at all. I am not only endeavouring to drive protection out of Canada, but I also want to keep it out of England. Therefore, you need not make us any offer of that kind, because we do not want it. Well, for taking this stand, he obtained his reward. He was decorated with the Cobden medal. That medal was given to him because he repudiated the idea of protection being at all adopted by England. He waived aside entirely this idea of giving Canada a preference in the English market, because that implied the adoption of the principle of protection to some extent by the mother country.

The hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) and perhaps some others, charge us with declaring that the Prime Minister in England refused positively the offer of preferential trade. I do not know that such a charge has been made at all. I did not make any such charge. But I say that what he did was to prevent the possibility of any such offer being made by telling the English government and people distinctly in advance that we did not want it. He said to the English people: I am going to make you a free gift: the people of Canada will give you something for nothing; we do not want you to give us anything in return; we desire that you should not; we do not want you to do anything that has the slightest tinge of protection in it, and I ask you therefore, on behalf of Canada, not to make any offer of preference to us at all, but at the same time we are willing to give you a preference in our market on the goods you send us.

I intend to vote against this amendment.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. CRAIG. I suppose some hon. gentlemen are surprised at that. Well, I would be just as much surprised if any of those hon. gentlemen on that side were to vote

against it. I propose to give a few reasons for the vote I intend giving. The first statement in this amendment is this:

That it has already resulted, and will in an increasing measure continue to result, in material benefit to the mother country and to Canada.

I cannot vote for that statement because it is not true. The increase has been very small in our imports from Great Britain during the time this government has been in power, in spite of this preferential tariff. The natural increase will be just as much as this increase which hon. gentlemen credit to that preference. The advanced prices within the last couple of years in a great many lines have, apart from any increase, swelled the returns and made them appear larger than they really are. Besides Canada is growing and her trade is naturally increasing, and it is absurd to claim that because there is a small increase in the short time this government has had office, that increase is due to this preferential tariff. I deny that the first statement in the amendment is based on facts at all. On the contrary, it has been shown conclusively that the facts are just the other way. There is another statement in this resolution—that this preference has already aided in welding, and must still more firmly weld together the ties which now bind Canada and the mother country together. Well, Mr. Speaker, if it is the fact—that this preference has already aided in welding and must still more firmly weld the ties that bind Canada to the mother country, that would be a good argument. But I wish to make one or two remarks on that point. The first is that this is a strange view to come from a party which urged commercial union, unrestricted reciprocity and that sort of thing for years, which urged discrimination against Great Britain in favour of United States, and which was prepared to adopt a policy and tried to induce the country to adopt a policy which Edward Blake declared would finally lead to annexation. I maintain that the Conservative party is the party in this country that has aided materially in welding the ties between Canada and the mother country. While I think that in some ways it is unfortunate for the country that the Liberal party got into power in 1896, I must confess that one good thing has resulted from it, and that is that it changed their whole attitude toward Great Britain. Before that, their eyes were turned away from Great Britain, but now their eyes are turned toward Great Britain. I believe that if they had been defeated by the Conservatives in 1896, they would have been looking to Washington still. For that reason, I am not sorry they got into power, for I believe that, even if they are turned out of power at the next election, they will surely not have the hardihood to turn toward the United States and away from Great Britain again.

Another clause of the resolution is to the effect that the House 'desires to express its emphatic approval of such British preference having been granted by the parliament of Canada.' The reason why I cannot agree to that is that the granting of this half preference, this one-sided preference, as I was charged by one hon. member with having called it—and as I did call it and as it is—has postponed for a great many years the securing of a real preference. That is the only reason why I should oppose this. I cannot express approval of this so-called preference. I was opposed to it at the time. While I would do a great deal to show my good feeling and gratitude to the mother country, I do not feel that I am called upon to grant this half preference when there was a prospect that in a few years we might obtain something far better, better not only for Canada, but for the British Empire. This amendment is very plausible. I believe that the real object of it, if it is not to waste time, is to afford a basis for a cry of disloyalty against members on this side if we vote against it. The loyalty cry is a very popular cry to-day: and hon. members on the other side have been a little afraid about their position on that question for some time, and now they want to see if they cannot put us somewhat in the position they have been occupying for years before the country. I am not afraid of that. Whatever the position of the Liberal party of this country—and I am not going to say anything about it, except that for years they looked to Washington instead of to Great Britain—the Conservative party have had but one position as long as I can remember, they constantly looked to the mother country and constantly tried to cultivate better trade relations with the mother country. They felt in doing that they were building up Canada, and in building up Canada, they were building up the empire, for Canada they felt was a very important part of the empire, and anything that tended to build up Canada made the empire stronger and greater. We have seen the result of it all, in our contingents going to South Africa—contingents from Canada, from Australia, and from the other colonies—showing that the empire is one and will stand together. There is one thing more I have to say, and that is I think this amendment is moved at a most unfortunate time, in fact, I think that no more unfortunate time than the present could have been chosen. I think the feeling in Great Britain toward Canada is such that, without much solicitation, without much urging, it might have been possible for the government to secure preferential trade relations with the mother country. But what do hon. gentlemen opposite do? They seem to be afraid that Great Britain would do this for them, and so they get a member on their side to rise and move an amendment declaring to the British gov-

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ernment: We are satisfied as we are; do not give us any preference. The Premier in 1897 said that, and now the Premier and the government wish the Liberal party to say it again. All this shows the country that if we are ever to have better trade relations with Britain, if we are ever to have real preferential trade, getting a preference for Canada as well as giving a preference by Canada, we need not expect it from the Liberal party because they are satisfied with a one-sided preference. But when the Conservative party come into power, I hope that they will continue their efforts to get a real preference, securing a preference for the products of Canada in the British markets as well as giving a preference to the manufacturers of Great Britain in this Dominion.

Mr. C. B. HEYD (South Brant). I have noticed that the speeches that have been made in this debate have digressed very materially from the purport of the resolution; and, in order to bring back to the House the object that is engaging our attention, I will read the resolution; and, having read it, I shall try to confine myself exclusively to the subject. The resolution reads as follows:

That this House regards the principles of British preference in the Canadian customs tariff as one which in its application has already resulted, and will, in an increasing measure, continue to result in material benefit to the mother country and to Canada, and which has already aided in welding, and must still more firmly weld together the ties which now bind them, and desires to express its emphatic approval of such British preference having been granted by the parliament of Canada.

That is the resolution; and it is evidently one that our friends on the other side have no sympathy with. They were surprised, they were astonished, they were troubled when it was first introduced into this House; and they have been in trouble ever since. They do not like it, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Craig) who has just sat down says that it is a resolution that should not have been moved, and that it was a strange thing that a government supporter should be put up to move a resolution of that kind. I do not look at it in that light. With me, the question is: Does the resolution tell the truth? If it does, I am quite prepared to support it; and if those gentlemen on the other side believe it does not convey the actual truth, they are justified in voting against it. But no attempt has honestly been made to show that the resolution does not express actually what has happened in the past. My hon. friend from East Durham (Mr. Craig) is not satisfied with it, because the preferential tariff which the resolution approves is not the kind of preferential tariff that he himself would like. In his mind's eye he sees a preferential tariff that is

going to fill up our great North-west with happy and prosperous farmers. He realizes that they will, under his preferential tariff, get five, ten, fifteen, twenty cents a bushel more for their grain, than any other people in the world. He sees in his mind's eye, British gold flowing over into this country of ours, and he is happy under a condition like that. He does not realize that he is discussing an entirely problematical question that there is not the slightest prospect of seeing become an actual fact within the lifetime of any man in this House. He lectures the British people, because they do not buy all their grain from their colonies. Why should they buy all their grain from their colonies? Why should they give their colonies a preference over the nations of the world? Why should they tax the great consuming masses of Great Britain, in order that the producers of Canada might derive from five to twenty cents a bushel more for their grain? That has never been the policy of Great Britain, it is a policy that she will never adopt, because that great trading nation can never be convinced that to tax the food of the great consuming masses, will ever result in advancing her interests as a whole. He tells us that the great Conservative party have always turned their eyes towards Great Britain. Of course they have. They turned their eyes toward her when it was to their advantage to do so, and when it was to their advantage to turn their backs on Great Britain by introducing the national policy, they were only too ready to do so. They did not care anything about Great Britain then, and their leading newspaper said: If the national policy hurts British connection, so much the worse for British connection. That same principle is implanted in the heart of almost every member on the other side of the House. This loyalty cry, which, as he says, we are about to engage in, is a thing the Conservative party had the monopoly of in days gone by. We do not propose to do anything of that kind. We have never accused our friends on the other side of being disloyal, we have never claimed that we were the possessors of the loyalty of this country. The idea never entered into the mind of a Liberal to conceive himself either as loyal or disloyal, because his loyalty was always regarded as a matter of fact. This loyalty cry has always been the possession of the Conservative party, it has always been used in the interest of the Conservative party, and never in the slightest degree has it ever been used in the interest of the great mother country.

Now, I would like to follow my hon. friend a little further in his arguments, but as he did not confine himself to the resolution, and as I do not desire to be drawn away from it, I will be compelled to leave him, and confine my attention for a few minutes, to the speech that was delivered by the leader of the opposition. I do that in order to bring

to the attention of this House, the loose quality of talk that is indulged in, even by men who occupy an exalted position in this Canada of ours. If there is one thing that we have a right to expect from leading men of this country, it is, that they will state the absolute facts, in connection with any particular case, and not try either to misrepresent or falsify them, or to produce a false impression in the minds of their hearers. Now, I turn to the speech of the leader of the opposition, who wanted to make a little capital for his side, and speaking of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), he said:

Does he not know that history is repeating itself? Does he not know that when the Liberal party came into power in five years, the imports from England fell, under Liberal rule and a very low tariff, \$37,500,000?

Is that statement correct? Any hon. gentleman can ascertain whether that statement is correct, whether it shows an honest intention on this part, to instruct the people of this country who have not the opportunities of informing their minds, as well as he has. The facts are entirely contrary to what the hon. gentleman stated. It is true that the imports from Great Britain did fall under a Liberal administration, but was it because of the Liberal administration that that took place? I do not want to weary the House nor to deal largely in figures; but a brief review of the trade and navigation returns will show any one that this statement, made by the leader of the opposition, does not honestly state the facts of the case, and does not convey a correct idea to the people who may not have access to the blue book. For that reason, I intend, briefly to set the facts before the House. In 1873, the imports for the preceding five years, were \$251,000,000, or \$50,000,000 a year. In 1878, after the Mackenzie government had been five years in power, the imports had fallen to \$47,753,000. Now, that was not at all caused by the fact of the Liberal party being in power, but it was the result of a condition of affairs that has been going on ever since in an increasing ratio. Five years after the Conservative party got into power, the imports from Great Britain had decreased to \$42,000,000; five years after that they were \$40,000,000; five years after that they were \$42,000,000. In the year 1895, they were \$31,000,000; in 1896, \$32,000,000; in 1897, on the 30th of June, they were \$29,400,000, the smallest sum ever reached in the history of Canada, since confederation. Now, the leader of the opposition, in order to make a point against this government, finishes his survey with the expiry of June, 1896. But the preference did not begin its operation until the 11th of April, 1897, the following year, and then only to the extent of 12½ per cent. Now, what are the facts in connection with that matter? I will read what the hon. gentleman said:

During those three years of depression, from 1894 to 1896—

To be honest, he should have said 1895, 1896 and 1897, because these were the last three years under which that condition of affairs operated, and since then the preference began. My object is not particularly to find fault with the hon. gentleman, but to place the facts as they are before the members of this House, and I hope in some measure, before the country. He said :

During those three years of depression, from 1894 to 1896 inclusive, our average imports from Great Britain amounted to \$34,276,249. Take the last year, and they had the benefit of that. Why, Sir, the startling fact appears that in 1897, 1898 and 1899 there was an average importation from Great Britain of only \$32,991,076, a decrease of no less than \$1,285,173 per annum, or a decrease of 3·90 per cent.

Now, that is again trying to convey a false impression to the members of this House. What are we trying to bring out? We are trying to show that under the preferential tariff, our trade with Great Britain is increasing, and increasing rapidly. Now, the only way to find that out is to compare the years under which it has been in operation, with the corresponding number of years during which it was not in existence, and we will find that in 1895, 1896 and 1897, the imports from Great Britain were \$93,000,000, or an average of \$31,000,000 a year. In 1897, the last year of the old condition of affairs, they were \$29,000,000. But, in 1898, under the operation of the preference to the extent of 12½ per cent, the importation increased to \$32,000,000; in 1899, it increased to \$37,000,000, an increase of \$8,000,000 in two years. That is a fair and candid statement of the facts, and instead of there being an actual shrinkage of 3·90 per cent, there was an actual increase of our trade with Great Britain to the extent of 32 per cent. Those are the facts, those are the facts that we want to lay before the people, and we do not want such statements as have been made, even by the leader of the opposition, to be spread broadcast throughout the country to the effect that the actual operations of the preferential tariff has been to decrease the imports of Great Britain to Canada, when the contrary is the fact.

Now, our hon. friend, the leader of the opposition is not singular in that respect. He was followed by the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), who also expressed his disapproval of this British preferential law.

What did the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) say :

As to its being satisfactory to Canada, on what ground does the hon. member for Halifax ask us to say that? Has this half-way, one-sided Imperial preference done anything for Canada? Will the hon. gentleman tell us of a dollar of taxation that it has saved to anybody?

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That is a practical question; that is a question that he has a right to ask us. Can we convince ourselves, can we convince the House that this preferential tariff has saved money to the people of Canada? I think it is quite an easy matter, because, we know now what the preferential tariff is. It gives a 25 per cent preference to certain dutiable goods that are imported, and it gives it exclusively to Great Britain. How much did the imports amount to that came in under that preferential clause? During last year the imports that came in under the preferential tariff were valued at \$26,835,000, and the duty amounted to \$5,885,000, or an average rate of duty of 22 per cent, while the average rate of duty that was collected upon the general imports into the country amounted to 30 per cent, there being a saving of about 7½ per cent. I shall omit the hundreds of dollars, in giving these statements, in order to condense my speech and to make it a little more intelligible and satisfactory to those who listen. The hon. gentleman says that not one cent of taxation is saved. Under the preferential tariff \$26,000,000 worth of goods were imported, on which the duty was five million dollars, or a total of thirty-two million dollars. This was the cost of these goods to the importer in Canada. The duty remitted amounted to about two million dollars, or about 6 per cent of the entire cost of these goods was remitted when they came from Great Britain. Does anybody mean to tell me that when we import \$26,000,000 worth of goods from Great Britain, pay five million dollars in duty and receive a rebate of \$2,000,000, or one-sixteenth part of the entire cost of these goods, it is not going to affect the selling price in the market? There has been a direct saving to the people of Canada of two million dollars per annum, and not only of two million dollars per annum, because these goods come into competition with \$62,835,000 worth of goods of a similar class that come from other parts of the world, and therefore, the same proportionate saving was effected on the whole class of goods, because, the lowest price at which these goods can be obtained in the markets of the world, whether in England, France, or the United States, is the price at which they will be bought. It is the price that regulates the value of the whole, and if the purchase price of the \$26,000,000 worth of goods has been reduced in value by two million dollars owing to the preferential tariff, the \$62,000,000 worth of goods that came in from foreign countries was also reduced in value to a similar amount, or by four million dollars more. This reduction applied not only to those goods that came in under the preferential tariff, not only to those goods that came in from foreign countries, but also, to the domestic product of the country that came in competition with the goods that were imported, and if we assume that the home-made article was equal to the import-

ed article the whole saving amounted to \$12,000,000 or \$12 to each family of five persons in the country. That is the actual result of the preferential tariff looked upon from a financial standpoint. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) goes on to say :

Will he tell us of a single settler whom it has placed on the fields of the North-west Territories, which would be filled to overflowing to-morrow with hardy toilers if we had the proper preferential trade with the mother country.

That is another easy matter. He is away up in the clouds again. If you allow the hon. gentleman to arrange the terms of the preferential tariff, there is not the slightest doubt that he will have the plains of the North-west Territories occupied by industrious settlers within a few years. But, the hon. gentleman did not give us any evidence of anything of the kind. He goes on to say :

Will he tell us of one individual who has gone there as the result of that policy? Will he tell us of any way in which this half-hearted, one-sided preferential tariff has provided a market for our products?

That is another very difficult thing to do, but there is one thing we can do; we can look and see whether, under the operations of this preferential tariff, the trade of Canada has really increased and it is a very easy thing to do, because, we find by a careful reference to the situation that for five years, ended June 30, 1897, the average annual exports from Canada to Great Britain amounted to \$61,000,000; in 1898, under the operation of the preferential tariff, they measured to \$93,000,000. In 1899, they were \$85,000,000, and for the first half of the present year there is a greater increase still.

Mr. SPROULE. Surely the hon. gentleman will not say that it is due to the preferential tariff.

Mr. HEYD. The hon. gentleman will not admit that this is due to the preferential tariff. I am not prepared to take the credit to the preferential tariff for this wonderful showing. Hon. gentlemen opposite say that it is due to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that it is due to the construction of our magnificent system of canals; they say it is because they have turned their eyes lovingly for the last 18 years to Great Britain and that is the reason that Great Britain has turned her attention to us. But, it is a singular thing, that during all those 18 years we find that no movement had been made to increase our trade with Great Britain by the hon. gentlemen who managed our affairs. There was no increase in our trade with Great Britain during these 18 years. It was positively decreasing when we take into consideration the increase in the number of people in this country. So soon as the Liberal government came into power our trade with Great Britain went up by leaps and bounds and we have a reasonable assurance that the

good will which was generated in the hearts of the people of Great Britain had something to do with this increase of trade. I do not give it as a matter of fact, but, we have as much right to account in this way for this growth in our trade during the past two years during which the Liberal government has been in control of our affairs, and during which a preferential tariff has been in existence, as the Conservatives have to say that this increase is in consequence of our canals, which are not completed yet, and which could not possibly have any effect on the question. The hon. member for Haldimand gets up into the clouds; he is a man of an artistic temperament, he is not as practical as a business man would be, but, the hon. gentleman gets roaming around the realms of fancy as he delivers a speech, musical in its delivery, pleasant to listen to, but which, when sifted by the logic of facts, is found to have not very much of it. While he is a sinner in this respect, he is not the only one. I think that the greatest sinner of his party is the one from whom we would least expect such things. The hon. leader of the opposition is possessed of a Miltonian imagination and he often repeats things and believes they are true. The hon. member for Haldimand is too liable to follow in his wake, but, when we strike the hon. ex-Minister of Finance, a man of sober judgment, a man with great reasoning powers, a man who is always logical, unless his logic comes in contact with his personal bitterness, we have a right to expect from him a more correct statement of the actual condition of affairs. The hon. gentleman has laid before the House a speech that was supposed to be a reply to the one delivered by the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) in Toronto, and surely more false statements in the short space of six lines could not be found than in the six lines of the speech which I have before me. If hon. gentlemen have the Trade and Navigation Returns here they can verify the statements I am now about to make. That speech was not on the impulse of the moment, but it was carefully prepared, re-read and looked over before it was printed. I have it here, and this is the language used :

If they say that they have reduced the tariff rate. I answer: (1) on most articles in the former tariff you made absolutely no change; (2) on many articles you actually increased the rate; (3) on the majority of those you reduced you threw the advantage to the United States market for no return whatever; on nine-tenths of the articles the preferential rate does not apply, as the importation is almost wholly from other than preferred markets; on that portion to which it practically does apply, the effect has not been to appreciably increase the imports, and lastly, the percentage reduction, 71-100 of 1 per cent in the whole, is so small that the consumer gets practically little or no benefit.

The six lines I want to call your attention to are these beginning with the words :

The preferential rate does not apply to nine-tenths of the articles that are imported into this country.

Well, it is a very easy matter to find out whether that statement is correct or not. Our friend the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) says that on nine-tenths of the articles the preferential rate does not apply, but if you turn to the Trade and Navigation Returns, page 191, you will see that if he refers to dutiable goods, the entire dutiable imports amounted to \$89,000,000, and the preferential rate applied to \$26,597,000, or 30 per cent of the entire total dutiable imports. And yet the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) has put it on record that the preferential rate applies to only one-tenth. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) were a man not capable of finding out for himself the exact facts, I would not find fault; but when a statement like that comes from a man who has been the Finance Minister of this great Dominion, and we find he is out over 20 per cent in his calculations, it does not say much for his veracity, or for his studiousness in trying to get at the facts. Now, that is his first error, and it is a pretty big one. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) goes on to say:

The imports are almost wholly from other than preferred countries.

Let us see if that statement is true. The total imports amounted to \$154,000,000, \$26,000,000 worth of which were under the operations of the preferential tariff, or 17 per cent; which is almost 17 per cent more than the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) admits. In that statement he was also wrong. He goes on:

On that portion to which it directly does apply the effect has not been an appreciable increase of imports.

What are the facts there? Well, Sir, it applies to \$25,697,000 worth out of \$37,000,000 worth of imports, or about 70 per cent. Now, we have no table with which to compare that, but if we apply the 70 per cent to the imports of two years ago which amounted to \$29,412,000 worth, it leaves us \$20,000,000 worth of goods which are affected by the preferential tariff, or, there has been an actual increase of \$6,000,000, and yet our hon. friend (Mr. Foster) says there has not been an appreciable increase. Well, Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether \$6,000,000 is an appreciable increase or not, but I fancy that if it were added to the very small fortune I have in this world, I would regard it as a matter of considerable gratification. Anyway, it amounts to 20 per cent of the entire trade that is affected by the preferential rate. All these misstatements are within the short space of about six lines of the speech of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster). \$6,000,000 is the amount our trade has increased, and apply the 70 per cent rule to both and you have

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22 per cent. The hon. gentleman goes on to say:

And the consumer gets no benefit.

I have already alluded to the benefit the consumer got, when I stated that the rebate which the importer obtains amounted to \$2,000,000, and on the goods they came into competition with—the other \$64,000,000—it would amount to \$4,000,000 more. On the domestic goods they all would come into competition with—and assuming they are as great as the imported goods, and I think they are a great deal larger, it would amount to \$12,000,000, and yet the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) says that the preferential rate has not reduced the cost to the consumer. That is another mistake of his. It amounts to at least \$10 to the advantage of every family in the land. More than that, as there is a reduction on these goods to the extent of 6 per cent, the importer is able to sell these goods to the retailer at 60 cents less on every \$10 worth he buys, and the retailer is able to sell these goods to the consumer at 60 cents less on every \$10 worth of goods he buys. And yet, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) deliberately gets up in this House and tells us that the reduction of that amount has no appreciable effect upon the price that goods are sold at. I do not believe that the hon. gentleman from Halton (Mr. Henderson) was sincere in his statements, because he is a merchant and he knows that when he can buy \$1 worth of goods for 94 cents, he can sell these goods cheaper than if he paid \$1 for them. He is too honest a man to try and get 20 per cent extra on the dollar. He would put the 20 per cent on the 94 cents and take \$1—14 cents for his goods, and would not charge his customer \$1.20. I have no doubt of his honesty, and I know he would do that. Yet, he gets up in this House and he says what is not correct, just in order to say something in the interest of his party. It would appear, Mr. Speaker, that morality, religion, patriotism and everything else goes to the wall where party is concerned. The strongest influence, apparently, which animates some men in this House, is to get up and make some statement in the interest of their party, no matter whether that statement be true or not.

And why this attempt by hon. gentlemen opposite to misrepresent the preferential policy? I do not suppose that outside of this House and outside of the politicians and the newspapers who are interested in the success of the Conservative party, that you will find more than one man out of one hundred who does not believe that the preferential tariff is a blessing to Canada, and that it has been a strong factor in uniting us to Great Britain. During the two years this preferential tariff has been in force, I have never yet met a Conservative who was not pleased with the preferential tariff. I wonder how these honest Conser-

vatives will feel when they find out that their leaders in this House say that the preference to Great Britain is a humbug, a fraud, and a deception. I do not believe that such statements will have any influence at all with the great mass of the Conservatives of this country, because they know better. Our friends on the other side of the House will have a hard job before them, if they try to convince the intelligent, hard-thinking people of Canada that a 25 cent preferential rate on \$20,000,000 worth of goods is of no benefit to the consumers of this country.

But, Mr. Speaker, those gentlemen opposite have another object in view. They see that there has been a great change for the better in this Canada of ours since the preferential rate has been in existence, and jealous of our success, they want to belittle that policy. Sir, this policy inaugurated by the Liberal party marks an epoch in the history of Canada. It puts an end to the time when lip loyalty and flag waving took the place of actual work. The day has gone by for professions; the day has come when action is supreme. This policy of the Liberal party gave Britain a real preference for the first time in her history. For the first time, from friend or foe did the mother country ever receive an unsolicited concession. It paved the way for that magnificent demonstration in London, in which our gifted leader took such a prominent and creditable part. He has the eloquence, the imagination, he has the physical perfection that appealed to the best spirit of the British people. As a French Canadian he came amongst English speaking people; he came as a Roman Catholic to a people the majority of whom are Protestants, and with the preference to Great Britain as an introduction, the British people took him to their hearts. Yes, this preferential rate paved the way for that magnificent demonstration, because it opened the eyes of the English people to the fact that there was a Canada in existence of which they knew nothing. The Canada that they formerly knew was a Canada that said:

If the national policy hurts British connection, then so much the worse for British connection.

The Canada that the British people knew was a Canada that said, so late as 1896:

We think that to defend this portion of the empire is all that can reasonably be expected from us.

It was the kindness of this preferential offer that caught the British heart, and Canada at once assumed new proportions in British eyes. For a thousand years Britain turned her front to a hostile world on sea and on land, meeting diplomacy with diplomacy, statesmanship with statesmanship, statecraft with statecraft. She had completed treaties with foreign nations,

sometimes getting the better, sometimes getting the worst. But, it was a new experience for Britain to receive a voluntary concession from another nation. It was not much: it only represented \$2,000,000 per annum, but it was a great deal, because it was offered in the right spirit. We did not go there haggling and nagging and trying to get \$10,000,000 from the British people for the \$2,000,000 we offered, but we went and we made them a present of it. It was the way in which the thing was done that gratified the people of the motherland. They opened their hearts to us and they took us in, and they saw that they had a new Canada in the empire. Three years ago it was said that in defending this portion of the empire we were doing all that Britain could expect us to do. It was a true statement then, because the people of Canada at that time would be astounded if they had been asked to fight the wars of Great Britain anywhere but on this soil of ours. But, Sir, three years have gone by, and what is the result? The patriotic feeling and the feeling of mutual respect and admiration that exists in the motherland also exists in this country. The seed which our honoured leader has sown, of peace and good-will towards men, of doing away with the prejudices that separated the French from the English and the religious differences that separated the Catholic from the Protestant, has created a new Canada; and in three years the conditions have been so changed that the people of Canada, who not long ago would have been shocked at the idea of helping to fight Great Britain's battles, have to-day sent 2,000 of their sons to shed their blood on the kopjes of South Africa in defence of the empire. It is because of this that hon. gentlemen of the opposition are decrying the preferential tariff. They realize, and if they do not, ninety-nine out of every hundred of the people of Canada realize that the preferential tariff was the first step, the jubilee procession was the second, and the sending of these 2,000 Canadian patriots to defend British liberty and justice in South Africa was the third; and these hon. gentlemen wish to kill off this influence which they realize is inspiring the Canadian people from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from our southern border to Dawson City, with one universal feeling of patriotism. Members of the government, as well as many of the farmers and merchants of this country, are sending their sons from their homes for the first time in their history to lift up their arms in defence of British liberty and justice. This is the inevitable result of all this outburst of loyalty which our friends of the opposition are trying to stamp out. That is the reason why they malign and misrepresent the preferential tariff; and why they denounce the men who have done more than any others to bring it about,

as traitors to this country. These are the men who never did anything for twenty years but shout and wave their hands about their loyalty, and try to enrich themselves at the expense of the country. During that time they had an opportunity to send their sons to the front, but they never made a move. But now, when we have at the helm a new government which sends its sons to fight the battles of the empire, these hon. gentlemen call its members traitors. I am surprised at the cheek of these men who, having done nothing themselves, are enraged and disappointed at seeing the tide turn against themselves, and asperse the patriotism of men who are more patriotic than they. I regret, Mr. Speaker, to have taken up so much of the time of the House; but if I have succeeded in convincing my friends, and in sowing a little truth in the minds of our hon. friends on the other side of the House, I shall not feel that I have misspent my time.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax). Mr. Speaker, if any of us had doubts as to whether or not the advent of the Laurier government to power in 1896 had any beneficial effect on the country, I think all doubts have now been removed. It would have been absolutely impossible for the hon. gentleman who has just addressed the House to have made that magnificent patriotic speech in the days when his party were in opposition. I do not think that he himself would at that time have undertaken to utter the sentiments which he has so eloquently expressed to-night. The victory of the Liberal party has not been altogether in vain when we find so many patriots and such magnificent patriotism on the other side of the House. There are one or two corrections, however, which I wish to suggest to my hon. friend, more particularly in his eloquent peroration. He said that before this government came in power England only knew Canada as the Canada which had said that if the national policy hurt England, so much the worse for England. Now, would not my hon. friend be inclined to concede this, that probably the Canada which England knew in those days was the Canada which said that we owe England nothing but forgiveness for her blunders? Would he not be willing to substitute that for the remark he made? He sits behind the leader who used that language, and who not many days ago said in this House that he had not a word of it to take back. I would like also to correct another statement the hon. gentleman made, that is, that the Englishmen opened their hearts and took us in. I would like to suggest, instead of that, that when the Prime Minister of this country went to England, he opened his heart and took us in. Does the hon. gentleman not think that would be a fair substitute? The right hon. gentleman went over there pledged to endeavour to obtain

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for us preferential trade, for which Sir Charles Tupper had fought so long, and he ended by giving us away and handicapping us in that effort for a great many years in the future. Therefore, I would suggest to the hon. gentleman that that would be a fair amendment of that particular portion of his speech.

The hon. gentleman was very severe on the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster). He discussed with considerable severity the want of logic of that hon. gentleman. He said that he did not expect much logic from the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), nor from the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), but he did expect it in the ex-Minister of Finance. Now, I would like to invite the hon. gentleman's attention to his own logic. I infer from his speech that he attributes the increase of \$8,000,000 in our imports from England in the last two years to this tariff. If I am wrong, the hon. gentleman will correct me. I am right, because he does not interrupt me. But in the first part of his argument, which he did not appear to have remembered, he said that the diminution of trade during the time of the Mackenzie administration was not in any way to be attributed to their trade policy, but to the conditions of trade all over the world at the time. Therefore, we are to have one mode of reasoning with regard to the Mackenzie administration, which held office during a period of trade depression all over the world, and another mode of reasoning with regard to the Laurier administration which happened to come into power when trade began to boom all over the world. That is the hon. gentleman's idea of logic. I fancy the hon. gentleman must have taken his idea of logic from my hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), who gave us some lessons in that subject in a very notable speech which he delivered last year. I suppose the hon. gentleman is sincere in asserting that the increase in our imports from England to the extent of \$8,000,000 during the past three years, from \$29,000,000 to \$37,000,000, an increase of 30 per cent, is due to this tariff; and I suppose that the hon. gentleman would be willing to stake on his reputation as a business man, a manufacturer, and a man of common sense, that no portion of that is due to the enormous development of trade which has taken place all over the world. Do I understand that to be his argument, or does he say that any portion of it is owing to the development of trade that has taken place all over the world? I am willing to give the hon. gentleman an opportunity to say yes or no to that, if he desires to do so. Apparently he does not desire to make any observation in regard to it. If he says that is all owing to the tariff, and is not owing to the development of trade all over the world, what does he say to the increase of our imports from the United States from \$61,000,-

000 to \$93,000,000 during the same period? The increase in our imports from the United States was from \$61,000,000 to \$93,000,000. Does he attribute that to the development in trade all over the world? Apparently not, because he is not willing to say that the increase in trade from England is due to that cause. Therefore it logically follows, according to the hon. gentleman's own argument, that this tariff, and it alone, has had the effect of increasing our imports from the United States from \$61,000,000 to \$93,000,000 during the same period, an increase of 52 per cent, during the same period in which they increased to the extent of 30 per cent from England. Is the hon. gentleman prepared, with these facts before him, to stand up in this House and say that it is the preferential tariff which has increased our trade with England as compared with our trade with the rest of the world? Our trade with England and the United States amounts to about \$275,000,000, out of a total of \$317,000,000, so that practically you may eliminate the rest of the world altogether in dealing with a question of this kind. Then, looking at the United States and England alone, you have this precious tariff, for which the hon. gentleman has so many words of praise, increasing our imports from England to the extent of 30 per cent, or \$8,000,000, and our imports from the United States to the extent of \$32,000,000 or 52 per cent. Yet the hon. gentleman is prepared to support a resolution which attributes the entire increase of our imports from England during that period to this precious preferential tariff, and he regards himself as an extremely logical and businesslike man in taking that standpoint. I do not pretend to understand very much about this trade question, but I should suppose that any man of ordinary business ability and common sense would have come to the conclusion that the increase in the trade of this country, both from England and the United States, was not due to this tariff at all, but due, to a very large extent, to the increase and development of trade throughout the world. I fancy that any man of ordinary business ability will come to that conclusion, and I am prepared to agree to a considerable extent with what my hon. friend said concerning the Mackenzie administration. I do not think that Mr. Mackenzie's policy was a very good one for Canada. I think that the national policy was a much better policy, but I would not for a moment pretend that the depression in trade which took place under the Mackenzie administration was due entirely to a bad trade policy. I would rather be inclined to agree with my hon. friend that a considerable portion, or some portion at least, of the falling off of trade during that period was due to the depression which undoubtedly took place over the whole world.

I would like to call the attention of the House to just what this tariff has done for us in the period during which it has been in operation. In 1896 we imported from England to the extent of \$32,979,000, and from the United States to the extent of \$58,574,000, or we have an excess of imports from the United States over England of \$25,994,000.

Mr. FROST. How much free goods?

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I do not understand what the question of free or dutiable goods has to do with the point I am now discussing. I am discussing the volume of our trade with England and the United States. We pay for the goods we get from the United States, whether they come in duty free or not. Does the hon. gentleman not see that?

Mr. FROST. No.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). We get our goods free then from the United States that we do not pay duty on? If that is the case with the hon. gentleman, he enjoys an advantage over all the rest of us. In 1897 we imported from England \$29,412,188 worth of goods, and from the United States \$61,649,041 worth. The excess of imports from the United States over those from England advanced from \$25,594,282 in 1896 to \$32,236,853 in 1897. In 1898 we imported from England to the extent of \$32,574,024, and from the United States \$78,705,590 worth. Or the excess of imports from the United States over those from England amounted during that year to \$46,204,673. In 1899 we imported from England \$37,060,123, and from the United States \$93,007,166 worth, so that the excess of imports from the United States over those from England during that year amounted to \$55,947,043. Thus the excess of imports from year to year of English goods over those imported from the United States, during the time these gentlemen have been in power, is as follows:

In 1896	\$25,594,282
In 1897	32,236,853
In 1898	46,204,673
In 1899	55,947,043

So that the excess of imports from the United States over those from England increased by the amount of \$30,000,000 between 1896 and 1899, and yet my hon. friends on the other side deal with this tariff as if it were one which had the effect of promoting and cultivating trade with England instead of with the United States. In the face of the figures I have just given, how is it possible to make such an argument seriously?

Some hon. gentlemen talk about dutiable and non-dutiable goods. I am talking about the volume of trade between the two countries. Every one knows that the volume of trade must comprise goods on which we

pay duty as well as those on which we do not. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Frost) shakes his head. Well, he will have an opportunity of convincing the House of the contrary. I am dealing with the total amount of our trade, and the excess of our imports from the United States over our imports from England was \$30,000,000 more in 1899 than it was in 1896.

Let us test the question in another way. The resolution which my hon. colleague from Halifax (Mr. Russell) has offered to this House is one which he could just as well have submitted to this House in 1882 as in 1889, and I will show the reason why. From 1877 to 1879 the imports from Great Britain to Canada were as follows :

1877	\$ 39,572,000
1878	37,431,000
1879	30,993,000
	\$107,996,000

In 1880 the national policy came into force, and our imports amounted to \$34,461,000 :

In 1881	\$ 43,583,000
In 1882	50,597,000
	\$128,641,000

So that, taking the three years before the national policy came into force, you have an aggregate importation from England to Canada of \$107,996,000, and taking the three years after the national policy came into force you have an aggregate import from England to Canada of \$128,641,000, or an increase of \$20,000,000. Therefore, the resolution which my hon. colleague from Halifax has ventured to put before this House would be more applicable to the effect of the national policy in 1882 than it is to this preferential tariff which was introduced by my hon. friend the Minister of Finance. Does the Finance Minister or my hon. colleague from Halifax say that increase of \$20,000,000 in 1880-1-2 was due to the national policy? If not, how can they venture to say that the \$8,000,000 for which my hon. friend from Halifax claims credit is due to this preferential tariff? On what basis shall we discriminate between the two? I would like some hon. gentleman on the other side who proposes to deal with this question to look at it from that standpoint and answer these figures if he can. If we deal with the exports to England during these years, we find the same thing. Our exports were as follows :

1877	\$ 41,567,000
1878	45,941,000
1879	36,295,000
	Total \$123,803,000
1880	\$ 45,846,000
1881	53,571,000
1882	45,274,000
	Total \$144,691,000

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax).

Making a total increase in our exports to England during the latter period of \$20,788,000. Therefore, both, so far as imports and so far as exports are concerned, the resolution which my hon. friend from Halifax has ventured to put before the House would be equally applicable to the effect of the national policy during these three years. Will the Finance Minister or any one else point out the reason you cannot as justly attribute the increase during these three years to the national policy as you can attribute the \$8,000,000 of increase during the past three years to the policy inaugurated by the present government?

I do not wish to detain the House longer with respect to that point, because there are a great many hon. members who are more familiar with the business of the country and much more capable of dealing with it than I am. But, I would like to say with respect to the motion of my hon. friend from Halifax that it does seem a remarkable thing that a government of this country coming down to this House panting with eagerness, to get supplies voted for the ensuing fiscal year, should see fit to pull a string and have one of their own supporters move an amendment to supply. It seems strange; and I am going to quote a high authority on that subject. I have here a speech of the hon. leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), and this is the language in which he characterizes such a resolution :

He now offers us, not a practical motion, but an academic, abstract and rigid motion which can be debated, which can be affirmed or denied, but which cannot be amended, and which, by the rules of this House, has either to be swallowed whole or rejected whole.

I would commend the remarks of the right hon. Premier, which were applied to the motion of my hon. friend from Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) to my hon. colleague from Halifax. We suppose that his resolution was conned over by the Finance Minister and the leader of the government. So far as the leader of the government is concerned, it must have been forgotten by him, or he would not have used the language I have just quoted, which is so strongly applicable to the motion of my hon. friend from Halifax. The only explanation that I can give is that the right hon. Premier must have forgotten that my hon. friend from Halifax intended to move this resolution.

I probably should not have said a word if my hon. friend from Halifax had not devoted some attention to myself in his speech. His remarks were in somewhat of a lecturing tone. But, I must say that I am not the only person to come in for a lecture at the hon. gentleman's hands. He lectured to Lord John Russell, who negotiated the German and Belgian treaties. Before I read my hon. friend's speech, I had imagined that Lord John Russell was a man of

some ability, that he had been a somewhat prominent figure in English affairs, that he had been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for a number of years, and that his career was looked back upon as that of an able and successful man. But, after reading the criticism of my hon. friend from Halifax with regard to this Belgian treaty and German treaty, I must dismiss any such idea that I may previously have entertained. Because, my hon. friend, speaking of the treaty which Lord John Russell negotiated, used this language :

—which may have been the sublime achievement of some understrapper or routinist in the Foreign Colonial Office in the days of ignorance that God winked at.

Mr. TAYLOR. Who said that ?

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). My hon. friend and colleague from Halifax said that in regard to Lord John Russell. But, I have heard my hon. friend adopt that lecturing tone before. In the campaign in Halifax he delivered a rebuke to the Privy Council on the subject of their judgment in the school case, which, I am sure, the Privy Council have not got over yet. And if Lord John Russell were not so fortunate as to be dead, I am sure he would be equally distressed by the criticism passed upon him by my hon. friend. Therefore, it would seem invidious for me to complain about being lectured, for it is a compliment to be lectured in such high company. To what my hon. friend did say with respect to myself, I ask the attention of the House for just a few moments :

I think, Sir, that it was a most ungracious and wholly unnecessary task which my hon. friend and colleague (Mr. Borden, Halifax) imposed upon himself when he undertook to argue the cause of our opponents and plead for the further continuance of the enthrallment of the parliament of Canada.

That rebuke was administered because of a plea I undertook to make in this House with respect to the power of parliament to pass an Act which I thought in violation of treaties made by Great Britain with Germany and Belgium. If hon. gentlemen have any recollection of my speech—and I do not suppose many of them have—they will recollect that I took three points : The first was that Her Majesty had power to make a treaty binding on Canada ; the second was that the German and Belgian treaties were binding on Canada—there was no doubt about it, because I read the language of the party—and the third was, that no legislation was necessary, or was, in fact, enacted for the purpose of bringing these treaties into force either in Britain, Ireland or Canada. These were the only propositions I contended for, and I say that no proposition I contended for has any less application to the parliament of England than to the parliament of Canada, and I will challenge any hon. gentleman

to controvert that. If he desires to do so, let him first look up the constitutional authorities on that point. This is the constitutional authority on which I relied and on which I rely still :

It is a peculiar function of sovereignty to make treaties, leagues and alliances with foreign states or princes; by the law of nations it is essential to the validity of a treaty that it be made by the sovereign power, for then it binds the whole community. In the British Empire this sovereign power is vested exclusively in the Crown, acting under the advice of its responsible ministers.

The Crown is at perfect liberty to make a treaty binding on Great Britain and Ireland without consulting parliament. It has the same power to make a treaty without consulting the parliament of Canada. The only difference is that in England, if parliament does not approve it, parliament cannot turn out the ministry that made the treaty. We cannot turn out the ministry who made the treaty, because they are not under our control. But, does my hon. friend pretend to think that a change in our relations with the empire such as he suggests should be effected by our sitting silent in this Chamber when an argument is addressed to this House in contravention of all constitutional principles ? Why, you might just as well say, that if Sir Louis Davies, whom he compliments on this subject, should get up and argue that this parliament had a right to amend the British North America Act, and if some one should venture to get up and dispute that, it would be an endeavour to trammel the parliament of Canada ; exactly the same argument would apply. The veriest student of constitutional law knows that changes of that character cannot be affected by our sitting silent in this parliament. Any change in the constitution which gives a right to turn out the advisers of the Crown, because they have negotiated a treaty, cannot be effected by our sitting silent in this Chamber. The hon. gentleman sees fit to get up and argue, that power is vested in this parliament which no one before the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), made the argument which he did, had even ventured to assert. Now, Sir, as I said before, I will say exactly the same thing about the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, as I said about this parliament. If the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland passed legislation in contravention of a treaty which Her Majesty had made with Germany and with Belgium, they would be doing a very wrong thing. Parliament might pass a resolution calling upon the Crown to denounce those treaties, that would be a proper procedure ; but for parliament to pass legislation in contravention of those treaties would be just as wrong in England as it is here. Sir, I regret that I have had to detain the House at such length. I can only say in

conclusion, that looking at this resolution as an abstract resolution, as a resolution to which no amendment can be offered, as a resolution which is not offered for the purpose of advancing business, but is offered purely for party and partisan purposes, I for my part, will feel myself in duty bound to vote against it, and to vote for such a resolution as I hope will be offered later on in the session, declaring the views which gentlemen on this side of the House entertain with regard to this preferential tariff.

Mr. FIRMAN McCLURE (Colchester). The discussion upon this question, seems to be confined to no particular field, as every speaker has chosen to discuss it from a different standpoint. The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Borden, Halifax), while he has given us many figures bearing upon the trade of this country, I regret to say, could not finish his speech, without doing what is too common among the leaders of the party to which he belongs, and he cast a sneer at the professions of loyalty made by the hon. member for South Brant (Mr. Heyd). He told us that that hon. gentleman could not have made such a loyal and enthusiastic speech in the days when the Liberal party were in opposition. Well, to a certain extent, I think that is true. When the Liberal party were in opposition, the material was entirely wanting upon which such a speech could be based, as the hon. gentleman made here to-night. We did not then have the trade of the country in that prosperous and buoyant condition in which it is to-night; the relations that existed between Canada and the mother country were not of that cordial character which they are to-day, in consequence of the policy of this government. If, therefore, the hon. member for South Brant did not, in the days when the Liberals were in opposition, make such a speech as he made here to-night, it was because the government of the day failed to provide the country with the material facts, upon which such a speech could be based.

Then the hon. gentleman poses as a critic of the logic of the member for South Brant. I must say that for a professor of logic, he has indulged in some very peculiar kind of logic himself. He told us it was very inconsistent in the member for Brantford to say that the improved trade between the mother country and Canada, was due to the reciprocal tariff, and to say at the same time that the depression of trade which existed during the Mackenzie government, was due to world-wide depression. Is there anything inconsistent in the two statements? I fail to see it. The hon. gentleman seems to think there is great inconsistency. Then he went on himself to state emphatically that when the leader of this government went to England, he went pledged to get for us the kind of preferential trade, which the leader of the

opposition had been agitating. Will he quote his authority for the statement? Will he give us a line of authority for such a statement? Coming from one who poses as a professor of logic, I think it is incumbent upon him to give us authority for such a statement as that made in this House.

But, what kind of a logician is the member for Halifax? I recollect very well, that during the campaign in Nova Scotia, in 1896, that hon. gentleman made a number of speeches. It was alleged against him, how truly I do not know, that his conversion to the faith of the Conservative party, had been of a very recent character, and he was asked to explain his reasons why he had left the fold of the Liberal party, and was found a candidate of the Conservative party. The reason that he publicly gave, was that he was driven out of the Liberal party, because the present Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), of this Dominion raised the repeal cry in Nova Scotia. But, to-night we learn to our astonishment, that he has all along been an admirer of the national policy, and that he never believed in the policy of Mr. Mackenzie. He stands up to-night to laud the national policy, when, during all the years it was in force in this country, or a great many of them, he was giving his support to the opponents of that policy. Is that logic? It may be, but it is not the kind of logic we expect to hear from members of this House.

Then the hon. gentleman was at a good deal of pains to demonstrate to this House that the argument he made here with reference to the German and Belgium treaties was sound. Well, I am not going to enter into that question. I am not going to bandy words with the hon. gentleman, as to whether that argument was sound or not. But, I put this proposition to him: Suppose every argument that he made was absolutely sound, I ask him if that was an opportune moment for him to present those arguments to this House? When this country was contending for the right to regulate its tariff in the way it pleased, was it an opportune moment for a representative of the Canadian people to get up and argue on behalf of the opponents of that principle, that we could not regulate our tariff as we pleased, because of a treaty made years ago, in the making of which we had no voice, and in reference to which we had no interest? Was it opportune? Was it a patriotic step for the hon. gentleman to take, to use his extensive legal knowledge to place arguments in the mouths of our opponents upon that question? I ask him how does he defend his position? It has been admitted by all leaders of both parties, that Canada has an absolute right to regulate her tariff in the way she please. To such an extent has this been contended that when the Conservatives were in power, as we have been reminded here to-night, they were taunted with having, in the arrangement of their tariff, dis-

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criminated against Great Britain. They said: It makes no difference, we have a right to look after ourselves. If England is hurt, so much the worse for England. Now, if that be true, how is it possible for hon. gentlemen to go on and argue that a country that is free to regulate its own tariff, still has its hands bound by a treaty in the making of which it had no voice?

Now, hon. gentlemen who have addressed themselves to this question have taken a great deal of pains to show that the Liberal party have been insincere in their professions and promises in reference to the trade question and in reference to every other question that has come before the country.

The hon. leader of the opposition, in his address the other day undertook to refer to the platform and principles of the Liberal party and to demonstrate, to his own satisfaction, that all of these principles had been violated and that their platform had been entirely discarded. This hon. gentleman must think that the people of this country have very short memories if he expects them to forget that not only the Liberal party, but the Conservative party as well, made professions and promises in 1896 when they went to the country. What were the issues of that campaign? What were the issues that were decided upon that occasion? The trade question was one of them. There was another question that occupied considerable attention in the country upon that occasion and one which the hon. gentlemen opposite assured us was an issue of the most vital importance. The hon. leader of the opposition, when he was in this House, in the very session preceding the last general election, introduced a Bill, and in moving the second reading of it, he used these remarkable words:

Since I entered the legislature of my province, during the whole of that period I have never stood face to face with a question to which I attach the deep, the vital, the overwhelming importance that I attach to this question.

That was when he introduced the famous Remedial Bill. At a later period he declared:

The question now submitted to the consideration of the House is one which, in my judgment, transcends in importance any measure that has been submitted to the House during its existence.

Still further along, as the discussion got warmer upon it, we find him declaring that:

The government has felt compelled, in order to maintain the law and constitution of the country, to lay this measure before parliament, and I say we will exhaust all the physical force we possess to pass this measure—at the risk of health—it may be at the risk of life, and at my time of life, I may be permitted to say that if it were necessary to sacrifice life itself, I should feel bound to do it, as it is perhaps not improbable that may be the result, looking at the vital importance attached to this question.

This was not an ordinary question of policy. It was not a mere question of procedure.

Speaking in Toronto on the 19th of June, 1896, the hon. gentleman is reported, in the *Mail and Empire*, as saying that the Manitoba school law had violated the fundamental principles of the constitution of Canada. Again, he declared:

We have taken our lives in our hands, and we will maintain that great cardinal principle which Sir John A. Macdonald throughout his whole career upheld as the very essential point to bind the people and the country together. If I had known that it would involve being driven out of public life, if I had known it would involve the downfall of my party, I should have said we must do right though the heavens fall.

Well, the heavens have not fallen, the constitution of Canada has not changed, the Manitoba school law is still in existence, and yet the hon. gentleman is silent. No, he is not silent. He is content to go, in the recent campaign into the province of Manitoba and to state, as reported in the *Telegram* of the city of Winnipeg, the Conservative party organ:

If Sir Wilfrid Laurier thinks the Manitoba school question is settled, he is the only man in Canada who thinks so.

Yet the hon. gentleman, who, a few short years ago, pledged his life, if necessary, to settle that question, says it is not settled and he gets up in this House and says: I wash my hands of all responsibility. These are the men who taunt us with deserting our principles; they charge us with inconsistency, they tell us that we have not carried out our pledges, and they are horrified at the thought that a party, before they came into power would make professions and pledges and not fulfil them. If hon. gentlemen opposite were successful in getting into power, they promised and pledged the people that they would do certain things, but because the people voted against them, they repudiated their promises and principles, although they were fundamental principles of the constitution. They refused to go forward. Would it be unkind of me to say, as the hon. leader of the opposition said, that this was a platform to get in on, and not one to stay in upon, and that when it failed in its usefulness in this respect they discarded it altogether?

We were told the other day that the Liberal party had not been true to its pre-election promises on the trade question, and we were given to understand that the pledges of the party upon that question were very clear and distinct. The hon. leader of the opposition used this language the other day in reference to the position of Sir Wilfrid Laurier previous to 1896:

No man ever stated in stronger, clearer and more emphatic terms what his policy was going to be.

That is not the position that the hon. leader of the opposition took in the campaign of 1896; that is not the language that he used then. The charge which he brought against the Liberal party in 1896 was a very ser-

ious one, I admit, if it were true, but it is not the charge which the hon. gentleman made the other day. In an interview, published in the *Mail and Empire* of June 6, 1896, just shortly before the election, the hon. gentleman is reported as saying :

We have what amounts on the part of the Liberals to a refusal to place definitely and squarely their fiscal policy before the electors. Speaking at Galt on June 21, just two days before the election, the *Mail and Empire* reports him as saying on the trade question :

There was an entire absence of information as to what policy the Liberals would pursue should they be successful, in the present question.

That was the language used and the argument made to the country in 1896, and yet the hon. gentleman gets up and tells us that never was the policy of any party stated more clearly and distinctly than the policy of the Liberal party in 1896. These are the hon. gentlemen who taunt us with inconsistency. They tell us that we have gone back on our pledges, but they cannot be consistent for a single year. Not only did the Liberals make professions and promises in 1896 in reference to the trade policy, but, the Conservative party also pledged themselves to certain definite policies ; they also made many promises in reference to the trade of this country in regard to what they would do if entrusted with power. Fortunately, they were never given an opportunity to carry out these promises, but, nevertheless, they must be held bound by some of the predictions made upon that occasion. On this trade question, in 1896, the Conservative press and the Conservative leaders were very confident, and very loud in proclaiming the disasters which were sure to follow if the Liberals came into office. On the 13th of June, 1896, the *Mail and Empire* declared :

Laurier respectfully requests your vote and influence in favour of hard times.

Have hard times come ? Is that prediction made good ? Have hard times followed the advent of the Liberal party to power ? On the 21st June, 1896, two days before the election, the same paper declared :

Liberal success means five lean years.

How lean have the five years been ? Has the country prospered since then ? Hon. gentlemen taunt us with not carrying out our pledges, but I ask them have their predictions been fulfilled ? Their predictions have not been fulfilled, but, they say, this is because you stole our policy—because you adopted the national policy. These hon. gentlemen must be very forgetful. They certainly are not very considerate of their own offspring, if they did not know it for a year after it was introduced into this House. The national policy was their offspring, it was their peculiarly favourite child, it

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was the offspring of their loins, and they were prepared to die for it. The government introduced its tariff policy, and it took gentlemen opposite a whole year before they could recognize its features. It was presented to this House by the Liberal government in 1897, and it was at once attacked by the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), and by the financial critic (Mr. Foster). It was denounced in this House, and it was denounced throughout the country by the Conservative press and by Conservative politicians. On the 23rd of June, 1897, the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster), used this language :

My hon. friends have kept the principle of protection, but they have made some interference with it, which I am afraid will be fatal to the industries themselves.

Well, they did make some interference with the national policy ; and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) said it would be fatal to the industries themselves. He went on to particularize, and he told us where this policy tariff would injure the prospects of the country, but he was deceived in his predictions. He said :

My firm belief is that with 5 cents a pound off, and simply 35 per cent left on, we may bid adieu to the greater part of the woollen industry in this country.

Has the woollen industry of Canada died in consequence of this tariff which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) says was calculated to kill it. Let me give you an example. During the campaign of 1896, down in the town of Oxford, N.S., there was a big political meeting, and there was no building in the place big enough to hold the people who wished to attend, except one. What was that building ? It was a gigantic woollen mill lying there idle at the time, and they threw it open to the public, and in it they held their meeting, to laud the national policy and sound its praises before the people of Cumberland. Let the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) go to the town of Oxford now and he will find that not only is that mill working overtime, but that they have had to enlarge their premises and increase their machinery. That is the way the preferential tariff killed the woollen industries in this country, which it was the firm belief of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) would die in consequence of this policy which he did not then recognize as the national policy. He went on to say :

The same remark applies to buggies, to carriages, to confectionery, to shirts, and to collars and cuffs.

And he told us he could enumerate others, but he did not care to do so. Speaking on the 26th of April, shortly after the tariff came down, the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) said :

The result is that this tariff goes into operation, and the hon. gentleman knows that the

industries of this country are already paralyzed in consequence, while hon. members gloat, vindictively gloat, over the destruction of Canadian industries. I was reading the wail, the sorrowful wail, of these industries in the Montreal 'Gazette,' where one manufacturer after another declared that their industries were ruined, that their mills must close, and that they saw staring them in the face a return to the deplorable state of things that existed when the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) that last addressed the House was in charge of the fiscal policy of the country. I say that a deeper wrong was never inflicted upon Canada.

Inflicted how? Why, he told us the other day that we had adopted his policy and foisted it on the country. He did not recognize it then as his policy, but he described it as a policy which would work ruin on Canada from one end to the other; and the Conservative press outside took up the cry. I was a little amazed the other day when the leader of the opposition was describing how the leader of the government had stolen his horse, to find how emphatically the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) was contradicted in that statement by his own party press. On the 28th of April, 1897, just after they had long enough time to study the details of the tariff, the *Mail and Empire* came out with this statement:

The whole scheme is simply a free trade scheme, with a British varnish, that rubs off with the first touch.

That is what the Conservative party organ thought of this so-called national policy when it was brought down to this House. Now these gentlemen opposite have discovered that it is not a free trade scheme at all, but that it is their own peculiar child, the favoured national policy. Surely, these be parents to be proud of. Again on the 26th of April, the *Mail and Empire* wrote:

In some quarters it is assumed that the ministers have stolen the Conservative trade policy. Such, however, is not the case. The new tariff makes a bitter assault upon many industries.

The *Mail* says that the Liberals did not steal the national policy, and the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) says they did. We must accept one or the other. I would be glad to know which is the right one to accept, but for my part I would prefer to accept neither. On the same date the *Mail* says:

What considerations induced Mr. Fielding to take off a good deal of protection—

Here is a statement that Mr. Fielding took off a good deal of protection, and yet we were told here the other day that the Liberals have actually increased the protection.

What considerations induced Mr. Fielding to take off a good deal of protection to millers, to iron-workers, to woollen manufacturers, and yet keep up the duty on the coal they used. . . . No, the Conservative policy has not been stolen.

Was there ever a more emphatic contradic-

tion than that of the statement made in this House by the leader of the opposition.

I would ask these gentlemen opposite to remember when they make the charge so very emphatically: that every pledge given by the Liberal party has been broken; I would like them to remember that they have left a little history behind them on the public records of this country which is liable to criticism. I would ask them to be sure that their own hearth stones are clean before they attack their opponents. There is probably no branch of the Liberal party policy which has been more thoroughly vindicated in the face of the country than that particular branch which is dealt with by this resolution. I would ask the hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat (Mr. Borden, Halifax), to consider that when the Liberal party came into power the trade with the mother country had not been increasing. In spite of hard times, in spite of restrictions, in spite of all the trammels which were thrown upon it, our trade with the United States had necessarily and per force increased. As Jos. Howe said years ago: We are and always will be a commercial people, and naturally our trade, when the shackles were thrown off it—with the improvement of trade throughout the world we may grant, and by wise regulation of the tariff of this country—naturally trade began to flow more freely. Trade like everything else runs in the channel of least resistance, and if there was a greater increase of the trade with the United States than with England, does that prove anything against the policy of preferential trade with England. Not at all. But, if there was any increase with England when there was no increase before, and if there is no other cause to attribute it to except the preferential tariff, then I think the logic is very fair that attributes it to that tariff. In adopting this policy the Liberal party were doing exactly what they pledged themselves to do in the platform adopted at the conference held in this city years ago. We notice that while the leader of the opposition referred to that platform, he did not dare to quote a single sentence from it, but talked in glittering generalities about the pledges there given. One of these pledges was that the Liberals would do all in their power to encourage trade with the mother country. Sir, that pledge has been fulfilled, and if that and the other pledges I have referred to have been fulfilled, then what becomes of the oft-repeated challenge of the leader of the opposition to name a single pledge given by the Liberal party which they have not repudiated. But even if it be true—and I do not admit it—that Canada has not prospered to the extent of one cent in consequence of the adoption of this policy I nevertheless maintain that it has been to the advantage to Canada that that policy should be adopted. It was to the advantage of Canada, because it led as nothing before

it has ever succeeded in doing, to the removal of the restrictions placed on our trade by the German and Belgian treaties. That of itself was reward sufficient for the adoption of this tariff. But surely it is absurd for gentlemen opposite to argue that this tariff is of no benefit to Canada or to England. The people of Canada are buying goods every day from England, and when they buy these English goods, and pass them through the customs-houses of this country, they pay, in consequence of the preferential rate, less duty than they otherwise would. We do not need to argue the question as to whether the importer or the exporter pays the duty. Some one pays it, and as it is paid at a lower rate, then either the exporter or the importer must in the first instance get the benefit. It will puzzle the hon. gentleman's ingenuity to go to the dry goods merchants and importers of this country, who are daily entering goods at our customs-houses, and getting the benefit of this 25 per cent reduction, and convince them that they are not profiting by that fact. It will also puzzle him to convince the people who go to these merchants and buy these goods at a reduced price in consequence of this tariff, that it is of no benefit to this country. Therefore, I say that by adopting this resolution we are affirming a principle which has found an echo in the hearts of the people of Canada and in the hearts of the people of the mother country, which has done much to increase the good feeling in this country, which has done much to encourage trade, which has done much to place Canada in a proper position as a part of the empire; and I think it is only proper that this parliament should clearly and emphatically give such a declaration of opinion on this question, as is involved in the resolution moved by the hon. member for Halifax.

Mr. A. H. MOORE (Stanstead). Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to occupy more than a very few moments in the consideration of the important question which has been submitted to this House by the hon. member for the city of Halifax (Mr. Russell). I have listened with a great deal of interest to the speeches which have been made on that side of the House, and I have to come to the conclusion that the hon. member for Halifax has presented the strongest argument which has been yet advanced from that side in favour of the resolution. It was a well-worded, academical discussion of the question; but, while I admired his style and his easy flow of language, I must confess that I was very much surprised at the great gap there was between his statements and the facts as we on this side of the House understand them. He told us that the country had made great strides under the Liberal administration, and was in a most prosperous condition, and he attributed that prosperity to the govern-

ment's modification and reduction in the tariff. When we look at the accounts that have been submitted to this House, we find that the modification and reduction in the tariff to which he attributes the great prosperity of the country amounts to just 71-100 of 1 per cent. Dog fanciers tell us that they cut off the end of a dog's tail in order to strengthen his back; so that when the government cut off just 71-100 of 1 per cent from the tariff, we cannot feel that they have very materially weakened the protective feature of the tariff which they so strongly condemned. We think that had just about as much to do with the prosperity of this country as the Premier had in bringing snow to Sherbrooke. When he and his colleagues went to Sherbrooke to influence the electors there to vote in favour of the party he represented, there happened to come on a snowstorm. There had been so little snow that the lumbermen throughout the country had been complaining bitterly; and the right hon. gentleman is reported to have said that he had brought snow to Sherbrooke. It has been blowing, snowing and freezing ever since, and I am told that there is five feet of snow on the level, and that it was still snowing up to a few days ago; so that if he is to be credited with having brought snow to the lumbermen in the beginning, he should be charged with the damage the excessive snow is doing to business in all that part of the country. It reminds me of a man who was a cripple with a very short leg. An itinerant Christian Scientist who was travelling through the country told him that if he became a convert to his doctrine, he would cause his leg to grow. The man made an arrangement with the Christian Scientist, but he said, 'You are not going to be here.' 'No,' the Christian Scientist said, 'but one of our principles is that we can give absent treatment.' This was done, and the leg began to grow, and it continued to grow out until it got to be as long as the other leg; but the Christian Scientist was not there to stop it growing, and for all we know it is growing yet.

The hon. gentleman attributed the great prosperity of the country to the reductions which the government have made in the tariff, amounting to 71-100 of 1 per cent, something very infinitesimal. I think we could point to something that has had more effect in producing the prosperity which enabled the representative of our noble Queen in this country to congratulate the people upon the prosperity which we enjoy at the present time. It was, Sir, in consequence of the national policy, that policy which gave to the producers of Canada the control of the Canadian market. The carrying out of that policy by the present government in almost all its details has been the cause of the great prosperity about which we are congratulating ourselves at the present time, and not the reduction of 71-100

of 1 per cent in the tariff. The hon. gentleman told us that the government had made a momentous departure in the general policy of the country, and that is the extent of their momentous departure from the general policy which had been carried on for eighteen years by the Liberal-Conservative party.

In the next place, he told us that they were pledged to a certain line of policy. We admit that is the case, that the Liberal party through their leaders, previous to the elections of 1896, were pledged to a certain line of procedure. What was that line of procedure? They were to reduce the number of ministers; have they done that?

I think their record show that there are more ministers now in the cabinet than we ever had under a Liberal-Conservative administration.

One of the planks of their platform was their pledge not to pay out any of the people's money without the authority of the people's representatives. But have not millions of dollars been paid out and contracts let and obligations entered into by this government without first getting the authorization of parliament?

Did they not promise not to infringe upon the independence of parliament? Did not the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) condemn the principle of appointing members of this House to offices of emolument under the Crown? But let me call attention to what these hon. gentlemen have done. They appointed Mr. Bechard, a member of this House, to the Senate. They appointed Mr. King, member for Sunbury and Queens, N.B., to a senatorship. They made Mr. Forbes, member for Shelburne and Queen's, a judge. They appointed Mr. Devlin, member for Wright County, to an immigration agency. They appointed Mr. Lavergne, member for Drummond and Arthabaska, and Mr. Langeller, member for Quebec, to judgeships. They gave Mr. Fiset, member for Kamouraska, a senatorship, and they appointed Mr. M. C. Cameron, member for West Huron, to a lieutenant-governorship. They raised Mr. Lister, member for Lambton, to the bench, and also Mr. Choquette, member for Montmagny. They gave Mr. Yeo, member for Prince Edward Island, a senatorship, and Mr. Rinfret, member for Lotbinière, an inland revenue inspectorship, and Mr. Beausoleil, member for Berthier, they made postmaster of the city of Montreal. There we have thirteen instances in which these gentlemen violated the Independence of Parliament Act as they understood it when in opposition.

Another pledge of these hon. gentlemen was to raise the standard high of political morality in this country. But, if we read the record of the investigations before the courts in Ontario and other portions of this country, we cannot fail coming to the conclusion that there never has been disclosed in any civilized country more reckless and

corrupt acts than have been brought to light in these investigations, committed by the government and its supporters.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). What about South Ontario? What about Mr. Smith?

Mr. MOORE. What about Huron and Brockville? Tell us something about these elections. Let us get at the facts. Do not obstruct us in bringing to light what has been done in these counties and concerning which this government is preventing an investigation.

These hon. gentlemen pledged themselves to bring in a prohibitory liquor law. They posed as temperance men when in opposition, and they told the people that the old Tory party would never give prohibition. They made the churches and temperance organizations throughout Canada believe that the only possibility of getting prohibition lay in turning the Tories out and putting the Liberals in. They promised prohibition, and the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) said that the Liberal party could be trusted to carry out their promises. The right hon. the leader of the government said his party would carry out its promises even if that should lose power to it for ever. Well, Mr. Speaker, have they given us a prohibitory liquor law? If not, they have not carried out the promise they made the people, in spite of the fact that the majority of the people declared themselves strongly in favour of such a measure.

In the next place, they promised to reduce expenditure. They complained that \$38,000,000 was a monstrous expenditure. But what have they done? They have increased that expenditure by over \$8,000,000 a year. They told us that they would reduce the public debt, but instead they have increased it over \$6,000,000 a year. They told us that the country was groaning under the burden of taxation and that if returned to power, they would relieve the people of a considerable portion of the burden. Well, they have increased the burden by over \$3,000,000 a year.

The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) told us that this government have carried out every promise they made with regard to the fiscal policy of this country. He said that the government had never advocated free trade, or free trade as it is in England. He said:

The charge against the present government, so far as it related to this question, is in substance that they promised the country free trade, and have, on the contrary, adhered to the fiscal policy of their predecessors.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. RUSSELL. I am glad to hear hon. gentlemen opposite say 'hear, hear.' It shows that there can be no difference between us on that point. Now, Sir, I absolutely and emphatically deny both branches of the charge.

The hon. gentleman there denied that the

policy of the Liberal party was free trade. He further stated that the policy of the leaders of the Liberal party during the campaign was precisely that which they carried into effect when they got hold of the reins of power. Let me read a few extracts to show what the leaders of the party did promise previous to the elections. On the question of discrimination against Great Britain, the right hon. First Minister made in Boston this statement :

The proposition which we make involves the position that we would offer to the American people that which is denied to the rest of the world. In so doing, I do not forget that I am a subject of the British Crown.

Mr. Edgar said :

It is hopeless to expect reciprocity with the United States which will not involve discrimination against Great Britain.

Sir Richard Cartwright declared :

If it does discriminate against Great Britain, we have a right to. We owe Great Britain nothing but charity for her atrocious blundering against our interests. There never was a time that Canada could not have bettered her position by joining the United States.

I defy any hon. gentleman opposite to quote any such expression of disloyalty uttered by any hon. member on this side during the last twenty-five years. If any hon. gentleman on this side should give utterance to any such sentiment, the cry of disloyalty would go up all over this country, and yet, such disloyalty was given expression to by one of the most prominent members of the present administration.

The *Toronto Globe* of February 4th, 1891, declared :

If free trade with the United States will be good for us, let us vote for it, though it should involve discrimination against Great Britain twice over.

The right hon. First Minister, then Mr. Laurier, said at Montreal :

Upon that question, I need not tell you that we stand at the very antipodes of the Conservative party. The Conservative party believe in protection. All their hope is in protection. The Liberal party believe in free trade on broad lines such as exist in Great Britain, and their immediate object is a revenue tariff—a tariff to be derived from customs, but which will levy no duties except for the purposes of revenue.

Gentlemen, the only way in which Quebec can recover its old-time prosperity as a maritime city is by adopting the policy of freedom of trade as it is in the mother country, old England.

Is not that free trade as it is in England that the hon. gentleman from Halifax disputed so strongly, declaring that no gentleman on that side had advocated free trade as it is in England, or free trade, pure and simple? Again, Sir Richard Cartwright declared :

Our policy, from first to last, has been to destroy this villainous protective system by free trade, a revenue tariff or continental free trade. Sir Richard Cartwright stated at Pembroke:

Mr. MOORE.

A small ring and clique of combiners and protected manufacturers, who, as I have told you, have been permitted for years past to make a prey and plunder of the people of Canada.

I would like to ask hon. gentlemen opposite, if there has ever been a time in the history of Canada, and in the record of the two parties, when the people of this country suffered so much through the burdens of combinesters and trusts, as they do to-day? I remember when the government first came into power, and submitted their reform tariff, they exulted over a very ingenious device, which they had, to prevent combines being formed in Canada. This was the clause which appears as section 18 of the Act to consolidate and amend the Acts relating to duties of customs :

Whenever the Governor in Council has reason to believe that with regard to any article of commerce there exists any trust, combination, association or agreement of any kind among manufacturers of such article or dealers therein, to unduly enhance the price of such article, or in any other way to unduly promote the advantage of the manufacturers or dealers at the expense of the consumers, the Governor in Council may commission or empower any judge of the Supreme Court or Exchequer Court of Canada to inquire in a summary way into and report to the Governor in Council whether such trust, combination, association or agreement exists.

And, in case they found out that these existed, they took power to reduce the duty or abolish it altogether. But, can any hon. gentleman point out to me, one single instance where this government has put in force the power given by this parliament. Look at the combinations under which the people of this country are suffering. Take the case of coal oil. One of the principles of hon. gentlemen opposite, as enunciated in 1893, was that they would lightly tax the necessaries of life. This is one of the necessaries of life, something needed in almost every household in this country, and, especially among the farmers and poorer classes, who cannot afford the luxury of gas, and electric light, or are not in a position to have them, but must depend on coal oil. Here is a government that has pronounced protection, that denounced a high tariff upon imported goods, taking to-day two hundred per cent upon an article of household necessity of the people of this country. I would like to know how they can reconcile this with their promises. They were cautioned year after year, with regard to this great Standard Oil Trust encroaching upon Canada. They were told that its greedy eyes were turned upon Canada, and that it designed to get control of the coal oil industry in this country. And, what has that company done? They own every refinery in Canada. They bought nine refineries and tore down all but two of them. They have perfect control of the coal oil industry of Canada. And, what is the result? I have affidavits from many individ-

uals to tell us what the result is. Coal oil has advanced 7 cents a gallon, and as the people of Canada consume some twenty millions of gallons a year, that increase amounts to over a million dollars a year, taken out of the pockets of the farmers, of the labouring men, and the artisans of this country, for the benefit of the Standard Oil trust, a foreign company which has so enhanced the price as to take out of the pockets of the farmers and poor men of this country more than a million dollars a year and put them in the pockets of combiners and millionaires in the United States. Yet, though the people are thus unjustly deprived of \$1,200,000 a year, the government has not lifted its finger to put into force this Act, that they bragged over so much, as being so ingenious, and so perfect a means of preventing the formation of combinations in this country. I have had in my possession, petitions from Hamilton to Prince Edward Island, from thousands and thousands of people, asking this government to interfere to stop the discrimination of rates on the railways in regard to this matter, to break up these trusts, to abolish the duty upon coal oil, in order that the poor people of this country may buy it at a reasonable price. I am afraid under the ruling, that I shall not be able to reach the notice of motion that I have given on that subject. Therefore, I take this opportunity to say that I have presented these petitions to the government, and I am trying to advocate, as well as I can, such change in the tariff, such changes in regard to the control of rates on railways, and such laws concerning combines, as will make this article cheaper to the poor consumers of Canada.

We have been told that hon. gentlemen opposite were not pledged to free trade in this country, but I think I have quoted enough to prove that free trade as it is in England, or the antipodes of protection, is what the leaders of the party advocated previous to the elections of 1896. Hon. gentlemen will all remember how these old walls rang with denunciations of the protective tariff. Hon. gentlemen opposite brandished their political swords and swore, if they got into power, death to protection. I ask them if they have killed protection? They are practising the policy that we inaugurated and carried out, and have thereby admitted that the success of this country is dependent upon carrying out the policy that they condemned for eighteen long years, when in opposition.

In regard to the preferential tariff, they claim that it is one of the greatest moves ever made in this country. I claim that it is the greatest move ever made in this country, if we wish to kill the industries of the country. It is the most fatal step ever taken, in view of the efforts that had been made by Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Mackenzie Bowell and others to secure preferential trade with England. If we can get prefer-

ential trade with England, if we can send the produce of Canada, and receive higher prices than foreign nations receive in that country, it will be the greatest boon ever conferred on a people situated as we are. We have three hundred million square miles of land that never has been scratched by the plough or tickled by the hoe, ready for immigrants from foreign countries. We should look to secure immigrants who will take up our vacant lands to the advantage of the country. Not Doukhobors. We do not want a class of people who could not be permitted to land in the United States—the captain of a vessel who endeavours to land such would be fined and they would be sent back to their own country at his expense. By having a preference trade we can induce the tenant farmers of England to come here; and we could repatriate some of our French Canadians who have gone to the United States, if we would treat them as generously as this government have treated the Doukhobors in the North-west. What would it do? It would people our western lands, it would increase our population, and this population would give customers to the manufacturers and stimulate all the industries of this country. But, Sir, we expected if we got a preference in the British markets for our produce—we would have to reduce the tariff upon our importations. Instead of that, what have the government done? They have given England a preference in our markets by reducing our tariff without asking for any equivalent preference in her markets for our products; therefore, I say that the effect of the preferential tariff has been to prevent us from getting any advantage in the English markets. I can see no way out of this difficulty except to turn the Liberal party out of power and place the Conservative party in power. We know that the Conservative party is pledged to carrying out preferential trade, while the Liberal party have failed to procure for Canada any advantage in return for the preference which they are giving to British manufactures in our markets.

Mr. A. W. PUTTEE (Winnipeg). I do not know for what reason the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) introduced this motion. It is a peculiar motion, both because of the time and the manner of its introduction. If it is to prepare us for some future announcement of an increased preference by 20 or 25 per cent, then, I think we can well afford to spare a little time for its discussion. The leader of the opposition told us a story in which he compared the tariff policies of the two parties to a horse race in which he claimed that one horse was only 71-100ths in the lead of the other horse. I do not think we are going to see any race, and the reason is because there is only one horse. I prefer rather to compare the tariff policies of the two parties to two umbrellas held up over special inter-

ests. It must be admitted that there is not a great deal of difference in the size of these umbrellas, but the people who are between them get very wet. Gentlemen on the opposition side of this House go into this debate with a light heart, and they have a right to do so. They believe in protection, they have fought for it, they believe that it is the right thing for this country, and they are taking part in this debate without finding their principles very seriously strained. They tell us that the manufacturer has been considered in adjusting the tariff, and they know how he was considered in the past. But, I am quite willing to take their word for it that the manufacturers do enjoy a great deal of consideration, too much consideration, in fact exclusive consideration, in fixing tariffs in the Dominion of Canada. It is significant, indeed, that the Manufacturers' Association of the city of Toronto, I believe, say that it is unnecessary any longer to pay attention to this matter of protection, because both parties are pledged to it. I think they are right, I think they have no longer any particular need to pay attention to this matter.

But, Sir, if the manufacturers find no reason to pay attention to the tariff, the same cannot be said of the producer and of the worker of this country; these men still need to keep this matter in mind. I propose to examine for a moment only the tariff policy and the immigration policy. I want to see how they work out to the benefit of the worker and producer, and if it is in their interest they have been put upon the statute-books. I suppose I can take it for granted that a protective policy increases the price of an article. That is not usually contradicted. If a man goes and buys an article that is on a protected list, he pays more for it; and if he is a good patriot he will buy the foreign article, because then he will contribute directly to the revenue of his country. But, if he buys the domestic article he still pays the same price for it. If he pays a larger price for it, the purchasing power of his money is reduced by that much. If he cannot purchase so much with his money, it is equivalent to a reduction of his wages. Therefore, he finds that the market where he buys his goods is protected against him. That, at all events, is the way the protective policy works out.

The immigration policy works altogether in a different direction. I think, at all events, that the government can be congratulated on the success of their immigration policy. I do not say that it is a good one, nor that it is the best one, but certainly the government are entitled to credit for the fact that it does bring immigrants into the country. I think the last time an appeal was made to the country, both parties promised a vigorous immigration policy. While the immigration policy of this government has been successful in bringing immigrants

Mr. PUTTEE.

in, I think it has worked very much on the same lines as the tariff policy. Let us see how the bonusing of immigrants affects the wage earner and the worker. He has only one thing to sell, that is, his labour. The government bring in large numbers of immigrants and place them at different points. Although the object may be to get them to settle on the land, we know as a fact that we find them in the city, in the labour market, competing against labour. The competition in the labour market means lowering that market. The man who has his labour to sell finds the market not only open, but actually bonused against him. Then, he finds that the market where he buys his necessaries is also protected against him. That is, at all events, one view of the way these two policies work out. I think I am right in saying, as hon. gentlemen on the other side have maintained, that the protective policy is guided by the manufacturers of this country, and I think that the immigration policy is also inspired by other interests than those of the ordinary working people.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) I do not propose to engross the attention of this most interested House for any length of time. In fact, the great feature of this debate has been the intense interest which gentlemen on the government side have manifested in it. It has been stated that this resolution was introduced in order to serve as a subject for discussion, which should inform the general public with reference to the beauties of the tariff policy particularly of this government, which they adopted in 1897-8 and which has been in operation since.

If that was the purpose of the resolution, I must say, that so far as the interest of hon. gentlemen opposite has been shown, it does not seem to have appealed to them as being a very important matter; at least, they have not availed themselves, with a great deal of vigour, or to a large extent, of the opportunity which has been so generously afforded them. One or two things may be said in reference to this resolution. One is the extraordinary character of the resolution and the time at which it was introduced. Here you have the government, which is composed of men, heading a party, who, for the last eighteen years, at least, have been laying down before the country the great lines of policy which they thought to be correct and which they proposed to put into practice when they came into power. They get into power and in the course of a year or so they enact their policy in the shape of law and of statute. It is, after having crystallized the results of eighteen years of party professions into statute and kept that on the statute-book for two years, all the time professing that it was just the thing and the only thing, most surprising that an interruption should

be given to the whole course of the government business in order to allow a supporter of the government to introduce a resolution declaring that what the government has done has been the best thing it could have done, and a good thing to have done. The hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), who introduced the motion, started off with a great assumption of fairness. I wondered at the time he started, if he would evince that sense of fairness which he expressed as being so essential in the early part of his speech, all the way through his address in support of the motion, but I am afraid it cannot be said for the hon. gentleman that his performance practically came up to what was his profession at the beginning of his address. What is it that he particularly asked for? He particularly thought it well that a clear expression of the opinion of the House should be made in reference to the preferential part of the government's policy. Now, does the hon. gentleman propose to get a clear expression of the opinion of the House by, without consultation with the House at all, preparing his view, putting it in the shape of a resolution and launching it at a time and in a place where not an 'I' can be dotted or a 'T' crossed? Does the hon. gentleman think that he gets a clear expression of the opinion of the House by moving a cut-and-dried resolution, which cannot be amended or altered in any way, and which, at the best, can simply express the opinion of the mover and that of those on his own side of the House who believe as he does upon that particular line of policy? If the hon. gentleman had been anxious to have obtained a clear expression of the opinion of the House he would have moved a resolution which could not only have been criticised, but altered, if need be, in order to express the opinion of the House as a whole. That the hon. gentleman entirely avoided. The resolution is peculiar in another sense that it only takes up a part of the government's general tariff policy and declares it to be good and beneficial. The government's policy is not only made up of this preferential feature, but it has also the other features which hon. gentlemen opposite and the government leading them have embalmed in their legislation so far as the tariff is concerned. Why did not the hon. member for Halifax in his resolution, express the same approval of the other part of the government's tariff policy as well? The whole thing seems to have a good deal of this appearance, that, after the government has made its professions of policy, laid down its platform, the policy that it was elected upon, the professions that it has made and then has embalmed this policy in legislation, the government begins to feel a certain qualm of conscience itself as to whether it is right, and it asks its own side of the House, if it cannot get anybody else, to prepare a formal affidavit that what the

government has done is good and right and true and the best thing it could have done. The hon. member for Halifax, when he introduced even this portion of his resolution, was brave, almost to the point of hazard and to the point of recklessness, when he dragged into his speech another matter and made an attempt to show the House and the country that the government had been true to their professions they had made in reference to the tariff and to the trade of this country when it was seeking the voice of the electorate. I supposed that the hon. gentleman would have been pleased to put in the shape of a formal resolution his belief that the government had actually performed the promises which it made to the electorate when it was attempting to get into office and get the reins of power. But the hon. gentleman's boldness hardly goes so far as to make a formal assertion that the government had fulfilled its pledges. I am not going to take up the time of the House in order to combat that part of the hon. gentleman's contention. This part of his speech has been dealt with by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, and dealt with thoroughly. You cannot point out a reasonable minded, sensible intelligent man in this country, from one end of it to the other, who will venture the assertion that the present government has performed the promises and kept the pledges which it made to the people of the country when it was carrying on its canvass preparatory to the elections of 1896. It is all very well to quote one or two expressions, expressions from Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the opposition at that time, or from Sir Oliver Mowat, who joined his forces with those of Sir Wilfrid Laurier at that time, to take certain expressions from these two hon. gentlemen and to make them appear as the pledge of the party as a whole and to be bound by them in regard to the trade and tariff policy, but the assertions of the convention of 1893 and the assertions of these leaders of the party, of gentlemen who are now leaders of the government, delivered in many cities and counties, and published in the newspapers, have been heard by the people, and the people know right well, that, not only the distinct promises, but the whole trend of the argument and of the persuasion of these gentlemen, have been violated entirely by the performances they have made in reference to these things since they came into office. There is not a minister who sits on the Treasury benches, and they are not often found sitting on the Treasury benches, even while this most important discussion is going on—there is not a single one of them who does not know that he made promises to the electors which he and his colleagues have violated by non-performance since they became ministers and have been carrying on the government of the country. What passes belief, what passes the bounds of

human credulity is that these hon. gentlemen can rise in their places, before the people who have heard them speaking upon these lines, that I have been speaking about, and declare, with set faces, that they have carried out all the promises that they have made to the electors. The Minister of Customs, speaking at Winnipeg, declared that the government had fulfilled every promise they had made, with the exception of one, and that was the reformation of the Senate, and they proposed to carry that out. The Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) made the same assertion only a few weeks ago at Owen Sound, and, as reported in the *Toronto Globe*, he went over one by one the promises that had been made, and declared that every one of them had been fulfilled. Now, it is no use arguing with hon. gentlemen in this way. There have been the years of their assertions, and here is the modicum of the professions that they have accomplished, and the two records are before the intelligent people of Canada, and the intelligent people of Canada know that these gentlemen have not kept the promises that they have made. Take this one subject referred to in this resolution now before the House. Why did the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) deem it well to ignore one of the definite promises which was made upon this subject by the Prime Minister? What was that promise? At the risk of re-reading what has been read again and again, let me draw the attention of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) to that one definite plain promise which was made by his leader, whom he has lauded so much as keeping all his promises. When the election campaign was on, and this question of preferential trade—not the preferential trade which is spoken of in this resolution; not the preferential trade which is claimed to be in the legislation that the government have put upon the statute-book, but a preferential trade which was mutual in its character—when that was brought before the people of this country by many an advocate, prominently by Sir Charles Tupper, and then taken up by the leader of the then opposition, Mr. Wilfrid Laurier; what was the preferential basis which he discussed at that time? Let us deal honestly with each other. Was it a one-sided preference? There is not a gentleman in this House who will rise and say it was. The preference that Sir Charles Tupper advocated was a mutual preference. The preference that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then in opposition, advocated and pledged himself on, was also a mutual preference. There is no doubt about that. Has the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) any doubt about it? If he has, let me read what Mr. Laurier himself said in London, Ont. He took up that canvass of Sir Charles Tupper's with reference to the preference, and as an offset to it, he said:

But I want to point out to you, my fellow-countrymen, upon this occasion, that in addition to

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the many reasons which we had up to the present time, there is now another reason which must strongly appeal to the sense of the Canadian people at large: preferential trade. That is a new idea of having within the British Empire preferential trade with all parts of that empire. Goods of English make would be admitted free to this country, and our goods would be admitted free to England as they are now, but in addition to that we would have for our goods a preference which would not be given to the goods of another nation.

Now, that would mean that we were to have a preference on the ground of free trade for free trade, or a preference on the ground of reduced tariff for reduced tariff, or either of these. That was the idea of Mr. Wilfrid Laurier then. His idea was that the preference was to be mutual and not one-sided. There is no doubt in the world that that is what he was speaking about then. He goes on to say:

Now, the statesmen of Great Britain—

Aha! not simply unimportant persons.

Now, the statesmen of Great Britain have thought that the governments of the colonies have come to a time when a new step can be taken in their development. What is it? That there should be a commercial agreement between England and the colonies. That practical statesman—

You see the term that is applied here.

That practical statesman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain has come to the conclusion that the time has come when it is possible to have within the bounds of the empire a new step taken which would give to the colonies in England a preference for their products over the products of other nations.

That is not the windy argument of some enthusiast; that is the idea of a practical statesman, Mr. Laurier says. That is not a one-sided preference. It is to be a preference in which the colonies would have a preference for their products over the products of other nations.

What would be the possibilities of such a step if it were taken. We sell our goods in England, we send our wheat, our butter, our cheese, all our natural products, but there we have to compete with similar products from the United States, from Russia, and from other nations. Just see what a great advantage it would be to England if the wheat, the cheese and butter which we would send to England should be met in England with a preference over similar products of other nations. The possibilities are immense.

Who denies that Mr. Laurier said that in London, Ont. If the English language can speak plainly there is no doubt about the kind of preference he meant. That was the idea of Mr. Laurier at that time. When? When he was trying to get himself and his party into power, and making his pledges as a leader in this country. He goes on:

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the new and progressive Secretary for the Colonies, has declared that the time has come when it is possible to discuss that question.

So said Sir Charles Tupper.

But, Sir, if England is going to give us that preference—

Now comes in the argument—

—England will expect something from us in return.

What is the idea there? Does not he make it as clear as man can that there is to be a preference in one case and a return for that preference in the other. We are not quibbling now on words. We are taking just the plain sense of the English language spoken by a sane man, spoken by the leader of a party, when he was endeavouring to gather the people of this country to him, and to put his party in power on broad lines of policy. He continues:

England would expect that we would come as closely to her own system of free trade as it is possible for us to come. England does not expect that we should take her own system of free trade such as she has it; but I lay it before you that the thing the English people would expect in return is that, instead of a principle of protection, we should adopt the revenue form of tariff, pure and simple. These are the conditions on which we can have that boon.

So, Mr. Laurier, if not going so far as absolute free trade, was certainly advocating nothing less than a revenue tariff. Granted that he was not arguing for a free trade tariff pure and simple. He says he was not—that it never was promised. You could point out sentence after sentence in Mr. Laurier's own speeches made then, in which he told the people that what he was going for was free trade as it was in England. But, give him the benefit of that doubt, and it will take even more assurance than that of the member for Halifax to arise in this House and state, what would be the greatest slander on honest men that ever could be stated, that his party leaders at that time advocated anything less than a revenue tariff. They stood against the iniquity of protection in principle and practice. To say the least, they stood for a tariff based on revenue alone, and that is the point of Mr. Laurier's then appeal to the electorate of this country; we shall be in a better position to get that preference in the British market—why? Because we are the men who advocate a revenue tariff, and England will expect that although we do not go the whole length of free trade, we shall go as closely as possible to a tariff for revenue purposes only. Therefore, he says, put me and my party in power, because we base our action in trade matters on a revenue tariff; that is the leverage with which we shall go to England, to get what the practical statesman, Joseph Chamberlain says is now ready for discussion, between the British government and this government. And what else did he say, at the end of that statement, as plainly as a man could make it? Where the preference is a

mutual preference, there are better chances of its being got by a revenue tariff party, than by a protective tariff party. Mr. Laurier stood before the people of London, and the people of this country, and said: If you put us in power, I promise you that one of the first acts of the government will be to send delegates or commissioners to England to take this matter up with the British government. Now, is that denied? Let us be honest with each other; have I been right in my statement of these facts? Does anyone in this House deny them? If he does, let him deny them now. Was the promise made? If it was not, let us be honest with each other and say that it was not. Was it made on that basis and under those circumstances? Come, now, did Mr. Laurier ever send a commission to England to enter into communication with, or to sit down and talk over the matter with the commissioners of the British government? That is a question of historical fact. I put it to the member for Halifax: can he cite any fact of history in corroboration to show that Mr. Laurier whilst making this promise—did propose a commission to Great Britain to talk over this matter, and endeavour to gain that boon which he pledged himself before he got into power, to endeavour to gain? That is a matter of pure fact or otherwise. Where is the right of it? Am I right in my statement of it, or have I been misled, or am I stating a myth? Therefore, I say to the member for Halifax, that he would have been more discreet and more honest, if I may use that expression, if he had cleared up that difficulty, or else if he had not gone the length of declaring that they had performed every promise which they had made. There is no excuse for leaving out an important matter like that, because the hon. gentleman was dealing entirely with the preferential side of this business in his resolution. Does he deal with the question without being master of the facts? Does he consider that it is the right and reasonable thing to do, having become master of the facts, to leave out the principle fact, when he is endeavouring to put in a reasonable and proper way a theme before any audience at all? Does he conduct his lectures in Dalhousie College on that principle? Is he a descendent and disciple of Plato, and all the philosophers of light and reason, from that time down to this, who will make himself a complete master of all the facts when he sets out to form the opinions of those to whom he lectures, and, then leave out the main fact, which, if it were known, would make his position entirely untenable, and make it the exact opposite of what he is endeavouring to hold? Surely my hon. friend must be constituted somewhat wrongly, or he would not have approached this subject in the way he has, in the light of his great desire that there should be a clear expression of the opinion of this House, on the question of

preferential trade. So much for that. Have the promises been fulfilled? Why, it is all a matter of history. Mr. Wilfrid Laurier not only did not attempt to fulfil his promise, not only did not appoint commissioners, but, Sir, the first thing he did when he landed on English soil, was to cut out one-half of the whole statement that he had made to the electorate beforehand—to blot out entirely one-half of the mutual preference, and right there and then to forestall the whole question before he sat down with Mr. Chamberlain or any other member of the British government. He simply said, I will have none of the mutual preference; I will simply give to you something, and I will counsel you not to give anything in return, which would destroy the fabric of free trade on which you have built your greatness, and to which I am so passionately devoted. Passionately devoted?—and yet in his own tariff, which he brought down to this House, and put through this House, and which he maintains in the country, is as far removed from the policy of free trade which he counselled Great Britain always to retain, as the policy to which he declared his undying aversion, because it was the bane and curse of any country into which it was introduced; and that pet aversion of his he keeps in the statutes, and operative in this country. What are you going to do with a man, or a set of men who, in the light of these facts, calmly stand up and say by their solemn affidavit, a resolution?—Well, no; the member for Halifax was not quite brave enough to put that into his resolution; but he, as well as every member on the opposite side, who has spoken, have declared that every pledge given by the leader of the government and the Liberal party has been carried out.

What a wide divergence of opinion there is between some of these hon. gentlemen. The Minister of Customs, in his western speeches, declared that you could not bind the party by the utterances of this man and that man and the other, but you must go to the convention utterances of 1893. The member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), not having the fear of the Minister of Customs before his eyes, or of the Postmaster General and various others who made the same assertion, declared that the party was bound, not only by its convention utterances of 1893, but by its leader's utterances, and he would bind it by the utterances of its two leaders, Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Those are the two whom he quoted, and it was from the utterances of these two gentlemen that he endeavoured to establish the first part of his thesis, namely, that what had been pledged had been carried out in the performance. But, while, as every body knows, the hon. member for Halifax is nearer right than the other gentlemen, these other gentlemen, even though they confine themselves to the 1893 platform, cannot find that the party pledges have yet been carried out. Every-

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body knows that a party is bound, not only by its convention platform, but by the declarations of its acknowledged leaders. And it is impossible, as the hon. member for Halifax has said, to sever the party responsibility from the utterances of the acknowledged leaders of that party. And what Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, as leader of the opposition, pledged himself to in the name of the party, is a pledge the party cannot repudiate. They may repudiate a pledge made by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), who is one of those rather irresponsible men that they talk about, but it is impossible for them to do so with the leader of their party, and with what you may call the strong foremost men of their party, who go out and speak in the name of the party, and, consequently, make the party responsible for their promises.

Now, will the hon. member for Halifax say to-night, or at any time, that the leader of the government did not promise that coal and iron should be free in the tariff which he and his party would make? That is a matter of history which cannot be denied. No man would have the hardihood to get up and deny it. Those were not two unimportant items. They typified a great principle, as well as being most important items themselves, and the right hon. gentleman's deliberate promise was that when his party came into power these raw materials, as well as cotton and wool, would be free. Are they free to-day? If they are not free, and if the promise was made that they would be free, has that promise been fulfilled? There is no use pursuing this further, but you can pursue it through the whole list.

Who does not know that every single-minded, honest, confiding man in this country, who listened to Mr. Wilfrid Laurier and the leaders beside him, believed that if that party got into power there would be no undermining business going on with reference to members supporting the government for offices in the gift of the government. But has it not been going on? Have not men been bought and sold, to use the choice vocabulary of these same gentlemen when they sat on this side, and offices were bestowed on the other? There is no use taking up the time of the House going through the whole list, but why cannot we be honest to each other and admit these facts which are patent as the light of day? Why is it we found resolutions on statements that facts never existed which everybody knows have existed and do exist?

It was only the last five minutes of the hon. gentleman's speech that had anything to do at all with the subject of his resolution. Will the House attend to the peculiar method of reasoning which the hon. member for Halifax used? Now, the hon. gentleman is an educated man, he is a thinker, he bears the lofty impress of a thinker on his brow; meet him any where, in the busy

mart, on the street, in the philosopher's grove, you would pick him out in an instant as a thoughtful reasoning man. The old flavour of the groves of Greece clings around him, the atmosphere in which he has been brought up, which is natural to him, in student's halls, in university halls—all stamp him as a man who loves reason for its own sake and who would not for the world violate a canon of logic in the presentation of his case. But how does the hon. gentleman prove his thesis. By as complete a non sequitur as ever was invented. Here is his reasoning. Why should I say, he asks :

That this House regards the principles of British preference in the Canadian customs tariff as one which in its application has already resulted, and will, in an increasing measure, continue to result in material benefit to the mother country and to Canada, and which has already aided in welding, and must still more firmly weld together the ties which now bind them, and desires to express its emphatic approval of such British preference having been granted by the parliament of Canada.

How, says the hon. gentleman, shall I prove that by unanswerable logic? This is how I will do it. I will take the trade statistics, and I will make this statement, that in 1897 we imported dutiable goods from Great Britain to the value of 20½ million dollars. I will add to that the statement that in 1898 we imported 22½ million dollars worth, and in 1899, 27½ million dollars worth. And now I will draw my conclusion. There are two importations, and making the mathematical calculation. I find that 1899 shows 22½ of an increase over 1898. Having made that calculation, I now draw the irrefragable conclusion. What is it? It is that the preferential clause in the enactment of the government has been the reason and the cause of this increase of 22 per cent in the importations from England. But, is it not a rule of logic that you must prove that a thing could not have been caused by anything else in order to establish satisfactorily that it has been caused by the one thing which you maintain did cause it? The hon. gentleman's rule is exactly the reverse. Let us apply that rule in a little wider field. I will read a set of figures. I will say to the hon. gentlemen that in 1897 we imported of dutiable goods from Germany five and one-third millions, that in 1898 we imported five and one-third millions, and in 1899 we imported six and two-thirds millions. Now, make the mathematical calculation that there is an increase of 24 per cent in the imports from Germany in 1899 over the imports from the same country in 1898, and I draw the conclusion, which everybody must agree with, who agrees with the hon. gentleman that it is the preferential clause with reference to Great Britain that has caused that increase of 24 per cent. Is not my reasoning as good reasoning as that of the hon. member from Halifax? It is exactly the same. Now, if

hon. members will read the speech of the hon. gentleman from Halifax, he will find that that is the only thing on which he bases the statements made in that resolution of his. Why, there is no use in carrying this any further. I am led again to ask myself: Does the hon. gentleman treat his classes in the university in that way? Surely, Dalhousie authorities ought to look into this matter. I think it will become necessary for me to send a marked copy of the hon. gentleman's peculiar reasoning and logic upon this matter to the authorities of Dalhousie, in order that if such methods are put in practice there, they may be as speedily as possible eliminated from that noble institution of learning.

Now, I am not going to keep the attention of this House any longer. I am not going into the general discussion. I have tried to elucidate the two points, and I think I have done it satisfactorily. Whether I have convinced everybody or not, I think I have at least placed the facts properly before the House. If the hon. gentleman started out with the idea of getting a clear expression of the opinion of this House by moving a motion in amendment to supply, he took the wrong way to accomplish his object. It is impossible that there should be an alteration in this resolution. There may be something in it that we would agree with; there may be a good deal in it that we would not agree with. It is impossible for me and other hon. gentlemen on this side to vote for that resolution. And they do not propose to vote for it; they propose to vote against it. They have to vote for it or against it, and they propose to vote against it. But in their own time they propose to place before this House their views with reference to this policy. Those views they propose to present in a notice of motion which I will read in order that it may go on record side by side with the amendment on which we are called to vote:

That this House is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between these countries, and would thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire, and that nothing which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). This debate has already taken a very wide range, the range that is usually taken in the course of a budget debate. Indeed, so much the character of a budget debate has this one taken that one wonders where the material is to be found for an extended budget debate at a later stage. I do not intend, especially at this late hour, to follow any of the hon. gentlemen over the wide field that they have covered. I desire to confine the very few observations I shall make on behalf of the government to the particular question that has been brought

to the notice of the House by the amendment of my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Russell).

I regret that hon. gentlemen opposite have found occasion to take exception to that motion, because I think it is a motion that should have commended itself to their judgment and enlisted their support. I think there was strong reason why such a motion should be made. The question of preferential trade is one of the utmost importance in the affairs of Canada to-day. It is a question of the utmost importance as part of the present fiscal policy of Canada; and it is eminently proper that the positions of the two political parties on that question should be fairly defined. Has it been defined in recent years? I submit to you, Mr. Speaker, and to the House, and to the public, that the position of the Conservative party on that question has not been defined, but that there was a studied attempt to avoid placing on record the position which they occupied on that great question. What have we been told by one hon. gentleman on the other side? He said that when the preferential tariff was brought down, it was a most fatal step to the interest of Canada. What will the people of Canada think when I remind them of the fact that, from the moment that tariff was brought down, down to this hour, no hon. member on the other side has dared to challenge a division on that subject? Hon. gentlemen opposite have not hesitated to challenge divisions on questions of comparatively little importance; but here we have an acknowledgment from a prominent gentleman on the other side, that they regarded this question as of great importance, as one in which the government had taken a fatal step: and here we are to-day, three years after that step was taken, and, down to this moment, there is no record on the journals of this House to show where hon. gentlemen opposite stand upon it.

True, we have occasionally heard from them on the subject. We have heard their leaders indicate in one way or another that they were opposed to the preferential tariff, but when they avoided placing their position on record in this House, their purpose was clear enough. They desired to be in a position to attack the preferential tariff in some places where they thought that could be done with safety, and, at the same time, they wished to be able to point to the fact that, after all, they had never opposed this tariff. I think that upon a question of such vast importance, it was right and proper that the Conservative party as well as the Liberal party should be called upon to define its position. And it will stand on record and be well understood that these gentlemen have been playing fast and loose on this question, that they have been shrinking from the issue, and that they only face it now when they have been brought

up to the ring-bolt by the motion of my hon. friend (Mr. Russell).

We have had two kinds of preferential trade advocated in this country. One is the kind of preferential trade which the government has put in operation; the other is the kind of preferential trade that my hon. friends opposite talked about for many years, and which we now find they are ready to talk about again, but concerning which they never made the slightest progress toward anything tangible or practically beneficial to the people of Canada. But these hon. gentlemen ask my hon. friend from Halifax why, in moving an amendment to supply, he did not propose a motion asking the House to support and approve the whole policy of the government. Because, Sir, we recognize that on general questions of policy, even on some phases of the tariff question, there is ground for reasonable difference of opinion; and, if my hon. friend had brought into the House a motion approving of the policy of the government generally, or even of the tariff policy generally, then a way out would have been afforded to hon. gentlemen opposite. But the hon. member for Halifax did a better thing. He confined himself strictly to the question of the British preference. He did not even raise the question of the portion of preference, whether it should be 5, 10, 15, 20 or 25 per cent. His motion simply declares that the preferential feature, the giving of an advantage in our markets to the products of the mother country over the products of foreigners, should be approved of by this House. And now, after the lapse of three years, after their playing fast and loose with the question, we have hon. gentlemen, not very cheerfully and not very pleasantly, I must say, declaring that they are going to face the music, and that at last we shall know where they stand. They are going to declare, as they have done in their speeches to-night, they are going to declare by their votes against this resolution, that if they had been in power in the year 1897 they would not have given England a preference in trade. They are going to declare that if perchance they should be brought back to power at the next general elections they will repeal the preferential tariff, and they will deprive the empire of the splendid achievement which Canada and the Liberal party in Canada have given to it in relation to preferential trade. They are going to go back now to the old ground on which they stood for so many years.

Sir, what was ever accomplished on the old ground which they took up? Those who were members of this House long before I came to it, and those who followed the discussions, know that year by year motions were made in this House, speeches were made in this House, and conferences were held, and everything of the sort, but what came of all these movements

for preferential trade? Down to the moment when this government came into power, no substantial step had ever been taken in the direction of preferential trade. At every move they made they found themselves confronted with the German and Belgian treaties, and that seemed to be a sufficient answer to every request they made. The Belgian and German treaties had to be got out of the way. Sir, they would never have been got out of the way in a thousand years if hon. gentlemen had continued their policy. It was only when the question was approached in another way that the British public appreciated the position of Canada on this question and were willing to remove those hitherto insuperable obstacles to the liberty of Great Britain and the colonies dealing among themselves. What were the Belgian and German treaties? They contained provisions that Canada or any other colony should not be at liberty to admit the products of Great Britain on better terms than the products of Belgium and of Germany; and if the colonies were to admit them on special terms, then the goods of Belgium and the goods of Germany had to be admitted on even terms with those of Great Britain, and then it followed that under the favoured-nation treaties many other nations also would be admitted to the same privilege. It was indeed a serious obstacle to preferential trade.

But the point I desire to make is that so long as the hon. gentleman attached impossible conditions to the demand for preferential trade, so long they made no progress. They did attach an impossible condition. I do not say it will for ever be an impossible condition, but I say that in the years when they demanded that Great Britain should, for the sake of Canada and the other colonies, impose a tax upon the breadstuffs of foreign countries, it was something that at that time, and in later years, and at this time still, could not and cannot be granted by the British people. Those who have given attention to the long struggle for the abolition of the corn laws know well how the people of England feel on that question. There are those who have stated in this House, some hon. gentlemen have said in this debate, that they do not believe that England will ever change ground on that question. I have never gone so far. I have again and again declared that it was quite possible that a change might be brought about in British public opinion on that question. But I have said before, and I repeat it now, that if that change is ever brought about, if the British people should become willing to put aside the strong views which they hold on that question and tax food, if they shall be found willing to accord a preference by taxing the goods of foreign countries, while still admitting the goods of Canada free, that result will never be achieved by a huckstering policy. It will only be achieved by the generous policy

which this government has adopted, it will only be achieved by getting the British people to grant us that privilege not as a matter of bargain, but as one result of that splendid Imperial spirit which is to-day swelling over the British empire. That is the point wherein we differ from hon. gentlemen opposite. They fall back upon the old ground: You must get something for something; you must give no concession to Great Britain unless she will give you something in return. What if she has opened her ports to you for generations? What if she has expended blood and treasure for the defense of her colonies all over the world? We are to deal with her in the same spirit as we would with a foreign nation, we are to drive a hard bargain, and say that unless she will give us this great concession we on our side will do nothing. Sir, we submit that is not the right spirit in which to deal with our English brethren at home. We submit that we have the evidence before us now, evidence that ought to be satisfactory to every reasonable man, that the step that we have taken, while it has not brought about that preference by the statutes of Great Britain, while we have not got the preference by law that the hon. gentleman demanded, we have a voluntary preference in the hearts of the British people to-day which is of substantial value.

But, hon gentlemen say, What have you accomplished by it. Why, Sir, we were told by the leader of the opposition in several public speeches that there had been no increase of trade between Great Britain and Canada. That statement was made in public speeches as reported in one of the papers, particularly with regard to imports; I am not sure that the hon. gentleman's statement went beyond that. Well, Sir, the public records show that there has been an increase, the public records show that the imports from Great Britain under the national policy, in the last four or five years, dropped from about \$43,000,000 down to \$29,000,000; and the same records show that from the year 1897, when this tariff was passed, down to the present moment, these imports have increased from 29 million dollars to 37 million dollars. The leader of the opposition said, and the member for Halifax (Mr. Borden) tried to emphasize the same point to-night: There has been a general expansion of trade, and therefore the growth of this British trade to which we on this side refer is merely a part of the general expansion of trade. Turn back to the records and you will find that there was an expansion of trade in the last two or three years of the late government. The imports of the country increased in those years by several millions, but there was no corresponding advance in the imports from England. On the contrary, those imports fell off, and therefore, the very principle that hon. gentlemen cite is against their contention.

I do not wish to go into the matter at a great length, but I cannot avoid calling attention to the fact that the preferential trade that hon. gentlemen opposite talk about is in one sense even to-day a myth. The time may come when it may be possible, but I do say that no statesman of the first rank in the mother country has placed himself on record in recent years as being willing to grant that preferential trade. There are some people in England, enthusiasts in this matter, men whose Imperial spirit overrides considerations of political economy, who take another view. I am far from saying anything against them. It would be a good thing indeed if we could obtain that preferential trade which the hon. gentlemen talk about. But the great difference between us is this, that that which they talk about is not practical. I repeat the statement that no public man of the first rank in Great Britain has said that that can be done. Frequent references have been made to the Hon. Mr. Chamberlain. Hon. gentlemen opposite have not been able to quote a line from Mr. Chamberlain which says that he would approve of the policy which they advocate. Mr. Chamberlain did at one time suggest something in that line, coupled though with the condition that within the empire they should have freedom of trade, which hon. gentlemen opposite would not grant, and which we on this side probably would not grant either. Then for some time hon. gentlemen paraded the country with the statement that the Duke of Devonshire had offered the right hon. Premier this great boon when he was in England. The Duke of Devonshire, we were told, had in a public speech, declared his willingness as one of the public men of the country, as a member of the Imperial government, to give this concession to Canada; and I believe that for some months the hon. gentleman did persuade some people that there was something in it. My hon. friend the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), with that habit of getting right down to the bottom of a question, which is characteristic of him, went direct to headquarters on the subject. He addressed a letter to the Duke of Devonshire, stating exactly what had been said of him in Canada, and asking him if that was correct. We have on record the statement of the Duke of Devonshire that he never offered anything of the sort, that he never intended to offer anything of the sort, that he had no authority to offer anything of the sort; and so the whole thing crumbled like a house of cards.

Now, I say that hon. gentlemen opposite are not going to impose upon the country by talking of a preferential trade which they know is not practically before the country. We say that so long as you make a demand upon Great Britain for a tax upon the breadstuffs of foreign countries, just so long will you make no progress in the direction of securing preferential trade with the mother country. I do not say it will

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never be done; I do not say that it would not be a good thing. It would be a good thing for Great Britain to grant to Canada, but it would be a mean thing for Canada to demand as a condition of preferential trade. That may be the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite, but it is not the policy of this government. We can apply the proverb quoted the other day by the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell): 'There is that scattereth and yet increaseth and there is that withholdeth more than is met, but it tendeth to poverty.'

I believe that by the step taken by this government, not demanding anything in return; but giving this preference in a generous spirit, in recognition of all that England has done for us, we have touched the hearts of the English people, as we could have done in no other way. I believe that we have advanced our standing in the empire, and I believe that we have advanced our material prosperity, because, as I said a moment ago, by giving a preference to Great Britain, I believe we have gained a preference in the hearts of the people of England, which is shown by the fact that they are taking more goods from us than ever they have done before. We will have to submit to the taunts of hon. gentlemen as to this measure being a delusion. It is a trick, says the hon. leader of the opposition, but, we know that the press of Great Britain and the British Empire generally hailed it with great joy and satisfaction. It is a deception, says the hon. leader of the opposition, but, we know that Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen deemed it worthy of notice in Her speech from the Throne. It is a fraud, say hon. gentlemen on the opposition benches, but we know that the United Empire League of Great Britain, and the British Empire League of Canada, of which the hon. leader of the opposition is, I believe, a member, have recognized the step taken by Canada, as one of vast importance. It is a sham, says the hon. leader of the opposition, but the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, acting on behalf of Her Majesty's government, did not say it was a sham. In an official despatch, he said:

I desire to add, in conclusion, that the action of the Dominion government and parliament in this matter, although, unfortunately, its full effect will be temporarily postponed, has been warmly welcomed and appreciated by Her Majesty's government and the people of this country as a measure which cannot fail to result in material benefit to the mother country and to Canada, and to weld together still more closely the ties which now unite them.

That is the very language of the motion which the hon. gentleman condemns, and which he and his friends say they are going to vote down. We can let the matter stand there; cheered and encouraged by the press of the empire, with the words of our Gracious Sovereign before us, as seen in an official despatch, we can stand the taunts and jeers of hon. gentlemen opposite, and

on the issue between the Liberal and Conservative parties on this question of preferential trade, we appeal with the fullest confidence to the electors of Canada.

Mr. JOHN McMILLAN (South Huron). Mr. Speaker, I intend to speak on this question for only a few minutes in reply to some of the things that have been said by hon. members of the opposition. It has been said that the farmers of this country have not been benefited by free corn. The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), was honest enough to say that the farmers were benefited in his riding during the hard times of the summer when feed was scarce. He made the admission that free corn was a benefit to them. The hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson), mentioned free corn and he said that it had injured the farmers in the sale of their coarse grains. I am not going to speak long, but I want to give a brief statement to show the benefit that free corn has been to the farmers of Ontario. During last year we imported 23,000,000 bushels of corn, and we exported up to within 7,192,000 bushels of that amount which we kept for home consumption. Let us take the 7,192,000 bushels that we kept for home consumption and convert it into tons, so as to see what a ton of corn is worth. There would be 210,378 tons of corn in that 7,192,000 bushels. At 41 cents a bushel, a ton is worth \$14.65. Peas in Toronto, at the present time, are selling at 60 cents a bushel, and a ton of peas is worth \$20.10, so that there is a margin of \$5.45 between the value of a ton of peas, and the value of a ton of corn. Taking barley at 47 cents a bushel, there is a margin between the price of a ton of barley, and the price of a ton of corn of \$4.84. Oats have been selling at 31½ cents per bushel, so that there is a margin of \$3.76 between a ton of corn and a ton of oats. Let the farmers of Ontario sell a certain number of bushels of coarse grains and purchase the same number of tons of corn, and what is the result? Let me say, that during the last two or three years, the farmers in the northern part of Ontario, and last summer, those in the southern counties, derived great benefit as the result of the government allowing corn to come in free. What was the result of selling that amount of coarse grains, peas, etc., and purchasing corn in its place? The result was that \$1,198,199 was saved to the farmers of Ontario as against peas, as a consequence of the government admitting corn free. I state positively that there is no injury done to the farmer in respect of his coarse grains. In the United States, where they have such an enormous corn crop, it has not reduced the price of these other grains, and it will not reduce the price of them in Canada. Take barley, there is \$4.84 of a difference between the price of a ton of corn and the price of a ton of barley, which would give to the farmer \$974,679 of a benefit as a result of the government allowing

corn to come into the country free. There is also, on oats, a saving of \$757,000, because the farmers of Canada sell these oats and purchase corn to feed to their animals. I know from experience that corn is a most valuable feed, and that is one of the reasons why the United States, in selling their beef in the old country, are able to produce an article which excels our Canadian beef. I hold that this is one of the greatest boons that the government has afforded to the farmers, in giving them the benefit of free corn, and I am happy to say that no farmer, knowing the needs of farmers, has got up in this House, and made his statement in opposition to that policy. These criticisms have come from hon. gentlemen who pretend to know a great deal about farming, but who really know very little about it. I was amused by what the hon. member for Halton said. He told the House that it was on sickles, and ploughs that the duty was reduced. While, he said, that the duty was reduced on wind-mills, he explained that the farmers did not grind grain by wind-mills, and in this he showed exactly the amount of agricultural information he is possessed of. The hon. gentleman does not know that farmers grind their grain, cut straw, and pump water with wind-mills. We have been told over and over again that the majority of these changes in the tariff did not tend to the benefit of the farmers in the Dominion. I have here a list of twenty-three articles which are classed as agricultural implements on which the government has reduced the duty by 28½ per cent. There are axes, straw-knives, hand-rakes, forks, scythes and snaths. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) showed the immense amount of knowledge he possesses about the implements the farmers use, when he said that a scythe and a snath were not used by our farmers to-day. One of the strongest statements he made was that when a merchant went to the old country to purchase goods, the first question put to him was: What do you pay for such goods in the United States? Did any one ever hear such old woman's talk in this House? To think that the wholesale merchants of Great Britain would ask such a question. When the hon. gentleman states that where the duty is reduced from 25 per cent to 12½ per cent, the consumer does not get the benefit, he states an entirely new proposition in political economy. I have read a good many works on political economy, but I have never heard that theory advanced before. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) can prove that to the civilized world, and if he writes a book and gets a copyright on it, he will confer a benefit on civilization, and will make a fortune for himself. We have horse forks used on every farm, and we have root cutters, and root pulpers, and expensive clippers for de-horning cattle, and potato diggers, which my hon. friend says are not used in his

county, for the people there plough the potatoes up and gather them in their fingers—why, he lives in the backwoods. We have fanning mills, hay tedders, self-loaders, feed cutters, corn planters, we have post-hole diggers, but he says they do not use them. Why, Mr. Speaker, he is one of the most advanced agriculturists I ever met in my life. He must have fallen asleep as Rip Van Winkle did and did not awaken for twenty years, and then he was half asleep still. We have draining machines, turnip drills, scufflers and hoes, all reduced from 35 to 25 per cent. Here are twenty-three implements reduced 18½ per cent on the former duty, and yet the hon. gentleman tells us there was no reduction in duty. We have farm rollers reduced from 30 to 25 per cent. We have wind-mills reduced from 30 to 25 per cent, and wind-mills are put up on every well managed farm to-day. We have portable engines which are becoming more and more in use amongst the farmers when they do not use the wind-mill. We have threshers reduced from 30 to 25 per cent. We have horse-powers reduced from 30 to 25 per cent, we have sleighs and pumps, reduced from 30 to 25 per cent. There are eight implements all reduced from 30 to 25 per cent. We have manure spreaders, reduced from 25 to 20 per cent, and we have tread-mills, reduced from 30 to 25 per cent; but, Sir, that is not all. All the plant that goes into our creameries, our separators, our curd cutters, and a great many other implements, are all reduced from 30 to 25 per cent, beside that we have binding twine and barbed wire free, and wire for fencing, Nos. 9, 12 and 13, are made duty free to the farmer. Gentlemen on the other side ask us: Do you get these things cheaper to-day than you did before the duty was reduced, but these gentlemen do not consider that pig iron has advanced from \$10 to \$26 a ton, and that we cannot expect to get our implements as cheaply as formerly. There is one thing however, that the government has done, and that is, that instead of paying \$3,000,000 on bounties, they have reduced the bounties on iron largely, and they will cease altogether in 1905. They have also reduced the duty on pig-iron from \$4 to \$2.50 per ton. There are a large number of other benefits conferred upon the farmer which I could enumerate. I heard the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) tell us the other day, about his exploiting the old country market when he was Minister of Agriculture and sending \$2,000,000 worth of eggs into that country. But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) took very good care to steer clear of butter. He did not ask what the present Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) had done in respect to butter. I can remember that when a certain gentleman was Minister of Agriculture he took it into his head that he would purchase a quantity of butter and send it into the English market, and after it had gone to that market, he had

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the audacity, backed up by the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) to come before the people of the province of Ontario and tell them that that butter had been sold in the British markets, and that every cent had been returned to the Treasury. That is a legerdemain feat of financering that never was performed in this country before, because when we got the true statement we found that the government paid 21 cents a pound for that butter and that only 13½ cents was realized. Was the quality of that butter calculated to raise the standard of Canadian butter in the English market? Not at all. I hold in my hand a return from the wholesale house that handled a portion of that butter, Andrew Clement & Son, a firm well known in Manchester, Glasgow and London, and here is what they say about some of these samples of butter. One was:

Good texture, highly coloured, turnipy, and too old.

That was the class of butter the Conservative government sent over. Another sample was:

Old and turnipy.

Another:

Very salt and rank.

Another:

High coloured, too salty.

Why, Sir, the effect of sending such butter to the English market in 1895, by the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), then Minister of Agriculture, was to give such a bad name to Canadian butter that it took it years to overcome. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) had better, therefore, not touch butter. The ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) is also a Rip Van Winkle as regards the methods adopted by farmers in the present day. Did he not tell us that all the farmers' implements were made from wood taken from his own farm? Did he not tell us that the farmer's cloth was made by his own fireside, out of his own wool, and when some person said: What about nails, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) made fun of the farmer having to pay a little duty on nails, that being, as he said, the only thing he had to pay duty on. Did ever any Finance Minister in Canada try to humbug the simple farmers of the country in the manner the late Finance Minister (Mr. Foster) did? He knows it, and the farmers know it, and they have consigned him to the position he occupies to-day, and they will long remember that so long as he introduced a tariff into the House of Commons, it was not the tariff of the government, but the avowed tariff of the Manufacturers' Association of the Dominion of Canada, which had a committee that prepared the tariff and handed it to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), who submitted it to the House almost word for word as they prepared it.

But the farmers of Canada have the proud satisfaction of knowing to-day that we have a Finance Minister who does not go before the Manufacturers' Association for his brief. Now, this is what I read about the condition of the butter: While we assert that the 56-pound box is the best package to use, we give the preference to the 112-pound box if it can be got exactly as used by the Danes; but if it should be recognized as Canadian, it could not be sold. There is the condition to which these gentlemen brought our butter on the British market; and yet they tell us that in the present condition of the British market, although we sent 20,000,000 last year and 23,000,000 during the first six months of this year, we are putting it in such a condition on the British market that it will not be purchased if it is not recognized as Canadian butter. They tell us that the fact that our butter sells so well in the British market to-day is a result of their policy. Was that policy the cause of sending such stuff as I have described as compared with the excellent quality of butter which we send to-day?

That is not all the benefits which this government have conferred on the farmers of this country. The trips of the Minister of Agriculture to Washington with the Minister of Agriculture of Ontario, have done us more good than the whole Conservative government did when they were in power. Hon. gentlemen opposite say that the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) declared that the interests of the farmers lay in the markets of the United States. They do yet to a very large extent. In 1896 we sent to Great Britain 97,040 head of cattle, and to the United States 1,646 head; in 1897 we sent 120,063 head to Great Britain and 35,998 to the United States; in 1898 we sent 122,106 to Great Britain and 87,908 to the United States; and in 1899 we sent 115,311 to Great Britain and 93,000 to the United States; and I speak advisedly when I say that of these cattle going to the United States there was at the very lowest calculation \$5 more per head paid for them on account of the change in the quarantine regulations, which would give an increased value to the cattle sent to these 93,000 cattle, of \$465,000. But that is not all. Besides these animals, there were 555,583 cattle sold or slaughtered in the province of Ontario, and the value of these was also increased to the amount of \$5 per head. That would amount to \$2,777,000, which, added to the \$465,000, would make over \$3,000,000, which went into the pockets of the farmers of Canada on account of the quarantine regulations having been changed between the United States and Canada.

It was also promised that this government would reduce the expenditure; and a great deal has been said from time to time with respect to the number of civil servants

and their salaries. The government have carried out their promise in that respect, for I find by the public accounts that in 1896 there were 4,109 civil servants, whose salaries amounted to \$3,537,059, whereas in 1898 there were only 3,741 civil servants, a reduction of 268 in number, and a reduction in salaries of \$259,966. Then, we have always had reason to complain of the management of our Dominion lands office. During the last year there was a saving of \$18,000 in that item, and for the first time, under the blessed policy which hon. gentlemen opposite make so much of, the revenues from the lands are more than the expense of managing them. In the management of our debt the government saved \$36,218 last year, and in civil government they saved \$7,033. Instead of our butter not selling in the British market if branded Canadian, and a great deal of the produce of Canada being in the same position, what do we find the British people saying to-day? They say, brand everything you have got as Canadian, for it stands at the head of the market, and we will pay you the best price for it. Was it the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite that brought our goods to such a condition that they could not be sold on the British market as Canadian? Then, the government have established cold storage stations throughout the length and breadth of the land, which have enabled our farmers to put their butter and other perishable products on the market in the best condition. That is something that was never attempted by the late government. I was rather astonished to hear my hon. friend from East Grey (Mr. Sproule) admit that we had not brought the cold storage to great perfection, and that it is yet in its infancy. It is so, but yet it has accomplished a great deal of good during the last few years. Then, hon. gentlemen opposite say a great deal about the bribery and corruption connected with elections. The hon. member for East Grey said he had never in his life before seen such a time of corruption as he saw during the last election. If the hon. gentleman saw a saturnalia of corruption, and did not go before the courts and expose it and have the corruptionists punished, he was aiding and abetting them by keeping silent. Although the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) said that the hon. member for West Huron (Mr. Holmes) held his seat by corrupt means—

Some hon. MEMBER. Order.

Mr. McMILLAN. I am only going in the direction that hon. gentlemen opposite have gone before. As far as the constituency of West Huron is concerned, I know that constituency from beginning to end. I was not in it at the last election, but as soon as I heard that the Conservative whp and the leader of the Conservative party and the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) were in that county, I told my

friends to keep away from it because these men would do more good for the Reform party than all the speeches they could make. I thought that the election was secure and so it was. What did the whip of the Conservative party do, when he went into West Huron. Let me deal with him first. Here is Mr. Saunderson's letter :

Dear Sir,—I notice that the speakers for Mr. McLean are telling the farmers what the Tory government would do for them if they got in power, yet, strange to say, the story they tell on the other side is entirely opposite.

I had a call from Mr. McLean and his henchman, Mr. Taylor, the Conservative whip in the Commons, at my office on Wednesday morning, and during our conversation Mr. Taylor said: 'What we want, Mr. Saunders, is more protection to manufacturers. The government is doing altogether too much for the farmer. If we (the Tory party) were in power we would raise the duty on agricultural implements to 45 per cent, and there would be no free binder twine or barb wire. It is the manufacturer we want to help. What is the use of pandering to the agricultural vote? The present government is doing too much of that.'

'Well,' I remarked, 'that is a proper story to tell me, Mr. Taylor, but it would not do to talk that way to the farmers.'

The above shows the kind of men who are helping Mr. McLean in his campaign.

A. SAUNDERS.

The attempted denial of Mr. Taylor to this statement received no credence in West Huron.

Mr. FOSTER. Is this in order ?

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. ex-Finance Minister, if you will allow the men behind you to bring up these things, you must not complain if you are getting too much of your own medicine.

Mr. FOSTER. The point of order, Mr. Speaker, which I wish to raise, is that the hon. gentleman is travelling entirely outside the motion before the House. If that is to be allowed, we shall have to stay here two or three days or more discussing these things, but I submit that we have certain rules that you, Sir, ought to enforce.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not dispute the fact that the debate has taken a wide range and gone largely beyond the motion before the House, but when my hon. friends opposite have wandered from Dan to Beersheba, surely they will not take the point that the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan) is to be confined within the strictest limits.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think it is exactly as the hon. Finance Minister has said. I must say that the first offender who travelled outside the motion was the hon. leader of the opposition, and I think that my hon. friend from East Grey (Mr. Sproule) will recollect

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that he opened a wide field by discussing the bribery and corruption in North Grey. It seems to me, therefore, unfair to stop another hon. member from replying to the charges that were thus brought up, although, if you ask me as a matter of strict ruling, I must say that the hon. member who now has the floor has gone outside the question.

Mr. FOSTER. Might I ask are you, Mr. Speaker, going to enforce the rules or not ?

Mr. SPEAKER. Yes, if the House asks me to strictly enforce the rules, as a general principle, I shall certainly attempt to do so to the very best of my ability, but I shall endeavour in that case to begin at the beginning, and as far as I possibly can keep everybody within the closest limits of debate. But after the House has travelled all over the record, I think it unfair to close the door against any hon. member at this stage in replying to what has been said on the other side.

Mr. McMILLAN. The hon. member for Stanstead (Mr. Moore) brought up the very same subject to-night, and there was a nice smile on the face of the ex-Finance Minister when he brought it up. It makes all the difference in the world whose bull is gored. The following letter from Mr. Saunders speaks for itself :

I notice in to-day's 'Mail and Empire' that George Taylor, M.P., tacitly admits the truth of the statements made to me in my office.

Mr. FOSTER. I again rise to a point of order. I ask in all sincerity whether we are going to have any rules or order enforced in this House or not. If hon. members are going to be allowed to travel altogether beyond the subject before the House, even when the attention of the Speaker is called to it, then we may as well be absolutely without any rules of order at all. I must say that we are getting into a very loose method as regards order in this House, and things will not get better unless some way or other a stop is put to this abuse at once. I do not say that you, Mr. Speaker, can keep all members at all times just strictly to the line of discussion, but I do not think there could be a more flagrant wandering away from the subject in hand than that which is taking place just now.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). The hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) spent fifteen minutes wandering away from the point under discussion altogether.

Mr. SPEAKER. I understand that the House has an objection to any man reading his speech, but I have always observed that the House has given a good deal of freedom to members in reading quotations and

extracts. I can only appeal to the good sense of members to make their extracts as short as possible.

Mr. FOSTER. If you will allow me, Sir, I did not raise the point with regard to the hon. gentleman reading an extract, and I hope you did not think that that was my point of order. My point was that the hon. gentleman was discussing a subject which has no earthly relation to the case in hand. We are discussing a motion having reference to preferential trade, and the hon. gentleman is dragging in the West Huron election case.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Will my hon. friend not admit that many members opposite have departed from the subject under debate, and would it be fair now to ask the Speaker to prevent others from replying?

Mr. FOSTER. I may ask my hon. friend where we may expect to stop. Are we going to degenerate into a mob or to remain a respectable House that has rules of its own and will see that they are enforced?

The PRIME MINISTER. I did not follow this debate, and cannot say what has taken place; but I appeal to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), and to other hon. members, if I am not right in saying that, again and again, in past parliaments, wherever a subject was introduced foreign to the motion before the House, and the matter was allowed to proceed, then, invariably, the Speaker allowed an answer to be given to the statements thus made. And that seems to me to be right and fair. Of course, if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) holds by the strict rule, he is right, and I approve of that—we should in all cases keep to the subject in hand. But, sometimes a speaker deviates, perhaps, unwittingly, from the subject, and, under such circumstances, it has been the invariable practice—and I appeal with great confidence to the recollection of my hon. friend on this point—Mr. Speaker has allowed an answer.

Mr. SPEAKER. Looking at the hour in the morning at which we have arrived, I think I can fairly appeal to the hon. member (Mr. McMillan), without any ruling in the matter, to drop, for the time being, the discussion on these subjects.

Mr. McMILLAN. I have only a few words to say—

Mr. SPEAKER. I think it is in the interest of the House—and I think I may ask my hon. friend (Mr. McMillan) to come back to the question before the Chair.

Mr. McMILLAN. I will come back to the question, Mr. Speaker; but I may say that I am in a position to show more shameful

and glaring cases of bribery and corruption than ever were shown in Canada, not merely by electors, but by an ex-member of this House, who admitted that he was guilty of such conduct. I have only been replying to one out of five or six members on the other side. It is very seldom I trouble the House, and when I do, I do not call a pitch fork a hay rake. I say a knife is a knife and an axe an axe. If hon. gentlemen opposite will draw down upon their own heads the weight of their own arguments, instead of objecting, then, let them remember to hold their tongues upon these questions in the future.

I am convinced as I am of my existence that Canada has been benefited by this preferential tariff, and I think I have some evidence here that will go far to establish that fact. The ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) states that no benefit has accrued to this country through the preference; but I do not believe always what he says. As we know, he has his moments of weakness, and I am sorry that he seems to have one of them to-night, or he would not have stopped me. I have here a few figures showing the duty that has been actually paid upon British imports and what would have been paid under the old tariff. The value of goods, dutiable and free, entered for consumption from Great Britain, less coin and bullion, in the year 1898, was \$32,243,061. The amount that would have been collected in duty, under the old tariff rate of 22.42 per cent, is \$7,184,143. The amount actually collected, less estimated refund of \$100 on account of preferential tariff, was \$6,549,428. That is to say, on that amount of goods there was \$634,715 less paid than would have been paid but for the preferential tariff. The hon. member for Halton admitted that there was \$2,000,000 saved by the preferential tariff, that it had taken a great many years to do that. But, what percentage is \$2,000,000 on the amount of customs duties paid last year, about \$25,000,000? You will find that \$2,000,000 is 8 per cent of that amount, so that there is that amount of reduction in the duties paid. That is a considerable reduction for one time. As the hour is late, and as hon. gentlemen opposite have got a little more of their own medicine than they could swallow and digest, I will take my seat.

Mr. G. E. TAYLOR (South Leeds). I will only occupy a moment—

Mr. SPEAKER. I may suggest to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor), whether it will not be better to speak at another time?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. FOSTER. The accusation has been made.

Mr. SPEAKER. But the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), insisted on my stopping

the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan).

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMillan), who has just taken his seat, should have done me the honour to give my denial of the statements he read.

Some hon. MEMBERS. He did.

Mr. TAYLOR. He did not do anything of the kind, let me tell hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. McMILLAN. Let me say a single word. I was stopped, or I would have showed that the hon. member (Mr. Taylor), had given a denial.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. gentleman (Mr. McMillan), read the article, giving the interview with Mr. Saunders. I was in the constituency for a week. After I had left the constituency, and when I reached Toronto, I was shown the papers containing the interview with Mr. Saunders. I immediately gave an interview to the reporter of the paper, which the hon. gentleman has not read. I stated that the statement made by Mr. Saunders was manufactured out of whole cloth, there was not a word of truth in the statement.

Mr. TALBOT. He gave his affidavit.

Mr. TAYLOR. He did not give an affidavit.

Mr. TALBOT. He did give an affidavit.

Mr. TAYLOR. I challenge Mr. Saunders to make affidavit that his statement was true, because a gentleman was with me who wrote that he would make affidavit that Mr. Saunders's statement was false, and I will make the same. There was not a word of truth in the statement, and my hon. friend (Mr. McMillan), ought to have done me the credit, to read the interview I gave. He simply stated that I had contradicted Mr. Saunders's statement, but did not give the contradiction. I give it here. That is all I have to say.

House divided on amendment (Mr. Russell.)

YEAS :

Messieurs

Archambault,	Joly de Lotbinière
Basinet,	(Sir Henri),
Beth,	Landerkin,
Bernier,	Lang,
Bethune,	Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),
Bostock,	Lavergne,
Bourbonnais,	Legris,
Brodeur,	Livingston,
Brown,	Logan,
Bruneau,	Macdonald (Huron),
Calvert,	Mackie,
Campbell,	McClure,

Mr. SPEAKER.

Carroll,	McGregor,
Casey,	McGugan,
Comstock,	McHugh,
Copp,	McInnes,
Dechêne,	McIsaac,
Demers,	McLellan,
Dobell,	McMillan,
Douglas,	McMullen,
Dupré,	Madore,
Dyment,	Malouin,
Edwards,	Marcil,
Ellis,	Maxwell,
Erb,	Meigs,
Featherston,	Mignault,
Fielding,	Morrison,
Fisher,	Parmalee,
Flint,	Paterson,
Fortier,	Penny,
Fortin,	Pettet,
Fraser (Guysborough),	Proulx,
Fraser (Lambton),	Puttee,
Frost,	Ratz,
Gauvreau,	Richardson,
Geoffrion,	Rogers,
Gibson,	Ross,
Godbout,	Russell,
Gould,	Rutherford,
Graham,	Savard,
Harwood,	Semple,
Heyd,	Sourerville,
Holmes,	Stenson,
Hurley,	Sutherland,
Hutchison,	Talbot,
Johnston,	Tolmie.—91.

NAYS :

Messieurs

Beattie,	Ingram,
Bell (Addington),	Kaulbach,
Bennett,	Klock,
Bergeron,	Kloepfer,
Borden (Halifax),	LaRivière,
Bourassa,	Macdonald (King's),
Broder,	MacLaren,
Cargill,	McAllister,
Carscallen,	McCleary,
Chauvin,	McCormick,
Clancy,	Marcotte,
Clarke,	Martin,
Corby,	Mills,
Craig,	McK,
Dugas,	Moore,
Earle,	Morin,
Foster,	Quinn,
Ganong,	Roche,
Gillies,	Sproule,
Gilmour,	Taylor,
Guillet,	Tyrwhitt,
Henderson,	Wallace,
Hodgins,	Wilson.—46.

PAIRS :

Ministerial.

Opposition.

Messieurs

Davies (Sir Louis),	Tupper (Sir Charles
	Hibbert),
Scriven,	Blanchard,
Martineau,	Hale,
Ethier,	Seagram,
Wood,	McDougall,
Bell (Prince),	Bell (Pictou),
Burnett,	Cochrane,
Snetsinger,	Poupart,
Blair,	Powell,
Mulock,	Haggart,

Ministerial.

Tarte,
Sifton,
Oliver,
Macdonell,
Monet,
Angers,
Champagne,
Haley,
Domville,
Davis,
McCarthy,
Costigan,
Tucker,
Britton,
Christie,
Cartwright (Sir Rich'd),
MacPherson,
Charlton,
Fitzpatrick.

Opposition.

Hughes,
Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Kendry,
Maclean,
McIntosh,
McInerney,
Robinson,
Reid,
McLennan (Glengarry),
Prior,
Robertson,
McNeill,
Davin,
Osler,
Roddick,
Tupper (Sir Charles),
Rcsamond,
Tisdale,
Casgrain.

Amendment (Mr. Russell, Halifax), agreed to : Yeas, 91. Nays 46.

Motion (Mr. Fielding) as amended, agreed to.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved that the House at its next sitting do resolve itself into Committee of Supply.

Motion agreed to.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Before the adjournment, I desire to say that probably the budget speech will be delivered on Friday.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 1.10 a.m. (Wednesday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, March 21, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 101) respecting the Nipissing and James Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. Sproule.)

Bill (No. 102) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of James Milne.—(Mr. Clarke.)

Bill (No. 103) to incorporate the Port Arthur Railway and Terminals Company.—(Mr. Dymont.)

Bill (No. 104) respecting the Montfort and Gatineau Colonization Railway Company.—(Mr. Legris.)

THE LATE MR. BERTRAM, M.P.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). It is my sad duty to have to announce to the House the death of one of our esteemed colleagues in the person of Mr. George H. Bertram, late member for Centre Toronto. After a protracted and very severe illness, Mr. Bertram has been relieved of his sufferings and is now no more. Everybody will admit that the House loses in him one of its most useful members. Mr. Bertram was still a young man in years, and young in parliamentary life ; but, both sides of the House will agree with me that in his short parliamentary career he had impressed every man who had the pleasure of being acquainted with him or of listening to him, with a sense of his great ability. He had made an impression upon the House, as we all remember, as having great power as a speaker, as a thinker and as a business man. Upon all questions of business, especially, he was an acknowledged authority ; and had he been spared he would certainly have become one of the most useful members we have had amongst us. His loss is felt very severely, especially by his political friends, and I am sure the mourning is shared also by those who were his political opponents. I feel certain that every man in this House will join in conveying to his wife and to his family the sincerest expression of our appreciation of the great loss they have suffered, and which we share in common with them.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). I am quite sure every member on this side of the House will join most heartily in an expression of sympathy to the wife and family of our late respected colleague (Mr. Bertram), whose sad death has created a loss in this House that will be felt by every member. I sympathize with my right hon. friend the leader of the government in his appreciation of the great loss that he and his party have sustained. I feel that it is not only a party loss, but that in the death of Mr. Bertram this House has been deprived of the presence of a gentleman who was an ornament to it. His intimate knowledge of business affairs, his great ability in expressing clearly and succinctly the opinions which he held, as my right hon. friend has well said, made a strong impression upon every member of this House. We all join in deploring his untimely death, for it is an untimely death, inasmuch as he was just in the prime of life, and one year ago he was apparently enjoying a measure of health and vigour that any man might envy. I concur in every word that has fallen from my right hon. friend, and am sure that the death of Mr. Bertram will be felt by every member of this House as a serious loss to Parliament, and to the city and country to which he belonged.

FRANCHISE ACT AMENDMENT, 1898.

Mr. H. G. CARROLL (Kamouraska) moved for leave to introduce a Bill (No 105) to amend the Franchise Act, 1898. He said : The object of this Bill is to provide for the preparation and revision of the voters' lists in those territories not yet organized into municipalities. As the House is aware, we have adopted the franchise laws of the several provinces, and this amendment is called for in Quebec, to which province alone it will apply. In that province lists are prepared under 59 Vic., chap. 9, sec. 17 only in municipalities, that is to say :

In every municipality of a parish, or part of a parish, of a township or part of a township, of united townships, of a village, of a town existing under the operation of a municipal code, and every town or city municipality, incorporated by charter or by special Act.

Now, there are districts in various parts of the province of Quebec which are not organized into municipalities in this sense, consequently, no lists are made for such unorganized territories. The object of my Bill is to provide for the preparation and revision of lists in these unorganized territories.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (East York). Mr. Speaker, in connection with this Bill, there are other counties that I do not think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Carroll) has referred to. The Franchise Act of 1898 provides that members of parliament shall receive copies of the voters' lists for their respective ridings. To-day I sent down to the Queen's Printer, and asked him when I could have a copy of the voters' lists for East York. I was told that the voters' lists had not yet reached the Queen's Printer, although these lists were prepared in October last. I think, in connection with this Bill, we should have some explanation in regard to the question which I have raised.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), has raised a most important question, and its importance is felt by a great many members of the House in the absence of any franchise law, for we have no franchise law at present in Canada, since the change made by the government in regard to the franchise, by delegating that question to the local legislatures, making this House dependent upon the officers of the local government, who are not under the control of the Dominion. At this moment it amounts to a scandal that it is impossible for hon. members of this House to enjoy the right which is provided for by law, that the hon. gentlemen, representing each county and the opposition candidate at the last election, should be promptly supplied with the electoral lists. Some hon.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

members of the House had the electoral lists placed in their hands, as the law requires, months ago, and others are at this moment, absolutely without them. I think it deserves the very prompt attention of the right hon. leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), so that, if the government are not clothed with the power to compel municipal officers to do their duty, and to furnish these lists to the government, a short Act should be passed that would give to the government plenary powers, under which it would be possible to carry out the law in a way that would be satisfactory to all the members.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I may observe to the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), that he has his remedy in another way. If he has not received the lists, he can always get them from the municipal officer who prepares them. That ought to be sufficient, although it is more desirable that we should have received them from such officers.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Has he any power to obtain them from the municipal officers ?

The PRIME MINISTER. Certainly, he can obtain the lists from the provincial officers. I am not speaking so much in regard to the province of Ontario, as in regard to the province of Quebec, with which I am familiar. I know that it is possible for any man in the province of Quebec to get the lists from the municipal council which prepares them, and from the registrar who has the custody of them. But, we have been making a special effort to endeavour to induce, or to force, the provincial officers to send in these lists. Hon. gentlemen will remember that the information which I gave in the House the other day, was to the effect that these lists have been received pretty generally, and that only some twelve, or perhaps, not more than twenty constituencies were still behind time. Since that time I am informed that the lists are coming in generally, and that they are being printed as soon as they come in.

Mr. J. G. H. BERGERON (Beauharnois). Mr. Speaker, I would be very glad, if the government could be induced by the hon. member for Kamouraska (Mr. Carroll), to change the whole Act. I want to say one word in answer to what fell from the lips of the right hon. leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I do not think it is putting members of the House in a fair position, to answer, as the right hon. gentleman did to the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), that he could obtain the lists from an officer of the local government, when we have this law which provides that the lists shall be furnished to us free of charge and printed. I was supplied with the printed lists, but hon. members should not have to

run all over, in order to get these lists such as I have received. The only other way of obtaining these lists, is to go to the registrar's office, see the officer who is custodian of the lists, and pay him to be allowed to copy them, which would be a pretty extensive work, in the case of a constituency like East York, where there are a great many voters. I would like to ask the hon. member for Kamouraska where these unorganized districts are in the province of Quebec, to which this Bill refers?

Mr. CARROLL. I may say in answer to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron), that they are in the county of Rimouski, Kamouraska and Temiscouata.

Mr. BERGERON. I do not understand how that is, because Kamouraska is one of the oldest counties in Quebec. I do not understand how there are still unorganized territories in this county.

The PRIME MINISTER. There is quite an amount of colonization going on in Kamouraska.

Mr. BERGERON. I am aware that there is a great amount of colonization in the north of St. Jerome, and there the country is all organized. I do not understand why there should be unorganized districts in Kamouraska.

Mr. A. B. INGRAM (East Elgin). Mr. Speaker, during the present session, an hon. gentleman thought he would make a little political capital out of the Franchise Act that was repealed by this government, by showing the cost of printing the Dominion lists under the late Franchise Act. I would like to know by what authority this government have overridden the law that was passed in 1898, which states:

Immediately after printing such lists the Queen's Printer shall send, by registered mail, twenty copies thereof to the sitting member for the electoral district to which the list belongs, and twenty copies to the defeated candidate at the last Dominion election therein; and the Governor in Council may, by regulation, provide for the issue to members and candidates of such additional copies as are thought proper.

If the hon. gentlemen opposite would carry the law out as they have placed it on the statute-book in 1898, hon. members of this House would have been supplied with twenty copies of the voters' lists last year, instead of waiting for the lists, as they are doing now. The right hon. leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), speaks about it being in the power of the registrars of the different electoral districts in the province of Quebec to furnish members with the names on the list, and to provide them with copies, but as far as the province of Ontario is concerned, this Act does not meet with the requirements because the Clerk of the Peace, or the County

Crown Attorney, in some counties, is the custodian of the voters' lists. The municipal clerks in municipalities are the custodians of the voters' lists, and so is the judge in electoral districts. The Act does not specify from which one of these three persons you can obtain the lists. At the opening of the session, the government announced that they intended to bring in some amendments to the Franchise Act of 1898. They have not done so. What is the cause of this delay? Is it because they think the Act is so complete that it is unnecessary to make any amendments to it? On the contrary, the Act is most incomplete. When this Act was passed in 1898, I pointed out that the government would find it unworkable, and it has proved to be unworkable. The Department of Justice should bring down their amendments, so that hon. members of this House may have an opportunity of discussing the measure, and trying, as soon as possible to provide such improvements in the Act as are necessary.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). In answer to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Ingram), I may say that a Bill to amend the Dominion Elections Act, and also, incidentally, to amend some of the provisions of the Franchise Act, has been prepared, that it is now in the hands of the printer, and will be introduced at an early date.

Mr. INGRAM. By what authority have we been deprived of these voters' lists?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman has not been deprived of them. The right hon. leader of the House (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), stated the other day which of the lists have been received from the different ridings in Ontario, and those which have not been received. Of course, we have never had all the copies, and steps have been taken to procure all of them.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). I am told that a large number of these lists have been received by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, and have not yet been sent to the Printing Bureau. They have remained in the office of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery for days and days, and I would like to know on whose authority they are held there?

Mr. MACLEAN. I understand that the lists for my county were transmitted to Ottawa last October. Again I ask the Premier, how is it that the lists for East York have not been printed, while the members from Quebec province all over happen to have their lists? The fact is that we have a law in the Dominion of Canada which places us at the mercy of provincial officials. We have not a universal law for the Dominion as we ought to have.

We made a great mistake when we put the control of the franchise for this Dominion in the hands of the provinces. It is the worst surrender ever made in this country.

The PRIME MINISTER. I cannot, of course, answer that question off-hand, but I will inquire and give an answer to-day.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON (Three Rivers). Everything that has been said in the House in connection with this matter, shows what a great mistake it was to give up the inherent right of the first parliament in Canada to control its own franchise. I could understand the provinces not having a franchise of their own, but for this Dominion parliament not to have its franchise is certainly an anomaly. The fact is that the law passed by these gentlemen on the Treasury benches is a law impossible to work. It has placed the parliament of Canada absolutely in the hands of provincial officials whom we are not able to control to any extent. That is a mistake which should be rectified as soon as possible. I do not believe that the present Franchise Act is much more economical than the old Act, and moreover, there is the very objectionable feature that the new Act places us entirely at the mercy of provincial officials.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). The answers given by the First Minister and by the Minister of Marine are absolutely unsatisfactory. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) tells us, that a Bill for the amendment of this Act has been prepared and is now in the hands of the printer—so are the voters' lists in the hands of the printer, and they will both stay there as long as it suits the convenience of the government. For seven weeks to-day this parliament has been in session, and now the Minister of Marine and Fisheries tells us that the government have graciously prepared a Bill to amend the Franchise Act, and that this Bill is being printed. What were we called here for, anyway? Was it to await the pleasure of the government? We all know that the measures promised should have been prepared before we were called here, and that we should not be compelled to be kicking our heels around the corridors or discussing academic motions in order to mark time for the convenience of these gentlemen on the Treasury benches. The government have no reason to be proud of the announcement, that at the end of seven weeks this Bill has reached the stage that it has gone to the printer. But the First Minister tells us, that if we feel aggrieved that we have not these voters' lists (which the law says we are entitled to) then we have the remedy in our own hands. I have not been able to even see a single copy of the voters' lists for West York under the new Franchise Act passed two years ago. The First Minister tells us that we can obtain them from the municipality or from the registrar.

Mr. MACLEAN.

Very well. I want the voters' lists for West York, but I have no power to compel the clerks of the municipality to give them to me. It is true they have furnished me with a printed list of eight or nine months ago, but that list has been revised in every municipality, names added and names struck off. What I want and what is only of use to me is an up-to-date and correct list. If I go to the Clerk of the Peace, who is the custodian in the province of Ontario, he tells me there are ten or twelve thousand names on the voters' lists for West York, and that he will furnish a copy of the list, but it will cost me several hundred dollars and it will be all manuscript. Those are two very objectionable features. I do not want it in manuscript, and I do not want to pay several hundred dollars for it. Now, I ask the Prime Minister, is it fair to compel me to pay money for a manuscript list which is practically of little use to me, because I want it in more convenient form. The law provides that each member shall be furnished with twenty copies of that list with all convenient speed, and on this 21st day of March, 1900, I want the list for 1899, that list which the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) tells us was sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery at least five months ago. It is our privilege and our right to have that list, but after the lapse of five months during which time it has been hanging up in the office here, the hon. member (Mr. Maclean) tells us that the Queen's Printer has not received the copy yet. That shows the pure uselessness of this law. Suppose an election comes on, where are we? A general election may come on at any time, and we are told that it is not far off.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. It comes like a thief in the night.

Mr. WALLACE. It comes like a thief in the night, as the leader of the opposition says, and it is apparently coming along in that manner now. The minister told us last year that we could take the last lists to be found anywhere, and that would be the list used as provided by a clause in the Act. Why, we actually do not know what lists will be used at an election. Even if we were ready to pay \$200 to the Clerk of the Peace for a certified copy, we have no certain means of acquiring that copy. We are therefore completely at sea. We are told that the lists for some of the counties are out, but that only proves that the door is left open for the government to supply lists for the counties where they want them, while in those counties where they do not want the lists, they can relegate them to a back seat. I do not say, of course, that the government would do that, but the law gives them the opportunity to do it, and I do not want to place any such temptation in their way, because I believe they would not be able to resist the temptation if party

interests were to be served by yielding to it. The Franchise Act itself is so crude and unsatisfactory as to be either unworkable or purposely made to serve party ends. The parliament of Canada should completely control its franchise. That is the proper basis of a Franchise Act. The working of the machinery may perhaps be more simplified than it was before, but the great principle that should govern a franchise for the parliament of Canada is, that it should be completely controlled by this parliament.

Mr. ARCH. CAMPBELL (Kent). This seems to me to be a case of much ado about nothing. The hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) complains that he has not received the voters' list for his constituency. He knows that the Ontario law compels the clerk of each municipality to send him ten copies of the voters' list of the municipality.

Mr. WALLACE. Unrevised.

Mr. CAMPBELL. No, the revised. The clerk of the municipality is required to send ten copies to every member and ten copies to every defeated candidate. I have not had a voters' list for the county of Kent, but I have had ten copies from every municipality, and they serve every purpose.

Mr. WALLACE. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman a question.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I have got the floor. Hon. gentlemen opposite are continually howling about the extravagance of the government, and yet they want the government to spend \$30,000 or \$40,000 to print a list that is of no earthly good at all.

Mr. BERGERON. There is a law passed to that effect.

Mr. CAMPBELL. If these hon. gentlemen would practise what they preach, they would not raise such a hubbub about a little thing like that. There is no one suffering for the want of these lists, and in due course they will be printed when they are required.

Mr. DAVID HENDERSON (Halton). The hon. gentleman who has just taken his seat has made a statement which I think should not go unanswered. He has stated that the clerk of each municipality in the province of Ontario is bound by law to deliver to every member or defeated candidate ten copies of the voters' list of the municipality. I desire to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the clerks of the municipalities are not bound by law at all to furnish even one copy of the list to a member or a defeated candidate. The list is the revised list. The first list is only a draft. It is never considered a list until it is revised, and all we get from the clerks of the municipalities is simply a draft which may be modified in a hundred different ways in every municipality.

Mr. COWAN. How in a hundred different ways?

Mr. HENDERSON. We have no means of securing the voters' list unless we go to the clerk and procure it as set forth in the Franchise Act by paying for it. Under the Franchise Act we are entitled to twenty copies of the list for every polling division; but even if we did get the lists from the clerks of the municipalities, we only secure an average of two for each polling division. Why should we be put off with only two copies for each polling division. Why should we be deprived of the other eighteen copies which the Franchise Act says we are entitled to? The number printed by the municipalities is very limited indeed; and in the case of a general election there is no possibility of securing the requisite number from the clerk of the municipality. Therefore it is an unfortunate circumstance that this delay should have occurred in the printing of the lists. These lists should be in the hands of members; we should have had the lists of 1898 as well as those of 1899. But the difficulty we are to-day complaining of will not perhaps be an unmixed evil. I believe that it will show to this House and the country the absolute necessity of returning to the former state of affairs and again placing the franchise of this House in the hands of this House instead of delegating it to another corporation which has no interest in it nor no right to deal with it.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). My esteemed friend from West York (Mr. Wallace), has developed into a gigantic fault-finder. He has drawn the attention of the House to the fact that this is the seventh week of the session, and that the proposed amendment to the Franchise Act has not yet been introduced. Allow me to draw the attention of my hon. friend to the fact that in 1885, when he was a member of this House, and the government of that day introduced a Bill for the purpose of amending the Franchise Act, the parliament met on the 30th January and the Bill was not proceeded with until the 16th of April, a period of two months and two weeks. The hon. gentleman complains of the delay. The Franchise Act is a matter of very great importance, and I have no doubt that the government are giving it careful consideration, and that when it should be proceeded with it will be brought down. With regard to the printing of the lists I agree that every member should be able to get the list for his riding; but in past years we did not get the lists at all. When it was not revised for two or three years, all we got was the list which had been revised at the last revision, and the years when there was no revision, all we got was the municipal list. Under the Ontario law the clerk of every municipality is required to send a registered

parcel containing ten copies of the voters' list of the municipality to the member. These lists are very valuable and convenient. I have examined them on several occasions, and I have found them to be very accurate. The only errors are that some names are on the municipal list which are not on the Dominion list, because in many cases persons who have a right to vote in school elections have not the right to vote in Dominion elections.

Mr. JOHN G. HAGGART (South Lanark). This debate has taken, perhaps, a rather wide range; but I wish to call the particular attention of the government to a remark of the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell). The law, which they put on the statute-book and which requires that the lists should be published every year, and a certain number of copies furnished each member, the hon. member for Kent, Ont., (Mr. Campbell) states is a useless law, entailing a useless expenditure of money, amounting to about \$40,000 a year. I would ask the government to give some heed to these remarks and return as soon as possible to the only sensible plan, and that is a Dominion franchise. There is no doubt that these hon. gentlemen, in their speeches before the election of 1896, pledged themselves to adopt the provincial franchises, but I must have misunderstood the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick), when he introduced the Bill last session, if his soul was in it. He, at any rate, saw the absurdity of it, and if he could have had his own way, he would instead have amended the Dominion Franchise Act, if amendment were required, and not have adopted the provincial franchises. We are told now that the law is openly violated, because it entails a useless expenditure of \$40,000 a year, and we are told that the government are perfectly justified on this account in violating the law which they themselves put on the statute-book.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Under the old law, had we the lists every year?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I draw your attention Mr. Speaker, to the fact, that the hon. gentleman has already spoken.

Mr. G. W. GANONG (Charlotte). It is rather a ludicrous exhibition to see the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) get up and kick against this infamous Franchise law. He is not the only kicker on the government benches. It is not only a question of the cost of printing the lists that is involved, but the cost to each individual member of the House, chasing up those lists from year to year and having them properly revised. If, as the hon. Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) says, the government intend introducing an amendment to this law they had better make it so as to give notice to the country three months before the elections, so that the lists may be revised immediately, before the people are

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called on to vote, and thus save all the expense and trouble from year to year, the hon. member for Kent so sadly complains of.

So far as the New Brunswick lists are concerned, we have none printed. If you want a copy, you have to apply to the county clerk and pay him \$10 or \$25 for a copy of a list which, under the law, we were to be furnished with free of charge. On the 14th February last, the hon. member for Kent, N.B., (Mr. McInerney) made an inquiry with regard to the lists for the province of New Brunswick, and in reply, the right hon. the First Minister said that, among other counties, the lists had been received from the county of Charlotte, which I have the honour to represent, and were being printed at that moment. Shortly afterwards, I applied to the Queen's Printer for a copy of the lists, because, I presume, that as they were being printed at the time the right hon. the First Minister gave this reply, I should be able to obtain them. But, in reply, I received, about the 1st of March, a notice stating that I must have forgotten that I had already received my lists, because they had been sent to me the September previous. How am I to reconcile this reply of the First Minister, on the 14th of February, that the lists for the county of Charlotte were then being printed, with the reply of the Queen's Printer that they had been sent to me the September previous? Evidently, should we have an election soon in New Brunswick, we are going to vote on the electoral lists of 1898 instead of 1899.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk). I am somewhat surprised at the position taken by hon. members opposite in laudation of the Franchise law of 1885. I am somewhat surprised to hear that law characterized by the hon. member for South Lanark (Mr. Haggart) as the only sensible plan, and by other members of the opposition as a law calculated to meet the popular requirements and protect the interests of Canadian citizens. We managed fairly well under the Dominion franchise law from 1867 to 1885. The franchise then was left in the hands of the provinces, and the elections in this Dominion were held upon the voters' lists which were provided by the machinery that the different provinces put into operation. When the Dominion government stepped in and substituted the franchise law of 1885, I always felt that the object of that movement was to secure political advantage, and I am certain that, whether such was the object or not, the result was to give a very important political advantage to the party in power. We had revisions of the lists—not annually, because we had no lists provided annually—but we had revisions of the lists, and when these were made, the Liberal members were called on to pay the expense of attending to

that revision, while the revising barrister did the work for the Conservative members.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, this was an outrageous provision, one entirely subversive of the principles of liberty and one of the worst features of that law. The lists, we all know, were revised at rare intervals. We had, I think, four revisions between 1885 and 1897, when that law was repealed, and we held the elections of 1891 upon a list two years old, and in those elections there was no individual of the Dominion under twenty-three who had a vote. That was one of the beautiful features of this franchise law of 1885. We held an election again in 1896 on a list two years old, which disfranchised all who were between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-three. The expense of forming these lists was enormous. The country was subjected to an expense of over \$1,000,000 for four revisions. The machinery was complicated, and, so far as my knowledge of public sentiment goes, the law was most unpopular with the electors at large. Of course, those members who were on the government side did not feel the pressure of expense, because they had the services of the revising barrister, who were the paid and political agents of the government, appointed without being subject to impeachment, and holding their positions at the pleasure of the government, and I can conceive of no legislation more outrageous in its practical operation than the franchise law of 1885.

With regard to the provinces controlling the franchise, I have always held that the franchise is a civil right, and that, as the provinces of this Dominion have jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to civil rights, it is a constitutional privilege and function of the various provinces to provide the voters' lists that shall be used in the elections for this House. We do not come here to represent the interests of the provinces to which we do not belong, except in a general sense. We represent the various provinces where we reside.

Mr. MACLEAN. No.

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, and we are sent here through the exercise on the part of the electors of a civil right, the franchise. The township lists, as has been truthfully said, are easily obtained. It may be that some slight irregularity has occurred and that greater promptitude is desirable in the printing of these lists. I have nothing to say about that, but whatever may be the irregularities that exist, certainly the present method of adjusting the franchise is infinitely superior to the one that preceded it, and I apprehend that hon. gentlemen opposite, when defending the old and the iniquitous franchise of 1885, take a position which I do not believe the good sense of the electorate will bear them out in taking.

Mr. W. H. BENNETT (East Simcoe). It is always charming to hear the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) lecture the House, all the more so because there is variety in his lectures. He read the Premier a lecture the other night on what he was pleased to call the depravity of the present House. Now, he is reading the House and the country a lecture on the depravity of the old Franchise Act. But he starts off with a statement that is hardly consistent with the facts. Referring to his own riding—and it is fair to suppose that it is like the others—would the hon. gentleman say that the revising officer was not a responsible judge, but that he was some hireling of a Conservative government. The hon. gentleman having made that statement, he must have based it on something that he knew of the circumstances. I ask the hon. gentleman to say whether it was a hireling of a Conservative government who revised the lists in his own constituency?

Mr. CHARLTON. I may say, in explanation, that I impute motives to no revising officer; but I say that the system was calculated to secure the services of men, who would naturally, so far as they could do so, throw their influence in favour of the government to which they owed their appointment. And, while I accuse no revising officer, so far as my own knowledge of his discharge of his duties is concerned, of being guilty of improper conduct, I say that the system was one calculated to promote such a thing. The system was one that held out inducements for the creation of such an evil, and therefore, should not receive the sanction of the free and independent electorate of Canada.

Mr. BENNETT. I remember one night in this Chamber, several sessions ago, the hon. member for North Norfolk making a most uncalled for attack on the superintendent of the Printing Bureau. On that occasion, he claimed that the lists of his own constituency were tampered with, that names were changed and gross alterations were made. And now he is charging the county court judges in the province of Ontario with being hirelings, and with having manipulated lists in favour of the Conservative party; and, when brought to task, he turns around and says he never said anything of that sort. But the House heard the hon. gentleman even if he did not hear himself. I will be bound to say that the judge in his county revised the lists, and that he was the same gentleman who revised the lists last year for the local election. First the hon. gentleman endeavoured to mislead the House and the country into believing—

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Order.

Mr. BENNETT. Well, I will change it to this: The remarks of the hon. gentleman

(Mr. Charlton) will have the effect of misleading the House and misleading the country—it is very easy to turn that—and the effect of the statement would be that those who read the hon. gentleman's speech and who are not acquainted with him would be apt to believe that in the administration of the Franchise Act in the past, the county judges were not the men to whom that work was entrusted. The county judges were entrusted with that work—

Mr. GIBSON. All over ?

Mr. BENNETT. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Gibson) can name to me one case in the province of Ontario where it was not so, I shall be obliged to him.

Mr. GIBSON. In the city of Hamilton, because the late Judge Senkler was a Liberal, Mr. Duff and Mr. Bell were appointed revising officers because they were Conservatives.

Mr. BENNETT. I cannot speak of the particular case of the city of Hamilton. If there was such a case as the hon. gentleman speaks of, he and his friends had a right to bring that case up in the House. But I will be bound to say, and the record will show, that neither the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson) nor any other hon. gentleman never made an attack on either of the two gentlemen who were revising officers in the city of Hamilton. As I say, the first statement of the hon. member for North Norfolk is misleading. The county is having the benefit of the revision of the voters' lists by almost exactly the same gentlemen—the county court judges—as were entrusted with that duty in the past. The hon. member for North Norfolk says there would be a great saving of expense, but clearly there is no saving here. These lists were printed in the department before, and they are to be printed in the department under the present law, the expense in this case also being the same as before. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) says that the present lists are going to be free from taint of fraud. Let us look at the facts. These lists are first printed and distributed throughout the county, being handed to certain gentlemen who are entitled to receive them under the law. These lists are supplemented by the changes made by the judges when the courts are held. The hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) says that the lists are prepared and that is the end of it. But I can tell him that that is not the case in the riding of North Simcoe or in the riding of East Simcoe, for in both of these, hundreds of appeals are heard. The county court judge has to be paid by the municipalities for going about holding these courts of revision, and, in addition, the province pays the county court judge for the duty he discharges in that connection. The municipality may be saddled with a huge

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bill for the expense of perfecting these lists. In one constituency, I know, these expenses run as high as \$75 or \$100 in a single municipality. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) made a complaint that the lists were not furnished by the clerk of the peace in his riding. I do not blame the clerk of the peace for not furnishing the lists, because, under this Act, there is nothing to compel him to furnish them, and the remuneration afforded to him for doing so is inadequate. They expect, in a riding with 10,000 names on the list that the clerk of the peace will furnish this list for \$25. He will not take up his own time in copying 10,000 names into a book ; so he employs a lad to copy them out. And, as every clerk of the peace in the province of Ontario is appointed by the friends of hon. gentlemen opposite, that clerk of the peace need not be too careful as to whether the names are all on the lists that he has returned or not. There is nothing in the law to compel him to put in a complete list. And when the hon. member for Kent protests against the printing of these lists at Ottawa, it must be because he sees these chances for fraud that are afforded. What will be the result ? Take the case of the county of Elgin, for instance. Everybody knows what the clerk of the peace in the county of Elgin resorts to. He is the gentleman who compromised and stifled the prosecution in the West Elgin case. That worthy clerk of the peace—

Mr. SPEAKER. I will ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) to omit reference to that branch of the subject. It is not pertinent to the question before the Chair.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I am speaking strictly of what is possible under the Act. The Act says that the clerk of the peace shall do certain things, and I was simply showing what he may do, whether he is clerk of the peace in Elgin county or any other county. He has first handed to him a list by the county court judge in which there is written hundreds and hundreds of names that have been inserted during the holding of the courts of revision. And when the hon. member for Kent says that the lists are printed and perfect, let me read him a few samples of the courts in my own riding, which will give a fair idea of the changes made. Take, for instance, the town of Penetanguishene. 'When the judge goes to that town, he finds his work cut out for him, with 190 appeals. In Orillia township, there are 288 appeals for alleged wrongful omissions and insertions. The result is that these lists as they are corrected by the judge and afterwards printed bear hardly any resemblance to their former selves. Now, these lists, in this mutilated condition, with all these additions and with all these alterations, will be handed over to the Clerk of the Peace for the county ; it is quite plain that under the Ontario Act he is

the custodian of them. Now, Sir, this is the point I wish to come to. The Clerk of the Peace, under the Act, takes the list of changes handed to him, and he causes to be written out a list; and as the remuneration is so trifling, only \$25, for writing out 10,000 names, it is natural to infer that he will employ some person to do it, and that person may be some partisan, willing to do crooked work. The Clerk of the Peace is bound under the law to return a complete list. He may add what names he likes and he may omit what names he likes; he is responsible to no person except his employers in the local government. That list is sent down to Ottawa. There is nothing in the world to prevent that list from being tampered with while it is in the printing department here, or while it is in the keeping of the Clerk in Chancery, nothing to prevent some person stepping in and adding as many names as he likes to it. Why, the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) should feel a little outraged that when this list is being handed from one person to another, irresponsible parties to a certain extent, because the law cannot impale them for wrong-doing—the names may be changed and altered. And what is the result? The result is, so far as expenditure goes, that all the cost of the old Act so far as printing is concerned, is to be incurred in the printing of the present list. But in the next place, while under the old Act a lump sum of about \$1,000 was paid to each revising barrister of each riding, now the municipalities have to contribute that amount. What is the result in the case of a city? Take, for instance, the city of Brantford. I presume the revision there costs \$200 or \$300. That was paid by the Dominion government, but now the expenditure is shifted on the shoulders of the local municipality. So here we have an Act that is not a saving compared with the old Act, the only difference is that the cost is shifted from the Dominion to the municipalities. Furthermore, the present Act affords every facility for fraud, every facility for wrong-doing. But with all that, the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) is not satisfied, and he is to-day, I presume, urging upon the government behind the backs of the House that these lists may not be printed at all, but that friendly Clerks of the Peace may send down a mutilated and wrong list upon which every fraud can be practised afterwards. I am glad to hear that the government are going to introduce a Franchise Act before the close of the session; and as when this Act was first introduced we prevailed upon the government to print the list and prevent a great deal of fraud or opportunity for fraud being afforded, so perhaps when the present Act comes down the government may be prepared to make further concessions to us.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

LONG WHARF, ST. JOHN.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What is the cost, to date, of removing the railway trestle crossing Long Wharf, St. John, N.B., and what is the estimated further cost? What are the tenders, and for what amounts, received for the construction of the warehouse on the new Long Wharf, St. John, and which has been accepted? What is the total cost of the elevator as completed at same place?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. The cost, to date, of removing the railway trestle crossing Long Wharf, St. John, N.B., is \$23,500. The work is completed and there is no estimate of further cost. The names of parties tendering for the construction of the new warehouse on Long Wharf, St. John, N.B., and their respective tenders are as follows :

Willard Kitchen, Fredericton	\$30,000
G. S. Mayes, St. John	28,890
Rhodes, Curry & Co. (Ltd.), Amherst....	31,795
J. B. McManus, Memramcook.....	33,500
Geo. A. Appleby, Nauwigewauk	27,800
F. E. Sawre, St. John	28,900
Wm. Langstroth, Hampton.....	29,191
Andrew Duncan Donald, Moncton	27,795

The tender of Mr. George A. Appleby was accepted. The cost of the elevator, to date, \$142,000; it is not yet ready for operation.

MILEAGE DRAWN BY SENATORS AND MEMBERS.

Mr. DECHENE asked :

1. Is the government aware that the late Hon. Senator Temple, of Fredericton, N.B., drew for mileage \$162.40, whereas Hon. Senator David Wark, also of Fredericton, draws but \$116?
2. That the Hon. Senator David MacKeen, of Halifax, draws for mileage \$192.60, and that Hon. Senator Almon draws for mileage \$192.60, whereas the member for Halifax, Dr. Russell, draws but \$175, as shown by the Auditor General's Report, 1897-8?
3. What explanation can the government give?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government have no control over this expenditure. We cannot give any information as to the extent of the payments made; and if the other House is perfectly satisfied, there is nothing which may not be perfectly consistent with the rules of honour.

DAIRY EXPERTS IN THE WEST.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. How many dairy experts were permanently employed by the government last year in Manitoba and the North-west Territories in travelling around and instructing the people in the art of butter-making?
2. What was the total cost of their salaries and travelling expenses for the year 1898-9?
3. Will the government appoint two dairy experts this year to attend exclusively to British Columbia; the one for the island and the other for the mainland?

The **MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE** (Mr. Fisher). 1 and 2. None were employed; but the Dominion government managed twenty creameries and fifteen tributary stations in the North-west Territories. There was a superintendent for such of these creameries as are in the eastern division, that is, east of Moosejaw, and a superintendent for those in the western division, west of Moosejaw. These two experts, besides supervising the running of the creameries, held meetings of farmers, and gave instruction in butter-making and general dairying. One of them visited British Columbia and addressed a series of meetings there. In the province of Manitoba the provincial government employs a superintendent of dairying, and the Dominion government does not employ a dairy expert in that province. 3. The Dominion government will arrange to send again a dairying expert to British Columbia to visit creameries and to give other assistance in the development of dairying there this year.

HOMESTEAD ENTRIES.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

1. How many homestead entries in Manitoba and the North-west Territories have been made in each of the years since July 1, 1898?

2. What is the acreage covered by such entries?

3. How many patents for lands have issued in each of said years?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The Department of the Interior is not in a position to furnish categorical replies to the questions as put, for the reason that up to 1894, the year for the purpose of the recording of homestead entries and the issue of patents, ran from October to October, and since 1894, the records have been kept for the ordinary calendar year. The following statement will, however, give the hon. gentleman information bearing upon the questions :

	No. of Homesteads	Area.	No. of Patents.
July 1 to Oct. 31, 1889.....	1,248	199,680	1,094
" " 1890.....	2,955	532,800	3,273
" " 1891.....	3,523	563,680	2,449
" " 1892.....	4,840	774,400	2,955
" " 1893.....	4,067	650,720	2,936
" " 1894.....	3,209	513,440	2,553
Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1894.....	3,174	507,840	2,682
" " 1895.....	2,394	383,040	2,118
" " 1896.....	1,857	297,120	2,665
" " 1897.....	2,384	381,440	2,972
" " 1898.....	4,848	575,680	3,037
" " 1899.....	6,689	1,070,240	3,904

REDUCTION OF RATES ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Mr. FRASER (Lambton) asked :

1. Is there any provision in the contract for the construction of the 'Canadian Pacific' which
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prevents the government applying to the Canadian Pacific Railway the general provisions of the Railway Act which entitles the government to reduce railway tolls or rates?

2. If there is such provision, does it apply to the whole Canadian Pacific Railway system? If not, to what portion does it apply? To what lines, owned, leased or operated by the Canadian Pacific Railway does such provision not apply?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). Both of these questions involve a proper legal interpretation of existing contracts and Acts of parliament, and I would not feel like taking the responsibility of expressing a legal opinion upon these questions. I think they would have to be dealt with as they arise in each individual case, and then probably each would have to find its way to the courts for determination.

Mr. SPKOULE. Have we not a Minister of Justice who could give his opinion upon them?

PAYMENTS TO ADAMS BROS., TORONTO.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

(1) How much money was paid to Adams Bros., Toronto, in 1898-9; (2) for what services, and (3) how much under contract after public tender?

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE** (Mr. Borden). 1. \$166,991.20. 2. On account Oliver equipment, \$149,842.15; on account saddlery, \$16,952; on account of dubbing, \$181.25; repairing waist belts, \$15.80. 3. All except \$197.05.

AMOUNTS PAID FOR OLIVER EQUIPMENT.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What was the total amount paid for Oliver equipment and to what parties, in detail?

The **MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE** (Mr. Borden) :

Colonel Oliver, for royalty.....	\$ 5,000 00
Adams Bros., Toronto.....	191,269 95
Knight & Munro, Halifax.....	32,274 55
Inspection boards 'Monthly'.....	2,384 00
Total.....	\$230,928 50

AVERAGE IMPORT PRICE OF COAL OIL.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

What was the average import price, as shown by the trade statistics, of coal oil in 1896? What is it to-day?

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS** (Mr. Paterson). The answer furnished me in this matter is: 1896, 8.66 cents per gallon. From July to December 31st, 1899, 8.13.

THE ONDERDONK AWARD—CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

Mr. McMULLEN (by Mr. Gibson) asked :

Who were the arbitrators in the case of taking over the rolling stock from Mr. Onderdonk on the completion of his contract of a portion of the Rocky section of the Canadian Pacific Railway? What was the amount of their first award? Why was the award first made not accepted? Who instructed the arbitrators to reconsider their award? What was the amount of the second or amended award? What was the opinion of the Minister of Justice as to the responsibility of the government under the contract to take over the rolling stock? Why was the rolling stock taken over in view of the opinion of the Minister of Justice?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. The names of the arbitrators were: W. C. Reid, Esq., mechanical superintendent Canadian Pacific Railway, Winnipeg; Peter Clark, Esq., mechanical superintendent Northern and North-western Railway, Toronto; M. J. Haney, manager of works for Mr. Onderdonk, Yale, B.C. 2. The amount of the first award was \$72,635. 3. The first award was not accepted because it was considered by the then government that the valuation had not been made according to instructions. 4. The amount of the second award was \$199,535. 5. The opinion of the Justice Department was that it was permissive for the contractor to transfer the rolling stock to the government and likewise for the government to purchase same, but that government was under no obligation to do so. 6. I am unable to say what the reasons were which induced the late government in this matter.

EXPORT OF CATTLE TO GREAT BRITAIN AND UNITED STATES.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What was the number of cattle, produce of Canada, exported to Great Britain and the United States yearly from 1890 to 1899, one year and under and over one year old, and the average price of each?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The answer is as follows :

Cattle one year old or less, exported to Great Britain—

	Number.	Value.	Average.
1894 .....	.....	.....	.....
1895 .....	.....	.....	.....
1896	37	\$ 2,290	\$61 90
1897	65	284	4 37
1898	15	75	5 00
1899	165	7,797	47 25

Cattle over one year old, exported to Great Britain—

	Number.	Value.	Average.
1894	80,531	\$6,316,373	\$78 43
1895	85,863	6,797,615	79 16
1896	97,005	6,814,141	70 24
1897	119,998	6,454,029	53 79
1898	122,091	7,403,915	60 63
1899	115,311	7,121,633	61 75

Cattle one year old or less, exported to the United States—

	Number.	Value.	Average.
1894	37	\$ 632	\$17 00
1895	536	1,410	2 60
1896	1,423	3,614	2 53
1897	4,688	29,613	6 31
1898	12,231	108,001	8 83
1899	24,010	242,947	10 10

Cattle over one year old, exported to the United States—

	Number.	Value.	Average.
1894	219	\$ 3,139	\$14 33
1895	346	17,806	51 46
1896	223	5,256	23 56
1897	31,310	479,525	15 31
1898	75,674	1,131,447	14 95
1899	68,824	1,055,223	15 33

Previous to the year 1894, the returns do not distinguish 'cattle one year old or less' from 'cattle over one year old.'

CUSTOMS REVENUE COLLECTED.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What is the amount of customs revenue collected in each year, from July 1, 1890, to date?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The answer is as follows : Customs revenues collected for fiscal years ending 30th June, 1891, \$23,481,069.13 ; ending 30th June, 1892, \$20,550,581.53 ; ending 30th June, 1893, \$21,161,710.93 ; ending 30th June, 1894, \$19,379,822.32 ; ending 30th June, 1895, \$17,887,269.47 ; ending 30th June, 1896, \$20,219,037.32 ; ending 30th June, 1897, \$19,891,996.77 ; ending 30th June, 1898, \$22,157,788.49 ; ending 30th June, 1899, \$25,734,228.75. From July 1, 1899 to March 15, 1900, \$20,341,316.08.

EMPLOYEES IN DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. MONTAGUE (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

What is the number of permanent employees at present engaged in the Department of Agriculture? What is the number of temporary employees so engaged?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). Number of permanent employees, 42 ; number of temporary employees, 30.

COST OF COLD STORAGE SERVICE.

Mr. MONTAGUE (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

What amount of money was spent by the Dominion government in each of the following years, viz.: 1894-5, 1895-6, 1896-7, 1897-8, 1898-9, in the development of a cold storage system in Canada, in connection with both the Canadian railways and Atlantic steamships?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). The following are the sums which were paid to railway companies for cold storage service in the various years mentioned :

1895.....	\$2,807 45
1896.....	2,526 37
1897.....	4,189 49
1898.....	3,734 17
1899.....	3,275 52

(The Canadian Pacific Railway account will be about \$700 more).

The following are the sums which were paid to steamship companies for cold storage service in the various years mentioned :

1895.....	\$10,294 38
1896.....	7,718 09
1897.....	26,000 00
1898.....	33,090 78
1899.....	38,695 61

Mr. TAYLOR. I thought it did not commence until after 1896 ?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. There was a one-horse little affair before that.

THE PER CENT OF DUTY COLLECTED, 1890-9.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What was the per cent of duty collected on merchandise imported for home consumption into Canada, taking dutiable and free combined, from July 1, 1890 to 1899, inclusive?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The answer is : 18.25 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. That is not the answer I require to the question. The hon. gentleman will see that what I wanted is the percentage for each year. Perhaps the minister would let the question stand.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Very well. I suppose the officials thought that you wanted the average for these years. The hon. gentleman had another question in which he inserted the word 'average' for each year, and as it was omitted here, it was probably understood in this way. The question will stand.

THE PROCEDURE IN REFERENCE TO PUTTING QUESTIONS.

Mr. SPEAKER having called question No. 20 on the Order paper by Mr. Mills (Annapolis)—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Read.

Mr J. B. MILLS (Annapolis). Do you want the whole question read ?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Yes, read.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Read the question.

Mr. MILLS. Why should I have to read this question, when other members in this House are not compelled to read their questions ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Drop it then.

Mr. FISHER.

Mr. MILLS. I will not drop it. I am following the rule that has been pursued for years in this House, and while I am here, I shall not be treated differently from any other member.

Mr. SOMERVILLE. You are different.

Mr. MILLS. I am pursuing precisely the same course as other hon. gentlemen who put questions on the paper, and who are not forced to read them.

The PRIME MINISTER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills), will be within his right to claim the same treatment as is accorded other members of the House, if he follows the rules of the House. But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills), has put seven pages of closely printed matter in this question, and if he takes that course, I certainly shall insist on having the rules of the House complied with. Under the rules of the House, I believe that every question put, should be read.

Mr. MILLS. If it is the rule of the House for me to read the question, and if the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), is very anxious to mark time, I will read the question. If I have erred in any way, shape or form—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, read.

Mr. MILLS. If I have erred with reference to this question, then the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), has doubly erred. Some of the friends of the ministers have put very lengthy questions to fill up the Order paper—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. MILLS. Those other members have not been asked to read their questions, and I am doing what I consider to be my duty in this regard. I am asking whether an account—

Mr. SPEAKER. I must ask my hon. friend not to make a speech on it.

Mr. MILLS. It is necessary sometimes to make a speech.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) This is a question of order, or if not a question of order, a question of procedure. A change has taken place in the last few years with reference to the method of asking questions. Formerly no numbers were attached to the questions, and each member rose and read his question. Then, the English custom was adopted, by which each question was numbered, and from that time to the present it has been the invariable rule, that when the Speaker called the number of the question, the hon. gentleman in whose name it stood, simply rose and the question was put without reading it.

Mr. BERGERON. That has been done every time for several sessions.

Mr. FOSTER. Now, are we going to break the rule which was meant for the convenience of the House, and the despatch of business. If the Premier insists on the reading of a question in one case, then any member of the House has an equal right to insist that every question shall be read. Does the government wish to waste the time of the House in this manner, or does it wish for the despatch of business? The right hon. gentleman says that there has been a violation of the rules, or of the constitutional practice or something of that kind in putting so long a question. But the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), knows that this business was commenced, not by the hon. member from Annapolis (Mr. Mills), but that it was commenced by the hon. member from Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis), who put on the Order paper, page after page of quotations from the report of the Postmaster General. So far as my opinion goes, this spreading of questions on the Order paper, merely for the purpose of spreading them out, was not contemplated, when the idea originated of asking questions for information. But the Prime Minister will see that he cannot allow his own people to play that kind of game without inviting reprisals. That is exactly what has taken place in this case.

The PRIME MINISTER. I have only this to say to my hon. friend, that if the privilege is abused in any way, I have no objection that the same rule should be applied on both sides of the House, and that every member should be called upon to read his question.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). Mr. Speaker, I might remind the hon. gentleman—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Question, question.

Mr. SPROULE. Then, I move the adjournment of the House, because I wish to have the same right to speak as other hon. members.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). You cannot move the adjournment when we are on questions.

Mr. BERGERON. Yes, at any time.

Mr. SPROULE. When the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has the common courtesy to give to every member that attention which he expects for himself, I will go on with my speech. The late Speaker consulted the House as to the wisdom and propriety—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Has not the hon. member for Annapolis got the floor?

Mr. MILLS. If you want to raise the point of order, why do you not get up on your feet?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Well taken.

Mr. SPROULE. I was saying that the late Speaker, after consultation with the House as to whether it was agreeable to adopt this rule or not, namely, to call the question by number without reading it, the House assented, and from that time the rule has been followed. Therefore, I regard this as much one of the standing rules of the House as any of the rules embodied in Sir John Bourinot's book or in any other.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Chair, chair.

Mr. SPEAKER. Although the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) has made his statement, he has not moved the adjournment of the House. I understood the Premier to ask the question to stand.

An hon. MEMBER. No. Read.

Mr. SPEAKER. As to the reading of the question, I am in the judgment of the House, but I think the practice latterly has been correctly stated by the leader of the opposition—that we have grown into the practice of calling the number of each question, and having the question asked on that call. I am not aware, however, that that has in any way superseded the rule, except by consent of the House.

Mr. MILLS. Then, Mr. Speaker, I will just say this, that so long as I am in the House, every question shall be read.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order; read.

Mr. MILLS. Is it the order of the Speaker that the question be read?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). I rise to second the adjournment of the House, in order to discuss a very important question. I was not in the House at the beginning, but I understand that my right hon. friend has called on the hon. member for Annapolis to read a question contrary to the recognized practice of the House, as established between the Chair and the House by the late Speaker. Assuming that that arrangement was entered into for the purpose of saving time, I do not understand how it can now be departed from, unless we are going virtually to abandon it altogether and require that every question shall be read. I think there has been great convenience in adopting the present plan, and I am very sorry to see what I think is a great abuse—I do not hesitate to say so—with reference to questions becoming practised in the House. I think that no encouragement should be given to anybody to put a question upon the paper that is not for the purpose of obtaining information which is not in the hands of hon. members. That is the object of questions, and I think a very deplorable departure from that sound practice was taken when the hon. Postmaster General allowed pages of the question paper to be taken up by re-

petitions of what had already appeared in the public prints, and was, therefore, within the reach of every member of the House. It was a great misfortune, and I think that the sooner we abandon what I regard as an abuse of the privilege of asking questions, and confine them to questions which are necessary for the convenient conduct of public business, the better. I hope, therefore, that my right hon. friend will not insist on departing from a rule in the case of my hon. friend from Annapolis, which, I understand, has been deliberately adopted between the House and the late Speaker.

Mr. WM. McCLEARY (Welland). I just want to call the attention of the House to the attitude of your predecessor, Mr. Speaker, with regard to the asking of questions in this House. On the 16th of September, 1896, immediately after the House opened, he made these observations :

I desire to draw the attention of the House to a small change which has been made in the printing of routine proceedings by my direction. The questions to be put by members are each numbered. This is in accordance with an English precedent, which has been established since 1880, and I think it will in several ways work beneficially. In the first place, hon. members may either refer to a question by its number when asking for an answer, or, if they choose, they may read the question, as usual.

Not at the dictation of any other member of the House.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). He could not make a rule of the House.

Mr. McCLEARY. Let us go a little further. He went on to say :

In the next place, it has been quite apparent that, when an hon. member has a number of questions placed in his name on the Order paper, it is very difficult for members of the government to know which one they are replying to. With each question distinctly numbered, I think the business of the House will be facilitated very much.

No one will question that that was a proper and efficient rule to lay down. Whether it is in the compilation of the rules of the House or not, it has operated beneficially in facilitating the work of the House, and has never been departed from since it was laid down by the late Mr. Speaker Edgar until this hour.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (East York). I hope the right hon. leader of the House will not insist on this question being read, if for no other reason than that the first notice of motion to-day is a proposition by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) for dealing with the whole question of the conduct of business in this House and looking to the more rapid despatch of business. On this very day we propose to go back to the old system, which took up a great deal of time, and did not facilitate

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

the transaction of business. I, too, regret the spreading out of questions on the Order paper, which has been done both on this side and on the other side; but in justice to ourselves and for the despatch of business, I hope the leader of the House will withdraw the demand that the question be read.

The PRIME MINISTER. It is acknowledged by everybody in this House—and I quite agree with the remarks that have been made by my hon. friend the leader of the opposition—that the system of spreading on the paper matters that can be found in the blue-books, has grown to an abuse. The remedy is in the hands of hon. members opposite as well as members on this side. If there are any other questions on the Order paper which are objectionable, as the one under discussion is, it is open to my hon. friend to ask the hon. member, in whose name the question stands, to read it and obtain a remedy in that way.

Mr. MILLS. Is it the ruling of the Chair that this question should be read ?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. It is a rule of the House and not a ruling of the Chair.

Mr. SPEAKER. We are discussing the question that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. MILLS. I have the right to speak on that question, and I ask your Honour if it is your ruling that this question shall be read in full ?

Mr. SPEAKER. I am not aware of any ruling. The English practice is pretty much our guide, and on page 273 of Dennison & Brand's decisions, I find the following :

An hon. member calling attention to the time occupied in reading questions, and asking whether it was incumbent on members to read them—Mr. Speaker, in answer to the inquiry of the hon. member—I have to state that there is no absolute rule on the matter to which he refers. It has been the general practice for many years for hon. members, in putting questions, to read these questions, and it has been generally found to be a convenient course. There is, however, as I have said, no rule on the subject.

Again on July 8th, 1880 :

Mr. Speaker said it was formerly the practice for members to read their questions, and that practice has generally prevailed down to the present day; but I am bound to say that latterly the practice has prevailed of putting questions of such extraordinary length, that I am inclined to think the House will do well to depart from it.

But there is no rule, it is simply a matter of practice. In August of the same year, the same question came up again, and the Speaker said :

The House, by its action with reference to putting questions in the House has saved very considerable time in that process, because the House has, by its own action, called on mem-

bers having questions on the paper not to read those questions. No doubt, if the House thought proper to go still further, and require that notices of questions should not be put at full length, but brought to the Table, a still further saving of time might take place.

In all these statements there is no decision, and apparently it is still open to the House to have the questions read or to dispense with the reading of them as the House thinks fit.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Might I suggest that as there is no rule, it is for the member who puts the question on the paper to read it or not. There is no intimation in anything you have read, Sir, to indicate that it is in the power of any other member to call for the reading of the question.

The PRIME MINISTER. We have certain rules which, for convenience sake and the sake of expedition, we do not insist upon. For instance we have a rule requiring that motions be read in French, and if any hon. member insists upon this being done, the rule must be complied with, but the practice is simply to read the motion in English.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think that that is perhaps the correct position. I am inclined to think that if the House insists, every question must be read.

Mr. JAS. SUTHERLAND (North Oxford). Your attention, Mr. Speaker, has been called to the suggestion of the late Sir James Edgar, our former Speaker, that the questions should be numbered for the convenience of members of the government, and that instead of reading the question the member putting it should simply indicate it to the attention of the government by number. This practice was adopted with the unanimous consent of the House, but it did not do away with the rule. I understand that no remarks can be taken down in *Hansard*, according to the rules of the House, unless expressed, and neither can any motion be put to the House unless read, but the House by unanimous consent can depart from its own rule. A member of the House, for instance, is allowed to put a question which stands in the name of another, when that other member is not present, but that can only be done by the consent of the House, and it is quite within the right of any member of this House, in any one of the cases I have cited, to insist upon the observance of the rule. The House will notice that this question is entirely out of order. As the leader of the opposition has tersely put it, the object of putting a question on the Order paper is to obtain information. That cannot be said to be the object of putting this question at such length, for all these details that are contained in it might have been just as well indicated by a reference to the Auditor General's Report. I do not think any

one will pretend seriously that this question has been spread over seven pages of the Order paper simply with the view of obtaining information, when that information could have been obtained by putting the question instead in a few lines. This is certainly against the spirit of the rules of the House, and against the facilitating of the business of the House. And if the exercise of our right to insist that such questions be read would have the effect of putting a stop to this abuse, I think any hon. member is justified in insisting that the rule be observed.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). What I object to is this. We are having a repetition of what we have witnessed in this House again and again—making fish of one and flesh of the other. If you will turn to the *Hansard* of March 14th, you will find a question composed of extracts from the Postmaster General's Report of 1896—

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). Read it.

Mr. DAVIN. I see there is a great deal of sardonic humour in the hon. Minister of Customs asking me to read it, but he did not ask the hon. member for Saskatchewan (Mr. Davis) to read it, nor did the Prime Minister, who is such a stickler for rules. That question covers nine pages of *Hansard*, repeating information which is in the blue book, and yet no one objected to its being put without being read. But the moment the Conservative member—

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Why did not you raise it?

Mr. DAVIN. For this reason—that there are depths of meanness that we do not stoop to. For this reason—that there are certain tricks that the Conservative party have never stooped to. We have stood in this country on policy, on honest administration of the departments—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. DAVIN. Yes, and on the manly management of parliament. But here we see a government trembling in its shoes; not knowing what to do; putting up, in order to make campaign literature, the ruck and rump of the party to put questions giving pages of information which are in the blue books already. Turn to March 7, and you have precisely the same thing. And there are other cases as well. One of the reasons why my hon. friend from Annapolis (Mr. Mills) put this question on the paper, no doubt, was to show the government that the game they were playing could be played by this side as well. But the moment the engineer is about to hoist with his own petard, when the medicine that the government of the day has been administering is to be administered to the right hon.

gentleman himself, he falls back on the rules of the House and says, 'For goodness sake'—like some baby afraid of its castor oil—'do not give me that dose.' He falls back on the rules. The fact that in the notable instances I have quoted, as well as in others, one of these members has been allowed—I suppose I could not dare to say that he was prompted, but he has been allowed—to abuse the Order paper, as is now admitted, should have prevented the right hon. gentleman from appearing in the light he now puts himself in before this parliament and before this country. No leader of the House can lead the House with authority unless he has the respect of the opposition. And how can any minister have the respect of the opposition when he has one rule for his own followers and another rule for us? And why does he cry out the moment my hon. friend from Annapolis puts this question on the paper? Because it is very inconvenient. He is sending this Mr. Perrault to Paris. Who is he? Is he the tail, one of the joints in the tail, of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte)? I thought it was a petticoat court that the hon. Minister of Public Works was taking with him. I thought it was only grandes dames that we were to have following the minister. But, it appears we are to have this Mr. Perrault also. It is not a useless thing to call attention to the fact that the gentleman he is sending over to supplement the work of the Minister of Public Works in Paris is the man who will order champagne by the dozen, choice wines by the dozen, and pay \$20 for 'Annie.' I am not sorry that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mills) has put the question on the paper; and I am not surprised that hon. gentlemen do not like to give an answer. I have contemplated this government in all its gyrations for the last seven weeks—a government not knowing what to do, flying hither and thither, thinking now to dissolve and then to put off dissolution and presenting a spectacle that justifies what I said three years ago that it was a government even then, with the colour of death in its face. Now, it really looks as if the right hon. gentleman had ordered coffins for the whole seventeen. What a spectacle has this government presented for the last seven weeks. We were brought here seven weeks ago, and since then we have had nothing to do. The right hon. gentleman reminds me of a play that used to be very popular here called 'The Gilded Age.' The hero of the play invites a friend to dinner and the guest comes expecting a sumptuous repast. The dishes are laid out with covers complete. But, when the covers are removed nothing is found but cold turnips. And the host gives his guest a lecture assuring him that there is nothing so good for the digestion as cold turnips. For seven weeks here we have been sitting down to cold turnips. One of the supporters of the right hon. gentleman has taken the trouble to calculate how many

Mr. DAVIN.

hours and days I took up in speaking during one session. He calculates that this House costs \$5,000 a day. But they called us here seven weeks ago, when they had no reason for bringing us here. They had nothing prepared for us to do. And we saw them the other night doing what? Putting up one of their own followers to propose a motion that could be regarded, if you like, as a motion of want of confidence by themselves in themselves. Or you can look at it—

Mr. SPEAKER. The field is pretty wide, but I do not think it takes in a previous debate.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I am speaking on the motion to adjourn. If I am transgressing I will come within the bounds so quickly that you will see that my soul is steeped in obedience. But let me point out that my hon. friend from Annapolis (Mr. Mills) was about to ask a question in the usual way, a question that would probably take a quarter of an hour to read while the answer would not take one second. He was asked by the Prime Minister to read that question. Then the question came up: Was not that request on the part of the Premier backed up by his followers, taking up the time of the House unnecessarily. Therefore, it is a question of the time of the House, and I think I am strictly ad rem when I point to the fact that seven weeks have been thrown away by these gentlemen, and that nothing has been placed before us. It is true, we had the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) giving us a poor, wretched Bill and it was—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Question.

Mr. DAVIN. Where is the question? Here is the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) with his hand shading his shamefaced countenance and interrupting me. I am talking to the question raised about the delay to the business of the House, the taking up of the time of the House; and I say here, it is a proper thing to point out that we have been seven weeks here and these hon. gentlemen have not yet shown the country or parliament why they brought us here.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. DAVIN. I see now the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) with the air of a bully, calling out 'order'—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I would ask the hon. gentleman to—

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, sit down.

Mr. DAVIN. Who says sit down? I will withdraw the expression that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) is like a bully. For my part, I believe he can be one of the most courtly of gentlemen, though I have not seen it myself—

Mr. SPEAKER. I will ask the hon. gentleman to confine himself to the question.

Mr. DAVIN. I think I am speaking directly to the motion. The question is about taking up the time of the House, and I say here that it is a wrong thing on the part of the Prime Minister to insist on this question being read. If he insists upon it it will not raise him in the opinion of this House, it will not raise him in the estimation of the country.

Mr. SPEAKER. The question is on the motion of Mr. Sproule to adjourn.

Mr. MILLS. I desire to ask question 20—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Read it.

Mr. GEORGE TAYLOR (South Leeds). I rise to a point of order. I ask your ruling, Mr. Speaker, on the rule which says that an hon. member may call the question by number of, or read it if he likes. Does the rule say that any hon. member has the right to make him read the question. I wish your ruling on that point. Does the rule say that any member has a right to make him read the question? I want that ruling.

Mr. SPEAKER. I am in the judgment of the House, but according to English precedent, the question appears to me in this position, that the House has not established a rule, but it has grown into the practice of accepting the question as asked when the number is called. But, I think, it is perfectly competent for the House to ask for the question to be read.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not at all question your ruling. But, I wish to point out that a member can either read the question or answer to the number, and the House can direct which shall be done. But, there is nothing in anything you have quoted as an authority that appears to me to show that any one member of the House can lead the House in that regard.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The departure from the rule can only be sanctioned by general consent of the House. Unless there is some rule which says that you are not obliged to read it, then, the presumption must be that the question shall be read, and we can only depart from that rule by unanimous consent.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Long established precedent becomes a rule in regard to procedure, and we have had a long estab-

lished practice, deliberately entered upon by the late Speaker of this House with the entire concurrence of the House. Now, it remains for the hon. gentleman or any person else to show that which you have not shown from any authority you have quoted, that while it is competent for the House to direct the House in a particular course, there is nothing to show that the precedent regularly pursued for years shall be departed from, unless some rule can be shown for doing so. There is no rule which says that any member of this House can change a precedent.

Mr. SPEAKER. I may be misunderstood by the leader of the opposition, but the view I took of the question was this: Our former practice was that the question should be read. A few years ago we dropped into the practice of calling the number, and accepting the question without being read. But there is no rule establishing that new practice, and we are now in this position, that if the House chooses to ask that a question shall be read in the original form, it has a right to do so.

Mr. MACLEAN. The House has not yet ordered that the question be read.

Mr. SPEAKER. I must ask the members not to discuss the question any further. It must remain with the judgment of the House to say whether the question should be read or not.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). I wish to understand your ruling. Do you rule that any member of this House can ask that a question be read, or do you rule that only a majority of the House can ask that a question be read?

Mr. SPEAKER. I think in all these cases I am in the judgment of the House. Of course, the House knows the position that we are in. We have in the past dropped from the old practice in many cases. Take, for instance, the reading of a question in French. Our rule is that it shall be read in French, but we have dropped away from that practice; still, if any one member asks that it shall be read, the rule then comes into operation. I look upon the present case as similar.

EXPENSES OF JOSEPH PERREAULT TO THE PHILADELPHIA EX- HIBITION.

Mr. MILLS asked:

Is Joseph Perrault a commissioner to the Paris Exhibition? Is this the same Joseph Perrault who was chief commissioner to the Philadelphia Exhibition? Is the following a correct statement of the expenses of the said Perrault and his associates in 1876 when chief commissioner to the Philadelphia Exhibition?

1876.			\$	cts.	\$	cts.
April	1	J. Perrault.....				69 50
"	1	Three servants.....				10 00
"	1	Plaister & McCollin.....		22 50		
"	1	".....		15 00		
"	1	".....		2 50		
"	6	W. B. Weir				40 00
"	6	Henry Connell.....				333 34
"	8	Three servants.....				36 79
"	8	Charles McBride.....				17 21
"	15	Servants.....				44 66
"	15	J. Perrault.....		23 00		10 00
"	22	".....		15 35		
"	29	Servants.....				38 35
May	6	W. B. Weir				20 50
"	13	Rozet & Kent.....		350 00		333 34
"	13	".....		7 50		
"	13	John McGaughran				357 50
"	13	Knickerbocker Ice Co.....				3 76
"	13	H. Connell.....				2 18
"	13	Charles McBride.....				28 09
"	13	John Mooie.....				121 59
"	13	J. Perrault.....				1 39
"	27	".....		7 56		
"	27	".....		40 00		
"	27	G. N. C. Lewis.....				47 56
"	27	J. Perrault.....				50 00
"	26	T. Burnett.....		6 00		3 79
"	24	".....		10 00		
"	26	C. W. Broadbent.....				16 00
"	27	Washerwoman.....				0 75
"	27	Cook and maid.....				10 75
"	27	J. Perrault.....				40 00
"	27	".....		14 10		
"	27	".....		7 04		
"	27	".....		10 61		
"	27	".....		10 00		
"	27	".....		0 80		
"	27	Chas. Brintzinghoffer.....				42 55
"	27	Whital, Tatum & Co.....				2 05
"	27	James P. Fennell.....				3 80
"	27	Whital, Tatum & Co.....		1 70		4 12
"	27	".....		5 20		
"	27	".....		1 25		
"	28	J. Perrault.....				8 15
June	5	".....		3 05		
"	1	Henry Connell.....		7 55		10 60
May	31	W. E. Grigg.....				39 59
"	31	Knickerbocker Ice Co.....				8 56
June	1	Charles McBride.....				1 99
"	6	W. B. Weir				119 42
"	10	J. Lavigne.....				333 34
"	10	H. R. Lewis.....				15 25
"	5	Chapman & Co.....				12 00
"	6	E. E. Nock.....				7 80
"	10	J. Perrault.....				2 25
"	10	King & Brown.....				8 81
"	10	J. Perrault.....		1 37		9 00
"	17	".....		6 25		
"	17	John Gilmore & Co.....				7 62
"	17	".....		6 75		
"	17	".....		8 00		
"	17	".....		2 00		
"	17	".....		0 60		
"	12	Centennial Photo Co.....				17 35
"	23	Alfred Winkle.....				3 00
"	24	Lafayette Restaurant.....				48 00
"	24	".....		176 00		
"	24	".....		17 50		
"	24	".....		12 50		
"	24	".....		2 50		
"	24	".....		10 70		

1876.			\$	cts.	\$	cts.
June	22	John Gillmore & Co.	½ dozen Clavelle claret	3	25	
"	22	"	1 case Urbanne sparkling wine	16	00	
"	22	"	2 dozen Bass' ale	4	50	
"	22	"	1 bottle amber sherry	1	00	
"	22	"	1 gallon d. and g. sherry	4	00	
"	22	"	1 dozen Clavelle claret	6	50	
"	22	"	1 dozen Bass' ale	2	25	
"	22	W. H. Haskins	50 bills of fare	6	00	37 50
"	22	"	60 invitations and envelopes	3	50	
"	22	"	50 dinner cards	1	50	
"	22	"	50 entrance cards	2	00	
"	27	J. Perrault	Salary of maids	20	00	13 00
"	27	"	Cab-hire, petty expenses	21	90	
"	27	Sarah Merrick	Milk			41 90
July	1	Charles McBride	Provisions, amount of bill			7 50
June	30	W. E. Grigg	Bread			154 96
July	11	Henry Connell	Groceries, amount of bill			9 45
"	8	J. Perrault	Cook, dismissed	15	00	44 69
"	8	"	Washing	5	00	
"	12	W. B. Weir	Rent of house to 1st August, 1896.			20 00
"	12	O'Sullivan Bros.	Clothes lines			333 34
"	10	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	Ice			0 60
"	3	E. E. Nock	Provisions, amount of bill			5 30
"	15	J. Perrault	Tickets, cab-hire, petty expenses			1 55
"	13	John Gilmour & Co.	3 cases Clavelle Medoc	19	50	19 00
"	13	"	½ dozen Hennessy brandy	12	00	
"	13	"	2 cases sparkling wine	32	00	
"	13	"	1 case " pints	18	00	
"	20	J. Perrault	Annie, one month	20	00	81 50
"	20	"	Cook	10	00	
"	20	F. Schencal	Omnibus	0	28	30 00
"	20	"	6 glasses	0	75	
"	20	"	1 picture	0	60	
"	24	J. Perrault	Servants	40	83	1 63
"	1	"	Expenses	21	90	
"	1	"	Washing	10	89	
June	1	"	Expenses	6	28	79 90
July	22	"	Cab-hire, petty expenses	7	50	
"	30	"	Telegrams	7	90	
Aug.	1	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	Ice			15 40
"	1	Charles McBride	Provisions			3 71
Aug.	1	Sarah Merrick	Cream and eggs			173 71
July	31	W. E. Grigg	Bread			8 30
Aug.	1	Henry Connell	Groceries, amount of bill			10 31
July	3	Herbert M. Morse	6 lbs. mixed cake	3	00	25 99
"	3	"	8 quarts ice cream	4	00	
April	20	W. E. Grigg	Bread			7 00
Aug.	5	J. Perrault	Petty expenses			5 40
"	7	W. B. Weir	House rent to 1st September, 1876.			9 47
June	26	W. R. Moore	Ice			333 34
"	17	H. G. Hill	2 pitchers	1	00	2 45
"	17	"	1 slop basin	0	40	
"	17	"	4 wooden faucets	0	25	
"	17	"	Car fare	0	13	
May	30	J. P. & J. B. Hand.	3 papers of tacks	0	18	1 78
"	30	"	1 pair pocket scissors	0	50	
"	30	"	1 pocket screw	0	50	
"	30	"	1 set of knives and forks	2	25	
"	30	"	2 dusters	1	00	
"	30	"	2 brooms	0	50	
"	30	"	Oil	0	25	
"	30	James Walker	1 doz. wine	1	25	5 18
"	30	"	½ doz. tumblers	0	62	
"	30	"	½ doz. plates	0	60	
"	30	"	1 pail	0	25	
"	30	"	½ doz. towels	0	75	
						3 47

1876.			\$	cts.	\$	cts.
Aug.	19	J. Perrault	Expenses	6	25	
"	19	"	Cook	10	00	
"	19	"	Annie	20	00	
"	25	"	Petty expenses and washing	17	06	
"	12	"	"	5	00	
"	12	"	Washing	3	00	
"	19	"	Petty expenses	5	64	
			<hr/>			66 95
"	31	John Gilmore	1 gall. superior pale sherry	4	00	
"	31	"	1 case Clavelle Medoc claret	6	50	
"	31	"	4 doz. English ale, Bass & Co.	9	00	
			<hr/>			19 50
"	12	J. Perrault	Expenses	8	00	
Sept.	2	"	"	9	75	
			<hr/>			17 75
Aug.	19	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	Ice			1 80
Sept.	4	J. Perrault	Maid, Seraph	10	00	
"	4	"	Washing extra	1	00	
"	4	J. Perrault	Petty expenses	0	14	
			<hr/>			14 00
"	1	Charles McBride	Provisions, amount of bill			128 8
"	4	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	Ice			5 41
Aug.	31	E. E. Nock	3 ³ / ₄ lbs. chicken			1 01
"	31	W. E. Grigg	Bread			13 31
Sept.	1	Sarah Merrick	Milk and eggs			4 62
"	16	Henry Connell	Groceries, amount of bill			25 51
"	16	John Gilmore	1 gal. pale sherry	4	00	
"	16	"	1 case Pleasant Valley sparkling	16	00	
"	16	"	4 doz. Bass' ale	9	00	
			<hr/>			29 00
"	9	J. Perrault	Cab hire and petty expenses			10 25
"	11	W. B. Weir	House rent to 1st October, 1876.			333 34
"	16	J. Perrault	Washing	10	50	
"	16	"	Newspapers	6	00	
"	16	"	Expenses	10	25	
"	16	"	"	45	75	
			<hr/>			72 50
"	24	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	Ice			8 52
"	16	J. Perrault	Wages to Annie	20	00	
"	16	"	" cook	10	00	
"	16	"	Petty expenses	15	75	
"	16	"	Cab hire, washing, etc.	26	50	
			<hr/>			72 25
"	30	"	Telegrams, and petty expenses			16 22
"	16	Thos. L. Chandennet	Dictionaries			5 00
"	19	A. J. P. Trindell	Gold watch presented			269 90
"	29	W. F. Johnson	3 linen towels	0	60	
"	29	"	1 feather duster	1	50	
"	29	"	2 brooms	0	70	
"	29	"	1 hair brush	0	50	
"	29	"	1 oz. rouge	0	15	
"	29	"	1 lb. whitening	0	06	
"	29	"	5 sheets emery paper	0	15	
			<hr/>			3 66
"	25	E. P. Buckley	Postage stamps	0	50	
"	25	"	Arnold's fluid	0	40	
"	25	"	2 quires foolscap	0	50	
"	25	"	1 package note paper	0	65	
"	25	"	2 packages envelopes, French	0	36	
"	25	"	Lead pencils	0	15	
"	25	"	Pens	0	18	
			<hr/>			2 75
Oct.	2	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	Ice			4 15
"	1	Sarah Merrick	Milk and eggs			5 93
Sept.	30	W. E. Grigg	Bread			15 60
"	28	S. R. Morrison	4 copies of bill of fare			10 00
Oct.	1	Charles McBride	Provisions, amt. of bill			221 35
"	2	Henry Connell	Groceries			50 08
"	6	W. B. Weir	House rent to Nov. 1st, 1876			333 34
"	7	J. Perrault	Telegraphing	7	55	
"	7	"	Servants' wages	8	00	
"	7	"	Washing	10	00	
"	7	"	Cab-hire and stamps and petty expenses	7	50	
			<hr/>			33 05
"	14	"	Extra newspapers and subscriptions			6 60

1876.			\$	cts.	\$	cts.
Oct.	14	Mrs. Penny	1	00		
"	14	"	1	20		
"	14	"	2	25		
"	14	"	2	40		
"	14	"	1/2	40		
"	14	"	1	45		
"	14	"	1	70		
"	14	"	1	00		
						7 40
Sept.	30	J. Perrault	Expenses	16	22	
Oct.	7	"	"	33	05	
"	14	"	Wages, cook and maid	30	00	
"	14	"	Advanced to Mrs. Penny (special)	10	00	
"	14	"	Catalogue and stationery	4	00	
"	14	"	Cab-hire for special	5	00	
"	14	"	Rent of room (special)	12	00	
"	14	"	Telegraphing	5	50	
"	14	"	Stamps and tickets	2	00	
"	14	"	Washing extras	7	50	
						125 27
"	5	Herman W. Lentz	1 dust brush			1 00
"	9	Herbert M. Morse	2 lbs. maccaroni	1	50	
"	9	"	2 1/2 lbs. currant cake	1	38	
"	9	"	1 1/2 lbs. French cocoanut	0	63	
"	18	Thomas Keenan	Moving tables	1	00	
"	18	"	Putting drums in	1	00	
"	18	"	Taking awning down	0	50	
						2 50
"	20	W. Williamson	Car fare	1	00	
"	20	"	2 papers tacks	0	16	
"	20	"	Catalogue for Mr. Penny	0	25	
						1 41
"	20	J. Perrault	Petty expenses	0	43	
"	20	"	Waiters, 8 days	21	00	
"	20	"	Cook (extra)	32	00	
						53 43
"	11	E. F. Harvie	Collection photographs	1	25	
"	20	Wm. Akers	1 buff, cream	1	25	
"	20	"	2 cake plates	2	50	
"	20	"	1/2 doz. plates	2	50	
"	20	"	1 doz. dessert spoons	7	00	
"	20	"	Use of chamber set	2	75	
						16 00
"	24	G. W. Emerson	1 copy (cloth) cent portfolio and 1 scratch ruler	4	50	
"	21	W. F. Johnson	1 feather duster	0	65	
"	14	Pennock Bros.	Basket flowers	4	00	
"	14	"	12 button-holes	1	50	
"	14	"	Filling 8 glass dishes	4	00	
						9 50
"	11	Steele Bros.	Loan of fine cut English glass, amount \$96.00	4	80	
"	14	"	Porterage	2	00	
"	14	"	Loan of English star claret glass	0	45	
"	14	"	Loan of 1 Bohn stock glass	0	54	
"	14	"	Loan of 1 English star wine	0	37	
						8 16
"	21	J. Perrault	Telegraphing	5	25	
"	21	"	Stamps and tickets	3	50	
"	21	"	Stationery, paper	2	00	
"	21	"	Petty expenses	5	00	
"	21	"	Washing	5	50	
						21 25
"	21	Trustees, Philadelphia Gas Works.	Consumption of gas	12	04	
"	21	Trustees, Philadelphia Gas Works.	5 per cent penalty for non-payment of bill within five days	0	60	
						12 64
"	19	George P. Groves	10 yards matting	4	65	
"	6	J. M. Peck	Whole amount of bill for fish, oysters, clams and crabs			22 08
"	1	H. Mullin	Bread served			1 05
"	21	D. T. A. Chandounet	Post stamps	3	12	
"	21	"	Paper and envelopes	2	50	
"	21	"	Catalogue	0	25	
						5 87

1876.			\$	cts.	\$	cts.
Oct.	24	J. Perrault	Petty expenses			0 92
Sept.	12	Egg Harbour Wine Co.	1 box Perl of California			15 00
"	13	W. E. Grigg	Bread			17 75
"	29	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	Ice			3 10
Oct.	25	Edgcomb	Telegram	0	40	
"	25	"	Expenses and car fares	0	50	
"	25	"	Stationery	1	25	
"	25	"	Postal on circulars	2	25	
"	25	"	Expenses to cattle show	0	70	
"	25	"	Advertising, "Ledger"	1	20	
"	25	"	" "Bulletin"	1	00	
"	25	"	" "Press"	1	00	
"	25	"	" "Times"	1	80	
						9 35
Nov.	3	Henry Connell	Fine groceries bill			63 74
"	1	Sarah Merrick	Milk and cream			11 05
"	29	J. Perrault	Petty expenses	0	36	
"	29	"	Cook	10	00	
"	29	"	Washing	4	50	
"	29	"	Telegraph	5	20	
"	29	"	Messages and tickets	3	50	
"	29	"	Stationery and stamps	2	75	
						26 31
Oct.	28	"	Expenses			25 95
Nov.	11	Thos. A. Chandonnet	Paper, envelopes, stamps and catalogue			5 25
Oct.	3	Herbert M. Morse	1 lb. rolls	0	12	
"	3	"	2 quarts ice cream	1	00	
"	3	"	1 lb. cake	0	50	
"	3	"	2 quarts ice cream	1	00	
"	3	"	1 lb. cake	0	25	
"	3	"	½ lb. water and cream	0	50	
"	3	"	1 lb. candy	0	40	
						3 77
Nov.	1	J. Perrault	Tickets	0	98	
"	4	"	Telegraphing	10	00	
"	4	"	Messenger, paper	3	50	
"	4	"	Tickets, cab hire	5	50	
"	4	"	Washing	4	50	
						24 48
"	7	Wm. Mann	Binding 4 vols. invoices			4 00
"	7	E. Helmbold	Oysters, from Oct. 6th to Nov. 3rd			11 08
"	1	Chas. McBride	Provisions, amount of bill			221 98
"	1	W. B. Weir	House rent in full, according to contract			333 34
"	21	E. S. West	2 tons stove coal and stowage	13	80	
"	21	"	1 " "	6	90	
"	21	"	1 " "	6	90	
"	21	"	1½ " "	10	55	
						38 15
"	15	E. P. Buckley	1 yard white linen	0	12	
"	15	"	1 yard brown linen	0	10	
"	15	"	1 ball twine	0	15	
"	15	"	1 bottle mucilage	0	12	
						0 49
"	18	J. Perrault	Washing	4	50	
"	18	"	Carting boxes	10	00	
"	18	"	Telegraphing	6	00	
"	18	"	Tickets, stamps and messenger	5	50	
"	18	"	Petty expenses	0	26	
"	11	"	Servants	30	00	
"	11	"	Washing	4	50	
"	11	"	Telegraphing	7	25	
"	11	"	Tickets and stamps	3	00	
"	11	"	Messenger and petty expenses	5	00	
						76 01
"	13	"	Petty expenses			0 25
"	22	No name	Carriages	5	00	
"	22	"	Telegrams	4	00	
						9 00
"	22	Sarah Merrick	Milk			6 00
"	22	E. Helmbold	Oysters			11 88
"	29	P. M. MacKen	Cleaning out ashes			7 50
"	27	Knickerbocker Ice Co.	Ice			2 56

1876.			\$ cts.	\$ cts.	
Dec.	1	J. Perrault	Cook	10 00	
"	1	"	Maid	20 00	
"	1	"	Paid M. A. Rasch for meals	6 00	
"	1	"	" " breaking plates, gob-	2 50	
"	1	"	lets, wine-glasses, gilt china and cut glass	5 25	
"	1	"	Petty expenses	3 82	
Nov.	28	"	Washing	4 00	
"	28	"	Cook	10 00	
"	28	"	Express wagon	5 00	
"	28	"	Telegrams, stamps, tickets	10 00	
					76 57
"	25	A. Lavigne	Street-car tickets		0 85
"	27	John Gilmore	1 case Rodner champagne	28 50	
"	27	"	1 case Chateau claret	28 00	
"	27	"	1 gallon pale sherry	4 00	
"	27	"	½ dozen superior port wine	15 00	
"	27	"	½ dozen laline blanche sauterne	7 50	
"	27	"	1 dozen pale sherry	4 00	
					87 00
"	29	J. Perrault	Expenses	29 00	
"	29	"	"	20 00	
					49 00
"	27	Samuel Richardson	Cartage of baggage		19 50
"	13	Lewis & Bros.	Cab-hire		216 50
Dec.	1	Joseph Lavigne	Cartage from house		1 50
Nov.	27	John Gilmore	1 gallon pale sherry	4 00	
"	27	"	3 "	12 00	
"	27	"	2 bottles Hennessy's brandy	4 00	
"	27	"	1 gallon pale sherry	4 00	
"	27	"	2 dozen Bass' ale	4 50	
"	27	"	1 case Pleasant Valley wine	16 00	
"	27	"	2 dozen Bass' ale	4 50	
"	27	"	1 gallon pale sherry	4 00	
"	27	"	2 "	8 00	
"	27	"	4 dozen Bass' ale	9 00	
"	27	"	1 case Pleasant Valley wine	16 00	
"	27	"	2 bottles Hennessy's brandy	4 00	
					90 08
Dec.	1	J. Perrault	Telegraphing	7 50	
"	1	"	Tickets and stamps	4 50	
"	1	"	Washing	3 50	
"	1	"	Petty expenses	5 00	
"	1	"	Small accounts	10 00	
					30 68
"	2	"	"		26 41
"	16	"	"		11 33
Nov.	30	Chas. McBride	Provisions, amount of bill		169 38
"	30	W. E. Grigg	Bread		14 77
"	30	Henry Connell	Fine groceries, amount of bill		39 48
1877.					
Jan.	6	Lovell Printing Co	Printing		7 00
"	5	Cyrille Paré	Disbursements		9 00
Mar.	24	J. Perrault	Petty expenses		4 00
Feb.	1	"	Cab-hire, petty expenses		7 60
"	9	Goodman	Gas consumed at house, Philadelphia		34 48
			Total		7,625 87

SUMMARY of total expenditure on account of Canadian Commission, Philadelphia Exhibition, for salary, expense of living, travelling or otherwise.

		\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Joseph Perrault	Salary	6,500 00	
"	Paid in Canada	2,935 85	
"	" Philadelphia	366 53	
"	From refund account	84 50	
			9,886 88

SUMMARY of total expenditure on account of Canadian Commission, &c.—*Con.*

		\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Canadian Commission	Living expenses, Philadelphia		7,625 87
Hon. R. D. Wilmot	Travelling, &c.		630 67
Hon. E. G. Penny	"		319 63
Hon. L. Letellier	"		300 00
D. McDougall	Paid in Canada	4,096 13	
"	" Philadelphia	387 95	
			4,484 08
J. P. R. Casgrain	Paid in Canada	498 05	
"	" Philadelphia	110 66	
"	Salary	527 50	
			1,136 21
W. F. Burdett	Expenses in Canada	235 00	
"	" in Philadelphia	25 20	
"	Salary	909 44	
"	From refund account	18 00	
			1,187 64
W. J. McGuire	Paid in Philadelphia	50 00	
"	" Canada	87 50	
"	" Philadelphia	75 00	
			212 50
H. J. Hubertus	Services	113 34	
"	"	75 00	
"	"	50 00	
			238 34
Hon. James Skead	Services as Judge		750 00
S. C. Stevenson	Expenses		144 00
H. Prendeville	Services		40 00
H. Beaugrand	Salary 13th August to 10th September, 1875	72 00	
"	Stationery	6 60	
			78 60
Sundry Employees, viz. :—			
George Carpenter		38 70	
C. Paré		598 60	
H. Wilmot		279 00	
W. Williamson		808 34	
J. Laidlaw		841 68	
F. W. Tuerk		916 68	
W. Moore		350 00	
Robert McBride		237 50	
A. Laroche		217 00	
T. Chandonnet		357 50	
W. McLean		258 33	
James Ryan		312 50	
S. J. Lyman		175 00	
W. Dick		130 00	
J. C. Risteen		125 00	
A. Stephens		141 66	
G. S. Bingham		116 66	
E. B. Black		108 33	
R. Sutherland		155 05	
W. Edgcomb		175 00	
J. Johnston		133 33	
S. Leslie		133 33	
John DeWolfe		131 23	
W. A. Cross		151 18	
W. Walsh		50 00	
James Lavigne		42 00	
Robert Stewart		116 66	
R. Beauchemin		150 00	
F. A. Bender		36 53	
F. Patenaude		20 82	
J. Laudon		25 00	
J. Burdett		25 00	
Joseph Roy		15 00	
— Gentesse		14 37	
— Lemieux		7 35	
— Farrow		5 91	
— Prendeville		7 50	

Mr. MILLS.

SUMMARY of total expenditure on account of Canadian Commission, &c.—*Con.*

	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Sundry Employees, viz :— <i>Con.</i>		
S. Sillan	7 50	
J. H. Pine....	7 50	
John Lorton..	7 50	
S. C. Rogers.....	108 33	
		7,518 50
Wages to men in Philadelphia, viz. :—		
Richardson's men.....	257 02	
Lavigne's men.....	588 45	
C. Paré's men	369 56	
Beauchemin's men.....	91 35	
Tuerk's men.....	644 71	
Larochelle's men.....	152 57	
Log-house men.....	741 74	
McBride's men.....	146 80	
Moore's men.....	324 76	
Williamson's men.....	919 21	
Stephen's men.....	230 50	
Ryan's men.....	185 00	
Johnston's men.....	75 00	
McLean's men.....	15 00	
Leslie's men.....	130 00	
Waterous' men.....	7 50	
		4,829 21
Men's board in Philadelphia.....		287 84
		39,670 04
	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Amount paid for salary	6,500 00	
" expenses in Canada.....	2,935 85	
" " Philadelphia.....	366 53	
" from Refund Account.....	84 50	
		9,886 88
	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
1875.		
May 28 To amount from: Hon. L. Letellier.....	329 50	
July 10 " " ".....	400 00	
Oct. 23 " of official cheque.....	500 00	
1876.		
Mar. 21 To amount of official cheque.....	500 00	
Oct. 14 " U.S. currency in Philadelphia.....	\$100 00	
" " ".....	52 00	
" " ".....	400 00	
	500 00	
1877.		
Jan. 8 To amount of official cheque.....	1,000 00	
" 9 " " ".....	200 00	
" 15 " " ".....	200 00	
Mar. 15 " " ".....	149 24	
April 15 " " ".....	1,213 10	
Aug. 17 " " ".....	1,508 16	
		6,500 00

STATEMENT of Moneys paid J. PERRAULT in Canada.

	\$	cts.	\$	cts.
1875 - By travelling expenses, from 9th February to 17th April.....	229	43		
" " " 13th to 25th May.....	142	20		
" " " 28th May (paid to Hon. Letellier).....	270	50		
" " " June.....	159	40		
" " " July.....	45	25		
" " " 10th July (paid by Hon. Letellier).....	600	00		
" " " August.....	27	00		
" " " September.....	57	50		
" " " 25th September to 21st October.....	90	55		
" " " 26th October to 8th November.....	81	65		
" " " to 2nd December.....	88	10		
1876 - By travelling expenses to 29th January.....	51	25		
advance, 17th February.....	100	00		
travelling expenses to 11th March.....	93	02		
balance of travelling expenses.....	900	00		
			2,935	85

EXPENDITURE—J. PERRAULT—By Canadian Commission in Philadelphia.

1876.			\$	cts.	\$	cts.
April 22	J. Perrault.....	Telegram, cab-hire.....			15	35
" 15	".....	".....			33	00
Dec. 16	".....	Return from Philadelphia to Montreal.....	21	00		
" 16	".....	Trip to Ottawa and back.....	11	00		
" 16	".....	" 3 days.....	18	00		
" 1	".....	Telegraphing.....	7	50		
" 1	".....	Tickets and stamps.....	4	50		
" 1	".....	Washing.....	3	50		
" 22	".....	Ottawa and back.....	20	00		
" 22	".....	Petty expenses.....	5	00		
" 22	".....	Small accounts.....	10	18		
" 22	".....	Paid Lavigne's ticket.....	10	00		
					110	68
1877.						
Mar. 24	".....	Montreal to Ottawa.....	28	00		
" 24	".....	".....	15	00		
" 24	".....	".....	37	00		
					80	00
Feb. 1	".....	".....	20	00		
" 1	".....	".....	17	00		
					37	00
" 10	".....	".....	18	50		
" 10	".....	".....	12	00		
					30	50
" 7	".....	".....	31	00		
" 7	".....	".....	25	00		
					56	00
" 24	".....	Travelling expenses.....			4	00
					366	53

EXPENDITURE—J. PERRAULT—From Refund Account.

1877.		\$	cts.
Mar. 31	J. Perrault, travelling expenses to 16th March.....	84	50

(Mr. Mills having read the first four items.)

The **PRIME MINISTER**. Now that the point has been carried, I ask that the reading be dispensed with.

Mr. **MILLS**. I insist upon proceeding with the question.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. I hope my hon. friend will dispense with the reading. I am satisfied that this discussion which has taken place will do a great deal of good.

Mr. **MILLS**. Well, I will only do so at the request of my honoured leader.

The **MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE** (Mr. Fisher). In reply to the question of the hon. gentleman, I will say that Mr. Joseph Perreault is one of a number of commissioners to the Paris exhibition; that Mr. Joseph Perreault was not the chief commissioner to the Philadelphia, and that, consequently, the rest of this question has no sensible relation to the first part of it.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. I think we must have a better answer than that, and I would, therefore, move the adjournment of the House for the purpose—

Mr. **SPEAKER**. The hon. gentleman is out of order, he cannot move that motion at this stage.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. All I want is to call the attention of the House to the fact that the answer the hon. gentleman has given is a perfect evasion.

The **PRIME MINISTER**. My hon. friend's answer is quite relevant. Mr. Perreault was not chief commissioner to the Philadelphia exhibition, and, therefore, is not responsible for that expenditure.

Mr. **MILLS**. The last portion of my question was not answered, asking whether the statement is a correct statement.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. I must remind my hon. friend that the minister has given his answer.

Mr. **MILLS**. He will get the question again, that is all.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. It is perfectly competent for the hon. member to renew the question in another form, but he has no right at the present moment to do so when the answer is given.

EXPENDITURE ON IMMIGRATION.

Mr. **CASGRAIN** (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

What amounts have been expended by the government for immigration in each of the following years:

1. For the year ending June 30, 1897?
2. For the year ending June 30, 1898?
3. For the year ending June 30, 1899?
4. How many officers and agents has the Im-

migration Department in its employ in the United States, Canada and other countries?

5. What are the salaries?

Mr. **SUTHERLAND**. 1. For the year ended 30th June, 1897, the amount expended on immigration was \$127,438.14. 2. For the year ended 30th June, 1898, the amount expended on immigration was \$261,194.90. 3. For the year ended 30th June, 1899, the amount expended on immigration was \$255,878.88. 4. One hundred and eight persons are employed in the immigration service in Canada, the United States, and other countries. 5. Their salaries amount to \$101,165.95 per annum.

EXPENSES OF COMMISSIONS OF INVESTIGATION.

Mr. **FOSTER** asked :

What is the amount paid from July 1, 1896, to date, for investigation into the cases of alleged partisanship against government employees; to whom have these amounts been paid, and how much to each commissioner for services and expenses respectively?

What amount of money has been paid since July 1, 1896, to date, for investigating the affairs of penitentiaries, to whom paid, and how much to each for services and expenses respectively?

What amount has been paid to date, since July 1, 1896, for services and expenses respectively, and to whom, on account of commissions for investigating and securing information concerning the tariff?

What was the similar expenditures for similar purposes paid from July, 1890, to July, 1896?

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE** (Mr. Fielding). As the question of my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) refers to the transactions of a number of departments it would be inconvenient to give the answer to the question in its present form, and I would prefer that he should make it the subject of a motion.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. He would have to do that on going into supply in order to get it passed.

The **PRIME MINISTER** (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). We will reach it next Monday.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. Dropped.

PAYMENTS FOR COMMISSIONS AND INVESTIGATIONS.

Mr. **FOSTER** asked :

What is the total amount paid since July, 1896, for all commissions and investigations authorized by the government, distinguishing between payments for services and expenses, and detailed so far as to show amount for each commission or investigation?

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE** (Mr. Fielding). That, I think, is involved in the same point, and I will have to ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), to make a motion.

Mr. **SPEAKER**. Dropped.

DISMISSAL OF EMPLOYEES FOR ALLEGED PARTISANSHIP.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

How many employees have been dismissed or retired from the service of the government on account of alleged partisanship since July 1, 1896, and what is the number for each department? In how many cases was the dismissal or retirement preceded by an official investigation?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). That would be included as the hon. gentleman asks three questions, all really on the same subject.

Mr. FOSTER. In reference to question No. 28, I do not think the reason given by the hon. Minister of Finance is a good one, taking into consideration the grounds of answering questions hitherto pursued by hon. gentlemen opposite.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. We have in a number of cases made the same answer.

Mr. SPEAKER. Dropped.

REPRESENTATION OF CANADA AT PARIS EXHIBITION, 1900.

Mr. GANONG asked :

What are the names of the different officials appointed by the government, up to date, in connection with the Paris Exhibition?

When were the several appointments made?

What are their respective duties?

What are their respective salaries?

Are any further allowances to be made to any of these officials? If so, what amounts are to be allowed to the several appointees and for what purpose or purposes?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal has been appointed the representative of Canada on the Imperial British Commission for the Paris Exhibition. He has no salary or living allowance.

Hon. Jos. I. Tarte, M.P., Chief Commissioner, appointed 13th March, 1900 ; no salary.

Canadian Board of Commissioners, Hon. Sydney Fisher, M.P., Minister of Agriculture, chairman.

	Appointed.	Salary.	LIVING ALLOWANCE.	
			Canada.	Paris.
		\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Dr. G. M. Dawson, C.M.G.	Jan. 1, 1899	None	3 50	5 00
Wm. Saunders, LL.D.	" 1, 1899	"	3 50	5 00
J. W. Robertson	" 1, 1899	"	3 50	5 00
Lieut.-Col. F. Gourdeau	" 1, 1899	"	3 50	5 00
Hon. A. H. Gillmor	" 1, 1899	2,500 00	3 50	5 00
J. X. Perrault	" 1, 1899	2,500 00	3 50	5 00
Jas. G. Jardine	" 1, 1899	2,500 00	3 50	5 00
W. D. Scott	" 1, 1899	2,500 00	3 50	5 00
Auguste Dupuis	Mar. 1, 1899	1,600 00	3 50	5 00
L. A. Cusson	Jan. 1, 1900	1,600 00	3 50	5 00
L. M. Macoun, Superintendent, Timber Exhibit	Feb. 15, 1900	None		4 50
A. Halkett " Forest and Sport Exhibit	" 20, 1900	"		4 00
E. R. Faribault " Mineral Exhibit	" 20, 1900	"		4 00
C. W. Willimott " "	" 20, 1900	"		4 00
W. H. Hay " of Decorations	Jan. 16, 1900	"		4 00
H. C. Knowlton	" —, 1900	Salary and living		6 00
J. O. Turcotte, Chief Caretaker	" 16, 1900	"		6 00
W. A. MacKinnon, Superintendent, Food Products	Mar. 8, 1900	"		6 00
Robt. Hamilton " Fruit Exhibit	" 8, 1900	"		6 00
W. S. Comeau, Clerk	Feb. 1, 1900	"		6 00
Mrs. Dandurand, Hon. Lady Commissioner				Expenses
Miss A. Galbraith, Lady Commissioner				4 00
Miss Barry, Asst. Lady Commissioner				6 00
Miss E. LeBoutillier, Stenographer and Typewriter, Ladies' Committee				4 00

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) what we are to understand by Lord Strathcona being appointed British Imperial Commissioner ?

Mr. SPEAKER.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. Lord Strathcona was appointed at the request of the Imperial Commission to the Paris Exhibition, to represent this colony on the Imperial Commission. The Imperial

Commission is a committee charged with the colonial exhibits and Lord Strathcona has been named, or chosen, chairman of the committee, and chosen as the representative of the Colonial Committee on the executive committee of the Imperial Commission.

Mr. WALLACE. What was the answer that the hon. minister (Mr. Fisher) gave as to the allowance of the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte).

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. I said there was no salary.

Mr. BERGERON. What about his allowance?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. His expenses are to be paid.

THE MONTREAL STAR.

Mr. ETHIER asked :

1. Is the government aware that Mr. George Taylor, M.P., is using his privilege as a member of this House to frank through the mails daily to all parts of Canada thousands of copies of the Montreal 'Star' newspaper?

2. Is the government aware that car-loads of the Montreal 'Star' are being shipped to Ottawa to the said George Taylor, M.P., to be franked by him through the mails to the electors of Canada?

3. Is the government aware that the proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' has organized a staff of his employees to co-operate with the said George Taylor, M.P., to assist in the work of addressing and franking immense quantities of the Montreal 'Star' through the mails?

4. Is the government aware whether the said George Taylor, M.P., in order to more effectually accomplish the work of franking the Montreal 'Star,' has caused facsimiles of his signature to be prepared on stamping machines, and has intrusted the use of such stamping machines to others to be used in franking the Montreal 'Star'?

5. Is the government aware that the reputed proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' is also interested in another paper recently established in Montreal, called 'Le Journal,' issued in the French language, and printed in the office of the Montreal 'Star'; that the Montreal 'Star,' published in English, is being so franked to English-speaking electors by the said George Taylor, M.P., and that 'Le Journal,' published in French, is being distributed amongst French-speaking electors?

6. Is the Postmaster General aware whether the said Montreal 'Star' is sending free from Montreal to the said George Taylor at Ottawa large quantities of the Montreal Daily 'Star,' to be distributed free from Ottawa through the mails? If so, does the government consider it a proper use to make of the mail? If not, what action does the government propose to take in the matter?

7. Does the government intend to adopt any, and if so, what steps, to prevent the said George Taylor, M.P., franking broadcast throughout Canada, at the expense of the whole people, the Montreal 'Star'? If not, why not?

Mr. MONK. You will remember, Mr. Speaker, that this question was objected to

by the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain), and you have his objection under advisement.

Mr. SPEAKER. I have eliminated all from the question, which refers personally to the *Star*.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Let the question stand.

MONTREAL TURNPIKE TRUST.

Mr. MONK asked :

1. What amount of bonds of the Montreal Turnpike Trust is now held by the Dominion government?

2. What rate of interest do the bonds carry?

3. Has the interest been paid up to date upon said bonds or debentures?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. \$195,000. 2. 3½ per cent. 3. No interest has been paid since 1st January, 1897.

INDIAN AGENT AT DUNCAN, B.C.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Has a successor been appointed in place of the late W. H. Lomas, Indian agent at Duncan, B.C.?

2. If so, who is it?

3. What applications have been received for the position—and on what dates were they received?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. No. 2. The answer to the first question includes the answer to the second. 3. Several applications have been received; but the government does not consider it desirable to announce the names of the applicants, while the matter of the appointment is under consideration.

VOTERS' LISTS FOR VICTORIA, B.C.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Have the provincial voters' lists for the electoral district of Victoria, B.C. (being the lists for Victoria City, part of Esquimalt district and part of South Victoria district), been received yet by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery?

2. If so, have they been or are they being printed?

3. If not received, what is the reason of the delay?

4. When may the printed lists of same be expected to be ready for delivery?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. Victoria City and Esquimalt lists have been received. South Victoria has not yet been received. 2. They have not been printed, but are being printed. 3. Not yet been forwarded by the collector of voters. 4. Cannot give that information; the Queen's Printer has instructions to hasten the printing of the lists with all possible speed.

WAREHOUSE ON LONG WHARF, ST. JOHN, N.B.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What were the names of the parties tendering for the construction of the new warehouse on Long Wharf, St. John, N.B., and the respective tenders handed in, and which was the tender accepted?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). That has been already answered.

Mr. FOSTER. Not the second part of it.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Yes. The answer to the first question was, that it was not finished. The next question has been answered also.

ST. LAWRENCE CANALS EXPENDITURE.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

1. How much money has been expended from July 1, 1896, to date on the St. Lawrence Canals system—

(a) On account of contracts current on July 1, 1896?

(b) On account of contracts made since July 1, 1896, for work covered by contracts running on that date, but which contracts have been replaced with others?

(c) On account of contracts made since July 1, 1896, for work not then covered by contract?

2. What contracts existent July 1, 1896, were included in those referred to in the speech of the Hon. Mr. Mulock at Owen Sound, in which he is reported in the Toronto 'Globe,' January 30, 1900, as saying: 'We tore up the contracts and recast the whole situation, thus giving a uniform depth of fourteen feet.'

3. Did the contracts existing on July 1, 1896, contemplate any less depth than fourteen feet?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. (a) \$2,789,758.41. (b) \$1,179,940.84. (c) \$4,200,403.63. 2. I prefer not undertaking to interpret or explain statements or references which I did not make myself. 3. None on the St. Lawrence canals.

MAIL FROM LUMSDEN, N.W.T.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Whether the Postmaster General has received a memorial or memorials from the people of Tregarva, praying for two mail services a week from Lumsden? Whether the Post Office Department contemplates supplying three offices by courier from Regina, to wit, Wascana, Tregarva and Craven? If so, what is the reason for such a step? Would not such a courier, in the main, parallel the railway from Regina to Prince Albert? Whether the Postmaster General has received letters on this subject from the member for Western Assinibola? What course has been decided in? What is the reason for that course?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Petitions have been received for a semi-weekly mail from Lumsden to Tre-

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

garva, which has until recently been served weekly from Craven. Having caused inquiry to be made, the Postmaster General learned that Lumsden would be preferable to Craven as the distributing point for Tregarva, and authorizing the change of distributing point. The question of serving Wascana, Tregarva and Craven from Regina was brought to the attention of the department, with a representation that the mail days on the Regina and Prince Albert branch railway were inconvenient for the delivery of mails to the settlers. The question is under the consideration of the department.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE ROYAL CANADIAN REGIMENT.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

(1) Whether the militia authorities have decided to recruit and send a sufficient number of men to fill vacancies which have occurred in the Royal Canadian Regiment in South Africa? (2) Whether several officers are to be sent? (3) Whether it is not so that when the first contingent was being formed, permission was given in Militia General Orders for officers to revert to the ranks and volunteer as privates? (4) Whether a number of officers who did revert to the ranks are not now serving thus in South Africa? (5) Would it not be only right that the government should show its appreciation of the zeal of these officers now serving in the ranks by filling such vacancies as is necessary by promoting them?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The Minister of Militia and Defence left me the following answer to the question: 1. Reinforcements to the number of 3 officers, and 101 non-commissioned officers and men for the Royal Canadian Regiment, sailed from Halifax, on the 17th instant. 2. Answered by No. 1. 3. Yes. Officers were allowed to resign their commissions to enable them to enlist as privates. 4. Yes. 5. These officers would have to be recommended by their commanding officers, in the usual way, to fill such vacancies. The department is not aware of their being so recommended.

CUSTOMS COLLECTOR, MR. EDGAR H. PORTER.

Mr. MILLS asked :

Did the Minister of Customs, in compliance with his implied promise—see page 8452 of 'Hansard' of 1899, vol. III—ask his inspector of Nova Scotia to investigate the matter of Edgar H. Porter, sub-collector of customs for Thorne's Cove, in the county of Annapolis, and report whether or not said Porter was involved in party politics?

If so, has said inspector made his report, and what is his report?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). This matter was mentioned in the House, by the hon. the member for Annapolis, on July 25th last. On the 27th, Mr. Porter was written to, informing him of

the tenor of the hon. member's remarks, and he was asked for an explanation. On the 4th August, he wrote stating that in response to a very influentially signed requisition in November, 1898, he was a candidate at the municipal election, and was elected by a large majority. He stated, however, that he had no idea that his acceptance of the honour, would in any way conflict with his position in the customs. As a magistrate, he had occupied a seat at the court of sessions, which the municipal council superseded, and which discharged exactly the same functions. He had examined the Nova Scotia statutes, and found that Dominion officials were not disqualified, and he saw nothing in the Customs Act that shut him out. He stated further that if he had been requested to run a local or Dominion election, he would have no doubt as to his duty, but as the county council was not a political organization, and did not legislate in the interests of a party—the warden being of one political faith, and the deputy warden of another—but were simply a body of men selected to conduct the business of the county, without reference to party—he could see no possible objection to his accepting the office. He was also aware, he said, that the warden of the county was a Dominion official holding a more important position than he did. All things considered, he said, he was perfectly innocent of any intention to disobey any rule of the department. The inspector of customs for the province was not called upon to report in the matter; the collector having made such a full statement.

BINDER TWINE—KINGSTON PENITENTIARY.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

What was the price paid by the penitentiary authorities at Kingston for each quality of raw material purchased since July 1, 1898, giving the price of New Zealand, manilla and sisal separately?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Yes; the time has been extended to the 1st of May.

SHIPPING MASTER AT YARMOUTH, N.S.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax) asked :

(a) Is Norman L. Trefry shipping master at Yarmouth, N.S., or elsewhere? (b) What is his salary as such?

THE MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). (a) Yes. Mr. Trefry is shipping master at Yarmouth, N.S. (b) He has no salary, but is paid by the fees of the office.

INDIAN CORN STATISTICS.

Mr. CLARKE asked :

1. What quantity of Indian corn has been imported into Canada since June 30, 1899?

2. What quantity of Indian corn has been entered for consumption in the Dominion since June 30, 1899?

3. What quantity of Indian corn, not grown in the Dominion, has been exported since June 30, 1899?

4. What quantity of native-grown Indian corn has been exported since June 30, 1899?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). 1. 13,026,147 bushels to 31st December, 1899. 2. 12,843,196 bushels to 31st December, 1899. 3. 9,723,639 bushels to 31st December, 1899. 4. 629 bushels to 31st December, 1899. The above information is given to the latest date for which the department has any returns.

MOUNT TOLMIE POST OFFICE.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

Have the residents of Mount Tolmie, Cedar Hill and Gordon Head districts sent in a petition to the hon. the Postmaster General, praying that the Mount Tolmie post office be removed to a more convenient site on the Cedar Hill road?

Is it the intention of the Postmaster General to accede to this request?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Such a petition was received and referred to the inspector for his report, which was recently received, and is now under consideration.

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

AFTER RECESS.

BRANDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

House again resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 25) respecting the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

(In the Committee.)

Mr. W. J. ROCHE (Marquette). I would ask the promoter of this Bill if he would be kind enough to allow it to stand over until after next week.

Mr. AULAY MORRISON (New Westminster). If the hon. gentleman had suggested that before the committee sat, I might have had an opportunity of conferring with some of the people who are interested in the Bill; but it has stood now several times, I think, for nearly two weeks. I am not advised in the matter; and I think that unless some cogent reason is given, it would be very inconvenient and I think unnecessary to let the Bill stand over any further. I certainly do not like to disoblige the hon. gentleman. At the same time, I cannot consent, so far as I am concerned, to any further delay; I do not wish to take that responsibility. It strikes me as being an ordinary Bill for a charter, presenting no difficulties.

Mr. ROCHE. If the hon. gentleman allowed the Bill to stand over until another day, would he have an opportunity of consulting the parties concerned, to see whether he could let it stand over until after next week.

Mr. MORRISON. If the hon. gentleman desires to have it stand over, I think he should give some reason why he wishes that.

Mr. ROCHE. I will give my reason. It is that the local legislature meets a week from to-morrow, and it is the beginning of a new parliament. The transportation question is the live question in the west at the present time, and the local government have to bring down their railway policy. At the earliest possible moment they will probably present a resolution to the legislature setting forth that policy, and I do not think it would be wise for this parliament to go contrary to the wishes of the local legislature. That would serve as an indication to us of what the feelings of better judges are, for certainly the members of the local legislature are in a better position to judge as to what railway policy should be adopted for that province. That is the reason I am anxious to have the Bill stand over until after next week. I have had communications from Manitoba, stating that they are very anxious that this Bill should not be pushed forward. I do not think any harm would result from postponing it, and I think that we could then discuss the Bill more intelligently and in the interest of that country.

Mr. MORRISON. On the third reading of the Bill my hon. friend can indulge in all the discussion that he thinks necessary, and move any amendments that he deems desirable. Speaking for myself, I do not see what we have to do with any course the local legislature may take in respect to transportation matters. That point was referred to in the committee, and I think the committee expressed a rather adverse opinion as to any action the local legislature might take in respect to these matters. If the hon. gentleman would allow the Bill to go through the present stage, when it came up again, we could consider what bearing the action of the local legislature would have on this particular Bill. I would ask the hon. gentleman to withdraw his request, for I would like to oblige him, and do not want to be put in the position of refusing his request.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The ground my hon. friend (Mr. Roche) takes is that possibly a policy may be laid down by the Manitoba legislature which would induce him to reserve any consideration he might wish to give to this Bill until after they had pronounced. But those of us who have been a few years in politics, as he has been, know well that when a new parlia-

Mr. MORRISON.

ment meets, as the Manitoba legislature will in a short time, a considerable time will necessarily elapse in passing the Address—probably a week, possibly a fortnight. Perhaps the end he desires would be as well met if he allowed the Bill to go through committee to-night, and make some arrangement with my hon. friend, whereby on the third reading he could bring up the discussion of any principle in the Bill to which he is opposed or any details. When the Manitoba legislature meets, there will, in all human probability, be a prolonged discussion on general matters, so that it will be a long time before their policy is brought down. Even supposing the proposition of the hon. gentleman were admissible, it would be desirable that we should go on and let the Bill take another stage, as otherwise it will be stranded.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). The trouble would be that no important amendments could be effected on the third reading unless previous notice were given. Unless it were understood that notice may be dispensed with, it would be unwise to put the Bill through the committee stage now.

Mr. ROCHE. I have word from the minister in Manitoba that at the earliest possible day the government will give the required information. If there is a strong objection to having this Bill stand over, I have no objection to letting it go through committee, provided the hon. gentleman promoting it will guarantee that he will give us the opportunity, at a future stage, of proposing any amendments we may desire.

Mr. JAS. SUTHERLAND (North Oxford). I am of the opinion that the reasons given by the hon. gentleman to delay the Bill should not have any weight. If the provincial legislature is going to adopt any legislation that would call for action by this House, it will surely be some legislation that would apply to all railways alike and not affect this Bill more than any other.

Mr. SPROULE. That does not necessarily follow. I have a very distinct recollection that one branch of this proposed road is not more than from four to six miles, at any portion of it, distance from the Northern Pacific. It is claimed by some that it crosses the Northern Pacific once or twice within twenty miles and runs alongside of it, and is believed by some to be intended to choke off the extension of the Northern Pacific in a locality where competition is required. I understand that the local government are opposed to that portion of the Bill, but have not signified what they intend doing. If the Bill went through the Committee of the Whole, it is possible that the local government might take exception to some one extension of this road and not object to extensions of other roads.

Mr. D. TISDALE (South Norfolk). This Bill was fully discussed in committee, and

I have heard no new points raised here. The committee almost unanimously passed it. I would be very sorry to entertain the proposition that any local legislature can control matters of this kind in this House. We have distinct jurisdiction given us by the Railway Act, and if we get into the habit of holding up these Bills from time to time, with no new matter before us, we do not know where that will stop. If the local legislature had representations to make, they had every opportunity to make them in the committee. There was no division in that committee at all, which effects any question now raised, and it would be very unusual to hold the Bill back now in case the Manitoba legislature might have something to say about it. If there is anything to be brought up against the Bill, let it be brought up on the third reading.

Mr. SPROULE. The hon. gentleman must forget, when he said there was practically no objection to the Bill in the committee, that there was a very strong opposition to the Bill, and there were two votes taken on it, and a very large vote was given on each side. At one time it was thought that the amendment proposed was carried. Instead of passing the committee unanimously, the very reverse was the case. It seems to me that we should wait and give an opportunity to the local legislature of Manitoba to express its views. There is a new government in Manitoba, and since the Premier of that government has signified his desire that this Bill should stand over until such time as he can announce his railway policy, I do not think we should ignore that request. No doubt he will avail himself of the very earliest opportunity to declare his policy, and if we hold the Bill over, we will be able to deal with it in the broad light of day and not be dealing with it in the dark as we would be if we were to put the Bill through now on the information before us.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (East York). What has happened in Manitoba recently with regard to railway matters is a revelation. Within a week, we will have the policy of the new Manitoba government announced, and it would be only fair to wait until that policy is declared. The Bill will not be delayed if allowed to stand over a few days.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). I would feel a good deal of reluctance in insisting on the hon. gentleman who is promoting the Bill allowing it to stand until a later stage. I have not heard that any member intends proposing an amendment, which has not been already considered and fully discussed by the Railway Committee. Moreover I feel reluctant to ask for further delay, because already, on three different occasions, I prevailed on

the hon. gentleman in charge of the Bill to consent to an adjournment because some gentlemen had intimated to me their desire to oppose it in some form or other. And I do think it is not treating the hon. gentleman who is in charge of the Bill with fairness to urge that, for a reason which connects itself with the possible action of some other legislature which is not now in session, and which will not be in session for some days, and which, after it is in session, may not take up this question for a considerable period, we should delay the consideration of the Bill. I would not like to say that I would be indisposed to consider—to consider on its merits—any suggestion that might emanate from any of the provincial legislatures. But, I should be very sorry to feel that we, as a parliament, are bound, as the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) has said, by any policy that they may lay down. I think in all these cases we must be governed by our own best judgment as applied to the suggestions that are made to us, no matter from what source. I would be as ready, perhaps more ready, to act upon a suggestion from a provincial legislature, than upon a suggestion from an ordinary corporate body, because the legislature would be supposed to have a better knowledge of the general effect of the proposed legislation or policy than any corporate body. But, to say that we are bound by it, I think, would be laying down a principle of guidance which we could not act upon with wisdom or propriety. I hope, therefore, the hon. gentleman will act upon the suggestion made that the Bill might now be considered in committee and that an opportunity—I suppose the hon. gentleman would not ask any delay that would be unreasonable—that ten days or a fortnight should be allowed, after the Bill is disposed of in committee before it is taken up for the third reading, that he might have the opportunity he desires of having any suggestions considered that might come from the province of Manitoba.

Mr. ROCHE. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) guarantees that we shall have an opportunity such as he speaks of and will postpone the third reading for a fortnight, I am willing that it should be advanced a stage to-night. Unless we have that stipulation, I would not care to agree.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). In view of what the hon. minister (Mr. Blair) says, I think it would be better to leave the consideration of the matter in committee until the time he speaks of. A new government in Manitoba will lay down a new policy, and, from the indications we have had in the public press, it seems not impossible that they may undertake the construction of these roads themselves. In that event the House here might reconsider the whole of this Bill. That could be done

more effectively while the House is in committee on the Bill. So, I think we might ask the hon. minister to consent to the postponement of the consideration of the matter in committee.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. That is not my suggestion; if the hon. gentleman in charge of the Bill is willing—

Mr. **WALLACE**. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals evidently thinks that the suggestion of postponement is a reasonable one and favours the postponing of the third reading. But, I think he might go one step further and leave the whole matter over. That would leave the House more latitude to take any course it might desire. At the third reading stage, the discussion is more restricted and amendments would be more restricted also, because we cannot move an amendment on the third reading without giving notice of it—

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. Oh, yes.

Mr. **WALLACE**. In any case, more latitude is allowed in committee. So, judging it in every way, I think it would be fair and reasonable to ask the promoters of the Bill to leave the consideration in committee until that time. It will not delay the passage of the Bill, but it will enable the House of Commons to legislate with the better understanding of the question than we have to-day.

Mr. **WILLIAM GIBSON** (Lincoln). I would like to ask the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) if he is aware that the promoters of this railway have already spent between \$17,000 and \$18,000 in the construction of the road and surveys on the line. If the government of Manitoba become owners of the railways in that province, some consideration should be given to these gentlemen who have put their money into this line.

Mr. **R. L. RICHARDSON** (Lisgar). Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Gibson) allow me to point out that not a dollar has been spent on the road, so far as I know.

Mr. **WALLACE**. I was going to ask the hon. member for Lincoln a question, if he will allow me. Do I understand him to say that the promoters of this line have spent \$70,000 or \$80,000 on this enterprise?

Mr. **GIBSON**. Yes.

Mr. **WALLACE**. What have they done?

Mr. **GIBSON**. It has just been denied that that amount of money has been spent. But, I have the assurance of the gentleman who has spent the money and the members of the House who are familiar with the matter. Some consideration should be given before the promoters are dispossessed of this railway by the province of Manitoba.

Mr. **WALLACE**.

Mr. **WALLACE**. Have they constructed any part of the line?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I understand that under the former charter some expenditure has been made upon the line.

Mr. **GIBSON**. That was the statement by the hon. member for West Hastings (Mr. Corby)—that Mr. Waddell and others connected with him had spent a large sum of money.

Mr. **WALLACE**. I understood it was \$17,000 or \$18,000, not \$70,000 or \$80,000.

Mr. **CORBY**. I said that some \$17,000 or \$18,000 had been spent in running the line and making the survey under the old charter.

Mr. **RICHARDSON**. I would not like to be in the position of asking further delay in view of the extreme courtesy of the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) in granting several delays already. But, the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Roche) has brought up a new issue. He has stated that he has received word from the government of Manitoba that if the Bill is held until the legislature meets, at the earliest possible time, the legislature will be asked to pronounce as to the railway charters. There are two charters before parliament with regard to railways in Manitoba which are of extreme importance. They embrace a combined mileage of something like 1,500 miles. If these two charters go through, the House will see, every available foot of land in the province of Manitoba where a railway can be constructed will be pre-empted. I made the point in the Railway Committee, when the Bill was before that committee, that, in my opinion, a great change had occurred in the attitude and views of the people of Manitoba in regard to the railway question. There is a strong feeling, I think no person will deny, in that country in favour of government ownership. When I speak of government ownership, I would not like the House to understand that I mean that the government of Manitoba intends to purchase all the railroads in that province. As I understand the question, the people have reached the conclusion that it is about time that the government, either the Federal government or the provincial, should control at least any new roads that are to be built, if they do not operate them. I think the view in the west is that at least they should control them, and control them effectively. Now, as I said in that committee, a new government has been returned in the province of Manitoba, and very largely, in my estimation, on that issue. Now, if this parliament grants these charters—this is only one of them—you are going to render ineffective the voice of the people of Manitoba altogether. It seems to me that when these matters affect the people of

Manitoba they have a right to be heard. It is a case of provincial autonomy. Why should not the people of Manitoba have something to say with regard to the railways that are to be built within the province? If this were a charter extending beyond the province into the North-west Territories, then I would not care to intercede at the present time. But this is a charter designed to construct a series of railroads within the province of Manitoba, and the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Roche) makes the reasonable request that we should delay this for, say, a week or ten days in order to hear what the province of Manitoba, as represented by her legislators may have to say, and I am disposed to believe that that legislature will be unanimous on the question. I feel sure that this parliament does not wish to impose upon the people of Manitoba any charters that they do not desire. After all, what is government for? Is it not for the purpose of making the will of the people prevail? If, therefore, the people of Manitoba ask through their provincial government that a delay of ten days, or twelve days at the most, should be granted in order that the legislature, which represents the people of Manitoba may pronounce in regard to this charter, surely that is a reasonable request. I cannot see the force of the point made by the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), that we should pass it through the committee stage, and it might then be held for consideration when the third reading comes on. The House will see the futility of that proposition, because if we decide, as I think a reasonable House would decide, that the will of the people of Manitoba as expressed by their legislature should be listened to, it will be unnecessary to consider the Bill in committee at the present time. Now, we do not ask anything that is going to destroy the Bill, or throw it out; it is only for a delay of eight, ten, or twelve days at the most. Anyway, I think this House should see what the people of Manitoba desire with regard to the Bill, and then we will be in just as good a position twelve days hence as we are now, either to pass the Bill or to reject it.

Mr. J. G. HAGGART (South Lanark). This Bill is merely the extension of a charter already given for the purpose of constructing the road. Are we going to delegate to local legislatures the powers which we have to build roads? If there is any objection to the construction of this road in a particular manner, or if there is a question of policy involved, then perhaps we might delay for the purpose of getting the opinion of the local legislature on the subject. This Bill appears to be merely a Bill giving powers to the company to build a road, and if there is no question of policy involved in it, there is no reason for delay. There is nothing but a simple power to grant

a charter. The result of delaying a Bill of this kind for a fortnight would probably be to fling it over altogether. The same principle applies, I suppose, to every railway Bill which is being considered from the province of Manitoba at the present time. I see no reason whatever why the Bill should not be considered in committee, and if there is any question of policy suggested by the local government, that will be a matter for the House to consider.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Allow me a word of explanation. The hon. member says this is just a renewal of a charter already granted. Let me give a brief history of this charter. A charter was obtained, I think, in 1890, for the purpose of constructing a line seventeen miles long, from Deloraine down towards the boundary.

Mr. HAGGART. It is a renewal and extension.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Well, that was the original Bill. Now we have a Bill tacked on to it which is like a St. Bernard dog tacked on to the tail of a Skye terrier puppy. The road, instead of being seventeen miles long, runs a whole circuit around the province, over 400 miles. Now, it is a very serious matter. If it was only granting an extension of time for a little road running down to a supposed coal field, I would not offer any objection. But it is a much more serious matter than the hon. member suggests. He says that we might pass the Bill, and when we hear what the province of Manitoba desires through their legislature, then the House will be in a position to do what it requires. But in the meantime we have allowed the horse to escape. What is the use of locking the door after the horse has escaped? Now is the accepted time, there is no time like the present to deal with these matters. Does this House desire that the will of the province of Manitoba should be listened to or not? If it desires that it should not be listened to, then I have nothing further to say.

Mr. ROCHE. I cannot see what possible objection there can be to allowing this Bill to lay over for a fortnight. Suppose the suggestion of the Minister of Railways and Canals is adopted, and I think the promoter feels like adopting that suggestion, we tie our hands to a certain extent. The hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), the chairman of the Railway Committee, seems to have a strong objection to allowing this to stand over.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I think the hon. gentleman is very unfair. What I said was addressed openly to the Chair. I have nothing to say behind the backs of the committee.

Mr. ROCHE. I saw the hon. member for North Oxford prompting the member for

Lincoln (Mr. Gibson) on this question when he was not addressing the House.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The hon. gentleman is quite mistaken, and it is very improper of him to make any such suggestion. There is not one iota of foundation for the suggestion.

Mr. ROCHE. I see no reasonable objection to delaying this Bill. The hon. member for Lanark (Mr. Haggart) says that we should not delegate our powers to the local legislatures. We are not asking the House to do that at all. My own personal views are that those hon. gentlemen who have been such great sticklers for provincial autonomy in the past and always solicitous for provincial rights, should at least consult the local legislature of Manitoba in this case, who are in a better position to judge of the requirements of the province in regard to railways than are the members of this House. I take the stand that our local legislatures have power to grant charters to provincial railways built within the boundaries of the province, that the granting of these charters should be left to the local legislatures. But if the House objects to that principle, then at least, I think, the House should take the opinion of the local legislature of the province involved. To be sure, we have the opinions of the government now. A member of the cabinet was down here a week ago interviewing the members from the west, some of them at any rate. Upon his return he interviewed the local Premier, and the result was that the Premier asked that this step should be taken in order that the local government might have an opportunity of consulting the whole people as represented in the legislature. I think, as the member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) states, there would be an unanimous expression of opinion in the legislature that would be a good guide to us in our action here. Now, if the suggestion of the Minister of Railways and Canals is adopted to allow this to advance a stage to-night, and take the amendment into consideration on the third reading, the Bill would not be any further advanced than if we discussed them at the present time.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Oh, yes; it would be a very great deal further advanced.

Mr. ROCHE. I am not going to offer any great objection to allowing this Bill to be advanced a stage if the promoter will guarantee that we will be allowed an opportunity of bringing in these amendments in a fortnight. Let it stand for a fortnight.

Mr. J. G. RUTHERFORD (Macdonald). Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to go rather slowly in regard to this charter. I do not know that there is so very much in the argument of the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) in reference to the

Mr. ROCHE.

new Manitoba government owning all the railways in that country.

Mr. RICHARDSON. That is not what I said.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. That is what you meant.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. There is perhaps, a more serious and more weighty reason for delaying this charter than that which has been mentioned by the hon. member who has just taken his seat, and that is, that there is a clause in the original charter granted to this company, which gives them power to:

Enter into an agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, or to convey or lease to such company, the railway of the company, hereby incorporated, in whole or in part, or any rights or powers named in this Act.

And so on. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company are applying for several charters, covering, as it was said by the hon. member for Lisgar, a considerable extent of territory in the province of Manitoba, at the present time. The term 'blanket charter,' has been used in regard to the privileges which are being sought by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in Manitoba at the present time. Then, we have the Manitoba and North-western Railway Company, which is also Canadian Pacific Railway and which is applying for extensions in Manitoba. We have the Great North-west Central Railway Company, which is also Canadian Pacific Railway, and we have this Brandon and South-western Railway Company, which describes a zig-zag course all over the province of Manitoba, apparently, when you take the lines by themselves, in a most aimless manner, but, it may be, that there is method in the madness of the gyrations of that railway across the province of Manitoba, and that they intend to hitch on at various points of the railway system, and that we will have this young Brandon and South-western Railway blossoming out, as did the Great North-west Central, and as the Manitoba and North-western is about to do, as a portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. We have no particular objection, in Manitoba, to the Canadian Pacific Railway. I do not believe in standing up in this House and trying to make political capital by abusing the Canadian Pacific Railway, or any other corporation, but, we must admit that the Canadian Pacific Railway, judged as a railway corporation, like any other corporation is not there from philanthropic motives, but from business motives, although it may not be any worse than others of the same kind. Still, it is not a good thing and

we cannot look forward with equanimity to seeing the province of Manitoba placed in the hands of one railway company. We want to have competing railways. I have heard it said, in this House, and in committee, that railway competition does not compete. I simply wish to say that such is not the case, because, any one who lived in the province of Manitoba prior to the advent of the Northern Pacific Railway and since that time, is well aware of the fact that railway competition does compete. Just here I wish to call attention to a little error which crept into the published reports in certain newspapers of the discussion which took place in the Railway Committee on this question the other day. I was quoted as having said that I knew that the Canadian Pacific Railway had two schedules of rates in Manitoba, one for points where they entered into competition with the Northern Pacific and one for points where they did not enter into such competition. That, I did not say at all, because I do not believe that such a state of affairs exists; but what I did say was that the Western Retail Lumberman's Association had two schedules of rates for lumber, that one of those schedules of rates was in vogue at such points as were touched by the Canadian Pacific Railway only, and that the other was in vogue at points which were touched by the Canadian Pacific and the Northern Pacific. In view of the fact that we desire to have railway competition in Manitoba and in view of the fact that this clause exists in the old charter, empowering the Brandon and South-western Railway Company to amalgamate with the Canadian Pacific Railway, to convey or lease to that company all their rights and privileges, I think it would be well for us to go slow. While I do not attach very much importance, nor give very much weight to the reasons adduced by the hon. member for Lisgar and the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Roche), still, I think that in this matter, which I have brought before the notice of the House and which, perhaps, might possibly have been overlooked, we have very good reason for delay. I would move that this Bill be recommitted to the Committee of Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines with the object of having clause No. 10 of the original Act struck out.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I am afraid that the motion made by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Rutherford) will not be in order now. We are now on the preamble of the Bill, and the only question is as to the preamble.

Motion (to adopt preamble) agreed to.

On section 2a.

Mr. MACLEAN. Mr. Chairman, I beg to move:

That the bonding powers of the company be limited to \$7,500 per mile.

It is well known now that these railways, especially in a prairie country, can be built for \$8,000 or \$9,000 a mile. It is also well known that by these excessive bonding powers and the excessive issue of stock that has taken place in the past, the railway company is compelled to put charges for its freights away up above what they should in order to pay interest on the bonds and interest on the stock. All the traffic that the road carries has to bear charges which are too heavy and the time has come, as has often been said in the Railway Committee, when the bonding powers ought to be limited. Here is a road that will not cost \$8,000 a mile to construct—

An hon. MEMBER. How do you know?

Mr. MACLEAN. From the experience of the past we know what it has cost to build other roads. Railways in the North-west can easily be built for from \$8,000 to \$9,000 a mile, and it is in the interest of the public that the bonding powers should be limited.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment of which I gave notice some 48 hours ago in regard to the bonding privileges. It was only necessary to give 24 hours' notice, but, I gave 48 hours notice. Those hon. gentlemen who were present in the Railway Committee, when the Bill was originally discussed, will recollect that I, then, suggested that the bonding privileges should be \$12,000 per mile, but the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), thought that \$12,500 would be a reasonable amount, but the committee eventually decided to make it \$15,000 per mile. As to the cost of constructing a railroad in that portion of the country, I have had what appears to be reliable information from contractors, that railroads have been built there at from \$7,000 to \$8,000 a mile, which, of course, does not include equipment. We had that discussed when the Bill was before the House on a previous occasion, and the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), participated in the discussion, and some important information was furnished. I feel that, inasmuch as they have power to stock this road to a very considerable amount, that if they have bonding powers for \$12,500 a mile, that would be more than sufficient to construct the railroad. It is extremely important that we should limit these companies in their bonding privileges, because the question of the fixed charges has a very important bearing on rates. I, therefore, move:

That the bonding power be reduced to \$12,500 per mile.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Shall I report the Bill?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Not yet, I have another amendment. Hon. gentlemen may have forgotten the fact which I stated some time ago, that there exists a clause in the original charter of this road, to enable them to amalgamate with the Canadian Pacific Railway. That is exactly what we do not want to allow. I have nothing to say here or any other place against the Canadian Pacific Railway, because I have a great admiration for the ability displayed in its management, but so far as in my power lies, I want to protect the interests of the people of Manitoba, as I see these interests, and I, therefore, beg to move:

That the company shall not amalgamate with or dispose of its interest to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the Northern Pacific Railway Company, or any other company, without first obtaining permission from the legislature of Manitoba to do so.

Surely the House will not refuse to accept that amendment.

An hon. MEMBER. Say, with the permission of the Governor in Council.

Mr. RICHARDSON. If I had the unanimous permission of the House, I would not object to adopting that suggestion.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Shall I report the Bill?

Mr. RICHARDSON. Not yet, I have yet another amendment. Probably these amendments will be better understood later on, when we come to the third reading, and when we get a record of the votes on this important question. As I do not wish to block the Bill, I shall not enter into a lengthy discussion of the amendment, which I am about to make, and I, therefore, move:

That during the construction of this road, all books, accounts and records stating the actual cost of construction and equipment, shall be open to inspection by the government, in order that if it be subsequently determined by the Dominion government or by the government of Manitoba, to acquire the railway or any portion of it, it may be so acquired with a knowledge of the actual cost, and at a figure from which may be deducted any bonuses given.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Explain.

Mr. RICHARDSON. There seems to be a desire that I should explain this amendment, and I will do so briefly. I believe that the people of Canada will decide before a great many years, that it is desirable in the interest of the country to control the railways of Canada, instead of allowing the railways to control the people, and the object of this amendment is to enable the

government at any time if it desires to take possession of this railway, to do so at a price which they can arrive at from knowledge of the actual cost of the road during its construction.

Mr. WALLACE. This is an amendment which requires the most careful consideration of this House, because a revolution is taking place in the minds of the people of Canada in regard to all public franchises. That feeling extends to other monopolies, as well as to railways, which are a monopoly, and which should be a monopoly in the sense that where there is business for only one railway, it is a waste of means to construct other roads. The true policy is one of two things: Either that the government assume the ownership and control, or, that when they give the ownership and control and the franchise to a company, or to an individual; then the government should have the most complete control over the company to which they gave these enormous powers. And what powers do the government give? It gives power to go on the land or property of private persons, to pull down their houses, to make the road wherever it suits the convenience of the railway company, whether it be convenient to the private citizen and to the community, or not. Then, they have the power of running trains, of controlling freight rates, and of collecting passenger rates. If a railroad company receives these enormous powers, it should be under the most complete control of the government of the country. It is more and more becoming to be felt that we give too wide powers to these railway companies, and the idea is prevailing that the government should largely assume these powers themselves. In the province of Manitoba—I happened to be up there a few months ago—

Mr. BENNETT. What were you doing?

Mr. WALLACE. I happened in just at a time when there was a general election pending, and they induced me to remain for a few weeks.

Mr. FOSTER. How did you come out?

Mr. WALLACE. I came out better than the other chaps. I found that this railway question was a very large issue in the local elections. The province of Manitoba is peculiarly adapted for experimenting on this question of the government ownership of railways. In the province of Ontario, with its lakes and rivers, its natural conformation, and its established towns and cities, there is not the same opportunity for making such an experiment as there is in Manitoba. The people up there realize that and they are determined to make the experiment, and I think we should give them an opportunity to see what a government can do. The local government are appar-

Mr. RICHARDSON.

ently going to undertake the construction of railroads themselves, if they cannot find companies who will undertake to do it under the restrictions and conditions which they are going to lay down. I read an interview or a speech of the Premier of Manitoba the other day in a newspaper, where the principle was laid down as the one that was going to guide him in the government. That being the case, we can see the importance of the proposal made by the hon. member for Lisgar, that in all these matters the most careful and accurate statement of the accounts and expenditures of the railway should be kept; so that, if the government decided to assume the ownership and control of the roads in any case, they might know the exact facts of the case. In the past we have been a little too reckless in these matters. We have given bonding powers to railway companies beyond what was necessary; we have been giving bonuses quite liberally, and, probably, quite properly in the past. But, I think we should restrict the bonding powers to low and reasonable figures. I hope that this House will agree to the proposal made by the hon. member for Lisgar, and that in future it will require every railway company which receives a charter to keep an accurate account of the cost of construction. It will have a beneficial effect in other ways. We are told that in some cases the railway companies give bogus contracts or contracts in large amounts to favourite individuals for the construction of the roads.

(The time for the consideration of Private Bills having expired, the committee rose.)

INQUIRY FOR RETURNS.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to bring up the matter of answers to returns. A few of the orders that have been made by the House have been honoured by the government; but they are really in such a state that they do not serve the purpose for which they are asked. The first is a return to an order of the House of the 7th of February, 1900, for copies of all reports, orders in council, papers and correspondence relating to the admission of United States vessels to coasting privileges on the Canadian lakes in the year 1899. This return, for the purpose for which I wish it, is almost completely useless, simply because it does not give me any of the information which I wanted. All I find here is the bare order in council which takes up about one page of typewritten matter. Then, there are the telegraphic instructions by the Commissioner of Customs to the different ports. There is, then, on an entirely different subject, a return signed by the Minister of Customs. After that I find nothing except some copies of telegrams that passed between the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries and two gentlemen in Winnipeg.

I imagine that the government would not take an action of that kind, violating a law, without having a request made to it and some grounds set forth; and after having those requisitions and those grounds put in a report of the minister. There is no report of a minister, nor a memorial, request, or grounds set forth which would come to the ministry naturally and necessarily before they would be expected to take action at all. All that is left out. There is none of the correspondence which took place between the boards of trade and the marine associations. I know, of course, that these associations in Toronto and other cities made lengthy communications, and put their views forward against the action of the government. There is not a word of that here. It is a fragmentary and insufficient answer to the order of the House. So much for that, which is number one. I have been favoured with another return from the Minister of Railways and Canals to an order that calls for all tenders accepted, tenders and departmental agreements for supplying steel rails for the government railways, detailing quantities and prices, the date and places of delivery, and the quantities delivered on those dates and at those places, from July 1, 1896, to date. The latter part of the information is not given at all. There is no information given as to the dates and places at which the deliveries were made, and the quantities delivered at the different times. That was essential for the inquiry I wished to make.

Then I asked for another paper—one from the Minister of Customs with reference to the case of Mr. H. A. Lemieux, assistant inspector of customs in Montreal, alleged to have taken part in the 1896 elections in the Magdalen Islands, under the assumed name of Lamirande. The return was to contain the correspondence and investigations and reports and departmental action. In the correspondence brought down, there is none with the Minister of Justice. There is not a scrap of the correspondence which took place between the Minister of Justice and the party who brought this matter to the attention of the government. That is most important, because the matter is one on which the Minister of Justice would be supposed to give an opinion and take action. I find not a word of the correspondence between the Minister of Justice and the party who brought the accusation, or the Minister of Justice and the Customs Department, if any such took place.

Out of all the returns I have asked for, those are the only three that have come down. I desire specially to get two returns from the Minister of Militia—one with reference to the staff course of instruction at Kingston. Ever since parliament was opened, we have been endeavouring to get the facts in that case, but without success. I do think it is trifling with this House, not to comply with its orders, but when re-

turns are brought down, I would implore the government to have them complete. It is adding insult to injury to bring down a long desired report in an incomplete fashion, so that it is only a sham, a delusion and a snare.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). I have made a special note of the hon. gentleman's remarks, and I will call the attention of the Minister of Customs to the two returns which the hon. gentleman says are missing. I will also lay his complaint before the Minister of Militia, who has been absent in Halifax for some time.

Mr. **FOSTER**. Yes, but his officers are here.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. I will call his attention to the return with respect to the staff course at Kingston.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. As to the returns ordered from my department, they were prepared by an officer of that department, and I supposed were complete. On looking through them, however, I find that the places of delivery are not given, and will call the attention of the clerk in the department to the fact and have the omission supplied.

GRAIN TRANSPORTATION TO THE SEABOARD.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Bennett :

That, in the opinion of this House, it is advisable to take a definite line of action with regard to the question of transportation of the grain and other commodities of the North-west Territories, Manitoba and the United States, with a view of centring the same to the greatest possible extent in Canadian channels.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). The lengthened period which has elapsed since this resolution was first submitted, makes me feel a good deal of reluctance in further protracting the discussion, but seeing that the subject is one which comes particularly under the cognizance of my own department, and as some of the criticisms made by hon. gentlemen opposite on the conduct of the government with respect to the deepening and enlargement of the canals are calculated to leave an erroneous impression, I feel that I will be permitted by the House to devote some little attention to this question.

I did hope that the gentlemen who were to take part in the discussion would have avoided dragging party political considerations into it, and would have discussed it on its merits and not from the standpoint of opposition to the government, because it appeared to me that the deepening and enlargement of the canals is a ques-

Mr. **FOSTER**.

tion in which the country generally feels a very deep interest, and on which it could not be said that any one party had expressed its views or aired its policy more than any other. I therefore, thought it would be possible for us to have conducted the discussion of this question from a broader point of view and with the sole desire to throw light, as far as possible, on it. My hon. friend who moved the resolution was, I think, somewhat of a sinner in this particular. At all events, the hon. gentleman who preceded me in the Department of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart), sinned very gravely. He travelled a good deal outside of and beyond the question of the extension of canals, and made what was intended by him to be a severe attack on the government, entirely outside the question of the St. Lawrence canals. I shall have, before I conclude what I have to say on the general subject, to make some reference to these remarks. In the first place, I think I ought to recall to the attention of the House the terms of the resolution moved by the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) :

That, in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when a fixed and definite line of action should be undertaken on the question of the transportation of the grain and other commodities of the North-west Territories, Manitoba and the Western States, with a view to centring the same to the greatest possible extent in Canadian channels.

Now, if the object of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) in moving this resolution was to evoke a discussion upon this question—and I agree at once it was a very important question—I would have no fault to find with the terms of the resolution. It would be a matter quite immaterial to us, speaking in a general sense, what the particular terms of the resolutions were, if it were simply the desire of the hon. gentleman to open a discussion which he hoped might be useful and might tend to throw light upon this matter, with a view, at the conclusion of the discussion to withdraw the motion and not ask the House to commit itself to any definite opinion in the terms of the motion. But I have not been able to gather from what the hon. gentleman said, and I have read it carefully since his speech was delivered, that the hon. gentleman has that intention in view. Therefore, the House may possibly be called upon to pass, yea or nay, upon the resolution which has been moved by him. If that be the hon. gentleman's intention, then, I do feel that a great deal of exception can be taken to the motion he has presented. The motion states that, 'the time has now arrived when a fixed and definite line of action should be taken' on the question of the transportation of grain and other commodities of the west so as to centre this trade in Canadian channels. Now, I am free to confess that I do not quite understand by what process and reasoning or

upon what grounds the hon. gentleman thinks that we ought to declare as a parliament that 'the time has now arrived' when we should take a definite line of action. I confess, I had rather been of the opinion—I certainly had been of the opinion since I had the honour of a seat in this House—that parliament had, after due consideration, determined upon a definite line of action with respect to the deepening and enlarging of the canals. I venture to affirm that the hon. gentleman has not given us any good and sufficient reason for subscribing to the proposition that the time has now arrived when we should determine upon a definite course of action. For many reasons, I think I am justified in saying this, not the least cogent of which is that the resolution itself would imply that we have been proceeding without any definite or fixed object in view, and that the hon. gentleman now feels it is his duty and has taken upon himself to call us to account for our indefinite, our loose, our vague, our ill-defined purpose, and to demand of us that we should tell the House where we are going and what our policy is in respect to this important question. I think the House ought not to subscribe to such a resolution based as it is upon the presumption I have stated. The hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) has been a member of this House for a number of years. He was a member of this House for several years before the change of government took place; and during those years, I apprehend, he found no fault with the policy and conduct of the late government. That government professed—though I think they were proceeding very sluggishly in carrying out their idea—to have a definite policy in view. They declared that their policy was to deepen the St. Lawrence canals throughout their length to 14 feet, so as to bring the western products to the sea. Well, does the hon. gentleman tell us that he supported the government in that course without having any such understanding of their policy, without knowing or realizing that it was the design of the late government to deepen these canals and equip them in such a fashion that they would be suitable for carrying the western traffic? The hon. gentleman has led us rather to infer that, and, in so doing, I think either he has failed to express his own opinions accurately in the past, or he has rather created or is seeking to create an erroneous impression in this parliament on the question.

It appears to me that the enormous outlay that has been made in the act of deepening and enlarging the St. Lawrence canals imposes on us the duty of continuing that expenditure until the work of deepening and enlarging shall have been fully concluded. What does the hon. gentleman mean? Does he mean that we should call a halt, as he insists in the speech which he addressed to the House in support of that resolution? Call a halt for what? We

have spent between fifty and sixty millions of dollars in deepening and enlarging these canals. Why did not the hon. gentleman call this halt years ago? Why did not he demand of the government which he supported that they should stay their hands in this enormous expenditure? Why, Sir, this calling of a halt, it appears to me, comes at a very unseasonable time. If his views are correct, it might have been done with advantage many years ago. But it is too late to call a halt now; and I think my hon. friend can hardly seriously expect that this government or this parliament will accede to this demand to call a halt until they are satisfied that we have concluded these works in a thorough and satisfactory manner, until we have laid out every dollar of money that is necessary to finish the proper deepening and enlargement of the canals. There is no doubt that in the opinion of many to-day, some other course might have been followed with equal or even greater advantage than the course of deepening and enlarging the canals. On the other side of the House, as well as on this, no doubt, the view will find expression that it would have been better if we had taken up the construction of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal, rather than spend fifty or sixty million dollars in deepening and enlarging the St. Lawrence system. Possibly, that may be a very sound view. Possibly, the hon. gentlemen who hold that view may be justified in entertaining it. But, Sir, I do not think it possible or proper that we should now stay our hands and withhold the trifling expenditure—because I contend that it is trifling—that is necessary to complete the work to which, years ago, we committed ourselves, in order to consider another project, another class of undertaking which is of very great magnitude, even though it is admittedly of very great importance. There may also be some who are to-day of opinion that it was a great mistake for us to have spent our millions in order to make a sufficient channel in our great St. Lawrence waterways. They may be right; but, Sir, it is too late to put forward that view now. The opinion is expressed that railways will furnish a successful means of handling the western traffic and securing a larger portion than we now secure of the business which goes through the United States and to the ports of the Atlantic seaboard. Possibly these gentlemen who hold this view may be right, but I do not think they are. I think that a case cannot be made out. I think the evidence is abundantly clear the other way, as against railways being successful competitors of the waterways of the Dominion. That is my view. But the hon. gentleman may be right, though if he is there is no reason in the world why he should call upon the government to halt in the final step which we are taking towards completing these works, because pos-

sibly a doubt may exist in the minds of some of us, or possibly all of us, as to whether, if we had substituted railway construction, either under government ownership or otherwise, bonused by government or otherwise, we should have accomplished as satisfactory results. It is too late, in my opinion, to stop to consider that question. If we are to turn to account the outlay we have already made, if we are to use the system so far as completed, we are bound to go on and finish it.

Mr. MACLEAN. Will the minister tell us when he thinks the St. Lawrence canals will be deepened so as to give 14 feet of water?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I intend to devote some attention to that question before I conclude my remarks. Now, I have read the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Bennett's) speech very carefully, and I am compelled to conclude that the hon. gentleman looks upon the prospect of our securing any substantial proportion of the western traffic through Canadian ports as against United States ports, as being practically hopeless. That is the conclusion to which I think my hon. friend's argument has pointed. In other words, the hon. gentleman is preaching to us now after we have advanced almost to the last stage, after we have laid out millions of money in improving our waterway, the hon. gentleman is preaching to us a counsel of despair. Sir, I cannot for the life of me see upon what grounds, by what process of reasoning, for the hon. gentleman does not disclose it, he has arrived at that conclusion. This is what he says at page 461 of his remarks:

It is well for the House, in view of the huge expenditure made in the past, and the large expenditure that must of necessity be made in the future, that a halt should be called in order to arrive at what should or should not be the system to be followed for all time to come.

Well, Sir, I apprehend that it will be a very large undertaking for this parliament to determine what shall be or ought to be done for the countless ages that are to come, what the policy is that we should lay down for all time to come. The hon. gentleman invites us to consider and determine it now. I am not prepared to do that, nor I believe, is this House prepared to do that in view of all that has been done to finish the work we have undertaken, before we start out upon any new policy or undertaking. My hon. friend justifies the hopeless view which he takes of the situation upon several grounds. He assumes that the St. Lawrence Canal policy was inconsiderately determined upon, he more than assumes it, he actually states it. The hon. gentleman says that it was entered upon and has been continued with-

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out due consideration or discussion, when votes passed through parliament. Now, the hon. gentleman is a member of this House of considerable experience. He sat behind the late government for a term of years. He was in their confidence, as I have said; he was thoroughly cognizant of the action which was being taken, and thoroughly aware of the aim which the government of that day had in view. The hon. gentleman supported and sustained them in that policy, knowing all that he knew, and informed fully as he must have been upon it. The hon. gentleman tells us now that the government of that day never considered this question fully or carefully, they had not studied the immeasurable consequences of what they were doing, they did not realize the magnitude of the work they were undertaking. He says on page 462 that they were influenced by considerations which I will not say they were influenced by political considerations, that they acted so as to secure political support, that they plunged into this scheme and carried it along 'heedlessly,' he does not use the word 'recklessly,' but he implies it, and leads us to suppose that the government of that time had no fixed purpose, no well considered object in view. They were simply influenced by what they thought would be to the political advantage of the moment. As I say, I do not charge that against the late administration. My hon. friend may be correct. I will say this, however, that in my opinion the discussions which took place in parliament from time to time, beginning when the Mackenzie government were in power and initiated the policy to deepening and enlarging the Welland canals, show that from that time down to the present, the policy of successive governments has been uniformly in one direction, has been well considered, though, as I said a moment ago, it has not always been pushed with the vigour with which it ought to have been pushed. There has been sluggishness in the prosecution of the work, yet I think there is no reasonable ground to assume that the country was not fully aware and did not cordially approve, through both political parties, the general policy of deepening and enlarging the canals.

Sir, finding that this work had been dragging its slow way along, the present administration concluded that it was its duty to push it more vigorously. We felt that the outlay which had already been made was so vast that we would be justified in increasing the efforts to complete the work, that we might begin to realize some advantage from the enormous sum already been expended. We have endeavoured to push the works with all vigour, no time has been lost, and I am glad to be able to inform the House that upon the opening of navigation this spring there will be a complete and satisfactory channel of 14 feet all the way through to Montreal. The hon. gentleman who moved this resolution ex-

plained to us in the following terms where his difficulties arose, and indicated, though not, I think, with a great deal of clearness, why he thought we should pause in our operations for more mature consideration. He says :

I contend that, from the outset, we have always been hampered to a great extent in connection with the Welland system. First of all, the depth of water was such that it was impossible to carry boats and other craft down that waterway of sufficient size to make it pay. Experience has demonstrated, on the great lakes, that the day for the small carriers has gone by, and the vessels, a few years ago, which were able to carry 25,000 to 40,000 bushels of grain are to-day a thing of the past.

This explanation of the hon. gentleman fails entirely, it appears to me, to support his argument, and affords no reason why we should call a halt. He found, as everybody found, that the deepening of the Welland Canal alone, was not sufficient to enable us to secure the western traffic, or to divert it from United States ports. It was for that reason, and for that reason alone, that the government of that day, and parliament supporting the government, decided upon deepening some and constructing other new canals of sufficient depth to give the required channel. The hon. gentleman tells us that we ought to stop because the Welland Canal has always been a trouble to him, and is, to a great extent, one of the difficulties in the way of reaching the seaports. That is the reason why we should go on, instead of being a reason why we should stop. Everybody knew that the Welland Canal did not give a clear way to the sea, that while we had fourteen feet of water in the Welland Canal, we had not fourteen feet in the other canals. These vessels from the west, from the lakes, could get through the Welland Canal if they only drew fourteen feet of water and could get to American ports on the lower lakes, but they could not get to Montreal, and, therefore, they could not carry cargoes to Canadian sea ports. Therefore, it was that the government decided, and properly decided, upon the reconstruction of the lower canals. Possibly the hon. gentleman is right as to the day of small craft on the lakes being past and gone, and that we have to make provision for vessels of a heavier draft. I do not know but that there may come into use, as a result of the completion of our canals, a class of vessels which would be able to enter the canals from the west, without transshipment at Port Colborne. That may possibly be. There are those who are of the opinion that such a class of vessels will be constructed and largely used, but I can agree with the hon. gentleman to this extent, that while vessels with a draft of fourteen feet might be utilized in the lake trade, the larger vessels will for some time to come do the business, as they are doing the business almost entirely

to-day. Sir, the very fact that large vessels have come to monopolize the lake traffic, that the grain reaches Buffalo on vessels of the larger class, drawing eighteen, nineteen and twenty feet of water, is a reason which appears to me to make it necessary that we should go on and complete our work rather than a reason why we should stay our hand at the present moment. How otherwise, is the hon. gentleman going to secure that trade? How is he going to turn to account this enormous expenditure we have already made, if he is to stop where we are, and if he is correct in his proposition that large ships will carry the grain of the west either to Buffalo or other lake ports; how is he going to secure any portion of the traffic unless Port Colborne is put in the position to receive the larger class of ships? It is because we are of the opinion that transshipment can take place at Port Colborne that we have asked parliament for, and that parliament has given us, the means of making the necessary improvements at that point, and that we have already embarked upon the work. I think the hon. gentleman's arguments, and I have read them carefully, will justify the conclusion, that it was a mistake for the late government, for this government, for this and for previous parliaments, to have entered upon the policy of deepening the canals. That is the conclusion which, I think, may fairly be drawn from the arguments of the hon. gentleman.

I take it further that the hon. gentleman does not approve of the expenditure which is proposed at Port Colborne, and that the hon. gentleman does not look with favour upon that project. He says that our proposition is not only to deepen Port Colborne, but to make a harbour there. Well, that is true. It is necessary that we should deepen the entrance and make other improvements at Port Colborne. There is no question in my mind upon that point. I do not think, for one moment, that it is a debateable alternative that we should depend upon Buffalo as a harbour for Port Colborne. I do not think this country will give its sanction to such a policy, nor do I think myself, that there is the slightest probability that a considerable amount of traffic would ever reach the lower St. Lawrence, or the port of Montreal through that channel. We have to have a harbour of our own.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. We have to have proper accommodation at the entrance to Port Colborne.

Mr. WALLACE. Will the minister indicate what these works are?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I shall before I finish. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) said that the gov-

ernment showed they had no faith in the canal route. But, the hon. gentleman has given us no reasons for this opinion. I can truly assert that the government has every confidence in the ultimate success of the St. Lawrence route as capable of securing a considerable portion of the traffic which now reaches New York.

Mr. SPROULE. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair), refer to me, or to the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) ?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I refer to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett), who introduced the motion.

Mr. BENNETT. I mentioned that for this reason: It was anticipated, I always understood, that when the 14-foot canal was constructed, the boats would pass from the upper lakes clear through to Montreal, and, in that way, there would be a keen competition with the Buffalo route. The position of the minister on the contemplated expenditure at Port Colborne, is, that it will not pay to carry on a 14-foot channel from Fort William through to Montreal, but that you perhaps may be able to make it pay by taking a 250,000-bushel boat from Fort William to Port Colborne, and then transferring the cargo to a smaller barge at Montreal.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do not wish the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett), to quote me as saying that I have abandoned the idea that the smaller boats drawing 14 feet, will not do business at a profit, carrying from the western lake ports to Montreal without transshipment. I do not express the opinion that that may not be a profitable mode in the future of shipping grain from the west. There are gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the lake shipping business, who are confident that that class of vessel will be very largely used in the future. They may be right, or they may be wrong, but, I am discussing this question altogether from the standpoint from which the hon. gentleman presented it, which was to the effect that there was every reason why we should not make any of these improvements; that we should call a halt in our work, and that we should not do anything at Port Colborne. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett), is right that the large vessels will monopolize the traffic on the lakes to the exclusion of the smaller vessels, then I say it is ten times more important that we should have Port Colborne equipped so that the transshipment can be made from these large vessels to the smaller craft for carriage to Montreal. I am adopting this line of argument, assuming that the hon. gentleman is correct in his predictions, and, if he is, it leads me to an entirely different conclusion from that to which it has led the hon. member (Mr. Bennett) himself. He says:

Instead of using fourteen-foot draft vessels, it will bring large vessels of the capacity of 250,-

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000 bushels, instead of 60,000 bushels capacity, to Port Colborne.

I think the hon. gentleman is in error there. We are not proposing to bring vessels of any particular kind to Port Colborne. What we propose to do is to afford facilities there, so that vessels of any size coming to that port can be unloaded, or can tranship, or can get through, as the case may be, so that there will be no loss of time, so that the expense will be minimized, and so that we will have our route placed in as advantageous a position as is the route from New York via Buffalo. We unquestionably hope to attract business from Buffalo and from other towns along the lakes, but we never could attract it, unless we are equipped for the purpose.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I cannot help believing that any one who studies the situation carefully, who familiarizes himself with existing conditions, who inquires into the cost of the water carriage, and railway carriage and the expense of transshipment at the various points; will see that with Montreal properly equipped, there is no reason in the world why we should not be able to offer sufficient inducements to the shippers of grain from the west to prefer the St. Lawrence to any other route.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett), in the course of his remarks, said that we proposed to spend \$5,000,000 upon Port Colborne. I think that statement has been more than answered by gentlemen who have already spoken on this side of the House, but, I can say, that no such large outlay has been contemplated by government. I know that there is no occasion at present—possibly there may not be any occasion for some years to come—for making an outlay anything like as large; anything like half as large, as the hon. gentleman has stated. I believe that the deepening of the entrance to Port Colborne; I believe that the erection of such a moderate number of piers as will be necessary, and the building of a sufficient breakwater will not cost much, if anything, over \$2,000,000. I think \$2,000,000 ought to be sufficient for the purpose, not to speak of \$5,000,000. Last year, when the vote was taken, I explained what our views were upon the question. I said that we were of opinion that the entrance of the channel must be deepened to 20, 21 or 22 feet. Perhaps, while we are at the work, it would be wiser to deepen it one or two feet more than at the moment may be imperatively necessary, because the cost of the additional deepening then would be relatively less when once we have our arrangements made, and the

contractors at work. At all events, it must be deepened to 20 feet, in order that we may be in a position to accommodate vessels of the draft which now go to Buffalo.

Then, in addition to the deepening and widening of the entrance, we require an extension of our existing piers, with some further wharf or pier accommodation to enable at least two vessels at a time to lie and tranship at the entrance, so that at that point, and upon these piers, an elevator—one or more elevators, if required—can be constructed to facilitate transshipment. That is imperatively necessary, and I shall, before I resume my seat, tell the House why we have reached this conclusion. We have not come hastily to such conclusion; we have not reached it without due consideration; we have not reached it relying on our own opinion and judgment; we have not reached it without taking counsel with those who are the best qualified to advise us on this question; we have not reached it and determined upon it without having taken into our confidence and conferred with men who are engaged and interested in the shipping business, and who desire to see such works carried on and such arrangements completed as will best secure the transfer of this traffic by the ports on the St. Lawrence. The hon. gentleman says that if you spend your millions, you will not be in any better position at Port Colborne than you are at present. I entirely dissent from that proposition. Why does the hon. gentleman say that? In completing the works of the character and to the extent that I have indicated, why shall we not be in a better position? Consult with the superintending engineer of the Welland Canal, and ask him what he thinks about the position there. He will tell you that in the absence of a sufficient breakwater there is no safety or security for either large or small vessels. The large vessels cannot go in and the smaller vessels will not go in without a breakwater. I do not care whether small or large vessels enter the canal, a breakwater is required, in the opinion of all the engineers whom we have consulted. I consulted necessarily, Mr. Thompson, as engineer of the canal. As the next best person, whose knowledge, experience and judgment I thought would be in every way worthy of credit, and on whose opinion I could rely, I consulted Mr. Keefer, and he is of opinion that a breakwater at Colborne is a necessity. I am free to confess that he would rather favour transshipment at Port Maitland, a port fifteen or twenty miles away. That is Mr. Keefer's view, and no doubt it is one that deserves consideration; but I have been forced to the conclusion, after having heard Mr. Keefer—and Mr. Thompson and the chief engineer of my department together, discussing the question fully, that Port Maitland was not to be considered alongside of Port Colborne under all the circumstances.

Mr. CLARKE. For what reason?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. For many reasons. I would be very glad to furnish my hon. friend with the reasons, but it would not perhaps be germane to the present discussion, and would take me rather longer than I think I ought to take at this time.

Mr. BENNETT. If the hon. minister will read carefully what I said, he will find that I did not make the statement that the Port Colborne improvement would be worthless; but I said that the difference would be the percentage of advantage you might have there in transferring from a 250,000-bushel boat to a 60,000-bushel boat, as against the advantage we now have of transferring from a 60,000-bushel boat to a 20,000-bushel boat at Kingston. I do not wish to be understood as saying that the expenditure at Port Colborne would be worthless.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. If the hon. gentleman had followed me, he would have heard that I did not say that he had stated that the expenditure would be worthless, but that if we expended the millions we proposed—he put the amount at over \$5,000,000—we would not be in any better position than we are at present at Port Colborne. I will read from *Hansard* just what the hon. gentleman did say, referring to the alleged proposition to spend \$5,000,000:

That proposition means so large an expenditure of money that, I contend, the government should hesitate and think twice before they plunge into it, especially having regard to the fact that, even if you do accomplish all this, you will not be, by any large percentage, in a better position than we are at the present time, when the sixty-thousand-bushel boat goes to Kingston, and its cargo is transferred to the fifteen-thousand-bushel boat.

I say that the hon. gentleman is entirely in error in that. We shall be in a very much better position. We have to-day no fit harbour at Port Colborne. We require one there. We require it supplied with a sufficient breakwater, so that vessels may come in safely, and when they get in may remain safely; and in the absence of a breakwater you cannot secure those two conditions. Vessels will not attempt to enter the canal if there is not a breakwater there. You will not find a single shipper on the lakes who will tell you that in some weathers which prevail on Lake Erie, they could be induced to take a vessel of any size into Port Colborne, unless we had a proper breakwater there. They would go on to Buffalo, they have gone on to Buffalo, and they will continue to go on to Buffalo until we make these improvements. I do not know of any reason why Port Colborne as a port might not, with the expenditure of the sum I have named, be as favourably situated as the port of Buffalo. The port or harbour of Buffalo is not a natural

port or harbour; it has been made. We can make Port Colborne, as the engineers and other persons who profess to know tell me, at a less expenditure; and even if we had to spend as much money as was spent at Buffalo, we should be in as good a position to invite vessels of all classes to enter that port to tranship their cargoes as they are at Buffalo.

Mr. CLARKE. Might I ask the hon. minister if he has any plans available to the members of the House showing the contemplated improvements to be made at Port Colborne harbour, involving an expenditure of \$2,000,000, together with the reports of the engineers? We have not seen those yet.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Undoubtedly there are plans showing just what the department designed with respect to the improvements at Port Colborne. I am speaking now only of my own department.

Mr. CLARKE. We had plans last year, but they involved an expenditure of over \$5,000,000. We have not yet seen the plans of which the minister is speaking, which contemplate the expenditure of \$2,000,000.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I made no statement, nor did I exhibit any plans last year showing that there would be an expenditure of \$5,000,000.

Mr. CLARKE. But the engineer of the Department of Public Works, who made the survey plans of the harbour, for the purpose of completing it and equipping it, submitted plans contemplating an expenditure of over \$5,000,000.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I think it was very fully explained to hon. members last year that the plans that were brought down to the House were brought under circumstances which show that they had been determined on by the department or confirmed and approved by the government. The engineer of the Public Works Department was sent to make plans and suggestions as to works at Port Colborne. We know that engineers' idea often are to do these works on the most extensive and sometimes the most expensive scale; and when the item was under consideration in Committee of Supply, my hon. colleague who had charge of the Public Works estimates sent to the department for the plans, and they sent those plans which had been originally designed by one of the engineers, but which had not been approved and which I do not think ever will be approved.

Mr. CLARKE. Might we see the plans which have been approved for that expenditure of \$2,000,000?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Certainly, I shall have great plea-

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sure in exhibiting to hon. members the plans to which I am now referring, and which give the entrance and the piers. My department has nothing to do with the question of the breakwater; but I am warranted in saying that a breakwater is absolutely necessary and can be put there to answer every present purpose, and until business shall enormously increase, at a less cost than a million dollars.

Mr. SPROULE. Does the contemplated expenditure cover not only the breakwater, but the piers and the deepening of the entrance?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. \$2,000,000, I think, would be amply sufficient—\$1,000,000 for deepening the entrance and for the piers, and another \$1,000,000 for the breakwater.

Mr. SPROULE. And the elevator?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. There is no proposal that we shall build an elevator, but we will give facilities to anybody who desires to build one. There will be plenty of room to build not one but more.

Mr. SPROULE. I understood the Minister of Public Works to contemplate the building of an elevator by the government.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I am inclined to think that the hon. gentleman misunderstood him. The government have had no intention to build elevators, down to the present, at all events.

Mr. CLARKE. Does the work of dredging and deepening the harbour belong to the hon. gentleman's department?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Dredging the harbour does not belong to my department; but if it happened that the dredging of the entrance to a sufficient width means to any extent dredging the harbour, then, it would come within my jurisdiction. There is sometimes an overlapping of jurisdiction in these matters. The entrance to the Port Colborne Canal would naturally be included in the harbour generally, and so far as making the entrance is concerned, we would be dredging a part of the harbour in dredging the entrance.

Before taking up this work of the Port Colborne entrance, we conferred with the shipping men. I think there is scarcely a firm of either ocean or lake shippers in Canada that has not expressed an opinion that it was necessary for the purposes of lake traffic and securing the carriage of these grain cargoes through to Montreal, to have this work done at Port Colborne. I have received letters and petitions and memorials from many people, very strongly favouring this policy. There has been a very general consensus of opinion on the part of those interested in the business in

this direction, and I have yet to find any one who is either interested in the lake shipping or the shipments of lake products from Montreal, who is not of that opinion, and who does not entirely endorse these proposals in a general way.

Following the hon. gentleman's further observations in support of this resolution, I find that, despairing of our making a success of the St. Lawrence route, ignoring the fact, it seems to me, that this wonderful river, this great stretch of water passes through our country and finds its outlet below Montreal and Quebec—the hon. gentleman—turned away from this route altogether to railways, and rather appears to conclude that, after all, railways are our main dependence. The hon. gentleman said that we are brought face to face with the fact that the expenditure of private capital has succeeded in diverting more trade into Canadian channels than the expenditure of \$70,000,000 on the St. Lawrence by the Canadian government. This statement, if it means anything at all, means the conclusion that we should practically throw all our hopes and expectations with regard to the St. Lawrence to the winds, and rely upon what the railways can do for us. In support of this view, the hon. gentleman tells us that a great deal has been accomplished by the Canada Atlantic Railway, and I think he referred also to the achievements in the same direction by the Canadian Pacific Railway and Grand Trunk.

Mr. BENNETT. The Grand Trunk Railway.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Yes, from Midland. I am not prepared to say that under some conditions and at some times, rail transport may not possibly compare favourably with water transport.

Mr. POUPORE. Very rarely.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I am inclined to think very rarely, and I think under exceptional conditions. I do not think that, taking one year with another and one season with another, they are to be mentioned in the same connection. You can carry across the Atlantic from Montreal to Liverpool a cargo of grain at a lower rate than you can bring it from any point west of Winnipeg to Fort William. You can bring from the centre of Europe across the Atlantic to Montreal goods at rates of freight cheaper than the rates at which you could send the same goods from Montreal to London, Ontario. Water must invariably have the advantage.

Mr. POUPORE. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Water has the advantage under all ordinary conditions, and the circumstances must be exceptional when a railway can be the successful rival of a water route.

It may be that the Parry Sound Railway has been carrying grain at a profit from Parry Sound. I would be very sorry to say a word which would suggest that it has been doing that business at a loss. I am prepared to admit that it may have been doing it at a profit, but I do not know that it has. The business is not one which has been established. I hope it may prove eminently successful in the interests of the people who are engaged in it. There is nothing which would give all of us more satisfaction than to know that Mr. Booth, in that particular development of his enterprise, had achieved splendid success, but it is not demonstrated, and I doubt if it will be. At all events, it is perfectly clear that the experience of the wide world over justifies this statement, that while there are some who are prepared to believe that railways can compete with water, that is not accepted as a fact. It is not established—that is clear. The question of rail as against water which the hon. gentleman seems—I do not wish to overstate his argument, but to do it full justice—which he seems rather to think is established against water and in favour of rail, is an open question to-day, if it is not decided absolutely against the railways. And the subject is not one that has not been thought about, it is not one that has not been thrashed out, it is not one that has not been considered by the most capable men on both sides of the Atlantic, nor is it one that we have not had very pronounced opinions upon from very competent sources. Why, if canals had been defeated by railways, should we have found the conditions existing which we know exist in Europe to-day? Certainly not. There has been a wonderful growth of canal construction in Europe, in countries which are very much like our own in that the canals are closed during a portion of the year. In Russia there has been an immense increase in the canal mileage. They have not abandoned the canals by any means. In Austria and Germany they are building canals all the time. What does that prove? That proves that the contest between rail and water has not been determined, at all events against water, for otherwise canals would not be constructed.

There has been some very recent and very important evidence upon this question. In the state of New York, as has been mentioned by one or more gentlemen who have spoken on this question, a commission was appointed by the Governor of the state a year and a half or two years ago. The members of that commission were selected by the Governor of New York with the utmost care, from among the men who were considered to be the most competent to investigate and report on this question. When the personnel of the commission was made known, the press on all sides admitted that a better, wiser choice of commissioners could not have been made. These gen-

men took a year to study the question, whether it was or was not worth while to continue the extension or deepening of the canals, whether it was better to go on with canal construction in the state of New York or to drop such work, whether it would be an advantage to the country to modernize their canals or whether railways could outdo canals in competition. The commission did not confine their inquiries to this side of the Atlantic, to Canada and the United States; they went to Europe and elicited the information which I have in part communicated to this House as to the canals on that continent. The commissioners reached a unanimous conclusion, and it is not unfitting that I should call the attention of the House to the conclusions which were arrived at. The question which was put to them to answer for the information of the public and the Governor of New York State was: Shall our canals be abandoned? We know that their Erie Canal is a very small affair indeed. Its capacity would probably be about one-tenth or perhaps one-twentieth the capacity of our canals. The question was whether this canal should be abandoned, and the answer that the commissioners gave to the question was an emphatic no. They came to the conclusion that the canals might be enlarged with profit, that they might be enlarged with advantage to the country. Even though the enlarging and deepening would cost a large amount of money, that expenditure would bring direct results. They figured out with care and with a great deal of particularity, just what the financial results will be from the expenditure of the money they recommended to deepen the canals so as to give 12 feet clear on the mitre sills. The question is, as I say: Shall the canals be abandoned? This is the answer they give:

In our judgment, water transportation is inherently cheaper than rail transportation. It varies slightly with the size of the vessel and the construction of the waterway.

They go on to elaborate this conclusion, but this is the main point—'in our judgment water transportation is inherently cheaper than rail transportation.' They say that canal transportation, with a 12-foot channel, can be reduced to two-thirds of one mill per ton mile. Now, that is an extraordinary statement, but they establish by the most conclusive calculation that that is a result which can be counted upon with confidence.

Mr. CHARLTON. How much would that be per bushel from Buffalo to New York?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I will give the figures a little later. I have them made up here. They say:

The changes in rates fixed in 1889 were as follows, per bushel: Wheat, $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents; rye, $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents; corn, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents; oats, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The rate

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of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel on wheat is about \$1.17 per ton, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills per ton mile. . . .

The argument in favour of the railways is that private enterprise and private capital will, at an early date, produce on the railroads as low a freight rate as can be produced on the canal by the expenditure of large sums of public money.

If this argument were correct, it is needless to say that no further money should be spent on the enlargement of the canals, but that they should remain in their present condition until plans could be carefully matured for the disposal of them. In our judgment, the argument is not correct. It would carry more weight if it were advanced or approved by practical railway managers—

Now, I ask the attention of the House to this statement:

—and we, therefore, sent the article to the presidents of the New York Central Railroads, of the Illinois Central Railroad and of the Pittsburg, Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad, the last of which was specially built under the most favourable circumstances for the express purpose of carrying ores and low grade freight at a minimum cost from Conneaut, on the lakes, to Pittsburg. The reply of Mr. Fish is explicit that there is no probability of a rate of one mill per ton mile by rail in the near future. The reply of Mr. Callaway, while not so positive, leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that the New York Central Railroad has no expectation of quoting any such rate. The reply of Mr. Reed states that during the past summer nearly a million tons of ore were hauled from Conneaut to Pittsburg at an actual cost for transportation alone of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mills per ton mile, the freight rate being 3.65 mills per ton mile.

Now, here is a judgment which we may assume was honestly given by the presidents of three great railway systems appealed to, that they saw no reasonable prospect that the time will arrive in the near future when they will be able to carry freights for one mill a ton mile, and yet it is established by the evidence which these gentlemen furnished, by the calculations they have made, that grain and other freights can be carried on the canals for half a mill per ton mile.

It will, of course, be noticed, that the references which are there made are made to railroads that are constructed under exceedingly favourable conditions, without any serious grades to overcome, with the heaviest rails and the most solid beds, with the largest possible engines, and with the equipment in other ways, in the highest degree, suitable for the carriage of all commodities at a low rate; yet, one mill per ton per mile, is the lowest they hold out as the rate for which freight can be carried. Now, the railways in Canada are not as well situated. If the presidents of these railways could see that in the near future there was a prospect of a reduction of the rates upon their line, there is no ground upon which we in this country could hope to be able to carry our grain at anything like as low rates, because our railways over the same portion of the route which would be traversed in

the shipment of these cargoes, have heavy grades and are, therefore, more expensive routes.

Mr. SPROULE. The argument I was endeavouring to present to the House was this, that if you built an elevator at Port Colborne, and if there must be a transshipment there, assuming that the great bulk of the grain would be carried on large vessels to Port Colborne, the transshipment could be easily and as cheaply be made at Parry Sound, or Midland, or Owen Sound, as it could be at Port Colborne. Then with the short railway haul from the Georgian Bay to Montreal. I thought grain could be handled about as cheaply as by the canals. There are only 365 miles in one case, and 375 in the other of railway haul, and the transshipment and loading into elevators would cost about as much at Port Colborne as it would at either Midland or Parry Sound.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I followed the hon. gentleman very carefully, and I refreshed my recollection of his argument by reading the report in the *Hansard*, and, I understand that was the view that the hon. gentleman presented. But, I do not think that it would justify the conclusion the hon. gentleman would have to draw, that even under these conditions, freight could be carried from the lake points west of Montreal, at anything like as low a rate as it could have been carried all the way by water. The fact is you have to make two or three transshipments, one from your vessel into the car at Parry Sound, another from the car at Coteau on to barges, and another from the barges into the steamer. You have three transshipments as against two.

Mr. SPROULE. I did not take that into account, I presumed the railway would run to Montreal.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I am speaking of what has been done at Parry Sound. They do not carry their grain into Montreal, they do not carry it across the United States boundary. If it is for shipment at Montreal, they tranship at Coteau. Now, I will just make one further citation from the report of the New York Commission :

The state of New York must be prepared to face from this time on a serious competition in the export trade over the St. Lawrence route.

It is quite clear that these competent gentlemen do not look upon the St. Lawrence route as anything less than a dangerous rival. They look at it seriously, from the New York point of view, and do not consider the case hopeless for the St. Lawrence route by any means. They say :

The Soulanges Canal, which was the last link in the improvements around the rapids of the

St. Lawrence River, has been completed during the year 1899, and nominally opened for business. It will be actually open for business with the spring of 1900. This chain of improvements gives a waterway from Lake Erie through the Welland Canal, Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence River and its canals capable of carrying boats or barges of about 2,200 tons capacity; the size of the locks is 270 by 40 by 14, admitted vessels 255 feet long, and 12 to 14 feet draught, depending on the advantage of Lake Erie. The expenditures for construction and enlargement of this route during the last fifty years have been over 56 millions dollars, a sum which bears the same ratio to the wealth of Canada as 100 millions would bear to the state of New York.

Further on, they say :

Already propositions have been submitted by a group of Chicago and Buffalo capitalists to the harbour commissioners of Montreal and accepted by the latter, the result of which will be to divert about 35 million bushels of grain from the New York route. These propositions involve the immediate construction of at least fifteen barges of the maximum size which can be used on the canal, and costing \$100,000 each, in addition to elevators, warehouses and other structures in the harbour of Montreal, costing more than four million dollars. These propositions contain no exclusive privileges, and it is open to another group of capitalists to make similar arrangements for the diversion of other large amounts of the grain which now passes through New York.

Now, that is the view which is entertained by this commission upon the St. Lawrence route, and upon the character of the competition which the St. Lawrence route is going to offer to the Buffalo and New York route. Let me now proceed to examine the question of freight rates and first I will call the attention of the House to a statement of the prevailing rates, as between the west and New York by Buffalo, on the one hand, and via the Welland Canal and Montreal, on the other hand. If hon. gentleman care to refer to it, they will find it on page 3 of this report. The prevailing rate for the carriage of grain on the lakes from Chicago to Buffalo, they say, for the last two years, has been 1½ cents per bushel; the cost of handling at Buffalo, is put by them as 6¼ mills per bushel; the cost of handling at New York is at 14¾ mills per bushel, making 2 cents and 10 mills as the cost of handling grain at New York and Buffalo alone. The present freight rate from Buffalo to New York is 2½ mills per ton. The hon. gentleman, a while ago, asked me what that was per bushel; it is 3½ cents per bushel.

The rate, therefore, from Chicago to New York, during the past year—there are necessarily times, or periods, when it will vary—the prevailing rate, the rate that you can count upon generally, the actual cost of shipping a bushel of grain from Chicago to New York is 71-10 of a cent. The rate to Port Colborne, we can say, will be the same as the rate to Buffalo, 1½ cents. It will cost, if proper facilities are provided, ½ cent a bushel for tran-

shipment at Port Colborne. It will cost 2 cents from Port Colborne to Montreal. Even though you have to pay canal tolls and Montreal harbour dues, amounting to another cent, and taking into account that it will cost half a cent for handling at Montreal, you can get the same grain from Chicago to Montreal, with our canals deepened and with proper facilities, even though you exact a toll and even though you have to pay harbour dues at Montreal, for less than 6 cents a bushel, as compared with 71-10 cents a bushel. Even though we could only count upon one-quarter of a cent advantage; I would say that with even less than that, the advantage would secure us the traffic if we have arrangements for properly and speedily handling the traffic at Montreal when it reaches that port. I agree with those gentlemen who have expressed the opinion and with my hon. friend who argued it so strongly, as to the imperative need of having proper facilities at Montreal. I am hoping that the arrangements which have been entered into between the harbour commissioners of Montreal and what is called the Conners Syndicate will give us, some, if not all, of those needed facilities. I am in hopes they will, if that work goes on, and I am assured it will, although, of course, one can never be positively certain of anything until it is accomplished. It is necessary that something should be done to provide facilities at Montreal, and if we have proper facilities there, from all the information I can gather, there is no reason in the world why we should not be able to make a great saving in time alone, as between the port of Montreal and the port of New York sufficient to give us the advantage of a good rate of freight. It takes from 6 to 7 days for a steamer in the port of New York to unload, load and clear, while at Montreal, with proper facilities, that business can be done in less than three days. Taking into account a probable reduction in insurance, in time saved, at the port of Montreal, I am sure that there will be the best results if those things which are required in Montreal shall be supplied.

Mr. SPROULE. There should be a reduction in insurance rates.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I agree that there is some need for that and I think the chances of improvement in that direction are not hopeless. I believe that the additional lighting which is being provided by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) will favourably impress Lloyds in England and shipowners generally, and I believe that the additional works which are in progress under the direction of the Department of Public Works will make the channel in due time everything that can be desired during a large portion of the year. The ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) who,

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I am sorry to say, is not here, told us that there was very little advantage after all to be hoped for by securing a large part of the traffic which now goes via Buffalo, because, he said, that it is not of such volume, or magnitude, that it is worth securing, or worth taking very much trouble about. He went on to state to us that the shipments that were made from the port of New York were nothing like what we imagined they were. He said that they did not exceed, altogether, in grain and flour, 75,000,000 bushels, and in grain only about 19,000,000 bushels. The point of his argument was that if there were only 19,000,000 bushels of grain shipped from New York every year, it is evident that the rest of the grain that reaches New York via Buffalo goes into home consumption, and that there is no particular advantage in making any effort to capture a part or the whole of the traffic because the quantity is so trifling. I have taken some pains to ascertain whether the hon. gentleman was quite correct in the statement he made in this respect and I did not find that he was. I did satisfy myself, that, during the year 1899, to which he referred, there was a smaller volume of grain shipped from the port of New York than usual. These things, of course, occasionally occur, but they are no evidence at all that the falling off is permanent unless in the shipments you can make a comparison between that port and others to show that while the port of New York had fallen off in the volume of its grain shipments, other ports had increased. The argument might, perhaps, be made. I think that you would make a better comparison if you took a series of three or four years. I have done that, and I find that shipments have been constantly on the increase from New York for the three years, 1896, 1897 and 1898. They were 150,000,000 bushels, in round numbers, in 1896; 188,000,000 bushels in 1897; and 195,000,000 bushels in 1898. That is grain received at the port of New York, not shipments from, but grain received at that port, so that the grain which arrived, at all events, during these years, increased in volume. How is it with the grain that was shipped out to foreign ports to which the hon. gentleman referred? In 1896, there arrived at New York, for export, and which was actually exported, 69,000,000 bushels in round figures; in 1897, 117,000,000 bushels, and in 1898, 124,000,000 bushels and upwards, a continuous increase during these three years. I did not go back beyond 1896, but, I am pretty well assured, that, had I done so, I would have found that the total shipments were less than they were in either of these years. They show a continued growth in exports of grain products from this port, and the statement goes to show that enough export of grain does take place to justify us in making considerable efforts to secure a part. There we have an average of 104,000,000 bushels of

grain each year sent out during these three years. In the summer, which has just closed, the amount did not exceed over 88,000,000 bushels, but, even if only 88,000,000 bushels were usually supplied via Buffalo to New York for foreign export, I think we would be justified in making an effort to secure a portion of that traffic as we assuredly will do. If we could secure 50,000,000 bushels, or even half of it, we would not be justified in making light of the business. The extent to which the traffic is growing upon the lakes is scarcely realized by our people, and while I admit, with the hon. member (Mr. Bennett), that there has been no considerable increase, or perhaps rather a falling off in the amount of tonnage in Canadian bottoms, as compared with some years ago, yet, we are not going to be at all confined to Canadian shipping for traffic through our canals. We would open our door, and have opened our door to all steamers plying on the lakes, and invite them to take their cargoes through the canals. The growth of the lake shipping has been stupendous, and the character of that growth, is such as to more than justify the opinion, that if we fit ourselves out to do business, we cannot help but get a very substantial part of it. In 1851 the vessel tonnage on the lakes amounted to only 215,000 tons, and in 1875, it had grown to 600,000 tons. Shortly after that the Sault Ste. Marie Canal was constructed, and that gave such a great impetus to lake shipping, that in 1890, the vessel tonnage on the lakes had grown to 1,000,000 tons, and in 1898, it was 1,500,000 tons. The opening of that canal had the effect of encouraging the building of larger vessels and the use of steamers in place of other craft, so that the freight tonnage showed a much greater increase than even the vessel tonnage. In 1885, the freight tonnage on the lakes was 19,200,000 tons; in 1890, it had grown to 37,500,000 tons, and in 1898, it had grown to 62,500,000 tons. In thirteen years it had almost quadrupled itself. There is this striking fact, which I think may well be remembered as an argument in justification of the deepening of our canals. After the Sault Ste. Marie Canal was deepened, the actual tonnage increased in far greater proportions than it ever did before. In 1890, 9,000,000 tons passed through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, and in 1898, 18,000,000 tons. In these eight years the tonnage through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal doubled itself.

Mr. COWAN. Has the hon. minister the Canadian tonnage as distinct from the American tonnage in the years mentioned, 1851, 1875 and 1898?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No, I have not the Canadian tonnage. This is all American tonnage. The effect of canal competition upon railway rates is really very significant, and, if we had no other reason for deepening our canals

than that it would give us a check and control over railway rates, we would not need any other justification for that expenditure. In 1868, the rate by rail from Buffalo to New York, was 14½ cents a bushel, and to-day the rate does not exceed 3·40 cents. On the canals the rate in 1868 was 11·15 cents per bushel, and to-day it is 2·82 cents per bushel. The canal rates have always kept a little below, and they will continue to keep below the railway rates. I am speaking now of the Erie Canal, which, in my belief, will continue to be quite an important competitor with the railway, but its effect has been more, on account of the influence which it has had upon railway rates, than in any other direction. With a view of showing just what traffic is open to us to compete for, when we are put in shape to do this business, I shall call attention to the extent of the grain and mill products which reached the various points on the lake system, and a portion of which we might very well invite to seek an outlet by our route. We can, I think, enter into successful competition with Ogdensburg, with Oswego, with Buffalo, and possibly, even with Erie or Cleveland, which have all been doing a very considerable business. Buffalo unquestionably handles a very large amount of this freight. The tonnage of grain and mill products handled at Buffalo in 1895, was 4,300,000; in 1896, 5,500,000; in 1897, 6,500,000; and in 1898, 7,000,000.

Mr. McCLEARY. Are you quite sure these are bushels?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Oh, no, they are not bushels; they are tons. You will observe that in Buffalo, there was a continued and substantial increase in the growth of their business. The tonnage received at Buffalo in 1898 was almost double that received in 1895. The amount of business done at Ogdensburg in 1895, was 166,000 tons; in 1898, 243,000 tons. The amount of business done at Erie in 1895, was 419,000 tons, and in 1898, 709,000 tons. It is apparent from these figures that Buffalo is the point and the port which we must make our main object of attack, and it is the point which has the business worth capturing, and that we can well devote our attention in that direction.

The references which were made by the hon. member for East Simcoe to what is called the Connors agreement were, I think, quite unfair. I do not think the hon. gentleman has sufficient information with regard to that subject to enable him to criticise it, much less to justify him in condemning it. I do not believe that he had ever read the contract which was made when he undertook in the most unqualified manner to condemn the transaction as discreditable to all parties concerned, and particularly discreditable to the government. Now, there is nothing in that transaction

which the government has any occasion at all to be ashamed of. There is nothing in it to which they might not invite the very closest scrutiny. On the contrary, the agreement is one which, if it is effective and it is carried out, if it results in the construction of the works contemplated, cannot fail to be of enormous advantage to the port of Montreal. My hon. friend was in error, in the first place, in connecting the government with it to the extent he did. The government had nothing to do with it further than when the Board of Harbour Commissioners of Montreal applied for approval of the arrangement, the government had it in their power to withhold approval if they saw fit, or to approve. We had that discretion. We had no part in the making of the contract; we had no part in adjusting or fixing the terms of the contract. That was done by men who were entitled at all events to be considered as competent to deal with it, men who had the interests of the port of Montreal at heart, men who would not be likely to sacrifice the interests of the port for any consideration that would be offered to them, men who certainly gave no end of time to the negotiations, who studied the question, as I am credibly informed, from every point of view, and who exhibited the most earnest anxiety to have an arrangement come to which would be to the advantage of the city and port of Montreal. My hon. friend did not hesitate to sit down on the port of Montreal and everybody connected with it and condemn them in the most unqualified manner. Why did he do that? Upon the strength of what information did the hon. gentleman do it?

Mr. BENNETT. May I ask the minister this question: Was not resort had to the courts to restrain the Board of Montreal Harbour Commissioners from entering into the contract which they did enter into?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do not know that. I am not informed.

Mr. BENNETT. It is in the newspapers.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I am just now informed that there was such an application made, and that it was dismissed, and I have no doubt very properly dismissed. But the hon. gentleman assumed that as somebody was dissatisfied, because these works were going on, the arrangement was bad. I can conceive of many persons who would be dissatisfied. I do not want to blame anybody, but I can conceive that there were people who had an interest in condemning the old state of affairs, and if the arrangement could be postponed even for a year, it would be a great pecuniary advantage to some of them, I have no doubt, and they would therefore move in that direction. But whether they did or did not, the fact of a law-

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suit proves nothing. The question is, did the hon. gentleman take the trouble to inform himself of what the terms and conditions of that contract were? Did he know what he was condemning when he was condemning it?

Mr. BENNETT. Will the minister allow me to ask him a question? Under the terms of the contract, is there a completion of it on the part of the Connors company, if they effect a carrying trade of 30,000,000 bushels per annum?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I think there is something of that kind. I think they will be held to comply with their contract if they put up certain works and provide two elevators at the points indicated; and if in the first year that the works are in operation they transfer twenty-five or thirty million bushels of grain. If they do that, they will duplicate the output of the port of Montreal in one year, which is no mean thing to accomplish, and which is an object very desirable to see effected. And does the hon. gentleman imagine that people who are going to spend, if they do spend, four or five or six millions of dollars in order to enable them to transfer twenty-five million bushels, are not going to add to this all the business they can secure? Will it not be to their interest to increase the business, and the public will be protected when they have to carry it on under supervision and control of people who will be alert, and whose interest it will be to see that no improper advantages are permitted as against others interested in the trade? When my hon. friend undertook to condemn the government, he did so without warrant. We had no more hand nor part in it than I have indicated, and I think it would have been a grave responsibility for this government, after the Montreal Board of Harbour Commissioners had considered the question and come to a complete agreement upon it, to take upon itself to say, We will not give it our imprimatur, but we will defeat your negotiations, we will defeat this enterprise, we will leave the port of Montreal unequipped for another year or two, until some other person comes prepared to make a more favourable proposition. There is nothing in the transaction which justifies any one at all in criticising it in a hostile sense, but, as far as I am familiar with its contents, the contrary; especially when it is realized that these people, as is said in the report of the New York commissioners, get no monopoly, no exclusive rights. They get nothing more than can be got by others who are willing to put their money into the same kind of enterprise. It does not follow that because there are one or two localities indicated as the sites on which these elevators should be constructed, all the elevator space convenient or suitable in the port of Montreal has been exhausted. On the contrary,

you could put fifty elevators along the harbour front, and probably a hundred. I do not know as to that, but there is practically no limit to the number of elevators you can put there if the people had the means and were disposed to erect them. So I say that when these people came along and put up their cash deposit of \$50,000, as an evidence of their bona fides in this matter, and were prepared to enter into the agreement, the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal did wisely in making a contract with them, and I only hope that these gentlemen will succeed in financing the undertaking so as to carry it forward to a successful conclusion.

My hon. friend, as far as I can gather, from a careful perusal of his speech, came to certain conclusions. These were that we should call a halt, that we should throw over our canal policy, that we should cease doing anything at Port Colborne, and that we should look to railways instead of water routes. My hon. friend seriously propounded, as a substitute for the government policy, that we should give railways bonuses for hauling grain in preference to water routes. Those are the conclusions to which the hon. gentleman came, as fairly as they can be abstracted from the speech he made. When the hon. gentleman invited an expression of opinion by this House on the question of transportation, he was in duty bound to give us the best information he could on this important question, and to give us a guide, at all events, in some practical direction, in substitution of the course the government has taken; and I think I am not doing the hon. gentleman any injustice when I say that instead he led us into a fog and planted us where we can see no light. He simply said to us: Put down your hands; abstain from doing anything at all; do not strike a further blow; let this transportation go to the dogs unless you are prepared to take up railways and give them a bonus for doing the carrying trade.

My hon. friend, the ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) made some references to this question of barge transport, and he referred to the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal, and two or three other subjects, which, I fear, without trespassing too much on the patience of the members, I could not dwell upon at any length tonight. I should like to point out, however, that the hon. gentleman's views with regard to the barge business do not agree with the opinions of men in the business. They are entirely opposed to the opinion of men, who have been carrying on the lake shipping business for years, as can be easily proved, and I would prefer disregarding the opinion of the ex-Minister of Railways to disregarding the opinion of these other people I have mentioned.

I would like to make a remark on the subject of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal, concerning which a very startling

statement was made by the ex-Minister of Railways (Mr. Haggart). He told this House that this was not a new project at all, which, of course, we all knew, and that the government of the late Sir John Macdonald had determined to take up the construction of the Ottawa and Georgian Bay canal and build it as a government work by expending a million dollars a year for twenty years. Every one who heard that statement assumed that the hon. gentleman was speaking of something of which he had personal knowledge, and he undoubtedly led the House to believe that while he was a member of the government of the late Sir John Macdonald that policy was determined upon. Well, I am bound to say that if it was, there is not any evidence in the records and archives of the government which bears out the statement. In my department—the House will scarcely credit it, after what they have heard from my predecessor—there is not an officer who ever heard that any such project was in contemplation. More than that, there is not a paper which indicates that such a policy was ever under consideration, much less actually decided upon. There is not a survey of the canal except one, and that was made either half or three-quarters of a century ago for a nine foot canal. There are no calculations, no plans, no nothing; and when I mentioned this statement of my predecessor to the deputy minister, he was entirely taken by surprise, for so far as his knowledge went, no such decision had ever been arrived at, and no such question had ever seriously been considered. One can very well believe that the hon. gentleman must have dreamt that such a policy was determined upon. Whether it was a day dream or a night dream or what kind of dream, I do not know, but he evidently must have dreamed that the government, of which he was a member, had come to this very important determination on a question of great magnitude, or he would not have made the statement; moreover, the estimate of cost which he places at \$20,000,000 is sufficient for a twelve-foot canal. He said they were going to make a twelve-foot channel. Well, that could not be built for less, I believe, to-day than in the neighbourhood of \$30,000,000. We could not build it in twenty years at the rate of \$1,000,000 a year. Do you imagine that anybody ever suspected that it was in contemplation to start a work of that magnitude as a government work at any time within the last ten, fifteen or twenty years? I will be very sorry to have it supposed that I was expressing any opinion adverse to the proper consideration of this project later. Not at all, it may be the duty of the government to take up the subject seriously and look into it, but I think it is our first duty to get through with the large undertakings we have in hand before we enter on any fresh undertaking of a serious character.

The hon. gentleman also discussed the action of the late government, and praised that government for pushing the works so rapidly towards completion. He said the works were being pushed with great vigour and there was no disposition at all to postpone or delay their completion. Well, I am unable to assent to that proposition. I think that the hon. gentleman forgot what did take place. He does not recall the facts. The evidence is too abundant, it appears to me, to admit of any other conclusion than that which has been stated from this side of the House.

I was asked a question yesterday by the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), whether the late government carried on this work with proper speed or not. Here is the question :

Whether it was the policy of the late government of Canada or of the late Finance Minister of Canada to complete the St. Lawrence canals with all possible despatch, or to pursue a dilatory policy in connection with the work?

And the answer I gave was as follows :

I am of opinion that the policy of the late government was not to complete the St. Lawrence canals with all possible despatch, but was to pursue a dilatory policy in connection with the work.

This answer excited the mirth and jeers of my hon. friends opposite. I think my hon. friend from East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), who had such a poor opinion of the bonafides of his friends of the late government indulged as heartily as any in ridiculing the answer I gave. Now, I did not make that statement as a mere supposition of my own. I stated it knowing what progress had been made upon the canals during the last three or four years that had preceded my advent into this office. I stated it on the strength of evidence which was in my possession. I take one of the canals, the Soulanges Canal, which is, of course, the most important of the canals constituting the St. Lawrence system. It holds the key of the situation. If it is not complete, we cannot hope to provide the fourteen-foot channel this year ; if it is complete, the others will be ready. This canal is divided into twelve sections. In going over these sections, I found that on some of them, and very important ones they were too, the contractors were simply trifling with the work. On section 12, at the rate of progress being made between the years 1893 and 1896, it would take just 30 years to complete the work. Taking sections 1 and 2, I found that if the work were pushed on with the rapidity and vigour which characterized the late government, these sections would be finished in between 6 and 7 years. I found that if they persisted in rushing the work as they were rushing it on sections 4, 5, 6 and 7, those sections would be completed in 27 years. You will see I was not quite unwarranted in making the statement which I did. But

Mr. BLAIR.

I have other evidence which, in conjunction with what I have given, will enable the House to form an opinion as to whether this work was deliberately delayed or whether it was pushed forward with proper vigour. The testimony I am about to furnish is given by the ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) himself. That hon. gentleman was summoned, in a case in court not very many months ago, a case in which the Crown was being sued by one of the canal contractors. The ex-Minister of Railways and Canals gave his evidence under oath, and I have a copy of that evidence as it was taken. I find that the hon. gentleman stated positively and explicitly, under oath, that he himself went to the contractors as far back as 1894 and told them that it was the policy of the government not to have these works pushed on, that the Minister of Finance had concluded that we must not spend money so fast and had better dilly-dally and go slowly until they should otherwise decide.

Mr. TALBOT. So that there might be money for the Tay Canal.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No, I think the intention was to start out vigorously before the general election, so that the undertaking might have the best results for the government in the election contests.

Now, my hon. friend from East Grey (Mr. Sproule) had one criticism to pass upon the canals the other day, and I wish to remove any doubt that may have remained in his mind or in the mind of any hon. gentleman on the point to which he called attention. He intimated that the St. Lawrence route was a very crooked route, and that the government should straighten it. I want to say that the St. Lawrence is not a very crooked route ; it is as straight as any river route you will find anywhere. And the work which is being done and which will be done will make it absolutely free from any objections on account of crookedness. I do not pretend to say that the St. Lawrence route is an ideal route in every particular. I do not say that there may not be points where you could widen the channel to some advantage. I do not say that that will not be done. I think wherever the occasion may appear to render necessary additional expenditure, the route will be from time to time improved. You never can name any period of time, you cannot say that the day will ever arrive when it will not be possible to say that more money can be spent to advantage in this direction or in that. You can do that upon any natural waterway ; you can say that as to any canal structure that you can make. But I do say, that the engineers who are engaged on the St. Lawrence canals, the chief engineer and other superintending engineers who know whereof they speak, authorize me to say to parliament and to the country that the St.

Lawrence route is in first-class, efficient condition. There are no difficulties in its way, no crookedness in that space, the lights and buoys are not going to be neglected. But we have not lights up now, we have not buoys up now, but we will have both up in due time, and we will have all the equipment that is necessary.

Mr. SPROULE. I did not give it as something of my own knowledge. I drew attention to the fact that it appeared in the *Montreal Witness*, and I thought in all probability that he must have seen it himself.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The hon. gentleman very properly refers to the *Montreal Witness*, and I propose to make a reference to that before I sit down. But I want to assure him that it is a slander upon the St. Lawrence route to say that it is a crooked route. It is not a crooked route, and we have as wide a channel as any shippers can reasonably ask for. But no responsible person has expressed the opinion that the canal is defective in any of these particulars; on the contrary, the opinion is entirely the other way. I am sorry to see evidence of a determined purpose in some quarters to create a doubt as to the canal being in a proper condition, and as to its being likely to be opened and available for the coming season. I cannot understand the reason of this hostility, it cannot proceed from any political bias, because I apprehend no political advantage can be reaped by any party in giving circulation to those reports. But, Sir, they are not correct. The canal will be opened, and will afford a thoroughly effective and useful service as soon as the navigation of the St. Lawrence is opened, there is no doubt about that. I have in my hand a statement furnished to me on that point bearing the assurances of all the engineers. It is not necessary to read it, it is somewhat lengthy; but it has been furnished to me for use if any further question is raised. It is signed by the chief engineer and deputy minister, the superintendent of the Lachine Canal, Mr. Marceau, the superintendent of the Soulanges Canal, Mr. Monroe, and the superintendent of the St. Lawrence Canals, Mr. Rubidge. They all say in the most unqualified terms that the canal will be ready for use as soon as the river opens, and as soon as the canals are ordinarily required to be opened.

The question of lighting the canal has also been provided for. In this connection I may as well say that we did not last year have it lighted for a 14-foot service, because we did not expect, as the season advanced, that we would be able to secure a through channel, in time for the fall business. But we sent orders home early in the season last year for the gas buoys that we intend to utilize. They did not reach us last fall, but that was not our fault. It happened that the United

States government got in a short time ahead of us. There is only one firm which manufactures these gas buoys, an English firm, and they have a monopoly. Those we are to use had recently been invented, and last year was the first year they were manufactured. The United States became aware of the existence of these kind of buoys having been introduced, though I do not think they knew it any sooner than we did. But they got in their order a little ahead of us, so that when our order went forward the manufacturers had already the order for ninety from the United States, which was all they could make last year. But they have gone on with our order, and ours will be in hand in a short time. So we have made every arrangement that is deemed necessary to put our canals in first-class shape. I want to repeat and emphasize the assurance so that it may go abroad, so that when Mr. Callaway or anybody else undertakes to cast a doubt upon the efficiency of the canal, for some purpose which may not be supposed to be in our interest, there may be an authoritative statement in contradiction; and that it may be known that the department can guarantee that the 14-foot through channel will be available at the opening of the season in a perfect and efficient manner.

Now, I will make a reference to what appeared in the *Montreal Witness* on this question. I was very much surprised to see this statement in the *Montreal Witness*, and regret that they have been misled to the extent of giving it a place in their columns. Some person who professed to know, some person who I think must be or must have been in the employment of the department, has made up the statement for publication. The statement appears in the issue of the 13th of February. I say at once that I entirely acquit the publishers of the *Montreal Witness* of any disposition to create an unfavourable impression without thinking that they were justified in doing so. I am sure that they were convinced of the absolute truthfulness of what they were circulating when they published it. I wish to say that as a matter of justice to the publishers of the *Witness*. I have seen nothing which would lead me to suppose they would deal otherwise than fairly with the government, or with any of its departments, but they have been absolutely misled. I have gone through their statement in all its details. I have myself interrogated the engineers on the question, and I have ascertained that there is no obstruction, no obstacle, to a safe and satisfactory use of the channel from the beginning of it to the end. There are boulders referred to in this statement as located in particular places. It is true there are boulders located just where these people say, two or three of them; but it happens that they are not in the channel, they are in parts of the rapids which our canals are constructed to

overcome, and when the vessels pass through the canals they pass by the boulders. There is one large rock which lies in the channel, but there is seven hundred or eight hundred feet on each side of it, and we propose to put up a buoy upon it, so there will be no trouble on that score. Now, this article deals with the question of lighting and buoying, and says that the United States had buoys out last year. I have explained how they got ahead of us. I have explained in regard to the lighting. You do not light in winter when the canals are not in use; you do not leave lights and buoys lying around on the canal, but you bring them in when the season closes, and put them out when it opens. There is one thing which I very much regret to see in this statement, and it is :

No plain and practical test has so far been made of the condition of the route as a whole.

This is an explicit statement and as untrue as it is explicit. That route has been swept from one end of it to the other, and carefully swept under the most approved methods and with the proper appliances. It was swept last fall, and will be swept again this spring. Our canals and water stretches are swept more or less every season. You cannot tell what will happen during the winter; when the ice moves, it may bring down obstructions so that you must ascertain by sweeping, whether or not, any obstacles have been brought into the channel. I entirely deny the correctness of the statement that no plain, practical test has been made. The only possible test that could be made, has been made, and will continue to be made. Then the newspaper article goes on to add :

This should be done early next spring.

We have seen people undertaking to tell engineers who have given almost all their lives to this work, that they should do the very thing that they never fail to do under any possible circumstances. It has the effect of creating an impression in the public mind that the men who are in charge of this work, and who have been in charge of it for years, and who are as much interested in seeing that it is properly looked after as any person could be, are not attending to their duty. These officials do not require to be told by the newspapers that they must do something next spring before the canals open, which they have never failed to do in any spring. The article further goes on to say :

This ought to be done by competent engineers and business men, wholly independent of the government, so that the people may be assured of the facts, and not be deluded by a series of promises with no corresponding performance.

I want to ask this House whether it is not very unfair that any such reflection should be passed upon the officers who have charge of these works? What have they done, or failed to do, which would give any

Mr. BLAIR.

colour of justification for any such assault? It is not fair to the men who have been careful and faithful public servants. They are the men that I found here when I came into the department. I have no reason to doubt their entire fitness for their positions, or to have any doubts as to the way in which they have done their duty. I believe that no greater injustice could be done to public men, than by making reflections of this kind upon them, and I am sure that this must have found its way into the columns of the *Montreal Daily Witness*, without the supervision of the responsible heads. What independent source are you going to appeal to? What class of men are you going to get, that will be more interested in seeing that everything that it was necessary to do and proper to do, is done? These men could have no interest in neglecting their duty, in not having the canals in proper and safe condition, because, otherwise, the first thing that will occur, will be that some vessel will have a hole stove in her bottom, because an obstacle has been left in the river, which it is the duty of these people to have removed. It is absurd, in my mind, to call upon outsiders in such a case, and, if there are any persons who may hear me to-day, or read any report that may be published of what I say as to the condition of these canals, as to their entire fitness for efficient work, when the season opens, I hope they will disabuse their minds of the idea that anything is left undone that should have been done. I must apologize to the House, in conclusion, for the time I have occupied in these remarks, but I thought it fair to go into this subject at length and show that the government has no doubt or question as to the course to be pursued in regard to the St. Lawrence canals. The country started out upon the deepening and enlarging of these canals, and our duty is to finish them in such a shape, that we will be able to turn the vast expenditure made upon them to the best account, and to produce the best results. We decline to halt, we decline to stay our hand, we propose to push forward, and we propose to equip the canals, if parliament will give us the wherewithal to do it, not in a way in which it shall be barely sufficient, but in a way in which it will be said to be beyond doubt, amply sufficient for all proper purposes. We propose to complete the harbour and entrance at Port Colborne. We regard that as essential, in order to work out the whole policy in a successful way, and if nothing should occur, whereby the present plans, which have been embarked upon by the harbour commissioners of Montreal, should not materialize—I see no good reason why they should not—but, in case they should not, I am sure my colleagues will join with me in recognizing that it is our duty to put ourselves in such a position as that we, either

in connection with the harbour board, or through an independent terminal organization of some kind, shall have the harbour of Montreal on a footing with the best port on the continent, and put in such a shape that we can do business there speedily, inexpensively, and to greater advantage than it can be done at any other port upon the Atlantic sea-coast.

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Speaker, with the permission of the leader of the House, I beg to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT—BUBONIC PLAGUE.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. PRIOR. Mr. Speaker, as I see the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), present, I would like to ask him if he has had any representations from the Pacific coast, in regard to the Bubonic plague, which is said to exist on the American frontier?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). There has been no appearance of any indication of the plague in British Columbia ports, but there has been a case at Port Townsend, and just lately I received, at the department, a report that a case has appeared in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco. As a result, we have given orders that coastwise vessels from United States ports shall be treated the same as if they came from the Orient, at British Columbia ports.

Mr. SPROULE. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies), what he will take up to-morrow?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I understand that government notices of motion will be taken up, and some of the small Bills on the Order paper before going into supply.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 12 o'clock (midnight).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 22, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 106) to amend the Patent Act.—(Mr. Gibson.)

Bill (No. 107) to make further provision respecting grants of land to members of

the militia force on active service in the North-west.—(Mr. Sutherland.)

WHISKY TAKEN OUT OF BOND.

Mr. DAVIS asked :

How many gallons of whisky did Henry Corby take out of bond in each of the years 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899? What quantity of grain did the said Henry Corby import for the manufacture of whisky in each of the said years?

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). I would suggest that the question be withdrawn and another can be made, applying to the whole production in general.

Mr. SPEAKER. The question is dropped.

SUPERINTENDENT OF CREAMERIES, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

How many dairy experts were permanently employed by the government last year in Manitoba and the North-west Territories in travelling around and instructing the people in the art of butter-making?

2. What was the total cost of their salaries and travelling expenses for the year 1898-9?

3. Will the government appoint two dairy experts this year to attend exclusively to British Columbia, the one for the island and the other for the mainland?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). 1. Mr. Marker and Mr. Mitchell have been the superintendents of creameries in Manitoba and the North-west Territories. 2. The salary of Mr. C. Marker, superintendent of western division of creameries, in the North-west Territories, is \$75 per annum, and the salary of Mr. J. W. Mitchell, superintendent of the eastern division, is the same. 3. Mr. Marker's expenses for the fiscal year 1898-9, were \$860; Mr. Mitchell's expenses for the fiscal year 1898-9, were \$1,350.

THE FRANKING PRIVILEGE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Is the Postmaster General aware that a number of letters containing a circular, of which the following is a copy:

Ste. Scholastique, March 7, 1900.

Dear Sir,—A new weekly newspaper, 'Le Courrier des Deux Montagnes,' will appear at Ste. Scholastique on or about March 15, the subscription being one dollar a year. While soliciting your subscription, I have the honour to inform you that we will publish the accompanying advertisement in the columns of this newspaper at the rate of \$2.50 per annum, this amount being payable immediately after the publication of the first number. The publicity given to your goods throughout our rich district cannot but have good results. Hoping that you will

give this proposition your immediate attention, I have the honour to remain, gentlemen,

Your very humble servant,
(Signed) J. A. C. ETHIER, M.P.,
For the Editorial Committee.

were franked through the mails by J. A. C. Ethier, M.P. for Two Mountains? If so, how many of such circulars were so sent? If so sent, does the Postmaster General intend to collect the postage due in respect of such letters?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). The department is not aware, nor am I, of the contents of any letters that pass through the mails. These letters may, or may not pass through the mails, but we have no knowledge of them.

THE PER CENT OF DUTY COLLECTED.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What was the per cent of duty collected on merchandise imported for home consumption into Canada, taking dutiable and free combined, from July 1, 1890 to 1899, inclusive?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The percentage of duty collected on merchandise imported for home consumption into Canada, taking dutiable and free combined, for each fiscal year, from July 1, 1890 to 1899, was, as appears on page 7 of the Trade and Navigation Returns, as follows :

1890-1.....	20·06
1891-2.....	17·56
1892-3.....	17·38
1893-4.....	17·13
1894-5.....	16·99
1895-6.....	18·28
1896-7.....	17·87
1897-8.....	16·95
1898-9.....	16 70

STANDARD BARREL FOR FRUIT, &c.

Mr. MILLS asked :

1. Is the government aware that a public meeting of farmers and fruit-growers of King's County, N.S., was held at Kentville, in the said county, on March 10, A.D. 1900, for the purpose of considering and discussing the question of a standard barrel, and that the following resolution was thereat passed unanimously:

Whereas, the farmers and fruit-growers of this county are large producers of apples, potatoes and other like products, which they export in competition with the state of New York and the New England States to the markets of Great Britain and the West Indies; and

Whereas, the National Fruit Growers' Association and the National League of Commission Merchants of the United States have adopted and agreed to use only a standard barrel of a capacity of 100 quarts, United States dry measure, which barrel has been legalized in the state of New York and adopted in the New England States; and

Whereas, the apple barrel legalized during the last session of parliament is of a larger capacity by seven quarts than the barrel now in use by our competitors, a circumstance which we look upon with much apprehension and alarm, because it will entail an annual loss of from \$30,000 to \$40,000 on apple products alone to the farmers of this county; and

Mr. TAYLOR.

Whereas, no provision has been made for legalizing a barrel for potatoes, a staple in which we are also largely interested, and it would be manifestly undesirable to have barrels of two or more sizes in use:

Therefore resolved, that we do respectfully request the government to repeal the Act of last session, and have an Act passed providing for a standard Canadian barrel for apples, potatoes and like products, of the following dimensions: 26½ inches between the heads, and having a head diameter of 17 inches and a middle diameter of 18½ inches, equal to a capacity of 96 quarts, or three bushels, with a proviso that 'when potatoes are sold by weight, the quantity constituting a barrel shall be 174 pounds;' and

Further resolved, that copies of this resolution be forthwith transmitted to the hon. Ministers of Militia, Agriculture and Inland Revenue, with a respectful request that their influence and efforts be exerted to procure the passing of legislation to give effect to this resolution.

(Sgd.) W. E. ROSCOE,
Chairman of Meeting.

(Sgd.) GEO. E. CALKIN,
Secretary.

2. Is the government also aware that the municipality of the county of King's, N.S., by its councillors in council assembled, has also lately discussed and considered the subject-matter of the above-mentioned resolution, and did, in conjunction with the boards of trade of King's County and of Kentville, resolve as follows:

In re Standard Barrel.

Whereas, in February, 1899, the municipal council of King's County, the boards of trade of the county and of Kentville, joined in an address to the hon. the Minister of Agriculture (the hon. the Minister of Militia being also present), in which, among other things, legislation was asked for a standard Canadian barrel of specific capacity for apples, potatoes and similar fruit and roots; and it was requested that the New York State barrel, of which the dimensions were given, should be adopted as the Canadian standard, also for the cogent reason that Canada is a competitor of the United States with similar commodities in the same markets; and

Whereas, the consequent legislation of last session of parliament is inadequate, unfair to the Canadian producer, and wholly fails of the object in view, inasmuch as the barrel thereby authorized (1) is not a standard Canadian barrel, (2) is not of the dimension or the capacity asked for, (3) is limited in its application to apples, and (4) discriminates against Canadian shippers as compared with United States shippers to the extent of seven quarts a barrel; and

Whereas, the question of a uniform standard barrel is of considerable importance to our county, whose annual production of apples ranges from 150,000 to 300,000 barrels, and of potatoes from 75,000 to 100,000 barrels (not to mention other products), the bulk of which is exported, and under existing legislation would only sell at the same price as the less quantity in the smaller barrel of our competitor.

Therefore resolved, that in our opinion the Act of last session relating to apple barrels should be repealed, and that during the pending session of Parliament an Act should be passed providing for a standard Canadian barrel of a capacity of 96 quarts or three bushels and of the following dimensions: Head diameter, 17 inches; middle diameter, 18½ inches, and 26½ inches between heads, inside measurement. And it should

be enacted that every person buying or selling or exporting apples, pears, quinces or potatoes by the barrel shall be understood as referring to the quantity or size of the aforesaid barrel, but when potatoes are sold by weight the quantity constituting a barrel shall be held to be 174 pounds, with suitable penalty for the manufacture or use of barrels of other capacity for such commodities; and

Further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to the hon. the Ministers of Militia, Agriculture and Inland Revenue, with a respectful request that their influence and good offices may be exerted to further and secure the passing of such legislation.

For the Municipality of King's,
(Sgd.) W. E. ROSCOE, Warden.

For King's County Board of Trade,
(Sgd.) P. INNES, President.

For Kentville Board of Trade,
(Sgd.) R. W. EATON, President.

3. Is the following a correct copy of the New York State law or Act referred to in the above resolutions?

An Act to Amend the Domestic Commerce Law in relation to the size of Apple, Pear, Quince and Potato Barrels.

Became a law April 17, 1899.

Sec. 9. Barrels of apples, quinces, pears and potatoes.—A barrel of pears, quinces or potatoes shall represent a quantity equal to one hundred quarts of grain or dry measure. A barrel of apples shall be of the following dimensions: Head diameter, 17½ inches; length of stave, 28½ inches; bulge not less than 64 inches, outside measurement. Every person buying or selling apples, pears, quinces or potatoes in this state by the barrel, shall be understood as referring to the quantity or size of the barrel specified in this section, but when potatoes are sold by weight, the quantity constituting a barrel shall be 174 pounds. No person shall make, or cause to be made, barrels holding less than the quantity herein specified, knowing, or having reason to believe, that the same are to be used for the sale of apples, quinces, pears or potatoes, unless such barrel is plainly marked on the outside thereof with the words 'short barrel,' in letters of not less than one inch in height. No person in this state shall use barrels hereafter made for the sale of such articles of a size less than the size specified in this section. Every person violating any provision of this section shall forfeit to the people of the state a sum of five dollars for every barrel put up, made or used in violation of such provision.

Sec. 2. This Act shall take effect immediately.

4. Does the government intend to take any action along the lines of the above resolutions?

5. Does the government intend to repeal that part of the Act of last session that has reference to apple barrels?

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). The answer to the first question is, 'yes'; the answer to the second question is, 'yes'; the answer to the third question is, 'yes'; the answer to the fourth question is: The matter is under consideration, and the answer to the fifth question is: The matter is under consideration.

GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH LINE TO BELLE ISLE.

Mr. McALISTER asked:

1. Who has the contract for constructing the government telegraph line along the north shore of the St. Lawrence from its present terminus to Belle Isle?
2. Were public tenders asked for the contract? What is the contract price?
3. Were tenders asked for supplying the poles, and at what price were they to be supplied?
4. Did the contractor for the poles fail to carry out this portion of his contract? If so, for what reason, and was any penalty imposed by the government for such failure?
5. Who has the contract for supplying the poles, and at what price?
6. Who is furnishing the wire, and at what price? Were tenders asked therefor?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I answered this question before, except the sixth clause of it, but as the answer may not have been taken down, I will repeat it again. 1. F. X. Gendreau. 2. Yes, \$125 a mile. 3. Yes, 4,700 at 85 cents per pole, and 6,000 at 80 cents. 4. No. 5. L. P. DeCourval, 85 cents and 80 cents per pole. 6. Wire was supplied in July and August last (1899), at \$2.75 per 100 pounds, after tenders had been obtained for such supply. The contractors were Lewis Bros. & Co., of Montreal, their tender being the lowest.

THE FRANKING PRIVILEGE—THE MONTREAL STAR.

Mr. ETHIER (by Mr. Talbot) asked:

1. Is the government aware that Mr. George Taylor, M.P., is using his privilege as a member of this House to frank through the mails daily to all parts of Canada thousands of copies of the Montreal 'Star' newspaper?
2. Is the government aware that car-loads of the Montreal 'Star' are being shipped to Ottawa to the said George Taylor, M.P., to be franked by him through the mails to the electors of Canada?
3. Is the government aware that the proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' has organized a staff of his employees to co-operate with the said George Taylor, M.P., to assist in the work of addressing and franking immense quantities of the Montreal 'Star' through the mails?
4. Is the government aware whether the said George Taylor, M.P., in order to more effectually accomplish the work of franking the Montreal 'Star,' has caused facsimiles of his signature to be prepared on stamping machines, and has intrusted the use of such stamping machines to others to be used in franking the Montreal 'Star'?
5. Is the government aware that the reputed proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' is also interested in another paper recently established in Montreal, called 'Le Journal,' issued in the French language, and printed in the office of the Montreal 'Star'; that the Montreal 'Star,' published in English, is being so franked to English-speaking electors by the said George Taylor, M.P., and that 'Le Journal,' published in French, is being distributed amongst French-speaking electors?

6. Is the Postmaster General aware whether the said Montreal 'Star' is sending free from Montreal to the said George Taylor at Ottawa large quantities of the Montreal Daily 'Star,' to be distributed free from Ottawa through the mails? If so, does the government consider it a proper use to make of the mail? If not, what action does the government propose to take in the matter?

7. Does the government intend to adopt any, and if so, what steps to prevent the said George Taylor, M.P., franking broadcast throughout Canada, at the expense of the whole people, the Montreal 'Star'? If not, why not?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Is this the reconstructed question?

Mr. SPEAKER. Yes.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I was not aware that this question was reconstructed, and so I did not prepare a formal answer, but I think I can fairly answer it now. The first question is:

Is the government aware that Mr. George Taylor, M.P., is using his privilege as a member of this House to frank through the mails daily to all parts of Canada thousands of copies of the Montreal 'Star' newspaper?

I have knowledge that very large quantities of the Montreal *Star* newspaper are being transmitted through the mails under the frank of Mr. George Taylor, M.P., and other members on the other side of the House.

Mr. BERGERON. You had better name them.

Mr. TALBOT. You will get the names soon enough.

Mr. TAYLOR. Have they not a right to do it?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The second part of the question is:

Is the government aware that car-loads of the Montreal 'Star' are being shipped to Ottawa to the said George Taylor, M.P., to be franked by him through the mails to the electors of Canada?

The answer to that is: That we have no knowledge of the quantity, or whether there are car-loads or not. The third part of the question is:

Is the government aware that the proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' has organized a staff of his employees to co-operate with the said George Taylor, M.P., to assist in the work of addressing and franking immense quantities of the Montreal 'Star' through the mails?

Well, in the interest of my hon. friend from South Leeds (Mr. Taylor), I trust that he has some assistance. As to the fourth part of the question, I understand that the papers are being transmitted under a frank in the usual form of a stamp; the name being affixed by means of a stamp, which is the usual method. The fifth part of the question is:

Is the government aware that the reputed proprietor of the Montreal 'Star' is also in-

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terested in another paper recently established in Montreal, called 'Le Journal,' issued in the French language, and printed in the office of the Montreal 'Star'; that the Montreal 'Star,' published in English, is being so franked to English-speaking electors by the said George Taylor, M.P., and that 'Le Journal,' published in French, is being distributed amongst French-speaking electors?

I may say, in reply to that, that I do not myself, read either the Montreal *Star* or *Le Journal*.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I am sorry for you.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). It is a great loss.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I have, therefore, no knowledge of its tenor. As to the sixth question, there is no information upon that subject. To the seventh question, the statute deals with the subject of franking. Any change in the law would mean an amendment to the Post Office Act, and it is not in contemplation at present to submit an amendment to that Act.

NICTAUX FALLS POST OFFICE.

Mr. MILLS (by Mr. Taylor) asked:

Is the post office at Nictaux Falls, in the county of Annapolis, N.S., to be transferred from the charge of Mr. W. J. H. Balcolm to that of Mr. B. A. Balcolm?

If so, when?

Is B. A. Balcolm the son of the present postmaster?

Has the present postmaster sent to the department his resignation?

If so, was it accompanied with a condition or recommendation that his son be appointed in his place?

Does the present postmaster think the Dominion general elections are close at hand?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1 and 2. The Nictaux Falls Post Office was transferred from the charge of Mr. W. J. H. Balcolm to that of Mr. B. A. Balcolm on the 1st March inst. 3. The department has no information on this point. 4. The late postmaster tendered his resignation to the department. 5. It was not accompanied by any condition or recommendation.

NEW POST OFFICES.

Mr. BELL (Addington) by (Mr Taylor) asked:

The name and locality of all new post offices established throughout the Dominion since January 1, 1900?

(b) The names of all land service contracts whose services have been increased in contract price since January 1, 1900?

(c) The name of all weekly, semi-weekly and tri-weekly services whose services have been increased since January 1, 1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I have the answer to this question, but it is very long, covering many pages,

and I think it would perhaps be better to move for a return. I have no objection to reading it if the House desires to be inflicted with it.

Question dropped.

UNITED STATES ALIEN LABOUR LAWS.

Mr. CLARKE asked :

Has the government appointed an officer to inquire into the enforcement of the United States alien labour laws by American officials?

If so, what is the name of the officer, when was he appointed, and where has he been instructed to prosecute his inquiries?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government has not formally appointed any officer to look after the enforcement of the United States alien labour laws by American officials.

THE HON. CLIFFORD SIFTON AND MR. J. G. TURRIFF.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

1. On what date and day did the Hon. Clifford Sifton leave Ottawa in the autumn of last year for his western trip? 2. Did Mr. J. G. Turriff go west towards the close of last year? 3. If so, on what date? 4. Did he precede or leave on a later day than Hon. Clifford Sifton?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. October 19. 2. No. The other clauses of the question are covered by the answer to No. 2.

SMUGGLING AT KENTVILLE, N.B.

Mr. MILLS by (Mr. Taylor) asked :

What case of smuggling was it that was made at Kentville by B. H. Dodge, in April, 1883, while he was sub-collector at that place, the net proceeds of which were \$1,800.13?

What were the circumstances of the seizure?

What was the name of the individual or firm from whom said seizure was made?

What disposition was made of the said sum of \$1,800.13 in 1883?

Who got, or what was done with the remaining \$1,200?

Why was not the award made to B. H. Dodge at the time of the seizure in 1883?

Has there been no effort made by said Dodge or by any one on his behalf, prior to 1896, to have the usual or some award on account of this seizure made to him?

If so, what, by whom and when was such effort made, and why not successful?

How and when did said B. H. Dodge cease to be sub-collector at Kentville?

Did he resign?

Was he dismissed? If so, why?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The goods were reported as seized 'for an infraction of the revenue laws of the Dominion of Canada.' The sum of \$1,800.13 paid on release of the goods was deposited as usual to the credit of the Receiver General, and so remains deposited with the exception of \$600.04 awarded to the

seizing officer. The Commissioner of Customs is unable to state, definitely, why the award to B. H. Dodge was not distributed prior to 1896, or what efforts were made on that behalf. Mr. B. H. Dodge ceased to be sub-collector of customs at Kentville on the 4th August 1883, as appears by an order in council dispensing with him 'in the interests of the public service.'

WORKMEN'S WAGES ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock) moved :

That it be resolved, that all government contracts should contain such conditions as will prevent abuses, which may arise from the sub-letting of such contracts, and that every effort should be made to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out, and that this House cordially concurs in such policy, and deems it the duty of the government to take immediate steps to give effect thereto. It is hereby declared that the work to which the foregoing policy shall apply includes not only work undertaken by the government itself, but also all works aided by grant of Dominion public funds.

He said : Mr. Speaker, the principles enunciated in this resolution are in themselves so eminently fair and just that I feel that any sustained argument is not necessary in order to commend them to the approval of parliament, and I may say that they have already received sanction and adoption by the English House of Commons. The proposition that runs through the whole resolution, that labour shall be fairly remunerated, and that there shall be such conditions as are fair in themselves, is first found in the proceedings of the English House of Commons on the 13th of February, 1891, on which date that House passed this resolution :

That in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the government, in all government contracts, to make provision against the evils recently disclosed before the Sweating Committee, to insert such conditions as may prevent the abuse arising from sub-letting, and to make every effort to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen.

That resolution is the foundation of the one now in your hands, Mr. Speaker. Its phraseology has not been departed from except for the better carrying out of the intention. For example, you will find in the fourth line of the resolution in your hands, these words : 'In the district where the work is carried out.' Those do not appear in the resolution to which I have alluded, and are added in order to make clear the object of the resolution itself.

The resolution in our hands, Sir, also extends the principle not merely to contracts, to which the government is directly a party, but also to contracts for works aided by a grant of Dominion public funds.

Let me here inform the House that the resolution of 1891 has been in operation in Great Britain continuously since that year. When it was being considered, many difficulties were suggested as likely to make the principle inoperative, but as in the case of every departure from old methods, it is easy to imagine difficulties and to point out objections. However, as this policy has stood the test of experience in the motherland, we need not to-day be deterred by any such imaginary difficulties.

In 1896, after this system had been in force in England during five years, the House of Commons passed a resolution referring it to a select committee to inquire into its working. That committee did not report in 1896, and it was reappointed in the following year. In that year it reported, and I shall submit to the House a few extracts from its report. Speaking of the working of the resolution in question, the select committee of the English House of Commons reported in 1897, as follows :

This resolution has been in force for six years. So far as regards the relations between employers and employed, its working does not appear to have had any adverse effect. Indeed, it seems probable that it has done something to promote agreement between masters and men with reference to the rate of wages and conditions of employment. It does not appear either that the contractors, as a whole, object to the resolution or to the way in which it has been administered. It appears also that complaints from the workmen of breaches of the resolution are not now as frequent as formerly.

This report further proceeds to testify to the working of the system and declares that it has not been attended by any difficulties that might not have reasonably been expected in connection with the adoption of so far-reaching a measure ; and, speaking generally, the testimony of the committee was that the system had been tested for six years and the committee were unqualifiably in favour of the principle. Therefore, it is no rash proposition that I am now advancing and asking the House to discuss for the first time.

Hon. gentlemen might perhaps ask what conditions are to be adopted in order to effectively apply this resolution. To that I would reply that it will not be necessary to set forth the various conditions, if parliament affirms the principle and thus practically issues its mandate to the government to carry out that principle. It will then be the duty of the government to adopt, from time to time, whatever conditions may be approved of or deemed necessary in order to effectually accomplish the object of this resolution. Just as every law is found in working to require amendment, so when we attempt to apply the principle of this resolution, experience will point out any weakness and objections, and the government will be in duty bound to strengthen all weak points by adopting a set of conditions that will

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effectively enforce the true spirit of the measure.

With reference to the first part of the proposition, namely, that it is the duty of the government to adopt such conditions as will effectually prevent those abuses which arise under the sub-letting of contracts, and with reference to the second part which prescribes that all expenditure of public moneys under contract shall be subject to the condition of workmen being paid fair wages—those two sub-propositions after all simply lay down the principle that in the expenditure of public money, a fair return must be given to those who supply either labour or material in connection with public works. It has been unfortunately the experience of many people in Canada that sub-contractors have frequently failed to meet their liabilities to their employees and to those who supplied them with goods or materials to carry on their contracts, and thus the labouring men and those who supplied material have been wronged. The enforcement of this clause will prevent such injustice. It may never be possible to entirely prevent sub-letting. In fact, sub-letting is necessary to carry out works on which many different trades have to be engaged in their completion. Whilst, therefore, governments may have required security from their chief contractors and have been satisfied of their solvency and ability, they have not in the past also required sub-contractors to be competent and responsible men, and the consequence is there has been a great wrong and loss and suffering on many occasions to those who have assisted in completing government works. The application of this principle, therefore, will mean that the principal contractor will practically include the sub-contractor, that he will be the principal and they his agents, and he will be responsible for his agents. If this proposition is incorporated in the government contracts, it will not be possible hereafter for sub-contractors to misapply money to defraud those under him, but those under them entitled to payment will have the right to reach out past the contractors to the government and in that way secure whatever moneys would otherwise be payable on account of the contract to the contractor himself. In regard to materials, also the same satisfactory result will be secured.

Then, when we come to the second part of the resolution, namely, that the wages to be paid shall be the fair-going wages in the district where the work is being carried out, I am sure that hon. gentlemen will entirely sympathize with the proposition. We know that at present, when a large public work or any work is being arranged for, the contractor, anxious as he is to make the most out of his contract, has a direct interest in reducing the price of labour to the lowest possible point ; and, in order to succeed in that, where he can, he moves around

bodies of workmen from one district to another, breaking down the local labour market, and, at all events, always exposing the local labour market to the danger of being competed with by persons brought in from without the districts, and, perhaps, from without the country. It is true we have alien labour laws—

Mr. CLARKE. Hear, hear.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Yes, we have alien labour laws; but these laws, however well enforced, would not accomplish what is sought to be accomplished here. The good to be the outcome of this measure would be accomplished without having recourse to any such laws. This will put it beyond the interest of any contractor to seek to import into the locality where the work is to be performed, labour either from without the district in the country, or from without the country itself.

If the contractor finds that he cannot break down the labour market in the district concerned, he will naturally employ local labour in the first instance, exhaust the local supply, paying fair wages, before he will bring in new workmen from without. I am sure that that rule will, in itself, commend itself to every hon. gentleman in this room. The country has no interest in keeping down the price of labour; on the contrary, the country is interested in the advancement of the labour market. The country is interested in every man receiving a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. It is the best policy, leaving aside the humanitarian view of it altogether. It is better for the workmen, for high wages enable him to supply himself with more of the necessaries, more of the comforts, more of the luxuries of life. This is better for the country also, as it stimulates the consumption of manufactured goods of all kinds. Higher wages benefit not only him who receives but him who gives, and they benefit not only the parties directly concerned, but the whole community.

Mr. COCHRANE. Good national policy doctrine.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Whatever doctrine there may be in it, I am sure it will receive the endorsement of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Cochrane), who has just spoken. I think it is unnecessary to introduce a controversial proposition into the consideration of a subject about which, I trust, we may all be unanimous. It might be argued that the mere adoption of this resolution and its application to government works will, after all, accomplish little—

Mr. BERGERON. Hear, hear.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. My hon. friend from Beauharnois appears to have little confidence in the efficacy of this measure—

Mr. BERGERON. No.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The hon. gentleman says 'no'—

Mr. BERGERON. Neither have you.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. My hon. friend (Mr. Bergeron) misjudges me, and he must not—

Mr. BERGERON. It is an election dodge.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. The hon. gentleman may judge himself, but—

Mr. CLARKE. He has the experience of the way other laws for the protection of labour have been enforced.

Mr. FOSTER. The salary of the Governor General.

Mr. BERGERON. And the appointment of members of parliament to office.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. It is a pity my hon. friends on the other side cannot give their attention even to so important a theme as this without indulging in interruptions in no way relevant to the subject. I am not aware that the salary of His Excellency the Governor General, even if anybody thought it was too high, is a subject cognate to the wages of the workingmen of Canada.

Mr. BERGERON. No, we were only thinking of the sincerity of the man who spoke about it.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. If my hon. friend (Mr. Bergeron) has his views, let him retain them. He presented his views a year ago in connection with the conditions I incorporated in the contracts for the manufacture of clothing and other articles—

Mr. BERGERON. That was not followed out.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. In every case, so far as my department is concerned, the principle of the anti-sweating regulations was carried out literally and to the full.

Mr. BERGERON. But not in militia affairs.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I am only speaking of what I know in my own department. But, if this resolution is adopted as the policy of parliament, it will be the duty of every minister to enforce it.

Mr. BERGERON. You cannot make Tarte do that.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Mr. Speaker, I do not think my hon. friend (Mr. Bergeron) will find any instance since I have been in public life in which I have interrupted him in the course of an address.

Mr. BERGERON. I will not do it any more.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I do not wish to hamper anybody, but I simply say it has not been my practice—hon. gentlemen opposite, of course, will adopt a practice of their own. I say that if parliament endorses this proposition, it will be the duty of every member of the government to see to the application of it in connection with all contracts in his department. And so, whether the former resolution has been wholly carried out or only partly, has nothing to do with the proposition before us. In fact, if it has not been well lived up to, the more reason why attention should be drawn to that fact, and why we should endeavour to live up to the sweeping measure which is now before the House.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). With the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Mulock's) permission, I would like to ask him a question. I see that this is made to apply not only to public works undertaken by the government itself, but also to all works aided by grant of Dominion public funds. In the case of a railway company which has a Dominion subsidy, and has given a contract to a contractor; now does the hon. minister hope to compel that contractor to pay the current rate of wages in the locality?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I think there would be no practical difficulty in enforcing the conditions in the case my hon. friend (Mr. Sproule) refers to. It is not necessary, as I mentioned before, to proceed in detail to show how I would enforce the law, but I think it could be very readily done. Before the railroad drew its subsidy it could be required to prove to the satisfaction of the government of the day that it had paid the wages that this resolution calls for, and failing that, it would not be entitled to the subsidy. In the Post Office Department we have a condition under which the rate of wages is set forth in the contract itself; and at the end of each month when the contractor sends in his account for the month's work or the month's goods supplied, he is also obliged to furnish proof of the wages paid during that month; he is obliged to furnish statutory declarations of those in his service who actually know the money was paid, and unless that proof is forthcoming, he does not become entitled to his pay.

Mr. SPROULE. Does that apply to parties getting contracts to carry the mails, or who are obliged to employ others?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. No, it does not. Contracts for carrying the mails are let under the Post Office Act, under provisions which have been in force for many years, and were left to me as a legacy by my predecessors. I have tried to live up to the law that they left, and if there is anything wrong with that law, it is open to any hon. gentle-

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man to suggest an amendment, and I am sure parliament will redress any wrong.

Mr. FOSTER. Except in the matter of franking.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Well, if the matter of franking had to be dealt with, I think the hon. gentleman would come in for a very severe criticism. When the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) put a question to me, I was about to indicate the far-reaching effect of this measure, even though in law it does not extend beyond government contracts, and we have no power to extend it beyond our government contracts. But what will be the effect of the example of the Dominion parliament passing this legislation? I think you will find other legislative bodies in Canada doing likewise. I think we may fairly expect that in due time every legislative body, be it high or low, legislatures of the provinces, legislatures of cities, municipal governments of cities, towns, townships and villages—you will find them one by one following suit, and ultimately, as the education proceeds in the direction of this resolution, you will find employers of labour as well adopting the principle, and at present many of them do all that is required of them. So the ultimate effect of the adoption of this resolution in parliament will be far-reaching, will extend beyond the mere contracts that this government may directly or indirectly make, and I think will bear fruit throughout all walks of life. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to extend my remarks. I feel that the measure itself speaks more eloquently in its own favour than I could do; and with these observations I beg to move the resolution which is now in your hands.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). I am sure that the House has noticed with what stumbling and hesitation the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) has moved his resolution. He is unused to his work, I am afraid it is not a congenial occupation to him, nor one that has occupied his attention very much in the past. For four years this government have been in power, and with the general election certainly not very far off, he suddenly takes the interest of the workingman and the labourer so dearly to his heart that he has to bring in a resolution which, he says, is going to be a boon to the workingman and a boon to the mechanic. Well, if this is such an excellent thing, if it is a good thing that the government should regulate the pay which men are to receive in government contracts, the pay which is to be given to men employed by the government, I would like to ask the Postmaster General why he does not apply that to the Post Office Department over which he presides. I have the information, Mr. Speaker, that some few days ago a contract was let to carry the mails from Wood-

bridge station to Woodbridge post office, a certain number of times per day. I am told that the distance travelled is seven and a half miles, and as I have travelled that road frequently myself, I should think it is a very moderate estimate of the number of miles travelled per day by the mail carrier. Yet, Sir, what does he get? Under the rule laid down by the Postmaster General in this resolution which he asks us to adopt, every man working for the government is to get a fair remuneration for his labour. This man travels to carry the mails seven and a half miles per day, it will take him to carry those mails, not counting the delays of the trains and other delays, about three hours per day, and for these three hours he gets the magnificent sum of 21½ cents per day; 7 cents per hour is sufficient for the mail carrier at Woodbridge under the regulations of the Postmaster General. But the Postmaster General may answer, as he has already answered, that this was done under a law of his predecessors, and that it is open to any member of the House to have that law changed. It is open for the Postmaster General to have a law changed over which he has control, and which he cannot defend. Where is the Postmaster General to-day in relation to this man working at the rate of 7 cents per hour, taking up a portion of his day, making everything else subservient to this 21½ cents for three hours or more per day? If he takes four hours, which I have no doubt he frequently will, he will have less than 5½ cents per hour, and the Postmaster General thinks that is an admirable thing. Then take the carrying of the mails from Pine Grove to Woodbridge post office. The mail carrier there travels two long miles, and he receives for that the magnificent sum of 9 cents and a fraction per day. Now, I would like to ask the Postmaster General if that is carrying out the principle which he says he is going to adopt of a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. I would like to ask the Postmaster General if that is giving fair play to those who carry the mails. But he may answer: Oh, that is by public tender, and therefore if the person chooses to work for less than his labour is really worth, it is his own lookout. Well, the same argument would apply to the working-man and the mechanic.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

Mr. WALLACE. Wait till I get through. If you are to apply the rule that a mechanic is not to have open and free competition, that there is to be no interference between employer and employee, then it would be fair to say that the same thing should take place between the Post Office Department and a mail carrier. But, if the government is going to step in and say that every one employed by the government is to receive fair remuneration, is to receive fair pay for the work that he does, then, I contend that

the same rule must apply to those who are carrying the mails throughout the country. Well, we find all over the country, I do not care where you go, the same utter disregard of the rules of fair-play manifested by the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock). Take up the Postmaster General's Report, look anywhere in it, I do not care at what page, at the details of payments made for the transport of the mails, and what do you find? Take for instance, Maple and Vellore, a distance of 11½ miles, travelled six days in the week for \$150 a year, or less than 48 cents per day. Forty-eight cents per day will hardly keep the horse and rig that will have to be used to travel this 11½ miles. It will take some hours to do that, it will call for the use of a conveyance, and the man who performs that service gets for it less than 48 cents a day. You can go through the whole of these pages, and you will find the same utter disregard of fair-play and fair treatment, by the hon. Postmaster General, of those whom he has employed to carry the mails in this country. Yet, when it comes to dealing with great railway corporations, we do not find that their pay is cut down, we do not find that investigations are held as to whether they are receiving too much for the services which they perform for the government. The hon. minister himself, undertook an investigation when he came into power, as to whether the railway companies were receiving too much; he undertook to make a thorough investigation as to the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars that were paid to railway corporations for the carriage of mails. What was done with that investigation? The hon. minister started it, he spent money upon it, but, he never pursued it. Why? Because railways are powerful corporations and he was afraid to investigate the affairs of the railways, but he could pursue a poor man who is carrying the mail for \$70 or \$100, he could get half a dozen others to compete with him and get the work done for 5 cents, 6 cents, or 7 cents per hour, although he declares that men should receive 15 or 20 cents an hour for work done for the government. That only needs to be exposed to show the utter hypocrisy of the hon. gentleman—

An hon. MEMBER. Order.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. Oh, let him go on.

Mr. WALLACE. Let him go on! I am saying nothing but what I have a right to go on with, and I am not asking anybody's permission. There is nothing that shows the utter hypocrisy and the utter insincerity of that resolution, proposed as it is to-day, than the fact that the hon. gentleman has been utterly ignoring it in his own department. Yet, the hon. gentleman is sent here to-day to propose this resolution. What does this resolution say? It says, that, not

only those employed by the government are to receive these rates of wages, but that government contractors are to give fair pay. The hon. gentleman is asked: How are you going to apply this resolution, and he says: We will apply it by saying that the contractor must give the rate of wages of the locality in which the work is being done. How are you going to ascertain what the rate of wages is? Take, for instance, the building of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. What were the wages of that locality? There were no railways there; there was nothing to go on; there was no knowledge of what railway building cost in that country, because there never had been a railway built there up to that time, and the contractor had no basis upon which to go, and fixed the rate himself. Suppose that a public building is to be erected in the city of Toronto, that a number of stonecutters are employed to cut stone for the building, that the rate of wages in the city of Toronto is from 30 cents to 40 cents per hour, and that the hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Gibson) has the contract. If he gives the Toronto rate of wages for stonecutters he will have to pay 40 cents an hour, but, he says: I have a stone quarry in Lincoln, an excellent one, I will bring my stonecutters to Lincoln where the rate of wages is 25 cents an hour for stonecutters, and I will cut the stone down there. Therefore, he gets his work done for 25 cents an hour in Lincoln, while he would otherwise have to pay 40 cents an hour, being the regulation wages in Toronto which just shows that if there was any intention to have fair-play carried out under this resolution there is a way that it can be evaded. There is another point; we have the hon. Postmaster General posing as the champion of the workingman. As I said, this is a new role for the hon. gentleman. It does not fit him very well when we recall how he has treated the letter carriers of this country, the men immediately under his own control. These men were engaged under certain conditions; there was to be a statutory increase which, the government may say that they had not the power to give or withhold, but, at any rate, the power had always been exercised of giving these men the statutory increase that the law permitted. The hon. gentleman came into power and stopped this statutory increase for three years. I am told that now, in the face of an election, he is giving the statutory increase to these letter carriers, but, what about the three years they have lost? Does he propose to make that up? Not one bit of it. These poor letter carriers, living on low wages, under high expenses in the cities, barely able to live, have been abandoned. Take the case of the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Pater-son), and that of the Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière); they were under salaries of \$5,000 per annum as Minister of Customs and as Minis-

Mr. WALLACE.

ter of Inland Revenue respectively. Under the statutes of the land which gave them that amount, but, last year, we found that their salaries were to be increased, from \$5,000 to \$7,000 a year. What more did we find? We found, that, contrary to the course that had been taken with the letter carriers, in the case of the hon. Minister of Customs and the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue, their salaries were to be made retroactive and they were not only to receive pay for the year that was to come, and for which the estimates provided, but they were to receive pay for the past two years, I think.

Mr. COCHRANE. Is that so?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, that is true. And the two ministers, the Minister of Customs and the Minister of Inland Revenue, who, under the statute, were receiving \$5,000 a year and no more, were given an increase, and the increase was made retroactive for the past two years, so as to give them \$7,000 a year, although they had made a solemn contract with the government and with the people of Canada, through an Act of parliament, that they should receive \$5,000 per annum and no more. That was utterly unjustifiable, but it shows how the ministers of the Crown look after themselves and how they neglect to look after the workingmen, the letter carriers, and those others who deserve, at any rate, fair-play and fair treatment from the government. For myself, being a workingman, and always having been, I have the greatest sympathy with any proposal that may be made to improve the condition of the great working classes of this country. I shall do all in my power to assist in improving the condition of the workingmen of this country, but I do not apprehend that there will be much help afforded them by the resolution proposed by the Postmaster General, unless he commences right at home by giving fair-play to the letter carriers throughout the Dominion, and by giving fair-play to those who carry the mails. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock) boasts that he has saved several hundred of thousands dollars on the carriage of mails. Why, he ought to be ashamed to grind down those poor men the way he did by asking them to carry the mails for almost nothing. It may be said that a man need not take a contract to carry the mails if he does not want to; but the same argument could be used against the artisans and workingmen throughout this Dominion. If the Postmaster General says that the workingmen throughout the country should receive fair consideration, then he is bound to give liberal and proper treatment to those who carry the mails and to the letter carriers in the service of the country. The Postmaster General does not propose to do that, and therefore in bringing forward this humbug resolution—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. How am I out of order?

Mr. SPEAKER. You cannot use the word 'humbug resolution.'

Mr. WALLACE. It is not a humbug resolution then. Well, Mr. Speaker, if you decide that that is not a proper word to apply to it, I will have to hunt around for another word to express my idea of what it is. We will assume for the moment that the minister is sincere in this resolution, but if he is sincere he is bound to carry his principle into effect in every branch of the Post Office Department, which he controls, and he is bound to do so without a moment's delay. Why did not the Postmaster General do this during the four years he has been in power? Well, I will tell you. The moment the government see they are going out of power, they see that they have lost their grip on the country, then like drowning men catching at straws, they think of the workingmen of Canada, and they make this vain attempt to impress the people that they are conferring a benefit on the workingmen.

Mr. PETER MACDONALD (East Huron). I wish, Sir, to express my endorsement of the resolution introduced by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock). The government deserves credit for proposing this resolution, and irrespective of politics it is in the interests of the great working class of this great Dominion, that we should all support it. We are interested in the well-being of the workingmen who toil long and continuously for a bare living, and whatever mistakes there may have been in the past, this resolution at all events lays down a principle upon which the government will act in the future. It would appear to me that the quarrel of the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) is with the Postmaster General and not with the principle of this resolution. Let me ask him does he deny that this principle will work well in the interests of the class of people which he pretends to support? Will it not go a long way in the future, in helping the government to secure justice for the workingmen? Will it not impress contractors when they are tendering for public works, that they must tender at such a price as will enable them to pay proper wages to the workingmen under them—and we know that a great deal of injustice has been done in the past in this respect, in the letting of sub-contracts. The Postmaster General is charged with being dilatory in introducing such a measure as this; but if you look over the history of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock) you will find that he brought this question before the House some years ago, and that, in fact, he appointed a commissioner to go to the cities of Montreal, Hamilton and Toronto, to ascertain to what extent this sweating system was in operation. If

we believe the facts set forth in that report, and we have no reason not to believe them, we must conclude that there is a sad condition of things prevailing under the contract system.

Mr. INGRAM. In what year was that commission appointed?

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). About two years ago, I think. It was shown by the report of that commissioner that women worked from sixteen to eighteen hours a day, and at the end of the six working days that they only earned from \$2 to \$4. Is it not time that such a crying evil should be put an end to? When we know that the original contractors make large profits, is it not time to put an end to their giving such pittance to those who do the work? My hon. friend (Mr. Wallace) charged the Postmaster General with establishing a low scale of prices for carrying the mails, but the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) must remember that a large proportion of the people who carry the mails from the stations to the post offices, have other employment, and that in many cases they go to the railway trains for other purposes and simply carry the mails on their way back.

Mr. WALLACE. I quoted cases where these people were carrying mails and doing nothing else.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). Very Well. Do you suppose, Mr. Speaker, that any person would spend the whole day for 21 cents—the amount mentioned by the hon. member for West York—in such prosperous times as we have now? How can it be explained that a man who is capable of carrying the mails from one point to another, would give his time for 21 cents a day when in any other occupation in the town or village he could earn \$1 per day? That is something the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) has not explained, and it is something I cannot understand. Whether the sample case he cited be true or not, we all know that in the majority of cases the mail carriers take parcels and merchandise, and in many cases they simply run their busses to the trains, and they take the mail back in the bus and throw it off at the post office. The cases he cited do not at all prove the rule. Is it not also true that these mail carriers tender by contract, and that there are others standing by to say: If you do not do it at that price, I will? If one man tenders to do the work for \$10, and another man tenders to do the same work for \$10.50 would the government be justified in saying to the man who tenders for \$10: We think you have not tendered sufficiently high and therefore we will give you \$20? Would not hon. gentlemen opposite speak very loudly in condemnation of the action of the government, if they would do anything of that kind? I think that would be

the very line of argument the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), would take, because he condemns the minister for not taking it. Now, we must remember that there is a duty devolving upon us; and however much we may criticise each other on political questions, that should not interfere with our trying to establish a line of action by which the labouring classes of this country will receive a fair compensation for their labour. The history of contracts and sub-contracts in the past does not show that the labouring man has received justice. Therefore, I think the acceptance of this resolution should be unanimous, and that both parties should seek to give as much advantage, as much justice, as much freedom and as much money as possible to the labouring classes of Canada.

Mr. T. CHASE CASGRAIN (Montmorancy). I have a very few words to add to what has already been said on the resolution now submitted to the House. It seems to me that it is not a practical resolution at all. It is one of those academic resolutions which we have been accustomed for some time past, to receive from the government, in evident preparation for the elections which are imminent. What is the practical effect of the resolution before the House? It says:

That all government contracts should contain such conditions as will prevent abuses, which may arise from the sub-letting of such contracts, and that every effort should be made to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen.

Now, what are these efforts which are to be made, and how are they to be binding on the government, or on anybody else? I could have understood it if the hon. Postmaster General had announced that a Bill would be introduced, founded on this resolution; but I did not understand him to say that a Bill would be based on this resolution. This does not seem to be the programme of the government. The resolution is simply the expression of an opinion that in future, the government, and the different departments should mete out justice to workmen; but, upon whom will this resolution be binding? Will it be binding on the government? It seems to me that if the resolution emanated from the government itself, if it were a declaration of policy by which the government were to stand, it should be introduced, not by the Postmaster General, who is certainly not the labour minister in the government, but by the Premier. Now, is a Bill to be based on this resolution? If not, it is not binding upon anyone. It is not binding on the successors of the government. They will simply see this resolution in the Votes and Proceedings of the House; but there is no penalty attached to the giving of a contract which does not provide for justice being done to

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the workmen. Therefore, it seems to me, that this is simply an academic resolution, which is forced on the attention of the House at this stage, probably, because the government have nothing ready for the House to work upon. On the other hand, it seems to me there are laws already in this country, which should be enforced before we should be called on to pronounce on this resolution. Every one knows that two or three years ago, an alien labour law was proposed in this House, and, after a great deal of opposition on the government side, a so-called alien labour law was passed. I remember, having been a member of the committee to which that Bill was referred, that the strongest opposition was offered to it at every step. It was rendered almost useless; and to-day, if the reports we hear are true, the law is not working, and it is almost impossible to put it in force.

Mr. M. K. COWAN (South Essex). Would the hon. gentleman permit me to ask him one question? He says that by the action of the committee, the Bill was rendered almost useless. Comparing it with the American law, will the hon. gentleman explain how he arrives at the conclusion, that it was rendered almost useless?

Mr. CASGRAIN. When the Bill came before the committee, we tried to make it exactly the same as the American law, but the gentlemen on that committee representing the other side of the House, opposed this strongly, so that we could not pass such a law. Our argument was, that with the friendly relations existing between the two countries, we should have reciprocity in these laws, as we were trying to obtain reciprocity between the two countries on other subjects.

Mr. COWAN. I do not think the hon. gentleman understood the point I was trying to get at. What was the difference that was made between the American law and the Canadian law?

Mr. CASGRAIN. The difference, amongst others, if I remember rightly, was that before our law could be put into execution, considerable red tape had to be used, and permission had to be obtained from the Department of Justice here. That is the great difference between the alien labour law of the United States, and the law on our statute-book. If my hon. friend is sincere, not only should he introduce a Bill based on this resolution, so that it would be binding upon himself and the government for all time to come, unless it were repealed by the House, but he should have gone a step further. There are other and greater abuses from which the labouring man suffers. For instance, here is a contractor who has a large contract from the government, and he sub-lets the contract or himself hires workmen to do the work. The contractor gets

money from the government, but he does not pay his men, and there is no recourse for these men, if the contractor becomes insolvent, because they cannot seize the moneys due to the contractor in the hands of the government. This is a hardship on the labouring man. This is an abuse that should be rectified by the government; and if the hon. gentleman is sincere, he should have put into his resolution a declaration by which the government also bound itself to protect the honest workingman against the dishonest contractor. When a contractor becomes insolvent, the labouring man and the man who furnished the material he used in his contract, have to go without their pay. Why did not the hon. gentleman, while he was at it, introduce into his resolution something which would correct this abuse? There is another and most interesting problem which faces us every day. It is the workingman's hours of labour. Every one knows that the labour associations throughout this country, are in favour of eight hours a day. I am not ready, not having studied the question profoundly enough, to pronounce on this problem, which not only excites the curiosity and the study of men in this country, but which has set men thinking, in all other countries of the world. It seems to me, however, that when a man has toiled eight hours in the day, that is enough, and that should be regarded as the standard hours of labour for workingmen. If the government were going to introduce such a resolution, why did they not take up all these subjects? Why did they not propose something practical? Why did they not come to the rescue of the workingman in a practical manner?

There is another subject, which is most important, upon which there are discussions before our courts of law every day. That is, a subject of compensation for accidents. Every day accidents occur owing to defective machinery. Defective machinery is put up because it costs less, and contractors very often—I know there are notable exceptions and I see some around me—want to make out of the labouring men all they can, and will put them to work on machinery which is not provided with the necessary safeguards, or is defective in some other respect. A workingman loses an arm or is injured in some other manner. What happens? He has to sue the contractor for compensation. A mass of evidence is generally adduced in such cases, and the contractor will take the case from one court to another until he secures a judgment in his favour. Supposing a judgment in favour of the workingman is reversed or modified in appeal, the workingman will have to carry that judgment to the Supreme Court. This entails heavy expense. He has to get all the evidence and documents printed, which sometimes will cost from \$300 to \$500. Under the circumstances, it is almost impossible for a workingman to appeal to the

Supreme Court, and he is obliged either to give up his suit or accept in compensation a sum which is not at all an indemnity for the injury he has suffered. We all know that in England there is a compensation law for workingmen, which does not work very well, but still is an improvement on what existed before. In France, a contractor—whether a government or a private contractor—is obliged to insure the lives and limbs of those who work under him. This is an obligation imposed upon him by law, and it seems to me the time has come in Canada when we should have such a law for the protection of our working people. Of course, I quite understand that doubt would arise whether this parliament has jurisdiction, because, to a certain extent, we would be interfering with private rights, and such a law would probably be within the scope of the legislatures of the different provinces. But, it seems to me it would be quite competent for the government to have made this resolution more practical by providing that it would also be obligatory upon government contractors to insure the lives and limbs of workingmen employed on government works. This would be a practical step in the right direction.

If this resolution is to be binding on anybody, it should contain some declaration regarding the seizure of moneys in the hands of the government or the keeping back of subsidies until the wage-earners and those who furnished material are fully paid what was due them.

It should also contain some condition as to the hours of labour during which workingmen would be required to work on government contracts, and also a declaration of principle as to the compensation to be given to workingmen for injuries suffered by them when labouring on government contracts.

If the resolution had contained these matters, it would be more acceptable, but, as it stands to-day, it is simply a resolution—if I may be permitted to say so—of clap-trap, to enable hon. gentlemen opposite to say to the workingmen: Just see what friends of the labouring classes we are. But they were careful not to put into your hands, Mr. Speaker, a practical resolution which would be of any advantage to the workingmen of this country.

Mr. D. C. FRASER (Guysborough). There is nothing to prevent the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) moving in all the directions he has indicated, and he can very easily prevent the government making any political capital out of this resolution by getting his friends to vote unanimously for it, and it will then be the opinion of the whole House. The hon. gentleman wants two other things brought about. One of those things he admits himself does not come under the jurisdiction of this House, and the second he has not made up his mind about. But the eight-hour labour day,

though he is not committed to that principle, he wants included in this resolution. In what position would he be to vote on the eight-hour principle if he has not made up his mind about it? He should be thankful that the government have not brought down a matter on which he has not come to a conclusion. As to the other matter, I think he will admit, as a lawyer, that this parliament cannot move in the direction of compensation to workingmen. It is very doubtful whether we can go beyond imposing such fines as could be collected. In the province of Nova Scotia we have, with very few changes, Lord Campbell's Act, and it may be a question whether the \$5,000 mentioned in that Act is sufficient, but that is for the local legislature to decide.

But what gives me great pleasure in supporting this resolution is, that although everything possible in the imagination of man is included in it, it furnishes groundwork of the very best character. I am not like the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), a workingman myself, although I think, I am just as much a workingman as he is. Every man who labours is a workingman, in the proper sense of the term, but this term is by custom specifically applied to those who do manual labour for a daily wage and who depend on that wage for a living. There is a question which, whether we like it or not, is forcing itself on the attention of this House and parliament as of all others, and that is, the relation between labour and capital. I have no hesitation in saying that every man who labours should not only receive a wage, but should receive a wage equivalent to the labour he performs. Labour is the foundation of all wealth, there is no wealth without it, and that government is wise which will recognize that the only source of wealth is the one upon which we ought to legislate. While I admit that the difficulties are many in respect of legislation in that direction, whilst I admit that men of much greater wisdom than myself differ from me in that respect, and that we must, before we come to conclusions, have a good deal of enlightenment, I think there can be no question whatever on this point, that if we legislate wisely we will legislate, not in the direction of simply pampering the man that labours, but of making his labour as effective as possible and giving him a return as large as possible for the betterment of his condition in life.

Now, this resolution lays down a principle. I am not over-anxious, at this stage, whether, in every respect, the words of this resolution are as complete as those of an Act of parliament. I have no regard for the question as to whether other things should have been included. For my part, if we are moving in the right direction in this matter, I am satisfied, for one day, to get a good resolution that will recognize the right of the men who labour for the government in

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this country to receive a satisfactory wage, and that will declare that no contractor under the government or on a work subsidized by the government shall receive a dollar upon that contract until he has shown that he has paid every cent of wages due for the labour that has made that work profitable for the government. I want the contractor to make as much as possible, but, if I can help it, he shall not receive public money until he has honestly paid for the labour that has honestly been done for him. He may make as much as he likes in competition with the world. He may make 20, or 30, or 40 per cent out of the work for the government if he gets the contract in open competition; but the government must be in a position to pay the workmen his wages, if the contractor does not, taking it out of the money due to the contractor. Matters of detail are small matters after all. I have confidence that the government will carry out the principle. Hon. gentlemen opposite do not seem to have that confidence. But, for my part, I believe that any government in this country will carry it out, because, back of the men who form governments, back of the men who come to parliament, there is a force that will compel the carrying out of this rule. Even for the future—a future that is not so near as the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) speaks of when he tries to be funny over the misfortunes of his party, but when after these gentlemen are gathered to their fathers, the Conservative party comes into power again, I am willing to trust to a Conservative government to carry out this principle. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) does not show by his speech whether he is in favour of the workingmen in this matter or not. He talks about the form of the resolution and seems to be very anxious about that. I submit that this resolution speaks for itself. I care not, for my part, whether or not this will bring any credit to the government. I am much more anxious that this resolution shall have an effect in benefiting those who are more important to the country than all governments, the wage-earners. I would like to see the members of this parliament unite in declaring that protection should be afforded, so that no man can leave this country without leaving enough to pay his workmen, and that no men can live in this country who had obtained the labour of honest men and will not pay for that labour.

Mr. CASGRAIN. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fraser), allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Yes.

Mr. CASGRAIN. Does the hon. gentleman think that the resolution covers the point he has just touched?

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Most certainly.

Mr. CASGRAIN. The government will retain in its hands any money to pay the wage-earner if the contractor is not disposed—but does the hon. gentleman think that the government would have the right to do that under the law?

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Most certainly.

Mr. CASGRAIN. No.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Surely, if a contract is made, the parties to that contract are bound by it. And if the government make it a part of the contract, as they would, that they might pay the labouring man if the contractor did not, surely, that would be good law.

Mr. CASGRAIN. But there is nothing in the resolution that says so.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). But is the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casgrain) going to ask that every word of every clause of the contract shall be before us? Is he not going to leave a little margin for those in authority, whether Liberal or Tories, to prepare their contracts in the direction indicated by the resolution?

After all, I am afraid that these points that are being raised are being raised simply out of a desire to indicate that this government will not carry out what is professed in this resolution. But, surely there are some things upon which we can agree. I think that hon. gentlemen opposite ought to have agreed that the preferential tariff is a good thing. In their wisdom they decided not to accept that, and they may be much wiser than I am. But surely upon this one thing we can agree, this thing which deals with the rights and interests of the very heart and soul of this Dominion, the rights of the wage-earners. We may say that this resolution does not go far enough; but, for my part, I am glad to accept the resolution, because it lays the foundation for every future contract made by the government, and affords security for the men who labour. I have had some little experience in these matters. I remember a contract in Nova Scotia on a work in which the provincial government were interested. The contractor under the government dealt with sub-contractors, and the result was that many of the workmen were left unpaid. And, so strong was the feeling in the province at the shameful wrong committed upon these people, that the government was compelled to pay to the tune of \$35,000 or \$40,000 to make good the deficiency. Of course, they got the money back when the Dominion government took over the road. I remember, when two or three years ago, an Act relating to a railway in Hamilton was before this House in committee—

An hon. MEMBER. The Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Yes; and I remember that I had the honour, helped by other members, of moving and insisting that it should be part of the very Bill they were then getting that they should pay the labourers who had been left unpaid under a previous contract. And they had to pay them. I would like very well that a well-worded resolution should be passed relating to the questions to which the hon. gentleman has referred. But we can only move forward step by step—

Mr. INGRAM. Snail's step.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I am much better pleased to move at a snail's pace and get there, like the snail, than to turn, like the hon. gentleman (Mr. Ingram), and not get there. The snail gets there. I am willing to move as fast as anybody; still I thank God for any step that recognizes that labour should be protected. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Ingram) came here as a special representative of labour. But has he moved in this direction? Not a step.

Mr. INGRAM. Yes, he has much more so than the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fraser, Guysborough.)

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I am taking no credit to myself. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Ingram) has not answered me. He never moved in the direction proposed by this resolution. He had the opportunity of doing so. He was sent here specially as the exponent and spokesman of these men. I am not saying that he has done less than I have, but I only say that it does not lie with him to say a word against any step taken by the government or any member of it, or any member of the House in this direction. I do not claim that I have done anything special in this direction. I do not say I have been sent here specially as an exponent of the views of the workingmen, nor am I here to take credit in that direction. The county that I represent are all workingmen, but not of the class who receive the greatest benefit from this resolution. The hon. member for West York amused me with the position he took. He seemed to think he answered the resolution, when he attempted to show that the Postmaster General had done something that was not right. That style of debate is obsolete in the country I come from. The Postmaster General may have attempted to screw his own employees down to the last cent; but what has that to do with this resolution? I would advise the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) to read the New Testament, where a similar point was raised once upon a time. What is the difference where this resolution comes from. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) discusses whether the proposer of the resolution is honest. I care not whether a man is honest or dishonest;

if the resolution he proposes is a good resolution, I will vote for it.

Mr. WALLACE. Give us the quotation.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I tell the hon. gentleman to do that. But, if the hon. gentleman does not know what the words of St. Paul were, I will tell him. They were in this sense: Although one preached with envy and another with strife, he rejoiced as long as the gospel was preached. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), will find those words in the volume which he, no doubt, possesses. My reference was a proper one to St. Paul, a man who lived about 2,000 years ago, and was noted in his day, and has ever since held a high place among those who profess their faith in that which is good, or who have respect for one of the greatest, if not the greatest, intellects that ever existed. If the resolution is a good one, he need care little about where it comes from, nor about the acts performed by the man who produces the resolution. All that we need to look after is to see that it is a step in the right direction. I admit that it does not contain all that I would like to see contained in it. But, I would be a fool to oppose it, because it does not go as far as I would like. Hon. gentlemen may say that certain words would make it stronger. Well, every hon. gentleman has an opportunity to move an amendment to make it stronger; but let not any of them make that suggestion without following it up by action.

Now, I want to emphasize what was said by my hon. friend to my right, that the effect of the resolution is going to be of the greatest possible advantage to the people of this Dominion. Every one who has paid attention to the labour question and to the important problems that are beyond it, recognizes the fact to-day, that capital is of necessity better able to look after itself than labour is; that the man who is a contractor or the man who hires labour, can of necessity, do much more to help himself, and to prevent another man from helping himself, than the labourer can. Now, I do not think that labour wants any special laws passed in its favour, to help it against anybody else; but, it does claim that because the revenues to which the member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain), referred are small, therefore, this parliament ought to see to it that the labourer should not be obliged to take a portion of those revenues to fight a battle in his own defence. Labour asks nothing but a fair field and no favour; but labour demands in this country, and must eventually receive, the recognition that no man shall use his power or his money to prevent a labourer getting full return for honest work. This resolution goes quite a distance in that respect, and, I think, its unanimous passage, will do much in this country, not to raise wild ideas among

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough).

labour agitators, but to give satisfaction to the men who do the labour. So far, at least, as all contracts in which the government is concerned, it will secure the rights of the labourer, and will teach the people of this country who enter into contracts, that it is wise for themselves to include in those contracts just such a stipulation as this.

I believe that capital would increase much faster, if honest labour was honestly dealt with. I believe no man who ever made a contract, and did not pay his labourers, ever had a plethora of shekles at the end of his life. I believe that when labour is honestly paid, and when every contractor will insist that that should be done, the people of this country will enjoy the full benefits which will flow from every labourer receiving a proper reward for his labour, and we will no longer see so many men going around seeking employment. Aye, more. I believe the day will come—and every step, thank God, is in that direction—when, not only will labour receive the remuneration to which it is entitled, but in the development of the relations between capital and labour, more will be given to labour than the mere wage, and capital will understand that labour well paid contributes more to the accretion of capital. I believe that. I feel satisfied that fruit will come of the suggestions long ago made, and in which some of the large capitalists, particularly in France, have already embarked, namely, that there should be a return of profit to the labourer after capital is properly recognized, and paid; that labour should enjoy a certain proportion of the results as well as capital. Now, believing that, I am thankful to the Postmaster General for bringing in this resolution. If he appears in a new role—and I will not quarrel about that, I do not think he does—all the better. We should all be thankful for one move in a right direction, when a man leaves the things that are behind, and looks forward to the things that are before. We should all feel thankful that men are moving in a direction different from the one in which they have hitherto moved; and it ought to make hon. gentlemen opposite glad to know that, if what they said about the Postmaster General is true, he has now changed for the better.

I do trust that this resolution will pass unanimously, for it lays down the principle for all governments to follow in all their contracts of every kind. I read the report of that commission, too; and, all I have to say, is this, that if this world is to move to that betterment that every true citizen has in view, it can never do so while women are forced to work those long hours for the small returns that they get. It may not be possible, as I said, for us or for the local legislatures to pass legislation such as I would like to see in that direction. But, surely we can do this much, we can hold

up for the men who work, the hope that is only an instalment of what they are entitled to, and that with the growth that must come in an enlightened country like Canada, more will be forthcoming. I want to say in all frankness, that labour has often been injudicious as well as capital. I am bound to say that often the issues raised were not raised, either at the proper time, or with as much wisdom as they might be. But, I am not careful to hold labour responsible for all these things. Our people have to labour, and let us see, at least, that their homes are made more comfortable, and that not one cent of their day's wage or their week's wage, not one cent of their month's wage, or of their year's wage, should be kept from them, by which they may make their homes more comfortable. The member for Montmorency suggested a number of things that we might include in this resolution, if we had the power; but it would be incongruous. We have not yet advanced so far as we might, in the character of the buildings for our workmen. Some of the things to which the hon. gentleman referred, might be good, but, as I said before, they do not fit in with this resolution. This is a definite resolution about one thing, it calls upon the government to see that in every contract that they make, hereafter, the men shall receive all their wages; in the second place, it provides that the wage should be graduated, not upon the scale, such as men may have in their own minds, when they say: I come from a place where the wage is so much; but upon the scale of labour that prevails where they are operating. But it goes further, and it says, that not only in government contracts should the men be paid fairly, but that in all works to which parliament should grant a subvention, with any corporation to which this government may grant money, that rule should also prevail, and that the subvention should be held as a guarantee against the man or the company who receives it, until such time as he has paid his honest debts to those who worked. Viewing the resolution in that way, I am in favour of it. I know it will pass, I know that the better judgment of the members of the House is in favour of it. Let me repeat again that I do not wish, in anything I have said, to make it appear that I am asking for any particular glory for the man who introduces that resolution or for the man who supports it. It is a matter open to any hon. gentleman of this House, and I think every man should assist in its passage. Let us, at least, when it comes to a question so big as the labour problem of this country, forget that we are Grits or Tories, and lay down a rule that shall be universal in its application, and that shall give to those who need it, at least, the hope that when they work for the government they shall be paid. It is a mean thing for a man not to pay the men

who work for him, but it is a meaner thing than anything I know of for a government not to pay every honest dollar they contract to pay, and I submit, that we ought to make it an exceedingly difficult thing for any man who has a contract with the government, or a subvention to assist him in the operations in which he is engaged, not to pay his men, and we should insist that he should be compelled to pay his men what they are entitled to. For these reasons, and many others which I might give, I am strongly in favour of the resolution. Pass, I know it will, and let us be ready to take the next step in the direction indicated, or in any other direction that will make it less possible for those who will utilize labour for their own purposes, to make money out of it, and more difficult to obtain that labour without honest payment.

Mr. E. F. CLARKE (West Toronto). Mr. Speaker, I will only say half-a-dozen words on the resolution which has been presented to the House by the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock). I am heartily in accord with any resolution, or any legislation having for its object the improvement of the condition of the working classes of this country, and I approve any action that may be taken by parliament that will tend to the accomplishment of that object. If this resolution, which has been moved by the hon. Postmaster General, will accomplish that end, I am entirely in sympathy with it, but, I must confess, that I was somewhat surprised at the answer given to the question put by the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain), whether it was the intention of the government to supplement this resolution by an Act which would provide penalties for the non-enforcement of the principle laid down, in answer to which the hon. Postmaster General said that the government had no such intention. It seems to me, in view of that statement, that this resolution of the government will be little more than a dead letter, and that if the government are honest, as I hope and trust the members of the government are honest, they will not hesitate, now that the suggestion has been made to them, to supplement this resolution by an Act of parliament which will define the conditions under which these labourers working on contracts for the government, or working for sub-contractors, shall be employed, and providing penalties for the non-enforcement of those conditions. It is significant, and it is an evidence of the influence which is exercised upon the legislative bodies of the Dominion of Canada to-day by organized labour, that this resolution of the hon. Postmaster General should find a place upon the Notice paper, on the very day, or on the day after, a deputation, representing the Dominion Trades and Labour Council, had waited upon him. If I am correctly in-

formed, the attention of the government was drawn, by that deputation, to the necessity of some such legislation as is proposed, or which may be embodied in the resolution. The attention of the government was also drawn to the government's scandalous neglect in connection with the non-enforcement of the Alien Labour Law, which was placed upon the statute-books of the country some two or three years ago with a great flourish of trumpets by hon. gentlemen opposite, but which, from that day to the present, has remained practically a dead letter. I feel constrained, from the experience I have had, and from the knowledge I have obtained as to the non-enforcement of that law, to say that this resolution will remain, practically, a dead letter, as the alien labour law has remained a dead letter, unless it is amplified and implemented by an Act of parliament providing for its enforcement, and which will not take an order in council to enforce, as the alien labour law does. When the government introduced the alien labour law, through the hon. member for Essex (Mr. Cowan), the right hon. Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), declared that the government were a unit in their desire to give the protection which it was proposed by the alien labour law to give to Canadian workmen. The Premier declared, in his place in this House, that the government were a unit as to this proposed legislation. He said :

There cannot be any doubt as to the position of the government upon this Bill. In fact, I do not know that it is at all advisable to prolong the debate any longer, because, so far as I can interpret the sentiment of the House, there is a unanimous feeling at this moment, whatever may have been the opinions held by members in the past, that the persistence of the American Congress in keeping upon the statute-book these very obnoxious clauses, leaves no alternative to the Canadian people but to apply the same themselves. . . .

The course adopted by our neighbours seems to me to leave no option to us but to apply to them the same measure of justice, or of injustice, as they applied to us.

These were strong words, they were noble words, and if effect had been given to them, if the alien labour law had been carried out, as the intention was that it should be carried out, and rigidly enforced, the working classes of Canada would not have had reason to complain, as they do at the present time ; and it will not be surprising if they look sideways at the resolution which the hon. Postmaster General has introduced to-day, having had the experience they have had since this government came into power, of their neglect to enforce the law upon which they declared all the members of the government were unanimous, and on which the members of this House were practically unanimous. The right hon. leader of the government declared the government were a unit in giving their support and encouragement to the Bill, but, it was neces-

sary before the Bill was crystallized into law, that it should receive the sanction of the Upper Chamber. What did we see there ? The spectacle was presented to us of a colleague of hon. gentlemen opposite, the hon. Secretary of State (Mr. Scott) denouncing, in the Senate, the very measure which the Premier, in this House, had declared, had received the unanimous approval of the government. I say that, when we take this fact into consideration, we have a right to inquire as to what the motives of the hon. Postmaster General are in introducing this resolution at this particular time. Speaking in the Senate, on the second reading of the Alien Labour Bill, the hon. Secretary of State said, as will be found in the Senate proceedings of June 19, 1897 :

I do not think it would be really wise to pass this Act. I do not think it is likely to be enforced, and when it is not enforced, it is a pity to place it on the statute-book, because it is not on a line with the views of the people of Canada.

Further on, he declared :

I should be sorry to see it on the statute-book, because I know it would be an idle Act.

His words were prophetic ; it has been an idle Act.

It would be an announcement that we were going to do it, and we would not do it.

Further on, he said :

I advise that it be dropped, because it is not a Bill which should be enforced.

Again :

Under this Act, persons can come in by the thousands, and it is only when a report is sent to the Attorney General and he makes inquiry, that any action would be taken ; and, of course, the party would by that time be absorbed in the community, and that would be the end of it. It is something which we do not propose to carry out.

These are opinions expressed by a member of the same government respecting this alien labour law ; and I say that the workmen of Canada, having had the experience that they have had for the past two years of the non-enforcement of the alien labour law, are entitled to demand from the hon. Postmaster General, if he is sincere in presenting this resolution to the House, that he shall implement, or supplement it with legislation which will enable the resolution to be carried into effect in actual practice. I propose, Mr. Speaker, with the permission of the House, to offer a slight amendment which I trust will be an improvement upon the resolution of the Postmaster General. It is in the line—going a little further—which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Mulock) has proposed, and I am satisfied that if the government will accept this amendment, it will give great satisfaction to the working classes, in whose interest I have no doubt this resolution has been presented. At all events, it will enable the

object of the resolution to be more efficiently carried out. Reference has been made by the Postmaster General to the propriety—we all agree in the remark—of paying a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and the hon. member from Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) also cordially supported that proposition. Sir, if the resolution embodying these principles is to have any influence and effect, the people of the Dominion have the right to expect from this government that they will, in so far as their own employees are concerned, give immediate effect to these principles. I am sorry to say that the Postmaster General has not done that to the extent we would have liked to see him do it, in the administration of his own department. What was practically a contract, was made with the civil servants in his department when they entered the public service, and I ask, has the Postmaster General carried out the terms and conditions of that contract under which these men accepted service under the Crown? Not at all. He has allowed under-paid and over-worked employees in his department—the letter carriers and the third-class clerks especially—to remain without receiving their statutory increase which the government practically promised and agreed to give them. These men have also been compelled to work without the usual advantage of holidays during the past two or three years, and at less remuneration than they thought they would receive, and that they were entitled to under the rule in existence when they entered the public service. If the Postmaster General is desirous that this resolution of his should be effective, then the amendment which I shall propose will, I have no doubt, be passed unanimously. If the hon. gentleman wishes that resolution to have the beneficial effect it should have, he must first set the example of giving a fair day's wage to his employees in the Post Office Department, and he should induce his colleagues in the other departments, if their employees are under-paid, to pursue a like course. The wages of labourers in the civic employment of the city of Toronto to-day—men who are not skilled, men who have not passed any examination—are fixed at a minimum of 15 cents per hour. The corporation of the city of Toronto years ago embodied in all its contracts a provision that men who were employed by contractors for municipal works should be paid a minimum wage of 15 cents per hour. Would it be believed, Mr. Speaker, that one-half, yes, two-thirds, yes, three-fourths of those who enter the mail service in the Post Office Department go in at a salary of \$25 per month, or less than \$1 per day. If the Postmaster General desires that we should give him the credit he thinks he is entitled to for introducing a resolution of this kind, he should set a good example by raising the wages of the men employed as letter carriers and third-class clerks. I

do not propose to take up the time of the House at any greater length, than to offer this amendment to the resolution :

And that the aforesaid policy shall be forthwith applied to every department of the public service, and to all parties now performing service for the government.

If the Postmaster General is in earnest in bringing about a new condition of things in so far as the rights of labourers on government contracts are concerned, and if hon. gentlemen opposite are so desirous, I am sure that they can have no objection to support the amendment which I have now proposed. I am satisfied that if they do so, the ideas of the Postmaster General can be better carried out, and that a greater measure of protection will be extended to those who are employed by contractors on government works than if the resolution remains unamended.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Read the amendment again.

Mr. CLARKE. I shall read the whole resolution as amended :

That it be resolved that all government contracts should contain such conditions as will prevent abuses which may arise from the subletting of such contracts, and that every effort should be made to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out, and that this House cordially concurs in such policy, and deems it the duty of the government to take immediate steps to give effect thereto. It is hereby declared that the work to which the foregoing policy shall apply includes not only work undertaken by the government itself, but also all works aided by grant of Dominion public funds.

Then my amendment will be added to that, and reads :

And that the aforesaid policy shall be forthwith applied to every department of the public service and to all parties now performing service for the government.

Mr. N. A. BELCOURT (Ottawa). I was not in the House, Mr. Speaker, and had not the advantage of hearing the remarks made by the Postmaster General. My intention was to support the resolution as introduced by the minister (Mr. Mulock), but I must say now, that I am prepared to support the resolution as amended by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke). I do not think anything can be added to what has already been said in support either of the resolution itself or of the resolution as amended. The hon. member from Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) spoke of a number of matters in reference to which this parliament certainly has no jurisdiction. The only possible addition to the resolution as introduced, and which it is competent for this parliament to make, is the addition which has been proposed by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Clarke). The question of eight or nine hours for a day's work ; the question of compensation

for loss of life or limb, and those other matters to which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casgrain) refers, are not within the competence of this parliament, and could not constitutionally be embodied in any resolution passed by us. These are matters with which the provincial legislatures have to deal, and I confess I was surprised that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Casgrain), who for several years was Attorney General of the province of Quebec, should even suggest that such matters as these could form part of this resolution. All that this parliament can do is to take action with reference to its own contracts. The other matters are absolutely within the purview of the provincial legislatures. This parliament can take means to secure to labourers payment for their work at current rates on government contracts, and I take it that the resolution of the Postmaster General, so far as labouring men in the proper sense of the word are concerned, would secure to them not only employment at current wages, but the payment of these wages as well. It is quite within the power of the different departments of the government which let out contracts for public works to insert in their contracts a clause that before the final estimate shall be paid on any contract, the contractor must satisfy the government that the labourers employed by him on that work have been paid their wages. The government can withhold any money due on the final estimate until the contractor has so satisfied the department. Though it is not expressed in the resolution, that is the object in view, and that object will be carried out by the heads of the different departments of the government. I said in opening my remarks that I was prepared to vote for the amendment, and I am prepared to vote for it on this ground. I congratulate the hon. Postmaster General on the solicitude and consideration which he has shown for the labouring men properly so-called; but I think the civil service of Canada are also entitled to a little more consideration than has been shown to them by this government. I have from my seat in this House, pleaded at different times on behalf of the civil service, as I am properly more responsible than any other member, for looking after their interests. As everybody knows, there are a very large number of that class in Ottawa, and I have felt for several years that the manner of granting statutory increases has not been such as I can approve of. I confess that I do not know yet, by what rule the government determine the right of any civil servant to the statutory increase. If it is a rule of proportion, I disapprove of it. A matter of that kind, which is a matter of justice and equity, cannot be determined by the rule of three. I do not propose to advance the legal argument; I do not think it is a very strong argument; the hon. member for West Toronto does, but I do not. I do not think the

Mr. BELCOURT.

civil service have a legal claim to the increase; but, speaking from my experience, which is a large one, I say that the great majority of the civil service are entitled to the statutory increase, as they would be entitled to an increase if working for ordinary business concerns. I have had a great deal to do with civil servants in the city of Ottawa, and I say, that as a rule, they are as painstaking, deserving and efficient a class as can be found in any other business or profession that I know of. I do not think that more than one-half of the civil servants have received their statutory increase during the last three years. I say I cannot approve of that, and, for that reason, I am prepared to support, with my vote, the amendment of the hon. member for Toronto West. Nor is that the only reason. If I had time, I could advance many other reasons why the system pursued by the government is not a proper one. One reason is that the fact of the statutory increase not having been granted to a large number of civil servants, has led to an enormous amount of political pressure, not only upon ministers, but upon members of this House, and, that is something from which, I think, the civil servants ought to be absolutely free. It does not tend to improve the civil service to force them, or to allow them to resort to outside political influences, in order to secure their statutory increase. That is a matter that should be left entirely in the hands of the heads of departments. It is a matter of which they alone should be the judges, and I, for one, though I have been pressed day in and day out, during the last three years, to approach this or that minister, and urge the granting of the statutory increase, I have, in every case, declined to do so, because I felt that I had no right to go to any particular minister to suggest to him the persons to whom he should give the increase. I was not in a position to know who deserved it, and, as the minister alone, had the responsibility, I declined to press the ministers in person. I have endeavoured to give my views on the subject in this House and outside, but without avail. But, I am compelled reluctantly to vote for the amendment. Not that I do not approve of the resolution. I think that resolution, as far as it goes, is all right. It will not only secure to the labouring man the current wage, but, I think, it will have the effect of forcing contractors to pay the wages of their men before they, themselves, are paid by the government. But, I support the amendment of the hon. member for Toronto West also, because it entirely meets my views with reference to the civil service. The greatest argument advanced in support of the manner of giving the statutory increases adopted by the government, is that the automatic process of giving them is a wrong one. I believe that is so. I admit that every man in the civil service should not get the sta-

tutory increase. I know from experience that there are some men in the service, who are not entitled to it, but that is a matter that is very easily ascertained from the head of the department. If a man is inefficient, indolent, or does not attend to his duties, the head of the department knows it, or ought to know it, and can enlighten his minister, if he chooses to do so. The government business is not different from any other business; it is only a matter of administration. I have a certain number of clerks in my office, and I know which of them is deserving, and which is not; and the head of a department can as easily acquaint himself with the value of his clerks, and report daily or weekly as to the condition of his staff. I admit that the automatic method is the wrong method of giving the increase, and the method adopted by this government is also one that I cannot approve of. For these and other reasons, I shall vote for the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Toronto West.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), found fault with the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), for the way in which he paid for the service of carrying the mails from the village of Woodbridge to the station. I find that the statement made by the hon. member, is incorrect. The allowance given for that service is \$95 a year, which is equal to over 30 cents a trip. That contract was renewed in 1895 without tender. No doubt, it was held by a friend and supporter of the hon. member for West York. Recently the Postmaster General submitted that contract for public tender, and there was a tender sent in to do the work for \$67 a year, which is equal to about 21 cents a day. I would like to know if the Postmaster General was not justified in accepting that tender. The hon. member for West York finds fault because the price for that service had been reduced. Whose fault is it? The Postmaster General's? Certainly not. It was let by public tender, and the man who undertook to do the work at the reduced price, has not carried the mail once. With regard to the civil service, they are a class that I have paid a very considerable attention to during the many years I have sat in this House. There is not a better paid class in Canada. I defy hon. gentlemen opposite to name any class in this Dominion as well paid. Take bank clerks, school teachers, clerks in commercial offices—take any class in the community, and you will not find one in which the average of the salaries is as high. The average salary of the civil servant living in Ottawa is \$1,197 per year. Neither in Montreal or Toronto nor any other city in Canada will you find any class whose pay averages that amount.

That being the condition of things, I think that the government was perfectly justified in refusing the statutory increase.

In my opinion the civil service should be recast from cellar to garret. There are a great many things about it I never could justify. I was very anxious that we should have had a board of supervisors to recast it, but that suggestion was not adopted. It would be absurd to augment the salaries of civil servants, in view of the condition that now exist. The country would not tolerate it. I am willing that every man should get a fair wage, but I am not willing that we should increase the wages of those who are already better paid than any other class in the community.

The hon. member for West Toronto said he would like the principle of this resolution applied to the letter carriers in the cities. I contend that the letter carriers do very light work, and the best evidence that they are well paid for the work they do is the fact that when one of them leaves you will find twenty or thirty applying to get the appointment. The letter carriers have the same salaries to-day as when this government came into power. Hon. gentlemen opposite fixed the salaries, and they have not since been changed. If they are paid too little now, they were paid too little before, and yet hon. gentlemen opposite were in office eighteen years and never offered to raise their pay. Under the circumstances, I do not think they are justified in asking that an increase should be given to-day.

I am in full accord with this resolution. It is a step in the right direction. We can well remember the case of the Hamilton, Toronto and Buffalo Railway. Those who laboured in the construction of that road would have been cut out of their wages were it not for the fact that the company had to come to parliament and apply for an amendment to its charter to enable it to draw the money it had earned from the city of Hamilton. The committee were informed that the company was in default to pay its labouring men their wages, and decided not to grant the relief asked for unless the railway company would give a positive guarantee that the labourers would be paid what was due them.

I entirely concur in the resolution introduced by the hon. Postmaster General, and I think the government deserve to be congratulated. I believe that the labouring classes will appreciate the move made by the hon. Postmaster General, and realize that the government is determined to come to the relief of the workingmen, and see that they are treated as they should be by government contractors.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). I rise simply to supplement the admirable speech and suggestion of my hon. friend from West Toronto (Mr. Clarke). And, as I am on my feet, I may be allowed to say that I have very little respect for imitative legislation. When statesmen proceed to legislate by imitation they make a great mistake, if they do not see to it that the conditions are on all fours; they are trying to put on the wise man's boots without catching his inspiration, and their work is incongruous and inconsequential. Now, my hon. friend, the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), has borrowed his resolution from Mr. Buxton, almost in the word. In 1891, Mr. Buxton proposed a resolution of this kind in the House of Commons of Great Britain. A resolution like this coming from a private member is most proper, because what it seeks to effect, could not, under the rules of the House be proposed as a Bill by a private member. But, Sir, you will see how ridiculous it is for a member of a government to come forward with a resolution of this kind, when that government has it in its power to do what is called for without any such resolution. It is a most extraordinary thing that it never entered the head of the members of this government in 1896, 1897, 1898 or 1899 to bring forward a resolution of this kind; but that they leave it to the very last session before they have to go to the country, to put this resolution on the paper, a resolution that, when passed, they themselves have no guarantee they will have anything to do with in carrying it out. Now, the resolution that was passed in England in 1891 did not, after all, effect the purpose that Mr. Buxton had in view. The consequence was that in 1896 Mr. Buxton moved that a committee be appointed to examine into the working of the resolution, and in the course of his speech, he used this language:

Under the old system, the course taken was a very simple one, because the lowest tender was usually accepted without any condition being made as to the terms in which the workers employed in carrying out the contract were to be treated. That system had given rise to a considerable amount of dissatisfaction on the part of certain persons employed in particular classes of labour, who complained of the way in which the resolution was administered. The question, no doubt, was beset with difficulties, but they were difficulties which might and ought to be overcome. In his view, the chief advantage of the appointment of a committee would be to smooth down those difficulties, and to place the principle laid down in the resolution upon a firmer basis.

And when the committee met, what was their conclusion? I have before me the report of that committee, presented according to an order of the House on July 22, 1897, six years after a resolution came into operation. After something good has been said about the resolution, the report proceeds:

Mr. McMULLEN.

At the same time, it must be noted that, as regards the Irish departments—

That is, the Irish departments of the government:

—the evidence points to the fact that it is only of late that any effective action has been taken to insert it in contracts or to carry out the resolution.

So that, for six years in one of the large portions of the three kingdoms that resolution had remained inoperative and almost a dead letter. And, in regard to the departments in England, here is what the report says:

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, in certain quarters, there exists a great lack of confidence in the ability or in the desire of some of the departments to enforce the spirit and letter of the resolution. It was alleged that there is no uniformity of interpretation or of administration; that many complaints are altogether ignored, and no inquiry made into them; that where inquiry takes place, it is often very perfunctorily made; that information is frequently only sought from one side, that of the employer, while the complainants are not consulted or kept informed of what is taking place; that the decision is thus too often not in accordance with the true facts of the case; that on occasion, the departmental promises of remedial action have not been fulfilled. Further, it is alleged that, in every case there is great delay and much circumlocution in dealing with complaints; that thus it frequently happens that in cases in which the department concerned ultimately admits the justice of the complaint and instructs the contractor to remedy the grievance, the inquiry has covered such a long period of time that, by then, the contract is almost altogether completed. The men are not benefited, and the contractor escapes all penalty or charge. Finally it is stated that so great is the want of confidence in the ability or desire of the department to remedy these grievances, that trades unions and other representatives of the men, despairing of obtaining proper consideration and redress, have allowed grievances to continue, being convinced of the futility of taking action in respect to them.

Now, what would a statesman have done in the position of my hon. friend the Postmaster General? In the first place, he would have remembered that he was in a different position from Mr. Buxton—he could have proposed a Bill, the very thing that Mr. Buxton could not do. And, with a report like this before him, he would have seen that the resolution passed in the English House of Commons had proved to be, in a great measure inoperative; and therefore, instead of doing the imitator, instead of coming here with the resolution of Mr. Buxton, he, being in the government and having the power to do it, would have come forward with a Bill that would make it obligatory on every department to carry out what he professed to wish to carry out. Now, I hate to see in this House any man or men coming forward with resolutions that might be described—I am speaking generally now—in the language that an hon. friend of mine speaking here to-day ven-

tured to apply to this resolution. I have seen in this House, and I have seen it with regret and humiliation, gentlemen proposing resolutions for no other purpose than to sound in the ears of certain voters all over this country, that they were aiming at a mark, and—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. DAVIN. What is that. I wish the hon. gentleman who is interrupting me would speak loud enough, would become an articulate-speaking man so that I can hear him. But, if he will not give me the help of his wisdom, or unwisdom, I will ask him to be quiet. I say that to see a member of this House talking as if he were aiming at a certain thing while not taking the most effective way of reaching it, always humiliates me as a member of a House like this that should be in all its dealings sincere as regards the people and manly in its actions.

Now, I was very glad that the member for West Toronto proposed the amendment that he did, because he makes it complete. But, even with that amendment, what will happen? We shall have precisely the same thing over that has happened in England. That resolution will be in part obligatory on the department; it is only suggestive and permissive, it is not mandatory. If we wanted to make it mandatory we must legislate, we must put it in an Act of parliament. Therefore, because this is in the shape of holding out a promise, of giving something substantial and valuable to the people, and then putting them off with a stone or a serpent, I will venture to add an amendment to my hon. friend's which will, I think, make the resolution complete. Anyway, it will get rid of the defect that was proved to inhere in the resolution in England, in its operation, and it will show that we in parliament are sincere. I, therefore, move in amendment to the amendment:

That all the words after 'That' be left out of the question, and the following substituted therefor:

Be it resolved, that all government contracts should contain such conditions as will prevent abuses which may arise from the sub-letting of such contracts, and that every effort should be made to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out; and that this House cordially concurs in such a policy, and deems it the duty of the government to take immediate steps to give effect thereto.

It is hereby declared that the work to which the foregoing policy shall apply includes not only work undertaken by the government itself, but also works aided by grant of Dominion public funds, and that the aforesaid policy shall be forthwith applied to every department of the public service, and to all parties who may hereafter perform services for the government; and that these resolves be embodied in an Act of parliament.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). I am beginning to conclude that this House

was called together two months too soon. We have been in session two months, and it has puzzled the ingenuity of the government to find any means of providing something for this House to do. That their supporters recognize that there is no intention of seriously legislating on the important question that has been submitted here to-day, is to be found in the fact that you have only twenty members sitting behind three or four ministers of the Crown in this House just now. No better indication could be given of the fact that the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock) is relied upon to find work for the House. On one occasion he amuses us with the introduction of a Bill which he had no reason to expect for a single moment would become law; and on another, he brings in a resolution upon a subject of great importance, but which has not a line in it that indicates any sincere resolve or desire on the part of this government to deal with that important question in the manner it deserves. Now, if there is one subject that ought to engage the serious attention of the parliament of Canada it is the question of labour. Every member of this House must know and recognize the fact, that in the dignity of labour is to be found the only true and sure foundation of the greatness of any people. It is upon having a body of intelligent, sober, industrious operatives that the country must rely for any great progress or any great prosperity. You may have capital, you may have manufacturers, you may have everything else, but unless you can command intelligent labour in a country, you will utterly fail in the essentials of true progress and prosperity.

Now, why is this subject brought before the House in this perfunctory manner? Simply because the House has nothing to do, simply because the hon. gentleman finds that the government of which he is a member have called the House two months too soon, and they are unable to furnish the House any public business to attend to. Sir, if it was intended to deal seriously with this question, why have we not a Bill introduced? As was well said by the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), who has just taken his seat, this resolution is worth nothing unless it is followed by a Bill. Every one knows that everything contained in this resolution is just as much in the power of the government to-day, and has been for the last three years, as it will be after this resolution is passed. There is nothing in this resolution that was not perfectly competent for hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches to give effect to and to carry out, without such a resolution being passed at all. Sir, there is nothing more objectionable than putting on the records of parliament resolutions only to be ignored and disregarded; there is nothing more objectionable in the way of legislative action that I know of than to place on paper

public measures that hon. gentlemen opposite have not the slightest intention of paying any regard to after they have been placed on the journals of the House.

What is the history of these hon. gentlemen? Are they friends of labour? Have they shown from the first hour they occupied these benches down to this moment that they have the slightest regard to the great labour interests of this country? The very reverse. The hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) undertook, in the sermon which he preached here this afternoon, and with some very feeble and ineffective attempts to lighten his discourse by quoting passages of scripture which he could not remember, that hon. gentleman put in a plea in excuse for the Postmaster General bringing this motion before the House. He said, no matter how great a sinner the Postmaster General might be—I will not undertake to quote his eloquent language verbatim, but that is the meaning of what he said—he said, it is of no consequence where this comes from: if it is good in itself, let both sides adopt it. Why, Sir, he reminded me very much of a clergyman who had preached a very heart-stirring sermon on temperance. When he was going home one of his churchwardens found him taking up a little too much of the sidewalk, and said to him: 'How is it possible that, after such a sermon as you have preached on temperance to-day, you have taken too much drink?' 'Oh, hang it, man,' said the clergyman, 'follow the light and never mind the lantern.' And so, the member for Guysborough says, No matter how great a sinner the hon. Postmaster General is in this matter, follow the light and never mind the lantern. And I think that, after listening to the speech made by the member for West York (Mr. Wallace), we must all come to the conclusion, that if there has been a great sinner on this question in disregarding everything that lies at the foundation of the interests of labour, it is the hon. Postmaster General, as shown in his conduct. I do not intend to go back to ancient history, but I say that his whole course, from the time he was first placed in office, has been one of the most cruel, ill-feeling modes of dealing with the labour of this country that any man has ever exhibited in this House or in this country. This government stands to-day, before the people of Canada, as not only having a perfect contempt for anything like honest labour, like honest industry, on the part of the horny-handed soas of toil, which contempt they have over and over again shown, but they have shown the most perfect disregard for anything like fair and honest dealing between the government and their employees that it was possible to indicate. My hon. friend (Mr. Davin), who has just taken his seat, says that to do any good you must have an Act of parliament, and he is quite right. But, we must have something more than an Act of

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parliament. The hon. gentleman had an Act of parliament on the statute-book, sanctioned by time, honoured by precedent, for five-and-twenty years by both parties in power, sanctified and hallowed by them, but the hon. Postmaster General has trampled that Act of parliament under his feet, and has cruelly deprived the employees under his control of that which the Act of parliament gave them. I asked the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) to allow that question of law, upon which eminent legal gentlemen on both sides of this House differed, to be referred to the Supreme Court of Canada, under the authority that we have in such cases where there is doubt, but the right hon. gentleman refused, and he refused, because, I believe, he knew that the report of the Supreme Court would have been that this government had violated and trampled under foot the law that was placed there to protect honest industry and labour. The policy of the country had been, from the first, to bring young men who had obtained, by their industry and efforts, the necessary education to perform clerical duties, in at a nominal amount of \$400 a year, a sum that would barely clothe and feed them, without leaving them a dollar for their labour. The policy of the government—not of the government, but of all governments—the policy of parliament, as embodied in an Act on the statute-book, was that these gentlemen should be induced to come into the public service and to give the country the benefit of their services, not for a sum that would wear out their lives, that would barely feed and clothe them, but with the prospect, and pledge on the part of parliament and of the country, that if they did their duty faithfully they would be recognized by the government of the day, and they would be advanced from year to year by an increment of \$50 added to the salary that they received. No measure could be better calculated than that to improve the public service, because, in order to obtain that \$50 a year, it required the evidence of a certificate by the head of the department, unconnected entirely with politics, that they were deserving of it. We know perfectly well, that, in Canada, the moment a gentleman becomes the head of a department, he ceases to be a politician, he occupies a most important and responsible position, and he maintains that dignity and responsibility by acting with perfect impartiality. The law places it in the power of that man, removed from politics altogether and political considerations, to report to the minister at the head of the department, who are worthy of having that increment of \$50 a year. If these public servants discharge their duty honestly and well, if they showed an aptitude for the public service, and an attention to the duties with which they were charged, they knew they had an absolute guarantee by law, sanctioned by precedent, that they would

receive that increase of their salaries, until they had reached a point where their ability and intelligence and the mode in which they had discharged their duty would enable them to be promoted. The law could not have been better adapted, by any possible means, to provide a thoroughly efficient civil service, because members of the civil service knew, that, upon their industry, their intelligence and the able discharge of their duties the road to future fortune lay, and that the road was clear to all to go to the highest place in the civil service, provided they had the ability, industry and integrity which were necessary to reach that position. These hon. gentlemen by one of the most cruel acts that ever disgraced any government in this country, have, at once, trampled that law under their feet, and they have made the expenditure of public money the means of rewarding their own partisans and trampling upon the rights of every man who would not bow the knee to Baal. I say that if ever there was a government in this country that took the position that they were utterly contemptuous of labour, that they really cared nothing for anything except their own partisan advancement, and benefit, it is this government. What more have they done? They have spent thousands and tens of thousands of public money in appointing bogus commissions to go through Canada and endeavour to fish up and rake up something that would enable them to take the bread out of a poor man's mouth and turn him into the street. First, it required offensive partisanship; but, they found that that would not provide their supporters with sufficient return, and they consequently expanded the grounds of offence into any political act. The mere fact of expressing any opinion of any kind in an honest, straightforward and intelligent way was quite sufficient to destroy a man and not only to bar any advancement in the public service, but to result in his being ruthlessly driven out into the street and the bread of his wife and family being taken away from him. These are the hon. gentlemen, when the time has come that they have to go back to the people, to the great labour element in this country whose interests and rights they have outraged from the first hour they obtained power, who come in with this resolution in the endeavour to delude the people and the labour element as to their true position. It is too late. There is such a thing as a death-bed repentance being too late, and this is a case of that kind. I am afraid that the very important amendment, moved by the hon. member for Western Assiniboia, that this resolution should be crystallized into an Act of parliament will not be respected by them, because, if they can trample one Act of parliament under their feet, they can trample another. Was there ever a more scandalous

outrage done to the labour element of this country than that which was involved in the conduct of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair). What a spectacle did we witness in this House! We heard an hon. gentleman, whose word no man will dispute, and whose action showed that he had a heart within his breast, if the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals had none—we heard the hon. member for Leeds and Grenville (Mr. Frost) tell the House that the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals gave him carte blanche to take the heads off the whole of the canal employees in his district. He said that he did not do it. It is not to the credit of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals who handed over that despotic power, but it is to the credit of the hon. gentleman, who had this power placed in his hands to serve his own interest, that he refused to exercise it. With the enormous number of people under the control of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals, he has shown, by that one act, his utter contempt of everything like honest labour in this country. What defence has been pretended to be put up? Why, they say, these parties are only employed for the summer, and when the summer is over they are released from their duties, that the re-employment next spring is a pure matter of choice on the part of the government, and they have no more claim than any other man who has never been in the service. Was ever a more cruel doctrine propounded on the floor of parliament than that? Tempted by a quarter of a century of honest administration of public affairs in this country—it was the rule observed by Mr. Mackenzie's government as well as by the Conservative government—these public employees were led to believe that they would receive fair consideration, and were induced out of their small earnings to build cottages on the public lands for the shelter of themselves and their families. And, having faithfully and honestly discharged their duties irrespective of party, they were nevertheless driven out of the houses they had built out of their savings, their families ruthlessly thrown on the streets, and their houses handed over to some heeler or partisan of this government. It is too late for this government to pose as the friends of labour. Has ever a man treated the employees in his department with such cruelty as the Postmaster General has? He turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of suffering men, and their wives and families, but last spring when he thought there was going to be a general election he endeavoured to buy these people by giving them what belonged to them before, but which he had cruelly denied them. How is he going to carry out this resolution unless he radically changes his whole policy? He has endeavoured to get work done at starvation rates, that the country was willing to pay an honest price for. He was obliged to admit to my hon.

friend (Mr. Wallace) that he rewards the mail carrier with 7 cents an hour, or 21 cents a day for services performed under contract with him. Take his conduct in the Yukon territory, and was there ever a greater scandal? Why, the whole world rang with the utterly corrupt and disgraceful condition of the post office service in the Yukon. The government boasted that by this 10 per cent exaction it had wrung out of the poor miners who went to the Yukon with their lives in their hands to struggle for a livelihood, three-quarters of a million of dollars surplus over the expenditure in that country. Yes, Sir, these poor men, far removed from civilization and enduring the greatest hardships, were six long months without being able to get a letter to know how their friends in the outside world were, or to enable them to carry on their commercial transactions. The hon. gentleman used the mounted police in the post office service to try and show a saving in his department. If there is a body of men in this country who are entitled to the respect and confidence of all the people, it is the mounted police, but they were not qualified to discharge post office duties which required trained officials. More than that, at a cost of between half a million and a million dollars the permanent force of this country were sent out to discharge the duties which properly belonged to the mounted police. The late able Major-General Commanding, Col. Hutton, told this government in his report a year ago—and it was not very palatable information to come from a subordinate officer, as they considered him—Col. Hutton felt it his duty to report, that by sending 200 men of the permanent force to the Yukon, to perform the duties of mounted policemen, the government had utterly destroyed the permanent force which, at a large expenditure, the country is called upon to maintain. No doubt the government saved half a million dollars in one direction, but there was a vast loss to the people of Canada in the other. The Postmaster General can boast that he saved money in his department, but in saving that money he denied a postal service to the hardy miners of the Yukon, just as the government deprived them of the sanitary measures which are absolutely necessary for a population of that kind. These men were making the treasury rich by prospecting for and discovering gold, but the Postmaster General and his colleagues denied them all the rights which citizens in this country should have. Go through any part of the administration of the Postmaster General, and you will find that a more cruel and oppressive minister never tampered and trifled with the rights and interests of the sons of toil in this country. No wonder that the hon. member for Guysborough wishes us to forget the man in the cause, and has asked us to vote for this resolution without considering who it was

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that introduced it. While this government has trampled under foot the interests and privileges of the sons of toil in Canada, they have called upon them with the rest of the population to pay some six million dollars of additional taxation over and above that which was ever demanded from the people of Canada before. Under these circumstances, it is a little too late for these gentlemen opposite to pose in the light of suddenly waking up, in a death-bed repentance, to offer a proposition in parliament which may bring the labour vote to rally around this government, which has been the greatest enemy of the working people that has ever ruled in any country. It would be difficult, I think, to carry out this resolution. There would be no hope of doing so without an Act of parliament. The resolution reads very well; but does not the hon. gentleman see that it strikes a deadly blow at once at lowest-tender contracts? The moment you attempt to carry out this principle, you are in a position—and hon. gentlemen opposite have not taken a course which would lead us to believe that they would be superior to such a position—to pass by the lowest tenderer, a Conservative, and give the contract to a Liberal, at a much higher cost to the country, on the ground that the lowest tender was too low to enable the government to guard the interest of the parties referred to in this resolution. I do not hesitate to say that deeds in these matters speak louder than words. I was not very long Secretary of State of this Dominion, but I was long enough to change the rules of the large labour department under my control at that time, the Printing Bureau, so as to establish an eight-hour day; and hon. gentlemen opposite, as in many other instances, have accepted that precedent, as one worthy of their adoption, and have followed it. I would like the hon. gentleman to point to any Act from the hour he came into office, down to the present hour, that would show that he has ever wasted a thought upon, or given the slightest attention to the claims of that great labour element of this country in whose welfare we are all most deeply interested. As I said before, it is our duty to secure, as far as legislation can secure it, a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and to do everything that will enable the labour element to be steadily raised and elevated in the position they occupy in this country. This country to-day abounds with hundreds and thousands of cases of men engaged in daily toil, who have, by strict economy, strict sobriety, and great industry, raised themselves step by step until they have been able to educate themselves and their families, and take a much higher position in the social scale, which is so important to the best interests of every country, and, which, I think, will be found to exist very largely in this country. I have no doubt the House

will accept both of these amendments, and, I have no doubt that this measure, unless hon. gentlemen are treating it as a comedy, will require to be embodied in an Act of parliament, as well as every measure that can be wisely and judiciously adopted to secure the carrying out of such a policy in reference to the labour of this country, as will give all the aid, and all the support to that most important branch of political economy of every country as the labour element certainly represents.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I do not propose to follow my hon. friend through the many digressions over which he has travelled; and still less do I propose to imitate the scolding tone with which he has discussed this very important question. I will rather address myself to the calm judgment of the House, upon what is nothing else than a mere business proposition. We have before the House a very important motion, as has been admitted by every hon. member who has addressed the House up to the present time. It involves the application of a principle against which no one has anything to say, so far as I have heard the discussion, except my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper), who has just taken his seat; and as to my hon. friend himself, I do not know what position he takes upon this proposition, and I doubt very much if he understands it himself. At one stage of his speech, he argued that this proposition was very objectionable indeed, because, it would place in the hands of ministers the power of passing over the lowest tenderer and giving the contract to the highest tenderer. This, indeed, would be a very serious objection, from every point of view; but, if the proposition moved by my hon. friend the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), were to be followed by this result; if it were to place in the hands of the Postmaster General, or the Minister of Railways and Canals, or the Minister of Public Works, or any other member of the government, the power of unduly favouring a friend, or being guilty of political favouritism at the expense of the treasury; if it were to permit the passing over of the lowest tenderer and giving the contract to a higher tenderer, yet my hon. friend, not only does propose to vote in favour of such a resolution, but he does not find it strong enough, and he wants to have it strengthened by an Act of parliament. Could anything be more inconsistent than such a position as that? Is the hon. gentleman serious or not serious, and is all this scolding oration which we have heard, after all simply words, without any meaning whatever? I should judge so from the language of the hon. gentleman. After all, he is going to vote in favour of the resolution, with the blemishes he sees in it, and, even though it will, in his mind, place in the hands of ministers such a dangerous power as he says

is embodied in it. I would rather take the opinion of hon. gentlemen who have spoken on both sides of this House—the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke), the hon. member for Western Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), and others, who are in favour of this proposition. I would rather take the sober opinion of my hon. friend himself, who at the bottom, is in favour of this proposition, and wants to vote for it. Let me look at this proposition. I do it, not for the purpose of defending it. It needs no defence, not even against the attack of my hon. friend, who has answered himself. But, it needs to be explained because of the amendment proposed. Let me call the attention of the House to the character of the proposition, and the amendments proposed to it. The proposition is in these words:

That it be resolved, that all government contracts should contain such conditions as will prevent abuses which may arise from the sub-letting of such contracts, and that every effort should be made to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out, and that this House cordially concurs in such policy, and deems it the duty of the government to take immediate steps to give effect thereto. It is hereby declared that the work to which the foregoing policy shall apply includes not only work undertaken by the government itself, but also all works aided by grant of Dominion public funds.

Now, the object of this motion is plain enough. It is to protect workingmen; it is to protect manual labour; it is to protect that large class of men who are employed on public works—on railways, on canals, in shops, and so on. This is a very intelligible proposition. The amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto does not at all dispute the justice, the fairness, or the advisability of the proposition embodied in the motion. The amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto does not propose to take away anything from the original motion. He accepts the original motion in its entirety, but wants to have it supplemented by another proposition, namely:

And that the aforesaid policy shall be applied to every department of the public service and to all parties hereafter who perform services for the government.

There is no relevancy whatever to the main motion in this amendment. The main motion is intended to protect a class of labour which we know by experience is little able to take care of itself. It is intended to protect the men who work with their hands on public works generally. But, the amendment proposed is to protect another class altogether, and a class of men who, as a rule, do not require any protection. The amendment deals with clerical work, and the main motion with manual work, so that there is no relation whatever between the two. There is every reason why we should protect the men who do manual labour

on our railways or canals or other public works, but why should we give more protection to the clerks in the civil service than they have already? What relation is there between the members of the civil service and the horny-handed sons of toil who build our railways and canals? I scarcely think that the hon. member for West Toronto can be serious in proposing such an amendment. He is not satisfied with protecting the labourers on public works, but he wants also to give protection to the clerks in the governmental departments. The thing is absurd. The same principle is not applicable to a clerk in the Privy Council that is applicable to a labourer on a canal. I appeal to the common sense and intelligence and fairness of the House not to stultify itself by accepting any such amendment. If the hon. member for West York is of the opinion that the members of the civil service require more protection than they have already, let him make a substantive motion to that effect, but not an amendment to this resolution. I submit to the sense of the House that the members of the civil service generally are well paid, and do not require any more protection than they have now.

I now come to the sub-amendment moved by the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin). What that hon. gentleman wants is that the resolution should be embodied in an Act of parliament. Well, I believe, with my hon. colleague the Postmaster General, that the resolution is quite sufficient in itself. Indeed, it has more elasticity for the purpose contemplated than an Act of parliament. An Act of parliament would tie the hands of a minister. The minister could not go beyond it, although on many occasions it might be advisable to go beyond it, whereas, if you affirm by the unanimous vote of the House—and the House is evidently unanimous in support of this resolution—the rule laid down in the resolution, a minister would be in a better position to apply that rule than if it were embodied in an Act of parliament. The resolution seems to me quite sufficient as it is.

I would further ask the attention of the hon. member for West Assiniboia, and your attention also, Mr. Speaker, to the fact that the amendment of my hon. friend from West Assiniboia is not in order. It is not drawn with the skill required for an amendment of this kind, although that is not difficult to draw. The hon. gentleman has reaffirmed in his sub-amendment both the motion and the amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto. Sir John Bourinot lays down the rule as follows:

Every member has the right of moving an amendment without giving notice thereof. This amendment may propose: (1) to leave out certain words; (2) to leave out certain words in order to insert or add others; (3) to insert or add certain words.

The amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto is quite in order, namely,

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‘that the following words be added: “and the aforesaid policy shall forthwith apply to the Department of Public Works and all parties hereafter performing service for the government.”’

When an amendment has been proposed, it is open for any hon. member to move an amendment to the same, but in this case the original motion is laid aside practically for the time being, and the first amendment to it becomes as it were a substantive motion. The question, therefore, now before the House is the amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto, that certain words be added, namely, ‘that the aforesaid policy shall be forthwith applied to every department of the public service and to all parties hereafter performing service for the government.’ But the motion of the hon. member for West Assiniboia is not really an amendment to the amendment, but an amendment to the main motion, and it reads as follows:

That all the words after ‘That’ be omitted, and the following substituted therefor: That it be resolved that all government contracts should contain such conditions as will prevent abuses, which may arise from the sub-letting of such contracts, and that every effort be made to secure the payment of such wages as are generally current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out, and that this House cordially concurs in such policy, and deems it the duty of the government to take immediate steps to give effect thereto. It is hereby declared that the work to which the foregoing policy should apply includes not only work undertaken by the government itself, but also all works aided by grant of Dominion public funds, and that the aforesaid policy shall be forthwith applied to every department of public works and all parties who may hereafter perform services for the government, and that these resolves be embodied in an Act of parliament.

This is, therefore, evidently not an amendment to the amendment, but an amendment to the main resolution. What the hon. gentleman should have done was to have simply moved to add these words to the amendment: ‘And that this resolution be embodied in an Act of parliament.’ That would be in order, but I submit that the amendment to the amendment, as it is before the House, is not in order. I may be wrong in this, but the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) himself will perceive that the amendment to the amendment is not skilfully done, but that it is simply putting a question before the House that is already before the House in another way. The main motion is not before the House at this moment; it has been relegated to the background by the amendment. The question is whether the words moved by the hon. member for West Toronto should be added to the main motion. And the amendment is not an amendment to that, but to the main motion, and so, I submit, is out of order.

Mr. DAVIN. Speaking to the question of order, the right hon. gentleman’s (Sir

Wilfrid Laurier's) argument, as I understand it, is that in case of an amendment to the amendment, there must be three questions before the House, the original question, the amendment to that motion, and the amendment to the amendment; and, the second amendment, to be in order, must read that words be added. Now, I say there are three questions before the House, and I would point out that the course I have taken is the course taken in the English parliament to-day—that all the words after 'that' be left out. They have a much better way of putting the motion than we have, because they put it that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question, and therefore, in the case of an amendment, and an amendment to that amendment in the English House, you get an absolute photograph of the opinion of the House at the time; whereas, with us, you can shut off the opinion on the first and second motion provided you have the majority on the third. The English system is the more scientific way of putting the question. And I say we have a right to adopt the English way of moving an amendment to a first amendment, namely, that all the words after 'that' be left out and that certain words and part of the question. I would ask the ruling of Mr. Speaker on that point.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I ask to be allowed to say a word on the question of order. I take it that any one has a right to move an amendment, so long as that amendment is relevant to the question. The rule is laid down in the authority quoted by the Prime Minister, Sir John Bourinot's book, page 386. He says that there are three ways of moving an amendment.

1. To leave out certain words.
2. To leave out certain words in order to insert or add others.
3. To insert or add certain words.

Now, the motion in amendment, moved by my hon. friend from West Toronto, is to add certain words to the resolution. There is no doubt that that is in order. If you refer to page 389 of Bourinot, it will be seen that when an amendment is proposed, it is competent for a member to move an amendment to the same. I take it that the same rule that applies to the amendment to the resolution applies to the amendment to the amendment, that is that it must be relevant to the question. The hon. member for West Toronto proposes to add certain words to the motion, and that amendment is not repugnant to the question. Supposing that my hon. friend from West Assinibola had simply moved that these words be added to the amendment 'and that these resolves be embodied in an Act of parliament.' In that case, surely nobody would have raised any question; as a sub-amendment that would have been in order. It is an everyday thing

in parliamentary practice that a sub-amendment is proposed to add certain words to an amendment. That is common, not only in this House but in the legislatures of the provinces, which follow the same rules as this House. What is the difference between the course I have indicated and the course followed by my hon. friend (Mr. Davin)? All he asks to do, practically is to add these words to the amendment of my hon. friend from West Toronto 'and that these resolves be embodied in an Act of parliament.' Is there any rule or any principle of relevancy which can be quoted against such a sub-amendment? I take it that there is not. Therefore, the amendment to the amendment is in order. There is no practical result to be gained by the objection taken by the Prime Minister. If it is true that my hon. friend from West Assinibola could have added these words to the amendment, it seems to follow that the words could be added by repeating the amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto, and adding thereto the words which my hon. friend (Mr. Davin) proposed to add.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. There is an object in the rules of the House. That object is to devise a method according to which the public business should be done. It is competent for a member to move a resolution, for another member to move an amendment to that resolution, and for a third member who is not wholly satisfied with either to move an amendment to the amendment. The hon. member for West Assinibola says: I am perfectly satisfied with the resolution and with the amendment to the resolution, but I think something should be added, declaring the opinion of the House that the principles laid down should be embodied in an Act of parliament. If the point taken by my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) was right it would deprive hon. members, virtually, of the right they have to moving an amendment to the amendment, and of getting the opinion of the House in what seems to me a perfectly legitimate manner.

The PRIME MINISTER. If the House will permit me, I think I can show by the arguments that the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), has used that his position is not well taken. There is a proposition before the House, that presented by the Postmaster General. To this proposition anybody can vote for or against. There may be some persons in this House who may wish to vote for it, and others against it. But, before it comes before the House the member for West Toronto proposes to amend it by adding something to it, and the proposition now before the House is, Shall these words be added? Now, upon this motion any one can vote for or against. Then the member for West Assinibola proposes to add some more

words to it. Now, my hon. friend will realize that this cannot be moved as a sub-amendment, that the first proposition before the House to consider is, Shall the words moved by the member for Toronto be added to the motion? That is the only question now before the House. The hon. member for West Assiniboia proposes as an amendment to assert not to affirm the main motion. Well, there may be parties in the House willing to affirm the main motion and not willing to affirm the amendment, and there may be other parties willing to affirm the amendment and not the main motion. But by submitting the two motions together, parties who are willing to vote for the main motion but who are not willing to vote for the amendment, will have to vote at the same time. Suppose my hon. friend himself is in favour of the main motion but is against the amendment. The member for West Assiniboia proposes to him that he should vote at the same time upon the main motion and upon the amendment. How will he do it by the same vote? There is confusion that he cannot avoid. I think the rule is well laid down by Dr. Bourinot in his book:

When an amendment has been proposed it is competent for any member to move an amendment to the same.

Everybody understands that. In this case the original question is laid aside practically for the time being, and the first amendment becomes as it were a substantive question. The question before the House at this moment is not the motion of the Postmaster General, it is the amendment of the member for West Toronto. That is the one upon which we have to vote. Before we can take up the motion of the Postmaster General, we have to dispose of these amendments one way or the other. But my hon. friend by his amendment proposes at the same time to vote upon the amendment and upon the main motion, and that is leading to a confusion which, according to the rules laid down in the books, is not to be tolerated.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I do not see where any confusion arises. We have the main motion, and we have an amendment to the motion, and we have an additional amendment to both. Therefore, the House votes first on the amendment to the amendment, that is put first. That being disposed of, you vote upon the amendment to the main motion; and that being disposed of, you vote upon the main motion. So that the House has an opportunity of reaching every point in the case perfectly.

Mr. DAVIN. I suppose with the consent of the House I will be allowed to change the motion.

The PRIME MINISTER. You had better withdraw it.

Mr. DAVIN. Then, for the time being, I will withdraw the motion, with the consent of the House.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I beg leave to propose that the amendment be amended by adding the following words:

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. SPEAKER. I think it would hardly be in good faith to propose that amendment now.

Mr. INGRAM. You having decided that the amendment to the amendment is out of order, I presume it follows that in discussing this question I can discuss another amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER. You had better put your amendment first.

Mr. INGRAM. Now, in rising to discuss the resolution—

Mr. SPEAKER. I think it is not fair to the member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) after stopping him from moving his amendment on the supposition that he was going to substitute a change, that my friend should now substitute an amendment and proceed to discuss it. That would be unfair to the member for Montmorency.

Mr. CASGRAIN. Then, Mr. Speaker, I will take advantage of the occasion to move that these words be added in further amendment.

And that these resolves be contained in an Act of parliament.

Mr. A. W. PUTTEE (Winnipeg). Although the current wage clause had been adopted by several public bodies some years previously, as stated by the hon. member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), it was in 1891 that it was first introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Buxton. But Mr. Buxton's resolution was not the resolution that was finally adopted. That was withdrawn, and the government substituted a resolution which was passed, and which I believe is the basis on which the motion that is now before the House was drawn up. After five or six years of practice under this motion, a select committee was appointed by the House of Commons to investigate and report. They took two years to investigate, and then they reported. A section of this report reads as follows:

Finally, it is stated that so great is the want of confidence in the ability or desire of the department to remedy these grievances, that trades unions and other representatives of the men, despairing of obtaining proper consideration and redress, have been compelled to allow grievances to continue, being convinced of the futility of taking action in respect to them.

But the next clause says:

While, on the whole, as already stated, we do not consider that this lack of confidence is well founded, we think it is very important that the feeling should be removed.

That is from the draft report of Mr. Buxton himself, who was a member of this committee. The original report that was finally

adopted and became the majority report, said :

While, as already stated, the committee do not consider that this lack of confidence is well founded, they think it is very important that that feeling should be removed.

Now, after this had been in operation for six years, the committee reported as follows :

The resolution has been in force for six years. So far as regards the relations between employers and employed, its working does not appear to have had any adverse effect. Indeed, it seems probable that it has done something to promote agreements between masters and men in reference to the rate of wages and conditions of employment. It does not appear either that the contractors, as a whole, object to the resolution, nor to the way in which it has been administered. It appears also that complaints from the workmen of breaches of the resolution are not now as frequent as formerly.

This report, after six years of its working, finds very little fault with the plan at all. I defy any man, who reads the report of the committee and the report of Mr. Buxton, a member of that committee, and the original introducer of the resolution in the English House of Commons, to say that there is anything in either of those reports that, in any way, condemns that resolution, or condemned the objects sought, or that it showed these objects were not attained. I am disposed to take this motion and look at it as an important motion. It is founded on a motion that went through the British Commons, and which was amended according to the report of their select committee. That fact does not, to my mind, make it appear anything less worthy of attention, but probably more so. They have, in England, proven this matter, they have had it in force for some years, and we have now their report upon it. I do not know that this motion has been received in just the way it might have been received. We might have discussed the merits of it, and I propose, for a few minutes, to deal with the principle of the motion and the subject-matter of the motion, as it is on the Order paper. The principle underlying a resolution, such as that now before the House, is that of justice and fairness between employer and employed. The effect of a contract to do certain work is apparently to place all the responsibility for fair dealing upon the contractor, but, as a matter of fact, he for whom the work is actually done, is still the employer of the labour engaged thereon. Now, in a contract, responsibility is but delegated, and under the system of competition, as we have it now, it is often delegated into very unworthy hands. I believe that on all public works, properly so-called, the government should be the direct employer of labour, that it should do its own work, that it should fix its own terms, that it should employ the men itself and pay a fair living rate of wages.

It has been demonstrated that this can be done satisfactorily, that it can be done well, and done economically. Many large cities and some governments, have tested this method, and the results have been most satisfactory, having shown it to be far superior to the contract system. It needs, of course, good enough men, yes, and large enough men, to be beyond the considerations of politics and pull, and that the works shall be given to competent tradesmen, and that proper business methods shall be applied. That the quality of the work will be improved is almost beyond question, that it is cheaper it is not hard to believe, but, the main consideration should be that, in all cases, actual value is received for all money spent. In the matter of buildings, material and time, work and all the things that go into a building can be estimated to a nicety, there is hardly any speculation; but many kinds of work involved a large amount of conjecture in estimating. Should the work prove easier, the contractor derives larger profits, but should it prove harder, he often evades financial obligations both for labour and material, throws up the contract altogether, and there is loss all around. The motion before the House recognizes the responsibility of the government for fair dealing with labour employed in the carrying out of its work, and I think if the government had considered the matter of doing as much work as possible by the day-labour system, that principle that is laid down in this motion will be applied and can be applied. It has been adopted by the British government, and by some other important bodies. The London county council and the London school board were before the British government in adopting this method in fixing and of having respect to the current rate of wages. Several cities, both in England and in this country, have adopted a similar method. Some cities have gone further. The city of Winnipeg, for instance, has adopted a minimum rate, a rate actually higher than the current rate, and this being taken to a court of law to settle whether a city had power to adopt that principle, it was proved that this policy is good public policy, and it was so held by the court. The state should, at least, throw its weight rather on the side of better than on the side of worse conditions of employment. That is what I consider is the principle involved in this matter, and, this is in line with the preachings of political economists. Adam Smith, in his 'Wealth of Nations, says :

The wages of labour are the encouragement of industry, which, like every other human quality, improves in proportion to the encouragement it receives. A plentiful subsistence increases the bodily strength of the labourer and the comfortable hope of bettering his condition and of ending his day, perhaps, in ease and plenty animates him to exert that strength to the utmost.

McCullough, in his 'Principles of Political Economy,' says :

This is not a point about which there can be any doubt. The experience of all ages and nations proves that high wages are at once the most powerful stimulus to exertion, and the best means of attaching the people to the institutions under which they live.

Although the effect of this motion is not to raise wages, but acts as a barrier to their being depressed, it may be feared by some that it interferes with the settled principles of orthodox economists. But, that is a mistake. Massingham, in an article on the Government and Labour, says :

I think there can be no doubt that it would pay a state organized on democratic lines to give its workers 10 per cent above the level of the best kind of private employment.

I remember, something less than two years ago, before the Cuban war, the party of strong business interests in New York, issued an appeal to the citizens of that country to press forward for war, for the sake of extending the markets of the United States. They made the most astounding statement that the United States had reached the limit of its consuming power. The fact was that the citizens of the United States, in large numbers, failed to exercise their consuming power, because they were not in a position to do so, and I believe that it is upon the lines of public policy that the consuming power of the mass of the citizens should be increased. It is a fact that you have to discard the conclusions of the most orthodox political economists if you wish to assume that there is some obligatory law that the pressure of competition ought, without interference from man, to be allowed so to act as to degrade the standard of life of the whole community. This motion does not seek to raise wages, but every argument which is applicable to the high standard of wages must certainly be, in a measured degree, applicable to the principles and aims that are sought to be obtained by this motion. Henry George, in his 'Protection or Free Trade,' says :

Looking further, we see in every direction that it is not the fact that low-priced labour gives advantage in production. If this is the fact, how was it that the development of industry in the slave states of the American union was not more rapid than in the free states? How is it that Mexico, where peon labour can be had for from \$4 to \$6 a month, does not under-sell the products of our more highly paid labour? How is it that China and India and Japan are not 'flooding the world' with the products of their cheap labour? How is it that England, where labour is better paid than on the continent, leads the whole of Europe in commerce and manufactures? The truth is, that a low rate of wages does not mean a low cost of production, but the reverse.

I hold with those who deem the increase of wages a legitimate purpose of public policy. To raise and maintain wages is the great object that all who live by wages ought to seek, and

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workmen are right in supporting any measure that will attain that object. Nor in this are they acting selfishly, for while the question of wages is the most important of questions to labourers it is also the most important of questions to society at large. Whatever improves the condition of the lowest and broadest social stratum must promote the true interests of all. Where the wages of common labour are high and remunerative employment is easy to obtain, prosperity will be general. Where wages are highest, there will be the largest production and the most equitable distribution of wealth. There will invention be most active and the brain best guide the hand. There will be the greatest comfort, the widest diffusion of knowledge, the purest morals and the truest patriotism. If we would have a healthy, a happy, an enlightened and a virtuous people, if we would have a pure government firmly based on the popular will and quickly responsive to it, we must strive to raise wages and keep them high.

Now, dealing with the motion itself, how will the operation of the new policy laid down in this motion affect the contractors? It cannot affect the well intentioned contractor adversely. At present one contractor tenders with the full intention of paying the full scale of wages, another has no such intention. Therefore, not to have some understanding of the cost of labour is unfair to the good contractor, it is hard on the good workman, and it is injurious to the community as a whole. The rate of wages generally accepted as current in a district where some work is contemplated, I presume, would be ascertained, and that rate would be the basis for estimating and tendering. The method of arriving at the rate would need to be sound, and fair. It is not specified in this motion, you will notice, that it is to be the union rate of wages. The question often asked in connection with the minimum rate is : Is it the union rate? This motion says nothing about the union rate of wages, but it is only right to point out that you will find in most cases, that the current rate is the union rate, and is the reason why : The organizations of labour do not fix a maximum rate of wages that its members must get ; it does not fix the rate it would like its members to get, but it fixes the minimum rate which it will allow its members to work at, and of course, according to the laws of competition, the minimum that a labourer will take becomes the maximum that capital will pay. You will, therefore, often find that the current rate is the union rate of wages. The resolution in no way fixes or raises the wages ; it only provides that the current rates shall be paid, which insures that the wages shall not be lowered. It not unfrequently happens in the carrying out of a large work in a district, that it in fact reduces the wage-scale in that district. Men hearing that a large work is to be commenced flock there in large numbers, and the employer finding a large party, and taking advantage of the necessities of the men, uses that to reduce the rate, and so a permanent injury is thus

inflicted on that district. To some extent—perhaps not to any great extent—the operation of the present resolution can be expected to make it less likely that foreign labour will be imported. You will notice that when foreign labour is imported, whatever is the first thing sought, at the back of it always is that it is to bring down the scale of wages in some district. Under this motion, wages would not be affected at all events, and it will be of less concern to any contractors or others to import foreign labour.

The resolution practically includes all government contracts, whatever the class of labour, not only does it apply to what are generally meant by government works, but it also applies to all government supplies of all kinds, which the government lets by contract, or purchases by contract. In this matter the government of Canada is not without experience. The report by Mr. McKenzie King, which has been referred to several times to-night, was made in 1898, and the methods adopted in Canada in carrying out the government clothing contracts, showed conclusively that the government in its militia clothing contract was fostering and developing the sweating system in this country. A good deal of the evils of that system have been wiped out by the regulations that were put in force when that report was adopted. To some extent, the principle of this very motion has been put in operation in the letting of militia clothing contracts, and the mail bag contracts of the Post Office Department. The insertion of a clause in the contracts against that system, has to a great extent done away with a great many of the things that were strongly denounced in connection with the clothing contracts let by the government.

This resolution proposes to prevent the abuses which may arise from sub-letting or sub-contracting. It is necessary that in some contracts there shall be sub-letting, but it is a thing that should be discountenanced as much as possible, and there are cases in which the sub-contractors' profits come ultimately, and can only come, either in sweating labour, or on the prices of the material. This kind of sub-letting should be discouraged as much as possible by the government, and I believe it will be discouraged when this resolution goes into operation. I should like to have seen an eight-hour day included in this motion, or that it should have been put in force by a concurrent motion. The eight-hour day is not a new thing. The British government put it in force some years ago, in the Woolwich arsenal, probably one of the largest manufacturing concerns in the world. They reduced the day's work straight from ten hours to eight hours, and the most satisfactory results have followed. The Canadian civil service in some places is on that basis, especially in the case of our own Printing Bureau here, and the Bri-

tish Columbia Printing Bureau. It is no new thing, therefore, and I would like to have seen it put in force by this resolution. I know, however, that any policy which has in any way the attribute of juvenility in it, cannot or will not get much appreciation in this parliament. It seems that we have to be very sure of a thing before we adopt it, and I have no doubt that if members found themselves confronted with an eight-hour law proposal, they would perhaps be somewhat surprised, and it might be too much to expect that the government would seriously propose to put it into effect, although, probably to incorporate it in this resolution would be the simplest manner in which it could be done. I am afraid the proposition would startle some of us in this House, and, as to sending a Bill of that kind to the Senate, well, I think that the front benches on both sides of the House would hasten to block the way. But, Sir, this eight-hour day question is a matter of very great concern to the workmen of this country, and it is a matter which in my opinion could be very well faced at the present day. We are so prone to grant charters that it seems to be one of our legitimate offices, and it has almost become second nature. We can give away large grants of land; we have given away a heritage that old Rome would have fought a generation to possess; we can send contingents to the war, and equip them, and pay their way, and, I believe, commit ourselves to a pension list; we can do these things almost spontaneously; but a great wave of caution comes over us when reform propositions are put before us, and we find that we have to consider them very carefully; there are two sides to all these questions; there are so many interests to be observed, and to be adjusted, and above all, we must not frighten capital away, because capital is very timid, and capital is so easily scared. I think sometimes, Mr. Speaker, that if these measures frighten capital, we would soon have here the only country where capital could gain its composure. The eight-hour law is now of such general application, that we in Canada shall soon be lonely in that respect. New South Wales has an eight-hour law in operation, not only with regard to government employees, but with regard to the public generally. No man in that colony can employ a man in a factory, a store or an office for more than eight hours in one day, and I think it is time we attempted something of that kind in Canada. The government cannot aspire to be a model employer until that principle is included. Most of the reasoning that can be so forcibly applied to the current wage laws can be urged for the eight-hour day; but at least the resolution might go so far as to include the recognized working hours along with the current rate of wages. The contractors for the London county council have to sign a statement to this effect:

We hereby declare that we pay such rates of wages and observe such hours of labour as are generally accepted as fair in our trade.

If it is the intention to have the principle of this clause put into operation and not simply put on record, then these other matters are included in it, and are but subjects for regulations. The same may be said as to the absence from the resolution of penalty provisions as against the contractor. There is nothing of that kind in it at all. But I think the provision with regard to the penalty should provide that if the current wage has not been paid, the penalty should in no case be less than the aggregate of all the moneys that should have been paid at the current rate of wages.

Some matters have been touched upon in this debate that may be said not to be quite in line with the subject. For instance, the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), said that the Toronto stonecutters get 40 cents an hour, whereas under a contract let under the system now proposed the stone might be cut in Lanark for 25 cents an hour; and he asked, where, under such circumstances, would the men be? Well, could not that be done now? It could, so that the hon. gentleman's argument has no point here at all. I can tell the hon. member why that could be done, and why it is not done; because it is one of the rules and customs of the stonecutters that the stone shall be dressed on the spot where it is used; and that would be one of the conditions, I imagine, that would be contained in a contract intended to protect the current wage in a district. It was also objected by the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) that there was nothing in this resolution to compel the government to put it into effect. I do not think it is customary for a government to make penalties against itself. I submit that if a government does not put a resolution like this into effect, the people will enforce the penalty against the government; it is their business to do so. If the suggestion that the main provisions of this resolution should be embodied in an Act of parliament is feasible, let us have a Bill; but let us have the motion anyway. As to enforcing it against the contractor—and there seems to be some suspicion that that could not be done—I submit that when you are making a contract or making a grant, you have the dictating of the terms; and if the contractor does not carry out the terms of the contract, you want no more law than the fact that you are in a position to hold the cash until the conditions specified are carried out. If this provision can be embodied in an Act of parliament, so much the better; but the British government have had just such a resolution in effect for nine years, and it has worked most satisfactorily. It is not so strong a resolution as the one before us to-night.

Mr. DAVIN. Will my hon. friend let me say why that is—because the government

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were not ready to bring forward an Act of parliament, and no member of the government proposed the resolution, but it was proposed by a private member.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The government accepted it.

Mr. DAVIN. That is a very different thing from the government proposing the resolution.

Mr. PUTTEE. My point is this, that this policy is effective in Britain because of a resolution passed by the House of Commons, and a motion passed by this House should be effective.

Mr. DAVIN. Proposed by a private member.

Mr. PUTTEE. The resolution introduced here is not proposed by a private member, but by a member of the government; and if it is not going to be put into operation here, point out why not. I admit the principle of the amendment proposed by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke); but I cannot quite see how it can be included in this resolution. I would like him to prove how the terms of the resolution can be made to apply to the civil service. I would like to see the principle, or the good feeling if you will, of that resolution applied to the civil service; but I would most strongly object to saying that the salaries of the civil service are to be fixed according to the current rate of wages, because you have not got the current rate. Suppose you said the current rate was \$350 a year, which some of the civil servants are receiving; I would strongly object to any regulations applying to them the current rate of wages as civil servants until they are put on a better basis than prevails at present. An hon. gentleman speaking this afternoon said that the average salary of the civil service of Ottawa was \$1,187. Suppose you were to tell a Canadian Pacific Railway trackman that the average salary of him and the president of that road was \$30,200 a year, what satisfaction would it be to him? That would be something like telling the civil servant that his average salary in Ottawa was \$1,187. A clause of this kind is not necessarily aimed at high salaries, but is intended to protect and keep up the minimum. I believe the great majority of the civil servants of this country are underpaid. An hon. member has said that when one of the least important offices is open, there are twenty applicants for the position. If so, I would like to see how many applicants there would be for some of the higher offices if they became vacant. I am sure that there would be more than twenty. I am quite in accord with the statement that the civil service needs reforming. I think it needs reforming from cellar to garret; and the first thing that needs to be done is to do away with the patronage that be-

longs to members of this House. The people of this country should take a pride in having a proper civil service, run on business principles, which would be a credit to the country; and with a proper civil service we should have in every office good men and pay them well. We have no right to expect some of our public officers to be efficient when we pay them such poor salaries. Fancy the government of Canada starting a citizen on \$300 or \$350 a year. Why is it? Because somebody has a privilege of nominating anybody—it may be a bricklayer nominated to do the work of a clerk, which he is not fitted to do, and in which he is not worth \$300 a year, perhaps not \$30 a year.

But our civil service should be put on a proper basis. There is something in that service to learn. Let people go in and learn it when young, as they do in other walks of life, and let their salaries grow with their experience, so that when they are proficient at the work their salaries will be on a proper basis. I am quite in accord with the proposition that we should thoroughly reorganize the civil service, and I think it would be an act of wisdom on the part of the government to undertake the work, although perhaps it might not be profitable from the view of party politics, for the time being.

A couple of years ago I remember reading a report made by the Queen's Printer on the operations of the Printing Bureau, in which he said that although there was no civil service examination imposed on applicants for employment in that department, fortunately the Typographical Union of Ottawa took the matter in hand and examined the men, and that had great effect in improving the efficiency of the bureau. Some years ago there would be, time and again, an appointment to that department of a bricklayer or a carpenter, and thus the efficiency of the staff was impaired, but nowadays if any hon. gentleman in this House should nominate some protégé of his from some remote corner in the country for a position in the bureau, he finds that the applicant has to submit to an examination by the committee of the Typographical Union, and he, if he cannot pass the test, is not admitted into the bureau. The trade itself, for its own protection against the vicious system that was in operation in this country, took the matter into its own hands, and the result has been a beneficial one in every respect. If we were to take a leaf out of the Typographical Union book and see that only proper men were admitted into the government service, the service would benefit, and so in the long run would hon. gentlemen who are returned to this parliament.

The hon. gentleman who introduced this motion said it would probably have some little effect as regards the alien labour law and the troubles experienced in that direction. It may have some effect, but you must remember, Mr. Speaker, that this resolution only applies to government works

or works bonused by the government, and the alien labour law applies to a larger matter altogether. That law, I maintain, is of no earthly use, and I do not think it was ever intended that it should be of any use. What is wanted is not a retaliatory measure, but a law prohibiting the bringing of labour into Canada under contract, irrespective of where it comes from. In every case in which contract labour is brought into Canada, the intention is to reduce the wages of labour settled in the country. Looking at it in that way, the principle underlying a law to prohibit the importation of contract labour would be the same as that expressed in this motion for the protection of labour engaged on public works.

I was somewhat pleased, in the early part of the debate to hear the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) express himself in the way he did. It is refreshing to find men in this parliament regretting so much the time wasted in putting measures through. He seemed to be bothered about something, and I have no doubt it was some measure in the interests of labour which he is trying to rush through parliament. I am sure that the labouring classes can count on the hon. gentleman's helping hand in the future, and his help will no doubt be appreciated.

There was an objection raised to the principle embodied in the resolution, and that is that this resolution would have the effect of opening the door for the acceptance of any other than the lowest tenderer. I do not believe it would. If it should have that effect, it would only be because somebody intended that that should be the result. In my opinion the effect of this clause would be to compel those desiring to tender to ascertain the ruling rate of wages which they have to pay. They would have this as a common groundwork upon which to base their tenders, and that would be to the advantage not only of the department but of the tenderers themselves. Nothing is so useful in tendering as to know the price of everything you will have to use.

I feel that I should apologize for going into so many matters not altogether relevant, but in this I have only followed the example of hon. gentleman who have preceded me. On looking over the debates in the British House of Commons in 1891 on this question, I notice that the subject was not deviated from at all. The principle was fully discussed and the matter then and there settled, and the legislation then adopted has proved very useful ever since, and I hope if this motion should pass that it is the intention to make it effective and operative or otherwise it would be better not to pass it.

Mr. A. B. INGRAM (East Elgin). In rising to discuss this question, Mr. Speaker, I do not do so because it is a new one. Certain hon. gentlemen who preceded me endeavoured to lead this House to believe

that this is entirely a new question in our parliament. But, Sir, in 1895, it was pretty thoroughly discussed in connection with the Bill introduced by the hon. member for Glengarry (Mr. McLennan) with respect to government contracts. My hon. friend, who has just taken his seat (Mr. Puttee), as well as the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), laid a great deal of stress upon the blue-book, showing how the Imperial governments have conducted their contracts in Great Britain. But I would draw the attention of hon. gentlemen to this fact, that the conditions in Great Britain and Canada are entirely different. The Imperial government have been in existence a great many years. They have spent large sums in that country in building public works. For long years they have been doing that kind of thing in a country which has not a very great mileage, and there can be no comparison at all between it and the Dominion or even the United States. The conditions in Great Britain with regard to the conducting of public works and in Canada and the United States are entirely different. I am of the opinion of the hon. member for Winnipeg, who is not opposed to taking advice from other people, but while not opposed to taking that advice, I propose to take it from those who are similarly situated to ourselves.

Let me refer for a moment or two to the objections raised by the right hon. leader of the government. He objects to this resolution being boiled down into an Act and gives that as one of the strong reasons why both the amendments should not pass. But, taking the example of the United States, what do we find? We find that whether resolutions are passed by Congress or not, as a matter of fact every contract given by the United States government contains these conditions. I have here a specification of a contract with the United States government, and I find that clause 1 is as follows:

The attention of bidders is especially invited to the Acts of Congress, approved February 26, 1885, and February 23, 1887, as printed in vol. 23, page 332, and vol. 24, page 414, United States statutes at large, which prohibits the importation of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labour in the United States or the territories or the District of Columbia.

Clause 2 is as follows:

Preference will be given to articles or materials of domestic production, conditions and quality and price being equal, including in the price of foreign articles the duty thereon.

Clause 7. Sureties must be citizens of the United States.

Now, while that does not bear directly on the question of what the current wages shall be, I cannot see why the United States could not add to their specification, that the current rate of wages wherever the work is performed shall be paid. Here is an instance of a government situated similarly to ours drawing the attention of contractors to the fact that they must comply with the

Mr. INGRAM.

Acts of Congress before their tenders will be accepted. But that it would weary the House, I could read from different states of the union precisely the same conditions placed in their specifications. Here, for instance, is a law of the state of Illinois, passed in 1889:

It shall be unlawful for any board or commission, or any officer or other person acting for the state, or any county, township, city, village, district, or other municipality in the state, or any contractor or sub-contractor under any or either of said municipalities, to employ any person or persons other than native-born or naturalized citizens, or those who have in good faith declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, when such employees are to be paid, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, out of any funds raised by taxation.

All this goes to show that in the United States—a country situated similarly to ours—they have framed legislation which calls upon every contractor to comply with those laws before they can be given contracts with the government. So, I say, we are justified on this side in calling on the government to place an Act on the statute-books to carry out what is called for in these amendments. My hon. friend from Winnipeg (Mr. Puttee) stated that the penalties did not affect the government. I do not think that any hon. gentleman in this House contended that they did affect the government. Therefore, there is very little in that argument.

Now, the alien labour law has been referred to in the House to-day; my hon. friend (Mr. Puttee) who represents the labour element of the city of Winnipeg and speaks largely for the labour element of the west, has said, in effect, that the alien labour law now standing on our statute-books is simply a farce. I quite agree with the hon. gentleman when he makes that statement. I was amused at my hon. friend from Guysborough (Mr. Fraser) and his statements about how sincere he was on the question of labour legislation. Finding that he was stuck for a word, and being reminded of how the government was going to bring about free trade by moving after the manner of a snail. I thought that by interjecting a remark, I might remind the hon. gentleman of that speech. He rather found fault with me; and said that I was elected to support the interests of labour. yet, what had I done? I was reminded of an incident of some years ago, when my hon. friend did not seem to be a very sincere advocate of labour in this House. I think that his progress has been a good deal faster than that of a snail since 1892 to be now advocating labour legislation. When my hon. friend from South Leeds (Mr. Taylor), in 1892, introduced his alien labour law, the hon. member for Guysborough said:

Mr. Speaker, I wish to enter my protest against this Bill. I am opposed to it on general prin-

principles. Perhaps I may not carry with me the opinions of this House, but I believe in opening our doors to the whole world. We have a large country to be filled up, and I would put no restrictions on any man from any country coming here.

That was the view of the hon. gentleman on that occasion, but he is a strong supporter of the alien labour law now, when he thinks that—

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Ingram) allow me? I am not in favour of it now, never have been and never will be. I did not say a word to-day in favour of the alien labour law.

Mr. INGRAM. Then, I am to understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fraser, Guysborough) is opposed to the alien labour law?

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I am.

Mr. INGRAM. He is opposed to it being introduced in this form or any other form?

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is why it is not enforced.

Mr. INGRAM. I suppose it is. While I agree with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fraser, Guysborough) in not approving of legislation of that kind being placed on the statute-books of any country, still, the same rule applies to it as to this resolution. If the United States places such a law on their statute-books as the alien labour law, the government of this country, whether Liberal or Conservative, should give the United States to understand that they do not approve of that kind of legislation. By placing similar legislation on the statute-books of our country, we virtually serve notice on the people of the United States to remove the harsh legislation against Canada, a country living side by side with them and willing to reciprocate friendly treatment. But, I am too much of a Britisher to believe in allowing the United States or any country to place a statute of that description on their books and for us to do nothing, while our citizens who go into their country to get employment are insulted and debarred from employment simply because they are not citizens of that country. My hon. friend from Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) was quite right in stating that when that legislation was proposed in this House every possible opposition was offered to it by the members of the government, and every effort made to prevent a workable Act being passed by this parliament. And I want to tell hon. gentlemen opposite that there are thousands of workingmen in this country who feel that they have a just grievance against this government for not enforcing the alien labour law of this country as it ought to be enforced. The hon. member for Guysborough says he is glad to have people come into Canada

from every section of the world. Now, the hon. Postmaster General said that increased wages for the workingmen—I do not take it that he meant an unreasonable increase—has a tendency to promote the purchase of a better class of goods and so increase the prosperity of the country. I would like to know if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fraser, Guysborough) is in favour of having thousands of Chinamen come in and work for almost nothing, and take back to China what they are able to save. They live while here in such a state as I hope no Canadian would live in. If they came here to compete on even terms with Canadian citizens, I would say they have a perfect right to come. But, when we find they do not do that, it is our duty to frame such legislation as will prevent such unequal competition. I understand that a deputation interviewed the government with a view to securing an increase in the tax on Chinamen. I do not know what was the answer of the government to that deputation, but I take it for granted, in view of the near approach of the general elections, that my right hon. friend, if he was present, told a very nice story and sent them away happy, believing perhaps the right hon. gentleman would introduce something in the shape of legislation which would relieve the evils they complained of. Now, with respect to this motion, there is another point which must be considered. Whether this motion is put on the statute-book as a result of this discussion, I do not know; but we have here the report of a commissioner appointed to investigate the sweating system of this country. It was not appointed within the last year or two, as the member for Huron said, but this commission was appointed in 1895.

An hon. MEMBER. Who were the commissioners?

Mr. INGRAM. Mr. A. W. Wright, and that is what I find in question No. 39 with respect to the question of labour:

Does it sometimes or frequently happen that there is a scarcity of workers in some towns or cities and a surplus in others at the same time.

This is answered in several ways. He says further on:

Both employers and employees suffer loss by reason of there being at times, and frequently, a scarcity of labour in one locality contemporaneously with a surplus in another, but the trades under investigation do not suffer more in this way than do others.

Then again:

Under No. 39, attention is called to the loss which both employers and workers suffer because of it frequently happening that workmen are idle in one town or city when their services are needed in another. I would recommend that either as a part of the work of the bureau of labour statistics or in some other way,

a system of labour registration should be adopted, so that workmen might be kept informed promptly as to where a demand might exist for their services, and employers, at the same time, advised as to where workmen could be obtained.

Now, I wish to say with respect to this, supposing the government gave out a contract to perform certain work in a certain district, and you find in that district that there is a scarcity of labour, and the contractors who have the work to perform find it impossible to procure the necessary labour. They are supposed under this motion to adopt the current rate of wages at the point where this work is to be done. Now, if it works out on the principle of supply and demand, then the supply being scarce and the demand being great, wages would naturally be higher at this point, and still it would be the current rate of wages which the contractors would have to pay. This therefore would be an important question to consider under this resolution. Under this resolution the contractors would be compelled to employ labour that is scarce there, and they could only secure the labour to do the work at a very high rate of wages. Would the contractors or would they not be compelled to consider that the current rate of wages? I have not heard the Postmaster General go into these particulars fully; I have only heard him speak of what the Imperial authorities have done in reference to the subject-matter of this resolution. If this resolution was boiled down and put into an Act, hon. gentlemen on both sides would be in a better position to offer amendments, or to suggest something more workable than can now be done on a bare resolution of this kind, proposed by the Postmaster General or any other hon. gentleman in this or any other government.

Now, I wish to say a few words with respect to our labour laws. The hon. member for Guysborough said that if the hon. member for Montmorency would move for an eight-hour labour law, he would be going in the right direction and doing something practical. It only goes to show that there are hon. members in this House who do not look at their files to see what Bills have been introduced already, and then when they get up to speak they speak as intelligently as the member for Guysborough, who did not know that there was legislation already proposed, both last session and this session, by the hon. member for London (Mr. Beattie), bearing on this very question. Therefore, it would not be necessary for the member for Montmorency to make any such motion in order to give the member for Guysborough an opportunity of supporting an eight-hour labour law. Then the hon. member for Guysborough accused me of not taking a very active part in questions of this kind in the House. I wish to say, as the hon. member for Ottawa said, that I am of the opinion, whether rightly or

wrongly, that there are many measures affecting labour that it is not in the jurisdiction of this House to pass. For instance, we have in the province of Ontario an Act providing for compensation for injuries. I do not think myself that it is within the jurisdiction of this House to pass legislation bearing on that point. Then we have in Ontario the Mutual Arbitration Act. I have heard some say that it is within the power of this House to pass a general arbitration Act. I am not a lawyer, but I do not think that we have such power. Having myself occupied a seat in the local legislature of Ontario, I wish to tell the member for Guysborough that I found, under the Mutual Arbitration Act, that every question other than the most vital one between employer and employed, could be considered. While I was in that House I brought that point to the attention of the Ontario government, and secured an amendment to the Arbitration Act which gave boards of mutual arbitration power to deal with the question of wages the same as any other question; and I am happy to say that that Act was passed through the House. Then with respect to the income tax. I introduced a Bill which had the effect of amending that Act. This House has nothing to do with that, although we have a large number of Dominion officials employed by this government who do not pay any income tax at all, and there are some complaints in this country because Dominion officials are exempted from paying taxes on the incomes which they receive. With respect to compensation for injuries, a large section of employees in this country were at one time precluded from enjoying the advantages of that Act. There were thousands of men shut out by a resolution of the Ontario government because they belonged to a provident insurance society connected with a certain railway company in this country. I found that a large number of employees were paying their hard-earned money to the insurance in connection with the company, expecting to derive certain benefits therefrom. I believe that an injustice was done to these men because they were unable to get compensation in case of injury by accident, if the accident occurred through their own negligence. There was an Act on the statute-book excluding employees of certain railway companies from enjoying the benefits under the Compensation for Injuries Act, and by my persistent efforts in their interest I was able to secure a repeal of that objectionable feature of the Act, and thereby give not only the employees of railways, but men in other branches of labour, the privilege of enjoying all the benefits from the insurance that they were paying for, as well as the benefits provided for them in case of accident. So I say it does not become my hon. friend from Guysborough to make a statement of that kind. As a member of this House, some years ago, I moved a resolution that was much more

definite than the hon. Postmaster General's resolution. I moved what I believed to be a definite resolution, which, if it had been carried into effect, would have saved hundreds of lives in this country, and would have prevented thousands of accidents that have occurred. When I moved that resolution, leading sections of the press supporting hon. gentlemen opposite, as well as some hon. gentlemen themselves, in this House, said that it was a buncombe resolution, that there was about to be a by-election, that I was about to appeal to the electors of my riding and that that was the motive which induced me to move this resolution. The facts were these: In moving that resolution, I recognized the fact that no private member had the right to bring in a resolution, or to introduce a Bill, which calls for the expenditure of public money, but, in order to get before the House and the country, what I believed to be a very important question in connection with the railway service of Canada, I moved this resolution so as to secure the public opinion of hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House, as well as of the country. Yet that is the way in which I was treated. It was not a buncombe resolution; but, I want to say, that if it was a buncombe resolution, the resolution of the hon. Postmaster General, is five times more buncombe than the resolution I moved on that occasion. If this resolution will be the means, later on, of having something placed on the statute-book, then I will not be sorry if I support it, and I intend to support it with all my heart. I am always ready and willing to support anything that will promote the interests of the workingmen of the country, and in doing this, I think I am doing nothing more than what the workingpeople deserve. It has been said that the hon. gentleman who moved this resolution, is not sincere. I have no desire to find fault with, or to question, the motives of the hon. Postmaster General, in moving this resolution. Whether his motives are good or not, I simply wish to tell hon. gentleman, that his record is well known on both sides of the House, and that it is well known by the people of the country as well, and, when the proper time comes, they will be able to judge of his career. As far as the workingmen of Canada are concerned, I want to tell the hon. Postmaster General or any other hon. gentleman in this House, that, if he thinks the workingmen of this country are so easily hoodwinked as to believe that they are going to swallow buncombe motions, he will find that he is very much mistaken. They are intelligent, and they do their utmost to keep themselves informed as to what goes on in this country, as well as many others who do not profess to be workingmen. In my experience in this House, I have never known of the introduction of what may be termed 'radical legislation.' Hon. gentlemen on both sides of

the House remember that during the 11 or 12 years that I have sat here, if legislation has been introduced on behalf of the workingman, it has always been of an extremely moderate character. We have had no radical measures introduced at all. We have had motions introduced, perhaps, that in Canada with the staid and quiet ways of the Canadian people, might perhaps, be considered by some people to be somewhat advanced, but, when we come to compare them with any of the resolutions introduced into legislative bodies in the United States, Great Britain or France, we find that we are more conservative than they are in any of these countries. That being the case, it strikes me that the people, in demanding legislation of this kind, are extremely moderate in their views. They never ask any representative in this House to place himself in an awkward position by introducing radical or extravagant legislation. I will give the House a sample of some of the legislation that is introduced by our neighbours on the other side of the line. I am sure that if legislation of that kind were introduced into this House, we would hold up our hands in holy horror, and say that the element that demanded legislation of this kind was going entirely too far. Here is a sample of the legislation to which I have referred, as stated in the report of the commissioner:

In the hope that a federal law, embracing in its scope, all the states, will be effectual to prevent the 'sweating system,' a Bill has been introduced in the present Congress under the title of 'A Bill to raise additional revenue for the support of the government.' The title of the Bill is, of course, pretextual, inasmuch as the raising of revenue is not its object, but a means by which it is hoped that another object will be accomplished. The proposed measure may be summarized as follows: it provides that when manufacturers give out materials from which clothing and other manufactured articles enumerated in the Bill are to be made by contractors and others not directly in the employment of the manufacturer in his own factory, the said manufacturer shall pay in advance to the United States revenue collector a tax of \$300 per year for each contractor or person to whom material is so given out. The Bill also provides that any contractor or other person taking materials from a manufacturer for the purpose of making them up, who shall sub-let the work of making up or finishing the goods, shall also pay a yearly tax of \$300 in the same way for each person to whom he sub-lets any part of the work. Should the work be again sub-contracted or divided, the person so sub-letting or dividing it will be subject to a light yearly tax of \$300 for each person so employed by him.

This is a sample of the class of legislation which is asked for in the United States, so I say, that there is a large element in the United States that are very unreasonable in their demands, and that ask Congress to pass certain legislation to meet their views which are very extravagant indeed. It shows, to my mind, that, instead of importing, under contract, a class of men, who

would come into this country, who are extreme in their ideas, who are nihilists, anarchists and socialists, although, when I mention the latter class of people, I do not refer to a certain class of socialists, such as we have in this country, who are good citizens. we should be careful to see that we get a desirable class of people in this country. I have never heard any of them use very extravagant language, but, I think, in so far as I have described them in the United States, if that class of people were allowed full liberty, as the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser), said, to come into this country, I fear that hon. members of this House would not have an opportunity of looking over the file of Bills and seeing such moderate legislation as is introduced now, and such as has been introduced for a number of years past, because, if this legislation were designed to meet the views and wants of these people, I fear that hon. members would have reason to complain of the efforts of the workingmen.

Mr. D. D. ROGERS (Frontenac). Mr. Speaker, as usual, we have had the big guns first, and the little guns come last. I do not want to detain the House too long, as I have not been in the habit of doing that, and, I do not purpose getting into that bad habit. I would be the last man to say a word that would injure the labouring men in any respect whatever. I have been a labouring man all my life, in the true sense of the word, and, I feel for them, but I feel, as regards labour organizations that, generally speaking, there is so much care being taken of labour, or is being attempted to be taken, of labour, that I feel that their organizations—and time has shown it—are pretty well able to take care of themselves. I am very glad to see that it is so, and I trust they will always be ready to do so. If I were one of them, I would be in their organization. I think it is necessary for workingmen to have such organizations to protect them against monopolies, combines, trusts and corporations. But, I do feel now, and I have always felt, that there is a certain limit to it. When they come to this House, in order to secure legislation, I think it is possible for them to go farther than is in the interest of the country. I agree with the wording of the resolution in the form in which it was first put. I entirely approve of the clause in the resolution which says that :

Every effort shall be made to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out.

That is perfectly legitimate and well worded. I have no objection to it. I do most emphatically object to the amendment.

An hon. MEMBER. Which one ?

Mr. INGRAM.

Mr. ROGERS. They are both on the same line, but I particularly object to the first one. That amendment evinces a motherly care over the civil servants. I cannot for the life of me see why there need be so many tears shed over the civil servants ;—in many instances I believe they are crocodile tears. Why is there not as much care and as much thought taken for the great labourer that has made this country what it is to-day, why is there not that care for the agriculturist of Canada. Hon. gentlemen have been speaking here for six hours to-day and the word of the agriculturist has not been mentioned. The agriculturist of this country are the true labourers, the labourers who have made Canada what she is, and upon whom the future of Canada depends. Legislation that will benefit the agriculturist will benefit Canada, and legislation that will injure the agriculturist will injure Canada. Canada is an agricultural country, she is not yet a manufacturing country, and the agricultural industry is the one above all others which should have the first consideration of this parliament. I am sorry to say, Sir, that although the well-being of the agriculturists should be our first consideration, it is unfortunately our last. When I was running along the old Conservative lines I felt that keenly for years and years, and I did not forget to say so at many conventions I attended, and when I got a chance to move out and take a stand on our platform I gladly accepted, and the longer I am on that platform the firmer I am, and I am far from receding from it. It looks to me as if some hon. gentlemen opposite were simply speaking to catch votes, and that to some extent may be natural. The hon gentleman from West York (Mr. Wallace) spoke about the statutory increase to the civil servants, and of course the amendment means that the civil servants, the letter carriers and others, must have that statutory increase. I think the stand the government took on the statutory increase question was a very commendable one, and I believe the country will endorse them in their efforts to conduct the government service as any well regulated private business should be run. Reward for merit is the correct principle, and it is wrong that a civil servant should get a certain increase every year whether he was worthy of it or not. I agree with the hon. member for Ottawa (Mr. Belcourt) that no member should interfere with the ministers on the question of salaries, but there are some instances where the heads of departments through favouritism or lack of judgment have not done justice to their subordinates. In such a case I believe that a man would be justified in asking the minister to hear that civil servant state his case, and I think that is about all the interference there should be with ministers. The poor letter carriers have been spoken of, and I would be glad if the country could afford to pay them \$600 or \$800 a year, but

when we compare their salaries with the wages paid to men who work 12 or 16 hours a day in all kinds of weather I must come to the conclusion that they are not so badly off. The agricultural labourer in Canada is under the eight-hour system; but unfortunately, it is eight hours in the morning and eight hours in the afternoon. Let any gentleman who has experience in agriculture tell me if he can afford to pay his men the wages paid to our civil servants. We are told that it takes a long time to train letter carriers and that they must have education and all that, but I want to know if there is any man who requires more common sense than the agriculturist. Gentlemen opposite who are agriculturists know well that their servants require to be men of common sense, studious, honest and sober. I repeat, as I have said before, that I can take the average young man and fit him for any profession as quickly as I can make him a good agriculturist. Why, one has almost to be born a farmer before he makes a good one. Prof. Robertson has well said that the farmers are the great manufacturers of Canada; that they manufacture \$600,000,000 worth in Canada yearly, and that they manufactured for export nearly \$100,000,000 worth last year. Compare that with any other manufactures and where are they? The lowest wages paid to the letter carriers is \$350 a year, and the maximum is \$600. Let me ask: What wages do farm labourers get in this country? The man that can afford to pay them \$1 a day year in and year out, with eight or ten thousand dollars invested, cannot balance his books at the end of the year and pay 2 per cent on his capital. When I pay my men I often say to them: I should pay you more, and you are worth more than you are getting, but I am not able to do it, and I would like to see the farmer who is. I cannot understand how a man representing an agricultural constituency can clamour in this House for the annual statutory increase for the civil servants whether they are worthy of it or not. The hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace), is quite a stumper, and he speaks in many parts of the country, but if he uses that argument before an agricultural constituency he will get a very poor hearing. The principal arguments which I have heard in this debate have been from men representing urban constituencies. Why do not some of the practical agriculturists in this House get up and talk on this question? Have they nothing to say? Have they no grievances? Have they not to appear before their constituents and give an account of their stewardship on this question? I suppose they feel that the farmer, as I said when talking about the Redistribution Bill, has been a Conservative or a Grit for many years past, and that he will continue to be the same, and there is no use of talking to him. I thank God that time is passing away,

that the farmers of this country will listen to such parrot talk any longer. The seed of independence has been sown among the farmers and in the press, and it will bring forth good fruit in the future. With regard to the civil service, I would like to compare their wages with the wages of the school teachers of the country, men and women who have spent years in qualifying themselves for that honourable and noble vocation. Are their salaries as good as the average of the civil service, or as good even as the lowest salary of the civil service, not to speak of agricultural labourers who have to toil and slave? The lowest salary of the civil service is \$350 a year, and if any one who proves himself to be good and worthy can go as high as \$600, whereas the average school teacher does not get \$300 a year. Compare the position of the civil servants, too, with those of clerks in stores or in banking institutions, and I cannot see why so many tears are shed over them. Another thing: neither the agricultural labourers nor the school teachers have any superannuation fund to fall back upon as have the civil servants. The question of an eight-hour labour day has been brought up, and I was surprised to see the hon. member for London (Mr. Beattie), move for legislation in that direction in an agricultural country like ours. I do not care whether it is for government works or not, I assure you such a proposal would take very poorly among the agriculturists when you went before them on election day—men who have to labour twelve hours a day for twelve months in the year, and who have to pay for all these things. I think the labour men can take pretty good care of themselves, and they do not need any legislation for their protection. You cannot fairly compare an agricultural country like Canada with a manufacturing country like England. Agriculture cuts a small figure in England, but agriculture will be the great industry of Canada for many years to come; and anything done to injure that industry will not be acceptable to the farmers. There is some radical reason why the agriculturists of this country cannot pay as high wages for labour as any other class; I believe unjust legislation has a great deal to do with it. There is some radical reason why the smartest and brightest of our young men leave their homes on the farm, and we have to put up with very inferior farm labourers. It is because they are driven into other callings which have been bolstered up by the government, and in which men can get 10 or 20 or 50 per cent for their money when the farmers cannot get 2 per cent in their business. There is not a farmer in this country to-day who can hire help all the year round and at the end have two per cent on his money. It is said that anybody can be a farmer, that it does not require any brains; but I tell you that it requires more brains to-day to make 3 per

cent on the money invested in agriculture than it does in any other industry. Why, then, should we have legislation against the interests of the farmer? Against such legislation I will raise my voice, and it surprises me that any man who is a practical agriculturist and who represents an agricultural constituency can support this amendment to provide that all civil servants shall be paid the statutory increase until they get \$600 or \$800 a year. I wish I had the power of oratory, and the time to spare, I would let my voice be heard from every platform in the country against legislation of this kind. If I had the power of oratory that some hon. gentlemen have, I would make this House ring on this subject. There are seven or eight hundred thousand agriculturists in this country to-day who are employers of labour, and they are the great labourers, and the toilers. The first resolution is right enough; there is nothing wrong with it; but the men who are not toiling, the civil servants, are well enough taken care of. That is the reason I have got up to speak, and I hope some of the farmers who represent agricultural constituencies, and who I know are good speakers will get up and express themselves against this amendment.

Mr. WM. McCLEARY (Welland). Mr. Speaker, it is not my intention to follow the hon. gentleman (Mr. Rogers), over all the fields he has travelled. I wish, however, to call his attention to this fact, that while he has stood up and advocated the cause of a class of people in this country who, I presume, ought to be considered the backbone and the sinew of the country, in the able manner he has done it, he has been too late in stating his views to this House in that regard. He should have gone to the hon. Postmaster General who introduced the resolution before us, and had his ideas embodied in the resolution. The hon. gentleman belongs to that class of people who got into public life through being associated with what was known as the Patron movement in this country. The Postmaster General and the Minister of Trade and Commerce were the sponsor fathers for these gentlemen, at one time in their history. They took them under their paternal care, and so well did they look after them that to-day we find that party obliterated. Where, I would ask my hon. friend, is Mr. Joseph Haycock, who once occupied a seat in the local legislature for the county my hon. friend represents in this House? Where is that other horny-handed son of toil, Mr. Curry, who travelled this country from one end to the other, declaring for the rights of the down-trodden farmer? Where is he?

Mr. TAYLOR. In the civil service.

Mr. McCLEARY. Yes, in the civil service at \$2,500 a year and expenses. Where is our friend Mr. Mallory, who, at one time, was a great leader of this movement?

Mr. ROGERS.

Mr. TAYLOR. In the civil service.

Mr. McCLEARY. Yes, he too occupies a nice berth in that service.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Question.

Mr. McCLEARY. What question do hon. gentlemen wish to ask?

Mr. ROGERS. Might I ask the question: Am I my brother's keeper?

Mr. McCLEARY. The hon. gentleman endeavoured to lead this House to believe that all the agricultural workers of this country are under his paternal care and wing. I was asking him where was that other mighty Patron, Mr. Mallory. He, too, has found himself nicely esconced in a government job, and I do not know where our hon. friend (Mr. Rogers) will find himself when this session closes. Apparently, I should judge from his present attitude and his past record—from his having come here as an independent man, from his having been a Tory of Tories, until he reached this House, and from his conduct since he has been in this House—that he will likely find himself occupying some nice position in the government service that will give him a good remuneration for standing by the government in their needs.

Coming to the question before the House, I have not much fault to find with the resolution of the hon. Postmaster General. But I am in favour of the amendment proposed by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke), because it covers a larger field, and will be productive of additional good. I have nothing to say regarding the civil service, so far as the inside service in the city of Ottawa is concerned, but the amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto would reach hundreds, yes, thousands of men outside who have to live on a dollar a day paid by this government. I refer to employees on the canals and railways. The canals of this country are open for eight months in the year, and the men employed on them are not allowed to engage in any other employment, and have to support their wives and families on a dollar per day. While that may be a fair remuneration in some cases, it is not a remuneration sufficient for a man who must give his time the year round and sustain himself and family.

I am as well in favour of the amendment to the amendment, because that will crystallize the opinion of this House in a statute, and then we should see that the statute is enforced and not merely placed on the statute-books to be looked at, like the alien labour law, which we have had on our statutes two or three years and have never yet enforced. No doubt the reason for its non-enforcement is because the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), and a few other leading supporters

of the government, like the hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Fraser), are totally opposed to it.

I have nothing further to say, except that I will be delighted to give my support to anything that comes up in this House for the amelioration of the labouring classes, and which will help them in their endeavours to better themselves in their various callings in life.

Mr. THOS. BEATTIE (London). I think that too much time has been taken, Mr. Speaker, in discussing this resolution. It is not worthy of the consideration it has received. As the hon. member for East Elgin (Mr. Ingram) has very justly said, it is all buncombe.

Mr. INGRAM. I beg to correct my hon. friend. I said that if the resolution I moved some years ago was buncombe, this was much more so.

Mr. BEATTIE. I would have much pleasure in supporting any resolution for the benefit of the workingman, but this one does not go far enough. In fact, so far as I can see, there is nothing in it for the benefit of the labouring classes. It only has reference to contracts on government works, but there is not one per cent of the workingmen in this country engaged on government contracts. I am well aware, and the workingmen are well aware, that the government has no power to raise the wages or to lower them. The workingmen are not fools, and the government must not think that it can deceive them by pretending that it can raise their wages. But, what the government has power to do, and what the workingmen want the government to do is to shorten the hours of labour. I have such a Bill on the Order paper, and when we reach it. I trust that the hon. Postmaster General and the government will give it the support it deserves. We have legislated for a great many classes in this House, but no legislation has been granted, proportionately, for the benefit of the workingmen. Why should the workingmen of this country be compelled to labour ten long hours when every other class only work six to eight hours? Is it because they have no influence? That must be the case. Take, for instance, our banking men, they only work six hours per day. Take our civil servants, not only in Ottawa, but throughout the country, they only work eight hours per day, and have nice, clean easy work, get good pay, and when they retire at an advanced age, they receive a superannuation allowance. Nothing of that kind is received by the working classes. They must either provide for their old age or go to the poor-house and live on charity. And who pays for the superannuation of civil

servants? It is the working classes who are taxed to raise the money. I consider the working classes of this country are slaves in comparison with any other class of business people. That condition of things should be, and, no doubt, will be changed. What time has any workingman for recreation or rest? None whatever. He has to rise at half-past five in the morning to enable him to get his breakfast and leave his home at half-past six, so that he may reach his workshop at seven, for, as a rule, he lives a mile away from his work. When his work is finished for the day, he returns home, arriving there about 6.30. By the time he has a bit to eat, does some little chores about the house, such as always have to be done, and reads the evening paper, it is time for him to go to bed that he may be able to rise early next morning. And this goes on day after day, week after week, year after year. You take the workmen of this country, and for seven long months of the year they do not have the opportunity of seeing their children by daylight. That accounts in great measure for such of the sons of our workmen as go astray—they have no one to look after them. In that connection I may tell an amusing story which I heard to-day and which I know to be true. A mechanic's wife, going down street one day, and having her child with her, happened to pass the building on which her husband was working. Pointing him out on the scaffolding she said to the child: 'Do you know who that is?' 'No, mother,' said the child; 'but I think it is the man that takes dinner with us on Sundays.' That is about all that many of the workingmen of this country have an opportunity of knowing about their children. Now, if the government would take some action to change that state of affairs they would get some credit; but they must not think they are going to hoodwink the workingman by such buncombe resolutions as they have brought in to-night. I shall have very much pleasure in voting for the amendment of my hon. friend from West Toronto or any amendment that will benefit the workingmen, more particularly in shortening their hours.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Lisgar). I do not propose to make a speech on the subject of the resolution which has been introduced by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), but I would like to say a word on behalf of the country postmasters throughout this country. I believe there is no class in the Dominion who are so poorly paid. I have in my own riding a large number of men who devote a great deal of time to keeping post office, and I believe I am in the bounds of accuracy when I say that they receive only from \$10 or \$12 a year, in some cases, to about \$70 in others. And, since the reduction in the rate of postage has come into

force, I am informed, their remuneration will be reduced. I think that the Postmaster General made the statement recently, that that would not be so, although some of the postmasters have since told me that it would be. However, I am not prepared to dispute the statement that the hon. Postmaster General makes. It is safe to say that their remuneration will not increase as would have been the case had the reduction in postal rates not been made. I would be glad if the Postmaster General would take this point into consideration and see if some measure cannot be adopted to give the country postmasters some better remuneration than they receive for the duties which they perform. I would like to read a brief extract from a letter which is published in one of the Manitoba papers. I do not know the name of the writer. He lives in south-western Manitoba :

Take, for instance, towns ranging from 500 to 1,000 population, which would include the principal points between Manitou and Treherne west to Melita. From the same report—

The Postmaster General's report.

—we find the salaries, rental and other allowances, &c., of these offices range from about \$700 to \$1,050. The postmasters have to provide their own offices at perhaps an average cost of \$180 per year. The net income would represent the figures named, minus \$180 or from \$520 to \$870, or an average of under \$700, being from \$100 to \$300 less than salaries paid to third-class clerks and less than half the earnings of first-class post office clerks. The former without any monetary responsibility, the latter with all the varied responsibilities which are involved in the office.

It is needless to contend that the country postmasters may combine merchandise with the post office, as such offices as those referred to are required to keep the post office separate, and the duties are such as to require constant attention. Moreover, late arrival and early departures of trains in some towns, makes it impossible for one person to do the work without assistance, which he must provide at his own expense. The country postmasters throughout Canada have just cause for complaint owing to the scant consideration for the work and responsibilities laid upon them; but those of the west much more so, owing to the considerable increase in cost of living and providing suitable premises.

Before I take my seat, I desire to say that I am in hearty accord with the resolution which has been presented to the House. I think if there is one question which more than another should touch the hearts of all men who take part in the legislation of this country, it is the question of fair treatment for the workingmen. I do not think the government could engage in any nobler work than in that of improving the condition of the men who bear the burden and heat of the day.

House divided on the amendment to the amendment (Mr. Casgrain).

Mr. RICHARDSON.

YEAS :

Messieurs

Beattie,	Kloepfer,
Bennett,	LaRivière,
Broder,	MacLaren,
Cargill,	McAlister,
Carscallen,	McCleary,
Chauvin,	McInnes,
Clarke,	Marcotte,
Craig,	Martin,
Davin,	Monk,
Dugas,	Moore,
Earle,	Morin,
Erb,	Pope,
Ganong,	Puttee,
Gillies,	Reid,
Gilmour,	Roche,
Guillet,	Sproule,
Hale,	Taylor,
Henderson,	Tyrwhitt,
Ingram,	Wallace, and
Kaulbach,	Wilson.—40.

NAYS :

Messieurs

Archambault,	Joly de Lotbinière
Razinet,	(Sir Henri),
Beith,	Lang,
Belcourt,	Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),
Bethune,	Lavergne,
Bostock,	Livingston,
Bourbonnais,	Logan,
Brodeur,	Macdonald (Huron),
Brown,	Mackie,
Bruneau,	McClure,
Calvert,	McGregor,
Campbell,	McGugan,
Casey,	McHugh,
Champagne,	McIsaac,
Comstock,	McLellan,
Copp,	McMillan,
Cowan,	McMullen,
Dechêne,	Madore,
Demers,	Malouin,
Douglas,	Maxwell,
Dupré,	Meigs,
Ellis,	Mignault,
Featherston,	Morrison,
Fielding,	Parmalee,
Flint,	Paterson,
Fortier,	Penny,
Fortin,	Pettit,
Fraser (Guysborough),	Proulx,
Frost,	Ratz,
Gauvreau,	Richardson,
Godbout,	Rogers,
Gould,	Rutherford,
Graham,	Savard,
Hcimes,	Semple,
Hurley,	Somerville,
Hutchison,	Sutherland,
Johnston,	Tolmie, and
	Turcot.—74.

PAIRS :

Ministerial.

Opposition.

Christie,	Roddick,
Gibson,	Corby,
Cartwright (Sir Rich'd),	Tupper (Sir Charles),
MacPherson,	Rosamond,
Charlton,	Tisdale,
Fitzpatrick,	Casgrain,
Davies (Sir Louis),	Tupper (Sir Charles
	Hibbert),
Wood,	McDougall,
Ethfer,	Seagram,
Scrifer,	Blanchard,

Ministerial.	Opposition.
Martineau,	McNeill,
Heyd,	Osler,
Britton,	Mills,
Dobell,	Caron (Sir Adolphe),
Comstock,	McCleary,
Mulock,	Haggart,
Carroll,	Poupore,
Fisher,	Foster,
Ratz,	Guillet,
Champagne,	Sproule,

Amendment to the amendment (Mr. Casgrain) negatived.

Mr. A. CAMPBELL (Kent, Ont.) I desire to move an amendment to the amendment that is now before the House :

That all the words after the word ' That ' in the amendment be left out, and the following words be added to the main motion :

And that it is not expedient to mix with this proposal the salaries of those employed in the public departments of the government.

I think this amendment is sufficiently clear to commend itself to the House. I think the civil servants of this country, while there may be some who are insufficiently paid, should not, as a class, be mixed up with the class that it is proposed to benefit by this motion. Therefore, without, at this late hour, trespassing on the time of the House with any further remarks, I beg to move this amendment.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). It seems to me it is to be regretted that when a motion of this importance to a large class of people in this country, has been introduced in the hope that it would result in benefiting them, and that seems to be acknowledged by both sides of the House, that its force, and its power, and its effect are sought to be weakened, whether inadvertently, I do not know, through the amendment that is now in your hands, and, which the amendment to the amendment proposes to remove. This resolution introduced by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), was introduced in the belief that it would result in benefit to that large and influential class who are known as the wage-earners and labourers of the Dominion, who work with their hands, who are engaged in manual labour ; and this government, restricted in its legislation constitutionally on many points, has, through the Postmaster General, shown their desire, if possible, to secure through their action a recognition of fair wages to those who are thus employed. They have recognized the fact that in the past there have been abuses, there have been hardships to these men who labour for their daily bread, and this resolution was introduced in the hope of protecting these men. It might have been expected that in this House a subject so worthy of the sympathy of everybody would have been adopted unanimously without any attempt being made to weaken it. But, what do we find ? Why, in the amendment that has been

placed in your hands, by the member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke), and which the amendment to the amendment proposes to remove out of the way, it is sought, or at any rate, the effect would be, to nullify to a great extent, any good we might hope to derive from the resolution of the Postmaster General. The amendment which the amendment to the amendment asks to wipe out, proposes to add the following words to the resolution :

That the aforesaid policy shall be forthwith applied to every department of the public service and to all parties hereafter performing services for the government.

Sir, it is recognized that in public contracts in time gone by, there have been occasions when, through sub-letting of contracts or other causes, those engaged in public works have suffered hardship and loss. When that evil is sought to be removed, it is proposed to add to a resolution of that kind, an amendment, to bring in the whole civil service. Why, Sir, it is proposed to place men who have been engaged in public contracts, and who have had to submit in times past to sub-letting, who have worked for a wage that many consider insufficient, it is proposed to put them in the same category with all persons engaged in the service of the government ; it is proposed that men who are receiving from the government salaries of \$1,500, \$2,000, \$2,400, shall be put in the same class with these men who have to work by the day on public works and contracts. Why, Sir, that resolution is broad enough to cover even a member of the government. The amendment in your hands seeks to link these two classes together, and to assert that men who have to work on public contracts, have grievances which are no greater than the grievances of those men who are getting \$2,000 or over a year. You can see what effect that would have. No, Sir, we do not wish to mix these two subjects at all. If there be any one in the civil service who is not receiving sufficient compensation, his case can be dealt with by this House, when it votes the supplies. The resolution in your hands says

That it be resolved, that all government contracts shall contain such conditions as will prevent abuses which may arise from the sub-letting of such contracts.

How can these abuses arise in any way in connection with the civil service ?

And that every effort should be made to secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out.

This House can determine that. The civil servants are safe here, because the House has the voting of the supplies, and each case can be decided on its merits.

And that this House cordially concurs in such policy, and deems it the duty of the government to take immediate steps to give effect thereto.

It is hereby declared that the work to which the foregoing policy shall apply includes not only work undertaken by the government itself, but also all works aided by grant of Dominion public funds.

Sir, it is meant to apply to that class of labour, and the gentleman who introduces an amendment to attach the civil servants to the same class, men who are in receipt of salaries of \$2,000, as if they were on a par, as if they were suffering an equal hardship, I say, is introducing an amendment that should not pass this House, and if I may venture to say so, should never have been introduced, by any one who pretends to be a friend of labour in this country. I did not wonder at the member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), introducing it, but I did wonder at the member for East Elgin (Mr. Ingram), seconding such an amendment.

Mr. INGRAM. I rise to a point of order. I did not second the resolution of the member for West Assiniboia.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I sincerely regret if I made a mistake, but I did understand that the member for East Elgin had seconded the amendment to the amendment proposed by the member for West Assiniboia. And I am told now that the hon. gentleman did second it.

Mr. COWAN. He tried to move it.

Mr. INGRAM. No, I did not second that. I seconded the motion of the hon. member for West Assiniboia that the resolution be placed on the statute-book, but not the resolution moved by the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke).

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I understand the hon. member for East Elgin to have seconded the amendment that the hon. member for West Assiniboia withdrew.

Mr. INGRAM. Yes.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Well, that is what I am saying; there is no quarrel between us.

Mr. INGRAM. The statement which the hon. gentleman made, and to which I objected was this: The hon. gentleman's statement brought me in connection with the resolution which dealt with the civil service, and I disputed that fact. What I did do was to second the resolution of the hon. member for Western Assiniboia, which deals with the placing of this resolution on the statute-book. That is the fact, and it is not as the hon. gentleman stated it at all.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I am very glad that the hon. gentleman has stated this. I do not know whether he has improved his position, and I do not wonder that he feels irritated at what I have alluded to. I was alluding to the resolution pro-

Mr. PATERSON.

posed by the hon. member for West Assiniboia, which the hon. member for East Elgin seconded, and which the hon. member for West Assiniboia withdrew. He now admits that what I said was correct that he did that. What was the amendment introduced by the hon. member for West Assiniboia? It was to strike out every word of this resolution of the hon. Postmaster General to benefit the workmen and to substitute the amendment with the addition proposed by the hon. member for West Toronto embracing the civil service, and laying down the principle that if you are going to help those who work with their hands, you must help the civil servant who gets \$1,000 and \$2,000 a year. I do not wonder that the hon. member for West Assiniboia would venture to do it, but I did not expect that the hon. member for East Elgin would have done it, nor, would I have expected that he would have been prepared to enact a law not for the benefit of the men who work with their own hands, who exchange their labour for wages, but that he would have been content to deal with these men to give relief where it is needed, and where it ought to be given, and not to attempt to minimize that by including in its benefits a class of men who are not standing in the same category, who are not in the same position, who, if they feel that they are suffering any hardship, can have their cases dealt with individually in this House where every member can know the salary paid to each civil servant, and where the remuneration can be fully considered. To propose an amendment by which the hon. gentleman shall weaken this resolution, designed to aid the men who are exchanging their labour with public contractors, who have obtained contracts from the government and to prevent wrong-doing in the sub-letting of these contracts, to secure fair wages for their day's work—to propose an amendment to wipe out that resolution and to bring in another class of persons whose cases does not fit in at all, whose case has no comparison with that of these men, and which can only have the effect, as every one can see, of weakening the resolution of the hon. Postmaster General, which is an honest resolution designed to benefit the men in a position in which these men are who are engaged in these works, is something that I would not have expected from the hon. gentleman. Why is this resolution of the hon. Postmaster General proposed? Simply because contractors, in tendering for public works, in future, will have to be governed by its provisions. They will have to recognize the fact that in future it will not do for them to go into a foreign country, and bring in an inferior class of foreign labour to compete on the public works if they have to pay the current rate of wages, because they would rather pay the current rate of wages to men in our own land and get better value than they

would otherwise. If this is done, and if the government put it in operation, and if it resulted in the expenditure of more money in carrying out of public works, if perchance public works should cost more than they otherwise would, the government want to have their hands strengthened and their action endorsed by this parliament in giving contracts under these conditions which may result in some extra cost to the country. That is why this resolution is brought before parliament, and that is why parliament is asked to sanction it. This is a resolution that ought to have been received in the spirit in which it is brought in, as it is for the benefit of the men who are employed on these works, and there should not have been an attempt to minimize its usefulness as is proposed by the amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto, which, I trust, will be wiped out by the prevalence of the amendment to the amendment, now moved by the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell).

Mr. T. D. CRAIG (East Durham). Mr. Speaker, I would just say, after such a fiery speech from the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), that I was rather surprised at seeing the hon. gentleman standing up and supporting the amendment so vigorously denounced by himself, and which he charged the hon. member for East Elgin (Mr. Ingram) with supporting. It seems to me that the members of the government feel very keenly the force of the amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke). If it had not been for that they would be quite satisfied to have voted it down and not have put up a member on their own side of the House to offer an amendment to their own resolution. I suppose they intend to carry the amendment moved by the hon. member for Kent, Ont. (Mr. Campbell). It is a very funny amendment to have attached to a resolution of that kind. This resolution of the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), will look very strange when printed in full with an amendment moved by one of the supporters of the government. It shows that they feel the seriousness of their position. The hon. Minister of Customs has made an impassioned speech about the civil service. I am not concerned, myself, very much about the civil service. I believe they ought to have justice done them, but the hon. member for West Toronto was not thinking so much about the civil service when he moved that amendment. He too thought they ought to have justice done them, but he was thinking more about the letter carriers of Toronto, who, he claims, as they claim themselves, are not having justice done them by the hon. Postmaster General. We have had another example to-night here on this very same line. The hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) says he is in hearty sympathy with this resolution, and yet he takes

the opportunity of standing up and saying that he wants to ask the hon. Postmaster General to increase the salaries of the postmasters throughout the country who are receiving \$10 and \$12 a year. In that case he should vote for the hon. member for West Toronto because it is right in this line. I think there is no doubt at all that we are all agreed on both sides of this House about the spirit of this resolution, but hon. members on this side of the House have not so much confidence in the sincerity of the hon. Postmaster General and of the government in moving this resolution, as hon. members on the other side of the House. I do not say that the hon. Postmaster General is not sincere. All the objections made on this side of the House have been objections which have been made over and over again by hon. members on the other side of the House when they were in opposition against the government of the day, against measures of this kind, and it was charged that they were done with political motives. I do not say that this is done with a political object just before the elections, but this has been charged, and the proof of the sincerity of what the hon. Postmaster General talked about would be given by supporting the amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto. Prove it by doing justice to the men whom you yourselves have power to do justice to. In view of the fact that the government can at the present moment do everything that is provided for by this resolution, why do they move it at all. Well, I suppose we cannot blame them for trying to make some political capital out of it.

An hon. MEMBER. They need it.

Mr. CRAIG. Yes, I suppose they feel that they need it, and hence they make this extraordinary attempt to demonstrate that they are the friends of the workingmen. As has been said by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Ingram), the workingmen of Canada know who their friends are, and the workingmen know their friends are not to be found within the present government. This resolution is not definite enough, and that is one reason why I will support the amendment of the hon. member (Mr. Clarke). The amendment to the amendment, moved by the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) is about as ridiculous an amendment as I ever heard of. He wants to attach to the resolution the proposition that we do not choose to meddle with those already in the service of the government. What a nice resolution will it be with that read into it. In the resolution of the Postmaster General it is said:

That every effort should be made to secure the payment of such wages.

If the government were in earnest they should be more definite in that statement. It is easy to say that an effort should be

made in that direction, but why do they not say :

That all contracts should stipulate the payment of such wages as are current.

There would be some sense in that. Again, why did they not insert a provision insisting that the men employed on public works in Canada should be Canadian workmen. A few years ago the ex-Minister of Railways (Mr. Haggart), in letting some large contracts, stipulated that the men employed should be Canadians, and that was a sensible thing to do. The public money expended on these works is contributed by Canadians all over the country, and even if Americans are allowed to obtain the contracts it would be a wise thing to provide that Canadians should be employed. We have been told to-night by gentlemen opposite that we should only look at the resolution itself, and not consider the fact that the Postmaster General has been very penurious in paying the mail carriers and other employees. That is all very well, but after all it is not so much the wording of a resolution like this that is important, as it is the men who are behind the resolution to enforce it. If the Postmaster General and his colleagues have underpaid the letter carriers and other public employees; if the contracts for carrying mails are at an extremely low price, as I know they are in some instances, then I hold that this resolution should be framed in such a way that we can understand exactly what it means, so that we may know whether the government is carrying it out or not. I suppose the government will vote down the amendment of the hon. gentleman for West Toronto, which I intend to support, and as the resolution is in itself unobjectionable I shall vote for it, but I shall not vote for it with such a tail added to it as that proposed by the hon. member for Kent, which is absolute nonsense, inserted as it is in this way.

Mr. N. F. DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Not only that, but this addition is an injunction that you must not deal with the salaries of civil servants and the tone and temper of the speech of the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) showed a positive hatred of the civil servants. I have no special love for the civil servants any more than for other citizens of Canada; but whether they are civil servants or uncivil servants, they deserve justice at the hands of the government, and if in this resolution you deny that justice to the man who works with his pen that you accord to the man who works with his hand, it is not a proper resolution to pass in this House. The speech of the Minister of Customs gave away the fact that this resolution is intended for electioneering purposes, so that gentlemen opposite can go on the stump and make it sound as if this government was doing great things for the workingman. Well, if the govern-

Mr. CRAIG.

ment wants to do anything for the workingman, let them pass an Act of parliament which will insure their doing it. The hon. minister (Mr. Paterson) used the word 'shall' as if this resolution when passed shall compel every department to act upon it. The hon. gentleman was not in the House when I read a clause from the report of the Buxton committee in 1897, which declared that the Buxton resolution, passed in 1891, had not been in operation in Ireland for six whole years, and that certain departments of government in England, it was suspected, did not work under it. Suppose this resolution is passed; is there anything to compel the Department of Customs, the Department of Public Works, the Department of Railways and Canals, or the Post Office Department, to act on it. There is nothing whatever. If you want these principles carried out, pass legislation—but the fact is, it is quite clear that that is not what is desired. I agree with the hon. member for East Durham (Mr. Craig) about the ridiculous tail that it is proposed to hang on to this resolution. It has no proper relevancy at all. It is certainly a most lame and impotent conclusion to a motion that, as it stands, is not objectionable. If the resolution stood alone, I would be ready to vote for it, and therefore, the proper thing for the government to do is to have the amendment of the hon. member for Kent (Mr. Campbell) withdrawn. There is no difference in regard to their position to the civil servants in voting this amendment down and in passing this resolution, except this: that voting it down will leave them in a position that their conduct can be construed by civil servants and by others in the light that they thought it was not desirable to pass the amendment; but let them insert the amendment of the hon. member for Kent, and certainly there is animus on the face of it against the civil servants. I do not think the civil servants, even here in Ottawa, are a very luxurious class; I do not think they are very highly paid; I do not see any evidence of superabundant wealth on their part. But go outside of Ottawa, and consider the postmasters of whom the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) spoke. There are postmasters all over the west whom the paring and grinding of the hon. gentleman now at the head of the Post Office Department has reduced to the very closest straits in order to be able to live.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. My hon. friend, who knows the condition of things in that country, assents to that. As my hon. friend here has referred to the letter carriers, we know that this government, which passes this so-called benevolent resolution to workingmen, is adopting a sweating system affecting an important section of the working classes of this country, namely, the letter carriers. Take the mail clerks in the west; they are

a heavily worked body of men, and ought they not to have as much consideration as bricklayers or stonemasons? I say that the attitude, that only the masons, the bricklayers or the carpenters are workmen, is derogatory to the workmen themselves, is unjust in principle, and has a socialistic flavour about it. I say that system is not statesmanlike, and if the hon. gentlemen who compose this government want to put up a lasting monument of the inaptitude of which they are capable, they will support this extraordinary amendment proposed by the hon. member for Kent. What I would suggest to the right hon. gentleman is this. If he wants to vote down the motion of my hon. friend from West Toronto, let him get his somewhat bungling artist at resolution drawing, the hon. member for Kent, to withdraw his motion, and let us then vote on the motion of my hon. friend from West Toronto; and when that is voted down—as no doubt it will be, though I will vote for it—and this resolution is put before us in its present form, we shall be ready to vote on it. If the right hon. gentleman is not willing to do that, certainly the time of the House will be taken up, because we shall have to move some amendments to try to fix ourselves in a proper light before the country.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. What do hon. gentlemen cheer about? I have been talking about the dignity of this parliament as a great legislative body, and if I talked of fixing ourselves before the country, I was talking of this whole parliament, and I was talking of the government, too; because the bare fact that we are in opposition does not prevent this government being for the time being our government. If this government behaves in a manner unworthy or undignified, we are lowered as well as the government.

The PRIME MINISTER. It is too bad.

Mr. DAVIN. I am glad to see that the right hon. gentleman's conscience pricks him. It is too bad, and when we find the Minister of Customs making a stump speech, as he did here to-night, and using fallacious arguments, which he surely must have known were fallacious, because the whole of his argument was based on the assumption that this resolution would be as binding on the departments as a law. We have just voted down what would make it imperative on every department in the public service, and make it of some use. What will happen? I prophesy what will happen when this resolution is passed. It will remain a dead letter on our books, just as the alien labour law has done after it served its purpose, just as the editorship and proprietorship of the *Farmers' Sun* did after it served its purpose for the present Minister

of Trade and Commerce. It will be thrown into the limbo of forgotten things, and we shall never hear of it in the departments so long as these gentlemen are there; but I think we may congratulate the country that they will not have an opportunity of playing the same part of treason with this resolution that they have played before.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Will the hon. gentleman answer a question? Is it not in the power of the House to deal with the question of the civil service? Can their cases not be brought up individually here and discussed? Is it not wholly within the power of this parliament to determine that, and can the hon. gentleman not see the distinction between that and the question of contracts?

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, what, pray, is the difference? Can we not in this House deal with any question just as we can with the question of the civil service, at any moment? What have we seen in the last four years with regard to these civil servants? We have seen favouritism rampant, injustice done, men docked of what your own follower, the member for Ottawa (Mr. Belcourt), said they were entitled to. That hon. gentleman stood up to-night and made an indictment against the honesty of your administration with regard to the civil service. He said you had not done right.

Mr. McMULLEN. Order, order.

Mr. DAVIN. What is the question of order?

Mr. McMULLEN. The hon. gentleman spoke before, and took his seat.

Mr. DAVIN. I took my seat to let the Minister of Customs ask me a question.

Mr. McMULLEN. I rise to a question of order. The hon. gentleman addressed the House on this question, and took his seat. I want to know if we are going to have a second speech?

Mr. SPEAKER. I do not know what was in the hon. member's mind. My own supposition was that he had closed his address. As to that, he is his own judge; but, certainly, the hon. Minister of Customs called him to his feet by a question.

Mr. DAVIN. I admit, Mr. Speaker, that I was coming to the conclusion of my speech.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. member says he had not concluded, that settles the question.

Mr. DAVIN. I was coming to the conclusion of my speech. The question was asked, and I think I have answered it to the satisfaction of the House, and I was about to say, when I was interrupted, that we had

the hon. member for Ottawa here declaring that for four years these gentlemen have been keeping back money that was justly due to people in the public service.

Mr. BELCOURT. I do not think that is what I said. What I did say was that I could not approve of the manner adopted by the government in dealing with statutory increases. I did not question the honesty of the government, nor did I say that increases were dishonestly kept from the civil servants in this city, but I said that the manner of dealing with the statutory increases adopted by the government was not what I approved.

Mr. DAVIN. That is pickwickian to what the hon. gentleman said.

Mr. DAVID HENDERSON (Halton). The windy and thundering tones of the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), seem to convey to the House his opinion that the amendment now before us, had some very direct application to the civil service. To my mind I fail to see that either the resolution or the amendment can affect in any way the position of the civil servants in the different departments at Ottawa. I do not believe that such was the intention of the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke). His intention was more particularly to deal with officers, such as mail carriers in the cities. In my opinion, civil servants, having salaries fixed by law, will not be affected in any way whatever, by the passage or rejection of this resolution. The intention of the hon. member for West Toronto was to extend the scope of the resolution to the workmen employed by the government, who do not come under the category of civil servants. We have numbers of men working on our canals and government railways, who are not classed as civil servants. These men would be affected by the amendment of the hon. member for West Toronto, but not by the resolution proposed by the government. There is another class which I think ought to receive our very serious consideration, and which is in no way effected by the government resolution. I refer to the large number of mail couriers throughout the country. These people are forced in good and bad weather to go out day after day, through all kinds of roads to perform their duties under their contracts, and for which in many cases they are very much underpaid. We are told that these men tender for this work, but I fail to see why a man should be forced down to the lowest possible figure, simply because he wants a mail contract. Some system ought to be adopted by which post office inspectors would be called in to give a fair valuation for services performed, as a guide to the amount that should be paid. These men are subjected to a great many hardships. For instance, let me read a statement in the newspaper published in my own village, a newspaper

Mr. DAVIN.

supporting the government. I quote from the *Acton Free Press*, published about two weeks' ago :

Crewson's Corners.

The roads are in a very bad state at present. It took Mr. George Cann, our genial postmaster, and a team of horses and five men seven hours to take the mail to and from Acton, a distance of about six miles for round trip last Friday, the road being almost impassable.

And, for all that service, the genial postmaster was paid the magnificent sum of fifty cents. There ought surely be some consideration shown for men who will, in all kinds of weather and roads, perform the duties they have agreed to do under their contracts, and for which they are so clearly underpaid. When this same postmaster asked the hon. Postmaster General (Mr. Mullock), only about a year ago, to give him an extra \$25 for his services, his tender being the lowest, he was told that unless he performed it for 50 cents a trip, the mail service would be reduced to a weekly, instead of a semi-weekly one. So that it is not the fault of the mail courier, that he is paid only this small indemnity. The fact is that the hon. Postmaster General has adopted a policy of cutting down the pay of hard working mail couriers throughout the country to the lowest possible point, forcing men who have been performing the service for years, to continue rather than give up their living even if the pittance allowed them is altogether too small. To my mind, the resolution is entirely too limited. It should go a great deal further. As I understand it, it simply relates to work undertaken by the government, and to works aided by the government. Why not extend it, so as to include those men who do work such as making clothing for the militia, making blankets, boots, harness, saddlery, paper and leather, required by the government. Why not say to the man who takes a contract for making blankets or clothing, or the manufactures of leather, that the department insists in all these contracts, the men employed should be paid fair wages, equal to the necessities of the case? No doubt throughout the country, workmen are in many cases paid small wages, and to my mind, if the government is going to assist men on government contracts, such as canals and railways, it ought to extend that paternal care a good deal further, and insist that every contractor who gets a government contract, should pay the men who actually do the work wages fair and sufficient under the circumstances. I trust that before the resolution is allowed to pass, the government will see its way clear to extend its operations so as to include a requirement of this character.

Mr. E. F. CLARKE (West Toronto). I do not intend to occupy the time of the House for more than a few minutes. I

think that the object of the government in presenting an amendment to my amendment, and the speech of the Minister of Customs may be left to the country to make decision as to the reasons which prompted them. The whole burden of the speech of the Minister of Customs, if I understand that hon. gentleman aright, was an attack on the civil service. He endeavoured to justify the amendment to the amendment by making an assault upon highly paid members of the civil service, gentlemen who receive salaries of from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a year. I must confess that I had not in my mind, when I offered my amendment, the class of employees drawing salaries as large as those mentioned by the hon. minister. But, if these gentlemen are rendering services to the state that, if rendered to private individuals, would entitle them to salaries of more than \$2,000, is there any good reason why they should not be paid those salaries? If the intention of the Postmaster General was, as he stated in the House this afternoon, to set an example to employers generally throughout the Dominion by the affirmation of the principle contained in this resolution, why should its operation be confined to labourers pure and simple? Why should not members of the civil service who are eking out a miserable existence, many of them on salaries of \$300, \$350 and \$400, be included in the resolution? The government broke faith with the members of the civil service when they assumed office. They broke the contract made by the government of the country with these men, because when these men entered the service of the Crown, they relied upon it that good faith would be kept with them. But the hon. gentleman who made such a flowery speech this afternoon about the interests of the workingmen signalized his entrance into office by cutting down wages and depriving his officials of their increases wherever it was possible to do so. Yet, in the resolution he asks the people to believe that he is a friend of the labouring classes, and desires to do justice to them on a question in regard to which justice has, it is alleged, never been done by any previous administration. I say that the resolution proposed by the hon. gentleman is just as vague as it is possible for a resolution to be. It practically means nothing; and if it is carried—as I presume it will be by the majority in this House—in the shape in which it is presented by the Postmaster General, it will be as dead a letter as the celebrated alien labour law which these hon. gentlemen passed three years ago. The hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), says that if this resolution is passed it will prevent the importation of foreign workmen, and that Canadian workmen, under the operation of the principle embodied in this resolution, will get a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. But how will the passage of this resolution prevent the importation of alien

labour? We have an alien labour law on the statute-book and it has not prevented the importation of alien labour; foreign labourers having been brought in again and again, not only in the far west but in the older provinces. And, when Canadian labourers were endeavouring to improve their position and resorted to strikes for that purpose, they were completely handicapped by the inactivity and gross carelessness of hon. gentlemen opposite in not putting into effect the clauses of the alien labour law which were supposed to give these Canadian workingmen protection. This resolution which is before the House to-day is nominally intended to 'secure the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out.' This resolution is intended to apply to works of construction which are aided by bonus of the parliament of Canada. May I ask what the rate of wages is to be in those outlying districts where these works will be carried on in many cases, where there is no labour market except that created by the contractors in the performance of the work? Have the government given the House the slightest information as to how they intend to enforce the payment of fair wages? Have they shown who is to be the judge of what fair wages are in these districts? Have the government made the slightest suggestion of fixing a minimum wage per hour for workmen? Not a single attempt has been made to put the resolution in practical shape. And I must say I was amazed when the announcement was made this afternoon that it was not the intention of the government to implement this resolution by an Act of parliament providing penalties and setting up machinery to carry out the principle thus declared. It seems to me that if the government desire that we shall give them full credit for their interest in the passage of this resolution, they should set to work without a moment's delay and endeavour to enforce the alien labour law which they have placed on the statute-books, and which is admitted by their supporters, and even by themselves, and which is known by the working people of the Dominion generally, to be as dead a letter as it is possible for a piece of legislation to be. In conclusion, I may say that, in my humble judgment, there is no good reason why men in the service of the Crown, men who are compelled to work eight or ten hours a day, should not be included in the scope of the resolution that the Postmaster General presented this afternoon; and if they are underpaid, as many of them are, it is unfair to deprive them of the benefit of the principle embodied in this resolution. It is an unfair and unjust action on the part of the government, and it weakens very much the force of the plea made by hon. gentlemen on the other side as to the object the gov-

ernment have in view in presenting this resolution.

Mr. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). I beg to move the adjournment of the debate, and would ask the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding) to consent to this motion. I understand that the hon. gentleman is to make his budget speech to-day. I supposed that he was preparing that speech this afternoon. I telephoned to the ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster) who, I presume, is preparing his reply, about 9 or 10 o'clock, that we were going to have a vote, and he telephoned back to pair him with the Minister of Finance. I wrote a note to the chief whip (Mr. Gibson) on the other side, making the request, and thought that it was all arranged. But the Finance Minister came in as the vote was going on. I wish to save him staying here another hour or two, for I know there are several on this side of the House who, since the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) has provoked discussion, wish to speak. And I am satisfied, as we have to have a couple more votes that, before the question is disposed it will be broad daylight. I do not think the Minister of Finance wants to force us to that course to-night, particularly as he is to deliver his budget speech to-day. I hope, therefore, he will consent to the adjournment. If not, I shall go on with my remarks.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). On the motion to adjourn, I may say that I have sent for the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who has been leading the House, as I prefer that he should decide the question submitted by the hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor). As to the question of the pair, I may say that I had no communication whatever with my hon. friend the ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster) on that subject.

Mr. TAYLOR. I did not say you had.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. We had no conversation on the subject, and there could be no understanding. I came in not knowing what was going on. I do not think that it is wise at present, that I should consent to an adjournment. As I am on my feet, I may be permitted to say that a strong temptation is presented to me to support the amendment of my hon. friend from Toronto, because under it I shall get a fair wage as a minister of the Crown. This amendment is intended to secure the current rate of wages for persons performing services for the government. I do not think it would affect the salary of the His Excellency the Governor General, because he is already at the maximum of his class. But, I think that the Minister of Finance should be paid at least as high a salary as the manager of the Bank of Montreal, who, I understand, receives three or four times

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the salary of the Minister of Finance. Therefore, there is a strong inducement on my part to vote for this resolution of the member for Toronto. Nevertheless, being an unselfish person, and being more concerned for the interest of the wage earners, not the civil servant particularly, whose claims can be dealt with in other ways, not the minister of the Crown, I reluctantly say that I am obliged to pursue an unselfish course and vote against the motion of my hon. friend. Now, that the Prime Minister is in, I will leave him to discuss the question of the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. TAYLOR. In the absence of the Prime Minister, I suggested that the debate be adjourned, because the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) has provoked a discussion, and several members on this side of the House have intimated to me their wish to speak on this question. I do not think that at this hour in the morning we should be asked to remain any longer.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The member for West Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) told us a moment ago that they had to devise something to meet this amendment to the amendment, therefore, I will agree to the adjournment of the debate out of consideration for the hon. gentleman.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The PRIME MINISTER moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 12.50 a.m. (Friday).

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 23, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 108) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of J. W. Anderson.—(Mr. Cargill.)

Bill (No. 109) to incorporate the Manitoulin and North Shore Railway Company.—(Mr. Dymont.)

Bill (No. 110) to amend the Weights and Measures Act.—(Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière.)

GEORGIAN BAY CANAL—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. JOHN G. HAGGART (South Lanark). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw attention to a report in the *Ottawa Citizen* of an alleged speech made by the Hon. Mr. Blair in this House, the night before last. He is reported as saying :

Later on, in his speech, Mr. Blair dealt with the Georgian Bay Canal question; and in no very hopeful strain, advocates of that scheme will conclude. He said that in his address to the House on the present subject, Hon. Mr. Haggart had stated that the Georgian Bay Canal project was not a new one; that the government of the late Sir John Macdonald had decided to take up the matter, and take hold of the project as a government work and expend a million dollars a year upon it for twenty years. If that, said Mr. Blair, was the policy of the government of Sir John Macdonald, there is not a record or a letter in the archives of the government that will go to bear out that statement. In the Department of Railways and Canals there is not an officer who ever heard that any such scheme was in contemplation, or even under consideration. There was, in fact, only one survey in existence, one made a half or three-quarters of a century ago, he forgot which, and that was for a nine-foot canal. There were no calculations, no plans, and when he mentioned to the deputy minister what Mr. Haggart had stated, he was taken quite by surprise.

One can very well imagine, said the minister, that the hon. gentleman dreamt it; either it was a day dream or a night dream.

I call the attention of the right hon. the leader of the House, who is present, to this, because he was listening attentively to what I said in the House, and he interjected a question when I was speaking. I stated that at one time it was the policy of the Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald to build this canal, and that in carrying out that policy he had let some of the contracts. I stated further that some of the work was done, and that Sir John Macdonald intended to complete it with a reasonable expenditure. The Minister of Railways asked me what I thought was a reasonable expenditure, and my answer was that I thought it would be about \$1,000,000 a year. I thought the fact was known to every person in Canada who had followed public affairs, and I do not believe it possible that the Railway Department furnished the minister (Mr. Blair) with the information that Sir John Macdonald never contemplated that work. Anyway, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) has been at the head of the department for four years, and he ought to have known the facts. If they do not know the facts in the Railway Department, let me draw the attention of the minister to the records of the House upon the subject.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I understood from my hon. friend that he wanted simply to make a personal explanation.

Mr. HAGGART. Yes, it is a question of the veracity of my statement, and the rest of my remarks will only consist of quotations from the public documents to show that when Sir John Macdonald was a member of the government and Sir Hector Langevin was the Minister of Public Works, these matters occurred.

The PRIME MINISTER. If my hon. friend will permit me, the Minister of Finance proposes to make his budget speech this afternoon, and if my hon. friend enters into a lengthy controversy—

Mr. HAGGART. I will not enter into any controversy. I will only make quotations from the public documents to sustain my statement.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to say that this is opening up a subject which I gather will be controversial, and I ought to have an opportunity of making some reply. I do not think it is proper for the hon. gentleman to take an occasion to make his statement when for reasons stated by the Prime Minister, I would be expected not to make a statement. I do not want to have the matter left in that position.

Mr. HAGGART. I will not enter into any controversy. I only wish to show whether there was any foundation for the statement I made or not. In the sessional papers of 1867, under the head of 'Montreal and Lake Huron Navigation, via Ottawa and French River,' you will find an account of the expenditure, and these words :

It was deemed expedient to commence, in the first instance, only the Chats, the shorter of these two canals. Two lines had been proposed for this canal, one on the north and one on the south shore. The northern line was selected, tenders were received for its construction, and on June 19, 1854, a contract was entered into with Messrs. A. P. McDonald and P. Schram.

In the same work, under the head of 'Montreal and Lake Huron Navigation, via Ottawa,' there is an account of expenditure as follows :

Chats Canal (not completed), Lower Canada, \$482,950.

Then, in the same work, under the head of 'Montreal and Lake Huron Navigation, via Ottawa,' there is the following :

This canal extends from the foot of Rapide des Chats to Chats Lake; it was commenced in August, 1854, and is yet in an unfinished state, the work having been suspended on November 15, 1856; it was designed with locks of 190 x 45 feet, similar to the lock at Ste. Anne; the depth of water on the sills was to be 7 feet, and the total lockage 49.80 feet.

Out of this amount \$273,191.98 were expended by the Department of Public Works and the balance by the Finance Department.

These are quotations in reference to that subject from the sessional papers and the reports of the minister's own department, which ought to be in his possession. I have nothing more to say.

SUCCESSOR TO GENERAL HUTTON.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to call the attention of the right hon. leader of the government to an item that appears in the *Canadian Military Gazette*, as follows :

It is stated in the department at Ottawa that Col. Percy Lake has actually been appointed General Officer Commanding the Canadian Forces.

I would ask the right hon. gentleman whether he is in a position to state to this House, whether that is a fact, or whether any other gentleman has been appointed to take the place of General Hutton ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). There has been no appointment.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved that the House resolve itself into committee to consider of the ways and means for raising the supply to be granted to Her Majesty. He said : Mr. Speaker, when I had the honour to deliver the budget speech a year ago, I spoke to the House of the affairs of the preceding year, which I was able to describe as the most prosperous period in the history of Canada. It is, I am sure, a cause of gratification to us all that the favourable conditions which then existed have continued, and that the year which followed was also one of wonderful progress in Canada. The year 1898 was regarded as a phenomenal year ; but great as was its activity, that of the year 1899 was still greater, and I may say of that year that it was beyond all question the most prosperous year in Canadian history. The evidence of that prosperity will be found in the public documents, in the returns of the banks, in the reports of the boards of trade, in the reports of our great railway and industrial corporations. I may, as I proceed, have occasion to refer to a few of the more striking features of that prosperity, and at the close, I shall place on the Table of the House, as I did on a previous occasion, a series of diagrams, which will in a very vivid way illustrate the progress which Canada has made during the comparatively short period of her national existence.

Let me first, Sir, following the usual method of the budget speech, invite attention to the financial affairs of the year ending the 30th of June last, which we describe in our blue-books as the fiscal year 1898-9.

Mr. HAGGART.

During that year, the revenue collected from all sources amounted to \$46,741,249. This amount, which I may say, by the way, exceeds the anticipation expressed in my statement of last year by \$108,850, represents the very pronounced increase of \$6,186,011 over what was received by way of total revenue in the preceding year. The following are the particulars of how the revenue has been derived :

	1897-8.	1898-9.	In-crease.	De-crease.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Customs....	21,704,893	25,316,841	3,611,948	
Excise.....	7,871,563	9,641,227	1,769,664	
Post Office..	3,527,809	3,193,777		334,032
Miscellaneous.....	7,450,973	8,589,404	1,138,431	
	49,555,238	46,741,249	6,520,043	334,032
Net increase.....			6,186,011	

The increase of customs was general along the line, there being but few articles on which there was not an increase of revenue. In the case of excise, there was an increase on all articles. The following is a statement of the excise revenue collected on each article :

Article.	Duty accrued 1898.	Duty accrued 1899.	Increase.
	\$	\$	\$
Spirits.....	3,563,575	4,566,147	1,002,572
Malt	584,321	843,193	258,872
Cigars.....	676,577	768,496	91,919
Cigarettes.....	240,343	302,841	62,498
Tobacco and Snuff.....	2,651,633	3,014,951	363,318
	7,716,449	9,495,628	1,779,179

As I have already stated, in miscellaneous revenues there is a large increase. We have a large receipt from the Yukon, which is a comparatively new source of revenue in the last year or two ; and we have an increase of over \$600,000 in the earnings of government railways. In this general classification of our sources of revenue, the only item which shows a diminution is the Post Office Department, and that we do not regard as a matter of regret, because the reduction in the revenue of the Post Office Department is a reminder of the great reform accomplished in that department by my hon. friend the Postmaster General when he established the great boon of the penny post. I remember that my hon. friend the leader of the opposition, when

speaking on that subject at a public gathering in the city of Brockville, not many months ago, said that if the government had reduced the postage to two cents, they would make up for that reduction by new taxes somewhere else. Well, it will be, no doubt, gratifying to the hon. gentleman to know that no new taxes have been imposed, and that consequently the concession of penny postage has been a great reduction of taxation to the people at large, because there is no tax that is more universal throughout Canada than that which may be called taxation to meet the cost of the postal service of the country. The public will be glad to know that the anticipation of my hon. friend has not been realized, and that this great boon has been given without entailing the necessity of any increase of taxation in other respects. But while there is temporarily a loss of revenue in consequence of the granting of that boon, I rejoice to know that that loss will not last much longer. It is a principle which we on this side, at any rate, recognize, that when you cheapen an article to the public they will use more of it, and that principle applies in the matter of postage as in other matters. We are glad to know that owing to the reduction in postage, the people are writing more letters than ever before, and it will be but a few months, in all probability not more than twelve months, when the revenue from the Post Office Department will be as much as it was before the penny postage was established.

The total revenue for 1898-9 was \$46,741,249, or an increase of \$6,186,000 over the revenue of the previous year. The expenditure chargeable to consolidated fund for the year was \$41,903,500, or an increase of \$3,070,974 over the previous year. I will mention some of the principal increases. One is in the interest on the public debt, in which connection we had to pay a full year's interest on our 2½ per cent loan against a half year's interest in the previous year.

In legislation we had to provide for the plebiscite; in militia we had to provide for the Yukon contingent expenses and increased expenditure on annual drill; in public works we had to provide for additional dredging plant and numerous repairs and extensive additions to these works; in our ocean and river services we had to provide for the cost of a new steamer. We had also to provide for other expenditure in the Yukon Territory which was absolutely necessary, and as hon. gentlemen know our government railways are being developed to a considerable extent, but our expenditure in that connection is a profitable expenditure, as it is the cause of increased earnings on the Intercolonial.

We had, therefore, a revenue for the year 1898-9 of \$46,741,249, and an expenditure

for the same year of \$41,903,500, so that we closed the year with a surplus of \$4,837,749.

I should now refer to the question of what we call capital expenditure. There is a disposition occasionally on the part of some hon. gentlemen, who perhaps have not given the matter sufficient attention, to confuse capital account with income account; and even during the present session we have heard hon. gentlemen treat these two accounts as if they were one and the same, and put the total expenditure of both capital and income, during our time, against the expenditure of former governments which included income charges only. There ought to be no misunderstanding in a matter of that sort. I am sure that there will not be any on the part of my hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, who at one time controlled the Finance Department himself, nor on the part of my hon. friend the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), because both these hon. gentlemen are well aware that there is a broad distinction between these two accounts.

There are certain charges of an unusual character, such as the construction of great public works, railways and canals, the subsidizing of railways and other exceptional charges of one kind or another, which do not form part of the ordinary every day expenditure of governments, and these from time immemorial are collected together under the heading of capital account, distinguished from the ordinary account of expenditure chargeable against income.

Let it be clearly understood that the accounts of the government, as respects these two classes of expenditure, are kept to-day exactly as they were in former times; and therefore the comparisons we make are those we have the right to make with the expenditures of former administrations. I trust, therefore, that those hon. gentlemen who have confused these two accounts, will draw the line between them, and see that any comparisons they submit are properly made.

We expended during the last year on capital account, that is to say outside ordinary charges against income, \$9,137,562. This is made up of the following items:

Railways—Intercolonial and Prince Edward Island Railways	\$1,103,929
Canals	3,899,377
Public works	385,094
Dominion lands	151,212
Militia	387,810
Canadian Pacific Railway	8,418
Railway subsidies (including \$2,322,500 to Crow's Nest Pass Railway) ..	3,201,220
Total	\$9,137,562

Let us turn now to the effect of this expenditure in increasing our public debt. I have here a statement showing the additions to the net debt on the 30th June, 1899:

Capital expenditure (railways, canals, public works, Dominion lands, militia, and C.P.R.).....	\$5,936,342 94
Railway subsidies	3,201,220 05
Expenses of loan of 1897	3,786 87
Allowance to Manitoba (under 61 Vic., cap 4).....	267,026 43
Amount paid to Manitoba (under 61 Vic., cap 4).....	231,292 82
	\$9,639,669 11
Less surplus	\$4,837,749 00
Sinking fund	2,482,484 65
Refund account, N.W.T. rebellion.....	1,853 41
Con. fund transfer.....	534 36
	7,322,621 42

Increase of net debt\$2,317,047 69

This increase of the public debt, Mr. Speaker, is somewhat larger than I at one time expected, but it is notwithstanding a very moderate increase of the debt, having regard to the very large undertakings in which we have been engaged. When I stated that it was somewhat larger than some of us anticipated, one of my hon. friends opposite said, 'Hear, hear.' There is a popular idea, I know, in some quarters that the increase of the public debt, under this administration, has been very large. No statement is more unfounded. There is absolutely no ground for any statement of that character, if a fair comparison be made between the expenditure of the present government and that of our predecessors. I have here a comparative statement of the public debt for two periods. I take first the period from 1878 to 1896, eighteen years :

Net debt July 1, 1878.....	\$140,362,069 91
" " 1896.....	258,497,432 77
Increase for eighteen years.....	\$118,135,362 86
Average increase per annum for eighteen years.....	\$ 6,563,075 71

I now present a similar statement for the three years from 1896 to 1899 :

Net debt July 1, 1896.....	\$258,497,432 77
" " 1899	266,273,446 60
Increase for three years.....	\$ 7,776,013 83
Average increase per annum.....	\$ 2,592,004 61

But, this statement, favourable as it is, hardly tells the whole story. Of the expenditures of the last three years, about two and a half millions, in round numbers, have been expended in paying obligations entered into by the late government, or obligations which existed prior to this government coming into power, and which should have been met by the previous government. And, if you take this two and a half millions from our expenditure and hold this government responsible only for that portion of the increase of debt which is represented by their own outlay for charges occurring subsequent to their coming into office, you will find that the average annual increase of the public debt under this administration has been only about \$1,700,000, against about \$6,500,000 for every year of the government of their predecessors. The other day, when some reference was made in the course of discussion to large expenditures on the part of this government, the question was asked what we had got for them, and an hon. gentleman opposite said 'nothing.' But let me call attention to two or three items of our expenditure for the last three years, that the House and the country may judge whether these expenditures have produced nothing for the good of the country. I have here a statement of the expenditures on canals, public works, Intercolonial Railway and railway subsidies for two periods of three years—the three years 1894-5-6, and the three years 1897-8-9. All these expenditures are chargeable to capital.

STATEMENT OF Expenditure chargeable to Capital, &c., Six Years.

	Canals.	Public Works.	Intercolonial Railway.	Railway Subsidies.	Total.
	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
1894.....	3,027,164 19	102,058 94	479,209 14	1,229,885 10	4,798,317 37
1895.....	2,452,273 65	102,392 80	327,605 06	1,310,549 10	4,192,820 61
1896.....	2,258,778 97	114,825 58	260,395 54	3,228,745 49	5,860,345 58
Total	7,738,216 81	319,277 32	1,027,209 74	5,769,179 69	14,853,883 56
1897.....	2,348,636 91	129,237 76	190,569 81	416,955 30	3,085,399 78
1898.....	3,207,249 79	198,935 69	252,756 80	1,414,934 78	5,073,877 06
1899.....	3,899,877 31	325,236 40	1,081,929 74	3,201,220 05	8,508,263 50
Total	9,455,764 01	653,409 85	1,525,256 35	5,033,110 13	16,667,540 34

So it will be seen that if we have a larger expenditure in the aggregate, we are able to point to such items as these to show that this expenditure has been applied to services absolutely necessary for the 'growing time' in Canada. I turn now to the affairs of the year of which some eight months have passed. I estimate that the total revenue for this year will pass the fifty million mark. Our expenditure up to the first of the present month was \$25,018,290. It will be necessary to make a somewhat liberal allowance for the expenditure of the remaining portion of the year. Last year, it will be remembered, parliament adjourned at a very late date. The Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) was, unfortunately, absent, through illness, and very many of the grants which were appropriated in that department were not expended. But arrangements have since been made, and I have no doubt that during the working season between now and the 1st of July, very liberal expenditures will have to be made. We make allowances for liberal expenditures on that account, and making such allowances—I estimate that the expenditure of the year will be \$43,175,000. And I anticipate, making our calculations and keeping our accounts in exactly the same way as our predecessors, that at the close of the fiscal year we shall have a surplus of \$7,525,000, the largest surplus in the history of Canada. I may find myself tempted to infringe on the copyright of the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), and inscribe on the public accounts 'We hold a vaster surplus than has been.'

Coming now to the capital account for the current year, our expenditure to the 1st of March has been \$5,341,452. We have large expenditures on railways, on canals, and on public works yet to make. We have provided liberally for these. Then, we have this year a service of an exceptional character, which we are proud to mention, a service which is not for ourselves, but for the empire and for the maintenance of our troops in Africa. We have a large expenditure to make on that service. I desire to speak of the public debt of the year with some caution, because I know that one may easily err, and I know that the increase last year was somewhat more than I anticipated, but, looking at the matter carefully, making the best estimates one can for the year of which four months are yet to elapse, I am of the opinion, and I think that opinion will prove to be correct, that, during this current year we will pay all the liberal outlay on ordinary account that hon. gentlemen opposite talk of so often; we will pay all the capital charges we occasionally hear about; we will pay all the railway subsidies; we will pay every dollar of the expenditure required to the 1st of July for our services in South Africa—and, at the end

of the year, we shall not have added one dollar to the public debt.

Mr. GEORGE E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) May I interrupt the applause for a moment? The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) did not tell us what he supposed the total capital expenditure would be, he was so anxious to get to that debt business.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) is quite right. The total capital expenditure, I estimate, will reach \$9,875,000. Our position financially, therefore, is a very strong one. We have not a dollar of floating debt at this moment; and though, as any hon. member connected with finance, is aware, we have been passing through a period of great stringency in the money world, it is gratifying to us to know that we have been able to bear these difficulties and not go upon the money market at all.

I have spoken of the year 1898-9, ending in June last, and I have spoken of the current year which will end on the 30th of June next. We have placed on the Table the main estimates for the year beginning the 1st of July next, and supplementary estimates will follow in due course. I do not think it is necessary at present to go into any speculation as to the finances of next year further than to say this, that great as have been the progress and prosperity of Canada during the past two or three years, we have no reason to believe that there is going to be any early check to that prosperity. I do not think it is reasonable for us to look forward to a continued period of such prosperity as we have had. As I ventured to remark on a previous occasion, the pendulum that swings one way may some day swing back, and it is always well that we should keep that in mind. But so far as we can see now, there is no turn of the tide; there is every reason to believe that the next fiscal year will be one of prosperity in Canada, and that we will come out of it at the close with a good financial statement.

I want to ask the attention of the House for one moment to an item that has only recently appeared in our public accounts, which has taken a great deal of our money, and which swells the expenditure which hon. gentlemen opposite like to speak of so well. I desire to call the attention of the House to it as an evidence of the fact that a mere increase of expenditure is not in itself an evidence of any increasing burden to the people; but there may be cases in which increasing expenditures, far from being a burden, actually tend to reduce the burden of the taxpayer. I have here the figures of the Yukon district, receipts and expenditures for three years, which I will read to the House:

YUKON DISTRICT.

REVENUE.

	1896-7.	1897-8.	1898-9.	Total.
	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Interior.....	8,593 00	735,485 09	1,261,816 30	2,005,894 39
Post Office.....	50 00	2,083 50	9,461 28	11,594 78
Customs.....	9,873 24	63,185 39	482,098 55	555,157 18
Totals.....	18,516 24	800,753 98	1,753,376 13	2,572,646 35

EXPENDITURE.

Interior.....	5,998 47	47,026 65	223,526 24	276,551 36
Post Office.....	40 00	43 33	21,950 39	22,033 72
Customs.....	3,938 78	3,239 09	28,931 88	36,109 75
Public Works.....		14,000 00	68,619 32	82,619 32
Railways and Canals.....		4,996 00	55,952 92	60,948 92
Justice.....		933 97	12,646 98	13,580 95
Mounted Police.....	22,134 76	495,770 08	874,852 72	1,392,757 56
Militia.....		99,975 75	387,763 41	487,739 16
Totals.....	32,112 01	665,984 87	1,674,243 86	2,372,340 74

Though this Yukon statement swells up the total expenditure, though it gives hon. gentlemen opposite an opportunity to talk of this great expenditure, still the same account shows that the Yukon has also been actually the source of a small revenue.

I will now say a word as to surpluses and deficits. I do not know that it is absolutely necessary for the prosperity of a country that we should always have a surplus. We cannot properly say there may not be circumstances in which a government would be well justified in having a deficit. Still, I suppose we shall all agree that it is well to have a balance on the right side, and it is better to have a series of surpluses than a series of deficits. Seeing then that some of our critical friends have been disposed to expect that great disaster will come from the financial management of this government, it may not be without interest to present a comparative statement of the surpluses and deficits for two periods of three years :

	Deficit.
1893-4	\$1,210,332 45
1894-5	4,153,875 58
1895-6	330,551 31
Total deficit for three years.....	\$5,694,759 34
Average annual deficit	1,898,253 11

We now turn to the period when deficits cease and surpluses begin. In the year 1896-7 we had only a partial command of the finances of the country ; because it will be remembered that the estimates were prepared by our predecessors, and owing to the circumstances under which parliament met in the summer of 1896, it was found necessary to accept those estimates for carrying

Mr. FIELDING.

on the business of the country, with very little change. But, of course, by keeping some check upon the expenditure we had a partial control, and while it was expected that that year would result in a very heavy deficit, we had the satisfaction at the close of the year of finding that the deficit was only \$519,981.44. In the two following years we had handsome surpluses, as will be seen by the following statement :

	Deficit.	Surplus.
1896-7	\$519,981 44	
1897-8		\$1,722,712 33
1898-9		4,837,749 00
		\$6,560,461 33
		519,981 44
Total surplus for three years..		\$6,040,479 89
Average annual surplus		2,013,493 29
Deficit, three years, 1893 to 1896....	\$5,694,759 34	
Surplus, three years, 1896 to 1899....		6,040,479 89
Betterment, last three years...		\$11,735,239 23

That statement, be it remembered, takes no account of the surplus for the present year of \$7,500,000. Sometimes hon. gentlemen opposite are a little anxious as to the future of our Dominion in regard to its finances. It will be interesting for those who have not given attention to the subject—for, of course, I know that several hon. gentlemen opposite are quite as familiar, perhaps more familiar, than I am with these things—but to those who have not given attention to the subject, it may be well that I should remind them that the obligations of Canada which will begin to mature very shortly in the

mother country, bear a high rate of interest. The time will come, within a few years, when we shall have to redeem obligations to the amount of \$167,000,000. But, against that we will have \$67,000,000 of sinking fund, so that we shall have to borrow within the interval between now and the year 1903, for the renewals of old debts, \$100,000,000. We may, in the meantime, have to make some additions to our public debt for the carrying on the public works of the country, although we are developing a marvellous capacity for carrying on these works without adding anything to the public debt. We cannot always expect to have as prosperous times as we have now, and it may be necessary, to meet these great expenditures of a practical character, to add something to the public debt in the meantime. If we assume that we will have to add \$2,000,000 a year on the average, and also to retire the old debt to the amount of \$100,000,000, I believe we shall be able, at the time mentioned, owing to the great improvement to the credit of Canada—an improvement which I do not pretend for one moment is due entirely to this government, because the credit of Canada occupied a good position when we came in, and I hope we have improved it—but, owing to the steady improvement for many years in the credit of Canada, we shall be able to float our new loans at a much lower rate of interest than the old loans bear. The difference between the rate that these old loans bear and the rate at which we shall be able to borrow, looking as far to the future as we can, all the money that we require, is so great that I believe that ten or twelve years hence we shall find ourselves in the happy position that, even though we should have to add \$2,000,000 a year to the public debt, we shall actually be paying less money for interest on our debt than we do to-day.

I want to ask the attention of the House now to a question which is so much talked about, of the large expenditures of the government, and generally to the question of extravagant expenditures. I think that no fair discussion of that question can take place unless hon. gentlemen opposite are prepared to take up the expenditure, item by item, and show wherein there is an expenditure which has been wasteful or unnecessary. I think that every fair-minded man in Canada, who is interested in such matters, will feel that he is bound to analyse their character before he forms any judgment against the expenditures of this government. I know that many men take a general view of these matters, and, even in the general view, it will be found that this government has not been anything like the extravagant government which hon. gentlemen opposite would picture it to be. I have here a statement of the expenditure, chargeable to consolidated fund, per head

of the population, for the last twenty years, and I find that, according to this statement, taking statistics of population as given by the statistician of the Department of Agriculture, our expenditure for last year was \$7.88 per head, not the largest expenditure in the history of Canada.

Mr. FOSTER. Is that the total expenditure ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. It is the expenditure chargeable to consolidated fund only. There are several years in which the expenditure was about \$7.88 per head, and in one year, 1886, which was somewhat exceptional, it was \$8.50 per head. In 1888, the expenditure was \$7.84 per head, while ours is \$7.88 per head. I have already pointed out that, while there is an apparent increase of the expenditure, it is only a nominal increase, inasmuch as it does not carry with it any burdens upon the people. I have given the House the illustration of the case of the Yukon; for every dollar of increased expenditure we have received a dollar back, and I might also say that, for every dollar we have expended on the working expenses of the Intercolonial Railway, I think we shall receive a full dollar back, so that these increased expenditures are more nominal than real. Even treating them as real and taking that general view that so many people are likely to take, I would point out that this expenditure was \$7.88 last year, per head of the population, based upon the statistics of the Department of Agriculture. I understand that the gentleman who has charge of that branch of the public business makes his estimates from year to year upon a well established scale of percentages based upon the past increase of population. Of course, it is only an approximate statement. In dull times, when business is not prosperous, when the country is not growing, this approximate statement will, probably, be above the true statement, while, in times of great activity, this statement will be below the true statement, and I have no hesitation in saying, from such means as I have of inquiry and observation, that the figures in this statement, based upon the method of calculation pursued in the past, do not represent correctly the population of Canada. The population, in 1899, is put down at 5,312,500, but, I think, my hon. friends opposite will agree with me in what I said a moment ago, that this approximate statement is likely to be an excessive statement in hard times, and an under-estimate in good times, and that being the case, we may reasonably believe that in these great and growing times in Canada, the population is greater than is given in this statement. If that be so, then, our expenditure per capita is actually below what it was in some of the years of the late government.

Mr. FOSTER. Is the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) going to take up the expenditure per head on both lines ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not take up the capital expenditure, but I shall be glad, at a later stage, to look into that. I have not the figures with me. I have already shown that the capital expenditure is larger than when hon. gentlemen opposite were in power, but, in dealing with that branch of the subject we shall have to bear in mind the question whether we were prepared to finish the canals in a hurry or carry them on quietly.

Year.	Expenditure, Consolidated Fund.		Population.	Expenditure per Capita.	
	\$	cts.		\$	cts.
1880.	24,850,631	45	4,215,389	5	90
1881.	25,502,554	42	4,336,504	5	88
1882.	27,067,103	58	4,383,819	6	18
1883.	28,730,157	45	4,433,363	6	48
1884.	31,107,706	25	4,485,395	6	94
1885.	35,037,060	12	4,538,790	7	72
1886.	39,011,612	26	4,589,414	8	50
1887.	35,657,680	16	4,638,109	7	69
1888.	36,718,494	79	4,688,147	7	84
1889.	36,917,834	76	4,739,617	7	79
1890.	35,994,031	47	4,792,605	7	51
1891.	36,343,567	96	4,846,377	7	50
1892.	36,765,894	18	4,899,273	7	50
1893.	36,814,052	90	4,953,557	7	45
1894.	37,583,025	52	5,009,296	7	50
1895.	38,132,005	05	5,066,562	7	53
1896.	36,949,142	03	5,125,436	7	21
1897.	38,349,759	84	5,185,990	7	39
1898.	38,832,525	70	5,248,315	7	39
1899.	41,903,500	54	5,312,500	7	83

I want to submit a statement of the total trade of Canada for different periods. There are various ways of measuring the prosperity of the country; the population is one, the value of land is another, and the total trade is another. I think we can appeal to every one of these to prove that Canada is prospering to an unprecedented degree to-day. I speak particularly of the statement of the total trade. I shall divide the statement into three periods, beginning with the period from 1868 to 1878, which I may describe as a low tariff period. There was a Conservative government in power for part of the time and a Liberal government for part of the time, when we had a much lower tariff. Then, we had the period from 1878 to 1896, which, I suppose, my hon. friends opposite do not object to my calling a high tariff period. Then, we have the period from 1896 to the present time, which, if not a very low tariff, is certainly a period of a moderate revenue tariff.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. FIELDING.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Now, I find that the total trade in 1868 was \$131,027,532; in 1878, \$172,405,454, an increase in ten years, in the low tariff period, of \$41,377,922, the percentage of increase in the ten years being 31.58 per cent, and the average annual increase \$4,137,792. Now we come to the period from 1878 to 1896. The total trade in 1878 was \$172,495,454, and in 1896, it was \$239,025,360. The increase in eighteen years was \$66,619,906, the percentage of increase in eighteen years was 38.64, and the average annual increase was \$3,701,105. Now we come to the period of a moderate tariff. The total trade for 1896 was \$239,025,360, and the total trade for 1899 was \$321,661,213, an increase in three years of \$82,635,853, against an increase of \$66,000,000 in the whole eighteen years of the national policy. The average annual increase in this present period has been \$27,545,284, against an average annual increase of \$3,701,105 in the period of the national policy. The percentage of increase in our three years is 34.57, as against 38.64 in the eighteen years of the national policy. We have a statement of our trade for the eight months of the current year, and I shall present an approximate estimate for the remaining four months. If our trade for the coming four months should keep pace with the progress of the last eight months, we would then have the increase for the four years over 1896 at \$135,227,247. The average annual increase for the four years would be \$33,806,811, against an average annual increase of \$3,701,105 in the days of the national policy. The percentage of increase in the four years would be 56.57, as against a percentage of 38.64 in the eighteen years of the national policy. Now, converting this into a statement of the annual increase, we find that in the low tariff period from 1868 to 1878, the total trade increased 3.15 per cent, and from 1878 to 1896, it increased 2.14 per cent. There was a lower rate of increase of trade under the national policy than there was under the old Macdonald-Mackenzie tariff. From 1896 to 1899, the annual increase is 11.52 per cent, as against 2.14 per cent in the days of the national policy. If we take the eight months actual figures of the present year, and the four months estimate, we will find that the annual increase in the four years is 14.14 per cent, as against 2 per cent in the days of the national policy.

Mr. WALLACE. At what do you estimate the total trade for the current year (1900) ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I have given the increase, but I have not at hand the figures on which it is based. The increase for the four years over 1896 is estimated at \$135,227,247.

CANADA.

Statement of the total trade of Canada for the several periods mentioned.

Total trade, 1868.....	\$131,027,532
“ 1873.....	172,405,454
Increase in ten years.....	\$ 41,377,922
Average annual increase	4,137,792
Percentage of increase in ten years..	31.58
Total trade, 1878.....	\$172,405,454
“ 1896.....	239,025,360
Increase in eighteen years	\$ 66,619,906
Average annual increase.....	3,701,105
Percentage of increase in eighteen years	38.64
Total trade, 1896.....	\$239,025,360
“ 1899.....	321,661,213
Increase in three years	\$ 82,635,853
Average annual increase	27,545,284
Percentage of increase in three years.	34.57

Memo.—If our trade for the remaining four months of the present year keeps on in the same proportion to the past eight months' trade as it did in the previous year, the increase of the four years over 1896 would be.... \$135,227,247
Being an average annual increase of. 33,806,811
And a percentage of increase in the four years of..... 56.57

Average Annual Increase per cent for Total Trade for the Several Periods.

	Per cent.
1868 to 1878	3.15
1878 to 1896	2.14
1896 to 1899	11.52
1899 to 1900 (four months of 1900 being estimated)	14.14

I have here a statement showing the increase of trade during the past eight months of the year, and it is as follows :

CANADA.

Comparative figures of the Trade of Canada for the first eight months, ended March 1, of years 1899 and 1900.

Imports, exclusive of coin and bullion, eight months, 1899.....	\$ 96,342,331
Imports, exclusive of coin and bullion, eight months, 1900.....	115,228,940
Increase last eight months.....	\$ 18,886,609
Exports, produce of Canada, exclusive of coin and bullion, eight months, 1899	\$ 96,810,264
Exports, produce of Canada, exclusive of coin and bullion, eight months, 1900	110,058,423
Increase last eight months	\$ 13,248,164
Aggregate trade, including imports and exports, produce of Canada, coin and bullion excluded, for the eight months, 1899.....	\$193,152,595
Aggregate trade, including imports and exports, produce of Canada, coin and bullion excluded, for the eight months, 1900.....	225,287,363
Increase last eight months.....	\$ 32,134,773

I have here some comparative statements which are usually presented in a budget speech, respecting the circulation of notes of the chartered banks and of the Dominion government. That statement is as follows :

Circulation of Notes of Chartered Banks and Dominion Government.

Date.	Banks.	Government.	Total.
	\$	\$	\$
Oct. 31, 1894.....	34,516,651	22,212,884	56,729,535
“ 31, 1895.....	34,671,028	22,893,259	57,564,287
“ 31, 1896.....	35,955,150	21,607,553	57,562,703
“ 31, 1897.....	41,580,928	24,751,932	66,332,860
“ 31, 1898.....	42,543,446	24,315,988	66,859,434
“ 31, 1899.....	49,588,236	27,076,309	76,664,545

There is no better criterion of the general business activity of the country than the circulation of the small notes—the \$1 and \$2 notes, such as a wayfaring man, even though he may be a member of parliament, may expect to get hold of. The larger notes get into the hands of the more favoured people, but the average of mankind is fortunate to possess these \$1 and \$2 bills. It is one of the best tests of the activity of the trade of the country. Taking the figures at the highest point in each year, which is the time the harvest is being moved, at the end of October, I find the circulation of Dominion notes (\$1 and \$2) was as follows :

Dominion Notes of Denomination of \$1 and \$2 in Circulation.

Date.	Amount.
October 31, 1894.....	\$7,031,368
“ 1895.....	7,295,368
“ 1896.....	7,583,712
“ 1897.....	7,940,520
“ 1898.....	8,612,602
“ 1899.....	9,421,886

The bank clearings, which business men recognize as one indication of some value as to business activity, were as follows, for the past three years, in the six cities of Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Halifax and St. John. I may state that the clearing house at St. John, was only established in 1896 :

Bank Clearings in Six Cities of Canada.

Year ended December 31, 1897.....	\$1,174,710,345
“ “ 1898.....	1,390,019,344
“ “ 1899.....	1,549,966,696

This shows an enormous increase in the bank clearings. The discounts of the chartered banks of Canada from the year 1894 to the 31st January, 1900, were as follows :

Discounts—Chartered Banks of Canada.

Date.	Amount.
June 30, 1894.....	\$224,371,222
" 1895.....	224,627,632
" 1896.....	224,507,301
" 1897.....	226,960,482
" 1898.....	245,336,120
" 1899.....	283,713,938
January 31, 1900.....	301,694,768

The deposits in the chartered banks, and in the post office and government savings banks, were as follows, for the periods mentioned :

Deposits by the people in the Chartered Banks of Canada and in the Post Office and Government Savings Banks.

Date.	Chartered Banks.	Post Office and Government Savings Banks.	Total.
	\$	\$	\$
June 30, 1894	174,930,936	43,036,012	217,966,948
" 30, 1895	180,664,121	44,450,498	225,114,619
" 30, 1896	183,769,992	46,799,318	230,569,310
" 30, 1897	201,141,688	48,934,975	250,076,663
" 30, 1898	227,063,343	50,111,118	277,174,461
" 30, 1899	258,402,340	51,241,715	308,644,058
Jan. 31, 1900	269,841,396	51,562,908	321,404,304

I have here a brief statement which will occupy only a few minutes, summarizing the railway traffic for the past two years. It is as follows :

Miles in operation—	
1898.....	16,718
1899.....	17,250
Number of passengers carried—	
1898.....	18,444,049
1899.....	19,133,365
Number of tons of freight carried—	
1898.....	28,785,903
1899.....	31,211,753
Gross earnings—	
1898.....	\$59,715,105
1899.....	62,243,784
Working expenses—	
1898.....	\$39,137,549
1899.....	40,423,281
Net earnings—	
1898.....	\$20,577,556
1899.....	21,820,503

A very interesting statement, which I will only present in brief, though hon. gentlemen in the west would perhaps find it of special interest, is one showing the sales of lands made by the Dominion government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in the North-west. In 1895, 1896 and 1897, the Canadian Pacific Railway returns show that they had actually sold no land in those years ; or, to put it in other words, the sales of land had not been as great as the cancellations of previous sales. In 1898, the company sold 192,918 acres, and in 1899, they sold 266,874 acres. The sales of Dominion

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lands, the receipts being in cash and scrip, were as follows :

1895-6.....	\$ 93,303 63
1896-7.....	66,264 91
1897-8.....	109,096 78
1898-9.....	137,905 93

These figures are very suggestive of the growth and progress of our great western country.

Mr. FOSTER. Has the hon. gentleman the distinction between the cash and scrip received ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I had it, but it is not on my notes. I will furnish that to the hon. gentleman if he wishes it.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to see it.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I will try to bear it in mind. I have a statement of the immigrants arriving in Canada for a series of years, as follows :

	By Ocean Ports.	From U.S.	Total.
1892	29,810	.....	29,810
1893	29,455	.....	29,455
1894	20,680	.....	20,680
1895	18,617	.....	18,617
1896	16,835	.....	16,835
1897	19,304	712	20,016
1898	22,781	9,119	31,900
1899	32,598	11,945	44,543

There do not appear to be statistics as to the immigration from the United States in the years prior to 1897, if there was such an immigration in those years.

Mr. CLARKE. Have you the information as to the nationality of the immigrants arriving at ocean ports during the last two or three years ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No. Is there any particular nationality the hon. gentleman would want to shut out ?

Mr. CLARKE. I would like to get all the nationalities.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I am not aware whether the Department of the Interior has them. My hon. friend, the acting minister can perhaps look into that. A further illustration may be given by the importations of settlers' effects, which were as follows :

1896.....	\$2,188,975
1897.....	2,233,730
1898.....	2,828,675
1899.....	2,805,956

It will be seen that there has been a considerable increase in the last two years. I am glad, however, to be able to quote another authority as to the increase of immigration from the United States. My hon. friend, the leader of the opposition visited the city of Boston a few days ago, and there made a very patriotic speech, which does

him infinite credit. In the course of that speech, he said :

Since September 27 last he had the opportunity of addressing fifty-seven public meetings in Canada, in every province, and at these meetings he had met hundreds of former citizens of the United States who had taken up their residence in Canada.

Mr. PRIOR. Could the hon. gentleman say whether—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order. Sit down.

Mr. PRIOR. Would the hon. gentleman say whether the leader of the opposition stated when these immigrants came to Canada ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. In the report of the hon. gentleman's very excellent and patriotic speech, I see no reference of that kind, and I do not imagine that my hon. friend drew any such distinction.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to ask the Finance Minister, what is the system of registration on which his statistics of immigrants coming from the United States, are based ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I would have to ask my hon. friend, the acting Minister of the Interior to deal with that point at a later stage. Knowing that there was this immigration, I sent for the figures to that department, which keeps the records.

Mr. FOSTER. You do not know whether they are actual settlers on lands, or whether they are simply counted by our immigration officers, when they come in ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. At a later stage, perhaps the acting Minister of the Interior can look into that and give the information ; I cannot give it.

A gratifying evidence of the increasing activity of recent years, and especially last year, has been the growth of enterprises of considerable importance, for the manufacture of iron and steel. In the province of Ontario, several new establishments have been started within the last year or two, and there is, I believe, every probability that the iron deposits of that province will be worked on a much larger scale than before. But the new enterprise which has probably attracted the most notice is that which is now being established in the old town of Sydney, in the Island of Cape Breton. There a company of capitalists, largely Canadian, but led by a very able gentleman from the United States, is engaged in establishing what I believe will be one of the largest iron and steel plants in the world. The elements which go to the successful production of iron and steel are believed to exist in the vicinity of Sydney in an ideal condition. You need coal, iron and limestone, and all these may be found in abundance in Cape Bre-

ton. In addition to that, they have the great advantage of having their coal at tide-water, and they can have what is practically a ferry communication with the magnificent iron deposits of Newfoundland. The company has acquired one of the most valuable iron deposits in the world in Newfoundland, and contemplates using the ores of that colony as well as the ores of the Island of Cape Breton. There are at this moment, I am advised, 2,000 men at work, even at this inclement season, getting the works in shape ; and within the next two months, as soon as spring opens, and the opportunity comes of working on a larger scale, I am informed, that the number of men employed will be nearly doubled. The company has ample capital and is likely to engage in operations on a very large scale. The old town of Sydney, while always a beautiful place and full of historic interest, was not very progressive ; but it is to-day experiencing a boom such as is often heard of in the western country, but seldom happens in our quiet towns down by the sea. Sydney is likely to become the Pittsburg of Canada. There is to-day, I believe, as great a demand for town lots in Sydney as there is in some of the older cities with ten times its population. Every indication points to a great and successful enterprise, one which is likely to be productive of great advantage to Canada, and no doubt also to the enterprising capitalists who have put their money into it. There is a feature that I may be pardoned for making a passing allusion to, though possibly it may be a little bit of vanity on my part. I feel a certain interest in the matter, not because I happened to be the medium through which the government put before parliament its legislation on that subject, not because last year I introduced, on behalf of the government, our legislation with reference to bounties, by which we continued the system that had been in existence during the four years previous, another period of years, but for another reason. I should not have great hope of the mining industry in Sydney if I thought it would have to rely for its success upon the continuance of the bounty system, and I am glad to know that those gentlemen who have put their capital into it, look to the day when that industry will flourish without the aid of government bounties, because they have put their money into this enterprise on the faith of the Act passed by this parliament by which the bounty is to be diminished from year to year until before many years it will cease altogether. But it is not particularly the legislation of last year that I had in mind. What I desire to note is that this great enterprise in Cape Breton is the direct outcome of another great undertaking, led by the same enterprising American citizen, which I had the honour of submitting to the legislature of the province of Nova Scotia for

its encouragement, when I occupied the position of Prime Minister. When I remember the struggle I had to make for my political existence to get that measure through, when I recall the fact that its opponents carried their hostility to Ottawa and into the Governor General's office, I can look back with pride and satisfaction to the movement of that day, and feel that time has vindicated that policy of the Nova Scotia government, and that the enterprise then started has been fruitful of advantage to the province and the direct cause of the creation of this new enterprise which bids fair to make the town of Sydney the Pittsburg of Canada.

Perhaps the House will pardon me if I place in the budget speech the mineral statistics of Canada, which may be stated briefly in a few lines, as taken from the report of the Geological Survey :

Total Value of Mineral Products of Canada.

1890.....	\$16,763,353
1891.....	18,976,616
1892.....	16,628,417
1893.....	20,035,082
1894.....	19,933,857
1895.....	20,758,450
1896.....	22,584,513
1897.....	28,661,430
1898.....	38,661,010
1899.....	46,245,878

I presented last year, simply as an interesting item of comparison, because it is not properly a matter pertaining to the budget, some figures showing the relative trades of the United States and Canada, and I think they were found quite interesting and by many surprising. It is well that we should recognize that the United States is a more self-contained country than Canada. They have a greater variety of soil and climate than we, and are able to obtain, in the way of domestic trade, many products which we have to obtain from foreign countries. In that respect, perhaps, our American neighbours have the advantage of us, but we enjoy this compensation, that in this more northern clime we have a bracing climate, which probably more than anywhere else in the world, is conducive to the bringing up of a race of strong men and women.

The domestic exports of the United States in 1898 were \$16.05 per head, and those of Canada in the same year amounted to \$27.54 per head.

The total foreign trade of the United States in 1898 was \$24.60 per head, and that of Canada \$56.29 per head.

I have also the figures for 1899. The domestic exports of the United States in that year were \$15.84 per head and of Canada \$25.85 per head. The total foreign trade of the United States in 1899 amounted to \$25.31 per head, and that of Canada to \$58.90 per head.

Let me say something on the question of the extent to which this government has carried out the policy of tariff reform. My

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hon. friend, the leader of the opposition, has once or twice spoken of the extent of our tariff reform as 71-100ths of 1 per cent, while his hon. friend, who sits near him (Mr. Foster), and who is perhaps more accustomed to deal with figures, has placed it, in a resolution on the journals of the House, at 1.71 per cent, which is a great deal more than the statement of the hon. leader of the opposition. However, neither statement is exactly correct. I have here a statement prepared in the Customs Department, showing the imports for consumption during the fiscal year of 1898-9 to be \$154,051,593, on which the duty collected amounted to \$25,734,228.75. This, however includes the sum of \$38,384.69, which was collected in the year 1897-8, but not credited to the Receiver General until 1898-9. The value of the importations upon which this sum was paid by way of duty is not included in the total value of imports for consumption for 1898-9, nor was it included in the previous year. It should, therefore, be deducted in striking the average ad valorem rate of duty on last year's imports.

The sum of \$54,109.84 was refunded under the preferential tariff on importations of last year and it should, therefore, also be deducted in striking the average ad valorem rate. The goods covered by such amount refunded were originally entered under the general tariff owing to absence of necessary certificates of origin. On production of such certificates refund was allowed. Deducting these, we have the following statement :

Net revenue on importations of fiscal year 1898-9.....	\$25,641,734 22
Importations for consumption for the fiscal year 1898-9.....	\$154,051,593
Less coin and bullion	4,705,134
	<u>\$149,346,459</u>
Net duty paid thereon.....	<u>\$25,641,734 22</u>
Average ad valorem rate on importations, less coin and bullion.....	17.17
Compare this with 1895-6 :	
Importations for consumption for fiscal year 1895-6.....	\$110,587,480
Less coin and bullion	5,226,319
	<u>\$105,361,161</u>
Duty paid thereon.....	<u>\$ 20,219,037</u>
Average ad valorem rate on importations, less coin and bullion.....	19.19
Rate, 1896	19.19
“ 1899.....	17.17
	<u>2.02</u>

Now, 2.02 may strike some persons as a very small reduction, but it is a very substantial reduction if you look at it in the right way. It is equivalent to a reduction

of 10½ per cent off the total duties. And if you convert it into dollars, you will find that if the old tariff had been in operation and imposed upon the importations to which I have referred, the duty which the people would have been obliged to pay would have been \$3,017,000 more than they actually paid.

I wish to point out, however, that the average ad valorem duty is not a fair measure of the tariff reform. You could have a large measure of tariff reform without reducing the ad valorem duty a single point. If you should increase your duties on luxuries and diminish them on things which may be regarded as the necessaries of life, you could by such a process have a very great tariff reform, and yet your average duty might be just the same as before or higher. Consequently the system of averages is somewhat misleading. When hon. gentlemen desire to know what the tariff reform has been, they must take up the individual items of the tariff. Last year, under our tariff, we added materially to the free list. There were besides 148 items on which the duties had been reduced in the general tariff, and on every one of these items, in the case of importations from Great Britain, the duty was further reduced to the extent of the preferential rate. I think that will be an indication that there has been a very considerable measure of tariff reform. Then, there is another point to be remembered. Even taking your average, you have saved, not only 2·2 per cent on your imports, but you have saved also 2·2 per cent on your purchases of goods from the home manufacturers. We all know that as a rule—there are exceptional cases, of course—the price of the home product is influenced by the duty on the foreign article. So, when our tariff was readjusted and this reduction was made, the reduction not only affected all the articles imported, but it obliged the home manufacturer to reduce his price to correspond with the price of the imported article under the reduced duty. And he was able to do that by the increased volume of business he was doing. Therefore, the people received the advantage of that reduction and the manufacturer did more business than ever before.

So it will be seen, I think, that there is a very large reduction in the tariff. Hon. gentlemen opposite delight to say now that there has been no reduction at all. They say that our tariff is only the old national policy. I am obliged to refer to this again, because the view is too often expressed by hon. gentlemen opposite. My hon. friend from East Huron (Mr. Macdonald), read a quotation the other evening, to show what was thought of our policy when we brought it down. It was not spoken of by these hon. gentlemen as the national policy then. May I be permitted to read again the words of the leader of the opposition on the tariff of 1897 :

The result is that this tariff goes into operation and the hon. gentleman knows that the industries of this country are already paralysed in consequence, while hon. members gloat over the destruction of Canadian industries. I was reading the wail, the sorrowful wail, of those industries in the Montreal 'Gazette,' where one manufacturer after another declared that those industries were ruined, that their mills must close, and that they saw staring them in the face a return to the deplorable state of things that existed when the hon. gentleman who last addressed the House was in charge of the fiscal policy of this country. I say that a deeper wrong was never inflicted upon Canada.

I feel that so far from rejoicing at it from a party standpoint, I deplore from the bottom of my heart the ruin that is going to be inflicted upon the best interests of Canada and upon its great industries. Still, I unhesitatingly say that, from a party point of view, the hon. gentlemen are doing our work; they are showing the people of this country that no reliance can be placed upon the most solemn declarations that they make either in the House or out of it; they are showing the people of this country that, having obtained power, which was all they wished for, they are now prepared to abuse that power at a cost of a sacrifice of the industries of Canada.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. May I ask my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), if he thinks it is fair, I do not say to the House, because he does not expect. I am sure, to impress the House with a statement of that kind, for everybody here understands the question, but does he think it is fair to the country, to read a speech made by me upon an entirely different condition of things from that which exists to-day, and to present that as a criticism of the tariff? The hon. gentleman knows—

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. My hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper), may ask a question, but this is not the time for him to make a speech—

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding), knows that he substantially changed the tariff.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. My hon. friend will have an ample opportunity of presenting his views, and I am sure he will not expect to make a speech now. I was just coming to the point to which he refers. He has had many a bad quarter of an hour trying to explain that speech. He says that it applied to an entirely different state of affairs. When his attention was drawn to this matter last year, he said that that speech applied to the tariff as the Finance Minister first brought it down, but that the Finance Minister had made changes a little later. That is the view he is suggesting now. If his criticism did not apply to the tariff so amended, that tariff must be all right. But we do not find that, at the time, the hon. gentleman said the changes made the tariff all right. He said we were blundering and muddling along and bringing affairs into hopeless confusion. Now,

when we brought down that tariff, we did not imagine that wisdom would die with us. We knew that there were thousands of men in Canada able to give good opinions upon the tariff, opinions from which we might learn something. And, when we did learn something, we had the courage to come down and say so, and to make the change. And, so with the change in one item, and a change in another, here a little and there a little, we made it a good tariff. But, has the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), said that it was a good tariff? No, he and his newspaper organs throughout the country, and particularly the *Toronto Mail and Empire*, declared that we had ruined the national policy, that we had cut the duties unsparingly up and down the line. Now, he would have us understand that these changes made the tariff all right, so that his criticism, which I have read, would not apply. But, that was not his position three days ago in this House. What did he say then? When this quotation was read by my hon. friend from East Huron, the hon. leader of the opposition rose, but he had a different story to tell us then. He said that that criticism applied to the tariff of 1897, but that that whole tariff was changed in 1898. So, it was the tariff of 1898, to which he said his criticism must not be held to apply. I tell the hon. gentleman that we made those changes which were necessary and proper from the first draft of the tariff, and he and his organs throughout the country condemned that tariff as being as mischievous as before. And, the other night, he said that because we made the changes in 1898, we should not hold him responsible for this criticism, which applied to the tariff of 1897. But, what followed? He had the opportunity, three days ago, to vote for the essential principle of the tariff of 1898, and he hastened to put himself and his party in opposition to that principle; and, though he was not here at the time the vote was taken, he was paired, and thus his vote is recorded against it. And, so, Mr. Speaker, we have the tariff as brought down in the first draft, then the final draft of 1897, and then the tariff of 1898; and, from beginning to end, the whole was condemned by the hon. gentleman, who declared that it was going to prove disastrous to the interests of the country.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No? Then, if the tariff of 1898 was a good tariff, why did the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), vote against the preference feature of it? It is too late for him to come and pretend—

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding), has asked a question, will he not allow me to answer it?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Yes.

Mr. FIELDING.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I did not vote against the tariff of 1898; I voted against the statements made in the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), that I considered were untrue. But, I will ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding), this question: Was not the tariff of 1897 the Cobden medal tariff, and is the tariff of 1898 a Cobden medal tariff?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. My hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper), would have been glad, not many years ago, to have had the Cobden medal. He poses as a great apostle of the national policy, but my memory carries me back to a time when men who were more loyal to the national policy than he was, brought into this House a resolution to sustain certain features of the original national policy; and when the hon. gentleman found he was in a difficulty over it, he voted against the national policy rather than resign his office. I do not know that the tariff of 1897, or the tariff of 1898 has any relation to the Cobden medal; but, I know that they were good tariffs for the Dominion of Canada, and that under them Canada has prospered as never before in her history.

Now, I think my hon. friend had better cease trying to explain away his criticism of the tariff. He had better be frank enough to say, for I know he feels it, that he has made a mistake—we all do make mistakes, you know. He ought to say: I was wrong in 1897 and 1898; I did not understand the matter, and I am frank enough to say that you have brought down a good tariff under which Canada has prospered, and I congratulate you upon it. That is the course he should take, though he may not want to take it. If, in the face of all I have shown him; if, in the face of the goods transferred to the free list; if, in the face of duties reduced from over 50 per cent to 25 and 26 per cent; if, in the face of 140 items in the general tariff reduced; if in the face of the 25 per cent reduction under the preferential tariff; if, in the face of all light and all reason, he insists upon saying that this is the old national policy; then, I shall borrow the remark of the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), and say that if this is the national policy, then the people of Canada will say: Better leave it in the hands of men, like the present government, who can get some good out of it, than to put it into the hands of men who, though they claim to have invented the machine, evidently never knew how to manage it.

I desire to make some reference now to a question which has frequently engaged the attention of the House. I refer to the West Indian trade. Many years ago the eastern provinces of Canada had a very large and prosperous trade with the West Indies. Unfortunately, in later years that trade did not flourish. From time to time various efforts have been made by several govern-

ments to improve those trade relations. Delegate after delegate has gone to the West Indies, but somehow or other, although every effort was made, I have no doubt, that was possible, very little good was accomplished. Two years ago, in 1898, in the hope that we might be able to improve matters somewhat, with the two-fold purpose of trying to extend our trade and at the same time, perhaps, lending, in a small degree, a friendly hand to the efforts which were being made by Her Majesty's government to improve the condition of the British West Indies, I submitted to the House a proposal to extend to those colonies the benefits of the preferential tariff. I am frank to say now that the increase of trade under that preferential tariff with the West Indies has not been so great as we had hoped for. I realize, however, that the difficulties are great. While we gave a preference on national grounds to the products of the West Indies, our neighbours to the south gave a preference to the cane sugar of the West Indies in another form. Though they have no special legislation which says that cane sugar from the West Indies should be admitted on favourable terms, they have a system of countervailing duties whereby the beet sugar of the continent is subjected to extra duties, and the effect of that is that cane sugar is much sought for in the United States market. The difference in value between cane and beet sugar, owing to the difference in duty, is very considerable; and, naturally, the West Indian planter finds that market so attractive that he sends his cane sugar to Boston or to New York; and when he is there selling his sugar, it naturally follows that he has a strong disposition to buy needed articles, which he carries back with him. We recognize the difficulties of the case. I have here the figures of the trade, imports and exports, with the West Indies for a few years past:

Aggregate Trade with the British West Indies, including British Guiana, for past six years.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
	\$	\$	\$
1894.....	1,769,206	2,401,783	4,170,989
1895.....	1,413,041	2,203,447	3,616,488
1896.....	1,395,423	1,935,336	3,330,759
1897.....	1,171,743	1,716,906	2,888,649
1898.....	753,397	1,785,071	2,538,468
1899.....	954,471	1,990,865	2,945,336

While I do not for a moment pretend that these are satisfactory figures, while I recognize that we ought to have, if possible, better trade relations with the West Indies, and this government is certainly desirous of doing everything that is reasonably possible

to that end, I would call attention to the considerable improvement last year. Several of the West India islands have entered into agreements with the United States whereby, in addition to the advantage which is already given to cane sugar under the system of countervailing duties, a further advantage may be granted to the products of the West Indies in exchange for advantages to be granted by the West Indies to the products of the United States. At this moment there are, as respects three of the islands, conventions pending before the United States Senate, and before the colonial legislatures, with a view to establish trade relations on that basis. If the several colonies in the West Indies should establish these arrangements with the United States, we would certainly be precluded from getting any special arrangements with them. What may be the result of these conventions, one cannot at this moment say.

There is one island in particular, however, with which we have recently had some negotiations. The island of Trinidad is one of the most prosperous islands of the West Indies. It has a population of about 300,000, one-third of whom are coolies, people from the East Indies; less than one-third are whites, and the remainder are negroes. Among all the islands of the West Indies there is not one with which we ought to be more desirous of cultivating trade relations. In addition to the market of Trinidad, the island stands in a particularly favourable situation for doing business with the neighbouring republic of Venezuela, which is connected, we may say, with Trinidad by little more than a ferry. It is only a few miles from Port au Spain to the ports of the Venezuelan republic. For all these reasons, we have been very anxious to deal with the colony of Trinidad if we could be met on fair terms. My hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), feeling the importance of this trade, sent out his Deputy Minister, Mr. Parmalee, one of the oldest and most experienced of our public officials, to make inquiry into the conditions of the West Indian trade. After going over these islands, and understanding the conditions of their negotiations with the United States, he came to the conclusion that the island with which we ought to attempt to negotiate was the island of Trinidad. About the same time the colonial government of Trinidad was moved to approach Canada. Although the preferential tariff with the West Indies had not accomplished very much, it had this good effect, that it made the people of the West Indies aware of the desire of the people of Canada to deal in a friendly and brotherly way with them, and there have been frequent manifestations of good-will on the part of the Island of Trinidad towards Canada since the adoption of that preferential tariff. The

colonial government sent to Ottawa a short time ago two gentlemen representing the island, the Hon. R. H. McCarthy, of the Customs Department of Trinidad, and the Hon. G. T. Fenwick, member of the executive council. These gentlemen were not commissioned to make any arrangement with Canada, to make any formal offer; but they did assure us that there was a strong desire on the part of the government and people of Trinidad to establish closer trade relations with the Dominion of Canada. They did not submit any formal offer, as I say; but they led us to believe that a proposal approximating to free trade between Canada and Trinidad would be the means of leading the people of that island to turn their eyes towards Canada rather than to follow the example of their sister colonies in making special treaties with the United States. Having fully considered the matter, having regard to the position of the other islands in their relations with the United States, and to the great importance of our obtaining relations with Trinidad if it could be done, we came to the conclusion to make a proposal to the colonial government. That proposal I now wish to submit to the House. It will be this day made public in the island of Trinidad, and come before the colonial legislative council, at a session which, I believe, is to be held on Monday next. On the 27th of February, a proposal was made to the colonial government in the following terms:

In view of your recent representations, if details can be satisfactorily arranged, Dominion government agree, subject to approval of Dominion parliament, free interchange of products of Trinidad and Dominion of Canada, except spirituous liquors and tobacco. Goods to be carried direct per ships between British West Indies and Dominion of Canada. Detailed list of special articles comprising principal products of Trinidad and Dominion of Canada to be made, on which the duties against other countries remain the same as present rates in Trinidad and Dominion of Canada, or not to be made under minimum rates, to be fixed in accordance with agreement. Both governments to be free to make such commercial arrangements as may be desirable with any part of British dominions. Agreement to be for five years, and afterwards to continue until terminated after one year's notice has been given by either of parties.

We have not yet been placed in a position to know the views of the colonial government in regard to the proposal, but, this being the earliest moment at which we had an opportunity of submitting it to the House, we desire now to make its contents known. The substance of the proposal is that there should be, with a few exceptions, free trade between Trinidad and Canada, but it will be upon conditions that there shall be a preference, as in Canada over foreign countries, in favour of Trinidad, and that in Trinidad there shall be a preference in favour of Canada on the products which Canada may send to the Island of Trinidad.

Mr. FIELDING.

The scheme is one, which, I think, will commend itself to the House. I do not, at this moment, know what will be its fate. We know that our brethren to the south of us are very active in cultivating trade relations with the West India islands. We know that they have already secured treaties with some of the islands, and we know that they have already made proposals to Trinidad. I take it that our Trinidad friends, while well disposed towards us, will look upon this to some extent as a business proposal. They will compare the advantages of our scheme with the advantages which may be offered by the United States. In due time, we shall receive further information on the subject, and at the present I do not think it is desirable to say more in regard to the proposition.

Mr. FOSTER. Would the hon. gentleman know the main products that Trinidad would probably export to this country?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The chief products of Trinidad are sugar, cocoa and asphalt.

Mr. FOSTER. And coffee?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I do not think they do much in coffee.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, they raise coffee.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. They raise coffee, but I do not think there would be a very great export of coffee. Their great product is sugar.

Mr. WALLACE. Will the hon. gentleman submit a statement of the trade of Trinidad?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I have a full statement, and I would be very glad to give all the facts later on. The fact is that there is so much material, and the tendency of the budget speech is to grow to such an extent, that I purposely left the figures out, but I shall be glad to submit the figures of the trade and commerce of Trinidad.

Mr. SPROULE. One step towards the Cobden medal.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. My hon. friend (Mr. Sproule) has no use for the Cobden medal. The best wish that I offer him is that when the time comes that he shall pass away, the world may remember him as favourably as it remembers the name of Richard Cobden.

The only change in the general tariff which I propose to ask the attention of the House to, is in the direction of free trade, to add another item to the free list. We propose to submit to the House a resolution

providing that machinery, not of a class made in Canada, imported for the manufacture of beet root sugar shall be admitted free of duty.

Mr. SPROULE. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. This is the sort of free trade that the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) does not object to. We have had before us large deputations from farmers and their representatives in the province of Ontario interested in the beet root industry. It may be remembered by many hon. members, who are familiar with the facts, more familiar than I am, that a few years ago the beet root sugar industry was established in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and that the late government thought fit to give that industry a considerable measure of encouragement. For a few years the business was carried on, but it finally proved a failure and was abandoned. Perhaps it is because of that fact that there is an opinion among many of the most intelligent farmers in Canada, that the beet root sugar industry is not one adapted to our soil and climate. On the other hand, it is but fair to say that many other farmers, equally intelligent, think that in some parts of Ontario, owing to more favourable conditions, and also owing to the improvements that have been made in machinery, the beet root sugar industry may be worked upon a permanently profitable basis, and that is the opinion of a number of gentlemen who did me the honour of waiting upon me the other day. We had two deputations, one of which favoured a bounty and the other deputation, while having an eye to the windward for a bounty, seemed to take the view that if a bounty was necessary it would be provided by the government of Ontario, that province being particularly interested. That deputation only asked the government to aid the enterprise by granting an exemption of the duty on the machinery. I understand, that, for the establishment of a plant of sufficient capacity to engage in this business on a large scale, it would require the investment of \$500,000, \$300,000 of which would have to be paid for machinery to be imported from foreign countries. There is a certain class of machinery, boilers and engines, which may be made in Canada, but the greater portion would have to be imported from the United States, France, or Germany, and it is upon the machinery which will be so imported from foreign countries that we propose to grant that exemption. If the proportion is as large as it has been represented to me, the exemption of such machinery from duty will be a very important concession to them. However, that may be, we have felt it inexpedient, at this time, to deal with the question of bounty, but we willingly grant the concession which is asked in relation to the duty on machinery.

I have said that this is the only item we propose to deal with in detail. I do not propose to contend, for a moment, that the other items of the tariff are perfect. There are, no doubt, some blemishes in it. We think we have a pretty good tariff. No doubt there will be differences of opinion on this question, and there always will be in this country, or in the United States or in any other country, except England, which has a tariff that is beyond attack. There will always be room for debate on the tariff question, and while I do not claim that the tariff is perfect in all its items, I say there are strong reasons against disturbing it in its details. There are some duties that are high, higher than I would like to see them. There are some duties which, probably, are lower than they should be and an increase of a few of these duties might make the tariff more symmetrical and equitable. But, there is a view that I would like to present to those who advocate tariff changes of that kind; I would like to remind them that there are very few items in the tariff which stand alone. As I said in 1897, in introducing the tariff changes, the tariff had been and must continue to be, to a certain extent, a matter of compromise. There are different sections in our vast territories which have different interests which often come in conflict. It must be the part of wisdom and of statesmanship to try to reconcile these different views by a policy of moderation and reasonable compromise. It was upon that principle that the tariff was formed, it is on that principle that I defend it to-day. It is on that principle that any hon. gentleman who may have to deal with the tariff question in our lifetime will have to defend his tariff, whatever it may be. I have said that there are few items standing alone; almost every item bears a relation to another item, and if you propose to alter one item you may, of necessity, be obliged to change some other item. I desire to emphasize the fact that those hon. gentlemen who may be advocating changes in particular items that, in opening up any one item, you may have to disturb another item. There are items which concern one section of the Dominion, and there are items which concern another section, and if you attempt to deal with the details of the tariff you may find that your changes are wider and more far-reaching than you had expected. It may be that there are some duties which are high, higher than some would like to see them, on goods imported from the United States, but, we have a good answer to make to those who ask for changes. If in the United States there had been manifested any great desire to have better trade relations with us, I am sure there would be a very strong demand from many people in Canada for reductions in the tariff on American products. But, our American neighbours feel it to be their duty, and they feel it to be consistent with their

best interests, not to encourage closer trade relations with Canada; and while they take that position, we do not think the moment is favourable for making reductions upon articles which are produced in the United States. The Joint High Commission, though it has not accomplished much, has not yet come to the end of its term. It is theoretically, at all events, still an open question, and though there may be no immediate prospects of its reassembling, it has not yet been dismissed by the only authorities who can terminate its existence. If we shall have an opportunity of opening up trade relations with the United States, I am sure this government will not fail to take advantage of it. If that opportunity does not come, then I do not think there will be as much desire as there would otherwise be for a reduction of duties on American products. In any case, Sir, whether we have closer relations with the United States or not; whether we have negotiation with them or not; I am sure that what has already happened between this government and the government of the United States in relation to that question, affords abundant guarantees to the people of Canada, that Canadian interests will be safeguarded at every point.

May I now say something in reference to the question of preferential trade, which was discussed a few days ago, but which is a matter too important to be overlooked in a budget speech. I am glad that the issue between the two parties on that question has now been defined, but I regret, and I say it with all sincerity, that hon. gentlemen opposite have not been able to take our view of the method of dealing with the mother country. It would have been a very gratifying fact if upon that question, as upon the other question of sending our brave sons to Africa, the two parties in Canada could have stood side by side and worked hand in hand. However, hon. gentlemen opposite have their own view of preferential trade, and though we may not agree with it we must at least have a clear understanding of what it is, and why it is that we are unable to agree with them. These gentlemen opposite have made one thing very clear, and that is, that they have fallen back to the old ground which they occupied years ago; that ground which declared that no concession of any kind should be made to our mother country unless the mother country would give us dollar for dollar and cent for cent. Whatever difference there may be between us, there is no difference as to that being the policy of the Conservative party, as led by my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper). Well, Canada has had experience of that policy. For years that policy was promulgated on the floor of this House and throughout the country. The desire for preferential trade was not born yesterday nor even in 1897. There was something in the

Mr. FIELDING.

thought which appealed to the heart of every Britisher, and hon. gentlemen opposite, realizing that fact, repeatedly brought the question up for discussion. Why did they never make any progress; why did their every step meet with failure? It was simply and solely because they asked that which was impossible. They found the Belgian and German treaties an insuperable difficulty. The Belgian and German treaties were peculiar in their character. They were different from what were called the favoured nation treaties. The favoured nation treaties dealt only with the relations of Great Britain to foreign countries, but the Belgian and German treaties related to the family affairs of the British Empire. They provided that no higher or other duty should be levied on the products of Belgium or of Germany in the colonies than were levied on the products of Great Britain. At every step the Conservative government took in the direction of preferential trade these treaties rose up as an insurmountable obstacle. Day after day and year after year, speeches were made and conferences were held, and resolutions were passed asking that these obstacles be removed, but they were never removed, and why? It was because hon. gentlemen opposite and all who agreed with them on that subject insisted upon asking things that were at the time, and even now are impossible. England was asked to give up her most cherished principles of her modern fiscal system. England, which after a great struggle under Bright and Cobden had made the people's food free, was asked to turn back the hands of the clock and tax the bread of the people. England was asked again and again to accept this condition, and just so long as that demand was made the great journals and the great leaders of thought in England scoffed at preferential trade of that kind. When the change of government in Canada came in 1896, the Belgian and German treaties were no nearer denunciation than they had been at any previous time. In 1896 a new government came to power in Canada and there was a change. There came into power in Canada a government which adopted another method of dealing with the mother country. There was a desire on this side of the House as well as on the other to have preferential trade; the only question was: How you could best go about it. We thought, Sir, that the true policy was to cease demanding impossible conditions from England. We thought that inasmuch as England had for generations aided Canada whenever it was necessary, that she had given us the protection of her flag, that she had done everything for us that we required, and had admitted our products free to her market; we thought it right that we should meet her in the same generous spirit and say: Inasmuch as you have done all these things for us, we will

give you this preference free without any conditions, and we will take our chances of getting a further return.

The Belgian and German treaties stood in the way. Of course we knew that. The leader of the opposition has occasionally referred to them, as if these treaties were only discovered in recent years. Every hon. member who discussed the question in this House and who gave it any attention, had been told that these treaties must be swept out of the way. The question was: How could the thing be done? Just so long as hon. gentlemen opposite pursued their policy no progress was made, and we felt, Sir, that we must raise the question before the British government and before British public opinion in a new way. We felt that we had a fair ground to contend that these treaties did not or ought not to apply to Canada, inasmuch as Canada had never been consulted concerning them, and Canadian interests were not advanced by them. 'Oh,' said my hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper), 'that is a preposterous theory.' Well, it was not so very preposterous after all. Authorities equally as sound as the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) have said that it was a fair contention. The *London Times*, the great organ of public opinion, after the report of the discussion in this House had been cabled it, made the statement that it was by no means clear that these treaties had any effect upon the rights of Canada at all. Whether that was right or wrong; whether our position was reasonable or unreasonable, we were bound to take a stand as advocates of Canada, and to advance every point which would help us to put the question before the British government and the British people. And so we framed our preferential clause in such a way that we thought we had escaped the consequences of the treaties. At all events, we thought we had a fair case to present. Well, Sir, we did not succeed in all respects. We were not very much surprised at that. I admitted in presenting the tariff to the House that there were doubts and difficulties in the way, and that these doubts and difficulties could only be settled by the Imperial government of Her Majesty, to whose decision we were prepared to submit. Although Her Majesty's government had to say to us, that inasmuch as they were bound to interpret their treaties with foreign countries in a liberal and generous spirit, they could not acknowledge our right to give them that preference;—while to that extent they differed from us, yet at the same moment they said that they took the step that denounced the Belgian and Ger-

man treaties. Thus, Sir, as the result of the action of the parliament of Canada there was brought about the termination of these treaties in a few months, which hon. gentlemen opposite had vainly tried to secure for many years. My hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) has more than once referred to a speech made by me at a gathering in the city of Sheffield, England, in the year 1897. 'Why,' he said, 'the Minister of Finance admitted there that Canada had nothing to do with this matter; He admitted that it was the action of the colonial Premiers in England that brought about the denunciation of the German and Belgian treaties.' Well, Sir, the hon. gentleman has unconsciously paid a compliment to my modesty. The occasion was the great gathering of the Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield, and speaking at the moment not for Canada, but for all the colonies, I did not feel that it was the time to vaunt Canada or to vaunt any little part which I had taken in the movement. I must plead guilty to the charge of a little modesty in that respect, and say that I referred to the fact that the colonial Premiers had joined in the demand on the Imperial government for the denunciation of those treaties. But, there is not a man of those colonial Premiers who will not acknowledge that all they were called on to do was to register and ratify the work already done by the government and parliament of Canada. We had thus the obstacle removed which hon. gentlemen opposite had never been able to remove, and we entered upon a policy of preferential trade.

But, hon. gentlemen opposite say, what does it amount to? How much is your increase in trade? Well, it is not so bad. The figures were read before, but let me read them again. Canada has won honour and fame from that preferential treaty, and she has won dollars and cents as well. In our trade relations with the mother country, let us go back to 1893. The hon. leader of the opposition said the other day that the increase that has come recently is a part of the general expansion of trade. Well, we had an expansion of trade in the last years of the late government; but, while the general trade increased, the imports from Great Britain fell off under the national policy from \$43,000,000 in 1893 to \$29,000,000 in 1897. In 1898, however, they increased to \$32,000,000, and in 1899 to \$37,000,000. I have in my hand a statement showing the imports for consumption at the principal ports of the Dominion, of goods from Great Britain during the eight months ended 28th February, 1899 and 1900, respectively:

thing, so long as you take sentiment out of the question and bring it down to a mere matter of dollars and cents, you are not likely to make any progress. If we shall ever obtain that preference, we shall obtain it, not by any bargaining or trafficking, but as a result of that splendid Imperial movement which is to-day commanding the attention of the civilized world—a movement which, one of these days, may override the old-fashioned ideas of political economy which Englishmen entertain. We may accomplish it in that way; we are not going to accomplish it in any other way.

We have drawn the lines between hon. gentlemen opposite and ourselves on that question. They have demanded the pound of flesh. I do not state the case too strongly. They have in effect said that if they had been in power in April, 1897, they would not have granted the preference to England. They have in effect said that if they come back to power they will not grant any preference to England unless England shall give them an equal preference. There, Sir, we accept the issue. In testimony of our faith in the system we have adopted, in the belief that it is best for Canada and best for England, in the belief that, to use the words of Her Majesty's Colonial Secretary, it is the policy that is 'welding more closely the ties that unite the colonies to the motherland,' we stand by that policy, and we are prepared to go further; and when I conclude my remarks, I shall place on the Table of the House a resolution which declares that after the 1st of July next there shall be an increase in the preference to England.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Will the hon. gentleman say how much?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. If the House will only permit me, I will say how much. Let me finish my sentence. I was submitting to the House a resolution to declare, that from and after the 1st July next, the preference of 25 per cent which is now the preferential tariff, shall be increased to 33½ per cent. In other words, that from and after that date, for every \$3 of duty imposed, upon the products of foreign countries, there shall be only \$2 of duty levied on the goods coming from our motherland.

The policy of this government in tariff matters has been from the beginning a policy of moderation, a policy of prudence and of caution. There are those who said that we were under obligation to make sweeping changes, but these were not our friends. The policy of the Liberal party, as laid down in the great convention in the city of Ottawa, in 1893, was that we should initiate a policy of tariff reform which would have due regard to all existing conditions, without doing injustice to any interest. We have adopted that policy, and carried it out in

the letter and the spirit. Step by step, desirable changes have been made, and in the step we now take, we are satisfied that we shall create no disturbing influence and injure no industry in Canada, but shall meet the reasonable expectations of the people of Canada for a further measure of tariff reform. I desire to point out that with an overflowing treasury, the people have the right to expect a reduction of taxation. We propose to give them a reduction, and to give it to them on lines which will create the least disturbance and encourage to a larger extent our trade with the motherland. If we take the largest classes of goods imported from England, and the highest rate of duty, say 35 per cent, and apply to that the reduction I now propose of 33½ per cent, or one-third of the total duties, the 35 per cent is brought down to 23½ per cent.

I submit that as things are to-day in Canada, that is a fair revenue tariff, and I do not think that the advocates of tariff reduction would ask us to go, on that class of articles, below the rates we have now named; and inasmuch as tariff stability is very desirable, and inasmuch as confidence in business is the secret, to a large extent, of prosperity, I want to say to all concerned, that I regard that rate of 23½ per cent as a fair and reasonable tariff, with which, I think, the country will be satisfied, and I do not anticipate a reduction on that class of articles for a reasonable time in the future.

There is a subject to which I wish to make a brief allusion, and it is one not wholly unconnected with that which I have been discussing. There are vast sums of money in England in the hands of trustees, who have to invest it in the best classes of security. Unfortunately for Canada, we have never been able to obtain the admission of our securities into that trustee list, and the consequence has been that whenever we placed a loan on the market, although trustees might have been willing to invest the vast sums in their hands in Canadian securities, they could not do so, because the English law did not allow it. The desirability of admission to the trustee list has long been recognized. For the last fifteen years, the matter has been agitated by the government of Canada. The hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), when he filled the important position of High Commissioner, gave a great deal of attention to the subject, and I know from my inquiry at the time, and from information I have since obtained, that my hon. friend laboured hard to accomplish that great boon for Canada, the admission of our securities to the trustee list. But, my hon. friend failed, as all others had. Many things, however, which were impossible for Canada a few years ago, have become possible under the better conditions that have arisen. A year

ago, realizing as fully as my hon. friend did the desirability of obtaining admission to the trustee list, I went into the subject very carefully and prepared a full report upon it, urging, as no doubt, my hon. friend did, in his day, that Canada ought to have her securities recognized as among the best on the English market. Negotiations were carried on for some time through the intervention of our present High Commissioner, who has laboured hard, and has done great service to Canada in that, as in every other respect, and I have now the satisfaction of announcing that the difficulties have been overcome, and that by arrangement between Her Majesty's government and the Canadian government, legislation will be introduced in the Imperial parliament this session, when I shall have the honour of submitting a Bill to this House also, dealing with the subject, and when these two Bills, purely formal in their character, are adopted, the securities of Canada will be admitted to the trustee list from which they have hitherto been excluded. My hon. friends, the leader of the opposition, and the ex-Minister of Finance, both of whom are thoroughly familiar with this question, will realize, I am sure, the great importance of this concession, which we have obtained from Great Britain; but to those who may not be so familiar with the subject, let me say that the difference between the selling price of a security admitted to the trustee list, and one shut out from that list, is from two to three points. I do not think that the hon. leader of the opposition, or the ex-Minister of Finance will differ from me in that estimate. I think that at a later stage, we shall derive even more than that difference, because under the influence of this important step, the securities of Canada will approach very nearly the value of British consols. But, if we calculate at the moderate estimate of 2 per cent, on the loans which Canada will have to place in England in the next ten years, the saving will be not less than two and a half million dollars to the Canadian treasury.

Let me put it in another way. The gain that we shall make by this action of the British government in coming to the assistance of Canada, will be in actual cash, equal to every penny we spend for the sending of the Canadian soldiers to South Africa.

I regard this as a matter of very great consequence to the finances of Canada, and those who are acquainted with our financial affairs will fully agree with me in that opinion. Now that this important question is about to be settled, I desire again to say how much we are indebted to Lord Strathcona for the assistance he has afforded in this matter. And I should do less than justice if I did not say also that to our excellent

Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr. Courtney, a large share of that credit is due.

And, now, Mr. Speaker, my task is done. It is, I trust, an agreeable statement which I have been able to present to the parliament and the people of Canada this day. It is the story of very prosperous times; of a strong financial position; of a country that has been able to pass through the recent financial stringency without the need of borrowing a dollar; of a country that has not a dollar of floating debt to-day; of a country with an overflowing treasury under a reduced customs tariff; of liberal grants for every useful public service; of great public enterprises for the present and future needs of Canada carried on with comparatively insignificant additions to the public debt; of a people occupying a vast country stretching from ocean to ocean, nearly all of whom are to-day busy, prosperous, contented and happy; of a people who bear cheerfully every obligation that comes upon them for the maintenance of their own public service, and who have found their devotion to the Throne and person of their sovereign so quickened by the inspiring events of recent years, that they give freely of their blood and of their treasure in defence of the honour of the empire in lands that are far away. May we all realize what a goodly land it is in which we dwell, and may we all remember with grateful hearts the blessings which Providence has showered upon this Dominion of Canada.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, before the House rises at six o'clock, I beg to move the adjournment of the debate. I had already spoken to my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), intimating that I would much rather, if the hon. gentleman will allow it, take up the discussion on Tuesday.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. As I entered the House to-day, my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) intimated that he was not in good health, and preferred not to proceed to-day. And, of course, on that suggestion, I assent at once.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). My hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), informed me a moment ago that the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), not being in good health desired not to proceed with the discussion to-night. We are all taken by surprise, and there is nothing left for me to do but to move the adjournment of the House, which I now do.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 6 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, March 26, 1900.

PRAYERS.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

ADJOURNMENT—EDGAR CHAPPELL AND J. G. TURRIFF.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to call the attention of the House to a very serious matter, and I shall have to be explanatory to some extent, I will conclude with a motion. Early in the session, namely, on February 22, I asked the following question of the Minister of the Interior:

Whether Mr. Edgar Chappell is employed in the immigration service of the Department of the Interior? Where is he working? Where was he working during the Manitoba provincial elections in November and December, 1899? Was he engaged in electioneering work? Was he arrested for bribery? Did he arrive in Winnipeg with letters from Mr. J. G. Turriff, Dominion Lands Commissioner, instructing him to report to Mr. J. Obed Smith and Mr. McCreary, the Immigration Commissioner? Was he supplied with transportation by McCreary? Is he still in the employ of the Department of the Interior?

The Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) replied:

Mr. Edgar Chappell is not, and never has been, in the employ of the immigration branch of the Department of the Interior. The government has no knowledge of the matters referred to in the other portions of the question.

On March 19, I asked the following question:

1. What is the position held by J. G. Turriff? 2. Was he Land Commissioner during the autumn and winter of last year? 3. Was he engaged in political work in connection with the Manitoba election? 4. Has he since his appointment been engaged in any political work? 5. Did he introduce Edgar A. Chappell to the Hon. Mr. Sifton at any time last year? 6. What was the date of the interview? 7. Was Chappell employed in any capacity? 8. If so, how much was he paid? 9. Did Chappell have an interview with Mr. James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior? 10. Did the Hon. Mr. Sifton write from Regina, giving to any of his officers any directions respecting Edgar A. Chappell.

Mr. Sutherland, the acting Minister of the Interior, replied as follows:

1. Commissioner of Dominion Lands? 2. Yes. 3. No. 4. No. 5. Yes. 6. The exact date cannot be stated, but it was in the summer of 1899. 7. No. 8. The answer to the seventh covers the eighth question. 9. No. 10. The records of the department do not show that the Hon. Mr. Sifton wrote to any of his officers respecting Edgar A. Chappell.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the answer of the Minister of the Interior and the answer of the acting Minister of the Interior are hardly consistent with the facts; but it will be observed that the acting Minister of the

Interior tells us that in the summer of 1899, Mr. Turriff introduced Chappell to the Minister of the Interior; and it will be well to bear that in mind, for in September of last year this man Chappell was stationed at Wetaskiwin, in the North-west Territories, and Mr. Turriff gets into correspondence with him, the result of which is that Mr. Turriff communicates with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company telling them that this man Chappell was to be employed as immigration agent in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and asking for a pass for him in such character. On the 6th of September, Turriff telegraphed to Chappell, asking him if he could come to Ottawa, and be here if possible before the 20th. On the 7th, he wrote him to the same effect. On the 11th, he wrote him, inclosing a pass, and this man duly arrived in Ottawa before the 20th of September, and saw Turriff. Now, the acting Minister of the Interior says that it was in the summer that Chappell saw Mr. Sifton, the Minister of the Interior; but if he saw him in the summer, and if he came down at the request of Mr. Turriff, and Mr. Sifton was there, I think, it is very unlikely that this interesting character did not have an interview with the minister. Anyway, he takes elaborate notes of the instructions given him for electioneering purposes by his leaders; and if he was so bent on taking notes of what his leaders instructed him, I think he would hardly remain a month in Ottawa without having the great advantage of seeing the Minister of the Interior. He took a room at Mrs. Macdonell's, 136 Slater Street. There he represented himself as employed in the Department of the Interior. He went daily for about a month ostensibly to the department, and was accustomed to receive letters from the department with the well-known red seal. He told the lady of the house that he was awaiting instructions to go west as an officer of the department. He had more than one—I cannot say positively how many meetings he had with Mr. Turriff—but we may, I think, conclude that when the acting minister says he had an interview with him, he had several interviews.

Towards the end of October he left for the west, armed with letters to Smith and McCreary, at Winnipeg. He saw both these worthies, and wrote to Mr. Turriff that his meeting with them had been satisfactory. He went from Winnipeg to Fleming, a place which gives on Eastern Assiniboia and on Manitoba, so that he could dart into the North-west Territories, and dart into Manitoba, and perform his Ariel work with greater facility. To him at Fleming, Mr. Turriff writes a letter. He seems to have remained at Fleming, as a good point, for some time, and when Mr. Sifton went to Manitoba and held a series of meetings, and prepared to go west, Chappell received a letter at Fleming from Smith, telling him to meet the minister at Regina. He seems to have seen the

minister at Regina, and then the next important point where we come upon him is in Winnipeg, at the Hotel Vendome, when he proceeds to try and acquire a personator.

This rapid sketch of what I have to bring before the House, will show this House, that one of the main wings of the Liberal army is this cursed machine that we heard so much about at West Elgin and West Huron and Brockville. The revelations that Pritchett has made will keep this company.

Here are the original letters of Mr. Turriff :

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Who is Mr. Turriff ?

Mr. DAVIN. The land commissioner.

Department of the Interior,
Ottawa, Sept. 7, 1899.

Dear Sir,—I wired you this morning asking you if you could come down here about the 20th, and saying that I was writing inclosing transportation. It will be a day or two before I have the pass, but will forward it as soon as it comes to hand.

Your work will, I expect, be in connection with the Immigration Department out in the North-west, and I trust you will be able to come at the date mentioned, and look me up immediately on your arrival here.

Yours truly,

J. G. TURRIFF.

Edgar A. Chappell, Esq.,
Wetaskiwin, N.W.T.

The next letter is as follows :

Department of the Interior,
Ottawa, Sept. 7, 1899.

Dear Sir,—Inclosed herewith you will find Canadian Pacific Railway pass from Wetaskiwin, here and return, and I will be glad to see you as near the 20th as possible. I did not receive any reply to my telegram to you of the 6th inst.

Yours truly,

J. G. TURRIFF.

Edgar A. Chappell, Esq.,
Wetaskiwin, Alta.

Here is the third letter :

(Private.)

Department of the Interior,
Ottawa, Oct. 30, 1899.

E. A. Chappell, Esq.,
Fleming, N.W.T.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of 25th inst. to hand this morning, and I am glad to see that you had satisfactory interviews with Smith and McCreary in Winnipeg. I have not had any communication whatever with the minister since you left; therefore, am not in a position to say anything further. Your best plan would be just to take it easy until you see minister in Regina.

Yours sincerely,

J. G. TURRIFF.

I will now read the notes of his instructions. You cannot fail to note in these epistles the positive ring and style of a gentleman, with whose mode of positive assertion we are quite familiar in this House.

I would here note any instructions given me from the leaders, and gather such means as I could towards learning of my work and the best means of doing it. I would take with me any

Mr. DAVIN.

letters of introduction I could obtain from reliable persons to those whose influence was important in the parts to which I was to go. On my way west I would stop at Winnipeg and meet the Manitoba organizer, and learn what I could of his plan of organization, and his methods of keeping track of the progress of the campaign and recording the results.

On arriving in the constituency to which I was sent, I would meet, as soon as I could, local men approved by the party leaders and by the local Liberals, and go over the present political situation with them, discussing the general feeling so far as known, towards the government, the arguments heard for and against it, the local matters having influence on the situation, the lessons learned in the last election, the vote at last election and probable changes at the next, with reasons for such change, the foreign settlements and their attitude and conditions and leaders; and I would particularly learn of the probable candidates for convention nomination with regard to principles, chances of securing party nomination, and chance of election, if so nominated; but I would carefully avoid committing the government to any of them until expressly instructed.

This is the language that would be suggested by instructions from a man in high position.

Through the men active in the last campaign I would learn the particulars of their organization then, with regard to places where committees were formed and districts supervised by each; the workers and the part taken by each and their efficiency in their several parts; the choosing of the candidate and the plan followed; arrangements for preparing and revising the lists and keeping a report of these; the getting of the voters to the polls; agents and scrutineers, the working of the foreign element and naturalization where expedient.

In my work as organizer, I would follow as much as practicable the lines formerly followed, only departing from them where experience showed weakness. I would have the committees revived and reorganized, where necessary, and new ones organized in parts where increased population or former difficulties in doing thorough work showed the need of them.

I would divide the constituency into districts, preferring such as would correspond with the polling divisions and have a committee in each to look after the work in its division. These division committees I would group, as the circumstances in the constituency decided, about a few important points where large committees could be gotten. The sub-committees of these large committees would supervise, direct, encourage and generally watch over the various outer committees of their group, collect from them their reports and transmit them to the central committee situated at some convenient point. I would take special pains to secure capable men as secretaries of the various committees.

I would have each committee thoroughly acquainted with the plan of campaign, as the choosing of candidate, preparation of lists, thorough canvassing, reports of progress, polling of votes, overseeing of voting, meetings, campaign funds, naturalization, Election Acts, &c.

And then we have for the third time the reference what is spoken of as the foreign vote and which is very suggestive.

Especial attention would be given to those committees in districts having a large foreign

voting element so that we obtain and keep that vote.

What light that throws on certain policies.

The lists I would have begun as soon as organization, each committee preparing that of its district by means of local men in each township. These lists should show each voter's name, residence, and should be so marked as to show whether the voter is a supporter, an opponent, unknown or a doubtful. Especial efforts should be made for the doubtfuls, and, as the canvassing progresses, the list marks should be altered to show any change. Reports of the results of the canvassing would be transmitted to the central committee and there recorded for reference and study.

As the canvassing goes on, the canvassers should ascertain the reasons given for such opposition as they meet, and these reasons and the strength of the opposite vote in the various parts of the constituency will indicate the places where meetings should be held, and the course to be followed by the speakers in the various localities, and the arguments to be used by the workers.

In connection with the convention, if one were needed, I would use every means consistent with not disuniting the party, to obtain the nomination of the candidate preferred by the government.

I should hold myself as under the direction of the party, and use all my time and ability to forward their wishes in connection with the work to be done.

As the campaign progressed, I would keep thoroughly posted as to its course, and be prepared to give aid where any portion of our organization appeared weak, either by personal presence and advice and work, or by writing as to the course to pursue, or by arranging for workers to aid the weaker parts.

Campaign literature would be procured and distributed to reliable parties for instruction and use; and, in such of the press as could be relied upon, the work could be greatly aided by writings inserted and published as need or expediency caused their use to be in our interests.

You see that connects him, not only with the immigration department, which we see from Mr. Turriff's letters, he is connected with, but it connects him with the literature department of the Department of the Interior—those letters and leaders sent out to the country newspapers throughout the west, which used to tell us week after week what a heaven-sent minister, administrator and genius, the present Minister of the Interior was. But, since the Manitoba election, they have rather harked back a little. They have been afraid:

Copies of the Election Acts for the parts worked should be printed in pamphlet form, and distributed, with general instructions regarding the preparations for knowing and having placed on the voters' lists all our supporters.

Well, he saw Smith, and he saw McCreary, and here is a letter from J. Obed Smith, barrister, solicitor, &c.:

Office, 367 Main St.,
Winnipeg, Man., 30th inst.

Looking at the post mark on the envelope, it is evident that 30th instant, means 30th October:

(Confidential.)

My dear Sir,—We finish our series of meetings in Manitoba on the 7th proximo. Mr. Sifton and party leave for the Territories on the 8th by regular train. Mr. Bulyea has the list of meetings. Communicate with him, and reach Sifton first point possible. You can see by 'Free Press' the various places we hold meetings. I came back last night, and am out again to-day. Will be back here on the 4th, and you can catch Sifton that day at Morden, Man.

I think there will be four meetings in your east and four in your west.

Yours truly,
(Sgd.) J. OBED SMITH.

Now, there is a sentence in this, which is rather interesting to us in the North-west Territories: 'Mr. Bulyea has the list of meetings.' When Mr. Bulyea became a minister in that government, which in theory is non-party, I was appealed to to use my influence to put up a Conservative candidate to run against him at Qu'Appelle—

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Base ingratitude on his part.

Mr. DAVIN. And a candidate could have been put up who would have beaten Mr. Bulyea, minister though he was, but on the ground that the government was a non-political government, I refused to interfere. Well, Sir, that candidate did not run. And, yet here is this gentleman evidently in active work, arranging meetings for Dominion ministers. And, I may say here, that I know of my own knowledge that he does all the work, while a minister of that non-political government, that an active Dominion partisan politician would do. And, that is a charge that cannot be brought against the member of the government who belongs to the Conservative party. He professes his Conservatism, of course, and speaks at public meetings, but he does not engage in any details of political work. Well, this worthy having been operating in the Manitoba elections, was arrested. I have read to you some of the papers which were found on him.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Who found them?

Mr. DAVIN. I have read to you some of the papers that were found on him. Now, I am going to read what followed on his arrest:

Canada, Province of Manitoba, Judicial District.
The information of D. M. Kelley, of the city of Winnipeg, in the province of Manitoba, Esq., taken upon oath before me, the undersigned, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace in and for the said province of Manitoba, at the city of Winnipeg, aforesaid, this 7th day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine: Who saith that one W. Chappell—

Looking at page 7 of the evidence, it will be seen that this is an error on the part of the transcriber, and should be Edgar A. Chappelle.

—on the 6th day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, at the city of Winnipeg, at a certain election holden for the electoral division of Centre Winnipeg, under the provisions of the Manitoba Election Act, on the 7th day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, did unlawfully, knowingly and corruptly give to this deponent the sum of four dollars of money to induce this deponent to vote for one D. M. McMillan, candidate for election for said electoral division at said election, contrary to the form of the statute made and provided.

(Sd.) D. M. KELLEY.

Taken and sworn before me the day and year first and at the place above mentioned.

(Sd.) BEN. ZIMMERMAN, J.P.

Dennis M. Kelley, sworn, saith:

I reside at present in St. Paul. I am a professional detective. I arrived here at noon on the 27th day of November last past. I came here with the understanding that there were frauds in elections. I was sent here by our manager to work in the interest of the Conservatives, and endeavour to protect the Conservative party from frauds.

I know the accused. I have known him for pretty near three weeks. I met accused at about nine o'clock p. m. on the 28th of November at the Hotel Vendome. I don't know what the accused was doing at the Hotel Vendome. The accused was stopping when at that hotel. He occupied room No. 5 there. I could not tell what the accused's proper name is. I was introduced to him as Mr. Chappelle; I met him again on second night at Hotel Vendome. We had a conversation, five or six of us, about the election. Nothing special said. We met again on the evening of 30th at Vendome. I believe that was the first night that I said anything to him about it. I said, 'At this coming election I'd like to make a piece of money.' The accused did not tell me what his business was. The accused made no answer to it. The accused told me he was going out into the country next day he thought.

The next time I saw him was on the evening of the 4th, when he came back from his trip. I had every reason to believe that he had been away. I did not see him. On the evening of the 4th inst., the accused and I went out walking, and he suddenly asked me if I had as much nerve as I said I had last week. I said what I said before, that I'd like to get a chance to vote. I said in reply to accused, 'You bet I have.' Then accused answered, 'Then you will have a chance, but you want to be sure you'll vote the right way. I said it was immaterial to me which way I voted provided I was paid for it. I said I would place myself in his hands if he would see me through; he said he would, and that everything was all right and he would have no fear. About this time we reached the Winnipeg Theatre. That was the gist of what was said before we got to the theatre.

Q. Was anything said about returning officer or election constables?

Objected to. Allowed.

A. Not during this conversation. After the theatre we returned to the Vendome, and after leaving the Vendome we walked together to the Leland. We had a conversation about returning officers and constables. I asked how the chances of being caught were, and the accused said it would be all right. The constables and the returning officers were all fixed. We retired as soon as we got to the Leland. We were

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both stopping then at the Leland. I saw accused the next day, and were around a good deal together. About five o'clock in the afternoon the accused said, 'I may want to use you election day to help to get some fellows drunk.' I said, 'All right, I am with you; show me what to do and I will do it.' He said, 'We want to get some people out of the way entirely election day.' I said, 'Drinking will never put any of the Winnipeg boys out of the way.' The accused said, 'We will fix a way to knock them out.' I replied, 'What will you do that with?' The accused said, 'I don't know whether it will be better to use straight laudanum or the capsules.' The accused then left me. I did not see him again until after dinner. I borrowed \$7 from the accused that night.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Did he pay it back?

Mr. DAVIN. I see this is very amusing to an hon. member from a constituency within which he had some very curious experience, not wholly removed from conduct of the kind I am now exposing.

I saw accused on the morning of the 6th inst.; he came to my room. When we first met after four or five days, I lent Mr. Chappelle \$5 at the Hotel Vendome. He came to my room about eleven o'clock on the 6th inst. The accused and I started in talking about the elections. I understood I was to get \$5 the first vote and \$3 for each additional vote. I know I was to vote for the government side. I was to do my voting right here in the centre of the city, I believe. There was nothing said about what electoral division I was to vote in. I said I'd be guided by him. The accused said I would probably have to change my clothes several times on election day and disguise myself in various ways. I replied that I had but one suit of clothes here. He replied, 'That will be all right;' he'd fix that, that he stood in with the secret service people, and he could get anything he wanted from them.

Mr. Speaker, at the present minute there are sums, some as high as \$1,000, paid out by gentlemen who were ministers at that time, and it is impossible to get any account of what they paid it out for, and one man that thus paid out money is now a senator of the Dominion of Canada, with honourable before his name.

He said he would have to change his coat, as his was a very conspicuous one, and he had a tip that the police might be looking for him. The accused was to wear my coat election day. He was to shave off his beard on election day. Up to the day before election the accused had a short full beard. The beard disappeared on election day. During our conversation, I don't know just when it came in, the accused said, 'Say, old man, can you lend me a couple of dollars?' I said, 'Sure, Bill,' and I pulled out \$3 and handed it to him, and said, 'I owe you \$4 now, and I will fix that with you on our first vote to-morrow. I meant that I would fix the \$4 with him on the first vote. We had no further talk then with regard to election matters.

Q. Did you have a man described to you and named as one Malloy who figured in one West Elgin election?

Objected to. Allowed.

Mr. Elliott undertakes to connect this with the information herein.

A. Up to this time, no. Besides the conversation I had, which commenced at eleven a.m., I had a conversation with accused at about seven o'clock p.m. that evening. I met accused in lobby at Leland, and he said, 'Come outside a minute.' I went with him to the corner at rear of Leland Hotel, and the accused said, 'I wish you would go aside and see if you can see a fellow with a black stiff hat, smooth face, dark clothes, and wearing a blue and white striped shirt or cuffs.' I went inside, looked about, but could see no one answering that description. Mr. Chappelle and I returned, and I sat in the office, and a few minutes after I saw a fellow walking leisurely through the lobby answering this description. I nudged the accused and said, 'Is that him,' and he replied, 'Well, if it is he must not stay here,' referring to the man described above. He then got up and walked over and spoke to this man, I should judge for about ten seconds, and then returned to where I sat. I said to him, 'Is that the fellow?' And he gave me no answer. In the meantime, I had received a description of Malloy, of Ontario, and this man to whom Chappelle talked answered the description given me of Malloy, who was stopping at Clarendon, as I supposed.

Mr. Speaker, you will have heard of Malloy. Malloy was a friend of Preston.

I said to Chappelle, 'What is the matter with me following that guy and see where he goes?' He said, 'All right; I'll meet you at the corner of Portage and Main in a few minutes.' Failing to find this fellow when I went out, I went at once to Portage and Main, where I met the accused. The accused appeared worried and anxious, and I said, 'What are you scared of, Bill?' And he replied, 'I have all the reason in the world to be scared.' He left me then, that he was to see me later in the night. I don't know where he went to. I did not see him again until after his arrest. I have given all the conversation I recollect from the time we met until the evening of the 6th inst. The accused did not tell me what his business was. I was introduced to him as an immigration agent, or rather he was introduced to me as an immigration agent.

And we see how zealously he was carrying out his duties in that way.

I believed the accused's name to be Edgar A. Chappelle.

Q. Was anything said about expenses?

Objected to. Allowed.

A. On a couple of occasions the defendant said expenses cut no figure with him.

Q. What do you mean by that?

Objected to. Allowed.

A. I thought by that he could spend all the money he wanted to. I don't know what money the accused had on him the day before election. When he returned after being, as I believe, away he had a roll of bills—a handfull, I do not know the denomination of the bills.

Cross-examined:

I can't say that accused did strongly urge me to vote in this last election.

Q. Was there any effort made on you by Mr. Chappelle to induce you to vote at this election, recently held for legislative assembly?

A. None with the exception of the conversation stated before.

Q. Did Mr. Chappelle arrange for you to vote on Thursday, 7th inst., at the provincial election?

A. He said he would, whether he did or not, I don't know; I did not see him on 7th inst.

(Sgd.) D. M. KELLEY.

Sworn before me, this 14th day of Dec., 1899.

(Sd.) A. DAWSON, P.M.

J. C. McRae, sworn, saith: I am chief of the Winnipeg police. I was subpoenaed to produce certain papers. I have them with me and produce them. I was not present when these papers were removed from accused, and I don't know if they were removed from accused.

No cross-examination.

(Sd.) J. C. McRAE.

Sworn before me, this 14th day of December, 1899.

(Sd.) A. DAWSON, P.M.

William H. Reid, sworn, saith: I am a police officer of the city of Winnipeg. I arrested accused Chappelle on morning of 8th instant, in Vendome Hotel. The handwriting on envelope shown me is partly mine and partly Constable Blair's. I took papers from accused after arresting him. A paper is produced marked Ex. No. 1. Recognize it, or one similar to it, I took from accused. The paper I got I put in an envelope. I took a paper similar to Ex. No. 2 from him. (The prosecution admit all the papers produced in envelope, Ex. No. 3 having been taken from accused on morning of 8th instant after his arrest.)

Cross-examined:

Mr. Elliott and two other men were present when I arrested accused. There were other papers found on accused. I put papers in Ex. No. 3 under direction of Sergt. McCharles. Constable Ed. Blair and Mr. G. A. Elliott were present at the time I initialled Ex. No. 3 and sealed it. It was a new envelope. The envelope was opened twice. I could not tell who opened envelope after I sealed it. I found it unsealed, and sealed it up again. I will not swear that all the papers I put in Ex. No. 3 are here now. I did not count them. There was no request made to me to look at papers in Ex. No. 3 after they were sealed. Ex. No. 3, with papers, was left in drawer in the police office. No one could get at the papers but officers.

(Sd.) W. H. REID.

Sworn before me, this 14th day of December, 1899.

(Sd.) A. DAWSON, P.M.

Judgment: Case dismissed.

(Sd.) A. DAWSON, P.M.

On the back of the letters of Mr. Turriff, and evidently made in Ottawa, there was his name and the place where he was boarding, at the house of Mrs. McDonnell, 136 Slater Street.

Tuesday (see Monday)—Lunch, 50c.; dinner, 75c.; Pullman, \$12.50.

These memoranda, I am reading now, were probably made on the train, being an account of what he spent.

Wednesday—Meals, \$2.25.

That would be three meals in the dining car.

Thursday—Meals, \$2.25.

Friday—Dinner, \$1.50; car, 5c

That would be street car fare in Winnipeg.

Windsor, \$1.

Then he has an entry of 20 cents and 80 cents.

Saturday—Windsor, \$1; dinner, 50c.

On the back of the document, in which his instructions are recorded, there are evident notes of a speech.

Revenue gained 15½ millions, 1898-9.

Fixed charges.

Davin's lies re supplementaries.

Never such a chance to gain for Liberals.

Country prosperous.

Government generous.

And then comes :

Pledges kept.

Write to A. Monkman, re organization. See Turriff.

This Monkman was the registrar at Morden, who was given that position for his scandalous services in connection with the revision of the Dauphin voters' lists in 1896, and he was the revising officer for the Greenway constituency of Manitoba in the last revision when he displayed the grossest and most arbitrary partiality.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Is that all there, too ?

Mr. DAVIN. Was this man employed as an immigration agent ? If he was, the answers given by the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) and the hon. acting minister (Mr. Sutherland) cannot be squared with facts. If he was not an immigration agent, and if he was never employed as an immigration agent, what was his relation to the Department of the Interior ? We have the land commissioner introducing him to the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) in the summer, we have him writing and telegraphing to him at Wetaskiwin, we have him getting for him, from the Canadian Pacific Railway, transportation. I have not the pass here, but, it can be proved by affidavit, if necessary, that 'on account of immigration,' was written on it. We have him writing to him, and he writes to him after he leaves here. He has been here for a whole month, and at the place where he was boarding, or where he had a room, he represented himself as an immigration agent, as being employed in connection with the Department of the Interior, as waiting for instructions to go west. When he does go west, he gets letters of introduction from Mr. Turriff to Mr. McCreary, who is the head immigration agent, but who is more active as a political wire-puller at Winnipeg than as an immigration agent, and to Obed Smith, the organizer. He represents himself to Turriff as having interviewed these gentlemen and found that it was satisfactory. He then goes to Fleming, receives a letter from Obed Smith, and both Turriff and Obed Smith tell him that he is to see the hon. Minister of the Interior. One tells him to see him at Morden and another to see him at Regina. Can there be a doubt that he saw him either at Morden or at Regina ? Can there be a doubt that these papers establish a relationship between him and the Department of the Interior, or that he got instructions from the hon.

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Minister of the Interior ? Can there be a doubt that he was instructed to go back to Winnipeg and to work in Winnipeg on behalf of the Hon. Mr. McMillan, as we find him working ? Look at the character of this man, surreptitiously employed by the Department of the Interior, a man who is prepared to keep people from voting by using knock-out drops, a man who is prepared to introduce election fraud by the practice of personation—this is the kind of man that had established relations with the Department of the Interior and the Minister of the Interior, so that, Sir, we have the Department of the Interior, to-day, in the box, and, we are in this position, that this House of Commons has heard answers from two hon. Ministers of the Crown that it is impossible to square with facts. I will not use any stronger language than that. I beg to move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND (North Oxford). Mr. Speaker, I have listened attentively to the statement of the hon. member for Western Assiniboia (Mr. Davin) and to the papers that he has read. I have only one thing to say, and it is, that, although the hon. gentleman had, as has been reported, some stolen papers, there is no evidence here, in this House, of the genuineness of any of the letters and there is certainly none, as to whether the memoranda which he has read were written by the gentleman whose name he mentioned—I think Mr. Chappelle. There was no evidence as to who might have made this memoranda. They may have been furnished to the hon. gentleman, and it may have been reported to him that they were made by Mr. Chappelle, or somebody connected with him. The only evidence he has presented at all in regard to the matter is that given by a Yankee detective whose declarations, in his own affidavit, are that he was engaged by the Conservative party to go to Winnipeg and to work in the interest of that party. Well, Sir, I would not like to believe accusations of that kind made by such a character—and I believe men of his stamp are very common in the Western States—even if he made such accusations against the Conservative party. But, if some person representing that party did engage this man for the purpose he says he was engaged for, I suppose he had to make some report so that he might draw his pay, if he was paid. I am more than surprised that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) should waste an hour or an hour and a half of the time of the House reading such trash as we have heard to-day. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) indulged in sneers and innuendoes against prominent and respectable citizens of this country, trusted officials of the department, without daring to say one word against them directly. All I can say, Mr. Speaker, is, that if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) has any charge to make against the minister ; if he has any

charge to make against any officials of the department let him do so in a proper way and he will have every opportunity to prove his charge. I can assure him that if the officials have been mixed up in anything unworthy the conduct of gentlemen occupying their position, the government will not be slow to deal with a matter of this kind as it should be dealt with.

Mr. DAVIN. I wish to say, Mr. Speaker, the letters of Mr. Turiff are there signed by his own hand, written on the Department of the Interior letter paper, and therefore the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) cannot, I suppose, impugn these letters. What more could I do to give him a reason for inquiry than to give the evidence that is given here? He (Mr. Sutherland) found fault with me because I was so reticent. He says that I read out these documents and mentioned the names of respected officers of the department, and that I did not dare to bring accusations against them. Why, the accusation is in the document itself. It is rather ungrateful, that with such an opportunity for strong language and condemnation, the hon. gentleman censures me because I contented myself with reading the documents. Why, Sir, there is a corpus delicti of the gravest kind, and on the face of it the government should at once have an inquiry.

Motion (Mr. Davin) to adjourn, negatived.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Mr. AULAY MORRISON (New Westminster). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to ask the First Minister when legislation restricting Chinese immigration will be brought down as promised?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Probably during this week.

BRANDON AND SOUTH-WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY.

The House again resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 25) respecting the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (East York). I have given notice of the following amendment to this Bill, which I now propose:

That on the third reading of this Bill, I will move to add the following clause:

'That the maximum rate for passenger traffic on the railways to be constructed under the authority of this Act shall not exceed 2 cents per mile.'

Here we have a railway in the North-west, built through a comparatively populous extent of territory; a railway that will be very cheaply built; and a railway that can well afford to give a passenger rate of 2 cents per mile. The experiment has been tried in the state of New York where there is, it is true, a

great population, and by making the 2-cent rate apply to one railway there it was extended to every railway in that state. If we wish to do something for Manitoba; if we wish to induce people to go into that country, the time has come to afford them cheap railway transportation. I will, of course, be told that I should make this proposition to cover all railways, but when I sought to do that I was answered that I was interfering with vested rights. I now come forward to press this principle in connection with a railway that is not yet built; a railway which runs through a country presenting few engineering difficulties; a railway that can be constructed for \$10,000 a mile or less; and I say that a railway of this character can easily afford to give the people cheaper transportation. I hold that cheaper railway transportation is like cheaper postage—the cheaper you make it the more the public will use it. I would like to see the experiment tried on this railroad, for I believe that the public will use the railway more, and the company will not suffer in the end. I ask this parliament to try the experiment for a year or two, and if it succeeds, then the policy will go ahead. Railway freights have been cut down time after time. There is not a railway in Canada that has not reduced its freight rates time and again, but passenger travel to-day is as dear as it was forty years ago. I have heard it said by some people: We do not want cheaper passenger travel; we want cheaper freight rates. Well, Mr. Speaker, I say that the people want cheaper passenger rates in this country, and the only way they can get it is for their representative to insist upon it, and to bring up the proposition every time a new railway Bill comes before this House. If the government want to do a popular thing in this country they will make the maximum rate 2 cents a mile. I am sorry the Minister of Railways is not here to listen to me to-day, but I can tell him that if he sets the example of giving cheaper railway rates over the Intercolonial Railway, then every other railway in the country will have to follow suit. Whether that is done or not, I intend to divide the House on this question in favour of cheaper transportation for passengers throughout the North-west. I therefore beg to move my amendment.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. J. GUNION RUTHERFORD (Macdonald). I beg to move, Mr. Chairman, on the third reading of this Bill:

That it be referred back to the Select Standing Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines, to strike out section 10, chapter 86, 53 Vic.

This is a clause in the original charter which gives this company power to sell or lease the lines to the Canadian Pacific Railway. I do not know that it is necessary for me to

say very much in favour of this amendment. We have now a great many Canadian Pacific Railway lines in Manitoba, and while, as I have before stated in this House, I have no desire to make any political capital out of abusing the Canadian Pacific Railway, yet in Manitoba, we do not wish to become a country of one railway. We desire to have competing lines there, and the only way we can have railway competition is to prevent the Canadian Pacific Railway from obtaining the control of all the roads in that country, as they are rapidly doing. We have the Manitoba and North-western, which started as an independent organization, but which is now simply a branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway. We have the Great North-west Central in the same position, and we know in that country that if we are to have the benefits of railway competition, we must stand up against this monopolizing of railways. The charter which is being granted the Brandon and South-western is a very remarkable charter. The line runs across the country in a zig-zag way, and as an individual railway it is certainly of no use whatever. It is not a businesslike railway at all. I am satisfied that the ulterior object of building this railway is to operate it in conjunction with some other system.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Speaking for myself, I am inclined to think that if this matter had been brought to the attention of the committee when the charter was granted to this company, the amendment proposed would probably have been acceptable to a majority of that committee. The committee during the past two years have laid down the rule, which now amounts almost to a precedent, that if a railway company wishes to amalgamate with another company, it must give satisfactory reasons to the committee and the House why that amalgamation should take place; and I would advise my hon. friend who has charge of this Bill to accept the amendment. I should think there could be no injury to the railway company from doing so. All who were present in the committee will remember that it was set forth that it was not the intention to amalgamate with the Canadian Pacific Railway, or with any other railway at the present time, but that the settlers in the various districts through which the railway was to run desired to have railway accommodation, as they were too far from a railway to market their grain to advantage. For that reason, a majority of the committee gave this company the right to build roads in those sections of the country where it was represented the people desired better railway accommodation. It was represented that the company had no intention or desire to amalgamate with existing railway companies; and I think it would be quite proper, in the interest of the people of that part of the country, and in accordance with the usual trend of legislation, to

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accept the amendment. I would ask my hon. friend to consider it from that standpoint.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). It seems to me that there are the very strongest reasons why this amendment should not be agreed to. In the first place, we have always required a railway company desiring to amalgamate with another, to give the name of that company.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Will my hon. friend allow me to make my point clear? The original Bill, if my memory serves me rightly, was for a small line or branch of seventeen miles; and when we gave the company a charter for that line, it was with the full expectation that it would become a part of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But, now they are asking for a charter for a line three or four hundred miles in length, paralleling the Canadian Pacific Railway in many instances, and representing that the interests of their line are different from those of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Mr. SPROULE. I was going to refer to that. While the original charter was for a short railway, there was some necessity for amalgamation; and when the proposal was made to extend the railway, what grounds were submitted to the committee to show the desirability of extending it? It was said to be for the purpose of reaching the coal fields of southern Manitoba in order to secure cheaper fuel for the farmers of the country. Any one who looks at the map will see that the railway traverses three sides of a square and part of the fourth, and that in almost every direction it crosses the Canadian Pacific Railway system at right angles; and if it should succeed in distributing coal to different parts of Manitoba, it could only do so by using the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway; so that, unless the company made amicable running arrangements with the Canadian Pacific Railway, it would be utterly impossible for it to carry out the object it had in view in securing this incorporation. In my view, the railway would be of comparatively little value unless it could amalgamate with the Canadian Pacific Railway, or secured the right to use the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway with the greatest freedom. For these reasons, the company should be allowed the latitude to amalgamate, which the original charter gives it. If that was desirable in the original charter, the desirability for it increases tenfold by virtue of the proposal which this charter contains for the building of a railway which will cross the Canadian Pacific Railway in a dozen places almost at right angles. It must avail itself of the Canadian Pacific Railway for the distribution of fuel if it is going to be of any advantage to the section of country which this railway is supposed to supply.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Lisgar). I do not think the reasons advanced by the hon. gentleman who has just spoken are cogent with regard to giving the company power to amalgamate with the Canadian Pacific Railway. I presume that the company will be able to treat with the Canadian Pacific Railway for running powers or for the exchange of traffic if it desires. I fancy that the object of the mover of the resolution is to prevent such a large railway, embracing so much mileage, from falling into the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway. We want, if possible, to keep these railways independent, in order to provide competition in that country. This road, as the committee probably knows, is to cover an extent of about four hundred miles. Then, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has a Bill on the Order paper immediately succeeding this one, for building about nine hundred miles of railway in that province; and it has another Bill, taking power, I am informed, to build nearly two hundred and fifty miles of railway in the north-western part of the province. So that, if the present company is given power to amalgamate with the Canadian Pacific Railway, the latter company will have obtained from this parliament this session power to construct some 2,000 miles of railway. The point made in the committee was that it was not desirable that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company should be given power to blanket the entire province with railways. If the Canadian Pacific Railway Company desires to build one or two branches during the coming summer, I am sure that parliament will be quite willing to grant it that power; and if later on it wishes to build other branches, this parliament will doubtless be willing to give it power to do so. But, there exists in the province of Manitoba a very strong feeling on the railway question, and the people do not want again to be subjected to a railway monopoly such as at one time almost menaced the existence of that province. They do not want to give the Canadian Pacific Railway Company power at any time to club the people. We witnessed last summer the spectacle of the Canadian Pacific Railway trying to build a branch line side by side with the Northern Pacific, its object being to block that line; but great public indignation arose, and the Canadian Pacific Railway finally desisted and left the Northern Pacific to go on with the construction of its railway. With regard to the motion moved by the hon. member for Macdonald (Mr. Rutherford), I am in hearty sympathy with it, but it seems rather peculiar that when I moved a motion along the same line last Wednesday night, it was defeated. This is the motion that I made:

That the company shall not amalgamate with or dispose of its interests to the Canadian Pacific Railway, nor to any other company, without first obtaining permission from the legislature of Manitoba to do so.

I offered to amend that by adding the words: 'without first obtaining permission from the Governor in council.' The committee will remember that this motion of mine was defeated. However, though sorry that my motion was defeated, if the same motion comes with any better recommendation to this House, because introduced by another hon. member, I shall give it my most hearty support, and would be very glad to second the motion, if the hon. member for Macdonald has no seconder.

Mr. W. J. ROCHE (Marquette). I am also heartily in accord with the object of the mover of this resolution. The hon. member for North Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), said that had this question been raised in the Railway Committee, no doubt this clause in the original charter would have been expunged. If I may be permitted to refer to what took place in that committee, the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), did suggest exactly such a resolution, and his suggestion was pooh-poohed. He was rather sat upon, and seeing such unmistakable evidences of dissent on the part of the majority of the committee, he did not press his point any further. However, it appears that what was refused the hon. member for Lisgar, the chairman of the Railway Committee is quite willing to accord to the hon. member for Macdonald, and I can only congratulate the chairman of the Railway Committee on his change of view, and the hon. member for Macdonald, on the preference shown him.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Does my hon. friend say that this motion was moved in the Railway Committee?

Mr. ROCHE. I did not say that a motion was made, but that a suggestion was made.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. As chairman of the committee, I have no power to put suggestions.

Mr. ROCHE. But, I noticed that the hon. gentleman did not at all acquiesce in the suggestion. I am not finding fault at all with the hon. member for Macdonald, and am pleased that his motion has been accepted by the hon. member for North Oxford, but, I cannot help pointing to the fact that a little unnecessary discrimination has been resorted to. I am quite in accord with the remarks that have fallen from the hon. member for Lisgar, regarding the necessity of safeguarding the interests of the public at the time when these companies are securing their charters. Many members from the east say they cannot understand how western members will object at all to the construction of lines of railway in Manitoba, because the more railway lines, the greater the competition. Well, speaking for myself, and I think I am expressing the sentiments of other western members, we do not at all object to the construction of lines of railway in Manitoba. The more we have the better, consistent with the requirements

of the country, but we are not convinced that the mere construction of lines of railway will always insure competition, and we, therefore, think that the time to safeguard public interests, is when we are granting the charters. This line of railway was originally chartered to the extent of seventeen miles, and was given 6,400 acres per mile, or in all 108,800 acres, which at \$3 per acre, are worth \$326,400. They are now asking authority to extend their line, and therefore before giving them this privilege, we should see that the public are properly protected. My experience is that if you do not safeguard the interests of the people when these companies ask for charters, you cannot do it nearly so well afterwards. The Manitoba and North-western was supposed to be an independent line, and so was the Great North-western Central, but they are now in the hands of the one corporation. I am not saying a word against the corporation which has acquired control of these roads, and which is no worse and no better than any other great corporation, but it is not right that the whole country should be placed under the control of any corporation, whether the Canadian Pacific Railway, or any other.

Mr. AULAY MORRISON (New Westminster). I may state that I am quite agreeable to the suggestion of the hon. member for Macdonald (Mr. Rutherford), being carried out. I think that the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), was hardly fair in the reference he made to his own amendment the other day, because there is a difference between the amendment he proposed, and the one before the House. His amendment was objectionable in this respect, that it would be an expression on the part of this House in favour of introducing a clause of that kind into isolated charters. But, the present amendment, which asks that the section be eliminated from the charter, will prevent any misconstruction of that kind being put on the action of the committee. Knowing that the promoters of this Bill have no intention of amalgamating with the Canadian Pacific Railway, or any other railway—they advised me from the very first that they had no such intention—I see no objection to the motion carrying.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). I do not quite concur in the suggestion made by the hon. the acting Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sutherland). I would draw his attention to the fact that it does not appear to quite carry out the views of the Railway Committee. In that committee the suggestion was made by the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), that a motion of this kind should be adopted, but that suggestion received no support whatever. The Railway Committee appeared to be unanimous

Mr. ROCHE.

against this very proposal. If that committee is of any utility at all, it is useful for the consideration of just such questions as this, and instead of having this motion sprung suddenly on the House, we should have it brought up in the committee where parties can be heard on both sides. If the hon. member for Macdonald (Mr. Rutherford), would allow the Bill to pass through the committee here as it has gone through the Railway Committee, and then move, on the third reading, to refer it back to the Railway Committee to consider the point now raised, it seems to me that would be a much more satisfactory way of proceeding, than to adopt this motion now. If he would allow the Bill to pass through committee here as it came from the Railway Committee, and then, on the third reading, move to refer it back to the Railway Committee to consider that question, I think it would be much better than to spring this on the House without it having received the consideration of the Railway Committee, especially so because, when the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), raised this question in the Railway Committee, he received no support.

An hon. MEMBER. That is what is proposed.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. If I understand that it is intended to move on the third reading to refer this back to the Railway Committee, I have not a word to say.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. My hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper) is, no doubt, somewhat mistaken, as to what occurred. No doubt the matter was dropped when it came up in committee from the remark I made, in which the hon. gentleman concurred, that the company had no power to amalgamate with the Canadian Pacific Railway. This, no doubt, influenced many members of the committee. But on Friday evening, the hon. member for Macdonald (Mr. Rutherford) brought the original charter and called my attention to the fact that they had this power to amalgamate.

Mr. DAVID TISDALE (South Norfolk). I remember asking in the committee if all the railways they wanted mentioned were mentioned, and I think that is in the new Bill.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tisdale) is mistaken. We were asked to put a clause in this Bill forbidding them to amalgamate with the Canadian Pacific Railway or any other company without the consent of the legislature of Manitoba.

Mr. RICHARDSON. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) will allow me—I offered to amend that so as to make it read—without the consent of the Governor in Council.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I would call the attention of the leader of the opposition to the fact that the discussion in the Railway Committee was on a proposal to forbid the company amalgamating with the Canadian Pacific Railway without the consent of the legislature of the province of Manitoba. That did meet with disfavour, but, I think, under the circumstances, it was quite proper for the hon. member to ask that in the granting of the charter at the present time they should not ask power to amalgamate. If the conditions that the hon. member for Grey (Mr. Sproule) referred to prevail, the company can come here, give the reasons, and, if this House thinks it in the public interest, can be granted the power to amalgamate. At the present time, we are told by the promoters of the Bill, both parties are willing that this clause should be struck out. The parties with whom it has been suggested they may amalgamate, I suppose, are not asking that it should be put in. So, as many members of the House and the people, in that district think, they should have something to say with regard to the matter, and, while the people are asking railway accommodation and are willing to support this company, to get what they think is a competing railway with the Canadian Pacific Railway, we might easily allow this motion to pass unanimously and reserve for ourselves the right of future action.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) strengthens very much the case against our acting without referring the Bill to the Railway Committee, when he gives us to understand that the present charter gives them power which it is proposed to take away from them. I understand that the hon. member for Macdonald (Mr. Rutherford) has given notice that, on the third reading, he will move to refer the Bill back to the Railway Committee. That, I think, is the sound course.

Mr. TISDALE. Another important reason is, that it is a very unusual thing not to give this power. For the last ten years anyway, this has stood as part of what we call the model Bill. There is no reason why we should not change it if it is wise to do so. But this has usually been one of the formal clauses, the only question asked by the Railway Committee is with a view to restrain a company where they asked to name a road that does not touch their own. If it is to go back to the Railway Committee, I would consent, as there seems to be a bona fide objection.

Mr. SPROULE. As to my own opinion in this matter, I wish to say, if I could be convinced that this railway would remain for any length of time independent of the Canadian Pacific Railway and be a competitor with it, I would strongly support it. But my experience of a good many years in this par-

liament is that you cannot accomplish that. If this were a line parallel with the Canadian Pacific, it might be different, but it runs practically on three sides of a square crossing the Canadian Pacific Railway almost at right angles at several places. It was said in the committee that the main object of this road was to distribute coal to various farming districts. If that be the case, it is important that they should have the freest and most extensive running powers over the Canadian Pacific Railway or else they should be amalgamated with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Bill reported.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. I beg to move that this Bill be referred back to the Standing Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines, to strike out section 10, chap. 86, 53 Vic.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I hope that referring this Bill back to the committee will not necessarily be limited to passing the motion exactly as the hon. member has made it.

Mr. TISDALE. They would be limited to this particular subject, of course. It defines what the committee will do, this is the only thing that can be done.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I did not know whether it was definite enough.

Mr. SPEAKER. As a matter of fact the resolution will cover his amendment which he proposes to submit and no other.

Motion agreed to.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY AMENDMENT.

Mr. MACDONELL moved that the House resolve itself into committee on Bill (No 34), respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (East York). In connection with this motion, I desire to bring up the general question of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Mr. SPEAKER. Do you propose bringing it up before we go into committee?

Mr. MACLEAN. Yes, the Premier is in the House, and I wish especially to call his attention and the attention of the government to this matter. Now, the legislation proposed in this Bill is of a very important character, it is practically giving the Canadian Pacific Railway power to build 1,200 miles of railway. The government have laid down the policy that for the future they intend to demand concessions from every railway obtaining powers from this parliament, and especially have they laid it down in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. Some years ago the Canadian Pacific Railway was given very large powers

and very large subsidies in connection with the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. The government laid it down then that they intended hereafter, before any new concessions, any new powers, any new franchises were given to the Canadian Pacific Railway, that some concessions should be received by the people in return. I say that the time has now come in connection with this Bill when the government ought to live up to that policy, and they ought to obtain some concession from the Canadian Pacific Railway in regard to its rates and in regard to its attitude towards the public. That time has arrived now, and no better opportunity will ever be presented to the people of Canada for obtaining a repeal of what is called the monopoly clause of the Canadian Pacific Railway as it exists to-day. In the original charter the Canadian Pacific Railway is protected in this way, that the rates of that road should not be subject to the revision of the government, or should not be subject to the revision of parliament, until such time as the profits of the company exceed 10 per cent. Now, so far as we can gather, to-day the Canadian Pacific Railway is making very large profits, and so far as we can gather, they can very well afford to give this concession to the people and to give up that monopoly clause in their contract. Only a few years ago they had another monopoly clause which was conceded to the people after a great deal of trouble and agitation had been spent over it, they had a monopoly clause which prevented competing lines running in the direction of the American boundary, and it was only after years of agitation that that clause was removed. Now that the Canadian Pacific Railway is a great success, now that it is paying its shareholders 5 per cent on a capital, a large amount of which is watered, or which was sold at 25 per cent advance on the dollar, I say the time has come when they ought to surrender any other monopoly clause they have, and come under the complete control of this government or of this parliament in regard to rates. That is the proposition I intend to submit here to-day when the House gets into committee, and that is the proposition on which I will hold the government to declare themselves to-day. They have laid it down in this House, the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) has laid it down in this House, the Premier (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) has laid it down in this House, their chief organ, the *Globe*, has laid it down in its columns, that hereafter there are to be no more railway franchises, no more concessions to the Canadian Pacific Railway except on terms. If that is the doctrine of that party, if that is the doctrine of the government, here is an opportunity the like of which will never present itself again, to compel the Canadian Pacific Railway to relinquish that monopoly clause in consideration of getting these further extensive franchises that are included in this Bill. They

Mr. MACLEAN.

are getting, as we were told to-day, power to build some 1,200 miles of railway, they are practically blocking the province of Manitoba, and they are doing it in face of the expressed wish of the people of Manitoba that in some way the Canadian Pacific Railway monopoly be now checked. There was an election the other day in the province of Manitoba, and it turned, we are told, largely on railway issues. There is a new government in that province, and if we are to believe what we read in the public prints, there will be a declaration by that government in a few days in the direction of regulating the rates of railway corporations in so far as that province is able to do it.

Mr. TISDALE. That clause does not apply to this Bill.

Mr. MACLEAN. I want to point out to the hon. gentleman who seems to be the champion of the railways of this country that there is now an opportunity to carry out the government policy, which has been that no more concessions are to be given to railways unless concessions are given to the people in return. Now, if it is a fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway is paying 5 per cent to its shareholders, if it is a fact that the people of the North-west have grievances in regard to railway charges imposed on them to-day, here is an opportunity to carry out the policy of this government, and here is an opportunity to make the Canadian Pacific Railway surrender the last of their monopoly clauses. I think that is a fair proposition. I think now is a good time to propose it, when they are asking us to give them a franchise covering 1,200 miles or 1,400 miles of railway. If that is the case, now is the time for the government to declare where they are, now is the time to tell the people whether they intend to live up to that policy which they laid down in connection with the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. It was then laid down that there were to be no more concessions to the Canadian Pacific Railway unless concessions to the public were given in return. That policy has been heralded all over this country, all their stump speakers all over this country have declared that to be the policy of this government. There is now an opportunity of carrying it out. It was the Liberal party that educated the people of this country up to the idea that the Canadian Pacific Railway was a great monopoly that had been inflicted on this country. An opportunity now presents itself to wipe away the last vestige of that monopoly, and to carry out this policy that they have laid down. I hope they will do it here to-day, and that they will take this matter into their consideration, and withhold this legislation until such times as the Canadian Pacific Railway makes terms satisfactory to the people and to the country.

Now, I want to read to the House a little paragraph that I saw in a newspaper in this city the other day, which bears out what I am contending for now. The people of Canada gave more to the Canadian Pacific Railway than they have given to any other corporation, party or individual :

The Canadian Pacific Railway is lauded to the skies as 'the great national highway,' and yet the nation does not own a dollar's worth of it, notwithstanding that it put millions into its construction. The Canadian Pacific Railway made a big profit last year, but the Canadian people did not get any of it. There was no dividend paid on Canada's investment, and there never will be. The millions are gone for ever, and we have the privilege of paying the highest rates that can be wrung from us every time we make use of the road. The stockholders of the road are not to blame. They were in the scheme for all that could be made out of it, but the men who made the bargain in Canada's behalf are responsible. In the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway's main line there was perhaps some excuse, owing to the nature of the country through which it had to pass, and the doubtful success of the road as a purely commercial enterprise; but there is now no excuse for continuing that policy.

Mr. WALLACE. Who writes that ?

Mr. MACLEAN. That is published in Ottawa. I believe that is the reflection of public opinion to-day. In the old days, when the Conservative party built the Canadian Pacific Railway, they had to give great concessions to the men who undertook the construction of the road; they had to give them large subsidies and they gave them a monopoly clause, but, the Conservative party withdrew one of these monopoly clauses in the interests of the people. The Liberal party have laid it down that the other monopoly clauses ought to be taken away, and they got some of them taken away. I believe the opportunity is here to-day to take away the last of them, and put the Canadian Pacific Railway exactly on the same footing as that of the Grand Trunk Railway to-day. My amendment, in short, is to repeal that clause, which is called the 10 per cent clause. I am told that the Canadian Pacific Railway have that by charter, that they have it by law. I do not care if they have nor does the country. Whatever monopoly the Canadian Pacific Railway has can be and ought to be surrendered, and the time to get a surrender is when they are seeking further legislation, such as that which is before this House in connection with this Bill. I hope that the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who is in the House, in the absence of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), will take the opportunity of telling the House and the country whether he intends to live up to the policy which he laid down before this House as to what the guiding lines of his party would be, namely, that if any Canadian Pacific Railway, or any other big railway, proposition

comes before the House it will only be conceded in return for such concessions as are made by them.

Mr. DAVID TISDALE (South Norfolk). Mr. Speaker, I do not think that any hon. gentleman in this House advances his cause at all by allusions, or by making statements which, if they were to be made outside of this House, would be characterized as untrue. I want to tell the hon. gentleman (Mr. Maclean), as he has seen fit to make such statements, that in the thirteen or fourteen years that I have been in this House I have not found it necessary to make a personal allusion. I want to tell him further in connection with his remark, as regards any business relations I have had with railways, that, if all reports are true, he has had a great deal more money out of their pockets than I have, because, I have never had a dollar. I have always endeavoured to promote the public interest in the course which I have taken in regard to public or private legislation, and I do not think that an hon. gentleman, by such references as these, presents an argument which carries any weight. I would rather have an hon. gentleman who adopts such a course as this speak against me than in my favour. I say that this is a poor argument. I am not here to advocate the cause of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but I am here to say that, in connection with this Bill, my sole object was that which has always prompted me in connection with private legislation, which is after the proper tribunals have pronounced upon it, to try and get it through the House. When the hon. gentleman talked of a monopoly clause, I merely called his attention to the fact that when this Bill was in the committee they took away what was considered a monopoly clause. The Canadian Pacific Railway immediately consented to it, they said, that under these changed circumstances, they were quite willing to accept this franchise in that way.

Mr. SPROULE. I do not think there is anything in it that binds them to do that. They only made the statement that they were willing to do it.

Mr. TISDALE. No, there is a clause put in. I have just read the clause which was put in there. There is no question about that. I want to say, that not only in regard to the Canadian Pacific Railway, but in regard to any other institution in the country, that if, representing a constituency, I cannot stand up in this House and say what I believe in connection with any legislation that comes before it, without sacrificing a little cheap popularity, I am willing to cease asking for a seat in this House. No one has ever accused me of being particularly friendly to the Canadian Pacific Railway. I have always endeavoured to do justice in regard to them. But, I am prepared to say that it is important that this

country shall keep faith with the institutions with which we have made bargains, and to which we have pledged our faith. It is necessary that we shall keep faith with those who have invested many millions of dollars in the Canadian Pacific Railway, perhaps more than in the Grand Trunk, which is our other great railway system. I have the pride of a Canadian, and while I think it is an honourable thing to come to this House and to represent a constituency, if I am not permitted to express the opinions which I believe to be true for the fear of losing a little popularity, I will be content to stay at home. I represent a rural constituency. But, what is good for the cities and towns, for the development of trade and commerce, is good for the country, and this is a fact which our agriculturists know. They read enough to keep themselves informed by reading, and they understand this matter quite well. When we have induced capital to be invested, there is no more vicious thing, even looking at it as a matter of policy, than to run the risk of allowing it to be known in the money centres of the world that the Canadian legislature will not keep faith. There is nothing more vicious, and we should be very careful how we stop supplies by allowing any question to be raised as to our good faith. The good faith of Canada, good faith between the legislature and the people, is much more valuable than any cheap popularity that may be gained by attempts to mislead public opinion on important questions in regard to which it may sometimes be dangerous to do justice to those whose rights are in the keeping of the legislature.

Mr. MACLEAN. Mr. Speaker, just a moment in personal explanation; the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tisdale) has admitted everything I said here.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Vote, vote.

Mr. MACLEAN. I have the right to make a personal explanation.

Mr. TISDALE. As far as I am concerned, I hope the House will give him the indulgence.

Mr. MACLEAN. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Tisdale) started out by correcting me and accusing me of not knowing what was before the House. I knew that this clause was in the Bill, but I say that it does not meet the case.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The hon. gentleman has already spoken on this subject.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Mr. Speaker. I would like to say, in regard to this matter, just a few words. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Maclean), perhaps, was not in the Railway Committee when this question was discussed?

Mr. TISDALE.

Mr. MACLEAN. Yes, I was.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. If he had been he would know more than he does in connection with the Bill. I agree with some of the things he has said. I am not in the position of being able to see into the mind of the hon. gentleman, and I cannot judge as to his motives. Perhaps, the less said about them the better, but, still, I am compelled to agree with a great deal he has said. But, there is one great difference between the facts of the case and his presentation of them. There is a great difference between the action of the government in giving aid and assistance to railways and this House simply granting charters to railways. In giving aid and assistance to railways the government is in a position to demand concessions in return, as in the case of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, and in other legislation, which has since been passed upon in regard to these railways. This is, however, a question of degree. I object to the granting of these charters all over the province of Manitoba, and to the blanketing of the province of Manitoba by the Canadian Pacific Railway for reasons which I have, time and again stated before the House and elsewhere. I may say that if the hon. gentleman had been present in the committee he would remember that Judge Clark, the representative of the Canadian Pacific Railway, expressly refused to entertain, even for a moment, the proposition that they should accept the relaxation of the 10 per cent clause on the branches, of which these lines are extensions, even as far as Winnipeg. Some hon. members on both sides of the House may be of opinion that the sop given by the Canadian Pacific Railway in relaxing the 10 per cent clause on these branches, may be of considerable value. Well, I do not look upon it as being of any very great value, and I agree with hon. gentlemen that before granting these charters to the Canadian Pacific Railway, something ought to be done to make them extend the relaxation of the 10 per cent clause at least as far as the city of Winnipeg, because all these lines communicate through the original branches and main line with Winnipeg. I do not know whether it is possible to do that or not, but if it is possible it ought to be done. So far as that portion of the remarks of the hon. gentleman are concerned, I am heartily in sympathy with him.

Mr. A. W. PUTTEE (Winnipeg). This is simply a matter of making a bargain, and I fail to see that it is at all a breach of faith on our part. When the solicitor of the railway company agreed before the Railway Committee to forego the 10 per cent clause on these branch lines the question was put to him as to what was the value of that concession, and he told us, that the company certainly was not giving something for nothing. Well, we are now giving some-

thing here, and are we going to give it for nothing, or, without some valuable consideration in return for it? Now is the time—in this charter and in the other charters that the companies will be asking for—to insist that some arrangement will be made whereby that 10 per cent clause will be abolished. Before we give these charters is the proper time to consider the matter, and we should take care that something of that kind be done now.

Mr. R. L. RICHARDSON (Lisgar). I feel that I would be derelict in my duty if I did not support the views of my fellow-members from the North-west on this matter. If we can induce, or if the government can induce, the Canadian Pacific Railway to surrender the 10 per cent clause, it will be a matter of extreme importance to us. It must be evident to every intelligent man who has given any study at all to the railway question, that until that clause is surrendered, it will always be impossible to exercise any effective control over the Canadian Pacific Railway. And, Sir, unless we do exercise control over the Canadian Pacific Railway, it would appear to me that there is not very much object in our exercising control over the other railways of Canada, because the Canadian Pacific Railway is by long odds the largest railway system within the bounds of Canada. Last year I introduced a resolution calling upon the government to appoint a commission to ascertain the exact cost of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The 10 per cent clause reads: That until they have earned 10 per cent on the money actually expended on the railway, the Governor in council will be unable to exercise any control over the Canadian Pacific rates. I pointed out then, and I shall briefly recall the facts here, that the people of Canada gave them \$25,000,000 in cash, as well as \$35,000,000 worth of completed road. We built for them the Yale section, the Thunder Bay section and the Callender section, the most expensive sections on the entire system. In addition to that, we gave them 25,000,000 acres of land, and if hon. gentlemen will refer to the report of the Canadian Pacific Railway, they will discover that these lands have been selling on an average at from \$3 to \$4 an acre. If you place the amount at \$3 an acre, you will find that we have given them lands to the value of \$75,000,000. Now, \$75,000,000, plus \$35,000,000, plus \$25,000,000, will give you \$135,000,000 that the people of Canada have invested in that road. The proposition I made last year, and which I wish to emphasize now, was, that it was not fair that we should allow the Canadian Pacific Railway to earn 10 per cent on the money, or money's worth, that the people of Canada gave them. In all conscience it ought to be a fair proposition, that if they earn 10 per cent on the money they invested themselves, that ought to be sufficient, and when they have done that, we ought to be able to con-

trol the rates. I appealed to the House last year, and I appeal to the House now, that what the government ought to do is to appoint a commission to make a thorough inquiry, in order to ascertain the amount of money which the Canadian Pacific Railway Company themselves put into this road. I am perfectly satisfied that if that investigation were made, we would discover that they are already earning 10 per cent, and probably 15 or 20 per cent on the amount of money which they have put into this road. Notwithstanding the fact that we gave this enormous amount of money to this company, it will be found by reference to the debates at the time, that their own estimate of the cost of constructing that railway was \$81,500,000 and adding \$10,000,000 for equipment, it gives \$91,500,000 as the cost of the road. You will see that if ordinary prudence had been exercised, the company would have had the entire road and \$40,000,000 in addition presented by the people of Canada. I have stated on practically every platform on which I spoke in Manitoba, and I am free to say it here now, that a greater outrage was never perpetrated on a long-suffering community than that Canadian Pacific Railway contract. I believe that the time has come—and if it has not come now, it will very shortly—when the people of Canada will see the real iniquity of this transaction; when they will insist upon the government investigating the actual cost of that railway, and insist, too, on having that 10 per cent clause modified or wiped off the statute-book altogether. I believe, Sir, that there is no honest man who studies the question but who will conclude that the company is already earning 15, yes and 20 per cent on the money they actually invested themselves. In that view of the case, I support the proposition the hon. gentleman has made. Some hon. members take the view—and I can see the reasonableness of it—that inasmuch as we are not giving this company any land grant or any bonus, we ought not to insist upon any quid pro quo. But, Sir, I believe that the time has been reached in Canada when a franchise is in itself a very valuable consideration. Those who remember the history of the street railway franchise in Toronto know how very valuable in itself a public franchise may be. In a short time these railway franchises will also be indeed very valuable. It is very important to a railway company to receive from this parliament the privilege of building thousands of miles of railway in every direction they desire in that province, and in giving such a franchise it is my opinion that we ought to insist upon some value in return. It is not at all too much of a quid pro quo to ask that that 10 per cent clause be abrogated. I believe that public opinion is crystallizing so rapidly in this direction that the people will themselves soon insist upon an investigation into this matter, and insist, too, on having that 10 per cent clause wiped off the statute-book.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). When the original charter was passed in the Railway Committee I objected to this clause, and I objected for reasons which are, I hold, even stronger to-day than they were then. I objected in the first place because it was not clear upon what capital that 10 per cent was to apply. I failed in the attempt to have the capital defined, and indeed I believe it was not intended to make it clear. My contention in the first place, was that so far as our experience goes, railways never earn 10 per cent upon the actual cost of the road, and in the second place, that it was not specified on what capital, in making the calculation, that 10 per cent would apply. I contended that we had no right to allow them to earn 10 per cent upon the money contributed by the people of the country. I therefore wished to have it made clear how the calculation of capital would be made, and I opposed the 10 per cent clause at that time, because this was not made clear. It was stated by the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, who had charge of the Bill, (and I think he was supported by the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald) that this clause was put in for the purpose of inducing foreign capitalists to invest, for at that time it was very difficult to get moneyed men to take stock in the undertaking. Anyway whatever the object was, the clause was inserted and it became law. Whether or not the foreign capitalists who put their money into this railway had in view larger earnings by virtue of this clause, at least it was there, and I have no doubt they considered it; and I think it would be arbitrary to take power to repeal that clause without the Canadian Pacific Railway Company being a consenting party to it. I think it would be equivalent to a confiscation of property, and for that reason I could not support the proposition. We should never allow the company to earn 10 per cent on the capital which the country put into the railway, because the country put that money in for the purpose of providing for the people of the country through which the railway runs conveniences which they never could have obtained without a government subsidy to a considerable amount. I hold now, as I have always held, that it is a great injustice to the people that the railway should be paid by earning 10 per cent on the money put in by the people; but seeing that the matter was not defined at that time, I think the government should take steps to have it defined, even at this late date, by a conference with the company or by submitting a case to the Supreme Court. If the provision applied only to the money which the company itself put into the railway, I have no doubt it is to-day earning more than 10 per cent; but as this amendment proposes to deal with the matter without the consent of the company, I think it would be confiscation and a breach of faith with the people who put their money into

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the railway, and for that reason I would not support it.

Mr. DAVIN. Mr. Speaker, the question raised by the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean) is one that is of course of great importance, especially to the North-west, and here we are without the Minister of Railways and without the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister was here when the hon. member for East York first spoke, for the hon. gentleman appealed to him, but the appeal was in vain, for I noticed that the right hon. gentleman paid no attention to it whatever, but apparently carried on a pleasant conversation with two of his supporters, and now he has disappeared from the House. I say that in a matter of such great interest to the people of the North-west Territories, that is a scandalous thing. On July 8, 1895, I myself brought forward a proposition in this House—I believe it was the first time any proposition of the kind was brought forward—to the effect that whenever any privileges were given to any railway company, especially to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, arrangements should be made providing for the lowering of freight rates on produce going out of the country and on goods going in. That is the gist of a somewhat long resolution. Well, when we have a Bill like the present, giving bonding privileges of great value to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, we have a government whose head promised us in 1894, when he was in the North-west Territories and speaking at Moosejaw, that if he got into power he would lower freight rates; and we have had legislation year after year, and no attempt to lower freight rates or to carry out that promise. I would rather see the movement take the form of getting freight rates lowered than doing anything with regard to the 10 per cent, but I am prepared to support any just procedure in that direction. When we had this matter before the Railway Committee the other day, the Minister of Railways told us of a great railway in the United States that had a clause in its charter somewhat like that which the hon. gentleman would desire, affecting freight rates after the earnings came up to a certain point, and the minister said that the railway company never allowed the earnings to come up to that point. If you look at the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway, you will find that in 1886 the Canadian Pacific Railway charged an average of 30 per cent to haul our stuff out of the North-west Territories, but in 1887 I was elected. Then we had a conference here in 1887, which was attended by Mr., now Sir William Van Horne, together with all the members from the North-west, British Columbia and Manitoba, and the rate was lowered to 24 cents; and then the idea was impressed on our minds—I do not say that it was laid down by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company—that at recur-

ring intervals of three years there should be a reduction. You will find that three years after that there was a reduction of 2 cents in the hundred; that three years passed by again, and there was another reduction of 3 cents in the hundred; and at the time the late government went out of power, if they had not gone out of power, we would have had another reduction of 3 cents in the hundred. But, what happened? The late government went out of power, and this government came in; and this government made a bargain with the Canadian Pacific Railway called the Crow's Nest Pass deal, by which they actually postponed the triennial reduction for several years, and made it gradual and graduated, so that for two years after it should have been reduced by 3 cents, the company charged 19 cents, and it was only last year that the reduction of the second 1½ cents per hundred came into operation, completing the 3 cents, begun by 1½ cents in 1898, and for doing this they got \$6,000 a mile more than the Conservative government were prepared to pay. Now, Sir, I think we in the North-west have reason to complain, when an opportunity like this occurs, that the Minister of Railways and the Prime Minister, who held out to us the promise I have mentioned, are not only silent, but are absent from this House, and we cannot get the relief we are entitled to.

Motion agreed to, and House resolved itself into committee.

(In the Committee.)

On section 3,

Mr. MACLEAN. I wish to draw attention to the fact, now that we are dealing with branch lines in Manitoba, that the people of that province are in rebellion against the Canadian Pacific Railway, and desire to deal themselves, in their own provincial legislature, with these branch lines. If we would allow this matter to be dealt with by the people of Manitoba, they would not allow the Canadian Pacific Railway to blanket the whole country with branch lines, without giving the people concessions in return. It has been said that a commission could be appointed to ascertain the cost of building the Canadian Pacific Railway, but so far, we have not been able to have one appointed. An hon. gentleman behind me said that he raised this question in 1895. Well, I raised it before that. Year by year the attempt has been made to devise some means of ascertaining the cost of building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the amount on which the 10 per cent could be earned, but without success. It would be well for this House to allow this Bill to stand until we hear from Manitoba. The people of that province are prepared to give a franchise to these branch lines, but only on terms. The hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale), undertook to rebuke me to-day. Well, I am quite well prepared to

take care of myself when that hon. gentleman, or the acting Minister of Railways suggests that I am simply seeking cheap popularity. If the attempt to do something in the interests of the people is to seek popularity, then I must plead guilty to the soft impeachment, but I am simply doing my duty, for I was sent here to look after the interests of the people, and particularly to try and get some kind of railway reform. It is not petty constitutional questions which lawyers are fond of discussing, that the people are interested in, but something that affects their pockets, and there is nothing that touches their pockets more than this railway question.

I again call the attention of the right hon. First Minister to the fact that he has twice pledged himself and the government, that no more important railway concessions will be given the Canadian Pacific Railway, or any other railway, except on terms. He has boasted of the large concessions he obtained from the Canadian Pacific Railway in the construction of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, but here is an opportunity by which he can gain the most important concession ever obtained in the interests of the people. I am not here to weep over vested interests. I have seen weeping tommies in the committee and in this House, and the public can judge pretty correctly what all their weeping amounts to. There is no occasion to weep for the men who have put their money into the Canadian Pacific Railway, for they are getting a very good return, and their interests are not in the slightest jeopardy. The Canadian Pacific Railway is the greatest railway proposition in the world to-day, and there is no fear of its going to grief. It has a most valuable franchise, and now is the time, when it is in the height of its prosperity, to bring it to terms and put it where the Grand Trunk Railway is to-day. No other railway has the monopoly clause enjoyed by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and yet that railway has been built by the people. It has had cash bonuses and land bonuses by the million, it has been given everything it asked for, and now, when it is asking for something more, is the time to demand a surrender of that monopoly clause, and have the company put in exactly the same position as every other railway in this country. I warn the hon. members of this House to beware how we interfere with the province of Manitoba in dealing with this question. That province, I believe, will announce to the people in a few days, that it is prepared to deal with this question, and give these franchises, and I think we would be doing well to leave this matter to be dealt with by the people of Manitoba.

Mr. JOHN ALEX. MACDONELL (Selkirk). I desire to repudiate the statement of the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), that the people of Manitoba are in rebellion against the Canadian Pacific Rail-

way. That statement is absolutely unfounded. There is a small section of that province in rebellion against the Canadian Pacific Railway, the section that is served by the Northern Pacific. In my section the people are anxious to have the Canadian Pacific Railway build this branch, of which the terminus will be in our district. What evidence have we before this House that the people of Manitoba are in rebellion against the Canadian Pacific Railway? None except the bare statement of two hon. members—one representing a constituency in the North-west, and another a constituency in the province of Ontario.

Mr. MACLEAN. What did the election turn on—Sifton, and not the railway?

Mr. MACDONELL. It did not turn on the railway question. We have in Canada a national policy of trade; and if that policy is to be successful in the future, we must also have a national policy in railways. The Canadian Pacific Railway was built in order to bind the provinces together, and also for the benefit of the common interests of trade in Canada. We find about the middle of this Dominion, the province of Manitoba. West and east of it are immense areas. Is the parliament of Canada to forego its control of railways in the interest of Manitoba in order that that province may erect a barrier against the trade of Canada and facilitate the transfer of that trade to American channels? Practically that is what would be accomplished, if the plea of the hon. gentleman for the transfer to Manitoba, of the rights of Canada, in the matter of regulating and controlling railways, were granted.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I wish to say just a word in reply to the hon. gentleman who has just spoken. I do not think he intended to convey that I made the statement that the people of Manitoba and the North-west are in open rebellion to the Canadian Pacific Railway. I am sure he would not intentionally misrepresent me. I did not say that, and I do not think that.

Mr. COWAN. You are not from the North-west.

Mr. MACDONELL. I referred to the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson). The hon. gentleman has given the impression to parliament and the country that the people in the North-west are strongly prejudiced against the Canadian Pacific Railway. I cannot gather anything else from his remarks. He is a persistent opponent of that company in the country and has never lost an opportunity to do what he could to injure them, and has given the House to believe that in this attitude he represented the people of the North-west. He may represent the views of a section of the people, but I am satisfied that I am right in saying that it is a small section.

Mr. MACDONELL.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I am glad that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonell) has had an opportunity to state frankly exactly what he thinks, and glad that it gives me an opportunity of making an explanation which I think is due to the House and to myself. If I have appeared to this House as a bitter opponent of the Canadian Pacific Railway, if I have appeared to wish to injure the Canadian Pacific Railway, I desire publicly to make a most humble apology to that company and to state absolutely that I occupy no such position and desire to occupy no such position. I am here to proclaim, in the face of the parliament of Canada, and in the face of the people of Canada, that I have the very greatest admiration for the Canadian Pacific Railway and for the efficient manner in which it is managed. I am here to say that I believe there are no set of men in the Dominion of Canada who, had they been placed in the same advantageous position as were the members of the original syndicate, would not have acted in practically the same manner as they did. I have no desire to assail the Canadian Pacific Railway in any particular. But I take the position, which my hon. friend (Mr. Macdonell), apparently, does not understand that the parliament of Canada constituted as it is should lose no opportunity to protect the interests of the people of Canada; and inasmuch as the Canadian Pacific Railway is one of the greatest institutions on this continent, inasmuch as they largely control the railway situation in this country, it becomes the duty, I think, of every man who assumes to represent the interest of the people of Canada not to be afraid of that company, but to be willing to stand up and fight even the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, if necessary. Now, it is quite true, as the hon. member (Mr. Macdonell) has said, that I have taken a prominent part in legislation in which this company is affected. And why have I done so? Because the Canadian Pacific Railway, as the hon. member for Macdonald (Mr. Rutherford), has pointed out, practically controls the situation in the province of Manitoba. It has, as hon. members know, its own vast system of roads there already; it controls the Manitoba North-western, the Great North-western Central, and it is asking, as I stated a little while ago, for permission, if it acquires the Brandon South-western charter, to construct over 2,000 miles of road in Manitoba. I wish to say to you, Mr. Speaker, and to the members of this House, that this is a very important matter to the people of Manitoba. If this parliament is going to give the Canadian Pacific Railway Company unlimited power to build roads in all directions, I think the people of Manitoba ought to have something to say about it. If we are going to give this company a blanket charter which will enable them to run anywhere in townships 1, 2 and 3, that is any point within a distance of 18

miles, the people of Manitoba might as well say good-bye to competition. The company will be in a position practically to dictate terms to the people of Manitoba. I really think my hon. friend (Mr. Macdonell) would reasonably agree with me that the people of Manitoba are very much in earnest about the railway situation. They do not want the independent railway companies driven out of the business altogether; and I feel that if any company is given unlimited power to build what is asked here, the little independent roads will be crushed out altogether and Manitoba will be in the grip of a greater monopoly than ever in the past. If, as I have said, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company merely desire to construct one or two branch lines, I would be delighted to support them. But they ask, in the Bill now before the committee, power to build some 900 miles of railway. As I have pointed out several times in this House, the people of Manitoba have been thoroughly aroused in the railway question. I believe that the late provincial government was defeated largely because of its position on the railway question and that the new government has come in under a policy by which, if the railways cannot be run under proper conditions otherwise, the government shall build them and own the roadway. If that represents what the people of Manitoba think, surely, this parliament does not wish to put upon that province conditions abhorrent to the people. There would certainly be an outcry if that were done. The members from the west are practically unanimous—though there may be one or two who dissent—that the will of the people should prevail and that these blanket charters should not be given. We rise in the Railway Committee, member after member from the North-west and appeal to this parliament to listen to our cry. Surely, if we are going to have representative government, the people who represent a given portion of the country should be listened to. But we are outvoted by members from the other provinces, who know nothing of the conditions and, I am sorry to say, many of whom do not seem to care a great deal about what happens to us in the North-west. If government is going to be conducted on popular principles, if we are to have representative government, surely parliament should listen to what members from the west say when they ask that Manitoba should have an opportunity to say what lines shall be constructed in their province. If the Canadian Pacific Railway desires these lines, let them come to the legislature of Manitoba and ask a charter to build them. Then, if the people of Manitoba, as represented by members of the legislature, grant that charter, we have nothing whatever to say. This charter, I wish to point out to the House, pertains only to the territory in the province of Manitoba. Why should not Manitoba be listened to in this mat-

ter? I do not desire to assume the role of a prophet, but it is my belief, though I may be wrong, that there will be an outcry of the people of Manitoba against this sort of thing. I think it interferes with provincial autonomy—

Mr. MACDONELL. Rot.

Mr. RICHARDSON. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Macdonell) says 'rot.' If we force upon the people of Manitoba these charters and they do not desire them, surely it is interfering with the people of Manitoba. I wish to say, while I am on my feet, that I have been glancing over the Bill, and I ask leave to read two or three little clauses that show how indefinite it is. For instance, it says:

From a point on the Deloraine extension of the Souris branch of the company's railway at or near Deloraine; thence south-westerly to a point in township 1 or 2, and thence westerly for a distance of 100 miles.

That may be a point anywhere within 12 miles. I do not think that this parliament should grant a charter like that. Why can they not lay down where they wish to build a road in order that we may understand what we are doing?

Mr. MONTAGUE. That was all threshed out in the committee. It was shown that the lines were laid out as definitely as possible.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Even if it was threshed out, there would be no harm in spending a little time in threshing it out again.

From a point at or near Napinka on the company's Souris branch; thence westerly to a junction with the north-west extension of the Souris branch.

It may run in a westerly direction, or it may deviate and make long detours. We do not know exactly what they want to do.

From a point on the Manitoba South-western Colonization Railway between Manitou and Pilot Mound, thence in a general southerly direction to a point at or near the international boundary;

From a point at or near Osborne, on the company's Pembina Mountain branch, thence westerly and south-westerly to some point on the line of the Manitoba South-western Colonization Railway, between Cartwright and Boissevain;

From a point at or near Otterburne on the company's Emerson branch, thence south-easterly to a point in township 1, 2 or 3; thence in a general easterly direction to the Lake of the Woods.

Now, before I sit down I wish to say that we had a discussion the other day when the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Roche) asked that these Bills be held over in order to give the people of Manitoba, through their legislature, an opportunity of pronouncing whether they desired these Bills or not. The legislature meets within three days, and the hon. gentleman assured us that a resolution would be immediately submitted to the local house, and I believe, as I said

then, that we will have a unanimous pronouncement from both sides of the House regarding this question; therefore, I would urge that this Bill be delayed in order that we may hear what the people of Manitoba have to say.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). I wish to say a few words in regard to the remarks of the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson). I agree with him in the main in his views of the unwisdom of granting power to build a number of branch lines as contained in this Bill. That was discussed in the committee, and I thought it unwise to grant this power for two reasons. In the first place, it appeared that this was done for the purpose of preventing other companies from occupying the same ground, so that if other companies proposed to build a railway in the same locality the Canadian Pacific Railway Company could set up a claim that they had previous rights by virtue of holding a charter to build over the same ground. In the next place, it occurred to me in looking at the map that it was intended practically to cripple the only independent line there appears to be in that country to-day, that is the Northern Pacific. I found that one branch of this railway was paralleling the Northern Pacific, and that it was not in any place more than four or five miles away from that road for a distance of sixty miles. Now, I never could see the wisdom of parliament granting a right to any corporation to parallel the road of another, particularly so near as these two lines. It could not be in the interest of the locality unless you hoped to keep these roads independent so as to have competition. But on the other hand, as has frequently been said in this House, where two roads are allowed to occupy the same locality so close to each other it is impossible for either of them to earn sufficient money to pay a fair interest on the capital invested. For that reason I did believe that this charter was intended to choke off the Northern Pacific Railway in at least one section of that country. I still believe it was unwise to give that charter, but the committee decided to do so. In doing so, I think we should have made a discrimination between the extensions which that road proposed to build inside the next two or three years, and the extensions which they did not propose to build until later on, and it was well enough to give them the right to build these extensions which they intended building in the near future, and to allow them to come back to parliament when they were ready to go on with the others. I think perhaps it was largely intended by that company to occupy the whole country to the exclusion of every other company that contemplated building roads through that country. If that be the case, the country will practically be left in the hands of one corporation. I say that provided they go on and build these extensions as con-

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templated by this Bill, it will practically choke off any extension of the Northern Pacific in that country. The result will be that the Northern Pacific will be practically squeezed out of the country, if they are not frozen out or bought out at a great sacrifice. For that reason I think the committee was not wise in passing the Bill. But we now have it before the House, and it is for us to say what disposition we shall make of it. I agree with the member for Lisgar that it would be well to hold it back for a short time to ascertain what policy will be laid down by the present government of Manitoba, who have called the legislature together and who have promised to lay their policy before the people at the earliest day. It is desirable that we should not be found in conflict with the aims of the provincial government in so far as we can favour them without abnegating the rights of this parliament. There may be cases where, if we knew their policy, we could work in consonance with them without doing any injustice either to the Canadian Pacific Railway or to any other interest in that country, and in that case it would be wise that we should have the policy of the local government before us as early as possible. I do not wish to be understood to say that we should in any way abandon our rights or our principles here, or put ourselves in subordination to the wishes of that government; not by any means. We have our own duties to perform, our own rights and functions to maintain, and I think we should carry them out to the fullest extent. But we might be able to do that, and at the same time to further the aim of the government of Manitoba, and thereby help to better the condition of the people of that province.

Mr. MACLEAN. I move that the committee rise, report progress and ask leave to sit again.

It being six o'clock, the committee took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. RUTHERFORD. Before this clause is carried, I would like to say a few words in regard to this matter. I think that, before these valuable franchises are granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway, which has already received every possible consideration at the hands of the people of the Dominion of Canada, it would be well to carefully look the situation over and see whether something cannot be obtained in return therefor. I do not adopt the same view as the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), or the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Roche) or the hon. member for East York (Mr. Maclean), in claiming, for one moment, that this parliament should delegate any of its rights, or privileges, in regard to the chartering of railways, to the

provincial legislatures, and I do not think that this House is in any way bound to await the pleasure, or decision, of the provincial governments in regard to these matters. I think, however, that this House, being paramount in the affairs of the Dominion, should insist upon some concessions being granted to the people in return for these privileges. Once they are given they cannot be taken away, and now is the time to deal with this matter. We have the case of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, which has been cited here this afternoon more than once, and which is in degree a similar case. The hon. member for East York, in suggesting that the Canadian Pacific Railway should, in return for these charters, agree to abandon altogether the 10 per cent clause, has not got his usual sense of the true proportion of things. When we obtained, from the Canadian Pacific Railway, the abrogation of that clause in so far as it affected the rates from any point on the railway west of Dunmore and south of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway to any point on the Canadian Pacific Railway system, and from any point on the Canadian Pacific Railway system to any point west of Dunmore and south of the main line, we gave in return therefor a very valuable bonus. We gave \$11,000 a mile, and it was only right, when giving that much money, that we should expect to have that valuable concession in return. When the hon. gentleman suggested that the Canadian Pacific Railway should give us in return for these charters, the abrogation of the 10 per cent clause over the whole system, he was, perhaps, asking too much. I do not propose to go as far as he does, but, in regard to these branches, charters for which are being asked for now, there is, I understand, an arrangement now arrived at whereby the Canadian Pacific Railway consents to abrogate the 10 per cent clause on the new portions of the road. It is all very well as far as it goes, and it certainly is a step in the right direction, but it does not go far enough. In the committee, the other day, I asked Judge Clark to tell us what that concession amounted to, and he declined. When I asked him what I am going to suggest to the House, now, namely, that the concession should apply, not only to the new portions of these branches, not only to the new extensions for which they are asking charters, but, that they should extend to the branches and to portions of the main line between the new extensions and the city of Winnipeg, so as to give the Governor in Council, not the lieutenant-governor, or the provincial government, control of rates, the same as in the case of other railways, from Winnipeg to and along the various branches for which charters are now being asked, Judge Clark said: No, we certainly will not do that; we will not give you something for nothing.

Mr. MACLEAN. Hear, hear.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. If these charters, for which they are asking, are worth nothing to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and if the people of Manitoba are not dying to get them, I do not know that it is the duty of this House to be so very ready to surrender these valuable franchises which have such a low value placed upon them by the Canadian Pacific Railway, as expressed through their counsel. They say that they are not prepared to give anything for them. I do not know that there is very much hope in this House, at the present time, of having this carried, but I call the attention of the government to the fact that it is only a matter of degree, and if we were able to obtain from the Canadian Pacific Railway, in connection with the construction of the Crow's Nest Pass road, valuable privileges, I think it would be only fair to take a proportionate view of matters and to ask a return such as I have suggested. I, therefore, beg to give notice, that I will, on the third reading of this Bill, move that it be referred back to the Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraphs Lines, to take this matter into consideration.

Mr. MACLEAN. Mr. Chairman, again I wish to point out to the House, what has been said on the other side, that I do not appear here as antagonistic to the Canadian Pacific Railway. I appear here rather in the interest of the people of this country in the endeavour to secure some practical concession for them when this question is up. I agree with what the hon. gentleman (Mr. Rutherford) has said, that when you are giving something, then is the time to get something back. This is what we have been told is the policy of the Liberal party. It has been said, this afternoon, that Manitoba has no grievance, that it recognizes, in the Canadian Pacific Railway, its very best friend. I say that the events that have taken place in the province of Manitoba show that the people have substantial railway grievances, and that they wish to have them remedied. I wish to point out that when the Liberal party were in opposition in this House, when parliament granted the Canadian Pacific Railway charter, the whole country rang with the charges of the monopoly that was inflicted upon the people of the North-west Territories. They declared that the people of the North-west Territories were bled white by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and they made out their case so well that the government of Sir John Macdonald was compelled to negotiate with the Canadian Pacific Railway for the abrogation of the monopoly clause, so far as competing roads running into the United States was concerned. But, they also spoke of other grievances. Time after time they declared that other railway grievances existed, and they charged this all over Canada. These grievances continue to this day, and

now is the time to remedy them. The people of Manitoba declared, in the recent elections, that there were these grievances, and that they wanted them removed. Since I spoke this afternoon I have been looking at the speeches of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) when he introduced the Crow's Nest Pass Railway proposition, and his whole defence of the proposition was, that while we are giving the Canadian Pacific Railway something now we are getting many substantial advantages in return. The hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) also spoke on the same lines, and the right hon. First Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), when he toured the province of Ontario, only last fall, made a series of speeches, in every one of which he claimed that great credit was due to his government and to the Liberal party because of the advantages and benefits they had conferred on the people of the North-west Territories in that arrangement with the Canadian Pacific Railway. He gave the whole country to understand that the old system of dealing with the Canadian Pacific Railway, practiced by the Conservative party, was a thing of the past, and that a new and improved system of dealing with the railways of this country had been adopted. Addresses were presented all over the country, lauding him for all that he had done. He accepted the adulations in these addresses in regard to the new policy which he said had been adopted by the government of this country. In this case here, the opportunity presents itself, which we can accept without doing any harm to anybody and at the same time do the country a great deal of good. The Canadian Pacific Railway is a most successful enterprise, its stock was quoted at 95 on Saturday, it went up a point and a half to-day, and it will probably go up a point and a half to-morrow, notwithstanding this discussion here. There is no danger to the Canadian Pacific Railway in giving up that monopoly clause. On the contrary, it would pay it well to give up that monopoly clause and gain the respect and esteem of the people. No injury would come of it. It has a most valuable franchise, it has made big money, it has a large income, its future is assured, it can go forward in the world now, and why should it not be on the same status as any other railway in this country? Why should it not be placed in the same position? The Canadian Pacific Railway to-day is our strongest corporation, because it is entrenched by these monopolistic clauses in its agreement. There will be no railway reform in this country, no successful regulation of railways, unless the law is unified and applies in the same way to every railway. How can we propose to deal with any of the smaller railways, while the greatest one of them all is entrenched behind monopolies? It may be contended that if this clause is repealed, the Canadian Pacific Railway

will come under the 15 per cent clause, but whether that be so or not, it is not germane to the question. What I propose to do is to bring the Canadian Pacific Railway under the same rule which governs all the other railways. I am not here to wipe out some of their monopolies, and by a brush of the hand, to say that an agreement shall not be sacred. An effort has been made to attribute that position to me, but such is not the case. What I say is, that now when the Canadian Pacific Railway is asking for this charter, now is the time to get them to consent to the abrogation of this clause. It is no interference with vested interests; it is simply a matter of negotiation on the lines laid down by the government in 1897, and by the ministers in their speeches throughout the country last fall. It is worth while, just for a moment, to read what the Prime Minister said at Bowmanville on October 16th last. This is the language used by the right hon. gentleman:

You are aware, because I know many of you have sons and relatives on the prairies of Manitoba and the North-west, you are well aware that the one thing of which they have been complaining most is the monopoly given to the Canadian Pacific Railway when the Canadian Pacific Railway was organized. I am not here to quarrel with the Canadian Pacific Railway. It has been a good institution, which has served a good purpose, and done much for the development of Canada, but I do not hesitate to say at the same time that the monopoly given it by the late government has been an incubus on the development of the North-west and Manitoba. We had, in 1897, to aid in the construction of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. As you know, valuable deposits of gold and silver and lead, galena and coal, have been found in that section of the Rocky Mountains which is nearest to the boundary line. In 1897, these were being developed with great rapidity. Miners from all over the world were flocking there, as they always will wherever there is a discovery of gold. And the trade of that country was going to the United States. We determined to build a railway, called the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, to connect with the Canadian Pacific Railway, but in so doing we had to give aid for the construction of that railway. At the same time we obtained from the Canadian Pacific Railway value for the aid given. We determined to give to the Canadian Pacific Railway a subsidy of \$11,000 a mile. We received this concession and we received that. . . . This is a most valuable concession to the farmers of the North-west Territories. But this is not all; the Canadian Pacific Railway had obtained a land grant of coal lands from the provincial government of British Columbia. We compelled them to surrender to us 50,000 acres of these coal lands, so that we might keep the price down, and have competition among the producers of coal. We obtained from them that the owners of coal could not, and should not, sell their coal at a higher price than \$2 per ton, f.o.b., at the mines. This is what we have done for the people of Canada. I call this substantial, practical politics.

So do I, and here is an opportunity for practical substantial politics. I challenge the Premier and his colleagues to live up to the

policy there laid down. They intend to appeal to the people of Canada on their record, and most of all, on the record of what they have done in connection with this great transportation question. I challenge the Premier to-night, and I challenge his government and the party behind him, to declare what they have to say with regard to this policy. It is practical politics, and it is practical business to make the best possible deal with the Canadian Pacific Railway under the circumstances. No better opportunity will be afforded this parliament to do so. To-night we are giving them the right to build 1,100 miles of railway, and we are giving them that right for nothing. We are giving this valuable franchise away, and let us get something in return. We are giving this charter away in the presence of that recent declaration of the people of Manitoba, in the late elections, that they were in favour of substantial railway reform, and that they were in favour of the government controlling railway rates. There can be no government control of railway rates as regards the Canadian Pacific Railway, so long as this monopoly clause exists, and here and now, that monopoly clause ought to be wiped out; not by ignoring vested rights, but by negotiations and by arranging terms.

Mr. DAVIS. What monopoly clause is the hon. gentleman talking about? Is it the 10 per cent clause in the original agreement?

Mr. MACLEAN. Yes.

Mr. McISAAC. Who put in that clause?

Mr. MACLEAN. The Conservative party put it in because they thought it was essential to the construction of the road.

Mr. DAVIS. How will you get it out?

Mr. MACLEAN. I will tell you. According to the Prime Minister and according to the Minister of Railways and Canals, the Canadian Pacific Railway surrendered any number of concessions in consideration of getting something, as in the case of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway.

Mr. DAVIS. They got a subsidy for the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, and in this case they are getting nothing.

Mr. MACLEAN. They are getting a franchise here, and sometimes a franchise is much more valuable than a subsidy. A street railway franchise is valued in millions and millions of dollars, and this franchise which we are giving the Canadian Pacific Railway now, is not merely something on paper. It is a substantial franchise, and they think a great deal of it apparently, for they have put up a lobby in this House, and in the city, to try and secure the carrying of this Bill. It is one of the most extensive lobbies they have had here; all the officials of the Canadian Pacific Railway are here, and they have been in the Railway Committee, and they have can-

vassed everybody in this House, and they are most anxious to get this Bill.

Some hon. MEMBERS. They did not canvass everybody.

Mr. MACLEAN. This Bill strengthens the monopoly they have. If the Liberal party were true to its pledges, it would reduce the monopoly, but we are here to-day asked to pass legislation that substantially increases the Canadian Pacific monopoly. What has always been the attitude of the great railway monopolies towards the settlers. It has been charged in this House time and again, that the attitude of a monopolistic railway towards the settler is to keep the railway rates at so high a figure that the settlers must remain upon the land at starvation point. That is the history of the relation of the great railways of the United States and of the great railways of Canada, in the North-west especially, towards the farming community. Their object is to keep the railway rates so high and have their monopoly so strong, that the farmer will just stick on the land, raise the crop, and give the best part of the crop to the railway companies. That is what the railways have been doing all over the American continent. That is what they wish to do in Canada to-day, and so long as they can entrench themselves behind the monopolistic clause, so long will they keep the Canadian farmer in the North-west almost at the point of starvation. There is a recent saying: When you are tired of killing Kruger with your mouth, you are to do something else, and if we on this side of the House are tired of killing Greenway with our mouths, it is time for us to come forward and show what we think of Hugh John Macdonald and the victory he has gained in Manitoba. I say that the Conservatives above all should stand up here against railway monopolies.

Some hon. MEMBERS. We do not see them doing it.

Mr. MACLEAN. I say that the people in the North-west are looking to the Conservative party to do something for them in the way of railway reform.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Why are they not doing it?

Mr. MACLEAN. Unless we do that we are open to the taunts that hon. gentlemen opposite are flinging across the floor just now. I trust that all the members in this House, and especially those on the Conservative side, will recognize the voice of the people of Manitoba, and will do something on the present occasion to improve the position of the people of that province in their relation to railways. I trust that this House will act on the lines laid down by the government, and especially on the lines laid down by the Prime Minister in his speech at Bowmanville last fall. And, Sir, not only

is the province of Manitoba interested in this question, but the province of British Columbia, is equally interested. I am waiting to see what the members from British Columbia have to say in regard to this monopolistic clause in the charter. I am waiting to see what they have to say about continuing this monopoly and giving further and greater privileges to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company without terms. I am waiting to see what the members for the North-west Territories have to say about strengthening this monopoly.

Mr. COWAN. Did you ever condemn that Canadian Pacific Railway bargain before ?

Mr. MACLEAN. Yes, and I defended it too, if you want to know it. But I have seen light. There was a time when the Canadian Pacific Railway contract could be justified in every particular. It was an experiment. We were opening up what was called an inhospitable country—a country of which there was not any certainty ; and it was a hard thing to get money for the purpose, and a hard thing to induce men to take the venture. It was a Conservative government which made the contract ; but it was Sir John Macdonald who rescinded the strongest feature of that monopoly on terms. He took away the monopolistic clause with regard to building lines to the south ; and if he had remained in power up to this time, he might have had this clause abrogated. But the point I am making is that now is the time to get terms from the Canadian Pacific Railway ; now is the time to abrogate this clause. By its abrogation the Canadian Pacific Railway will not lose a single dollar, but will be put in a better position. It will have the same status as every other railway in this country. Then the time will come when Canada must establish her railway commission, and take control of all these railways ; when the people, who are greater than any corporation, must regulate the rates of the railways. At the present time the Canadian Pacific Railway, entrenched as it is behind this and other monopolies, is the greatest power in this country ; it is growing stronger every day ; and its ambitions have not ended. From what we see in the papers, it is quite evident that in the future the Canadian Pacific Railway Company will come to this parliament and will say, You do not want the Intercolonial Railway ; we do not want to see the people having a people's railway ; we are willing to take that railway from you ; and we are willing to establish a fast Atlantic service, too. We can see public opinion being educated along that line in certain sections of the press. That great monopoly is not satisfied with all the franchises it has now, but it wants to control the people's national railway ; it wants to get possession of the Intercolonial Railway, and it will never be satisfied until it has it,

Mr. MACLEAN.

unless we take the stand that we intend to maintain the independence of the government railway and wipe out this monopoly clause, on terms if you will. But we intend that the parliament and the people of Canada shall be greater and stronger than any railway, and we intend that the people shall regulate the railway rates in this country. That day has got to come ; it is near at hand. The people are waiting for that day to arrive, and the way to help forward the coming of that day is to adopt something on the lines I propose to-night ; and I hope to hear from the members from the North-west, the members from British Columbia, and even the members from Ontario, a declaration that they are in favour, not of abrogating this clause, but of asking the company to surrender it in consideration of the great franchises which they are getting from us to-night.

Mr. JOHN HAGGART (South Lanark). There seems to be a great misunderstanding of what hon. gentlemen call the monopolistic clause of the Canadian Pacific Railway contract. If these hon. gentleman will only look at the legislation of this parliament, they will find that instead of the Canadian Pacific Railway being granted a monopoly by that contract, there was a reduction of the terms which were given to every other railway chartered in this country from the year 1856 until the year 1886. Let me read the clause of the Railway Act which applied to every railway that got a charter between those years, and compare that with the clause embodied in the Canadian Pacific Railway Act. The clause to which I refer, is in the Railway Act of 1886, and is as follows :

The parliament of Canada may from time to time reduce the tolls upon the railway, but no such reduction shall, without the consent of the company, be made so as to make the said tolls produce less than 15 per cent per annum profit on the capital actually expended in its construction—

There was a notice given by the people of Canada to every investor who put a dollar into a railway from 1856 to 1886, that there would be no tampering with the profits to which he would be entitled from his investment until the tolls on the railway produced not less than 15 per cent on the capital actually expended on construction—

—and unless, on an examination made by the minister of the amount received and expended by the company, the net income from all sources for the year then last past is found to have exceeded 15 per cent upon the capital actually expended.

At the time the contract was entered into by the government of Canada with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the government thought that was an excessive rate, and they entered into a special arrangement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to this effect :

The limit to the reduction of tolls by the parliament of Canada provided for by the 11th subsection of the 17th section of the Consolidated Railway Act, 1879—

Which is in the very words of the Act of 1886, which I have quoted—

—respecting tolls, is hereby extended, so that such reduction may be to such an extent that such tolls when reduced shall not produce less than 10 per cent per annum profit.

That is a drop of 5 per cent upon the profits allowed to every other railway chartered between 1856 and 1886. It is true, as the hon. gentleman says, that when the railway companies are coming to parliament for terms, we may exact conditions from them. Now, what are the facts with reference to the Bill now before the House? The company ask for a charter to construct 900 miles of railway, and they say that neither of these clauses, neither the 15 per cent nor the 10 per cent provision, shall apply to the lines to be constructed, but that the Governor in Council may exercise his discretion to fix the rates at any figure he likes. Is that the reason why these hon. gentlemen ask that what they call the monopolistic clause shall be struck out of the company's charter? Is that the reason why they ask us to do this act of confiscation?

Mr. MACLEAN. Does the hon. gentleman say it is an act of confiscation to put the company on the 15 per cent basis instead of 10 per cent?

Mr. HAGGART. We are not putting them on the 15 per cent basis by taking that clause out of their charter. If you annul that clause, it will leave the Governor in Council free to fix the rates at anything he likes. The 15 per cent clause will not apply then. Besides, the 15 per cent rate was abolished in 1897, and does not apply to any railway chartered since that year. The company now simply apply for a charter to construct 900 miles of railway, and they are not asking for any bonus or any exceptional treatment. They agreed to abandon all the privileges which they have under the 10 per cent clause, but they ask that they be put in the same position as any other road which is chartered at present, and let the same rule be applied to this particular section of road which is applied to other lines.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Before you report, Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment to move of which I have given notice, but if the promoter of this Bill intends pushing it to a third reading to-night, I will allow it to go through committee and move my amendment on the third reading. There is another point. When in committee on Thursday evening, the hon. member for Marquette, (Mr. Roche) requested that the Bill be not finally disposed of until we heard from Manitoba, and the hon. Minister of Railways, if I understood him correctly, stated

he was willing to acquiesce in that request and let the third reading be delayed until we heard from Manitoba. As the Manitoba legislature will meet in three days, and as, according to the hon. member for Marquette, they intend making a declaration of policy at once, we would know in three or four days what that legislature intends doing.

Mr. MACDONELL. If it be possible to get that Bill read a third time to-night, it is my intention to have that done.

Mr. RICHARDSON. What about the hon. member's notice to refer the Bill back to the Railway Committee with instructions to add a certain amendment regarding the operation of the 10 per cent clause?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Let the Bill go through committee, and then on the third reading you can make any amendments of which you have given notice.

The committee reported.

Mr. MACDONELL moved the third reading of the Bill.

Mr. MACLEAN moved in amendment that the following be substituted for clause 4 :

4. Clause 20 of the company's charter is hereby repealed.

Also to add the following clause to the said Bill:

That the maximum rate of passenger traffic on any of the railways to be constructed under the authority of this Act shall not exceed 2 cents per mile.

The House divided on amendment (Mr. Maclean) :

YEAS :

Messieurs

Burnett,	Puttee,
Casey,	Richardson,
Douglas,	Roche,
Erb,	Rogers,
Lang,	Rutherford,
Maclean,	Tolmie, and
McCarthy,	Wilson.—15.
McClure,	

NAYS :

Messieurs

Bazinet,	Hodgins,
Beith,	Hurley,
Bergeron,	Hutchison,
Bethune,	Johnston,
Bourassa,	Joly de Lotbinière
Brodeur,	(Sir Henri),
Brown,	LaRivière,
Carroll,	Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),
Chauvin,	Lavergne,
Christie,	Legris,
Clancy,	Lemieux,
Clarke,	Livingston,
Cochrane,	Macdonald (King's),
Copp,	Macdonell,
Cowan,	McCormick,
Craig,	McGugan,
Dugas,	McHugh,
Earle,	McIsaac,
Ellis,	McLellan,
Ferguson,	Martin,
Fisher,	Monet,

Fitzpatrick,	Monk,
Flint,	Montague,
Fortier,	Moore,
Fortin,	Morin,
Fraser (Guysborough),	Morrison,
Fraser (Lambton),	Penny,
Frost,	Poupore,
Gillies,	Powell,
Gilmour,	Quinn,
Guillet,	Rosamond,
Haggart,	Snetsinger,
Hale,	Sproule,
Harwood,	Sutherland,
Henderson,	Taylor, and
Heyd,	Tisdale.—71.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. RICHARDSON. It is my intention to move two or three amendments in the House. I might have moved them in committee, but did not do so, because I thought it would be a waste of time.

An hon. MEMBER. It is a waste of time here.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I think it will be discovered to be time very well spent, because I think it is important to know how every member stands on these questions. I move, seconded by Mr. Rogers :

That the Bill be not read now a third time, but that it be referred back to the Committee of the Whole with instructions to add the following :

That during the construction of this road, all books, accounts and records stating the actual cost of construction and equipment shall be open to inspection by the government, in order that if it be subsequently determined by either the government of the Dominion or the government of Manitoba to acquire the railway or any portion of it, it may be so acquired with a knowledge of the actual cost and at a figure from which may be deducted any bonuses given.

Now, this does not provide that the road shall be taken over by any government at cost. It simply lays down the proposition that the accounts shall be laid open to inspection, so that the government may know exactly what the road did cost. If it be determined at any future time that the road should be acquired either by this government or the government in Manitoba, it may be acquired with a knowledge of what it cost. Now, I think that many members who voted against the amendment of the hon. member for East York might do so because they thought it was interfering with a contract that exists between the government and the Canadian Pacific Railway. But this amendment of mine interferes with no contract; it merely provides a plan by which the government may be seized of important information. Whether the government in the future acquires this road or not, we want to know exactly what it costs to build the road. As I pointed out in discussing the other Bill—we have no means of knowing what the Canadian Pacific Railway costs. I told the House that the company's estimate including equipment was ninety-one and a half millions;

Mr. MACLEAN.

but they formed a construction company, and enormously enhanced the nominal cost of the road. It was because I thought the country should know exactly what that road did cost that I moved last session for a commission to inquire into the actual cost. Now, if the House adopts this amendment, and this is a reasonable amendment—it does not say that either this government or the government of Manitoba shall take over the road. We simply find out what it cost; leaving out this question of ownership that may come up in five, or ten, or twenty years from now. Even if it does not come up, it can do no harm to adopt this amendment; and if it is adopted and the government decides in future to take hold of the road, it can take it over with a knowledge of what it costs.

Mr. SPROULE. I support this amendment. I think it does no injustice to any company to have such an amendment put in. It seems to me that we ought to be in possession of such information for various reasons, that I will not mention here to-night. Under this we will know exactly what the cost of the road is. The data from which purchase is to be made will be available in the event of negotiations with regard to the road or in the event of it being necessary to determine the exact cost of this road or other roads of a similar character. I admit at the outset that it would be better if such an amendment were made in the Railway Act, so that all roads should furnish this information. But, in the absence of that being done—and we have no reason to believe that it will be done either now or in the future, because we are usually put off when we propose these things, first with a statement that it should be in the General Railway Act, and then that it would be better to put it in the Act some time in the future—it is no injustice to any corporation that comes to this House for a charter that we should impose upon them such a provision—and that we should keep count of the cost of the road so that it may be available in case it may be desired.

Mr. J. V. ELLIS (St. John City). I would point out to the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), that his amendment, it seems to me, does not effect what he proposes. It merely provides that the books shall be open during construction, but there is nothing to require the government to inspect them while under construction. If it does not inspect them, it is without power to do so afterwards. I go, perhaps, a little farther than the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) who has just spoken. My idea is that there ought to be a uniform system of bookkeeping for all railways in the country, and the government ought to compel them to keep their books according to that system. It seems to me the resolution is defective in the way I have pointed out.

Mr. CLARKE. How would it do to amend the amendment so as to compel the company to make a sworn return of the actual cost?

Mr. RICHARDSON. That would be a very difficult matter. The company could scarcely be relied upon to furnish an accurate return. If the House will permit me, I may say that I moved this amendment to the Rainy River Bill, and the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), while he did not accept mine, placed an amendment in the Bill that the company must furnish details when called upon. However, I do not think that that is satisfactory. I agree better with the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Ellis), and I would be quite willing, if the Bill goes back to committee to amend my amendment to meet the views of the hon. member for St. John, that the government shall apply a check upon the companies.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The difficulty which arises over the wording of the amendment only shows that it is a thing better dealt with in an amendment to the general Act, and only after very careful consideration. If this amendment were passed as suggested by the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), it would be of no use at all, as pointed out by the hon. member for St. John's (Mr. Ellis). The government would have the privilege of inspecting the books during construction, but if they did not do it during construction they would have no right to do it after. The books might be destroyed and information could not be got. Instead of jobbing at these things by patching up a single Act here and there, if the principle is thought to be a good one and a fair one, it ought to be adopted in a general way, instead of dealing with a single Act, and dealing with it in a defective manner.

Mr. JOHN HAGGART (South Lanark). The Act provides for all this. One of the schedules of the Act covers it all, providing:

1. Cost of land and land damages.
2. Cost in connection to the administration of land grant in aid, if any.
3. Cost of grading, masonry and bridging, station buildings, &c.
4. Cost of rolling stock of all kinds, including workshops.

Mr. CLARKE. Are these returns made under oath?

Mr. HAGGART. Returns made under oath to the minister, and he may enlarge them and inquire into the details.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Speaking for myself, I would not be particularly opposed to this amendment, except on the grounds stated by the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague). It does not amount to anything, and might give rise to difficulties. My hon. friend (Mr. Richardson), I suppose, has in view the purchase of the Canadian Pacific Railway by the government of Manitoba—

Mr. RICHARDSON. I object to being misrepresented, and specially by a minister. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) has no business to insinuate that I desire to have the government of Manitoba purchase the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. If the hon. gentleman would allow me to finish my sentence, I do not think he could have taken exception to the position. I must apologize for having put the word 'Manitoba' before the word 'Dominion,' but I had read it hurriedly. I see it says:

It may be subsequently determined by either the government of the Dominion or the government of Manitoba.

Mr. RICHARDSON. To acquire these branches, not the Canadian Pacific Railway, any portion of these branches.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The hon. gentleman's word is not, perhaps, as reliable as he tries to make out. It is his own amendment, and I am taking him according to the notice he has put on the paper. Perhaps I do not understand the English language, but it says: 'To acquire the railway—'

Mr. RICHARDSON. Or any portion of it.

Mr. MACLEAN. Railway means railway under the Bill.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. If that is not the Canadian Pacific Railway—

Mr. RICHARDSON. It is not the Canadian Pacific Railway. In the general Bill that is amended.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I may be mistaken. I have to be guided by the information I have, but I am in the judgment of the House, if my hon. friend is not altogether mistaken in the meaning of the word railway here. It applies to the Canadian Pacific Railway. But that is immaterial. However, I was under the impression, in listening to the speeches of these gentlemen, that they were advocating a policy of controlling the whole railway system of the Dominion, that is the impression that they gave me, speaking to-day on this Bill and on other Bills, in order and out of order. If I misunderstood my hon. friend, I am willing to apologize and to be set right. But according to my understanding of the English language, the expressions of these gentlemen led us to believe they were advocating the policy of the purchase and control in some way of all railways. I understand the object of this amendment is set forth in the resolution, 'It may be subsequently determined by either the government of the Dominion or the government of Manitoba.' Now, Sir, I do not think that these gentlemen have a right, every time they speak, to assume that no other members of the

House have the interest of the public at heart but themselves. We hear that so often that it becomes almost tiresome to those of us who seldom speak on any question. We have a right to assume that we are all acting to the best of our knowledge in the interest of the public. So far as I am concerned, I think, with the member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), that this amendment is likely to be of more injury than benefit to the object the hon. gentleman has in view. With the ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart), I claim that we have certain powers under the Railway Act now; but I claim more than that, I think if at any time it should be the policy of this parliament to purchase every road, or any road, or any portion of a road, we will be in a better position to do so, and to determine the cost, the value and the amount we should pay, without this amendment than with it. Parliament has that full power and whenever the time comes to take practical action I am sure we would be in a better position to do so without this amendment than with it. For that reason I shall vote against it.

Mr. TISDALE. If the hon. gentleman will take the trouble to examine the Railway Act, and particularly the report issued every year by the statistical department, they will find covered every possible thing that they are moving for. You have to make a return of the cost of the construction, the cost of the rolling stock, and all that sort of thing. I know all about it, because for six or seven years before I was a member of this House, I had to go over those returns carefully. In addition to that, under the Railway Act the minister and the Railway Department have power to ask for any return of information they want. The Act specifies the kind of statistics the companies shall furnish, including accidents, working expenses and all such information. Then it puts in a general clause which I will read:

The company shall also, in addition to the information required to be furnished by the minister—

That is the annual return.

—as indicated in such schedule 1, furnish such other information and returns as are from time to time required by the Governor in Council.

Now, we have already on the statute-book stronger legislation than any of these motions require. Under these circumstances I think we have a right to complain of the time that is taken up, not only in the Railway Committee, but in this House, by renewed motions of precisely the same nature and reiteration of arguments of the same nature, calling for information and powers which the government and parliament already possesses. If the hon. gentlemen would inform themselves by looking into the returns, that at great expense and trouble, the Minister of Railways and Canals and his

Mr. SUTHERLAND.

officials have to prepare every year, they would find many of these things that they ask for are already covered. At the first meeting of the Railway Committee, attended by nearly all the members, we had a question of this sort come up, and by a very large majority, after full discussion, it was decided that these questions ought to be dealt with in the general Railway Act. The committee spent a good deal of useful time in discussion, and we affirmed that by a large majority. Having affirmed it there, and discussed it time and again, surely the time has come when we have a right to appeal to these gentlemen. I am not finding any fault with this discussion, but when an intelligent House like this has fully discussed a matter and passed upon it by a vote, in addition to the discussion given to it by that great committee, surely the responsibility of members who vote for or against it has been established. I repeat that these things have already been provided for in a more thorough manner than is called for by all these amendments. It is all provided for by the Act of 1886, which was amended in 1888, and again last year. This was certainly the law in 1888, and I think in 1886. I wish to say here, on account of some strictures passed upon me this afternoon, that I am quite prepared, either in committee or in the House, fully and carefully to discuss these questions. Sometimes I am accused of being rather inclined to discuss things at too great length. But when once they are discussed and settled, then I do not think, as the chairman of the Railway Committee, the member for Oxford (Mr. Sutherland), has said, that other gentlemen should again and again bring them up to be all gone over again. I do not know what impression may be made in the country, but it makes us feel as if we were being held up all the time on these questions as having some other interest in view instead of the interest of the people. Surely there must be some time during a session when this principle ought to be sufficiently affirmed. When a government or private question has come before the House and the House has passed upon it, I think that is sufficient for one session. I protest, as a busy member of the House, having reference not only to my own affairs, but to the affairs of the House, and also in the name of many other hon. members, against rediscussing and rehearing the same things over and over again. I appeal to these hon. gentlemen. We understand our responsibility and they do theirs. I do not wish to be considered as lecturing them. The people understand the position that hon. gentlemen take, the newspapers distribute the information throughout the country, and it is unnecessary, day after day, to take up our time as has been done to-night. On the last private members' day we practically passed upon most of these resolutions, and all these resolutions are

more than covered by the authority of the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, the great tribunal which both sides of the House have more than once affirmed as being seized of the responsibility, so that it becomes time to make an appeal to hon. gentlemen and to protest against a further waste of time.

Mr. MACLEAN. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with a great deal of attention to the lecture which has been read to us by the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale). He has treated the House as if it were a Sunday school and he were the Sunday school superintendent. I am not going to be lectured.

An hon. MEMBER. He never made that mistake with you.

Mr. MACLEAN. I have the right, and I intend to live up to the right and duty of a member of this House, who, if he thinks there is a public grievance, should air it in this House, not once, but on every occasion that presents itself. I am not, for one, going to be put aside by the statements of the hon. member for South Norfolk, that these principles have been accepted and settled. They have not been settled, and the trouble is that we have not a government, or a parliament, that will tackle this railway question, deal with it and settle it. This is a question that ought to be settled on broad lines. But, when it is brought up on broad lines the objection is raised that we are interfering with vested rights, and when it is brought up in reference to a particular case, we are told that we should bring in a particular Bill. That has been the policy of this House ever since I have been in it. The whole trouble is that we have not a government, or a House, that will deal with this question. It is the duty of the government to call the Canadian Pacific Railway into court and ascertain what the cost of the railway was. As has been pointed out here, to-night, they have gone before the people as the champions of the people prepared to remove that monopolistic clause from the Canadian Pacific Railway. They have made this whole country howl with it, and now when the opportunity is presented to them, when they have a majority behind them of something like fifty votes, they take no action in the matter, and they refuse to call the Canadian Pacific Railway into court. If the government would stand up and say to the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) that they intend to call upon the Canadian Pacific Railway and to ascertain what its road had actually cost, there would be some reason for asking us to raise this question, but, it is because of the inaction of the government and the inaction of the Liberal party that we are obliged to raise this question on every occasion. I shall not bind myself to abide by the lecture that has

been read here to-night by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tisdale), but, whenever I see an opportunity, I intend to challenge the House and to appeal to the country on this question of railway monopoly.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). Mr. Speaker, I do not think the remarks that have been made to the House by the hon. gentleman will convince this House and this country that we have that full information from the railway companies which is desirable and which is absolutely necessary to have, if we are, in the future, at any time to acquire possession of these railways. The amendment moved by the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) is, I think, a step in the right direction. The hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) has given us the information that all these things are already provided for in the Railway Act. Well, I can tell the hon. member for South Norfolk that there is no information that we can lay our hands upon to-day that gives this knowledge of the various railway companies. Where is the information which states the actual cost of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway? That information has not been given nor have we the cost of the grading, the cost of the rails, the cost of the station houses, the cost of the rolling stock or all these other items. It is proposed by the hon. member for Lisgar that machinery be provided by which we will get this information. I think it is a step in the right direction, and that the House should require from every railway company all the information that they desire to have, as it is necessary, for many purposes, that we should have it. Take the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway; I am told that its profits last year were about 8½ per cent. We are coming right up to the time when the 10 per cent limit will be reached. We want to know the full and official particulars of these facts. The House and the country want all the particulars, and I think they are entitled to have them. They tell us that we can get this information now. All I can say is that I would like to have it. I would like some of the hon. ministers, or ex-ministers, to be able to give us this information. It is strange—it is not so strange, after all, because it is happening every day—that, whenever a matter comes up in which the department of a minister of the Crown is specially and particularly concerned, the minister of that department is absent from his seat. We look across and see no Minister of Railways here to-day, though this is railway day. This is a day when the hon. Minister of Railways should be here to give us information and to supply us with data from his department, but he is not in his seat. Then, again we have matters coming up in regard to the Department of the Interior, but the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) is away. We are

told that he is away because he requires medical treatment. Well, I presume, without inquiring too closely, that medical treatment could have been given at other periods of the year beside that at which the House is in session, with the same satisfactory results. I hope he will come back thoroughly cured. But, it has been the practice that whenever matters relating to a department come up, the minister of that particular department is absent. The right hon. First Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), I am bound to say, is always in his place, always attending to business, looking after matters, and I wish he could infuse that same spirit of diligence and industry into his ministers that he displays himself. It is too bad that the business of the House should be delayed by ministers being away from their places when important matters are under consideration. To come back to the particular clause of this Bill. Reference has been made to the Rainy River Bill, passed last year. What was the necessity of this clause being inserted last year if it were already provided for in the General Railway Act. Clause 9 says :

As respects all railways for which subsidies are granted by this Act, the company at any time owning or operating any of the said railways shall, when required, produce and exhibit to the Minister of Railways and Canals or any persons appointed by him, all books, accounts and vouchers showing the cost of constructing the railway, the cost of operating it, and the earnings thereof.

This applies to the railways that received subsidies last year, but it does not apply to the other railways.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. What Act is that ?

Mr. WALLACE. This is the Railway Subsidy Act of 1899, and all the railway companies that received this assistance last year are to furnish that information. This is not the case of some private member getting a clause inserted in a private Bill, but it is the government's own act. If the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) be correct in what he states, that far more information is already required to be given by the General Railway Act, what was the necessity for putting in this provision in the Act of last year ? Why, the thing is absurd, and it is another and additional argument why the proposal of the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson) should become law.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I would remark to my hon. friend (Mr. Wallace), who has made some allusion to the absence of the hon. Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair), that the Minister of Railways is absent to-day on account of some domestic matters which have called him away for two or three days. He will, however, be in his seat before the end of the week. The questions raised to-day, however, do not urgently require the presence of the Minister of Railways, because it is

Mr. WALLACE.

within the knowledge of every one that all these questions have been threshed out over and over again in the Railway Committee. No new information has been imparted to the House. The Railway Committee is the largest committee in the House; it is almost a committee of the whole House, and whatever is settled there is settled for the House, except on very rare occasions.

House divided on amendment (Mr. Richardson).

YEAS :

Messieurs

Brodeur,	McCarthy,
Clarke,	McClure,
Craig,	Puttee,
Davin,	Richardson,
Davis,	Roche,
Douglas,	Rogers,
Fortin,	Rutherford,
Guillet,	Semple,
Henderson,	Sproule, and
Lang,	Wallace.—21.
Maclean,	

NAYS :

Messieurs

Angers,	Johnston,
Bazinet,	Joly de Lotbinière
Beith,	(Sir Henri),
Bell (Addington),	LaRivière,
Bell (Pictou),	Laurier (Sir Wilfrid),
Bell (Prince),	Lavergne,
Bergeron,	Legris,
Bethune,	Lemieux,
Brown,	Livingston,
Carroll,	Macdonald (King's),
Charlton,	Macdonell,
Chauvin,	MacLaren,
Clancy,	McCormick,
Cochrane,	McGugan,
Cowan,	McHugh,
Dugas,	McIsaac,
Earle,	McLennan (Glengarry),
Erb,	Martin,
Ethier,	Monet,
Ferguson,	Monk,
Fisher,	Montague,
Fitzpatrick,	Moore,
Flint,	Morin,
Fortier,	Morrison,
Fraser (Guysborough),	Penny,
Fraser (Lambton),	Poupore,
Frost,	Powell,
Gillies,	Quinn,
Gilmour,	Rosamond,
Haggart,	Snetsinger,
Hale,	Sutherland,
Harwood,	Taylor,
Heyd,	Tisdale, and
Hurley,	Wilson.—68.
Hutchison,	

Amendment negatived.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I have one more amendment to propose. It refers to the 10 per cent clause, and is as follows :

That the rates, both passenger and freight, shall at all times be subject to revision and control by the Governor General in Council, provided that whenever such rates produce a net profit of more than 6 per cent on the actual

cost of the road and equipment, less the amount of any subsidies received from any source, the rates shall be reduced to such point as shall only produce 6 per cent on such net cost.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. When this Bill was before the Railway Committee, a clause was added to it providing that clause 20 of the Canadian Pacific Railway charter—that is, the clause providing for the 10 per cent—shall not apply to the tolls to be collected by the company for passengers or goods transported upon any railway to be constructed under the authority of this Act, but all such tolls shall be fixed and regulated as provided by the Railway Act. If I understand the matter, this amendment would have this effect, that the Committee of the Privy Council could not interfere with the rates until the company had earned upon these branches 6 per cent upon the amount of the cost. If the Act is left as it is, the Railway Committee could interfere whether the company paid any dividend or not. So that, in my judgment, the effect of the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Lisgar would be to place the Governor in Council in such a position that they could not interfere with the rates until the company had earned 6 per cent upon the cost of the construction of these branches. I should prefer very much to have this question left as it is at present under the Railway Act, as the Governor in Council would then be entitled to interfere with the rates on the application of any person interested.

Mr. CRAIG. The hon. member who moved this amendment said he would let it go on the same division. I cannot agree to that, because I voted for the last amendment, but I intend to vote against this one.

Mr. DAVIN. It seems to me that the objection taken by the acting Minister of the Interior is fatal to the amendment of the hon. member for Lisgar. It is quite clear to me that if the amendment of the hon. member for Lisgar were adopted, we would be in a much worse position than we are now. The clause that has been added seems to me to get rid entirely of the 10 per cent restriction, and much more effectually than the hon. gentleman's amendment would.

Mr. RICHARDSON. While the original charter of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company allows them to earn 10 per cent on the actual cost, I do not think this House would take the position that we are not willing to allow the company to earn at least 5 or 6 per cent on their bonds. I do not think the people of Canada desire to prevent the railways earning something on their bonds; and 6 per cent seemed to me to be a reasonable rate, and I put it in. I merely wish to explain.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman has a right to explain.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I think the hon. member should be allowed to explain, because this is the most extraordinary spectacle I ever saw in the House. Here we have been asked by the hon. member for Lisgar to fight against giving too much to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company; we have been asked to say that they shall not have this monopolistic clause and that monopolistic clause; and they came to the Railway Committee the other day and said: If you give us this charter, we do not want any special privileges; we are willing to abandon that 10 per cent clause, and do away with it entirely. The committee adopted a clause accordingly, and put it in the Bill, and now up steps the hon. member for Lisgar and proposes that they shall be permitted to earn at least 6 per cent—in other words, that this House shall put a monopoly clause into a Bill which had all its monopoly clauses expunged by the committee. If this is not the 'reductio ad absurdum' of legislation in this House, I do not know what is. It only shows, as the hon. member for South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) says, that the House is being trifled with by amendments which are ill-considered, ill-timed and absolutely useless for the purpose for which they are proposed.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. While I have the very greatest sympathy with the hon. member for Lisgar in his attempts to reform the railway system of the Dominion of Canada, I beg to point out, in addition to what the hon. member for Haldimand has said, that this is only a matter of degree; that nineteen years ago, when the Canadian Pacific Railway charter was granted, 10 per cent was about the same rate of interest on money that 6 per cent is to-day; and this hon. gentleman is prepared to saddle the people of that country, for whose rights he is so earnestly contending, with a clause as iniquitous in degree as was the 10 per cent clause, against which he has been agitating so long. I was rather amused at his suggestion that we should deal with this amendment on the same division as the other, because they are entirely dissimilar in every way.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. I beg to move:

Clause 20 of the original charter shall not apply to the tolls to be collected by the company for passengers or goods transported upon any of the railways to be constructed under this Act, nor to passengers and goods transported from or to any point on any of the said railways to or from any other points upon the lines of the company within the province of Manitoba.

Mr. HAGGART. Let me draw the hon. gentleman's attention to the fact that there are only six clauses in the Act; there is no such clause as clause 20 in it at all. What he refers to is clause 20 of schedule A; there

are two schedules in the Act. If the hon. gentleman's amendment were carried, it would not affect the Act in the slightest.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. That is only a very minor matter.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. RUTHERFORD. The hon. gentleman understands what I mean. A little technical error of that kind does not count in a principle of this kind. If there is any little technical mistake, I am sure the ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart) will be one of the first to assist me in putting the thing in proper shape before this House. The idea is to endeavour to get something for something, but we are now getting nothing in return for the franchise we are giving, and we ought to get something for these concessions. The amendment, which was passed by the Railway Committee the other day is of no avail as regards control of local rates, because the principal local traffic in the province of Manitoba, as every one knows, is from and to the city of Winnipeg, and unless we give control to the Governor General in Council over the rates of those lines all the way to Winnipeg and throughout the province, the little concession which the Canadian Pacific Railway has given us is of no account. I trust that this amendment will receive the serious consideration of the House.

Amendment negatived.

Bill read the third time and passed.

THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT (OR CHURCH.)

The House resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 51) to incorporate the Holiness Movement (or Church) in Canada.—(Mr. Belcourt.)

(In the Committee.)

Mr. D. HENDERSON (Halton). It seems to me that this legislation is something entirely uncalled for. The general tendency for the last twenty-five or thirty years has been towards union instead of disunion among the various Methodist churches and Presbyterian bodies. In fact, at present the tendency is towards greater union between the Methodist and Presbyterian bodies, and we should be very careful before passing legislation in a direction the very opposite to that approved of by the great churches of this country. I therefore beg to move that the committee rise.

Mr. U. WILSON (Lennox). I understand that the general superintendent of the Methodist Church came here and appeared before the committee.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. HAGGART.

Mr. WILSON. I was under that impression. At any rate, I have had conversations with some of the representative ministers in the Methodist churches, and while it is quite true that they are not much in favour of this movement, they do not see why a body of men who have formed this religious organization and want the right to hold property and enjoy the other privileges of such organizations, should be denied these rights. We are in a country where everybody should have equal rights. I know nothing of the religious tenets of this body, but I know that they are very earnest workers, and I certainly think it would be a great mistake to refuse them incorporation. Every man should have a right to worship his God as he sees fit without interfering with any other man or set of men. For these reasons, I am very much opposed to the kind of treatment which the hon. member asks us to deal out to this body.

Mr. D. C. FRASER (Guysborough). I agree with the last speaker. If union is what the hon. member for Halton has in view, he is taking the very worst way to bring it about. Just so soon as you try to prevent people from worshipping God as they like, so soon will you bring about greater disunion than already exists. These people come together to worship and they want that recognition which will enable them as a corporation to hold property. It makes no difference what our views may be concerning that movement, so long as these people are law-abiding citizens and desire to come together and worship in their own way, they have the right to do it. It would be a sad thing if we were to throw out this Bill. If the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson) had lived long ago in England, I suppose he would have insisted that nobody should live there but Episcopalians, and have thus deprived the country of the Presbyterians, the best class of people in it, and I suppose that if he had lived in Scotland he would have allowed no Episcopalians to remain there. These people are not asking for any exclusive privileges. They do not ask that they should be put in the category of distinguished prelates of this country and be entitled to take their places at Government House or anything of that kind, but only ask the right to go on doing their religious work according to their own views and to hold property as a corporation, because there is a considerable amount of difficulty in holding property in the names of trustees. If they are all right, they will succeed; but if not, they will not. But in any case we will do them and all other denominations in this country a great injury by simply throwing out the Bill.

Mr. E. G. PENNY (St. Lawrence, Montreal). On general principles I quite agree with the hon. member for Guysborough. But if I understand rightly, this is a body

that at one time were called Hornerites. If I am right in that, I may say that they were a disturbing element in Montreal.

MR. FRASER (Guysborough). So were the Orangemen.

MR. PENNY. Well, I think that in view of what occurred, we ought to consider this Bill well, before passing it.

MR. HENDERSON. I do not hold the narrow views attributed to me by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fraser), I do not oppose this Bill, because of the nature of the practices of the body asking incorporation. I may say that I know nothing about them. But the tendency of the age is towards union and not disunion. The opinion of the great Methodist body of this country, is, and has been, favourable to union. And I am not sure, if that body were consulted throughout the country, that they would be favourable to the creation of any new church, a split off from their own body. The tendency of the Presbyterian Church, as I said before, is, and has been, towards union. I think this parliament is simply doing something that will operate against the church of this country, which believe that union and not disunion, should be sought, that the churches should be strengthened and not weakened.

MR. T. S. SPROULÉ (East Grey). I confess that I cannot agree with the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson). I do not think that we should lay down any cast-iron rules that there should be only so many churches in the land. I think if the practices of the churches are right you may make as many of them as you please. So long as there are sinners, you can hardly say that you should not have more churches, because the churches in existence do not succeed in covering the field. I would have no objection to giving them incorporation, so long as the practices of their religion are in conformity with the principles of the Christian religion.

MR. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). It has been the rule of this House ever since I have held a seat herein, that all religious denominations applying for incorporation, have received it. The Bill on the paper following this one, is for the incorporation of a religious society not agreeable to my views, but because it is a religious body, I intend to support that Bill. I think it is the duty of this House to grant this religious body this Act, the same as is granted to any other religious body.

MR. WILSON. The argument used by the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson), might be used by any denomination against another. I am sure there is a good deal of difference of opinion between those who do not belong to a church, and those who do belong to it, as to what church ought to have. But I thought we had outlived the day when we expected people to worship as

we did, and it had got to the time in this House and country, when we were ready to give to others the same privilege that we ask for ourselves. I do not want the privilege of worshipping God as I see fit, without giving the same to my neighbours. I think it would be a great shame if this parliament refused to incorporate this body of men who, I believe, are trying to do what they think is in the interest of humanity. Even if I did not believe in their way of doing things, that would not be a good reason why they should not be incorporated.

AN HON. MEMBER. Do you want them to come out of your church?

MR. WILSON. No, I do not want people to come out of my church to join this one. But, I do not want to force a man to stay in my church, if he wishes to attend some other. I want men to worship God in the way they think best. I do not think we have any right to dictate to them in such matters. Therefore, I am in favour of incorporating this society.

Motion (Mr. Henderson) negatived.

On motion for third reading.

MR. LARIVIERE. I understood that the title of the Bill was to be amended on the third reading. In the body of the Bill, the word 'or,' is struck out, leaving it the Holiness Church of Canada. Perhaps the Bill had better stand.

MR. HENDERSON. That would be a very odd name for this church seeking incorporation, and in a sense recognizing their right to assume that all the holiness in Canada is possessed by this particular body. To change it to the name suggested by the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. LaRivière), it seems to me, would be a usurpation of the rights of other religious bodies.

MR. SPEAKER. The Bill will stand.

IN THE COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 24) respecting the Nova Scotia Steel Company (Limited).—(Mr. Fraser, Guysborough.)

Bill (No. 77) to incorporate the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.—(Mr. Quinn.)

Bill (No. 45) respecting the Pontiac Pacific Junction Railway Company.—(Mr. Poupore.)

Bill (No. 43) respecting the Grand Valley Railway Company, and to change its name to the Port Dover, Brantford, Berlin and Goderich Railway Company.—(Mr. Charlton.)

THE SERVIS RAILROAD THE PLATE COMPANY.

MR. FRASER (Guysborough) moved the second reading of Bill (No. 93), to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Servis Railroad The Plate Company of Canada, Limited.

Mr. J. V. ELLIS (St. John). I do not intend to oppose the Bill or to arrest its progress; but I would call the attention of the House to the fact that there are four Bills of this nature now before it. Since I have been a member of the House for several years there have been constant applications to override the law. The whole process is very troublesome, and I would suggest to the government that they take the matter into consideration and either give a general power to the Commissioner of Patents to deal with these cases, or in some other way to amend these Acts, if it is necessary to amend them at all. The present system is cumbersome and troublesome, and good results are not reached by the present mode. It would be far better to establish a court composed of the Commissioner of Patents and two or three other gentlemen. I think in the United States the commissioner has power; but the present system is a very inconvenient one.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). I do not object to these powers being given to the Commissioner of Patents if there is any show of reason for it; but in this case there is no show of reason whatever. The only reason is assigned in the preamble:

But that, without fault or neglect, it has failed to obtain from the use and sale of said invention a reasonable remuneration for the money, time and labour bestowed upon it, and upon its introduction into public use.

Now, parliament in its wisdom established a certain length of time during which the patent is the property of the inventor.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. What are they asking for?

Mr. MONTAGUE. They are asking to confer upon the Commissioner of Patents power to extend the time. I submit that is no reason to come to parliament for such an extension. You do away absolutely with the usefulness of the Act if you suspend it for such a reason as that.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I would observe to the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Ellis), that at first blush I would not favour the suggestion that he offers to the House. If we were to put into the hands of an officer the power he suggests, the power of entertaining such a motion as is embodied in all these Bills now before the House, it would be to a large extent to favour the granting of these requests. Now, it seems to me that in the public interest such requests should not be granted. The granting of a patent is an abridgement of the right of the community generally. If the grantee of the patent does not choose to avail himself of the privilege given to him by law, if for some reason he allows the time to elapse before taking advantage of it, then I do not think his application to have this power continued to him ought to be favourably entertained. I think

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as a general rule all such applications ought to be refused unless a very strong case is made out, so strong indeed that the power of parliament might be invoked to determine whether the power granted to the patentee should be revived. For my part I do not think it would be wise to facilitate such extensions in any manner. By forcing the party who wants to have a new charter or a new patent given to him to come before parliament, we would discourage all such applications. I would agree with the opinion of the member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), to a large extent. But, I think, it is better to do as we have done in previous cases, that is, to send these applications to the Committee on Private Bills there to have them fully threshed out.

Mr. A. B. INGRAM (East Elgin). There is another Bill following this on the Order paper where the patentee allowed his patent to expire in September last. The original patent was not worth anything, but the person who succeeded in remodelling the patent, the patent in his possession, made it worth something. Now the late patentee wants the patent resurrected again.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). This is not a case of allowing a patent to lapse or not working under it. In the first years, after the patent was obtained, it was impossible to begin operations. Operations have now been begun, and they are selling both to the Intercolonial Railway and to the Canadian Pacific Railway, as will be shown before the committee. All they want is a lengthened period.

Mr. MONTAGUE. This is taking away the rights of the public.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I am aware that we have passed a number of Bills to that effect almost every year since I have been in parliament.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Never upon an excuse of that kind.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). I think it will be shown before the committee that what I say is a fact. This is not the time to discuss it.

Mr. ELLIS. My idea is that a better system might be adopted than the present one. While it is true that these Bills come before parliament, as the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) says, as a matter of fact they always go through the committee. Therefore, there is no great attention paid to them. Although the committee sifts them, they always go through. But it ought not to be allowed.

Mr. SPROULE. There is no doubt that we have dealt with a number of Bills of this kind in this House, and that a good many of them should not have been allowed at all. I think that wisdom prevailed in sending them to the committee, where all the evi-

dence that was necessary could be taken, and where the Bills could be sifted to the bottom to see whether they were wise or not.

Mr. FRASER (Guysborough). That was in cases where they had lapsed and nothing done.

Mr. SPROULE. Yes. I think we should follow the same course here. I do not see any reason for allowing this patent to be extended, but, I think, it would be the part of wisdom to send this Bill to the committee and let them inquire fully into it, calling before them any evidence that may be required.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 94) respecting the Schomberg and Aurora Railway Company.—(Mr. Landerkin.)

Bill (No. 96) respecting the Quebec Bridge Company.—(Mr. Talbot.)

Bill (No. 97) to incorporate the Portage du Fort and French River Railway Company.—(Mr. Mackie.)

Bill (No. 98) respecting the Yarmouth Steamship Company, Limited.—(Mr. Flint.)

Bill (No. 99) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Miami Cycle and Manufacturing Company.—(Mr. Britton.)

Bill (No. 100) respecting the Buffalo Railway Company.—(Mr. Gibson.)

Bill (No. 101) respecting the Nipissing and James Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. Klock.)

Bill (No. 102) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of James Milne.—(Mr. Clarke.)

Bill (No. 103) to incorporate the Port Arthur Railway and Terminals Company.—(Mr. Dymont.)

Bill (No. 104) respecting the Montfort and Gatineau Colonization Railway Company.—(Mr. Bourassa.)

Bill (No. 109) to incorporate the Manitoulin and North Shore Railway Company.—(Mr. Dymont.)

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I would like to ask the Prime Minister if he has any knowledge as to when the electoral lists will be printed?

The PRIME MINISTER. I cannot give any definite information to my hon. friend. I shall make inquiry, and if he asks at another time, I may be able to give an answer.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 10.30 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, March 27, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION—MR. MONTAGUE.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). Before the Orders of the Day are proceeded with, I want to refer to an article in the *Toronto Globe* of yesterday, in which I am charged with having made a certain statement in the House of Commons, when I had the pleasure of discussing the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell). This article says that Dr. Montague said:

England owes more to Canada than Canada owes to England.

This, it said, as a 'curt' statement. I did quote these words, Sir, as they appear at page 2166 of *Hansard*, but the *Hansard* reporter, I notice, put them in inverted commas, which was quite proper. I do not claim to be the author of these words. They were the exceedingly curt words of the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), and, as I do not care to be proclaimed throughout the Dominion as the author of them, I take this occasion to make the correction.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding):

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising a Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Mr. GEORGE E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) Mr. Speaker, I rise to-day with a good deal of pleasure to venture some remarks, of plain, and, I hope, truthful criticism on the address which was delivered on Friday last by my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), as an exposition of the budget of the country. In the latter part of his address, he spoke of the history of Canada as a story, combining certain peculiarities; and, I think, it would be not travelling out of the record, if I were to say that the hon. gentleman's speech bears all the marks of a story easily and plainly recounted, gathered from the statistics of the government, of the banks, and of some of the business interests of the country, very much disjointed, and, I may venture to say, somewhat tortured for the purpose of upholding the interests of a government whose inconsistencies are quite as glaring as was the weaknesses of my hon. friend's speech, regarded as a budget speech and an exposition of the financial and fiscal affairs of the country. Necessity, of course, impelled my hon. friend,

and he listened to its voice. Any clerk in a very short time, could have compiled the figures that he used; but any clerk should be drummed summarily out of the service, who would make as disingenuous a use of those statistics as, I am bound to say, my hon. friend made. I hope my words at the commencement will not be too strong for the proof which I shall try to adduce as I proceed. If any one had been in the gallery, unacquainted with the affairs and history of Canada, especially in a fiscal and financial sense, I venture to say that, if he took his information simply from the figures which were quoted and the peculiar logic used on Friday afternoon, would go away with a very insufficient, and very erroneous idea of the history of Canada in these respects. He would have looked entirely in vain for an analysis of the expenditures of last year, as to how they were applied and as to the quickening and vitalizing effects of the application of such an immense sum of money as was expended by hon. gentlemen opposite during that year; he would look in vain for any inquiry into, and any comparison of the courses and currents of the trade of this country, or for any discussion of the tariff as affecting the great problems of labour and industry in Canada, some of which are very close now to a public decision, and public action in this country; and he would have risen from his seat without having had one single proposition placed before him by my hon. friend for the solution of the great and vexed questions which are pressing forward in this country for discussion and action by her public men. As I said before, it would rather seem to be a simple collation of statistics, the disjecta membra of which, if I may be allowed the use of a Latin term, seemed to have been promiscuously sown wherever it was thought an appeal might be made, *ad captandum*, to people who have not had the opportunities of looking into, and so have not the power of discerning what are really the facts of the case as bearing on the questions under discussion. All through the hon. gentleman's speech there seemed to be a leading up to the reiteration of the almost endless refrain: Behold what a people we are—'Is not this great Babylon that I have built?' And, no matter from what quarter the facts are taken, whether from the first years of confederation, fragments were extracted, or whether joined to them were fragments from later years—no matter, everything was done, anything was done, which could be used to prop up the idea often made in so many words, but more frequently by inference and appeal, that all the wonderful progress of to-day had its origin and is now maintained by the gentlemen who, for the present, are governing affairs in this country. There was a great glorification of what was called generous expenditure, and of increased revenue; but there was a very discreet avoidance of the

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destructive contrast between the professions and policy of these gentlemen, when they were out, and the performance of these gentlemen now that they are in. My hon. friend was so hurried, along this particular line, that he had not the time to give the House some very necessary information which I think he should have given. For instance, he quoted immigration returns, beginning his statistics, so far as immigration from the United States is concerned, with the year 1897, and prefacing his figures with the remark, that there did not seem to be any statistics with reference to them up to that period; and then after quoting them all, as a strong argument in favour of the propositions which he was sustaining, it was found that he had not gone to the trouble of ascertaining on what these statistics were based—whether they were simply the numbers returned by the immigration agents, whether they were the numbers taken down by the customs officers as the people came across the border, or whether they were actual persons who settled on land and took up their abode in Manitoba and the North-west. Yet we all know that this same immigration from the United States had been going on long before 1897. He spoke of the fact, which we are all glad to know, is now about to become a reality, that the Canadian securities will be equal to the best British securities, so far as the investment of trust funds is concerned. But he did not have the time to lay before this House, or to give information to this House, as I think he should have done, of the terms, and the conditions, upon which these securities are to be taken in respect to the trust funds which are invested in them. He came down with a very important proposition, no other than the proposition to admit the products of a large and fertile island in the West Indies into the community of free trade with the Dominion of Canada; and he had not either the time or did not take the trouble to give to this House one single line of information as to how this introduction of the products under free trade into Canada was to be carried out, to what extent, or in what regards they would differentiate or affect the trade of this country. He took an important step in giving a bonus by way of remitting the customs duty upon expensive machinery for the beet root industry in this country. But he gave the House no information as to whether later experiments and the experience of the last ten or fifteen years in countries situated something like Canada, gave a reasonable basis for believing that the beet root sugar industry of this country is one which can be successfully planted and ought to be, by bounty or otherwise, aided by this parliament. And so all the way through. He gave no details at all, even with reference to the current year, as to what would be the sources of

the revenue, which the hon. gentleman says is this year going up to the 50 million mark. Why? Probably because he did not wish to tell the House, and more particularly the country, that in bringing it up to the 50 million mark he would have to draw about four million dollars more in taxation out of this country, which he must drag from the pockets of the people.

Now, Sir, I will take up seriatim some of the principal points touched upon by my hon. friend; and first, with reference to the expenditures of the country. The hon. gentleman was totally oblivious of his near neighbour, the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), who sat very close behind him, though immediate proximity seemed during those particular hours to have been shunned. He took no notice at all of the way in which he must have been harrowing the feelings of my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce, whilst he was rolling forth from his tongue the immense expenditure of the last year and of the present and current year by the gentlemen who, in 1893 and 1896, made it the particular plank in their platform that the expenditures of the country were outrageously high, and that the Liberal-Conservative government should be put out of power because they would not reduce them. But, Sir, the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) went into this business of expanding the expenditures of the country, of rolling up the millions that were devoted to these different objects, and generally to the carrying on the services of the country; and now in contrast I wish to bring the attention of this House and of hon. gentlemen opposite to the position they took before 1896, and to the strange commentary upon what they call their principles and their policy in the years preceding 1896, made by their acts since 1896. In 1893, these gentlemen commenced, in their convention, with declaring:

We cannot but view with alarm the large increase of the public debt and of the controllable annual expenditure of the Dominion, and the consequent undue taxation of the people under the governments that have been continuously in power since 1878; and we demand strict economy in the administration of the government of the country.

That was the pronouncement of the Liberal convention of 1893. Mr. Davies, now Sir Louis Davies, the present Minister of Marine and Fisheries, declared:

The Liberal party says that several millions may be lopped off the present expenditure, without injury to the public service.

The Hon. David Mills, now Minister of Justice in this government, estimated that 'The probable saving would be four millions of dollars.' Mr. John Charlton, at that time and still a member of this House, declared in this House:

The Liberal party, if in power, could at once reduce the public expenditure and effect other

savings to the extent of five million dollars per annum, without impairing the efficiency of the service.

And Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, now the leader of this government, declared in Toronto:

If we get into power we will follow the example of Mr. Mackenzie; and I say that, although we may not be able to bring the expenditures to what they were under him, we can reduce the amount two, yes, three millions of dollars per year.

The present Minister of Trade and Commerce, who, for nearly twenty years went bellowing through this country against the great expenditures of the government, declared from his place in this House:

For my own part, I do not hesitate to tell him that I consider a yearly expenditure of forty million dollars, or thirty-eight million dollars, altogether too large for the present resources of Canada. I say that it is a disgrace and a shame to the government that have been entrusted with our affairs that they come down to us and ask for an expenditure of \$38,300,000 a year for federal purposes. Sir, the thing is utterly unjustifiable.

The present economical minister, the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), who, when he was trying to get into office, objected to such things as the Governor General's salary, shouted himself hoarse over seventeen or even fourteen cabinet ministers in a country like Canada, swallowing up the money of the country in an attempt to govern the people, in 1895 declared, with his hand on his heart:

Who can justify the expenditure of our country to-day? It cannot be justified by the wealth of the country. There is nothing to warrant this enormous expenditure of nearly \$38,000,000 except the fact that we are burdened down with debt and with office-holders, great and small.

And Mr. Paterson, now a member of this government, in 1890, declared:

In 1889 we were taking \$6,115,000 more in taxes out of the people than we should, and we spent \$7,571,000 more than we should. He declared that an era of economy in expenditure should be at once entered upon.

Mr. David Mills, at that time, but now the Minister of Justice, declared in 1893:

We say that the government of this country may be carried on for a very much smaller sum than that which is now being taken out of the pockets of the people for that purpose.

We are asking for a reduction of taxation; we are asking for economy in the management of public affairs.

Mr. Charlton, at that time, and still, a member of this House, declared that the people were becoming disgusted.

They see the taxation from customs is increasing, they see the public debt piling up, they see the inordinate increase in the expenditure, . . . and our people are leaving the country in disgust.

Mr. Mills again declared, in 1889:

I have no doubt at all that the efficiency of the public service might be increased and the expenditure diminished by almost one-half.

On a special point, the present hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), declared :

Now, I believe that the services of this government will be infinitely better conducted if we had seven cabinet ministers and a moderate number of junior officials to assist them. It does appear to be a monstrous piece of folly and extravagance that we should find it necessary to augment our number of seventeen. This is far too many, and is a dissatisfaction to the country.

And, if I may be permitted to join the smaller to the greater, I would say, that, in 1894, the present hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), said :

I must take exception, in the first place, to the office ever having been created.

What office? The Ministership of Trade and Commerce.

I do not see why it was created, unless it was to give a resting place, for the balance of his life, to the hon. gentleman who now occupies the position, drawing \$7,000 a year for virtually doing nothing.

I suppose the hon. gentleman now is willing that this office shall be retained in order to give a resting place for the 'onlooker' of the present cabinet, who has passed his period of active service. What are these that I have been reading? These statements that I have been reading represent the solemn pledges of grown men, who have lived in this country and engaged in its politics for thirty, twenty-five and eighteen years. These are the utterances of men, who stood before the people, with their hands on their hearts, and declared that they were honest and truth-telling; these are the utterances of men, all anxious to climb into power, taking hold of these pledges as of the rungs of a ladder, by which they have gained power, and which, after they have gained power, they have kicked over, and broken entirely the pledges which they made. Hon. gentlemen smile as I recount these things. Why? Because they believe there is no longer necessity for truth and honour in the public men of this country, because they believe that the electorate is as debauched, as utterly to be contemned, as utterly to be despised as are their promises so solemnly made and so often repeated before the people. Is there any reason why these gentlemen should not cover their faces with their hands whenever they meet an honest man in this country? Do they believe, that, by means of the machine which they control, of the creatures that they take into their confidence, and send off to do their electioneering work, they are going to pass scot-free for this violation of what, in England, would consign any public man to political oblivion as surely as he has engaged in public life in that country? Now, these hon. gentlemen came in, and what have they done since they came in? What have they done with the expenditure of this country? The hon. Minister of Finance

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(Mr. Fielding), said, in a light and airy way : We had last year more money, we had a revenue \$6,186,000 greater than we had the year before. Great applause from the back benches! Let me translate that into plain English, such as the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce would have used in 1896. What does it mean? That you are taking out of the pockets of the people, the wage-earners, the labouring classes, the farmers of this country, \$1.16 per head more than the previous year for every man, woman and child in Canada. He made the statement that they had taken five millions and odd more in customs and excise than they took last year. Again applause from the back benches. Translate it, and what does it mean? That from these people, who were 'bled white,' in the language of my hon. friend opposite, the farmers, the people whose backs were bowed beneath the burdens of extravagant government, you are taking \$1 per head over and above what you took the year before in taxes alone. Then, Sir, he boasted that he had a surplus of \$4,837,000. It was again greeted with applause. The translation of this into language of old times would have been : A surplus, Sir! You have no business with a surplus; when you take sufficient out of the pockets of the people of this country to care for the ordinary consolidated fund expenditure and services, you have no business to take more. You should have let that remain in the pockets of the people, who could use it a great deal better than you could use it here. My hon. friend was very solicitous lest we should confuse the expenditures upon consolidated fund and capital. He said that some gentlemen were apt to confuse them. Who are the gentlemen? They are apt to be confused, when we find the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) spreading upon the estimates and voting through this House, on the lines of capital expenditure, hundreds of thousands of dollars, which, in preceding governments, were always met out of consolidated fund and charged to consolidated fund alone. It is things, such as this, Sir, which make it impossible for people to rightly appreciate the expenditures of the country, unless you take the total expenditures, because, the line and distinction between capital and revenue expenditures has been obliterated, blotted out, a course approved by hon. gentlemen opposite, and which has been most determinedly opposed by this side of the House in the interest of a parity of action, and consequently of fair comparison, and also, in the interests of the administration itself. Let us take both. It has been stated over and over again, by hon. gentlemen opposite, that when the late government were in power, they were a very extravagant government. I wish to put a table before the House, and I will read the figures contained in it. It gives the expenditures on consolidated revenue account, and

also the total expenditures in parallel columns, consequently, I offend in neither respect, and I do not confuse the two.

EXPENDITURE ON CONSOLIDATED FUND ACCOUNT AND TOTAL EXPENDITURE.

	Consolidated Fund.	Total Expenditure.
1887-1891 (average) ..	\$36,326,821	\$42,530,000
1892.....	36,765,894	42,271,136
1893.....	36,814,052	40,853,727
1894.....	37,585,025	43,800,233
1895.....	38,132,005	42,872,338
1892-1896.....	37,249,223	42,141,763
1896.....	36,969,759	
1897.....	38,349,759	42,972,755
1898.....	38,832,532	45,334,281
1899.....	41,903,502	51,542,635

Now, Sir, one word as to total expenditure, for after all that is really what we spend. That is what we get either from the country or by borrowing, and that it is which measures the extravagance or the economy of a government. It is all very well to manipulate surpluses and capital expenditure so as to enable you to make a large capital expenditure and yet not increase the debt largely; but the plain truth is told by the total expenditure, and it is this plain truth that this House requires and that the country needs. If we take the average from 1892 to 1896, it is \$42,141,763. The House will notice that the average total expenditure of the late Liberal-Conservative government from 1892 to 1896 was less by about \$400,000 per year than from 1887 to 1891.

Now, Sir, when you leave the year 1896 what do you find? You find that in 1897, the average total expenditure rises to \$42,972,755.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). I do not want to interrupt the hon. gentleman, but would he state again what he makes the total expenditure for 1896?

Mr. FOSTER. The total expenditure for 1896 is \$41,702,383, and to assist my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright), I will tell him what the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding), has had to tell me in this House for three several times, but only upon my jogging his memory, namely: that simply in a book-keeping way he charged up to the government expenditure in 1896 \$2,394,000 for the North Shore Quebec Railway subsidy, which was a liability incurred in 1882, and not in 1896. And though it was included in railway subsidies actually paid in 1896, I challenge the Finance Minister to rise in his place now, and tell this House that he has paid off that liability. He put the total sum in the railway subsidies of 1896, and charged it to the late government, and to this day he is simply paying the interest, as was the condition of the grant made in 1882. That is why I wish to assist my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright), lest he fall into a trap.

Now, Sir, when you come to the summation of that matter let it for ever put to rest gentlemen who state that the Liberal-Conservative government for the last ten or fifteen years of its existence was an extravagant government as measured by great increases in public expenditure. What is that summation? It is that the Liberal-Conservative government spent in totality \$388,237 per year less from 1892 to 1896, than from 1887 to 1891, and, that the present government has exceeded the Liberal-Conservative average expenditure from 1892 to 1896 as follows:

In 1897 by.....	\$ 830,992
In 1898 by.....	3,192,518
In 1899 by.....	9,400,872

And as estimated by the Finance Minister for this current year of 1900, they will over-expend the average expenditure of the late government from 1892 to 1896, by the sum of \$10,908,255.

Now, Sir, I invite any gentleman on the other side of the House to take the public accounts which he can have put in his hand and to deny one single statement that I have made with reference to a comparison of this expenditure as between the two governments.

Let us now take the total expenditure per head of the population. I am not going into any fanciful enumeration of the population of this country, because I am not able to do so any more than is the Minister of Trade and Commerce, although in his speech in Massey Hall he undertook himself to make up the population of this country and draw his deductions from the figures he made, and he got himself into an absurd tangle in his attempt to do it. I am taking what the public records give us as to the population of this country, as we have to do between the years when the census is taken. Well, Sir, how does it stand? The following table will show it at a glance. The total expenditure of this country from 1892 to 1895 with a population on the average of 5,011,000 was \$42,141,764, or a per head expenditure of \$8.41. In 1896, with a population of 5,125,436, and a total expenditure of \$41,702,383, the expenditure per head was \$8.14. Here is the per capita expenditure of this country for the years mentioned, and any one can institute a comparison:

TOTAL PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE.

1895.....	\$8 41
1896.....	8 14
1897.....	8 28
1898.....	8 63
1899.....	9 72

Here we have a per capita expenditure in 1899 of \$9.72, according to the figures given by the Minister of Customs and by the Dominion Statistician. Now, Sir, let me make a slight comparison. In 1893 it was that my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) de-

nounced the Liberal-Conservative government for its extravagance, and declared that he would bring the expenditure of this country at two millions or three millions less than it was. Now, Mr. Speaker, what are the comparisons ?

	Consolidated Fund Expenditure.	Total Expenditure.
1893	\$36,814,052	\$40,853,727
1899	41,903,500	51,542,635
Increases	\$ 5,089,448	\$10,689,108

And yet, these hon. gentlemen claim that they have fulfilled their pledges. Having driven out a government which was so extravagant, these gentlemen have marked, and marked in a significant manner, their appreciation of economy by spending \$10,689,000 more in the last year than was spent in 1893. Well, Sir, that is not the best of it or the worst of it: for the estimates given by the Finance Minister for the current year are as follows: That the expenditure on consolidated fund will be \$43,175,000, and on capital, \$9,875,000, a total expenditure of \$53,050,000, as compared with a total expenditure in 1896 of \$41,702,383. In the current year, the revenue is to go up to \$51,000,000, an excess of \$4,400,000 over last year, and the expenditure is to increase over that of the present year by \$1,500,000.

Now, Sir, having made this comparison, I wish to come back to the statement which was made by the Minister of Finance. He desired to show, as regards the increase of the debt, that the present government was in a much better position than the late government; and how did he attempt to show that? Why, Sir, he took the years from 1878 to 1896, and said that in those eighteen years the debt was increased by \$118,000,000, an average of \$6,563,000 per year, whereas from 1896 to 1899, three years, there was an increase in the debt of \$7,700,000, or an average increase of \$2,503,000 per year; and then he imagined that he had satisfied this House and this country that he had proved the matter up to the hilt. Was there ever a more unfair statement made? Was there ever a more flagrant outrage committed upon all reasonable rules of comparison? The hon. gentleman takes the period from 1878 to 1896, and he compares the increase of capital expenditure in those years with the increase in the three years just past when Canada had almost completed her house and installed her main furnishings and now had but to provide the lesser requirements in the various departments of the public service. Let me read to my hon. friend some figures, and then see if he does not himself feel ashamed of having attempted to palm off so unfair a statement upon the country. From 1878 to 1896 we were building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and we spent \$65,000,000 of capital on that road; in the three years past these

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gentlemen have spent just \$23,000 on the Canadian Pacific Railway. From 1878 to 1896 we spent on canals, \$36,000,000; in the last three years these gentlemen have spent \$9,300,000. From 1878 to 1896 we set aside as debts to the provinces, \$10,300,000; while these hon. gentlemen have made an appropriation of only \$260,000; and yet the Finance Minister of this country thinks it is not beneath his dignity, and that it is fair and reasonable, to make a comparison between these utterly dissimilar periods as regards great expenditures. We spent on the Intercolonial Railway branches, \$20,500,000; they have spent \$1,400,000. We assumed the St. Lawrence debt, \$2,700,000, and went on thereafter with the improvement ourselves; they have assumed nothing with regard to the debt incurred by the Montreal Harbour Commission in improving the St. Lawrence. On the Quebec North Shore Railway we assumed \$2,394,000; they have spent nothing. On territorial expenses we expended \$900,000; they nothing. On the North-west rebellion we paid \$4,800,000 out of the revenues of the country; they incurred no like expense.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. FOSTER. Why this outburst of ill-timed enthusiasm? Are the hon. gentlemen opposite dissatisfied that the rebellion was quelled? Are they dissatisfied that we did not add that expense to the national debt, but paid it out of the abundant revenues of the country? Or if they are dissatisfied with neither of these things, why this lucid ejaculation? If you add all these expenditures from 1878 to 1896 together, you will find that we spent on these great services of the country \$142,600,000, while they spent no more than \$11,000,000 on similar services; and, Sir, will you remark it, while we spent \$142,600,000, our debt increased only \$118,000,000, the rest of the expenditure being provided for out of the revenues of the country. And yet, my hon. friend thinks that it is a fair thing to send out to the country a comparison on such dissimilar grounds as he placed before this House on Friday last. Let us look at another point. Suppose we did increase the debt from 1878 to 1896 by \$6,563,000 a year, while they increased it during the last three years by only \$2,503,000 a year; let us go to the other side of the ledger. How much taxation did we take out of the people of this country from 1878 to 1896? We took \$26,500,000 a year. How much have these gentlemen taken out in the three years since they came into office? They have taken out \$31,000,000 a year, and they are increasing this in the present year by \$4,000,000. If we had taken the same taxation out of the country that these gentlemen are taking out of it to-day, we would have met all that expenditure of \$142,600,000, and we would have

comparatively little of that \$118,000,000 added to the debt of the country. The hon. gentleman says: Now, look at my surplus. Yes, look at his surplus. Why, Sir, there was an hon. gentleman close behind him who made a remark with reference to surpluses, not once, but many times in this House. Let me read it. In 1882 he declared, when Mr. Tilley announced a surplus of \$4,000,000:

I ask how it was got. \$1,100,000 was derived from two of the most odious and oppressive taxes which were never imposed in any civilized country before, under similar circumstances at least—the taxes on breadstuffs and fuel. If he really wants to relieve the people, let him remove the taxes on breadstuffs and coal.

If my hon. friend boasts of a surplus to-day, there is an hon. gentleman sitting close beside him who will tell him that he need not look around very long for a method of remitting that to the people, and thus ridding the people of what this prominent member of the government declared over and over again, an odious tax which should not be allowed in any civilized country—the tax on breadstuffs and coal.

Mr. COCHRANE. Who said that?

Mr. FOSTER. That was stated by Sir Richard Cartwright. But we have another authority on this question, also a member of this government, by name D. Mills, and the Hon. David Mills said:

He boasts of a surplus. I say that a government is not entitled to have a surplus. There is no stimulus to economy when a large surplus remains in the hands of the government. A large surplus invites to extravagance, and has invited to extravagance in this country. The government and parliament of this country should inaugurate a system of economy.

That is a statement made in 1893 by a gentleman who is to-day a colleague of the Minister of Finance, and when the Minister of Finance comes down and boasts of one surplus of \$4,700,000 and a coming one of \$7,500,000, I refer him to his colleagues.

The hon. gentleman wanted to show that the era of deficits had passed, and that an era of surpluses had succeeded. Well, what years do you suppose he chose in order to make a fair comparison between the two administrations in the matter of surpluses and deficits, and how do you suppose he treated the question, even after selecting his ground? He took the years of Conservative administration of 1893, 1894 and 1895, and he said that in those three years there was a deficit of \$5,694,759. He then took the three succeeding years of the present government, and he added up the surpluses and deducted the small deficit, and made a net surplus, and then adding this surplus to the former deficit, he exclaimed: Behold

a betterment of \$11,000,000! Does my hon. friend think it fair to select a period of depression, such as existed in this country from 1893 to 1895, and to compare that with a period of the greatest expansion, as he himself says, ever known in Canada? Why did my hon. friend not go back to 1891? He would have found that in 1891 we had a surplus and also in 1892, and he would have found out some other things. He would have found that in 1891, when we had a buoyant revenue and a surplus of \$155,971, with another surplus in sight for the next year, I, as Finance Minister of the government of that day, came down to this House and wiped out entirely the duties on raw sugar, which were very high. If he had looked at the calculations he would have found the following result, and I give him this table for comparison:

In 1891 we remitted taxation on sugar—it came into effect the latter part of that year—to the extent of \$227,477, and we had a surplus of \$155,977. In 1892, the remission of sugar taxation, calculated on an equal consumption, was \$5,200,000, and still we had a surplus of \$1,354,555. In 1893, calculated on the consumption, the remission of taxation on raw sugar and other sugar amounted to \$4,000,000, and we had a deficit on \$1,210,232. In 1894, the remission of sugar taxation was \$4,821,000, and we had a deficit of \$4,153,875. And in 1895, after which I placed again the duty on raw sugar, the remission of total taxation was \$5,603,521, and the deficit had come down to \$330,551. What is the summing of the matter? It is that in that period there was taxation remitted to the tune of \$19,800,000, but there was a net deficit of \$4,184,227. So that consequently there was given back to the country, in the remission of taxation, over and above the deficit which had to be provided out of capital, the sum of \$15,000,000.

Those are facts which were known to my hon. friend and which he might have taken into account in making his comparison, but which, unfortunately for him, would have entirely destroyed it. That no doubt was the reason why he ignored them.

There is something more. If you will take the collections you will find this comparison. We collected in taxes from 1894 to 1896, \$80,700,000; and they collected taxes from 1897 to 1899, \$93,100,000. That is, they collected more than we did by \$12,400,000. From 1894 to 1896, in the other revenues, we collected \$26,200,000, and from 1897 to 1899, they collected \$32,000,000, or \$5,800,000 more than we did. Making the comparison in this way, comparing the actually collected revenue in both cases, they collected \$18,200,000 more from the people in the three years of their administration than we did in the three years of our administration which the hon. gentleman selected, and this would have entirely wiped out his so-called better-

ment of \$11,000,000, and left \$6,000,000 or \$7,000,000 to the good besides.

Surpluses, says my hon. friend. Does he know that since confederation there have been twenty surpluses in our financial history? Does he know that the Liberals can only boast of three of these, and that out of twelve deficits the Liberals are responsible for five, and the Liberal-Conservatives on seven. But of the seven, two were due to the paying of the North-west rebellion expenses out of the revenues of the country, and the other three were due to this remission of sugar taxation of which I have spoken.

I am willing to take a deficit when it is caused in that way, by relieving the burdens of the people. But, what burden of the people, has this gentleman relieved? I fail to see. Sir, he has added taxation. He has added taxation on liquors and tobacco. And, he has added taxation on sugar, under the pretense of giving a preference to the West Indies, which he knew at the time would not be operative, and he came up at the next session of parliament and declared that it had not been operative. And why? Because at the very time he put on this duty, there was such legislation in the United States of America in respect of the counter-vailing duties, that it more than made up to

the West India cane sugar producers for the preference he gave them. Yet he added from \$300,000 to \$500,000 on sugar under that pretense. Yet, even when he acknowledged that it was but a pretense, he had not the sense of fair play, which should impel him to remit the taxation which he put on the people upon a pretense which was unfounded.

From 1891 to 1895, there were three several reductions of the tariff under the Conservative party, on sugar, on molasses, on glass; and in 1894, a general revision of the tariff, which, calculated in any way that my hon. friend pleases, made a greater remission of taxation, by far, than all the cuts and all the revisions of the tariff that he has made since 1897 to the present hour. Now, Mr. Chairman, so far, I have dealt with the large figures of the expenditure. Let me give the House a table in detail. I will compare 1895-6 with 1898-9, expenditure on consolidated account in the different departments of government. What was the great charge hurled against us by hon. gentlemen opposite? That we were extravagant in every department of government; that every department might well have its expenditure reduced. Take 1895-6, which was the last fiscal year of the late government, and compare it with 1898-9, under hon. gentlemen opposite:

EXPENDITURES ON Consolidated Fund Account.

	1895-6.	1898-9.	Increases.	Per Cent of Increase.
	\$	\$	\$	
Interest on Debt.	10,502,000	10,855,000	353,000	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Administration of Justice.	758,000	815,000	57,000	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Arts, Agriculture and Statistics.	210,000	258,000	48,000	22 $\frac{1}{4}$
Civil Government.	1,396,000	1,411,000	15,000	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Geological Survey.	134,000	149,000	15,000	12
Immigration.	120,000	255,000	135,000	110
Quarantine.	95,000	136,000	41,000	42
Indians.	880,000	986,000	106,000	12
Lighthouse and Coast Service.	468,000	545,000	77,000	16
Mail Subsidies.	534,916	584,056	50,000	9
Militia and Defence.	1,136,000	2,112,291	976,000	90
Miscellaneous.	172,000	318,000	146,000	84
Ocean and River Service.	181,000	330,000	149,000	80
Penitentiaries.	385,000	417,000	32,000	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pensions.	86,000	96,000	10,000	12
Public Works.	1,299,000	1,902,000	603,000	50
Railways and Canals (Revenue)	126,000	384,000	258,000	200
Superannuation.	311,000	325,000	14,000	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Customs.	896,000	1,037,000	141,000	16
Railways and Canals.	3,826,000	4,246,000	420,000	11
Trade and Commerce.	9,000	88,000	79,000	800
Total.	36,900,000	41,900,000	5,000,000	14

Now, lest I overwhelm the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), with these astonishing figures respecting his own department, I will say, that, at long last, he has plucked up courage to pay the silver-lead smelting bounties in British Columbia, for which legislation was prepared and passed by the Conservative government before they went out of office, and that a large part of the expenditure in his department is due to the paying of these long-deferred bounties. In the whole of the pages of comparison in the public accounts of this year, there are only four or five departments or sub-departments of government in which there has not been an increase.

Now, let me say something with reference to the taxation of this country. The opinion has prevailed, made to prevail, by these hon. gentlemen very largely, that the taxation taken from the country by the Liberal-Conservatives was exceedingly high. This was urged as a strong reason for the defeat of the late government. The pledges of those who are now in power led the whole country to believe that the load of taxation would be relieved if they were returned to power. It will be interesting to read these figures, taken from the hon. gentleman's own returns. In 1889-90, we had the period of highest taxation in this country, and I begin with that year.

VOLUME OF TAXATION AND REVENUE.

	Taxes.	Total Revenue.
1889-90.....	\$31,587,071	\$39,879,925
1890-1.....	30,314,151	38,579,310
1891-2.....	28,446,157	36,921,871
1892-3.....	29,321,367	38,168,608
1893-4.....	27,579,203	35,374,693
1894-5.....	25,446,198	33,978,129
1895-6.....	27,759,235	36,618,590
1896-7.....	28,648,626	37,829,778
1897-8.....	29,576,455	40,555,238
1898-9.....	34,958,059	46,741,249

We see, therefore, by these figures, that 1894-5, when the taxation was \$25,446,198, and the total revenue \$33,978,129, was the period of lowest taxation, and we know that from 1890 to 1894, including these years, three successive reductions had been made in the tariff of the country. Now, Sir, what follows? That whereas in 1889-90, \$31,500,000 were taken from the country in taxation, in 1894-5 that had been reduced to \$25,500,000, or in round numbers, \$6,000,000, largely by the tariff revises which had taken place under the Conservative government. These figures, I think, are a striking commentary upon two things: First, the alleged extravagance and the high taxation under the Liberal-Conservative government, and the beautiful way the unique way, in which these economists have carried out their pledges and reduced the taxation by increasing it \$7,190,000 from 1896 to 1899.

Well, Sir, there is another way of making comparisons, which is the taxation per head. The highest, as I have said, was in 1890,

\$5.01. From 1892 to 1896, the average was \$3.95 per head. In 1895 it was \$3.52; 1896, \$3.94; 1897, \$3.83. Why lower in 1897? Was it because my hon. friend, as he said yesterday, when talking about expenditure, that for 1897 they had not control of the expenditure, consequently, as the House will see, it was fairly light. But in 1898-99, when they had got control, the House sees, and the country will see how it went up. So, in 1897, was it only \$3.83 per head because they had not control of the machinery? But in 1898 it went up to \$4.22; and in 1899 it is \$4.84 per head. That is to say, the reduction per head from 1890 to 1895, under a Conservative administration, was \$1.49. In customs and excise both, there was an increase in 1896 to \$1.58. From 1896 to 1899, the increase in customs alone is 90 cents per head, and in customs and excise together, \$1.16. And this past year is but a promise of what the present current year and the succeeding year are to be in the way of still greater increases.

Now, Sir, I want to say a word on the tariff rates so as to make a comparison which will bring out as clearly as we possibly can what is the difference between these hon. gentlemen under what they call their low revenue tariff, or moderate tariff, and the Liberal-Conservative government under what hon. gentlemen opposite denominate as the extravagantly high national policy duties. Now, I am not going to make these calculations myself. There is only one thing that a member of an opposition can sometimes get out of the government, he can occasionally get some information from them, and when these hon. gentlemen do get their blue-books down—which the Minister of Trade and Commerce has not done yet, and the lack of which I felt in my preparation for my reply to the hon. gentleman who spoke on Friday—I say that when we do get the figures made up by themselves, I propose to take them as long as I think they fairly conserve the facts, and are based upon impartial lines. So, I take the trade and navigation figures, and these are the duties on dutiable and free imports into this country for home consumption. The highest year of tariff rate was in 1899, when it was 21.65 per cent. In 1890, it was 21.21; in 1891, 20.06; in 1892, 17.56; in 1894, 17.13; in 1895, 16.99. The House will see that from 1889 to 1895 the percentage rate of taxation fell from 21.65 to 16.99 under the successive reductions of the tariff which were made by the Liberal-Conservatives. Now, in 1896, the rate goes up, because, as I said, a part of the sugar duties were put back, and the rate in that year was 18.28. In 1897, when the hon. gentlemen had not got control of things, the rate was 17.87; in 1898, it was 16.95, when they had got control of things; and in 1899, it is brought down in these figures as 16.70. Now, Sir, I will take the hon. gentlemen on their own

ground. I am not making these figures, they are made by the administration opposite, they are compiled from the returns, they are presumably correct. Now, what is the state of things which they disclose? If we compare 1889 with 1895, there has been a reduction of 4·66 per cent in the rate of taxation under the Liberal-Conservatives. If you take the imports of 1895, which were \$105,252,000, you will find that 4·66 per cent of it is \$4,900,000, that is to say, the reduction in the rate of taxation from 1889 to 1895 is 4·66 per cent; and the actual volume of taxation taken off on that basis is \$4,900,000. Now, we will take 1896, their own figures still. The tariff rate was 18·28; in 1899 it was 16·70, a difference between the two periods of 1·58. The total imports for 1899 were \$149,346,459. So, if you had taken the tariff rate of 1896 and applied it to these imports, you would have taken from the people \$2,435,000 more than actually was taken. That is to say, by their own showing they have saved, in the volume of taxation, \$2,400,000 by their reductions, whilst the Liberal-Conservatives saved \$4,900,000 by their reductions. Does the hon. Minister of Customs dispute those figures?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). No, but I would treat them somewhat differently.

Mr. FOSTER. How would the hon. gentleman treat them differently if he treated them honestly? I take my hon. friend's statement now. He would treat them differently. How?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Because you are speaking of reductions made on your own figures. Our reductions are made upon your revenues and your figures.

Mr. FOSTER. I am speaking of reductions made on the figures of the Trade and Navigation Returns, on the figures which your own report gives me. I have made the calculations, I will put them before the House, and I will challenge you to dispute their correctness. I am following up, exactly, the method that the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) pursued on Friday, when he said he had figured out a rate of 2·02 per cent of a reduction, equal to a reduction of taxation of \$3,070,000.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. A reduction as compared with your tariff, not as compared with any tariff of our own.

Mr. FOSTER. I will carry on the comparison a little farther. From 1892 to 1896, a period of five years, the average rate of custom tariff was 17·47 per cent; from 1897 to 1899, three years, the average rate was 17·17 per cent. So that if you take three years of the hon. gentleman's administration, they have reduced the tariff rates by 30-100 of one per cent. Now, their answer to that will be: Well, but, in 1897,

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we had done nothing with the tariff until the very last month, or two months of the year. Very well, then, we will take 1898 and 1899, two years. During these two years their average was 16·82 per cent, and if you deduct that from the average rate from 1892 to 1896 it gives a reduction of 65-100 of one per cent of the average tariff rate. But they will say: Our full preference was not in force in these two years. Then, we will take the year 1899, when, by their own calculation, their rate was 16·70; this is a reduction of 77-100 of one per cent compared with the average tariff rate from 1892 to 1896. Now, these are statements which are made from their own figures, which are open to this House and which can be canvassed by the country and pondered upon. But, there is a peculiar circumstance that I would like to call to the attention of the hon. Minister of Customs, who deals honestly with figures and wishes to do what is right. I will ask him if, in 1896, 23,000,000 bushels of Indian corn had been imported into the country, how would it have been entered in the Trade and Navigation Returns of that year? He knows that that 23,000,000 bushels would not have been taken for consumption in this country, and, that a very small proportion, comparatively, is taken, even now, for home consumption, of the corn that comes in from the United States. It passes through the country in transit and is exported from this country as foreign produce. I ask the hon. Minister of Customs, if, under these conditions, in 1896, there had been 23,000,000 bushels of American corn brought into this country, in what column it would have been entered—for home consumption, or under general imports? The hon. gentleman knows that not a bushel of it would have been entered for home consumption except that small quantity which was actually intended for home consumption, and that the rest of it would not have gone into the home consumption totals for the calculation of the revenue rates, and it would have gone out as foreign product exported. Now, the thing is changed. Corn is free, and I ask the hon. Minister of Customs to take his Trade and Navigation Returns, to turn up the book and find how much corn, from the United States, was entered in the column of total imports, and not included in the home consumption column upon which the scale and rate of duty is to be calculated. How much will he find? I venture to tell him that he will not find a bushel, but, he will find that 23,342,847 bushels of American corn were brought into this country, placed in the columns of his returns: 'entered for home consumption,' that the value of that was \$8,966,925, and if he will go to the column of exports he will find that of that 23,000,000 bushels, 16,009,847 bushels, valued at \$6,362,683 have been exported from this country, as foreign product, to the old country. If the hon. gentleman wishes to deal

honestly with figures he will instruct the clerks of his departments to take that \$6,362,683 worth of corn, entered here for home consumption, but which did not go into home consumption, and which was never meant to go into home consumption, but into the exports of foreign products, from the \$154,000,000 which he has taken as the home consumption totals upon which to calculate his averages. Will the hon. gentleman do that? Does he consider that this is dealing honestly with the country? I give my hon. friend greater credit for sagacity and knowledge than not to know the currents of trade upon such important articles as Indian corn, in the department of which he is the head, and where he is constantly in touch with the details of the business. Why is it they have gained the advantage of a lower rate per cent this year which the addition of this \$6,000,000 odd, where it should never have been added, has given them? Because, either the hon. gentleman's clerks did not choose to do the right thing, or, because when the hon. gentleman was calculating the rates he did not give what was fair and honest information in reference to them. If he will deduct that \$6,362,683 from the \$154,000,000 and divide the remainder into the duty collected, he will find that, instead of 16·70 per cent, as I have hurriedly made the calculation, his rate for 1899 will be 17·36 per cent, as compared with 16·99 per cent in 1895, and with 18·28 per cent in 1896, instead of 16·70 per cent, and he will find that his gain of reduction of duty in 1899 over 1896 is only 92-100 of one per cent. I may be mistaken in this point; I am anxious that I may be set right if I am mistaken, but, if I am right in my calculations and assumptions, I think it is the duty of the hon. Minister of Customs, of the hon. Minister of Finance, and of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, to set this matter right at once, for Sir, if you cannot take our blue-books, solemnly given to the people as a record of facts, as in every respect true to fact, and make your calculations upon the basis of the circumstances which actually exist, then, Sir, you most surely implant the canker and virus of that suspicion and want of confidence which will effectually destroy all value in our public records. Now, if we apply this as the true rate, until it is contradicted, what do we find? From 1892 until 1896 the rate average was 17·47. In 1896, it was 18·28, and in 1899, it was 17·36. That is, in 1899 the tariff rate is just eleven-one hundredths of one per cent less than the tariff rate from 1892 to 1896, upon the average. And, the reduction of taxation which the Minister of Finance calculated yesterday at \$3,017,000 will be reduced to \$1,417,000 over 1896, at the rate of reduction of ninety-two-one hundredths of one per cent. I have one word more to say with reference to these rates? Again, they are not my own

figures, but the figures of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and I give them for what they are worth, and I take them to be true. What are they? I have here a list of the rate of dutiable goods imported from Great Britain, and I find that in 1896, the rate of tariff imposed on dutiable goods from Great Britain was 30·20. In 1899 it is 26·62, or just three and fifty-eight-one hundredths of one per cent less than it was in 1896. Again I say these are not my figures. They are the figures taken from the table published by the Minister of Trade and Commerce in his report.

Mr. HAGGART. With the percentages calculated by him?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, with the percentages themselves calculated by his department, and set down by the department, and this is simply a copy of those figures which I have put upon this paper from which I am reading.

Mr. MONTAGUE. And under the operation of the preference.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, under the operation of the preference. Now, what are the facts disclosed as to this preference? Here you have an important policy founded upon a preference. A preference of what? A preference of 25 per cent of the duty, and it goes into force 12½ per cent first and then another 12½, making it 25, and for eleven months of this year 1899, the 25 per cent reduction has been in force. If you take 30·20, which was the tariff on dutiable goods in 1896, their full reduction of 25 per cent would be 7·55. They should have had these figures of duty reduced to somewhere near 7·55 per cent, but instead of that they are reduced only 3·58 per cent. But I will deal more with that question later. My hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) undertook to go over a large number of what he called indications of prosperity in this country. I agree with him that in the main these are evidences of prosperity. First, the growth of trade; second, the deposits in the public banks and the savings; third, the clearing house returns, which register the transactions of trade to a large extent. Then there is the immigration into the country and the various other points which he mentioned. But, Sir, when the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) was speaking I thought I had heard an argument advanced per contra on that very line, and in looking it up I found that the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), on one occasion in replying to myself, when I gave in as careful a manner as I could these same evidences and drew conclusions of prosperity from them; the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) rose and made a very serious and very vigorous comment on my position. And what did he say?

Bank deposits! Sir, evidences of debt are not evidences of prosperity. Savings bank deposits! Where is the money? You have not got it. If a run were made on your bank to-day, you would have to go to England and borrow it. You owe it; it is interred in public works and railway subsidies, to keep some one behind the minister in good humour.

The further extract is blurred here.

Mr. MONTAGUE. He got mixed.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I will stop at 'good humour.' It is a very appropriate place to stop and the argument of the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) is brought out. I did not entirely agree with my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) when he criticised these indications, but, anyway, there is what he said. The Minister of Finance and the Minister of Trade and Commerce are now sitting together, and I dare say that on Friday night the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) quietly took the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) by the lapel of the coat and said:

See here, Fielding, you make a great mistake in that. Do you know that evidences of debt are not evidences of prosperity? Why, you have not got that money; it is interred in railway subsidies and public works to keep some troublesome follower behind you in proper subordination: do you not know that if you were called on for the money in the savings banks you have not got it in your treasury and that you would have to borrow it.

And so I think that a modifying influence may have been used in that way by the colleague of the Finance Minister. However, maybe the sweets of office have modified the asperities of his former criticism: maybe that the delights of sitting back as an on-looker and alternately laughing, and underneath his beard sometimes, I fear, swearing at the vagaries of his colleagues; perhaps these have so softened his former opinions or obliterated them, that he has not used the keen edge of criticism on his honourable colleague the Finance Minister.

Well, Sir, I have nothing to quarrel with in these indications of prosperity, but I have some remarks to make as to the manner in which they were collated and placed before the House. Does the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) tell me that he is giving any fair comparative or other statement of the trade of Canada by dividing it arbitrarily into three unequal periods—the first period from 1868 to 1878 (ten years); the second period from 1878 to 1896 (eighteen years); and the third period from 1896 to 1899 (three years). On what basis has he made the collocation of these figures; on what basis has he made this aggregation? Does not my hon. friend know that when he states that in 1898 the trade was \$131,000,000; and in 1879, it was only \$153,000,000; does he not know that he has simply caricatured the state of trade from 1868 to 1879, because if

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you look over the course of trade, you will find that in 1873 it had gone up to \$217,000,000 from \$131,000,000 in 1868, and then in 1873, for some reason it commenced to decline until it went down to \$153,000,000 at the end of the administration of the Mackenzie government in which my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) was Finance Minister, as compared with \$217,000,000 in 1873. Well, take the other period, from 1879 to 1896. In 1879 the trade was \$153,000,000, and in 1896 it was \$239,000,000. Any one looking over the trade reports knows that in that long period of eighteen years there were periods of greater and less trade, because cycles of greater or less prosperity succeeded each other—twice, three times, sometimes four times, in that length of time. My hon. friend knows also that the circumstances of this country radically change from period to period, and so his comparison was entirely worthless, except that he wished to exaggerate the immense and splendid increase the last three years had registered in the trade of this country, taking those unfavourable points of comparison, as he did, in 1878 and 1896. Well, Sir, let us look at this question of trade. Nobody doubts at all that the trade of Canada has advanced and advanced splendidly in the last three years. Nobody who will be fair, doubts that the turn of the tide commenced in 1894. Nobody who has read the financial and trade history of this country doubts for a single moment that the conserving power of the national policy from 1891 to 1895 did great things for Canada, preserving her in a position enjoyed by very few other countries in the world. Let me give an outside authority for that—an authority who has been quoted in this House before, a famous statistician and publicist, the Hon. Mr. Wells, who in the *Forum* of 1894 wrote as follows:

In the Dominion of Canada, separated from us on the north by an imaginary line, there has been no panic, no unusual demand for money, no stoppage of industries, no restriction of trade, no increased rate of interest; in short, nothing beyond the ordinary course of events, except so far as these events may have been influenced by contiguity to what may be termed a financial cyclone whose pathway of destruction was contiguous to, but not within Canadian territory.

That is a statement of great force and great worth, coming from the eminent man who penned it. Well, Sir, that period of 1891-5 was one of well-sustained activity in the Dominion of Canada. There was a disturbance of trade; there was a falling off in imports; there was in one or two years a slight falling off in exports. But, Sir, by 1894 the tide had turned, and we were on the uphill course, as was shown by such signs of prosperity which the hon. gentleman mentioned in his budget speech. From 1894 into 1895 and in 1896, the progress of this country was upwards towards a cycle of greater

prosperity; and these hon. gentlemen got into power just when he was taking on its greatest vigour and strength. They are to be congratulated on having obtained power on so auspicious an occasion and under circumstances so favourable to trade and commerce. But is it not arrant foolishness, is it not the very opposite of reason and common sense to declare that because these hon. gentlemen came into power at that particular time, therefore all the splendid progress in trade which has taken place since is due either to the administration or the legislation of these hon. gentlemen? No thoughtful man will be misled who is used to accounts and to financial and trade history; but, put as the case was by my hon. friend the Finance Minister, it goes forth to people who from their position are not able to look into these matters and judge them fairly, but must take the statement according to the credence they give to the man who utters it. As I said, I do not for a single moment deny the increase of trade, but I deny that it is so great as hon. gentlemen have stated, and I think that one or two sober words may as well now be heard by this House and this country with regard to that. My jubilant and hon. friend, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, when he was in Massey Hall, declared with a great flourish of trumpets that the trade of Canada in 1899 was \$90,000,000 and over greater than it was in 1896. Trade and commerce reports, when they come down, reduce that to \$82,600,000. That is the first moderate reduction. But there are other things to be taken into account. What is it that really benefits Canada and is the index of the prosperity and growth of Canada, so far as her productions and her commerce are concerned? It is the amount of the imports for consumption in the country on the one hand, and the amount of the exports which are the products of the country on the other hand. The trade which rushes through a country is of some service to some parties; but it is not to be taken into serious account when you are trying to get down to the basis of a country's greatness and prosperity. If you take the dutiable merchandise and the free goods imported into this country for home consumption, you will find that the imports were just about \$44,000,000 greater in 1899 than they were in 1896. If you take the exports of home produce, you will find that they were \$27,600,000 greater in 1899 than in 1896. Taking these together, the total real trade of Canada, in and out, is \$71,700,000 greater in 1899 than in 1896. So that we reduce the amount first from \$90,000,000 to \$82,600,000, and then to \$71,700,000. But, further, if you take the actual merchandise imported for home consumption, and take the domestic exports, deducting the corn, which is brought into this country and entered for home consumption, but which goes out as a foreign product, that figure is again reduced to about \$64,000,000, which represents about

the real amount of the trade, export and import, on the basis which I have laid down, as the gain of 1899 over 1896. Well, Sir, that is a great gain. It is a gain which any government and any country may well be proud of; but we derive no benefit for ourselves, and we do not conserve the real interests of this country and our real government and conduct of this country by representing our trade any larger than it is, so far as its real value to the country is concerned.

Now, I want to call the attention of my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance to another point. When he is talking of the trade of 1899 being so much greater than the trade of 1895, has he never realized the fact that he is speaking about values of trade and not volume of trade? To take a rough illustration, suppose that in 1895 there was exported from this country 20,000,000 bushels of wheat at \$1 a bushel, that would swell our imports by \$20,000,000. Suppose that in 1899 we exported an equal amount, 20,000,000 bushels, but only at a valuation of 50 cents per bushel, our export trade would then show \$10,000,000 less on exactly the same amount of sweat and labour and toil and production of the country. The difference in value must be taken into question as well as the difference in volume. I am not stating that that was the difference in value between 1895 and 1899, but simply use it for the purpose of illustration.

I am going on to make two more statements. As every financier knows, there is kept up in the old country and in the United States, and to a certain extent in this country, what is known as a barometer of prices from year to year. There is none better on this continent than that kept by Bradstreet. Bradstreet's index of prices is known and relied upon all over this continent. For the last fifty years they have taken the prices of some 96 or 100 staple articles, arranged their system in a series of index numbers, which show the difference in prices from year to year. If you will go to October, 1890, you will find that the index number is 105,996. I am not going to take up time explaining the technical construction of this system, but will merely give the figures, and any hon. gentleman who wishes to look into it will very soon find out the basis on which the thing is worked. In October, 1890, the index price number was 105,996. In 1895 it had gone down to 71,672, or a drop of 47 per cent. What does that mean? It means that the average value of articles in 1895, taking all classes and kinds, was 47 per cent lower than in October, 1900. If any one attempts to show, by simply taking the volume in the Trade and Navigation Returns, that the purchasing, producing, the exporting and buying capabilities of this country are so much less in 1895 than in 1890, he will get no idea of the difference at all. He has to take the comparative value; and if he wants to find out what the trade

of 1895 was as compared with the trade of 1890, he has to compare the levels of value to each and the difference between the two levels, as shown by Bradstreet's index, is 47 per cent. Suppose we work that out. Taking the actual exports and imports in 1895, their valuation in Canada was \$203,504,332. We now want to find what the value of that 1895 trade would have been according to the prices of October, 1890. We add 47 per cent, which is \$95,645,000, and you have \$299,150,000, as the trade of 1895, and that would have been its value had it kept the level of prices attained in October, 1890. Hon. gentlemen see the point. Some one says: Your trade is diminishing because the books in 1895 show less value than in 1890. I answer him, in the light of this index, by saying: No, the activity, the producing power, the exporting and the buying power of this country, is actually higher than in 1895, measured by its trade, than in 1890, and you get at something like a fair comparison by taking the prices of the different years into account and bringing them to the same level in each case.

Suppose we apply that rule to 1895, and then compare with 1899. In 1899 the prices were 17 per cent higher according to the index than in 1895, so that if you would make a fair comparison, you would have to add 17 per cent to the trade figures of 1895, which would give an addition of \$34,700,000. And in comparing 1895 with 1899, the imports and exports of 1895, instead of reading \$203,000,000, would read \$238,000,000, I mention these facts simply to call your attention to this point, that we have not exhausted the subject when we simply take the figures in our books unless we keep in view the varied rates of prices in these goods year after year as our trade history goes along. If we were to apply that \$34,700,000 it would reduce the \$238,000,000 to about \$30,000,000 of excess in volume of trade, and still we would have a magnificent addition to our trade.

Let it be well understood that neither I nor any intelligent man, nor any member of the Liberal-Conservative party, has any other feeling but pride and gratitude that this country's trade is progressing. Why should we not have pride in it as a party and for merely party reasons? Must there not be a period of brooding and preparation and of long sustained course of gestation before the splendid possibilities break out into fulfilment and completion? And it is the glory and the pride of the Liberal-Conservative party that they directed the destinies of this country in that long brooding time of patient preparation, during which our transport facilities were being developed and all the difficulties of the pioneer met with and faced, until at last, even though it be under the administration of hon. gentlemen opposite, from this preparation period, the present period has

sprung forth instinct with the results of perfected development.

Is it hard to make a reasonable calculation as to this increase of trade and how it has taken place? Let me read you some figures.

In 1896 and 1899 the exports of home products were as follows:

EXPORTS, HOME PRODUCTS.			
	1896.	1899.	Increase or decrease.
Mines	\$ 8,050,000	\$13,360,000	\$ 5,410,000
Animals and their products	36,500,000	46,700,000	10,200,000
Agricultural products	14,000,000	22,900,000	8,900,000
Fisheries	11,070,000	9,900,000	-1,170,000
Forests	27,170,000	28,000,000	830,000
Manufactures	9,360,000	11,700,000	2,340,000
Total	\$106,150,000	\$132,560,000	\$27,680,000

Now, Sir, I put it to any reasonable man, and there are lots of them in this House, I ask this one question, and I plead for a fair, manly answer: Does any man in this House, or this country believe that if, in 1896, the fortunes of the political field had returned a Liberal-Conservative government to power, we should have had one dollar less raised from the mines in 1899, one dollar less brought from agricultural products, one dollar less from animals and their products, one dollar more from fisheries—in which hon. gentlemen opposite had a decrease—one dollar less from the forests, one dollar less from the manufactures of this country? There is a plain, common-sense way of putting it. If the Liberal-Conservatives had come into power in 1896, what barrier would they have raised in the way of the workers in the mine, of the workers in the forest, of the workers in the sea, of the workers in the dairy, farms and ranches and cattle ranges of the country? Would they have opened up any fewer markets than hon. gentlemen opposite have opened up? Would they have built any fewer railways, would they have subsidized and kept running any fewer steamship lines? In what way, let hon. gentlemen say, would their coming into power have exercised any effect to destroy production in any of these forms? Answer that, as honest men answer it. You will say: We are party men, but we know quite well, that if you had come into power, these things would have gone on just the same. If that be your answer, then, for pity's sake, do not spend two or three hours in making what is supposed to be a budget speech into a hustings appeal to the country for credit for having done that which it is perfectly clear you did not do. Did it all happen because these hon. gentlemen came in? Then, let us see what has happened since. What has happened within six months, up to December 31st, 1899. Why, the mining products have gone off by a million dollars, the

fisheries have kept about stationary this current year, they are going behind. Agricultural products have dropped by \$5,200,000. Here is a short statement which will show the decrease within the last six months of 1899 compared with the last six months of 1897 in the products named.

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Cattle	\$ 7,177,533	\$ 5,391,544
Horses	941,193	479,223
Wheat	7,414,273	5,983,282
Cheese	13,458,844	12,112,649
Wood and timber	21,166,303	18,099,249

If the coming of these hon. gentlemen into power, and their remaining in power caused all this great burst of trade, why is it, since they have been firmly seated in power for the three years, that these exports have commenced to go down? Is it not far more common sense like to say that governments may come, and governments may go, but, unless legislation and administration are totally and foolish, in a country like Canada, with its enterprise, its pluck, its general diffusion of knowledge, and its general business activity, these great lines of production will go forward year after year subject to those changes which take place in trade in every country, by reason of forces within the country, or even of forces entirely outside the country, but in either case, largely beyond the power of the government to affect or mitigate.

Now, while I am on this point, let me drive it home, so far as I can, by a little additional argument. The assumption that ran all the way through my hon. friend's speech was this: After this, therefore, on account of this, or, as the Latin has it, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*—because we came in, because we introduced our policy, therefore, these things have happened. I have taken the leading lines of production, and read the results in figures. Will any one say, with regard to the mines, any act of administration or any initiation of this government has given an impetus to the opening of mines, or the production of minerals in this country, different from what would have been given if this government had not been in power? Are the miner's tools any cheaper than they were before? No, Sir, he is paying on his iron and his steel, from 25 per cent to 200 per cent of an increase over what he was paying before these gentlemen came into power, because the prices of these articles have been by that much enhanced. Does he get cheaper food? I think not; I think the prices of his food are about level with those he paid before. Are his clothes any cheaper? The staple articles in this respect, have increased in value. Has he any enlarged market for his products? Not one. He meets the same difficulty in his export of the finished article—what he may happen to finish on this side of the line, so far as his lead is concerned. Has he diminished competition? No, the competition he has to

meet is as keen as before. As I have stated, hon. gentlemen have at last paid the silver-lead bounty, but that was planned and provided for by the Liberal-Conservative government before it went out of power. Therefore, my hon. friend has simply carried out the legislation he found at hand. So, go through the whole of the miner's outfit, and his work and conditions, and we see that no legislation made by this government, and no conditions which exist to-day on account of such legislation, makes the miner's occupation a more favourable one than it was before. Ask the same questions with reference to the fisherman, ask the same with reference to the lumberman, ask the same with reference to the farmer—and, by the way, there is an additional point with reference to the farmer, which I shall speak of a little later. It is a significant fact that when you go through the returns of trade and business, you will find, that in the large, what the farmer has to buy has appreciated in price, while the main stock articles that he had to sell have depreciated in price. Now, Sir, there is not a gentleman conversant with business that will attempt to deny that general fact. You will find some exceptions to that rule on both sides of the list, but the rule is clear that there is a perceptible, and in some instances, emphasized diminution in the prices that the farmer gets for his products. Take 1899 into account, and there is a sensible increase in what the farmer has to pay for what he uses. Everything in the shape of iron, nails, wire, coal oil and all that, a great part of which the farmer has to use in his business, has gone up from 50 per cent to 150 per cent or 200 per cent; whilst on his staple articles there has been a decrease in the prices which he obtains. I have here an illustration of that taken from my hon. friend's report. In 1894 we exported to Great Britain \$6,316,373 worth of cattle, valued at \$78.43 per head; in 1895 we exported \$6,797,615 worth, of which the value per head was \$79.16. In 1896 the value per head was \$72.40; in 1897, \$53.79; in 1898, \$60.63; in 1899, \$61.75.

There, on very large exports of a staple product of this country, the price per head has fallen, although the exports of the number of cattle have gone up from 80,000 in 1894 to 115,000 in 1899, though by the way, 1899 shows a diminution of about 7,000 head of cattle as compared with the year 1898.

Now, there is a point that could have been made by the present government if, in the complicated mechanism, the widely distributed mechanism, of transport there had been some appreciable difference made. Let us ask ourselves whether there has been or not. Hon. gentlemen opposite have spent millions of dollars for railway subsidies, for canal work, for different improvements in one way or another, which in the years to come will make themselves felt, I hope, upon the general trade of this country to its ad-

vantage. But if you will think it over, not a single large work which they have commenced, not a single great expenditure that they have made, has yet come to the point of completion, so that it is actually in greater use than it was in 1896 for the farmers and the merchants of this country. The hon. gentlemen have spent \$9,000,000 on the canals, but not a pound, not a ton, not a box of all this import and export has felt the least advantage of that expenditure yet. Vessels went until the end of the last season on the same depth of water and with the same capacity that they went in 1896. Large sums of money have been voted to railway subsidies, and these railways are only completed in part or not completed at all; and we will have to wait for some years before we get any advantage from their completion so far as the distribution and carriage of goods are concerned. So with reference to the mechanism of transport, nothing that these hon. gentlemen have done yet has added to the facilities for trade and commerce.

But they did one thing, Sir. They found at their hand when they came here a contract ready to be signed which would have put into operation an ocean fast service in May of last year. Everybody knows what with the developments that have taken place since in this country and outside, what an immense sweep of advantage a fast line service, which would have gone into operation last May, would have had for impressing itself on the world and on making for itself a line of commerce and of communication, with success almost from the outset. That hon. gentlemen have torn up. They tinkered with a brokers' firm for months and months, and then came down and told this House that the fast line project with which they were in great sympathy was put out of sight for the moment, because of the rise in the price of material. Certainly; and now the hon. gentleman comes down with bottle-necked and bottled-nosed ships that have been canvassed over and over again, and I am afraid that the travelling minister has lost his portfolio so far as that is concerned, after all these attempts have been made, the hon. gentleman comes down this year and says: Oh! It is all out of sight now on account of the war which has taken place between Great Britain and the South African Republics. But if the hon. gentlemen that are on this side of the House had remained in power, a fast line service would have been in sight, in action, in operation; and if the hon. gentlemen had followed the lead of what was laid down for them in that case as they did in so many other cases, we would have had a fast line service to-day; and, Sir, our own volunteers would probably have gone to the seat of war in our own swift ships with the Canadian and English flags waving at the masthead.

Mr. FOSTER.

Now, Sir, the basis of all this increased trade is to be found, as I have said, in the previous steady and long continued preparation. When the opportunity came what did we find? Fast lines of railway making their way across this continent, opening up almost every field of development as regards wheat growing, cattle growing and produce of all kinds. These, Sir, had been built on lines of policy laid down by the Liberal-Conservative party, interfered with, opposed, ridiculed and fought by hon. gentlemen opposite, individually and as a party. They found in this country a widely extended industrial establishment built up on the lines of an adequate protection which these gentlemen fought against, which they ridiculed from 1878 to 1896, which they declared when they got into power they would destroy, but which, after they have come into power, they have kept up at about the same general level. In that respect as well there had been a long period of preparation, so that when the time came they found all these establishments manned and ready to work, ready to add to their power and to their output. So to-day we have this large industrial activity and prosperity in the country because of the foundation and preparation period under the Liberal-Conservative party and their policy.

Sir, there is another reason, and I think it is worth some attention. One cause of the unexampled prosperity of the last three years is due to—what? Is due to what always takes place in a period of enforced economy. For the country as often for the man, a period of enforced economy is a period of strengthening for better future operations. Every man who understands plant life knows that if he wants to produce a stocky plant he has to cut off the shoots, to cut off the buds and branches, even though it break his heart to do it, to allow it to make root room and gather strength for the days to come when it will astonish him by the vigour of its growth and the freshness of its bloom. It is true with the country and with the business man. The enforced economy from 1892 to 1895 has been a strengthening time for the business backbone and power of the country. But, it did more. There never was a period in the history of Canada when stocks in this country were at a lower ebb than in 1895. Every bit of old iron that could be worked up out of a railway store-room was worked up instead of putting in new stock; every bit of stock that could be sold out of the shelves was sold out rather than put in new stock. Manufacturers cleaned out their lofts, their garrets and their cellars, sold everything that they possibly could, so that in this country there was what you might call a hungry man's period. What happened then? The turn of the tide came. There was an increased production stimulated by an increased price for cereals and cattle. That caused an in-

flow of money into the country, that called for greater producing power, greater transportation facilities, greater demand for new stock to replace the old stocks in the stores, and taking all that into consideration, every man knows that a large part of this extraordinary activity of the last few years has been expended in filling the void which was created in the period up to 1895. Why do I mark that? Because I think it is the part of wisdom to recognize that these booming times are not going to go on always. These large manufacturing plants, which are now bending every muscle, with orders six months and a year ahead, will, with the powers of development and of production, their millions of capital, soon reach the point of satisfying the demand of the store-rooms and the larders, but, they will exist, and with their immense developing power, they will become competitors in the markets, and then will come a different state of things from what we have to-day. Now, you go and place your order. The man says: I am full; I want no more, I have no power to do more. But, maybe six months, or a year, or maybe a little longer than that from this time, these voids will have been filled, this demand will have been overtaken by the supply and then these greatly increased productive energies will be in the market still to produce to the extent of their plants if they can, the competition in their field of trade will bring down prices, and it will consequently act as in every cycle it has acted and reacted. The hon. Minister of Finance and every other man in this country may just as well come to the conclusion that there are fictitious as well as real reasons for this great expansion of trade and activity, that the demand is rapidly being filled up and that the time will come, we hope not for many months, but it may be within a few months, when matters will take on a different complexion. So, it is well for the country not to be too lavish in its expenditures, and it is well for the business people of the country not to think that trade will go on uniformly in an increasing ratio, but to look facts in the face, and whilst they are glad for this prosperity, they will, as prudent men, come to the conclusion that what has happened before will happen again and they will reflect that the great period of prosperity will sink into a depression of volume and values prevailing at the present day, again, without doubt, to blossom and bloom forth into an extension of the prosperity even of the present period.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. FOSTER. I said before six o'clock that it would be found that the prices of the great staples that the farmers of this country have to sell have on the average not

only not increased but diminished in price, whilst the chief staples which the farmer and consumer in rural parts and in the cities have to buy, have on the average increased in price. I wish to present a table to the House, of prices, including a large number of those I have mentioned as farmer's products—what he has to sell—that may be exported from this country. The list of prices runs through the three years of 1895, 1898 and 1899, and is as follows:

Export Prices.	1895.	1898.	1899.
Cattle, one year and less.	\$ 2 84	\$ 8 74	\$10 00
Cattle, over one year...	76 39	42 95	44 00
Horses, one year or less.	76 99	172 38	19 00
Horses, over one year..	89 59	104 05	93 00
Sheep, one year or less.	2 27	3 09	3 45
Sheep, over one year...	7 60	5 14	5 18
Swine	9 39	6 13	6 22
Dried apples	0 06	0 05	0 05
Green apples	2 13	2 97	2 44
Coal	3 22	3 02	3 12
Bark extract	14 87	14 38	11 90
Codfish, green and dry..	4 18	3 62	3 94
Codfish, fresh	0 01 ¹ / ₂	0 02	0 03 ¹ / ₂
Wheat flour	3 76	4 34	3 92
Flax	9 08	6 78	5 93
Barley	0 42	0 36	0 46
Beans	1 21	0 73	0 77
Oats	0 35	0 31	0 31 ¹ / ₂
Pease	0 75	0 55	0 66
Rye	0 52	0 54	0 59
Wheat	0 61	0 91	0 75
Hay	9 21	9 65	6 59
Malt	0 77	0 62	0 68
Maple sugar	0 05 ¹ / ₂	0 04 ¹ / ₂	0 05 ¹ / ₂
Oatmeal, bbl.	3 31	3 14	3 30
Refined coal oil	0 10	0 22	0 23
Bacon	0 09.4	0 09.4	0 08.9
Beef	0 07.7	0 06	0 06.7
Butter	0 19.1	0 18.2	0 18.3
Cheese	0 09.7	0 08.9	0 08.8
Eggs	0 12.4	0 12.1	0 13.1
Hams	0 08.7	0 08.8	0 09.6
Mutton	0 05.1	0 06.3	0 07.6
Meats (canned)	0 09.2	0 09.2	0 08.7
Pork	0 06.2	0 03.2	0 02.6
Potatoes	0 38	0 44	0 48.4
Straw	3 26	2 91	2 23
Tow	6 65	3 89	5 92
Wool	0 19	0 17	0 16
Tanbark	4 64	3 97	3 52
Deals (standard 100)....	28 24	31 63	31 26
Firewood (cord)	1 82	1 76	1 75
Laths	1 37	1 11	1 02
Logs (pine)	8 77	8 69	8 63
Logs (spruce)	3 63	6 13	6 11
Staves	6 41	4 56	4 30
Stave bolts	2 68	2 29	2 32
Sleepers	0 14.8	0 14.4	0 15.9
Shingles	1 90	1 76	1 73
Planks and boards (mf.).	11 00	10 72	10 90

These, I may say, are all prices taken out of the tables of the Trade and Navigation Returns, and consequently are the figures upon which are based the values in our reports.

With reference to the prices of articles that the farmer has to buy, I have a very long list, but I have culled from it some few items which I will read. These are the New York prices as given for the first week in January for each year, 1895, 1899, and 1900:

	1895.	1899.	1900.
Leather (oak tan).....	\$ 0 27	\$ 0 31	\$ 0 38
Rubber	0 73	0 94	1 04
Rice	0 04½	0 05½	0 04½
Manila	0 04¾	0 06½	0 14½
Sisal	0 02¼	0 05½	0 09½
Pig iron	10 00	10 85	25 00
Bar iron (per 100 lbs.)..	1 10	1 05	2 50
Billets	15 00	16 50	35 00
Crude petroleum (brl.)..	0 94½	1 19	1 66
Refined petroleum (per gal.)	0 06.9	0 08½	0 11
Sugar (muscovado)	2 63	3 81	3 88
Sugar (standard granulated)	3 74	4 72	4 85

Instead of giving the various articles made from iron I have mentioned only the raw basis of manufactures. Generally the prices on staple articles which are bought have increased in accord with the increase in the articles which I have read. On this point it is certain that if the farmer today is having prosperity it is not because in the first place, less taxation is taken out of him by the present financial legislation—not because the general revenues to which he contributes are less; for they are more—not because he is getting a higher price for his staples; but he is prosperous because he is getting a ready market for what he has to sell, and he is raising larger quantities, and in many respects of a better grade of stuff for the market than he raised before; he is producing more.

Now, Sir, finishing that part of the subject, I shall come to the question of our trade with Great Britain, upon which we have a pretty strong divergence of expressed opinion between the Finance Minister and gentlemen of business experience and capacity on this side of the House and in the country. The Finance Minister and the right hon. leader of the government, and I suppose the party as a whole, take the ground that the added trade with Great Britain is due to the preference which is given under the tariff of 1897, as worked out in 1898 and 1899. The view I would take of that is this: So far as imports are concerned, there is no doubt a quickening influence felt on account of the slight practical reduction which is made to the British exporter to the Canadian market; but the main increase with Great Britain is an increase which Great Britain participates in, as the result of the general increase of Canadian trade, both as to imports into this country and exports from this country. That proposition I think I shall abundantly prove. While there is a small practical differential in favour of the exporter from Great Britain, that is to a large extent offset by the greater distance and larger cost which is attendant upon imports from that country. The longer time that it takes to fill orders, and the competition with her great competitor, the United States of America, for all kinds of textile goods, have worked in the past and will work for

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the present and the future to a certain extent against imports to this country from Great Britain. Now, what is held with reference to this matter? First, let me notice a most wonderful argument addressed by the right hon. gentleman who leads the House to the people of Bowmanville in October, 1899. Speaking before an immense, and I venture to think, a very intelligent audience there, the Premier was endeavouring, as usual, to draw the credit to his government for the great increase of trade between Great Britain and this country, on account of the preference policy which had been adopted, and he said this:

The merchants of England, the men who have to buy articles in the markets of the world, no longer go to the United States to make their purchases. They come to Canada, and this is the direct result of our preferential tariff.

Now, you have to stop and think over a statement like that before you really take it in. To think that any man leading a party of average business intelligence, who had kept himself at all in current with the business of the world, would, before an audience of three thousand intelligent people, with newspaper reporters on each side of him, make a statement of that kind, almost passes belief. Let us analyse it. Under this new policy, 'when the people of England want to buy anything in the markets of the world, they no longer go to the United States of America—they come to Canada; and this is the direct result of our preferential tariff.' Well, Sir, we will take the facts as given by the statistics of 1898, and we will see whether that is true or not. The merchants of England wanted to buy cattle in 1898, and they went to the United States to buy them to the value of \$30,331,563; they wanted to buy salted beef, and they went to the United States to buy \$1,297,745 worth; they wanted to buy fresh beef, and they bought from the United States \$22,763,498 worth; they bought bacon, \$31,332,763 worth; hams, \$17,770,215 worth; pork, salted, not hams, \$1,092,732; butter, \$1,338,504; cheese, \$4,898,719; lard, \$13,608,699; wheat, \$74,434,528; barley, \$1,146,689; oats, \$11,146,458; rye, \$722,072; maize, or Indian corn, \$35,599,350; flour, \$46,089,431; hay, \$731,418; apples, \$1,956,979; seeds, \$1,472,488; tallow, \$2,619,449; wood and timber, \$13,580,309; house frames and fittings, \$2,830,390; leather, \$14,781,147. Total \$301,592,845. So that we find, in direct contradiction to the hon. gentleman's assertion, that the merchant of England last year went, not to Canada, but to the United States to buy over \$300,000,000 worth of the articles above mentioned. This is an answer—a conclusive answer, I think—to the hon. gentleman's inclusive statement; and out of that I think there arises a great necessity for some older and more experienced and more discreet member of the party to accompany the right hon. gentleman on his journeyings, and keep him well within the line.

Let us ask again, what are the statistics of trade with reference to imports into Canada? Is it true that Great Britain exports to Canada and that we import from her a larger amount, compared with the increase of our trade with all the other different countries of the world, than we do from all those other countries concerned in the general increase? Take the tables of the hon. gentleman's own department, and what do they show? A glance at the following table will give the information:—

Total Imports for Home Consumption.

	1896.	1899.	P.c. in-crease.
Great Britain	32,979,742	37,060,123	12½
United States	58,574,024	93,007,166	59
France	2,810,942	3,889,295	38
Germany	5,931,459	7,393,456	24
Spain	361,778	534,482	48
Portugal	48,596	63,226	39
Italy	230,917	395,599	52
Holland	299,858	500,392	67
Belgium	920,758	2,318,723	151
Newfoundland	551,412	527,006	*
West Indies	1,896,496	1,354,939	*
South America	567,027	1,175,584	107
China and Japan...	2,671,418	2,769,499	4
Switzerland	332,120	568,768	76
Other countries....	2,413,009	2,493,264	..
Total	\$110,587,480	\$154,051,593	39

* Decrease.

Summed up, that means that our increase in imports from Great Britain was 12½ per cent; from all countries with which we trade, 39 per cent; and from the United States, 59 per cent.

So that, so far from there being an abnormal increase in our imports from Great Britain, the percentage of that increase has been almost the lowest on the list, and very much lower than that of the other great countries with which we trade.

I remember the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce saying, not long ago, that there was an export from Great Britain in a certain year, of \$66,000,000, and to the United States an export of \$41,000,000, while we only had an import of \$32,000,000 from Great Britain, compared with the import of \$58,000,000 from the United States. He declared that that was a gross discrimination against the trade of Great Britain. He said:

There, if you will, is a genuine practical discrimination to an enormous extent against England and in favour of the United States. I have always said that the national policy was a Yankee device copied from the Yankees, and in fact a benefit to them chiefly, and here is a proof of it.

The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), speaking at a great meet-

ing in London, informed the people that, under the policy which his government had adopted, this disparity and discrimination would be done away with. Well, we will see how it was done away with. Of dutiable imports merchandise entered for consumption, we find that in 1896, the percentage which Great Britain contributed to the trade of this country was 36·24, and in 1899 that fell to 30·77, a loss of 5·47 per cent in three years. Whereas the United States contributed of dutiable imports to Canada 43·28 in 1896, and 49·73 in 1899, a gain of 6·45 per cent. What has become of this Yankee device, and where is the statement of the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries that the policy of this government was to change all that?

Then let us take the free goods. Of the total imports of free goods into Canada, Great Britain contributed 22·19 in 1896, and in 1899, 15·70, showing a falling off of 6·49. Whereas the United States contributed in 1896, 64·07 of our total importation of free goods, and in 1899, 73·43, a gain of 9·36. Where, again, has this Yankee device been laid away, and where is the betterment that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries promised to his admiring London audience?

Take your total trade. Great Britain, in 1896, contributed 31·15 per cent, and in 1899 only 24·72, being a decline of 6·43, whereas the United States contributed, in 1896, 50·80 per cent, and in 1899, 59·24 per cent, being a gain of 8·44 per cent. Now, I think, that these hon. gentlemen were very wrong in denouncing the national policy as the Yankee device, on account of its discrimination. They were either wrong in doing that, or they have shamefully neglected their duty, for if they have any different machinery from the Yankee device, it has the effect, not of mitigating, but of enhancing the discriminations which they say existed before.

So much with reference to the imports. But, if their argument fails on the question of imports, what can we say of it with regard to the exports, when they attribute the increase, so far as Great Britain is concerned, to the preference which they have given British imports into this country? One can see that there is some reason in supposing that the preference, however small, on the imports from another country, will lead to an increase of these imports, but it is very difficult, on business principles, to conceive how it is possible that any large extension shall be made in the export trade on account of the preference given the imports. Well, what are the facts? Suppose we take the figures from the Trade and Navigation Returns, and see whether or not there is an abnormal increase of exports from Canada to Great Britain, as compared with the increase of exports from Canada to other countries.

Exports to	Home Products.		P.c. increase.
	1896.	1899.	
Great Britain.....	\$ 62,717,941	\$85,113,681	35
Argentine	431,097	646,070	49
Belgium	95,328	445,667	370
Hawaii	31,876	185,096	500
France	573,835	1,551,909	170
Germany	606,919	1,310,373	115
Holland	62,440	176,347	180
Italy	56,759	125,265	120
Japan	8,148	133,139	1,500
Norway & Sweden..	41,262	129,244	190
British W. Indies..	1,627,388	1,725,321	6
Spanish W. Indies..	978,589	1,157,661	21
United States	34,469,428	34,766,995	...
To all countries....	\$109,797,595	\$137,360,792	24

These figures, taken from the blue-books of Canada, show that whilst there was a large increase in our exports to Great Britain, that increase was not nearly so large as the increase of our exports to nearly every one of the other principal countries with which we trade. In none of these other countries was there any generous feeling aroused by a preference given to them which would make them buy more of our exports. And yet, simply in the course of trade and with the expansion of trade, there has been a percentage of increase in our exports to these countries represented by the figures I have already given, some of the increases being of astonishing proportions. It does not destroy that argument in the least to say that our trade with other countries is comparatively small. The increase is there, and it is on exactly the same principle upon which an increase occurs in every case—that is, the principle of the general expansion of trade. Why, take the case of the United States of America; does my hon. friend know that they had the largest exports last year of any year in their history, and that a larger proportion of these exports went to Great Britain than in any preceding year? And yet, Sir, no preference has been granted by the United States upon British imports; and I suppose there has been no answering throb in the great, generous British heart which would cause the British consumer to buy United States goods because of the inestimable benefits conferred upon his country by the Dingley Bill.

To hear these gentlemen talk, one would think that there had been no exports from this country to Great Britain on the lines of natural products until they came into power. Let me take three articles out of many. Of cheese, in 1891, we exported 117,000,000 pounds to Great Britain. But, Sir, in 1897, this had increased to 171,000,000 pounds, an increase of 46 per cent. From 1897 to 1899, the increase has been from 171,000,000 pounds to 197,000,000 pounds, an increase of 15 per cent. But, strangely enough, as compared with 1898, there has been a decrease of 5 per cent in the exports of cheese from this country to Great Britain, and this in the year when the second half

of the preference calculated to stir the generous heart of the British buyer and consumer, went into effect. I remember when, in 1890 or 1891, as Minister of Finance in the late government, I introduced the tariff changes with reference to meat products. This was the beginning of a policy urged on the government by the farmers and producers of the country, and by none of them more strongly than my hon. friend from East Northumberland (Mr. Cochrane), who brought a very large deputation with him, accompanied by the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) and others representing the farmers in the different constituencies. We listened to what they had to say, and we put up the duties on meat products. And why? Because the competition from the United States was destroying the standing ground of the producers of meats in this country. Unless the producers of meats could fairly secure standing ground in the home market, it was impossible for them to reach out for the great foreign market which they were after. What was the position taken by the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright)? He opposed the imposition of these duties, and moved a resolution against them. I thought I had by me both the resolution and a short extract from his speech. I should be sorry to deprive the House of the hon. gentleman's remarks altogether, and I must ask the hon. gentleman and the House to take my recollection of them. The hon. gentleman warned the government and the House that no more insane and utterly foolish proposition could be enacted into law than to attempt to put a duty on pork and pork products in this country. And one reason why he made that statement was that it would irritate the United States producer of pork, and would operate to bar us, and continue to bar us out of the market of the United States for these products. Well, Sir, the policy was introduced. In 1891, there was an export of bacon to the extent of 8,000,000 pounds. In 1896, that had increased to 47,000,000 pounds, an increase of 500 per cent. The latest year, 1899, shows an export of 111,800,000 pounds of bacon. What happened was this: In the first place, competition from the United States producer of pork and meats was dull. The producer here got his home market to a large extent, and he built upon that basis, and it was that which enabled him to reach out to the British market, until to-day, the meat producer here has practically his own market, and has also an opening into the markets of Great Britain. Now, if we take the exports of grain, you will find that in 1891, 2,000,000 bushels were exported; in 1896, 11,600,000 bushels were exported; in 1898, 30,000,000 bushels were exported; and in 1899, 22,200,000 bushels. Summing it up, the increase between 1891 and 1897, in the exports of cheese, was 46 per cent. of bacon, 640 per cent, and of grains, 410 per cent.

The increase from 1897 to 1899, in cheese, is 15 per cent, in bacon, 89 per cent, and in grain, 27 per cent. The decrease between 1899 and 1898 is, in cheese, 5 per cent; in grain, 26 per cent.

Sir, the point I wished to make was, that in these great staple products of agriculture, which are typical of the others, there was before these gentlemen came into power, a large and increasing export, and that what has taken place since, has been but the continuation and extension under better conditions of consumption and purchase the world over, in these same commodities. If you take the United States market, which has no legislation such as these gentlemen have here, which has none of the inspiring effects of their guiding policy, and which has a very high protective tariff, you find that in 1890, the exports from the United States amounted to \$857,000,000; in 1895, they had gone down to \$824,000,000; but in 1899, they had increased to \$1,300,000,000, under a large protective policy and a large expansion of the export trade, which is due to none of the causes that hon. gentlemen seek to bring as the reasons for the increase of our export trade with Great Britain during the past three years. Germany. Belgium. Italy. Austria. all the great European countries have had this large expansion, both of export and import trade, during the last three or four years. It is characteristic of business and trade the world over. I think, therefore, I have said enough in this respect to show that the preference which these hon. gentlemen have given in the first place, has had but small effect upon the imports from Great Britain into this country, and has had practically no effect upon the exports from this country.

Now, a word or two with reference to the views of hon. gentlemen opposite with reference to the trade and fiscal policy of this country. There were three or four kinds of preference that these hon. gentlemen agitated before they came into power, and since they came into power. I hold in my hand the report of a speech made by the Minister of Trade and Commerce in 1888. I do not know why it is, but I found tacked upon the front page of this speech, an extract from the hon. gentleman's speech at Massey Hall, in 1899 which reads thus:

We have shown, Sir, that we believe in the unity of the empire, and we have done more to develop it than all the jingo blusterers of the last twenty years. When we gave a specific preference to English manufacturers, we showed that the Liberals were prepared to do what the Conservatives had only been prepared to talk about.

How wonderfully loyal to Britain and to trade with Britain. Sentiment, allegiance, is the basis of that outburst; but there was a time in my hon. friend's career, when sentiment and allegiance played no part in his political creed. This address of 1888, was

delivered in this House, in support of a resolution, the last article of which is:

That it is further expedient that the government of the Dominion should take steps at an early day to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith. I wish I could take the time to read to this House the whole of that speech. I cannot do it, but I will give a running comment on some points of it, and I will make a few extracts as I go along. Well, Sir, he starts out with one headline, and after going a little way in his speech, he says:

This is a case in which nature is too strong for us.

Nature is too strong for Canada, and she must go for her trade to the United States. There are insuperable difficulties, natural difficulties, to any interprovincial trade, to any trade with Great Britain. All the lines of water and railway flow to the south, and not across the ocean. 'Nature is too strong for us.' A little further on the hon. gentleman declares:

That we are not getting a farthing of interest on the outlay of 200 millions that we have invested in public works, and that he sees no prospect of getting an income from the outlay. . . . That our federal constitution is threatened with collapse, and that this is becoming manifest as the days roll on. . . . That unless a speedy check is brought about, our political system cannot last very long. In twenty years we have trebled our debt, trebled our taxes, and added 30 per cent to our population. Suppose we go on thus for another twenty years, or even for another ten years—and I can tell the House that there are very serious signs that unless such a check as I spoke of is put on, we will go on in the same headlong, reckless course—why, Sir, in twenty years at the same rate of increase of population and the same rate of increase of debt and taxation, we will find ourselves with a population of six millions and an annual taxation of ninety million dollars. . . . The government cannot and will not put a stop to this practice of immense and insane expense. . . . To say the least of it, enormous stores of raw material of great value to the United States are stored up in Canada, and it should be our pride and our work to get our raw products out as quickly as possible, and send them down to be put into manufactured products by the skill and labour of the United States. . . .

He declares that if we only had free intercourse with the United States the \$80,000,000 of trade would become doubled and trebled.

I will venture to say that it is well within the bounds of possibility that with unrestricted intercourse with the United States, that \$80,000,000 might, within a few years, swell to \$300,000,000. . . . Who does not know that for an immense number of the products of the people of this country, the United States is not merely the best market, but substantially the only market.

Then, he speaks of the attempt—

to force trade among the various provinces of the Dominion. . . . I have always myself

regarded it as very up-hill work, about as profitable, indeed, as an attempt to make water run up a hill. . . . Must we not admit that, no matter how the government may strive, no matter how the people may strive, you cannot establish any great interprovincial trade from which any great profit can redound to the people of this country. . . . Who does not know, who dares deny, that the trade of Halifax naturally seeks Boston, that the trade of Toronto naturally seeks New York, that the trade of Winnipeg seeks St. Paul and the country south of it, and that the trade of Victoria naturally seeks San Francisco and the rest of the Pacific coast. There is an old saying, and I think a true saying in part, that trade follows the flag, but I tell this House that it is more true the trade follows the people, and we have unhappily already sent out about two millions of missionaries to cultivate friendly trade relations with the United States. . . . It is quite clear that in older Canada, at any rate, grain production is on the wane, and that the only cereal which we can depend upon as likely to continue to be raised in large quantities is the article of barley, for which we have practically no market except in the United States. . . . Now, I contend that for almost everything which our farmers have to sell, the United States, if only we had free and unrestricted trade with them would afford us absolutely the best market; and I contend further, besides being the best market, it is literally the only market for a great many important articles which we produce. . . . Given free trade, given unrestricted intercourse, and that trade might assume nearly unlimited proportions. . . . Why, look for one moment at the host of great and growing cities which stud our southern frontier alone. Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, Boston and New York. Those cities alone which I have named, with their environs, contain a population of some five millions of people who are the very best customers on the face of the earth. We all know the natural impediments which exist to interprovincial trade. . . . It is perfectly well known to all who are familiar with that people—

That is, the American people.

--that there is no market, I repeat, on the face of the earth where the man who has a first-rate article, particularly of food, to sell, is half so sure of obtaining a first-rate price for it, as in the United States. . . . One United States customer is worth to us in Canada half a dozen English customers, and half a dozen customers of any other nationality.

Talking about the manufacturers, he says :

I believe that there is good ground for saying that all manufacturers who deserve to flourish in Canada, all who possess the requisite pluck, and capital, and energy, will prosper likewise enormously if that great market be opened to them. . . . It would have been an easy task for an honest and intelligent administration to have kept the total expenditure of Canada to \$26,000,000 or \$27,000,000 at the utmost, and the total taxation of Canada to \$20,000,000 at the uttermost, and withal to have placed half a million of the best settlers in the world in Manitoba, to their great profit and ours.

Well, I cannot read all of these things, but let me read just one or two others :

It is perfectly apparent that we cannot hope to obtain free intercourse and unrestricted reciprocity with them without discriminating against

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the goods of other countries, unless and until the United States are prepared to go in for free trade with all the world, in which case our proposition would not be necessary. The thing, I grant—

That is, discrimination.

—is of the essence of the bargain.

The hon. gentleman says it does not frighten him, but that we have the right to discriminate against England even in our own material interest.

I do not think, for my part, that we are under any deep debt of gratitude to English statesmen, that we owe them much, unless, perchance, it may be the duty, as Christian men, to forgive them for the atrocious blunders which have marked every treaty, or transaction, or negotiation that they have ever had with the United States where the interests of Canada were concerned, from the days of Benjamin Franklin to this hour, not excepting the first or second treaty of Washington. I say there is no man here who does not know that from the very first hour when the United Empire Loyalists took possession of Ontario and held it for the British Crown, down to this year 1888, there never has been a time except, perhaps, the short paroxysm of the American civil war, when our people could not have greatly benefited their material interests by throwing in their lot with the people on the other side.

He closes with this statement :

It is quite clear to any one who will carefully study those trade returns and will study the figures which I submitted before recess, that the United States market, if it were only made free, is worth more than twice over to Canada that of all the rest of the world put together. It is perfectly clear that it is the only market open to us for a great amount of our productions.

Now, the first article I read, the loyal article, and the speech made on the 14th of March, 1888, by Sir Richard Cartwright, in the House of Commons, seem to me to proceed from two different states of mind, but, I believe, from the same individual and guided by exactly the same lack of principle. He thought unrestricted reciprocity was good enough to get in on in 1888; he thinks the preference business with Great Britain is good enough to stay in on in 1899. With these gentlemen it matters nothing as to principle or consistency; what they wanted to do when they were out, was to get in, and what they want to do when they are in, is to stay in. Any road that led to the goal was good enough for them if they could get there by that road; any method by which they can stay here is good enough provided they can stay. Now, Sir, in 1893, which was later, the hon. gentleman declared :

The remedy which we had suggested, the remedy of continental free trade, the remedy of throwing down the barriers between ourselves and the United States, which, in my judgment, is the only means which can give great and durable prosperity to Canada. Under no circumstances or conditions can the resources of Canada be developed as they should be developed, can we make anything like a full use of the resources we possess until, in one form or an-

other, the markets of this continent are thrown open to us, and we are able to trade on even terms with our friends and neighbours of the United States.

In 1892, in this House, he declared :

It was scarcely possible for any man to exaggerate the mischief and injury which would be done to the agriculturists of Canada if the American market should unhappily continue to be barred to their products. Practically speaking, the only thing we are likely to deal on even terms in the English market are wheat, fat cattle, pork products and cheese. In all other respects, I say here that the loss of the American market, if we do lose it, would be little short of an irreparable calamity to the already overburdened farmers of the Dominion.

Mr. Davies, in 1892, said :

This result can be obtained by those whose hearts are in the business. It is quite possible for the honest man who goes to the United States; it is quite possible for the honest man, with a sincere desire to negotiate a fair treaty, to negotiate one in a very short time. Is the fact that you are going to discriminate against Britain to stop you from negotiating altogether. Are we to legislate in the interests of Canada or of the British exporter.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Paterson (now Minister of Customs), in 1892, declared :

There is a market right at your very door for forty millions of bushels of wheat. If we have free intercourse, Canada will be the market from which these states would draw the supply of wheat for the ten million barrels of flour they need per annum. They need every product the farmer has to sell. There is your home market.

Sure of getting it, why, of course, they were sure of getting it. Mr. Davies, late in the campaign, declared :

If the people of Canada approach the United States in a fair and reasonable spirit, they would obtain a reciprocity treaty in a short time.

Mr. Fisher, now the Minister of Agriculture, declared :

If my leader comes into power it would not be a rash prediction to say that within six months from that day, by a scratch of the pen, a treaty of reciprocity would be put in force between Canada and the United States.

And the Hon. David Mills, now Minister of Justice, declared, while sitting in this House :

If hon. gentlemen on this side of the House cross to the Treasury benches, I can promise there would be no difficulty in establishing trade with the neighbouring republic.

There was no trouble in these respects at that time. Neither at that time nor since was there any trouble about allegiance and sentiment. What said the right hon. gentleman who leads the government? Speaking in this House, in 1892, he said :

While they commit the mistake of basing their trade policy upon uniformity of allegiance and the mere sentiment, we of the Liberal party maintain that the policy of this country must be based, not upon sentiment, but upon business

principles. And fresh as we come from the people, I say that the only policy which will benefit this country is unrestricted reciprocity and continental freedom of trade. It is absurd to suppose that, situated as we are, the interests of Canada will always be identical with the interests of Great Britain.

Here is the germ seed which sunk into the fertile brain of the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Monet), and which found a lodgment in the mental soil of the member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa). The Prime Minister continued to say in 1892 :

It is absurd to suppose that, situated as we are, the interests of Canada will always be identical with the interests of Great Britain. Some day must come when these interests will clash, and whatever the hon. gentleman may be, for my part whenever it comes to that, and however I may regret the necessity, I will stand by my native land. I, for one, when I made up my mind in favour of this policy of unrestricted reciprocity looked first and last to the interests of Canada and not to the interests of England. Let the British subject who sits in the British parliament look after the interests of England. I do not believe in the principles of the United Empire Trade League, for the reason that that scheme limits trade to allegiance. It proposes to make allegiance the basis of trade, whilst we desire to make trade interests alone the basis of trade.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Who said all that?

Mr. FOSTER. That was pronounced by Mr. Wilfrid Laurier in 1892 in this House.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. FOSTER. And Mr. Laurier continued to say :

Our duty is to Canada and not to England. Just as the British government teaches this government that the first duty of the British government is to England and not to Canada, so I insist that in all these matters, it is for any self governing colony to look to its own interests, first, last and always.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. FOSTER. Now, Sir, that shows a tremendous change of opinion within a very short period of time. This was the first preferential idea that these gentlemen undertook—a campaign for unrestricted reciprocity and continental free trade. They staked their political existence on it. There is not a man who supports them in this House who did not cry out and shout for that policy, just as loudly as the leaders did themselves. That policy, it suffices to say, has not been accomplished, and it was not accomplished, because the Liberal-Conservative party pitted their strength with all their vigour and force against that policy and in antagonism to it, and the bulk of the people of Canada followed the Liberal-Conservative party and repudiated unrestricted reciprocity and continental freedom of trade. But, Sir, I want to ask these hon. gentlemen opposite, who the other evening sang so lustily 'God Save the Queen,' when 33½ per cent of preference was given to the mother country on the ground of allegiance

and sentiment alone—I want to ask these hon. gentlemen where they would have been, and where that song would have been, if in 1891 the Liberal party had come into power and carried out their policy of unrestricted reciprocity and continental free trade? The answer to that question cannot be avoided. It is, that every one of these gentlemen who sits facing me and who supports the government knows that if their policy had been successful—and it was no fault of theirs that it was not successful—that we should have had no loyal effusion such as we have had within the last few months; that we should have had no preference for Great Britain; that we should have had a wall of prohibitory discrimination barring out every British product in this country and allowing the advantage to the people of the United States instead of to the people of the mother country. No one who answers that question but what knows in his own heart, that if the Liberals had then got into power and carried out that policy, you would have bidden an everlasting good-by to the strengthening and uniting bonds between the mother country and ourselves. Could you have given the mother country a tangible proof of your gratitude for her good will and protection—such as you say you have now given—if you had bound yourselves hand and foot to the United States of America and come under bonds to discriminate against the goods of Great Britain? If you could not have made any trade arrangements with advantage to Great Britain, if you had barred yourself entirely from it, you would have built up an ever-increasing wall between this country and the mother country, which would have ended in complete and total separation in the matter of trade. For, then would have come the day, and come right speedily, when the interests of Canada would have clashed with the interests of Great Britain; and when that day came, invited as it was by my right hon. friend on many occasions, he would stand by Canada against the mother country. Only once, and that is for ever and ever, will the people of this country be profoundly thankful that their good sense stopped the wild and absurd procession that was formed, headed by my right hon. friend, with its face towards a foreign country, and its back towards the motherland that gave us birth and protected our struggling infancy.

Then, Sir, the next preference to the United States was a preference jug-handled and partial. They were not able to carry out the first. They got into power upon a different tack. They came into power, and what have they done? They have given to the United States of America a preference in many things. What have they given them? Free corn for nothing; free binder twine for nothing; free wire for nothing; a cut on their iron—and everybody knows that the United States of America

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to-day towers above every other country in the world in her production of iron—that she practically has a complete monopoly in her own country and a very large hold upon every neutral market in the world. To-day there is no competition which faces Great Britain so keen, so threatening, as the competition of the United States in the markets of the world, in iron goods of every description. That is what this government have done. Did they stir a sympathetic response in the hearts of the people of the United States? Let the Dingley Bill be their answer. Let the abortive commission which sat for six months, at Quebec and Washington, with its expenditure of \$36,000, and its results a blank, utter and absolute, be their answer again, if another answer is necessary. And yet, Sir, after these rebuffs, these gentlemen, these administrators of just laws, find it within their hearts, by order in council, to break the statute law of the country in order to allow the United States coasting vessels to participate in our lake coasting trade while our vessels are debarred from theirs. These gentlemen allow the alien labour law of Canada to remain a blank on the statute-book, whilst the alien labour law of the United States is rigidly enforced against every labouring man and woman who enters the United States. We are opposed as a party to that kind of preference. Another preference is that to Great Britain, such as was argued for by my hon. friend who leads the opposition, in 1895 and 1896, and long before it was absolutely accepted by the right hon. gentleman who leads the present government. He sits before me now, he hears what I say, and I invite him to rise and deny that before the election of 1896 he pledged his honour as the leader of a party, and pledged his party with him, that he was favourable to the idea of mutual trade preference with Great Britain, that it would be an immense boon to this country, and that if he and his party got into power, one of their first acts would be to send a commission to Great Britain to try and bring about that boon which he described to the people of London. Has he done it? Did he make the promise? When he went to England, did he take a commission with him? Did he himself take the least trouble to follow in the line of the invitation of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain for a conference, if nothing more? No, Sir; nothing of the kind. He took the first occasion to tell the people of Great Britain: 'We have given something, but for heaven's sake do not give us anything in return.'

Mr. McMULLEN. Give us something new.

Mr. FOSTER. Something new? I think there are more than the hon. gentleman who would like to have something new. But, to my mind, truth is old, principle is old, honour in public men is old. These things are prized by the people of this country,

and I miss my guess if hon. gentlemen opposite, who seem to laugh these old-fashioned principles to scorn, will not soon be met by the strong voice of the people in favour of old-fashioned truth and honesty. Now, Sir, if the right hon. gentleman pledged himself to do that, why did he not do it? Has he ever given a reason? He neither denies nor exculpates himself. But he made a speech and took a medal, and the very basis on which he made the speech and took the medal was that there should be no preference. Free trade out and out was the Cobden cry, and it was a violation of the principle of free trade to give a preference even to your best friend. The difference between the Liberal-Conservative party and the Liberal party on this one point is this, that we are in favour of a mutual preference. We were in favour of a mutual preference between the United States and this country in the form of a reciprocity treaty on just lines; but we were against discrimination, that is, unfair treatment with regard to Great Britain. These gentlemen were in favour of unrestricted reciprocity or restricted reciprocity with the United States, coupled with unfair treatment and discrimination against Great Britain. In the matter of preference with England, we have favoured and we favour to-day a preference which shall be mutual, giving benefits to both sides, not alone because of the selfish principle that we want to get something for something, but because, if it could be carried out, it would be the most uniting and welding influence between the Imperial colonies and the empire all the world around, that could be brought into force.

Before 1896, both parties were agreed upon this preference and on the same lines and conditions. We have not changed, but hon. gentlemen opposite have. If our policy, Sir, was right in its principles then, we believe that those principles hold good still. We believe that it will be the essence of fairness, that it would contribute to the good of this country and Great Britain herself, that it would be an immense binding power the empire through, if we could have a mutual preference, giving benefits to both parties, and creating a current in trade matters between Great Britain and all her colonies. No one will dispute that. The Finance Minister says: I, too, am in favour of it, and I do not say that we may not some day get it. But while that statement was still warm on his lips, he puts an additional preference, without mutual preference, in favour of Great Britain, which is one of the most effectual ways of preventing that being ultimately brought about which the hon. gentleman wishes. No greater opportunity had ever offered, possibly no better opportunity ever will offer than was offered within the last three years to the right hon. gentleman who leads the government to get from Great Britain and all the colonies a *modus*

vivendi with reference to trade matters which, on some fair and reasonable principle, would be mutually beneficial to all. Events move rapidly. Who would have thought, three years ago, that the relative position of Canada and the empire would be what they are to-day. The Queen's jubilee, the breaking out of the war between the South African Republics and Great Britain, and the consequent great outburst of loyal and patriotic feeling has brought sentiment into a state of ripeness which is favourable to the operation of changes that three years ago would not have been looked at by public men in Great Britain and perhaps not by many public men in this country. And it was a pity of all the pities that the right hon. gentleman did not carry out his pledge to the people of Canada. It was a pity that he did not put himself and the premiers of the other colonies, at Mr. Chamberlain's direct request, into a commission for taking over and arranging this matter if possible on some reasonable basis. Never before had there been such an opportunity, and it may be many years before such a favourable opportunity will be found again. I do not propose to say much more with reference to this question of preference. It is evident that the preference of 12½ per cent did not have much effect. It is equally evident, from the statistics, that the preference of 25 per cent did not have very much more stimulating effect. Hon. gentlemen have gone to the extent of adding another third and have made it 33½ per cent. We will see what effect that will have in stimulating imports from Great Britain to this country. But this is a matter which, I think, should have been approached with very great care and been thought out on more lines than one. What is one of the first effects of this cut of 33½ cents, made horizontally, without discrimination as to articles. It is that it places articles of luxury about the lowest on the list of dutiable goods coming into this country. If the 33½ per cent cut is effective, it lets jewellery in at 20 per cent. It lets manufactures of gold and silver used by rich people in at 20 per cent; it lets in silks, which are used by the wealthy, at 23½ per cent; it lets in laces at 23½ per cent; it lets in pianos at 20 per cent; it lets in porcelain goods at 20 per cent; it lets ribbons in at 23½ per cent; it lets shawls and rugs in at 20 per cent; it lets in watches at 16½ per cent; it admits high class worsted goods at 23½ per cent; velvets at 20 per cent; Brussels carpets at 23½ per cent; cottons, gray and white at 16½ per cent, and coloured cottons at 23½ per cent.

It is an acknowledged principle in the levying of tariff rates in every country that what we call the luxuries of life, which can be afforded by the rich and not much wanted by the poorer classes of people, shall pay a higher percentage of duty. Under this cut, if it be effective, these articles will be amongst those which pay the least duty, and

our farmers and artisans will not derive any benefit compared with that derived by the richer classes.

Another point to be observed is how this is going to affect the industries of this country. So far as I can judge, some of the most important industries of this country will find that the cut operates to such an extent that the tariff affords them little or no protection. What is the principle upon which hon. gentlemen are acting? Are they acting in favour of free trade or in favour of adequate protection to the industries of this country? The late Mr. Bertram knew, and he declared that they were acting in favour of an adequate protection to the great industries of this country. The Hon. Clifford Sifton declared that that was their basis of action. The Hon. Mr. Tarte declared that adequate protection was embodied as a principle in their legislation and would not be interfered with. Now, this additional cut of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent will act in two ways. It will act in the way I have already mentioned, and besides it will affect some of the principal industries of this country. Whilst it will give no relief to the farmer for his implements, while it will give little or no relief to all the users of iron goods, while it will give no opening market for the farmers of this country, it is possible, it is even very probable, that this will have a damaging effect on certain of our large industries. And, after all, the Liberal-Conservative party, formed with that principle, growing by that principle, having stood by that principle since 1876, to the present hour, does not propose to go back upon that principle now. Over and above everything else, the great asset of this country is its natural resources, and over and above everything else, it ought to be the guiding star of the legislation of this country to work for the development of these great resources so as to make this country so far as we possibly can a hive of industry, where labour finds its employment and its wage, and where abundant natural resources are worked up to the point of highest value and, when put upon the markets of the world, bring the richest returns to the men who bring them forth and fashion them to the use of mankind. There is no other thing which will compensate this country for the loss of that inestimable privilege, for the obliteration of that line of policy which ought to be clearly defined and constantly followed; and, Sir, I say as a member of the Liberal-Conservative party and as a lover of my country in its industrial and trade development, that I believe it is essentially necessary that the principle of adequate protection for the industries of this country should be kept up here. But we are told: This preference to Great Britain is now an accomplished fact. When you get into power, what will you do with it? Will you repeal the preference to Great Britain? That is a question that will be

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asked; that is a question that must be answered. My answer to it is this—that certain facts when once they are accomplished, become accomplished facts, and, though they were accomplished against the will and against the wish of one party, and against what was considered by that party to be a fair and judicious policy, yet, when once they have been accomplished, it becomes a question whether, profitably to the interest of the country, and to what extent, these accomplished facts can be repudiated or antagonized. One thing, however, is sure—that when the Liberal-Conservative party comes into power, whatever preference is given to the British manufacturer, that party will take care to see that home industries are fairly and adequately protected no matter what advantage is given to others.

The hon. gentleman has given us an idea that a free trade policy is to be adopted with reference to Trinidad. Unfortunately, he has given us no data upon which to express an opinion with reference to that point. We have none of the statistics of trade, we know nothing of what will be the conditions of the bargain, so, we will have to leave it to be discussed when the proper time comes. But, what a change! Just a few years ago the present Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) from this side of the House, laughed me to scorn because we were treating for a market for Canada amongst the 'black people of the West Indies.' A few years ago, the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) declared:

He lucidly set forth the foolishness of thinking of substituting for our natural market of sixty-five millions, the establishment of trade relations with Peru, with Chili, with Patagonia and the West Indies. He would as soon lief send an ambassador to negotiate trade relations with the Esquimaux.

The present Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies, then Mr. Davies) said:

You hear certain politicians who never engaged in trade in their lives, talking flippantly about opening up new markets in other countries. When a great political party declares that its policy consists in obstructing trade with our natural markets, and then tells us they want to open up markets with China, Japan, Timbuctoo, I almost lose my patience. New markets indeed! You have a market to the south of you where everything you can draw out of the sea or delve from the mines or grow from the soil, will find a ready and profitable sale.

The present Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), declared:

Mr. Foster has gone to Jamaica to try and get a market for the manufacturers. . . . They have cut themselves off from our best markets in the United States, and are obliged to seek for others. I said that Mr. Foster had gone to Jamaica to find a new market. The flippant way they speak of these new markets is simply trifling with the matter. These new markets, Jamaica, South America, China and Japan, come in at

the tail of the list with a fraction of 1 per cent of our commerce; the United States, at the head of the list, takes one-half our whole commerce.

The hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), said :

It is absurd to talk about developing trade with the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America, when these markets are so insignificant compared with the United States markets.

And here we find these same gentlemen sending delegates to South Africa and to Mexico and to Trinidad, and for all I know, to Timbuctoo, in order to open up markets for trade. They have been in power for three years ; let us ask ourselves upon what we can congratulate these hon. gentlemen. They came in with the most definite pledges. They were pledged to a reduction of taxation, pledged to a reduction of debt, pledged to a reduction of expenditure. They were pledged to independence of parliament ; they were pledged to the purity of the elector : they were pledged to give prohibition if the will of the people so declared, they were pledged to the reform of the Senate—and what not ! How have they carried out these pledges ? Look at their expenditure, as I detailed it before this House. Look at the debt continually increasing. Behold the taxation leaping up by four millions a year. See the independence of parliament with the right hon. gentleman at the head of this House reading out some twelve or fifteen names of men who are members of parliament, and who have been given their reward, and who sat here in this House, some of them, with the promise of reward in their pockets. Talk of the purity of the electorate. Last year, the right hon. gentleman gave way to a demand for investigation into electoral frauds in Brockville and West Huron. This session, when much had been proved, and much more remains to be proved, the hon. gentleman throws his own weight and the whole weight of his party to prevent an inquiry before an independent committee of this House as to the enormities which accompanied these elections. Talk of the purity of the electorate, when the infamous machine has been running, when the gentleman who was its father, so to speak, and its manager, worked it until he grew afraid to work it longer, and then was taken up by this government and given the highest position in the Department of Immigration. Talk about giving the people their will in regard to prohibition. They said to the people : Form yourselves into armies ; fight this question out at the polls : and if the result is to secure an expression from the electorate in favour of prohibition, the will of the people shall be carried out. All this when the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who leads the House, and the present Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) had sat themselves down together in 1893 and, in secret conclave, had come to an arrangement that they would not consider the will of the people as

expressed unless there was a majority of all the voters upon the lists—and refused to inform the people of the agreement they had made until the battle was fought and the votes were counted. What about this reform of the Senate ? How it lags. One session, two sessions, three sessions, and yet nothing done. Where are the large lines of their policy, the new markets they were going to open ? Have they opened one ? No, not one. In all the wide round of the world's traffic there is not a port, there is not a settlement with a thousand people that is to-day open to the trade of this country on any advantageous terms as compared with what it was in 1896. They have succeeded in placing barriers against the trade of Canada in more countries than one. But as to new markets, where are they ? The reciprocity we were promised has not been gained. Once they have got what they wanted out of it as an agitation, and got the jaunt out of it with an expenditure of \$36,000, they come coolly back to this country and make the admission that after all they don't think there is any sentiment in this country worth while that wants reciprocity with the United States. Sir, as before they got into power any road to get there was good enough for them, so since they have got into power, any policy which keeps them there is a good enough policy for them. On October 4, 1899, the right hon. gentleman thought that the policy of delay, and of hindrance, and of prohibition of the help of this country being given to the British flag and power in South Africa was the right card to play before the people, and they played it. Then when they found, as in 1891, that the people's voice was against this, as it was against their programme then, they quickly shifted round, and now nothing is too loyal or too patriotic for the hon. gentlemen to say or do. We are thankful for the change. We wish it had taken place on the grounds of a more solid principle, or rather wish that there never had been an occasion for a change with hon. gentlemen opposite in this respect.

Sir, if I cannot congratulate the Liberal party on their lines of policy, their fulfilment, their execution and their legislation, I can congratulate the Liberal-Conservative party on many things. I can congratulate the Liberal-Conservative party on having had strong convictions on great lines of policy for the building up and development of this country, steadily held while in opposition and whilst in power, and until they saw their fulfilment, and they are sitting here now on this side of the House after they have been fulfilled, and are beholding the edifying spectacle of hon. gentlemen opposite who opposed every one of them, now conceding that these are good and great helps to Canada, and worthy of the power and enterprise and genius of this century. The Conservative party built on good strong lines of foundation and their work remains. No

party, no people in this country are prouder and gladder to see the splendid fulfilment of the results of their twenty long years of work than is the Liberal-Conservative party, though their opponents sit in the seats of office. But, Sir, without any envy of these hon. gentlemen, but rather with commiseration, the Liberal-Conservative party of this country does not propose to change its principles because it is in opposition. Take its trade principle. It believed in it in 1876, it believed in it in 1879, and put it on the statute-book. It stood by it from 1879 to 1896, it went right on, and to-day it stands in opposition on that principle, well knowing that the voice of the people will fully recognize consistency and conviction in great lines of political action.

Sir, more than all I can congratulate our country, Canada, on the position which she holds to-day, young and strong and hopeful, with her face towards the rising sun, and her bosom filled with high thoughts and lofty ambitions. Sir, this Canada of ours was not born in a day, she was not brought forth in a single hour. This Canada of ours, like all other countries that have become great, has had her long period of brooding and preparation, as I said this afternoon, even under clouds and through difficulties. But as sure as she has had her period of preparation, she is coming out to-day into the period of splendid growth and splendid development which shall continue on this half of the American continent for many and many a long century to come.

What are the great causes that have played their part in building up this new nation of the north? First, there was political and geographical unity. There were no natural difficulties which daunted the people of this country, and which prevented them from achieving the political and geographical unity of this country. To-day that is accomplished, natural barriers have been overcome, difficulties between the provinces in interprovincial communication have been vanquished, and to-day that unity is not simply written upon paper, but is an entity strong and vigorous, which has come to remain, and upon which a splendid development in the future shall be built. But, Sir, there is a unity, if not a blending, of race and of creed in this country. There may never come a time when the races and creeds of this country will blend one with the other; but there is coming a time, there is now a time, and there will always be a time, I believe, in which unity can exist between people of different races and different creeds, with perfect respect the one for the other, and perfect unanimity of feeling on the great lines of citizenship and public endeavour. There is a unity, too, through lines of communication, like the veins and arteries of the body, through which the distant parts of our country shall have their life blood of thought and of commercial activity constantly flowing and returning.

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The veins and arteries are the great lines of railway communication, the majestic and spacious rivers of our country, improved for the purposes of navigation, by the expenditure of our money, the telegraph and telephone lines, and all these myriad means of communication which make trade and thought a common factor and a common inheritance from one end of this country to the other. That is a unity in the production of which the Liberal-Conservative party has played no mean part, and in the promotion of which I hope in the future the Liberal party as well, during its term in power, whether it be long or short, will work with equal fervour and with equal success.

Then, there is what you might call the unity of a broad and co-existent action of the people on the lines of labour and of industry. No more inviting influence was ever brought into action in this country of Canada than our great lines of national industry, protected though they had to be at first. Because, in these diversified industries of the country, the common heritage of our people, the common source from which they shall draw that which keeps themselves and their families, making their homes comfortable, their lots pleasant in this country, this community of labour in industrial work is something that binds this country together and upon the possession of which this country may well congratulate itself. There is also a unity of allegiance and loyalty within Canada and within the bounds of the empire. On this auspicious occasion we, in this House can assume that there is not a man, sitting here to-night, representing well the people and the feelings of the people of this country, who does not feel a throb of loyal ambition when the name of his own country, Canada, is spoken, and who does not feel that sense quickened when he knows that over and above and around this country there is the great Imperial power presided over by the matchless Queen, to whom we all give our homage and unswerving loyalty.

How, like a romance, reads this history of Canada! Four centuries ago, so far as governmental lines were concerned, what now forms the Dominion of Canada was without form and void, though beautiful and strong in its vast and undeveloped possibilities, caught in distant and infrequent glimpses by the daring voyageur travelling unknown seas in search of unknown lands. Three centuries ago the spirit of European adventure brooded here and there—sowing, in scattered places, the seeds of a new civilization which gradually spread from section to section, to our great lakes, westward, to our prairies and across the mountains, until it came to be dominant and strong in that part of this North American continent which now forms the Dominion of Canada. One and a half centuries ago the people of this country were settling the sovereignty of this country along the borders to the south

of us down by the ports and coasts of the Atlantic, up along the line of the St. Lawrence, and ultimately on the Plains of Abraham, where Montcalm and Wolfe of glorious memory sanctified the valour, sealed the long compact of peace between two great races. Half a century ago we, placing in this country, the capstone of responsible government upon the remains of the old colonial rule, municipal lines were being laid in the different provinces, schools and colleges were being formed and the nucleus of these great productive industries which, to-day, dot this country from one end of it to the other, from Cape Breton to the Pacific coast, was being established. Thirty years ago the people of this country joined hands from sea to sea, rearing the dome of that great superstructure of the Dominion of Canada, beneath whose broad roof all the peoples of all the provinces entered into a common home under a new system. To-day we are here, five millions of sturdy, enterprising, energetic people, with our lines of railway, 20,000 miles in extent, running through every portion of the country, taking us across the prairies, overtopping the mountains and giving us a great highway from ocean to ocean; with our prairies yielding themselves to the art of the farmer and the cultivator; with our broad forests, which give up their annual resources and income to the strong and able men who work in them; with our mines, which are developing untold and unthought of wealth—untold as yet, unthought of by any up to the present time. Self-contained and self-governed, we look complacently on the past history of the country, enjoy the present and look to the future with hope, ambition and pride. Gradually, in these later years, she has awakened and heard, as it were, a voice calling in the night, the first ring of the anthem which British voices are now singing around the wide world, the anthem of inter-Imperial unity, of interest and mutual solicitude. Gradually she is growing and has grown responsive to the spirit of that prophecy which tells of peace, security, resting on the broad basis of a world-wide and invincible power. Gradually we have been rising to the regal dignity of a citizenship born here, centred here, but, bounded in its sphere of action only by the farthest limits of Britain's Imperial sway, ready to defend our own at home, ready to strike for the flag and the empire wherever danger threatens, or wherever duty calls.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether it would be unfair to suggest that when the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) who has just sat down was, unhappily, overtaken by illness and unable to reply to the speech of the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), on Friday night, the illness in question was an illness, not of the flesh, but of the spirit.

I have no doubt whatever that the hon. gentleman and his friends beside him found the budget so ably and lucidly presented by the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) an extremely hard pill to swallow. Seven millions and a half of surplus, a volume of trade rising, within four years, from a little over \$200,000,000 to an estimate of well-nigh \$400,000,000 in the approaching year, all the evidences that could well be imagined, all evidences that the hon. gentleman had ever piled together in former years, as evidence of wealth and prosperity, doubled, trebled, quadrupled, negotiations opened for the purpose of extending our trade relations with an important sister colony the securities of Canada admitted within the charmed circle open for investment for all trusts and last of all, and worst of all for these hon. gentlemen, the proof that we still adhere to the letter to the preference we have accorded to the mother country. The hon. gentleman has intimated, on more than one occasion, that times have changed. You and I, Mr. Speaker, can both remember the time when we had to battle with the beasts at Ephesus, and when we had to confront the Conservative cohorts advancing in line to the cheerful slogan of 'the old flag' and an appropriation. Sir, unhappily, the appropriations are not for them; still more unhappily the old flag at long last cleansed and purified, has been rescued in fair fight from the hands of the miscreants who traded on it, and degraded it, and the old flag now waves brighter and purer and loftier than ever, over the ranks of the men who, first among colonists, have granted voluntarily of their own free will, a substantial preference and advantage to the goods and merchants of the motherland. I fear that the dose administered by my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), affected—to judge from the speech we have just heard—not merely the digestion, but the temper of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster). It is my private suspicion, that, however ill he may have been, this is a case in which he suffers more from a diseased mind than from a diseased body. And, Sir, it may interest the House to know that my diagnosis of his case is fortified by the opinion of a very eminent specialist, no less than Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who, as the House probably knows, had most uncommonly good opportunities for studying in times past, the mental evolution and the nature and habits of the hon. member for the county of York (Mr. Foster). I am afraid that the malady of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), is serious. The symptoms are bad. More particularly ever since he got on the other side of the House, I have observed one characteristic and dangerous symptom. It seems to be impossible for that hon. gentleman to utter an exalted sentiment (and he is very fond of uttering exalted sentiments), without making use of it as a sort of shoeing horn for some particu-

larly nasty insinuation. It is a sad symptom of the mental aberration which I deplore, that we find in the hon. gentleman's case, that words like 'candour,' 'purity,' 'loyalty,' 'honesty,' are perpetually present in his mouth and perpetually absent from his heart. It is another bad symptom. I am afraid, that we find almost invariably the loftiest professions are but the precursors of very low practices on his part. And, it is a bad symptom that he appears to be, in stating a case, unable to see straight or to speak straight. He really is physically incapable of making any statement, without suppressing a great many material and important facts, and which, you will observe, Mr. Speaker, is very frequently the case in these instances of mental aberration, the patient always suspects other people and accuses other people of doing the very things which he is constantly doing himself.

I do not know whether you remember, Sir, that very remarkable chapter on the Association of Ideas, which figures so conspicuously in the works of the philosopher Locke. To the best of my recollection, that philosopher devoted a very considerable section of his famous work to explaining how extraordinary was the association of ideas in men's minds, and if I remember aright, he was specially emphatic on the point, that certain scents or perfumes in some extraordinary fashion always seem to be associated in men's minds, with incidents and events with which they had no apparent connection. It is a very curious and singular fact, that for long I have been unable to listen to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), without being irresistibly reminded of the poet Tennyson. I grant that it appears a most irrelevant thing. I grant that it is scarcely possible to conceive an hon. gentleman, who in looks and manner is less like the worthy Knights of the Round Table celebrated by the poet laureate, but so it is. I never could listen to a speech made by the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), without being irresistibly reminded of the poet Tennyson and of the poet's famous lines :

A lie that is all a lie, can be met with and fought outright,
But a lie that is half the truth is a harder battle to fight.

Now, Sir, we will admit frankly, (*nihil humanum a me alienum puto*), that the hon. gentleman's luck is hard. I sympathize with him from the very bottom of my heart. I myself have known what it is to have had hard luck, but, Sir, that is, after all, the fortune of war, and the hon. gentleman must learn to bear it. Still I sympathize, not so much, perhaps, with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), as with his colleague, the hon. Baronet, who leads the opposition. Just fancy, Mr. Speaker, if that hon. gentleman in his time, had had a sur-

plus of \$7,500,000, how the welkin would have rung. Just fancy had the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), had the luck to preside over the colonial Premiers at the diamond jubilee of Her Gracious Majesty, how he would have glorified his office, and how he must feel that it was the cruellest turn of fortune that took away from him both the surplus and the chance of figuring conspicuously before the eyes of assembled Anglo-Saxondum in London. I have said it was the fortune of war, and here let me recall to my elder colleagues what occurred in 1878. It is no news to them, that if ever there was a government, and if ever there was a man, who were made scapegoats for the sins and follies of their predecessors, it was Mr. Mackenzie, and Mr Mackenzie's administration. I remember very well, how, when the Mackenzie administration was formed, we inherited from these hon. gentlemen—some of them now before me—or from their predecessors, legacies which might well have appalled any government. We came into office in 1873, to find that \$5,000,000 a year had been added to the annual expenditure of Canada, for which not one farthing's provision had been made. We came into office to find liabilities incurred to the tune of \$100,000,000, for which no provision whatever had been made, and here let me point out that \$5,000,000 a year in those days, and \$100,000,000, were far more than would have been an addition of \$10,000,000 a year, or of \$200,000,000 to our general public debt to-day. And, Sir, immediately almost, after we were well settled in office, we were called upon to face one of the most tremendous and world-wide depressions of trade that ever rolled over the English-speaking world. Great Britain not excepted. A little while ago, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), talked of the financial cyclone that had struck the United States between 1892 and 1895. I was through both of these periods, and I can tell him that the depression that prevailed in the United States between 1873 and 1878, compared with the depression from 1892 to 1895, is as the Rocky Mountains to the hills on the other side of the Gatineau. Then we had to wrestle with a great fall in values and inevitably with a great loss of revenue, and lastly, we had to face three bad harvests in succession. Now, what did the hon. gentleman's friends, and what did the hon. gentleman's colleagues do under those circumstances? He has been appealing to us, not now for the first time, but scores of times within the last few years for indulgence and consideration because his deficits were due to circumstances which neither he nor any other government could control. He has been appealing to us over and over again for indulgence on the very grounds, only by no manner of means so well established as those on which we might well have pleaded for indulgence in the time to which I have

alluded. I am in the judgment of those hon. gentlemen who sat in parliament with me in those days, when I ask, did these hon. gentlemen under those circumstances ever dream of making any fair allowance, or any allowance at all, for the misfortunes to which the Mackenzie government were exposed? Did they admit that the causes mentioned were beyond the control of any government? It is not too much to say that the way in which they aided us was by doing everything that malice and misrepresentation could imagine to inflame the passions of the ignorant masses against us for misfortunes that could be averted by no possible exertion on our part. I well recollect that there was nothing that these hon. gentlemen did not stoop to in those days. I well recollect that they induced manufacturers who were carrying on their business at a reasonable profit to suspend operations for the purpose of inflaming their operatives against the Liberal party. I remember well that Parliament square was filled with a howling mob, not one of whom appeared to be hungry, but a great many of whom appeared to be drunk, brought there, I believe, hired to come there, for the purpose of creating a popular uproar against the Mackenzie government. I remember when an Orange demonstration was engineered in the city of Montreal for the express purpose of setting religion against religion and race against race if it were to the detriment of the Liberal party. What did these men care then, or what do they care now if the streets of Montreal were to run red provided always that they scored a point against a Liberal administration. Mark, Mr. Speaker, the moment the Conservative party came into office all these demonstrations ceased, and I believe I am correct in saying that from that day to this no Orange procession has flaunted itself in the streets of Montreal.

Mr. WALLACE. That is where you are mistaken. There have been many since then.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. When?

Mr. WALLACE. I took part in them myself.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I stand corrected if I am mistaken. My recollections, of course, chiefly refer to the dozen or fourteen succeeding years during which I am sure the utmost peace and order was observed on the part of that magnanimous order as regards the inhabitants of Montreal. Now, these hon. gentlemen who, as everybody knows, held us liable for the short crops that occurred, who held us liable for the collapse of trade in the United States and in England, who would admit no plea, listen to no argument,

turned their backs on their own policy; for I am speaking what is perfectly well known to every man here who has paid any attention to the history of Canada, when I say that until after they were elected in 1878, they never avowed that they intended to introduce a policy of protection. I know what Sir John Macdonald stated; I saw his telegram to Mr. Boyd, in which he declared that he did not intend to increase, but only to readjust the taxation. I have no objection, for my part, to the severest criticism which these hon. gentlemen can bring to bear if only that criticism is fair and intelligent; and I think the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster), might do good service to the state if he would betake himself to something like reasonable and fair criticism of such a speech as that delivered by my hon. friend the Finance Minister, which speech I may remark he did not pretend to answer in all the four and a half hours he devoted to it this afternoon. The hon. gentleman is able, he is industrious, he is a good debater, if only he would only learn to condense his everlasting speeches a little. I trust that he will not take it amiss if I say that I believe that even on his own side there was a feeling of infinite satisfaction when that speech became an accomplished fact, as he tells us the preferential tariff is likely to be.

Now, Sir, I am bound to say that the speech of the hon. gentleman deserves some considerable attention at our hands. I may define it briefly as a magazine of misstatements. Nevertheless, I purpose to pay the hon. gentleman the compliment—and I hope he will appreciate it—of analysing it in considerable detail. So far as I was able to listen to it, and I endeavoured to bring my attention to bear upon it, I think every sophistry, every perversion of fact, every piece of trickery and juggling of figures that has been strung together by himself or his worthy colleagues since the commencement of this session has been in one shape or another embodied in that speech. I purpose to take the hon. gentleman's assertions, his suppressions of facts, his unfair inferences, and I purpose to deal with them all seriatim and in due order. It may take time, but it is necessary that that time should be given.

In the first place, I want to deal, not at much length, with the charge of inconsistency which the hon. gentleman has brought against myself and against other hon. gentlemen on this side, in that we admit a different policy in the matter of expenditure to be justifiable now, in 1900, from that which we admitted in 1895. Sir, I say here, as I said before, that the Liberal party were perfectly right then and they are perfectly right now. The circumstances of the case called imperatively in the loudest possible tones for strict and rigid economy in 1895; the circumstances of the case warrant free and judicious outlay for proper purposes in 1900. The hon. gentleman is perhaps not

aware of a few facts which I think he ought to be made aware of, with respect to the position in 1895, and the position in 1900. As the House knows, I have always called attention from both sides of the House to the extreme danger in a country like this of allowing our fixed charges to increase in too great a ratio to the ordinary expenditure of Canada. I want to present to this House a very brief statement which will show them, without going into minute detail, what sort of position we had got into in 1895, and how thoroughly just were the criticisms I and others levelled against the policy of the government at that time. In 1895 the gross receipts of Canada for consolidated revenue purposes were \$33,978,000. The charges for collection of revenue amounted to \$9,115,000, and the fixed charges, including the treaty obligations to Indians, interest, sinking fund and subsidies, amounted to \$18,000,000. In all \$27,115,000 had to be paid out of \$33,978,000 before you had a farthing available for ordinary purposes. The balance in our hands at the expiration of that year amounted therefore to \$6,863,000 for all purposes.

Under the estimates submitted by my hon. friend for the year 1901, our charges for collection for revenue will amount to \$10,725,000, and our fixed charges to \$18,800,000, making a total of \$29,525,000; and if my hon. friend's expectations are realized, as there is every reason to believe they will be, we will have available for our ordinary expenditure, not \$6,800,000, but \$21,475,000. I take it that hon. gentlemen on the other side are not children or fools. Do they presume to tell us that the same line of policy with regard to details of expenditure ought to be pursued when your whole available revenue is less than \$7,000,000, which is justified when your available revenue exceeds \$21,000,000? Do they think that there is no ground for a new departure when we exchange a deficit of \$4,900,000, such as we had in 1875, for an estimated surplus of \$7,500,000, such as exists in this year? Do they think that the expansion of trade from \$224,000,000 to the sum it is estimated we will approach next year, about \$4,000,000, is no ground for adopting a more liberal policy of expansion now than we deemed it wise to adopt then? There is not a man in all Canada who will pretend to say that a person whose income is suddenly raised from \$1,000 to \$3,000 a year will not be fully justified in indulging in many items of expenditure which, on an income of \$1,000, would be gross extravagance. There is the best and the only answer I deem it necessary to give this absurd charge of inconsistency on our part. It is perfectly true that very gross extravagance did prevail before our advent to power, especially in the way of increasing the fixed charges of Canada to the extent they were increased in the years preceding our entrance into office. That is perfectly true.

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but, all the same, the conditions have so wholly changed between 1895 and 1901 that there is no justification for saying that because we advocated a line of economical conduct then, we are inconsistent in advocating a reasonable increase of expenditure now. Moreover, then, as the hon. gentleman admitted, there was a period of almost complete stagnation, while, as he also knows, we are now in a period of very general expansion and prosperity, I am happy to say.

And here I desire to note one very remarkable difference between the prosperity that now exists and the prosperity that was claimed to exist from 1878 to 1896. I deny the claim made by those hon. gentlemen that Canada prospered under their national policy. I say that Canada did not prosper as a whole, although it may be true that certain individual localities, and a certain favoured few, did succeed in reaping considerable prosperity from the impositions laid on the country. But, so far as the so-called prosperity did exist, that prosperity, I repeat, was partial and artificial. It was confined to a small class, the great masses had no share in it, and to all intents and purposes it was that kind of prosperity which consists of robbing Peter to enrich Paul. If ever one man's gain was another's loss, it was under the policy of high taxation initiated by those hon. gentlemen and to a great extent happily redressed by us. What was the condition of things in Canada during that period? Is there a man here representing an agricultural constituency who can gainsay my statement, that during that long period agriculture was depressed to a degree never before known in Canada. From Canada our people were fleeing, not at the rate of tens or hundreds of thousands, but of millions all told. Is there any man who knows anything of the real condition of Canada who will deny that all over Canada at that time debt was increasing, mortgages were increasing, lands were sinking in value, and often absolutely unsaleable besides.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is one of your blue-ruin speeches dressed up again.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Not at all, it is the speech of one who is speaking with the knowledge derived from handling transactions amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars affecting the agriculturists of Canada. Compare the situation now. Where is the farmer, the miner, the lumberman, the manufacturer, the merchant, in Canada who is not prosperous and satisfied with the condition of things to-day? Sir, I am happy to be able to say that almost all those conditions to which I have referred have been completely reversed in the last three or four years. Throughout all Canada agriculture is thriving, land is rising in value and finds plenty of purchasers now, where before you might

have put up a dozen of farms without receiving a single bid. I am happy in being able to say that the records of the loan companies show that our farmers are paying off their mortgages, that the exodus is at an end, that trade is expanding in all directions, that new sources of wealth are opening up on every side, and that at last we have entered on an era of prosperity such as Canada was hoping for and was promised many a long year, but has never enjoyed until the Liberal party were returned to power.

I want to say a few words on one of what I must call the very disingenuous statements made by the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster). The House may have noticed that in comparing expenditures between this government and the last, he was exceeding careful to select the year 1896, knowing, as he well knew, that the accounts for that year had been deliberately cooked so as to make them wholly unreliable as a means of comparison. That has been exposed again and again on the floor of this House. Not once, but fifty times, has it been pointed out that the hon. gentleman's actual expenditure for 1885 amounted to considerably over \$38,000,000, that his original main estimates for 1897 amounted to \$38,358,000, and that over and above all these he was prepared, had his main estimates passed, to bring down other supplementary estimates to the extent of over \$3,000,000. Yet, he is not ashamed—he, an ex-Finance Minister—to stand up and give the House to understand that he had reduced the expenditure to a matter of \$37,000,000. How did he do that? By starving two of the most important services Canada has to deal with, by so reducing the expenditure on militia as to make the whole outlay for that year practically useless, by so reducing the expenditure on public works as to have since involved us in very large and heavy expenditure for the repairing of injuries to public works caused by his senseless parsimony for the purpose of making a false balance in 1896.

Let me give the House a little sample of the sort of expenditure which that hon. gentleman was prepared to inflict upon us had his party succeeded in returning to power. I have here a list of harbours and rivers for Nova Scotia appearing in the supplemental estimates prepared by the hon. gentleman, as supplemental only for 1897, which foot up to \$648,890, while his total supplemental estimates for that year amounted to \$3,180,000, making, as I have said, something like \$41,500,000 which he was prepared to ask for the service of the year 1897, if he and his party had been, unhappily, continued in power. I remember perfectly well the excuse that the hon. gentleman gave for refusing to be bound by these estimates. He told us that these had been submitted to council but had not been passed. My answer to that is that he and his friends

are entirely estopped from disputing these estimates for the excellent and sufficient reason that they made use of these estimates on the hustings and for electioneering purposes during the general election. This is the gentleman who arises here and pretends to make an honest comparison of the rate of expenditure between 1896 and 1897 and the expenditure incurred by my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding). And more than that, I call the attention of the House to note that all through these calculations of his he took most excellent good care to suppress the most material fact, that of our additional expenditure, a very large proportion (by much the larger proportion) consisted of some services which he had not to provide for, and which were in the strictest sense of the term, cross-entries, because we returned to the public treasury without taxing the people a full equivalent for the sums we took out, whether they were for sinking fund, for a expenditure in the Yukon, for additional services on the railways or for any of several other purposes that I have not time now to enumerate. These facts alone, I think, will be amply sufficient to show the House that I am perfectly justified in saying that the statements and comparisons the hon. gentleman has made, even in those comparatively rare cases where they are correct in themselves, are utterly vitiated by his inveterate practice of suppressing all material facts which it is necessary to bring to the attention of the House for the purpose of obtaining anything like a fair or accurate comparison as to the expenditure of the two governments. Now, I do not think it would be fair to the House or possible for me to enter upon a minute analysis of the hon. gentleman's statements at this moment; but there are one or two things which, before I move the adjournment of the debate, I would like to call attention to. The hon. gentleman was good enough to dwell at great length on a speech made by me in 1888. Well, Sir, I stand by the speech I made in 1888, though I am not prepared to say that twelve years afterwards under a different condition of circumstances, I would be disposed to advocate the policy which then would have been advantageous to the country. All that I wish to call the attention of the House to is this—that the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) who sits beside him was Finance Minister at that time. It fell by right to his lot to answer the speech made by me at that time. But the hon. gentleman had one advantage over his colleague of being a medical man, and so of having the power to put himself on the sick list. This he did and until the debate was concluded, and never rose in his place to answer, to oppose the arguments I brought forward in favour of unrestricted reciprocity. If the hon. gentleman condemns my friend, the Minister of Marine (Sir Louis Davies) for declaring that it

would be the easiest thing and the most desirable thing to obtain reciprocity within a few months. I think my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) beside me, can bear me witness that during the election of 1878, the main argument by which the hon. baronet sought to convince the electors of the lower provinces that his policy was likely to be right and wise was his declaration that if they would carry out the policy he proposed he would obtain reciprocity for them in less than two years.

Now, the hon. gentleman told us that the purchases made by England from the United States were enormously in excess of those made from Canada. Quite true. It is extremely probable that England, in dealing with over seventy millions of people, would buy more than she buys from the five or six millions of Canada. But the hon. gentleman undertook to analyse the matter, and I took down his figures, which, I believe, are tolerably correct. He showed that England bought about \$300,000,000 of food stuffs and bread stuffs from the seventy or seventy-five millions of people in the United States, averaging about \$4 per head, while she bought from us, with our five and a half millions, about \$62,000,000 worth, or over \$11 per head from us as against \$4 per head from the United States. So, in proportion to our population, we supply England with three times as much as the United States, and our exportation to England, as everybody knows, is very rapidly on the increase. And, as an hon. friend reminds me, there is an extreme probability that a very considerable proportion of the exports credited to the United States are really Canadian products which go through that country.

Now, Sir, I would like to know what the hon. gentleman proposes to do about this preference. He was good enough to tell us that it was a fair question to ask him what they were going to do about it and that it was a question that must be answered—and he immediately proceeded to dodge it and evade it, and has given us no answer, unless it be that we are to interpret his statement that an accomplished fact is an accomplished fact to mean that he and his friends are afraid to lift their little finger against it. The hon. gentleman, the other evening, I am told—I had not the pleasure of being present—read an amendment which he proposed, as I understand, with the full concurrence of his party to move in opposition to our policy and explaining and defining theirs. Where is that amendment? Are we not to have it? Surely, the hon. gentleman who read it from his place in this House is not going to delegate the moving of so important an amendment to another and secondary hand. Or, does my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) think that so grave and solemn a task is one that he should not commit even to so trusty a subordinate? The hon. gentleman told us

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that the Liberal-Conservative party never changed its principles. Well, that may be—that may be. Some people would say there would be a difficulty in changing what did not exist. But when he goes on to tell us that the Liberal-Conservative party went out on principle, I must beg to differ from him. I understood that that section of the Liberal-Conservative party to which he belongs went out on strike. Mr. Speaker, having some consideration for the length of time this House has been listening to these financial statements, I think I will not inflict on you any more of them at present, and I will move the adjournment of this debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT—ELECTORAL LISTS.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). The Prime Minister promised us last night to give us some information at a later date with regard to the preparation of the lists. Is he now prepared to say what progress is being made?

The PRIME MINISTER. What lists are printed—is that it?

Mr. MONTAGUE. If the right hon. gentleman will tell us what lists are printed, we will be delighted to know, and when we may expect the rest of them.

The PRIME MINISTER. There is a question on the paper to-morrow afternoon, and probably by that time I will be able to give some information.

Mr. MONTAGUE. If the right hon. gentleman will also tell us what time they will be wanted?

The PRIME MINISTER. My hon. friend is too inquisitive.

SELECTIONS FOR THE STAFF COURSE.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) I want to prefer a request for the papers asked from the Department of Militia and Defence in reference to the appointments to the staff course, or the selection for the staff course. I do not think we ought to be asked to wait any longer for these papers. Unless they are down, I shall certainly renew my request in another way. It would not take five minutes to bring them down. I have been told that people who have been to the department to inquire, have been virtually answered: It is none of your business, the minister has other things to attend to, you fellows are always wanting papers, and you will get them when we are ready to give

them to you. Now, the officers in that department are the officers of this country.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). I do not think the hon. gentleman has any right to make that statement. Nobody in the department could have used such language. Will the hon. gentleman give me the officer's name?

Mr. FOSTER. I do not choose to do it.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Then you had better not make a statement of that kind here in the House.

Mr. FOSTER. I will make any statement I please right here in the House, and I will make a great many more statements before this session is over.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The Minister of Militia and Defence says that nobody returned such an answer. Will he tell us on what authority he makes that statement?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I said I would like to know the name of the officer who made any such statement as that repeated by the member for York (Mr. Foster).

THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to ask if the Public Accounts Committee is going to meet at all during this session?

The PRIME MINISTER. I have called the attention of the chairman to it, and I will call his attention to it again to-morrow.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE BUDGET DEBATE.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Before the House adjourns, I would like to ask my right hon. friend what course is proposed, with reference to the budget debate. The usual practice has been to go on continuously with the debate until it is closed.

The PRIME MINISTER. By the rule of the House, this debate will be resumed again on Thursday. But I intend to put a notice on the paper to-morrow, that on Friday I will move to take Wednesday the rest of the session for government business. Therefore, next week, we expect to have the debate continue, if need be, for the four days, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. But, to-morrow is private members' day.

Mr. INGRAM. I think it is unfair to private members to take Wednesday away from us.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 11.00 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, March 28, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

RETURN.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). I would like to say to the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) that the return which he has asked for will be laid on the Table to-morrow.

HOCKLEY AND MONO CENTRE MAIL CONTRACT.

On the question (Mr. Davis),

Has the postmaster taken any action in connection with the transaction referred to in the following extract from the Supplementary Report of the Post Office Department for 1896?

HOCKLEY AND MONO CENTRE.

In renewing this contract without tender, the department had before it the statement of the inspector that the service could be obtained at a rate from \$90 to \$100 lower than the contract rate. As a matter of fact there was a tender in the department at the time the renewal was authorized which was \$121 per annum lower than the contract rate, the loss on the contract being \$484.

When the facts were brought to the attention of the present government it had the contract cancelled and tenders invited. The result has been that a contract is in operation for the same service at the rate of \$234 per annum, and a saving effected of \$136 per annum, or \$544 for the contract term.

The following tenders were received but not considered:

Louis Gunn	\$249 00
Robinson Holland	250 00
Robert Mills	279 00
S. R. Fleming	295 00
John Lee	300 00
James Fleming	325 00
R. J. Hackett	345 00
Thomas Hackett	349 00
Robert Colwell	370 00

(Correspondence.)

Lorraine, 3rd January, 1894.

Dear Sir,—Having tendered for carrying the mail between Hockley and Mono Centre for the sum of two hundred and seventy-nine dollars—\$279—per annum, I ask one favour from you to do what you can in regard of getting it for me, and I am sure I will try and give good satisfaction, and also carry according to the rule, which has not been done in the past, and also state that the old contractor is getting far too much salary for carrying it, and if the laws and rules were posted up in every post office so the public could see them, the mail carrier would not be imposed on so much.

ROBERT J. MILLS,

Some times assistant in Lorraine post office, Ontario.

Postmaster General.

4th January, 1894.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst., calling attention to your tender for the Hockley and Mono Centre mail service. In reply, I am to

say that when the tenders for this service are opened yours will have every consideration.

I am, &c.,

ARTHUR LINDSAY,

Mr. R. J. Mills, Superintendent.
Lorraine, Ont.

Ottawa, 25th January, 1894.

Dear Sir Adolphe,—I inclose you a communication that has been addressed to me by our warm friend who resides in Orangeville, Ont., Mr. J. S. Leighton. You will observe what he says about the contract for carrying the mail between Hockley and Mono Centre, that is again being tendered for by Mr. Caldwell. If you can renew this contract to Mr. Caldwell at the old figure I shall be very much obliged. Kindly drop me a line saying what you can do, and return the inclosed letter.

I am, faithfully yours,

N. CLARKE WALLACE.

Hon. Sir A. P. Caron,
Postmaster General, Ottawa.

(Inclosure.)

Box 104, Orangeville, 22nd January, 1894.

Dear Sir,—Mr. R. Caldwell has sent with this mail a tender for renewal of contract for carrying the mails from Hockley to Mono Centre. This tender is the same as the contract he already had.

I understand the parties who are tendering against him are McCarthyites and they deserve nothing at the hands of the Dominion government. Mr. R. Caldwell is and always was a thorough Conservative.

Yours very respectfully,

J. S. LEIGHTON.

N. C. Wallace, M.P.,
Controller of Customs.

Ottawa, 27th January, 1894.

My dear Mr. Wallace,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th inst., inclosing a letter from Mr. J. S. Leighton, recommending the renewal of the contract of Mr. R. Caldwell for the mail service between Hockley and Mono Centre.

In reply, I beg to say that in accordance with your recommendation, I have authorized that this contract may be renewed for a further term.

Yours faithfully,

ADOLPHE P. CARON.

N. C. Wallace, Esq., M.P.,
Controller of Customs, Ottawa.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Stand.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). No; I have the answer to the question here: The contract in this case was terminated and put up to tender, and a new contract let to the lowest tenderer at \$234 a year, thus effecting a saving of \$544 for the contract term.

EXPENDITURE CHARGEABLE TO CAPITAL.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. What was the amount of expenditure chargeable to capital for each of the following years, viz. :

Year ending June 30, 1896.
Year ending June 30, 1897.
Year ending June 30, 1898.
Year ending June 30, 1899.

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

2. What was the total amount of expenditure for each of said years?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The total expenditure on capital, railway subsidies, discount on loans and allowances to provinces, consolidated fund transfers, &c., being the classes of expenditure not chargeable to income, for each of the following years, was :

Year ended	
June 30, 1895.....	\$4,740,333 39
" 1896.....	7,147,241 89
" 1897.....	4,622,996 05
" 1898.....	6,501,755 36
" 1899.....	9,639,134 75

The expenditure chargeable to income for the same years was :

Year ended	
June 30, 1895.....	\$38,132,005 05
" 1896.....	36,949,142 03
" 1897.....	38,349,759 84
" 1898.....	38,832,525 70
" 1899.....	41,903,500 54

The total expenditure for years named was :

Year ended	
June 30, 1895.....	\$42,872,338 44
" 1896.....	44,096,383 92
" 1897.....	42,972,755 89
" 1898.....	45,334,281 06
" 1899.....	51,542,635 29

Mr. GEORGE E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) I beg leave to call attention to the fact that in this case the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) has given a great deal of information that he was not asked for, and also that he has misstated the expenditure for the year 1896.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) will, at the proper time, call my attention to any error, I shall be glad to correct it. I have no desire to state anything not in accordance with the facts. As to giving additional information, we discussed that the other day. I think I am entirely within the rules.

NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN GOVERNMENT, 1896.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Of how many members, with portfolio and salary, was the government composed of on June 23, 1896?

2. What was the aggregate yearly amount of the salaries of said members of the government?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). 1. Fourteen. 2. Ninety-five thousand dollars.

NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN GOVERNMENT AT PRESENT.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Of how many members, with portfolio and salary, is the present government composed of?

2. What is the aggregate yearly amount of the salaries of said members of the government?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). 1. Fourteen. 2. Ninety-nine thousand dollars.

MINISTERS' TRAVELLING EXPENSES AND CAB-HIRE.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

What was the yearly amount expended by the members of the government (a) for travelling expenses, (b) for cab-hire, distinguishing between both, for the following years, viz. :

- Year ending June 30, 1892.
- Year ending June 30, 1893.
- Year ending June 30, 1894.
- Year ending June 30, 1895.
- Year ending June 30, 1896.
- Year ending June 30, 1897.
- Year ending June 30, 1898.
- Year ending June 30, 1899.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The amounts expended during the undermentioned years by the members of the government, including the Controllers of Customs and Inland Revenue, and the Solicitor General, for travelling expenses and cab-hire, were as follows. In the amounts are not included the travelling expenses of members of the government in connection with the Behring Sea arbitration, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and the International Commission at Quebec and Washington :

Year ended	Travelling expenses.	Cab hire.	Total.
June 30, 1892.....	\$2,617 36	\$1,155 65	\$3,773 01
" 1893.....	7,777 77	1,036 82	8,814 59
" 1894.....	8,372 68	935 98	9,308 66
" 1895.....	7,786 94	1,137 60	8,924 54
" 1896.....	7,579 31	1,393 25	8,972 56
" 1897.....	7,603 54	585 80	8,189 34
" 1898.....	8,179 03	758 25	8,937 28
" 1899.....	5,044 34	706 15	5,750 49

SALES OF BINDER TWINE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

How much binder twine has been sold from the Kingston Penitentiary since September 1, 1899, up to March 1, 1900?

To whom has it been sold, and the number of pounds to each person or persons?

At what price or prices has it been sold?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). No twine was sold between the 1st September, 1899, to the 17th October, 1899, The following has since been sold, viz. :

Lot No. 1, 4,980 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 2, 20 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 3, 5 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 4, 5 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 5, 5

lbs. Standard ; lot No. 6, 60 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 7, 5 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 8, 5 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 9, 5 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 10, 50,040 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 11, 50,040 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 12, 60 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 13, 60 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 14, 60 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 15, 5 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 16, 5 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 17, 5 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 18, 30,000 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 19, 60 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 20, 60 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 21, 60 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 22, 60 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 23, 60 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 24, 60 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 25, 30,000 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 26, 50 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 27, 25 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 28, 25 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 29, 100 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 30, 50 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 31, 540 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 32, 480 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 33, 5 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 34, 100 lbs. Standard ; lot No. 35, 100 lbs. Beaver ; lot No. 36, 50 lbs. Maple Leaf ; lot No. 37, 50 lbs. Standard.

Since the manufacture of twine was begun in 1894, the price at which the product of the penitentiary was marketed, has been regarded as confidential until the close of the year's sales.

EXPORTS OF CATTLE, SHEEP AND HORSES.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

What is the number and value of cattle and sheep, respectively, exported from Canada to Great Britain during each calendar year since January 1, 1890?

What is the number and value of horses exported from Canada to Great Britain during each calendar year from January 1, 1890?

Mr. MONTAGUE. Had he not better move for the returns ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). I have them in condensed form here.

Mr. MONTAGUE. We asked some questions the other day similar to these, and we were asked to move for a return.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I do not remember that.

Mr. MONTAGUE. We remember it very well on this side of the House.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS :

	Horses.		Cattle.		Sheep.	
	Number.	Value.	Number.	Value.	Number.	Value.
		\$		\$		\$
1890.....	167	31,289	104,133	8,114,145	39,892	342,544
1891.....	1,619	228,854	99,967	7,381,284	31,982	276,995
1892.....	1,836	263,058	93,206	6,920,748	13,917	134,702
1893.....	2,297	302,937	88,854	6,799,638	6,598	56,524
1894.....	4,674	501,904	83,408	6,794,490	116,802	1,186,411
1895.....	13,461	1,356,500	106,654	7,624,131	248,075	1,867,089
1896.....	15,081	1,496,913	100,204	6,316,303	73,708	342,369
1897.....	14,860	1,472,862	131,289	7,941,752	76,044	423,840
1898.....	7,436	747,252	112,260	6,790,029	53,066	272,699
1899.....	6,182	623,173	113,739	7,399,372	83,443	489,123

RAW MATERIAL OF BINDING TWINE.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

What was the price paid by the penitentiary authorities at Kingston for each quality of raw material purchased since July 1, 1898, giving the price of New Zealand, Manila and sisal separately?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I cannot give to my hon. friend the information he asks for. It is the policy of the department, not to state the prices at which the raw material was purchased until after the product has been disposed of.

THE FRANKING PRIVILEGE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

1. Is the government aware that Mr. Charles A. Gauvreau, M.P. for Temiscouata, is using his privilege as a member of this House to frank through the mails daily to all parts of Canada and the United States thousands of copies of a circular announcing the publication of a work by Mr. Wilfrid Larose, président de l'école littéraire de Montréal?

2. Is the government aware that cart-loads of these circulars are being shipped to Ottawa to the said C. A. Gauvreau, M.P., to be franked by him through the mails to persons in Canada and the United States?

3. Is the government aware that the said C. A. Gauvreau, M.P., has organized a staff of persons to assist in the work of addressing and franking immense quantities of these business circulars through the mails?

4. Is the government aware whether the said C. A. Gauvreau, M.P., in order to more effectually accomplish the task of franking said business circulars of Mr. Larose's work, has caused facsimiles of his signature to be prepared on stamping machines and has entrusted the use of such stamping devices to others to be used in franking the business circulars of the said Wilfrid Larose?

5. On such communications addressed to persons in the United States and franked with the frank of the said C. A. Gauvreau, has the government, or the officials of the Ottawa post office, to affix postage stamps?

6. Does the government intend to adopt any, and if so, what steps to prevent the said C. A. Gauvreau, M.P., from franking broadcast throughout the Dominion and the United States, at the expense of the whole people, business notices relating to the publication of Mr. Larose's book? If not, why not?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). The government is not aware of the matters inquired about in the various portions of this question, with the exception of item 5. Speaking generally, it may be said, that under the Postal Union laws, all letters transmitted from one country to another should be stamped with the postage stamps of the country of origin.

CARRIAGE OF MAILS TO BELGRAVE POST OFFICE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

Were tenders called for for conveying the mail from and to the Belgrave post office to the station?

Mr. PATERSON.

If so, who were the parties tendering, and what was the amount of each tender?

Was the contract let to the lowest tenderer?

When were tenders called for, and on what date did the time expire for receiving tenders?

What is the date of each tender received?

Did any party tender more than once; if so, who, and what was the date of their tender?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). Tenders were called for a contract to commence on the 1st October, 1899, for the mail service between Belgrave post office and the railway station, the tenders being due to be opened on the 14th July, 1899. The following were the tenders received, with the dates on which they reached the department :

William Hobbs, \$100, received 4th July, 1899; Sarah Tufts, \$134, received 12th July, 1899; Wm. Bone, \$138, received 10th July, 1899; J. Scandrett, \$142, received 12th July, 1899. Mrs. Sarah Tufts, the former contractor, having applied for the contract at the rate of the lowest tender, \$100, and the inspector having reported that the mail service had been performed by Mrs. Tufts in a very satisfactory manner, during the last twelve years, the contract having been renewed, during that period, at the rate of \$132 per annum, the Postmaster General decided, in view of her satisfactory services in the past, that it was in the public interest to retain her services as contractor, and, therefore, under authority of section 54 of the Post Office Act, awarded to her the contract, allowing her the price of the lowest tender, which is \$32 less than it had been renewed for during the period of twelve years.

POWERS OF CHARTERED BANKS.

Mr. GUILLET asked :

Were the corporate powers of the chartered banks, which had been extended to July 1, 1881, renewed in the session of 1880, and extended to July 1, 1891?

Was an Act passed in the session of 1890 further extending the charters of these banks to July 1, 1901?

In view of the expiration of these charters on July 1, 1901, is it not the intention of the government to introduce a Bill this session extending them for a similar period?

If important amendments to the Banking Act are to be proposed, is it not desirable that the Bill should be promptly introduced, that due notice may be given to all concerned?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The bank charters were dealt with in times past in the manner described in the hon. member's question. It is the intention of the government to introduce a Bill during the present session, to extend the charters of the banks. The Bill will be introduced in ample time to afford all parties interested, full opportunity for discussion.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL PENITENTIARY.

Mr. FORTIN asked :

1. Is the government aware that according to a new regulation, seven officers of the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary are bound to perform night duty permanently? 2. Is it the intention of the government to maintain such exceptional regulation? 3. Has the government received from the physician of the institution a report upon the subject?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. The Minister of Justice is aware, that according to the new regulations, seven officers in the St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary have had night duty to perform permanently. 2. The regulation is not exceptional, but it is the practice in a great many penitentiaries on this continent. The minister has under consideration the question of whether permanent or alternate officers is the better plan to adopt. 3. The minister has received from the physician a report on this subject, which is now under consideration.

REPORT OF SPEECH IN LA PATRIE.

Mr. DUGAS asked :

Do the following words, taken from the number of the newspaper 'La Patrie' for 28th September, 1899, report in a sufficiently exact manner a part of the speech made by the hon. the First Minister at Drummondville on 26th September last:—

'You know that in 1896 an irritating question was causing trouble in the country. It was a question where religion and politics were confounded. The solution of this question demanded the strongest qualities of a statesman. The old administration pretended to have settled this question by the presentation of a Bill called remedial, but which did not remedy anything at all. This Bill, from another side, was of a nature to irritate the population of a sister province. The measure was wrecked, and we came into power. We have promised to settle the question in six months. You are witnesses that this promise has been fulfilled to the letter.

'The school question does not exist any longer, although our friends the Blues seek to bring it up again.'

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I am sorry to say, although I always thought I had a good memory, that it is not good enough to remember a speech six months and two days afterwards, when the question is put.

CHURCH PARADE OF STRATHCONA'S HORSE.

Mr. RUSSELL (by Mr. Flint) asked :

By whom were arrangements made for the church parade of the Strathcona Horse in Ottawa on March 11th?

By whom were such arrangements, if any, made for a church parade of the force in Halifax?

Was there any difference between the procedure adopted with reference to the arrangements for such parade at Halifax and those

adopted with reference to the parade at Ottawa?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. By Lieut.-Col. Cotton, commanding the Ottawa Brigade, under whom Strathcona's Horse were mobilized in Ottawa. 2. By the district officer commanding, Lieut.-Col. Irving. 3. District officers commanding arrange these matters with the officers commanding corps concerned. Nothing is known of there being any different procedure at Halifax than that at Ottawa.

STRATHCONA'S HORSE—LT.-COL. SAMUEL HUGHES.

Mr. ROSS ROBERTSON asked :

Whether in an official document emanating from the Militia Department, dated February 17, 1900, containing for Lord Strathcona's information a list of those gentlemen recommended for commissions in Strathcona's Horse, the name of Lieut.-Col. Samuel Hughes was included?

If this be true, why does not Lieut.-Col. Hughes' name appear in the official list, dated March 9, 1900?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The answer to the first question is, No; and the same, of course, to the second question.

REBATE ON AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS EXPORTED.

Mr. CLARKE asked :

What is the amount of the rebate paid on agricultural implements exported from Canada for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899, specifying the amount paid to each firm in each of the above years?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). I would be obliged if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Clarke) would move for a return. I will make every effort to have the information brought down.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

YUKON DISTRICT—COLLECTION OF ROYALTY.

Mr. CLARKE asked :

1. What is the amount of royalty collected in the Yukon district for the year ending June 30, 1899?

2. What is the amount of royalty collected in the Yukon district for the six months ending December 31, 1899?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. \$589,943.52. 2. \$292,006.61.

YUKON DISTRICT—CANADIAN BANK OF COMMERCE.

Mr. CLARKE asked :

1. Is the Canadian Bank of Commerce the exclusive financial agent of the government in the Yukon district?

2. If so, for what period has such arrangement been made?

3. What is the rate of commission or compensation allowed to the Canadian Bank of Commerce for collecting the royalty for the government in the Yukon district?

4. Are there any other payments made to the Canadian Bank of Commerce in addition to the commission for collecting the Yukon royalty?

5. What amounts have been received up to December 31st last for all services by the Canadian Bank of Commerce since the arrangement took effect by which the bank transacts all the financial business of the government in the Yukon district?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The Canadian Bank of Commerce is the exclusive agent of the government in the Yukon district as regards the collection of the government royalties and the transaction of the government's ordinary business in the district. The details of the arrangement will be found in Return No. 47 of the session of 1898. The arrangement was for one year from the date of the opening of the bank at Dawson City, and thereafter until terminated at the will of either party on six months' notice to the other. The compensation to be paid to the bank is at the discretion of the Minister of Finance. No amount has been paid to the bank for its services, but parliament will be asked, in the supplementary estimates, to vote a sum of money to compensate the bank for such services.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—RANK OF MILITIA OFFICERS.

Sir ADOLPHE CARON asked :

1. What are the relative positions of Lt.-Col. Steele and Lt.-Col. Otter as regards rank? (a.) Does Lt.-Col. Steele hold an Imperial commission and Lt.-Col. Otter a Canadian one? (b.) Is not Lt.-Col. Steele an officer considerably junior to Lt.-Col. Otter, as far as Canada goes, the senior? (c.) Vide Militia Act, 1886, par. 50. In case their meeting on the field in South Africa, who would rank as the senior officer?

2. Are cadets who have graduated from the Royal Military College, Kingston, joining the Imperial army and who have returned to Canada as officers of instruction at the Royal Military College or elsewhere, entitled to precedence over cadets who graduated long before them but who have elected to serve in the Canadian permanent corps? Are they not given a local step in rank, in coming to Canada and then considered senior of that rank; do they not in consequence often become senior to officers of the permanent corps, who actually instructed them?

3. Are not officers of the imperial army of comparatively junior rank (as in the case of Major Stone and others who have come to Canada) placed over the heads of the permanent corps officers, who have had often greater permanent service and also in many cases more service in the field? By what authority has this been done?

4. Is there any intention of revising and amending the Militia Act, so that the officers of the Permanent Corps especially, and the militia generally may be placed in a more just and fair position as regards rank with Imperial officers and those lent to the Dominion of Canada?

Mr. CLARKE.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. Lieut.-Colonel Steele has been given acting commission of lieutenant-colonel in the Imperial army. Lieut.-Colonel Otter has the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Canadian militia. (a) Yes. (b) Yes. (c) Lieut.-Colonel Steele. 2. If of the same rank, No. (a) Not always or necessarily so, but has frequently occurred. (b) It has occurred. 3. Yes; the authority is the Queen's Regulations. A recommendation dealing with this subject so far as it affects Imperial officers serving in Canadian militia, will shortly be submitted for the approval of His Excellency in Council. (a) Answered above. 4. Not at present. In view of probable changes in respect of these matters, in the Army Act and Queen's Regulations, it is better to wait for the present.

GREAT NORTH-WEST CENTRAL RAILWAY LAND GRANT.

Mr. DOUGLAS asked :

1. Has the original land grant voted by parliament to that road now known as the Great North-west Central, lapsed, or is it still available under the present charter?

2. What was the grant per mile, and how many miles did the grant cover?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. The grant has lapsed with the exception of the portion earned by construction of fifty miles, which entitles the company to 320,000 acres. 2. The grant was 6,400 acres per mile, and the length of line originally subsidized was 450 miles.

ISSUE OF RIFLES AND AMMUNITION TO RURAL CORPS.

Mr. OSLER (by Mr. Clarke) asked :

1. How many Snider rifles are now issued to the rural corps?

2. How many rounds of ammunition for said rifles are on hand?

3. Is the government manufacturing any more at present, or do they intend doing so?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. 16,968. 2. 860,571. 3. No.

PAN-AMERICAN EXHIBITION AT BUFFALO.

Mr. OSLER (by Mr. Clarke) asked :

Is it the intention of the government to provide a sum of money in the estimates for the erection of a suitable Canadian government building in connection with the 1901 Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). No provision of a specific character has been made. The government have accepted an invitation to take part in the Pan-American exhibition in Buffalo, but no plans or arrangements have yet been made as to the manner in which that can be done.

YUKON DISTRICT—TRANSFER OF MINING CLAIMS.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

Can companies incorporated in any or all of the provinces of Canada hold or have transferred to them mining claims in the Yukon, or can this be done only by companies having a charter from the Dominion of Canada ?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Companies incorporated in any or all of the provinces of Canada can hold, or have transferred to them, mining claims in the Yukon district, provided they hold a free miner's certificate unexpired.

INTEREST ON MONTREAL TURNPIKE BONDS.

Mr. MONK asked :

1. What is the reason that the interest upon the Montreal Turnpike bonds held by the government has not been paid since three years ?

2. Has the government taken any steps to ascertain the causes of the delay in the payment of interest on said bonds ?

3. What steps does the government intend taking in the matter ?

4. Has the government had a report showing the financial standing of the Montreal Turnpike Trust ?

5. What was the total revenue of the said trust according to the last statement ?

6. What were the expenses of management ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The government have made inquiries as to the reasons why the interest upon the Montreal Turnpike bonds held by them was not paid. The trustees represented that the roads had, under the former management, been allowed to run down, and that it was necessary to use all the earnings of the trust to put them in proper repair. The government are not able to state at present what course may be necessary as regards the collection of interest. The government have had reports from time to time showing the financial position of the trust. By the trustees' report, it appears that the total revenue of the trust for the year 1899 was \$42,755.37. The total outlay for the year 1899, as reported by the trustees, was \$40,627.12, of which \$32,309.92 was for maintenance of roads, and \$8,317.20 for general expenses.

THE POSTMASTER AT MURRAY HARBOUR ROAD, P.E.I.

Mr. MARTIN asked :

1. Has the Postmaster General received the resignation of Mr. John McPhee as postmaster at Murray Harbour road, in the province of Prince Edward Island ?

2. If so, has his resignation been accepted ?

3. If yes, has a successor been accepted and what is his name ?

4. Has the Postmaster General received a petition asking for the appointment of Mr. Murdoch McLeod as postmaster in the event of a vacancy ?

5. If yes, how many names are attached ?

6. Has the Postmaster General received, within the last three years a petition asking for the appointment of Mr. Archibald McKinnon as postmaster, or any letters or petitions against his appointment ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). In answer to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Martin), I beg to say : The resignation of John McPhee as postmaster at Murray Harbour Road, P.E.I., was received and accepted, and Mr. Archibald McKinnon was appointed to succeed him. Subsequent to Mr. McKinnon's appointment a petition was received objecting to it on the ground that it would involve the removal of the office too far north, and recommending Mr. McLeod for the position. Upon investigation it appeared that the majority of the petitioners received their mails at another office, and the objection to Mr. McKinnon's appointment did not appear well founded, and accordingly that gentleman's appointment was allowed to stand.

PINETTE HARBOUR IMPROVEMENTS.

Mr. MARTIN asked :

1. Has the government received a petition from the residents of townships numbers 57, 58 and 60, in the province of Prince Edward Island, asking for the dredging and improvement of Pinette Harbour ?

2. If so, does the government intend to grant the prayer of the petitioners ; what improvements are proposed ; what is the estimated cost ; and when will work be begun ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. Yes. 2. The matter is receiving consideration.

THE ELECTORAL LISTS.

Mr. CASGRAIN asked :

1. Have all the electoral lists for the electoral districts of the province of Quebec been received by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, in pursuance of the Act 61st Vic., c. 14, sec. 10 ?

2. If not, what are the lists for such electoral districts which have not been received ?

3. In the case of some of the said electoral districts, is it true that the lists for all the municipalities included therein have not been received ?

4. If so, which are the municipalities ?

5. What are the names of the districts or parts of districts for which the lists have not been printed and distributed ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1 and 2. They have all been received. 3 and 4. All the lists have been received that are complete. They are all complete with the three following exceptions : St. Marcel in Bagot ; St. Rémi in Laprairie and Napierville ; East Hull in Wright. The lists of these municipalities have not been received. 5. The lists of the following have not yet been printed : Argenteuil, Beauce, Bellechasse, Charlevoix, Chicoutimi and Saguenay, Compton, Gaspé, Hochelaga, Joliette, Kamouraska, Napierville, Laval,

Maisonneuve, Megantic, Quebec East, Quebec West, Quebec Centre, Quebec County, Richmond and Wolfe, Shefford, Stanstead, St. John and Iberville, Three Rivers and St. Maurice, Two Mountains, Terrebonne.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The Prime Minister last night, when I asked the general question with respect to the lists, said he would be prepared to answer to-day.

The PRIME MINISTER. I am sorry to say I have not the information at this moment.

Mr. MONTAGUE. You will have it before the general election?

The PRIME MINISTER. If you are patient enough.

GOVERNMENT LIFE INSURANCE ANNUITIES.

Mr. ROSS ROBERTSON asked :

Has the Postmaster General considered the advisability of introducing government life insurance annuities as adopted by the Post Office Department of Great Britain?

If so, does he propose introducing legislation?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The question has been referred to me by the hon. Postmaster General. The question of government life insurance annuities has engaged the attention of the government and will be further considered. It is hardly probable that any legislation on the subject will be submitted this session.

THE MEDALS OF 1866-1870.

Mr. MONK asked :

When will the medals of 1866-1870 be distributed in the 5th and in the 6th Military Districts?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The medals for No. 5 Military District have been already sent out; those for No. 6 District will be ready in about two weeks.

EXPENSE OF PROVINCIAL ELECTORAL LISTS.

Mr. MONK asked :

1. What is the total amount expended to date by the government in procuring the provincial electoral lists from the different provinces of Canada?

2. What is the total expenditure incurred to date by the government in printing the said lists?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). 1. \$9,829.46. 2. \$17,274.43.

WORKS AT BELCÉIL.

Mr. MONK asked :

1. What was the original estimate of the cost of works to be executed on the Richelieu River, near the Grand Trunk Railway bridge at Belcélil?

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

2. What is the total amount expended to date on the said works?

3. What is the amount required to finish the said works?

4. Is it a fact that the wharf at Belcélil above the bridge has caved in, and to what extent?

5. Who is the overseer of said works, and how much is he paid per day?

6. Has the said overseer been paid during the whole of the winter of 1899-1900?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. \$11,000, not including superintendence. 2. \$16,454.07. 3. \$500 to complete filling. 4. It is not a fact that the wharf has, in the ordinary sense of the word, 'caved in.' In works of this kind a certain amount of settlement frequently occurs. In this particular case, the outer face of the wharf at Belcélil, at about 100 feet from its upper end, has slightly settled about 5 inches on a length of from 30 to 40 feet. 5. Avila Bernard, \$2 per day. 6. No.

MURRAY BAY AND RIVIERE OUELLE STEAM COMMUNICATION.

Mr. MORIN asked :

1. Whether the sum of \$7,000 voted last year for steam communication between Murray Bay and Rivière Ouelle has been expended?

2. If so, to whom was the said sum paid?

3. If not, why was the said sum not expended?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). 1. No. 2. No. 3. Because no one was ready with a suitable steamer to take up the service. It is expected to be taken up during the coming winter, arrangements having been made to that effect.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS.

Mr. INGRAM asked :

Under what section of the Franchise Act, 1898, have the government the power to authorize a board of registration to act for the purpose of registering voters in cities and county towns in the province of Ontario in which the lists have been prepared more than one year previous to the date of the writ for an election or after the dissolution?

If under section (9) nine, does it mean the same as under the Ontario Act respecting the registration of manhood suffrage voters, sections 20 and 22?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. Under section 9 of the Franchise Act. 2. In the preparation of lists, under section 9, sections 20 and 22, so far as reasonably applicable, may be followed.

IMPORTS OF AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

Mr. SPROULE asked :

What is the value of agricultural implements and agricultural machinery imported into Canada from July 1, 1899, to March 1, 1900, and the duty collected thereon?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The officers of the department inform

me that they are not able to give this information, as the monthly reports do not contain the classification. If it would answer the hon. gentleman's purpose, I can give him the figures from July 1 to December 31, 1899, and by and by, as soon as we get the quarterly returns to the end of March, I could supplement that; but that would take a month. If the hon. gentleman desires the information up to December 31, I will get that.

Mr. SPROULE. Yes, I would like to have that.

Question allowed to stand.

POST OFFICE BUSINESS.

Mr. SPROULE asked :

Is the Postmaster General aware of any of the city or town post offices being conducted without the practical assistance of the postmaster? If so, what office or offices, and for how long has such been the case?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). The Postmaster General is not aware of any instance wherein the postmaster fails to render some assistance in the conduct of the business of the office. The degree of assistance may vary, but to whatever extent such assistance is rendered, it may be regarded as practical assistance.

RESIDENT ENGINEER IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. When was Mr. Roy, C.E., relieved from the office of resident engineer in British Columbia?

2. Has a successor been appointed in his stead?

3. If not, why not?

4. Has the province been without a resident engineer since Mr. Roy's departure from British Columbia?

5. Have any applications for the position been received; if so, from whom?

6. Is it the intention of the government to make the appointment without further delay?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Mr. Roy has not been relieved from the office in question, but is temporarily at Ottawa in connection with the Public Works Department. During his absence his chief assistant is attending to the duties of the position in British Columbia.

Mr. PRIOR. That does not answer questions 5 and 6.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. I have read all the answers given to me; but I would not think it quite fair to answer No. 5 under the circumstances if there were any applications.

VOLUNTEERS FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Has the government any means of knowing how many militiamen, or how many militiamen and civilians, have offered their services as

volunteers to serve in South Africa up to the present time? If so, how many?

2. Do not the district officers commanding keep a record of same in their several districts?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). 1. No. 2. No. No record has been kept of men who personally volunteered and were rejected owing to there being no vacancy or for other reasons.

PRINTING PLANT AT ELKHORN.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

1. Did the government lease or sell the printing plant formerly in Indian schools, Elkhorn, since the Thompson lease was cancelled?

2. If so, to whom?

3. Is the government aware that this plant is now used for the printing of a paper supporting the government in Griswold, Brandon constituency?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. No. 2. Answered by No. 1. 3. No.

MR. MARTIN JEROME, M.P.P.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

1. Is Mr. Martin Jerome, M.P.P., Carillon, Manitoba, still in the employ of the Interior Department?

2. Is he the gentleman that the Minister of the Interior promised last session would be dismissed from his position if he accepted the nomination as political candidate?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. In answer to the hon. gentleman's question, I would say that Mr. Martin Jerome is the gentleman who was referred to in an answer made by the Minister of the Interior to a question asked by the hon. gentleman on July 12 last; that Mr. Jerome resigned in November last his position in the service of the Department of the Interior; but that it was subsequently decided to re-employ him, and that he is now in the employ of the department.

LETTER BOXES IN BARRIE.

Mr. TYRWHITT (by Mr. Henderson) asked :

Is the government aware that J. C. Morrison collects the mails from letter-boxes in Barrie? That he carries the mail from Allandale to Painswick? What does he receive for this latter service? Was the Postmaster General consulted as to transfer of contract from Joseph Huggard to said Morrison? Why was not the contract put up to tender?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). The department is not aware that J. C. Morrison collects the mails from the letter boxes in Barrie, or that he carries the mail between Allandale and Painswick. Mr. Joseph Huggard is the contractor for both services, and in each case received the contract as the result of public tendering. If Mr. Morrison is doing the work in these cases, it is as the employee of Mr. Huggard, whom, along with his sureties, the department holds responsible for the proper performance of the contract.

BINDER TWINE—KINGSTON PENITENTIARY.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

Is it the intention of the Department of Justice to further extend the time during which farmers can purchase binder twine at Kingston Penitentiary in such quantities as may suit their wants?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Yes ; the time has been extended to the first of May.

LOBSTER SEASON—P.E.I.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's) asked :

At what date are lobster fishermen to be allowed to put out their lines preparatory to placing their traps for fishing in the province of Prince Edward Island?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Immediately on the expiration of the close seasons; and on the first day the taking of lobsters is lawful but not before.

REGINA TOWN SITE.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Whether there is not in the Department of the Interior a conveyance or agreement or document having the effect of a conveyance from the government, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the North-west Land Company to the town site trustees of Regina, conveying their property in the said town site to the said trustees? Whether he will lay such documents on the Table?

If there be no document as described, is there any document or agreement conveying the property in the town site to the town site trustees, and will he lay it on the Table?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. There is on record in the department the agreement entered into between the government of Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and trustees, conveying certain properties as joint town sites to trustees, and a copy of an agreement entered into between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Canada North-west Land Company affecting such properties. 2. Copies of the documents will be made and laid on the Table.

REGINA TOWN SITE.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Whether it is the intention of the minister to lay on the Table a copy of the agreement between the government, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the town site trustees of the various town sites along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Copies will be made and laid on the Table.

REPORT.

Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended June 30, 1899.—(Mr. Sutherland.)

Mr. MULOCK.

UNOPPOSED MOTIONS.

Copies of all papers and correspondence relating to claim of J. Wilson for services rendered Marine and Fisheries Department in connection with Egg Island lighthouse, province of British Columbia.—(Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, by Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all reports, papers, correspondence and orders relating to the retirement of Lieut.-Col. Domville from the active militia service of Canada.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all statements, memorials, claims, memoranda, correspondence, telegrams, &c., with the government of Prince Edward Island and a delegation from that province, in the present month of February, consisting of the Hon. Donald Farquharson, Premier of the province, Hon. D. A. McKinnon, Attorney General, and Hon. Benjamin Rogers, in regard to all questions at issue between the government of Prince Edward Island and Canada.—(Mr. Martin.)

Return showing the total number of homesteads granted in the railway belt in British Columbia, showing separately the number granted in each of the two districts of Kamloops and New Westminster; the number of patents which have been issued to homesteaders in the railway belt; the total amount paid in by persons who have received patents, and others who have not on account of the homestead condition, which provides for the payment of \$1 per acre.—(Mr. Morrison.)

Copies of all letters addressed, since January 1, 1899, to the Minister of the Interior, or any officer of the Department of the Interior, with regard to advances made by any person or company, to settlers on lands in Manitoba or the North-west Territories, under the provisions of clause 44 (as amended) of the Dominion Lands Act, and of the replies thereto; copies of all letters, circulars, schedules or other papers mailed by the said minister or any officer of the Department of the Interior, to any person or company, since the same date, upon the same subject, and of all replies thereto or other communications in any way concerning such subject received by the Department of the Interior; also copies of all schedules prepared by the Department of the Interior since the above mentioned date, of lands in Manitoba or the North-west Territories so encumbered, giving the name of the settler, the usual description of the land encumbered, the amount of the encumbrance and rate of interest, the name of the person or company by whom the advance was made, the name of the assignee where the encumbrance has been assigned, and the name of the patentee, and date of patent where the land has been patented.—(Mr. Douglas.)

Return of all complaints made since January 1, 1890, to the hon. the Minister of Agriculture or the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner of Patents, of excessive charges demanded by the Auer light patentees for the use of the patent article under the provisions of section 37, subsection 'A' of the Patent Act, and of all correspondence with the minister or commissioner or deputy commissioner in respect of complaints.—(Mr. Gibson.)

Return showing the number of medals and clasps issued to the militia in Ontario for the Fenian raid, 1870, giving the names of the recipients, the nature of service, the name of the corps in which service was performed, the date and place of service, and the time on service.—(Mr. Clarke.)

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams, memorials or petitions, with the signatures thereto, in possession of the government or any member or official thereof, relating to the dismissal of Mr. R. K. Brace as inspector of gas meters in the province of Prince Edward Island.—(Mr. Martin.)

Return giving the quantities of scrap iron, and at what dates and for what prices, sold by the Department of Railways since July 1, 1896.

To what persons the sales were made, and whether on tender after public advertisement, or otherwise.

And where by tender, giving the several tenders received and prices offered in each.—(Mr. Foster.)

Copies of all correspondence between the government and their agents and any other person in regard to the omission of the lighthouse-keeper on Egg Island light to show a light for some days during last winter.—(Mr. Prior.)

Return showing: The amounts paid from July 1, 1896, to date for investigation into the cases of alleged partisanship against government employees, to whom paid, and how much to each commissioner for services and expenses, respectively.

The amount of money paid since July 1, 1896, to date for investigating the affairs of penitentiaries, to whom paid, and how much to each for services and expenses, respectively;

The amount paid to date since July 1, 1896, for services and expenses, respectively, and to whom, on account of commission for investigating and securing information concerning the tariff;

And the similar expenditures for similar purposes paid from July, 1890, to July, 1896.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return showing the total amount paid since July, 1896, for all commissions and investigations authorized by the government, distinguishing between payments for services and expenses, and detailed so far as to show amount for each commission or investigation.—(Mr. Foster.)

Return showing the number of employees dismissed or retired from the service of the government on account of alleged partisanship since July 1, 1896, and the number for each department, and in how many cases the dismissal or retirement was preceded by an official investigation.—(Mr. Foster.)

RECALL OF MAJOR GENERAL HUTTON.

Mr. PRIOR moved for :

Copies of all papers, correspondence, telegrams and cablegrams, relating to the removal of Major-General Hutton from the command of the Canadian militia, including all orders in council, minutes of council and communications with the Imperial government appertaining thereto. Also a copy of his resignation, with the date of its receipt by the government and the date of its acceptance.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I draw the attention of my hon. friend to the fact that there are confidential papers in this, which cannot be brought down, unless with the consent of the authorities. As soon as we have it, we will bring them down.

DISMISSAL OF E. H. JONES.

Mr. PRIOR moved for :

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams and reports in regard to the dismissal of Mr. E. H. Jones, late postmaster of Kamloops, B.C.

He said: I would like to amend that motion, by substituting the words, 'in connection with,' instead of the words, 'in regard to.'

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). I have no objection to the motion passing, upon the understanding that if the report is an ordinary confidential report, it shall not be covered by the order. I do not remember the contents of it; the hon. gentleman, perhaps, will permit me to judge of that. I do not say that, in order to withhold anything that ought to be brought down, but it is not customary unqualifiedly to order the production of reports.

Mr. PRIOR. If it only refers to the reason for the dismissal, I think the Postmaster General ought to bring it down.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. If the hon. gentleman, then, will let the motion stand, I will look up the report, if he prefers to have the motion unqualified.

Motion allowed to stand.

FISHERY PROTECTION SERVICE, B.C.

Mr. PRIOR moved for :

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams and reports between the government and their agents in British Columbia, or any other person, in regard to the necessity that exists for the employment of another vessel to work in conjunction with the ss. 'Quadra' in the Lighthouse, Customs and Fishery Protection Services on the coast of British Columbia.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Does the hon. gentleman desire that to go without any limit right back to confederation, or does he want to start in at a particular time?

Mr. PRIOR. Say the last five years.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. So long as we understand it. Perhaps he had better put it in the motion.

Mr. PRIOR. I move to amend, by adding 'since the 1st of July, 1894.'

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

MR. FOSTER'S SPEECH ON THE BUDGET—CORRECTION.

Mr. FOSTER. Before the Notices of Motion are taken up, I want to make a correction in one of the figures I read yesterday, in that multitudinous list, in regard to

the rate of duty upon British dutiable goods imported into this country. In my main notes, I had it correctly, but in the slip that was transferred by the page, the figure 9 was substituted for 6. It should be 26.62, instead of 29.62, which would make a difference of 3.58, instead of .58. It is an important change, and I would like to mention it, so that the error may be corrected.

LENGTH OF SPEECHES IN THE HOUSE

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk), moved :

1. That the practice of delivering speeches of great length in the Canadian House of Commons has introduced a discursive style of speaking that is destructive of pertinent debate upon public questions, is a waste of valuable time, unreasonably increases the length of the sessions of parliament, is in marked contrast to the practice with regard to debate that prevails in the British House of Commons, and tends to repel the people of Canada from a careful and intelligent consideration of the proceedings of parliament.

2. That it is desirable that rules be adopted, limiting, under certain conditions, the length of speeches and regulating the general conduct of debate in that regard.

3. That a special committee should be formed to consider the questions of parliamentary debate, length of speeches, general conduct of debate, and proper methods for securing greater promptitude in the despatch of business, so far as may be consistent with the parliamentary rights of the minority and the general interests of the public, and report its recommendations to this House.

He said : Mr Speaker,—

An hon. MEMBER. Make it short.

Mr. CHARLTON. We have taken some little time to reach the subject of discussion this afternoon, and I am greeted, at the outset, with the exhortation to make it short. I think the delay in reaching it will necessitate me following that advice. I desire to discuss, briefly, a question relating to the rules of procedure in this Canadian House of Commons. I do not propose to make any suggestions, or to propose any rules or regulations, or changes, but merely to assign reasons why, in my opinion, the question warrants the House in referring it, as I have asked the House to do, to a special committee to consider it, to decide, after investigation, as to whether the rules of procedure of the House are, in any respect, faulty or not, or can in any way be modified or changed to the advantage of the transaction of the business of this parliament. I shall present a few reasons, which, I think, warrant me in making these suggestions, that such a committee should be struck for the purpose I have named.

Parliamentary institutions can, almost properly, be termed British institutions. The birth of parliament was some six or seven hundred years ago in the zenith

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of the Catholic middle ages, and the gradual growth of parliamentary institutions in Great Britain has marked directly the growth of liberty and popular advancement in that country. The great dividing line between English institutions and the institutions of the continental nations, consisted in the fact that parliament, at an early day, took to itself the control of the purse strings and laid upon the governments of the day the necessity of securing from itself the votes of money necessary to carry on the operations of government. In this way, British institutions, and British liberty have been gradually evolved, and have reached that position of growth that characterizes British institutions in all parts of the world to-day. The growth was slow, the struggle was, in many respects, an intense one, and the stake, the cord, the axe, the sword, were the grim nurses that stood by the cradle of British parliamentary liberty, at its birth of pain. We have not participated in these historic struggles or paid any portion of the cost in blood and suffering of what has fallen so easily to our lot, for we have inherited these institutions in this country, and we have inherited them with very little realization of what their value is. We have inherited the parliamentary institutions of England, we have adopted, to a certain extent, the parliamentary usages of England, but, the great boon has come so easily, that we are scarcely aware of its sanctity, or value, and I fear that sometimes we are in danger of losing a proper sense of the dignity that pertains to parliamentary institutions and parliamentary transactions. We must all lament the fact we have, too often, witnessed scenes that are not up to the high level of parliamentary usages, or to the ideal of what a parliamentary body should be. The high sense of dignity and of power which appertains to these institutions, and to our House of Commons, is something of which we should never lose sight. We should never lose sight of the power we possess, of the responsibility which rests upon us in consequence of the possession of this power. We should never lose sight of the dignity with which this House should be clothed, in the transaction of the business of a great country like Canada. A discussion of our mode of procedure can, certainly, have no ill result, and may lead to a desire to rectify some of the abuses, admitting that any abuses do exist.

We have adopted, as our rules of procedure, the rules of procedure of the British House of Commons, but very great differences in practice exist between the mode of transacting business in this House and the mode of transacting business in the British House of Commons. I noticed the other day, in looking over our *Hansard*, that the *Hansard* reports of the House of Commons of Canada, for the last year, were quite as voluminous as

the *Hansard* reports of the British House of Commons and the British House of Lords. This House of Commons, transacting the business of less than 6,000,000 people, consumed as much time, and had its transactions spread upon *Hansard* with as great volume as a parliament controlling the destinies of 400,000,000 people, with all the great ramifications and interests that characterize their affairs, and with the added excitement, in that particular session, of the South African question. With the South African question, and with the multitudinous other questions, the proceedings of both Houses being recorded in the *Hansard*, the record of the House of Commons of Canada was as voluminous as the reports of the proceedings of these two Houses. This is a statement which, must necessarily, convey to the mind the impression that our proceedings are either prolonged and spun out, and that there is too much verbiage, or, that the character of our report can be changed in such a way as to give us an epitome of the transactions and discussions of the House. As to long speeches, I do not know what their purpose is, or what is the desire of the person making them, but, if the desire of the individual making the speech is to reach the community, or to produce an impression, either in this House, or outside of the House, a long speech, if it is longer than it is necessary, if it is not concise, if it does not present the case logically and with as little waste of words as possible, defeats the purpose of the man making the speech, because, the longer the speech, the weaker the effort made by the individual who makes it. We want dignity of debate in this House, that kind of dignity in debate that is prevalent in the British House of Commons, where a man gets up and talks to the question plainly and directly, without elaboration, without the preparation of a voluminous essay, without any writing of his statement and committing it to memory, or reading to the House a long disquisition or essay. We have too much essay reading, and too little debating here, too little pertinent parliamentary debating upon questions that are presented for discussion to the House. We should adopt the plan of condensation, economy or verbiage, a greater directness, an attempt to secure greater power and brevity by epigrammatic statement. If we did so, there would be a great improvement in the character and style of speaking now in vogue in this House. The country realizes that we are wasting time here, and that realization on the part of the people of the country is becoming clearer session after session. We waste time to such an extent that the people lose interest in our proceedings; we waste time to such an extent that people grow, in a way, disgusted with the manner in which we transact public business. And this waste of time has not a single thing to commend it to

our favour or to the public favour. It lowers the House in the public estimation; it lowers the House in its own estimation—and must necessarily do so.

The character of the speaking in this House, when I first came into parliament, and when you first came into parliament, Mr. Speaker, was quite different from what it is to-day. The term from 1857 to 1872, and the term following that were terms when we had no *Hansard*. The reports of the proceedings of the House were brief; and you have to go back to the Votes and Proceedings and the Journals of the House to know what the proceedings were. Men got up then to debate the question. The object of their speeches was, if possible, to produce an effect upon the House, was, if possible, to produce an effect upon the country; and we had parliamentary practice and parliamentary proceedings that were of a higher order than those of to-day. Not that the gentlemen who sat in this Chamber then were men of greater ability or better education than the representatives of the people here to-day; but the character of the proceedings was of a higher order than of to-day, simply because the House adhered more closely to what I consider the beau ideal of parliamentary usage, the system followed in England. We established *Hansard* in 1875. *Hansard* of that year is a modest volume. It gives the proceedings of the House in substance. It is not a verbatim report, but it is as good as a verbatim report; it is a *Hansard* that will be read more thoroughly than the volumes that have succeeded. We ought to adopt in our *Hansard* reports some system of condensation as has uniformly been done in the English House of Commons and in the English House of Lords. There is no sense in having such a *Hansard* as we have. Nobody is going to read it. A man's speech gets into *Hansard*, and is there entombed for ever. I do not know who is going to read *Hansard* in the future, unless it be some student of political history; and he will curse the day when men took forty times as long to say a thing as they should have done, and fixed upon him the dire necessity of wading through forty pages to learn what could as well have been said in one. *Hansard* has gradually become a medium for the record of speeches for circulation among members' constituents. It serves an admirable purpose in that respect, so far as the desires of the individual member are concerned. An hon. gentleman wishes to make a speech to circulate amongst his constituents. He makes that speech in the House. It is taken down by a most efficient staff of reporters—it is a perfect report. He revises it; it is printed and he gets a certain number of copies at so much a thousand—at a very low rate—and he sends these copies to his constituents. I do not suppose that any member sins in this respect more than once or twice

in a session. But, where there are 213 or 214 members, if only half the House use *Hansard* as a medium to get speeches before their constituents, we can understand that a hundred speeches or more of that kind are going to consume time; and, though they may serve the individual purposes of the gentlemen who make them, in the means they afford of sending out at a cheap rate speeches to their constituents, there is no advantage to the country generally. This evil existed in the Congress of the United States. Members could not forego the privilege of having their speeches printed, largely at the public expense, for circulation to their constituents. So, Congress adopted the plan of handing in the manuscript of speeches. A member was recognized by the Speaker; he made a few remarks; spoke a few opening sentences and asked leave to hand in a few observations he desired to make without taking up the time of the House. He would then pile upon the record a long speech that would, perhaps, occupy two or three hours in delivery. This method was a saving of time. The bulk of the record was not reduced, but the time of the House was economized by the course pursued there. If we continue our present course of making *Hansard* a medium for reaching our constituents in that way, perhaps it would be better to adopt the American method of handing in the manuscript and allowing the House to go on with its legitimate business in the meantime. These abuses—for I consider them abuses—threaten one danger and are apt to lead to one consummation which I should regret. The mass of the members of this House, I can realize, session after session, are becoming a little more averse to the continuing of *Hansard*. *Hansard* is losing its popularity as a record of our proceedings; and if a motion were made to abolish it, and no intervention on the part of the government or no statement made of the wishes of the government to retain it were made, I should be almost afraid it would be abolished. If *Hansard* were abolished, it would be due largely to the faults and abuses to which I refer.

Waste of time in various ways is a feature of our proceedings here, and has grown to be a more marked feature of our proceedings within the last few sessions than in previous years. We do not know when we are going to reach any regular business now; it is a matter of chance—pure chance. Take the motion to which I am now speaking as an instance. I have waited since the 6th of February to reach it. I thought to reach it last Monday, a day devoted to notices of motion; but it was not reached. I thought to reach it the previous Wednesday; but it was not reached. We have a chart here to guide us in the order of business, the Order paper; and we suppose that we are going to reach something on that Order paper. But some gentleman gets up and says: Mr. Speaker, I desire to

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make a few remarks, and, to place myself in order, I will conclude my remarks with a motion. Heaven knows when we are going to get to the end of that. He strikes out with a discussion and closes with a motion to adjourn, then somebody else speaks, and the day is as good as gone. And so it goes on day after day. My hon. friend opposite (Mr. Foster) who is listening to me now, moved a motion of that kind some weeks ago with reference to a riot in Montreal. The discussion on it lasted all day. And so we have wasted day after day in this House, not attending to the business laid down in the Order paper, but we have wasted day after day in discussing matters, which, in some cases, may have a momentary interest, but, which, in the majority of cases, are resorted to for the purpose of making political capital, and which, in some cases, pander to popular passions—as in the case I refer to—and all of which are an abuse of the system of parliamentary procedure and practice.

Mr. FOSTER. Now that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) has finished his period—and a very nice one it was—I beg to state that I was not the mover of that motion. It was moved by my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill). I participated in it.

Mr. CHARLTON. I ask the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Foster's) pardon. He is right. But he was so prominent an actor in the farce that I thought he was the originator.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I think this matter that I have referred to of having discussions of interminable length upon motions to adjourn, is something that deserves consideration, and that probably could be remedied in a measure. I understand that in the Ontario legislature, members are allowed not more than ten minutes for a speech upon a motion to adjourn. While we could not adopt the plan of prohibiting the making of motions to adjourn, yet, we might adopt some regulation in connection with it that would insure us against the loss of so much time as we have lost in the past. Take this House as a mass, we do not want to adopt any plan that, we must feel and realize, is of a character to lower the dignity of the House, and waste its time. We have a system of putting questions on the Order paper here, which should be changed. Numbers of questions are asked that the member could just as well answer himself by going to the blue-books which are open for the investigation of all men. The consequence of this is merely to put work on the minister or on some clerks, to collate that information. Sometimes questions are asked by the opposition for the purpose of making political capital, and that may be right or it may be wrong, but we have gone too far in the direction of loading up the Order paper with long and in-

tricate questions, many of which could better be answered by a return, and many of which have no business on the Order paper at all. We recognize that the evil exists to a greater or lesser extent, and it is our duty to seek a remedy for it, without, of course, abridging in any way the privileges of parliament or the rights of any individual member. One thing above all is necessary in parliamentary practice, and that is, that Her Majesty's loyal opposition shall have full opportunity of presenting their views, and that every member of the House, whether on the government side or not, should have perfect freedom of speech. Anything that would abridge such a right should not for a moment be taken into consideration. It has occurred to me often that the system of transferring an uncompleted debate to Public Bills and Orders is one that works injury. On the Order paper to-day there are three adjourned debates taking precedence of Public Bills and Orders, and to-night probably there may be a fourth one. The consequence is that the Public Bills, which legitimately come under this heading, will be crowded out of their place and will probably not be reached this session. It seems to me that motions should be kept in their proper places on the Order paper, until they are disposed of, and in this way each item of public business will stand on its own merits. The Public Bills and Orders should stand in their legitimate place under that heading. We have, in my opinion, now reached a period when there is an absolute necessity for economizing time. We will of necessity in a few years have a very large increase in the number of members in the Canadian House of Commons, by reason of the mode of apportioning our representation. By the provisions of the constitution we have a fixed number of members, namely sixty-five for the province of Quebec, and every decennial census the population of Quebec divided by sixty-five is the basis of representation in the other provinces. The maritime province representation probably will not increase, or perhaps it may diminish a little. Ontario may increase its representation if it increases in population more rapidly than Quebec. But, in the great North-west and British Columbia, where a vast increase of population must take place, there must be a rapid increase in the number of members, and by the time we reach ten millions population we will have probably four hundred members here. When we reach a population of 15,000,000 we will have five or six hundred members in the Canadian House of Commons, and of course the greater the number of members the greater the difficulty in securing a prompt and rapid despatch of the public business. The prospective growth of the country, and the consequent increase of the number of members of parliament, furnishes one strong reason for establishing rules and regulations which will prevent loss of time—as far as that can be done

without sacrificing the interests of any class in the House. With the growth of the country is sure to come a multiplication of interests. Canada will grow in wealth; she will increase her population and develop her resources, and bring vast tracts of land under cultivation. She will develop her minerals, develop her fisheries, develop her lumber industry, and so the business that this House will have to take cognizance of will in a few years to come be immensely greater than it is now. Under our present methods we will very soon find it impossible to transact our business and give due consideration to all these interests that will press upon us for our consideration. The inevitable increase of legislative business is something most desirable to see, because it indicates the growth of country, the growth of power, and advance in nationality and greatness. We shall have to look ahead to see what is necessary in order that we may keep ourselves a working body, capable of doing that which the country sent us here to do as their representatives; giving them proper laws, conducting ourselves with dignity, and with fairness. In my opinion the sooner we grapple with this question by referring it to a committee to examine into it, and report to the House, the better it will be for all concerned. It is high time to apply a check to the waste of time which characterizes the proceedings of this House at the present moment. I do not know that any party or any particular member is responsible for it, but we have drifted into it, and we will have to put on the break in some way and exercise suasion either moral or otherwise, to rectify faults that have grown up, and for which I have no doubt one is just as much to blame as the other. Various countries have had their own experience in the matter of waste of time in legislative bodies, and most of them in a more aggravated form than we have experienced, and those countries have found it necessary to adopt parliamentary rules for the purpose of economizing time, and for facilitating public business. In Great Britain not many years ago, conditions existed that threatened to block legislation, and it was necessary to adopt the closure. It seemed to be at variance with all the traditions of the British House of Commons, and the liberty of the member of parliament, but it was absolutely necessary to adopt it, and so it is in vogue now. Various schemes have been tried for saving time in the United States: that of putting in manuscripts without reading them, being one, and the regulation of the length of speeches another. They have in the United States House of Representatives what might practically be termed legislation by committees. There are forty committees in the House of Representatives, and to these committees are referred all the Bills introduced into that House—and they have some ten or twelve thousand of them in a year. The

particular committee to which a Bill is referred considers that Bill and makes its recommendation, and at a certain fixed hour a report is made to the House. The chairman of the committee presents the recommendation of the committee with reference to that Bill, and usually the recommendation is accepted and goes through at once. It amounts to legislation by committee, and in the House of Representatives, nine-tenths of the public measures are dealt with in that way. Again, they have a fixed time to vote on the question under discussion. The time is fixed when a vote shall be taken, and before that time is reached, if the discussion is not exhausted, they cut the members down to five minute speeches, and under no circumstances is a member allowed more than one hour. They guard against the opening up of the whole question through moving an amendment or an amendment to an amendment, by providing that no speech on an amendment can be longer than ten minutes, and which must be replied to in a speech of ten minutes. In the United States House of Representatives an amendment may be offered in a speech of only ten minutes and replied to in a speech of only ten minutes. That is all the discussion allowed on it; and so it is with an amendment to an amendment. By these devices time is saved.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman knows that there are methods by which that is got around.

Mr. CHARLTON. One member can give another member his time.

Mr. MONTAGUE. And a member may borrow the time of forty other members.

Mr. CHARLTON. But the vote must be taken at a given hour, no matter how the members regulate the speeches. At a certain stage of the debate the speeches are cut down to five minutes. A member cannot then either borrow or lend the time of another member. At the time fixed for the vote it is taken, and the proceedings are ended. If this method of proceeding has been found necessary in order to secure the transaction of business, to get through the calendar at all, in the United States, where the business of the country is so largely in the hands of the various state legislatures, it will be found, I fear, necessary to adopt some system here—not their system, I would be very sorry to see it adopted; for ours is infinitely superior to theirs—but some system by which we can economize time without sacrificing the public interest. The press reports of our transactions here are ordinarily brief, and their length is never governed by the length of the speeches; and the evils into which we are falling in our methods of doing business are likely to lead to a still greater curtailment of press reports. The time is coming, in my view—and unless we make a radical change, it will

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come sooner than we think—when the press reports will have very little to say about our proceedings. The managers of the newspapers tell us that these reports are hardly worth the expense incurred in obtaining them; and if we go on, introducing extraneous matters, giving these long, foggy harangues, and making this Chamber a place for the delivery of elaborate essays, we may before long see an end of the reporting of our proceedings by press despatches at all. Now, Mr. Speaker, the waste of time involved, as I said a moment ago, is undoubtedly a matter worthy of our serious consideration, if such a thing as waste of time does exist. Let us look at the state of business in this House at the present moment. We have been in session two months, and we have just had our budget speech; we have not reached a public Bill in the hands of a private member to put it through to its conclusion; and we have an Order paper containing page after page of notices of motion. I am speaking to a notice of motion which I have been waiting several weeks to reach. The manner in which we conduct our business would hardly enable us to dispose of it at all if we sat for twelve months. But we sit for two or three months, and what happens? We get tired; we feel that we have gone along fooling with this thing long enough; we have wasted all the time we have to spare. The majority of the members of this House are business men who can ill afford to squander or lose so much time in the discussions of the House, and we reach a certain stage when we get tired. Then we conclude that we have to reach the end of the session within a certain time, and what do we do? We rush through the business without consideration; and if we have an unscrupulous government, which wants to put through any questionable transaction, it brings it forward, and it goes through without proper attention. Many of the most important matters which the House has to consider are rushed through at railroad speed. The House has got impatient, and it will not tolerate even a member who rises to call attention to an abuse or anything he considers wrong. So, we fool away the first two-thirds of the session, and during the other one-third we rush through our legislation without adequate consideration. These are evils that ought to be attended to as far as we can attend to them. I reiterate that it is not my desire to abridge any proper privilege enjoyed by any member of this House; it is not my desire to see rules adopted that would infringe on the rights of debate or on the right of a representative of a constituency to express his views. But, let us have this done in a proper, businesslike manner, and avoid many of the abuses and the methods of wasting time that have grown to be part of our ordinary proceedings. I do not, of course, suggest a remedy. As I said at the outset,

I have no remedy to suggest. This is too big a question for me to attempt to suggest a remedy. I merely suggest the consideration of this question by a committee; and I ask leave to amend my motion by adding to it:

That such committee shall consist of Mr. Ellis, of St. John; Mr. Russell, of Halifax; Mr. Bell, of Prince Edward Island; Mr. Davin, of Assiniboia; Mr. Bostock, of British Columbia; Mr. Bergeron, of Quebec; Mr. McMullen, of Ontario; Mr. Bourassa, of Quebec; Mr. Somerville, of Ontario; Mr. Craig, of Ontario; Mr. Christie, of Quebec, and the mover.

Mr. Speaker, it is not necessary for me to say what I think this committee should do. The committee, if it is granted by the House, will probably meet, consider this question, and decide whether a change of rules can be suggested that would probably remedy, in whole or in part, the evils of which we complain. When the committee has done its work, its recommendations will be submitted for the consideration of the House; and, necessarily, the House will give those recommendations just such weight and consideration as it may deem proper. It can do no harm to have such a committee to examine into this question, and to have its deliverance or recommendations presented to the House. The House will then have something tangible before it to act upon, and it will decide for or against any or all of the recommendations which the committee may choose to make. I do not suppose that committee will make any serious assault on the rights of the leaders in this House to speak at any length they choose: I do not suppose the leaders of the opposition will fear from its recommendations any abridgement of their right to speak; but there may be a proper limit of debate after gentlemen have spoken in presenting questions to the House. These and all cognate matters will, no doubt, be considered by the committee, and its recommendations, whatever they may be, will be presented to the House for such consideration as the House will think proper to give to them. Mr. Speaker, I beg to present the motion, asking permission to add the names of the committee proposed.

Mr. A. A. C. LaRIVIERE (Provencher). Although the province of Manitoba, the leading province of the future, is not represented on the committee suggested by my hon. friend, I hope I may be allowed to offer some remarks on the question raised by this motion. My hon. friend seems to have on the brain the great speech which he once made in this House, during the small hours of the morning, on a question that was then agitating the House of Commons and the whole country: and when for several hours he gave us some very interesting religious lectures, not for the sake of converting members of this House, but for the sake of killing time in order to arrive at the object he then had in view. Now, however, he is a convert, and with the tradi-

tional zeal of converts he desires to prevent the recurrence of what he himself was guilty of on that celebrated occasion.

In opening his remarks the hon. gentleman referred to the *Hansard*, and stated that he considered the establishment and continued publication of that valuable work as a cause of the length and number of speeches delivered in this House. Well, Mr. Speaker, on a former occasion, I made an attempt to show that the establishment of *Hansard* in this House has had no effect at all on the length of the sessions. Two years ago I gave to the House a long tabulated statement, extending as far back as 1841, giving the length of the sessions from 1841 to 1866, prior to confederation, and giving also the lengths of the session subsequent to confederation. From 1841 to 1866, when the number of members was only eighty-four, and the number of provinces only two, Upper and Lower Canada, under the union of 1841, the average length of the sessions was ninety-nine days and a fraction. At that time our population was only 2,200,000.

After confederation, from 1867 to 1874, when we still had no *Hansard*, the average length of the session was eighty-nine days. At that time the provinces were seven in number, our population was 3,500,000, and the number of members 200. So that although the business of parliament had increased to a great extent, and the number of members was larger, the average length of the sessions was ten days shorter from 1867 to 1874, than from 1841 to 1866.

In 1875 *Hansard* was established, and from 1875 to 1897, which is the last year of which I have a record, the average length of sessions was ninety-eight days and a fraction, or still less than the average between 1867 and 1874, when we had no *Hansard*. And from 1875 to 1897, there were 213 members, and the provinces, exclusive of the Northwest Territories, numbered seven, and our population 5,000,000. This statement, therefore, which appears in full on the *Hansard* of 1898, pages 7027 and 7028 shows that the publication of *Hansard* has in no way affected the length of the sessions, and much less the length of the speeches delivered in this House.

But I agree, Sir, with the hon. gentleman when he says that there is room for some improvement. And I would suggest, as one of the improvements, that we should adopt the system which prevails in many other countries, and change the hours of our sittings. Instead of sitting as we do from three o'clock in the afternoon until the business of the House is done, sometimes until the next day, we should adopt either the United States system or the system that prevails in most of the European countries except England. In the United States the sittings of both Houses begin at twelve o'clock, noon, and are continued until six o'clock, and there are no sittings in the

evening. On the European continent, in Germany the sittings are from two to six o'clock. The hours are the same in Belgium, Italy and France. There are no sittings after dinner in these countries except for committees or other private business.

I propose to show that if the work of our session were better apportioned, if there was not so much time lost at the beginning of sessions and at other periods—I am not making any political charge against this government because other governments have been just as guilty—we could get through all the work we do now by simply lengthening the sitting before six o'clock and having none after that hour.

I have here a statement, very carefully prepared by Mr. Desjardins of our *Hansard* staff, and the preparation of which involved considerable labour, which gives the average length of each day's sitting in every session as far back as 1875, and by that statement it will be seen that the average sitting did not exceed six hours per day. The statement is as follows :

SYNOPSIS.

Showing the length of each session and the number of hours of each day's sitting, from the first publication of the Official Debates in 1875 up to 1899, inclusively.

Session of 1875. Opening, February 4; closing, April 8.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 64. Number of sittings, 48. Number of hours of sitting, 285.15. Average length of each sitting, 5 hours and 56 minutes. The shortest sitting, 1 hour. The longest sitting, 10 hours and 30 minutes. Thirty-six sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twelve sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1876. Opening, February 10; closing, April 12.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 63. Number of sittings, 46. Number of hours of sitting, 288.49. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 16 minutes. The shortest sitting, 45 minutes. The longest sitting, 10 hours and 35 minutes. Thirty-one sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Fifteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1877. Opening, February 8; closing, April 28.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 80. Number of sittings, 59. Number of hours of sitting, 401.35. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 48 minutes. The shortest sitting, 35 minutes. The longest sitting, 12 hours and 20 minutes. Forty-three sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Sixteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1878. Opening, February 7; closing, May 10.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 93. Number of sittings, 67. Number of hours of sitting, 487.50. Average length of each sitting, 7 hours and 16 minutes. The shortest sitting, 40 minutes. The longest sitting, 13 hours and 5 minutes. Thirty-nine sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty-eight sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1879. Opening, February 13; closing, May 15.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 92. Number of sittings, 63. Number of hours of sitting, 371. Average length of each sitting, 5 hours and 53 minutes. The shortest sitting, 25 minutes. The longest sitting, 12 hours and 10 minutes. Fifty-three sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Ten sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1880. Opening, February 12; closing, May 7.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 86. Number of sittings, 57. Number of hours of sitting, 376.55. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 36 minutes. The shortest sitting, 1 hour. The longest sitting, 11 hours and 25 minutes. Forty-one sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Sixteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1880-81. Opening, December 9; closing, March 21.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 103. Number of sittings, 65. Number of hours of sitting, 430.10. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 37 minutes. The shortest sitting, 40 minutes. The longest sitting, 15 hours. Forty-four sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty-one sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1882. Opening, February 9; closing, May 17.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 98. Number of sittings, 68. Number of hours of sitting, 467.35. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 52 minutes. The shortest sitting, 40 minutes. The longest sitting, 14 hours and 30 minutes. Thirty-nine sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty-nine sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1883. Opening, February 8; closing, May 25.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 107. Number of sittings, 73. Number of hours of sitting, 393.10. Average length of each sitting, 5 hours and 27 minutes. The shortest sitting, 30 minutes. The longest sitting, 11 hours and 40 minutes. Fifty-four sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Nineteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1884. Opening, January 17; closing, April 19.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 94. Number of sittings, 67. Number of hours of sitting, 418.45. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 15 minutes. The shortest sitting, 40 minutes. The longest sitting, 11 hours. Forty-three sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty-four sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1885. Opening, January 29; closing, July 20.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 173. Number of sittings, 119. Number of hours of sitting, 957.35. Average length of each sitting, 8 hours and 2 minutes. The shortest sitting, 45 minutes. The longest sitting, 51 hours. Fifty-seven sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Sixty-two sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1886. Opening, February 25; closing, June 2.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 88. Number of sittings, 65. Number of hours of sitting, 440.16. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 46 minutes. The shortest sitting, 20 minutes. The longest sitting, 12 hours and 45 minutes. Forty-six sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Nineteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1887. Opening, April 13; closing, June 23.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 72. Number of sittings, 49. Number of hours of sitting, 297.05. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 3 minutes. The shortest sitting, 40 minutes. The longest sitting, 12 hours and 10 minutes. Thirty-six sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Thirteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1888. Opening, February 23; closing, May 22.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 90. Number of sittings, 61. Number of hours of sitting, 384.40. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 18 minutes. The shortest sitting, 20 minutes. The longest sitting, 11 hours and 40 minutes. Forty-two

sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Nineteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1889. Opening, January 31; closing, May 2.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 92. Number of sittings, 65. Number of hours of sitting, 417.35. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 25 minutes. The shortest sitting, 20 minutes. The longest sitting, 10 hours and 25 minutes. Forty-seven sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Eighteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1890. Opening, January 16; closing, May 16.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 121. Number of sittings, 81. Number of hours of sitting, 514.36. The average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 21 minutes. The shortest sitting, 30 minutes. The longest sitting, 9 hours and 50 minutes. Fifty-seven sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty-four sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1891. Opening, April 29; closing, September 30.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 155. Number of sittings, 102. Number of hours of sitting, 644.15. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 19 minutes. The shortest sitting, 30 minutes. The longest sitting, 11 hours and 15 minutes. Seventy-nine sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty-three sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1892. Opening, February 25; closing, July 9.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 136. Number of sittings, 85. Number of hours of sitting, 512.10. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 1 minute. The shortest sitting, 30 minutes. The longest sitting, 10 hours and 45 minutes. Sixty-five sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1893. Opening, January 26; closing, April 1.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 66. Number of sittings, 47. Number of hours of sitting, 298.40. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 21 minutes. The shortest sitting, 25 minutes. The longest sitting, 12 hours and 50 minutes. Thirty-seven sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Ten sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1894. Opening, March 15; closing, July 23.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 131. Number of sittings, 86. Number of hours of sitting, 560.05. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 30 minutes. The shortest sitting, 1 hour and 20 minutes. The longest sitting, 9 hours and 55 minutes. Sixty-eight sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Eighteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1895. Opening, April 18; closing, July 22.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 96. Number of sittings, 65. Number of hours of sitting, 382.35. Average length of each sitting, 5 hours and 52 minutes. The shortest sitting, 1 hour. The longest sitting, 10 hours and 40 minutes. Fifty-seven sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Eight sittings lasted seven hours and over.

First Session of 1896. Opening, January 2; closing, April 23.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 113. Number of sittings, 70. Number of hours of sitting, 640.15. Average length of each sitting, 9 hours and 8 minutes. The shortest sitting, 50 minutes. The longest sitting, 117 hours. Fifty-two sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Eighteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Second Session of 1896. Opening, August 19; closing, October 5.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 48. Number of sittings, 34. Number of hours of sitting, 209.20.

Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 27 minutes. The shortest sitting, 40 minutes. The longest sitting, 9 hours and 20 minutes. Twenty-eight sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Six sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1897. Opening, March 25; closing, June 29.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 97. Number of sittings, 65. Number of hours of sitting, 589.13. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 47 minutes. The shortest sitting, 55 minutes. The longest sitting, 11 hours and 50 minutes. Fifty-one sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Fourteen sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1898. Opening, February 3; closing, June 13.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 131. Number of sittings, 86. Number of hours of sitting, 589.13. Average length of each sitting, 6 hours and 51 minutes. The shortest sitting, 55 minutes. The longest sitting, 12 hours and 40 minutes. Sixty-six sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty sittings lasted seven hours and over.

Session of 1899. Opening, March 16; closing, August 11.—Number of days from opening till close of the session, 149. Number of sittings, 99. Number of hours of sitting, 753.10. Average length of each sitting, 7 hours and 36 minutes. The shortest sitting, 1 hour and 10 minutes. The longest sitting, 27 hours and 10 minutes. Seventy-one sittings lasted seven hours and less each. Twenty-eight sittings lasted seven hours and over.

The above includes twenty-six sessions of the House of Commons. It will be seen that 1,282 sittings lasted only seven hours each or less, and 510 seven hours and over. Adding together all the sittings, we find that the total number is 1,792, and the total duration 11,978 hours and 52 minutes. This gives an average of 6 hours and 41 minutes per sitting.

It should be observed that in making this compilation, we have assumed that the Speaker each day took the chair at three o'clock, and resumed it after recess at eight o'clock. But it would be nearer the mark to say 3 hours and 15 minutes and 8 hours and 15 minutes, which would take half an hour off the length given for each sitting, and make the average 6 hours and 11 minutes, or in round numbers, 6 hours.

Allowance should be made, besides, for two extraordinary sessions, that of 1885 and the first session of 1896. In the former the sittings were of an extraordinary length because of the particular legislation then before the House. In 1896 there was also one sitting of unusual length, 117 hours, and two others of fifty-three and thirty-five hours, or three sittings lasting 205 hours. If these extraordinary sittings, as well as many others that could be mentioned, although of a less duration, were put aside, the average length would be exactly six hours.

Mr. Speaker, after giving those statistics, I may say that I think it will be possible to make a better apportionment of the work of the House by transferring the hours of the sittings to an earlier period of the day, and by ending them at six o'clock, as is done in many other countries, especially in that favourite country of my hon. friend, the United States. This arrangement would give the members a better chance to attend to the business of the committees, which, I must say, are a good deal neglected, especially one or two of them. These committees at present have to sit in the morn-

ing, when the members who have to attend them are tired with a long night's sitting, and are unable in many instances to attend to the committee meetings. Now, Sir, it cannot be denied that the principal work of legislation is done in the committees. It is in the committees that these laws, these Bills that are brought before the House, are carefully studied and considered before being passed by this House. So much is that the case, that when a Bill has been thus carefully examined by a committee, it is very seldom that it has to be considered any further in this House. We look upon these committees as being the caretakers of legislation. Therefore, I think that a better time should be given to the work of these committees, that they should meet in the evening, and that the House should only meet in the afternoon, and in that case the House might begin earlier. There would not then be so many of those long speeches of which my hon. friend has complained, because in the afternoon the members would be aware that they have to attend to this committee work, and they would not, therefore, have an opportunity of exhibiting themselves for the sake of their electors. When the House sits in the evening, we have the whole night before us, and what we would not feel inclined to do in the afternoon, we might feel more at liberty to do at night. The members then naturally say: Oh, well; it won't prevent so and so from speaking, because he has lots of time; we have until to-morrow morning to make our speeches. More than that, Sir, I believe that we should give some consideration to the health of the members of this House, and not compel them to remain during these weary all-night sittings.

Mr. J. H. BELL (East Prince). My name has been mentioned as a member of the proposed committee. I am in entire accord with the resolution and with the sentiments expressed by the hon. gentleman who moved it (Mr. Charlton). The hon. gentleman mentions three principal causes of the waste of time of the House. The first one is in connection with the motion to adjourn. That is a privilege which ought to be very jealously guarded. But, it has been abused, especially on private members' day. An hon. member rises in his place and, under the pretense of urgency, will move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the hon. gentleman tell us how he could prevent that?

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) I will come to that in a moment. He will then speak upon some party question, and that necessitates a reply from the other side. The necessary result is that the day is lost. Private members' day has become a farce. The other causes assigned for the waste of time are frequent speeches and long speeches. I look

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upon it that the man who makes a long speech commits a threefold wrong; he injures himself, he injures his fellows, and he injures the public. He injures himself, because he frustrates the very object he has in view. He speaks two, three or four hours. The public have no time to read his speech, and if they do read it, they cannot remember it. It is neither read nor remembered.

Mr. DAVIN. It is a very good thing.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) Yes, there are some speeches better neither read nor remembered.

Mr. MONTAGUE. What would you call a long speech?

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) In the English Commons, orators, like Chamberlain, confine their remarks to half, or three-quarters of an hour, and that upon important questions,—questions to which they have given a lifetime of consideration. The speeches delivered in this House, that are read and remembered by the people, are those that occupy only a short time in delivery. Without making any invidious distinction, I may say, that the speech to which we listened, a few nights ago, of the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), in reply to the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa)—a speech which occupied about half an hour in its delivery, is an instance in point. It is a speech that has been read and will be remembered by every man in Canada. It will be embalmed not in *Hansard*, but in the hearts of the people. So if one would consult his own interests he will make his speech as short as possible. There was an impression at one time, that a man who made a long speech manifested great ability. That impression has been relegated to the past. The man who now makes a long speech indicates that he has no power of condensation of thought, no skill in selecting and presenting ideas. Nowadays a long speech is considered, in the minds of those best capable of judging, a sign of weakness and not of power. Again, the man who wastes time in long speeches injures his fellow-members. The time of this House is valuable. The man who wastes one hour of it, wastes not one hour alone but two hundred other hours besides. He consumes the time of the other members with that of his own, and it is this consideration which gives to this resolution its greatest import. The members of the House are anxious to get through the public business, in a business way, that they may go home and transact their own. Besides, the long speech-maker does an injury to the public. He lengthens out *Hansard* and incurs unnecessary cost of printing, and every day that this House is in session, beyond what it ought to be, involves a loss to the country of many thousands of dollars.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I do not want to interrupt the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell), but he is speaking so long, that other gentlemen will not be able to discuss the question. The subject drops at six o'clock.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) I have only been speaking five minutes. I hope I am not wasting time.

Mr. BERGERON. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell), is killing the measure.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) It will be conceded, that abuses exist, but how are they to be remedied? The first proposition is to abolish *Hansard*. We adopted that plan in Prince Edward Island for the purpose of saving time and expense, but in this parliament I consider it an entirely different proposition. I would regret to see *Hansard* entirely abolished. Its abolition would not do away with long speeches; they would publish them in newspapers, or in some other way. This parliament is the highest court in the realm, and *Hansard* is its record. I would just as soon see the courts of law abolish their records as see this parliament abolish its record. There is another proposition—the shortening of the report. That might be carried out. The reports of the early sessions of parliament, were shorter than at the present. *Hansard* would be just as valuable and more readable if the debates were considerably shortened. But the shortening process will not effect a saving of the time of the House. Then, there is a third proposition to limit the time of debate. That is the basis of the closure in the English parliament. That method was adopted to meet a special condition—to overcome organized obstruction. I do not believe that the necessity exists in this parliament for the closure, and I do not think that any member would desire to see it introduced. The fourth proposition is to put a time limit to the length of the speech. This device is adopted in the Ontario Legislature and in the United States Congress. I do not say what the proper length of time for a speech should be, because that would depend upon the occasion and upon the importance of the question under consideration. In the Congress of the United States, they limit the speeches to one hour. Some modification of that rule might well be adopted in this parliament. It would have one advantage of saving the valuable time of the House. Then, there would be another object gained, it would compel members to condense their speeches.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) I am very glad that my suggestion has met with such hearty approval, and I trust it will bear fruit.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell), with the best possible incentive in that direction, is in himself a good example of how his proposition would be carried out.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) I will undertake to measure my speeches with those of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague), and then he will feel ashamed of his criticism.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Time.

Mr. BELL (P.E.I.) This limitation of time would compel members to select and emphasize merely the main points of their argument. That would ensure their speeches being read and remembered. It may not be that very much benefit will arise from the appointment of this committee, but this discussion will have the effect of calling the attention of the House to a condition of things which every one deplors and which every one would desire to see remedied. Healthy public opinion will be created. In the parliament of Great Britain there is no limitation to the length of time a member may speak, but, nevertheless, there is an unwritten rule forced upon parliament by public sentiment, that speeches must be short and to the point. I believe that this discussion, if it does nothing else, will have the effect of creating in this House that same public sentiment which prevails in England with reference to the length of speeches and the despatch of parliamentary business, and that without any written rule members will be compelled to speak briefly to the point and not to speak too often.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). The hon. gentleman who introduced this motion (Mr. Charlton) apparently had the object in view of shortening speeches in this House. Let me, however, call attention to the fact, that while he intimated his desire to make a few remarks, he only took forty-two minutes to do so. He gave the best example of a man wasting a lot of time in saying very little that we have had in the House for years. Then, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bell) who last spoke, condensed his speech into twenty-nine minutes, and he thought he had scarcely commenced. I have been left with five minutes of the clock in which to speak, and, therefore, I will be obliged to condense. In my judgment, it would be a mistake if any such rules were introduced as those suggested by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). In a deliberative assembly such as ours, it has not been the judgment of the wisdom of the age, that speeches should be curtailed or that freedom of speech should be in any way interfered with. I have before me that excellent work by Sir John Bourinot, on parliamentary procedure.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Read it all.

Mr. SPROULE. I think hon. gentlemen will agree with me that Sir John Bourinot has condensed his references to this very question, into an admirable digest, which is as follows:

Members are not limited to time when they address the House. Attempts have been made in vain in the English Commons to pass resolutions confining speeches to a certain fixed limit of time. For instance, in the session of 1849, whilst the standing orders were under consideration, Mr. Milner Gibson proposed that members should be confined to speeches of an hour's duration, excepting only the introducers of original motions and the ministers of the Crown; but the House negatived the proposed amendment by a large majority. Similar motions have sometimes passed in the old parliament of Canada; but a short experience proved that it was not practicable nor conducive to the public interests (which are necessarily involved in free discussion) to limit time. (Leg. Ass. J., 1851), half an hour; (1854-5) three-quarters of an hour. In the House of Representatives in Washington there are rules limiting the time of speaking.

But whilst no limit has been placed to the length of a member's speech in the English Commons, a debate may now be closed when the Speaker or the chairman of Committee of the Whole is of opinion that a subject has been adequately discussed, and the House resolves that the question should be put forthwith. The closure has not yet been adopted in the Canadian parliament.

And I am quite sure that it will be a long time before it will be adopted. I would like to say something with regard to the reading of speeches and very long extracts, but as my time is up, I will reserve that for another occasion, and move the adjournment of the debate.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Six o'clock.

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

AFTER RECESS.

THIRD READING.

Bill (No. 51) to incorporate the Holiness Movement Church in Canada.—(Mr. Belcourt.)

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 25) respecting the Brandon and South-western Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

Bill (No. 66) respecting the Cowichan Valley Railway Company.—(Mr. McInnes.)

Bill (No. 74) respecting the Northern Commercial Telegraph Company (Limited).—(Mr. Domville.)

Bill (No. 52) to incorporate the Morris and Portage Railway Company.—Mr. Macdonell.)

Bill (No. 65) to incorporate the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway Company.—(Mr. Costigan.)

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 83) respecting the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company.—(Mr. Haley.)

Bill (No. 108) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of J. W. Anderson.—(Mr. Cargill.)

Mr. SPROULE.

GRAIN TRANSPORTATION TO THE SEABOARD.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Bennett:

That, in the opinion of this House, it is advisable to take a definite line of action with regard to the question of transportation of the grain and other commodities of the North-west Territories, Manitoba and the United States, with a view of centreing the same to the greatest possible extent in Canadian channels.

Mr. WM. McCLEARY (Welland). I can hardly hope to add any new interest or life to a debate which has already dragged along its weary course for many weeks in this House. I do not propose to take up the time of the House at any great length, particularly after being admonished by the different gentlemen who, this afternoon, discussed the propriety of short speeches. I shall endeavour to profit by what has been said and shall confine myself to as short a time as possible in making known to the House my views concerning the very important question which is now up for consideration. The question involved in the motion is one which has received the attention of hon. gentlemen who have preceded me, in a very exhaustive manner. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) gave us a week ago a very instructive, exhaustive and elaborate speech on this subject, and, to my mind, furnished a great deal of information that should set at rest for ever any quibbling with regard to the decision of the government to enlarge and improve Port Colborne harbour, which is the key to lake navigation in this country. So much has been said on this point already that I need not advance further argument, and shall content myself with saying that I am well pleased with the policy which the government have adopted and which the Minister of Railways and Canals has stated so clearly to this House.

I propose, however, for a short time to refer to some observations made by hon. gentlemen, particularly on my own side of the House, who are opposed somewhat to the attitude of the government on this transportation question. The proposition to my mind resolves itself into this—as to whether an all-water route or a combined rail and water route, or an all rail route should be the one adopted as the best means of carrying the products of the west to the tide waters in the east. My hon. friend from East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), who moved this resolution, took the ground that a combined route is the preferable. In support of that position he told us that the United States of America have proved beyond question that a combined water and rail route is the one most advantageous. They have proved this, he said, by the fact that of the very large amount of grain which goes to the port of Buffalo, only a very small percentage is carried by water to the city of New York,

and that the railways do the greater part of the work. This, he argues, proves conclusively that a combined water and rail route is the best one and the one that should be adopted by this parliament and country. I want just to say to my hon. friend that it proves nothing of the kind. All it proves is the superiority of the well-equipped system of railways running from the city of Buffalo to the city of New York over the miserable ditch of water called the Erie Canal, with not more than five or six feet navigable water in it, navigated by barges or scows, propelled by that new and scientific and swift power known as mule muscle. It has been an unsolved problem to those of us who know of the go-ahead-activeness of the United States people, their business activity and pluck, why this waterway, so-called the Erie Canal, has not been long ago put into proper condition for the carrying of grain to the city of New York. But to those who know anything about the working of the legislature of the state of New York and its public men, the reason is quite obvious. Time and time again the proposition has been advanced to enlarge that canal, but just so soon as it was made evident that the New York legislature was in earnest, at once the railways were in evidence, and the legislature and the public men of that state were throttled and the work laid aside. Even to-day, when there is a proposition before the people of New York State to spend \$60,000,000 in the enlargement of the Erie Canal, we find again the railway people to the front, endeavouring to take again the public men of the state of New York by the throat, and they say: Instead of the state spending this \$60,000,000, give us a fair interest on the money, and we agree to carry every bushel of grain that comes to the city of Buffalo to the city of New York for nothing. What does that mean? It means the shutting up practically of every railway we have in our country for the carrying of grain, should a proposition of that kind take effect, and the public men of the state of New York be thus throttled by the railway people. The Erie Canal has never had a chance to compete with the railways, simply because it never was in a condition to carry the grain. With 400 miles nearly of so-called canal, it could hardly be expected that these antediluvian scows moved by mules, until the last year or two, when a few steam tugs have been brought into service, could compete with the railways; but so far as the rates are concerned, the Erie Canal has always had the call, and has kept the freight rates on the railways down to somewhat of a proper level. To-day we find that the railways for fear of the enlargement of the Erie Canal, have agreed upon a through rate from Buffalo to New York of 3 cents a bushel, and from Chicago to New York by an all rail route of somewhere in the neighbourhood of 7 or 8 cents per bushel. So that if the ex-

perience in the United States has demonstrated anything at all, it has simply demonstrated the superiority of these railway companies and their management to take hold of and throttle and cripple the men who are interested, or who should have been interested at least, in the enlargement and reconstruction of the Erie Canal. So that I think the reference of my hon. friend from East Simcoe to the United States has not been a very happy one for himself.

Then we had a speech from the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Osler), whom I do not see in his place to-night. I would be very sorry to impute anything like selfishness to that hon. gentleman, because I consider him too large-minded a man for that sort of thing. His mind is wide and broad and liberal, but we must remember that he is a railway man and has no hesitation whatever in telling us that the railways of this country are going to be the channel through which the trade is bound to take its course. While I say this of the hon. gentleman personally, I cannot help feeling that he is but the index of reflection of the Board of Trade of the city of Toronto. The Board of Trade of the city of Toronto is composed of most estimable citizens. It is made up of men of standing in commerce, not inferior, I presume, to the Board of Trade of any other city of this fair Dominion. On this Board of Trade are some of the strongest men, financially, in the country, men of credit, men of responsibility. But, strangely enough, that Board of Trade has got the idea that governments and legislatures are only called into existence to pass laws and do business for the city of Toronto. They have an idea that the time of this parliament and the time of the provincial legislature should be almost entirely taken up in looking after their welfare and their interests. If there is any spare time, why, it can be devoted to legislating for the interests of the other five or six million people. They would if they could, reverse that scripture which says that 'the earth is the Lord's and fullness thereof,' and they would say 'the earth is Toronto's, and the fullness thereof.' Now, these gentlemen who compose the Board of Trade of Toronto have issued, I cannot say how many mandaments, how many edicts, how many bulls, how many propagandas, ultimatums and so forth, in reference to what should be the policy of this government and this parliament regarding the trade of this country. I have before me one of their pronouncements which, however, I will not take up the time of the House to read because it is too long. It consists of twenty-one articles, each one of which virtually asks this country to abandon our Welland Canal system and build a railway from the city of Toronto to the town of Collingwood. For some unexplained reason, a reason that is not founded on fact at all, they tell us that if this were done we should

see the great majority of the vessels carrying on trade on the upper lakes, sending their cargoes down to the city of Toronto, and that there they will tranship their cargoes into barges of 60,000 or 65,000 bushels capacity, which will thence go on to Montreal; and that, they say, would be the proper highway through which the immense quantity of the commodities from the west must be brought to tide water.

Now, Sir, I am not here to find fault with any of the systems advocated by the gentlemen who are interested in their own localities. But I want to call the attention of this House to the fact that there has been a railway in existence between the city of Toronto and the town of Collingwood for a great many years, one of the oldest lines of railway in the Dominion of Canada. There was a time in the history of this country when that railway did a fair amount of business in carrying the products and trade of the west; but that was a time when freights were at least ten times higher than they are at present. When carriers were charging from 25 to 30 cents a bushel for carrying wheat and other grain from Chicago to Kingston, that line of railway did an enormous business; but as soon as water navigation was established and freights went down to 4 or 5 cents per bushel, that railway has done nothing at all. Now, I would like those gentlemen who have faith in that mode of transport to explain why the trade fell down to the meagre amount that passed over that road last year. The other day the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), I think, presented a report to the House showing that something like 600,000 bushels of wheat went down to the town of Collingwood, which would about fill two of the large lake boats now in use. So you will see the absolute folly of this House considering the propriety of building another railway, when there is one already existing. True, they say: We will make that line only 70 miles long which is now over 100 miles long. But there would have to be the same transshipment at each point, and if there was anything in it for the Grand Trunk Railway they could straighten up their crooked road, which they will have to do anyway at their own expense, instead of asking the people of this country to contribute the money to build a railway between Collingwood and Toronto.

Now, without taking up time in referring to any of the other propositions, I want to say a few words regarding the proposition of enlarging and improving the Port Colborne harbour. The Toronto Board of Trade tells us in this declaration of theirs that the Welland Canal has proved to be a failure, that not only has it failed to capture the trade or any considerable amount of the trade, but it has been the means of preventing Canadian ship-building upon the upper lakes. They would practically, as I

Mr. McCLEARY.

said before, have us abandon the Welland Canal, and for that matter, the St. Lawrence route, on which the government has spent altogether in the neighbourhood of \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000. Now, Sir, the reason why the Welland Canal has not been able to carry more of the grain that comes down from the great lakes is very easily stated. The Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) the other evening gave the reason exactly when he said that we had no entrance to the Welland Canal. There never was an entrance at Port Colborne worthy of the name. Notwithstanding that the government of this country have spent upward of \$25,000,000 on the Welland Canal, there never was a proper entrance made to that canal at Port Colborne, the very place where the government ought at first to have made a proper entrance to the canal.

It was absolutely impossible for the Welland Canal to compete with the trade going to Buffalo under the conditions under which the port of Port Colborne had been from the time the canal was built. We have heard a good deal about the slowness of the government, in the past, in the enlargement of the canals. Much has been said about the apathy of the late government in regard to the enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canals and the Welland Canal. I am not here to apologize, in any sense, for the party that I am identified with. I believe, myself, that the work might have been and should have been proceeded with far more quickly, and to the advantage of this country. I am here to say that the slowness with which the work of enlarging the Welland Canal was done was the first great mistake that was made by the government of this country. The enlargement of the Welland Canal was undertaken in 1872. The government of Sir John Macdonald appointed a commission to inquire into the advisability of the enlargement of the Welland Canal. That commission reported; Sir John Macdonald's government was turned out; the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie formed a government, and from that time down to the present, when successive governments have been asking for money to do the work, they have been apologizing for this expenditure, and from the opposition, let it be a Tory or a Grit opposition, there has always been a determined hostility to granting money for the speedy fulfilment of the work of the enlargement of this canal. Mr. Mackenzie, in 1875, informed the House that it was the intention of his government to have but twelve feet of water on the mitre sill in the enlarged canal.

Mr. CLARKE. Who said that?

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Mackenzie. It has been stated in this House, more than once, that Mr. Mackenzie always intended that there should be fourteen feet of water in the enlarged Welland Canal. Let me read

what he said, himself, in 1875, on the vote that was asked to apply on the works then being done. In 1875, Mr. Mackenzie said

With reference to the Welland Canal, this is the principal work in many ways, because it paid a considerable revenue over the amount expended in working it. Nearly all the contracts were let providing for the construction of locks 270 feet long, 45 feet wide, and having 12 feet of water on the mitre sills.

That was Mr. Mackenzie's proposition to the House in 1875, and it was, that, instead of fourteen feet of navigation, as we have been told, there should only be twelve feet of navigation. However, Mr. Mackenzie did not have the support of his party in that regard any more than he had the support of the opposition, because, I find, in the very same session, that Mr. Holton, who was then a member of his government, when the House was going into Committee of Supply, moved the following resolution:

That, in the opinion of this House, steps should be taken to ascertain the feasibility and cost of adapting the Welland Canal to fourteen feet.

That proposition was supported by the Hon. Mr. Tupper, who was then the ex-Minister of Public Works, and supported as well, by many hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House. Mr. Mackenzie objected to the resolution being passed, because, he said, that, being made when the House was asked to go into Committee of Supply by the government, it would be taken as a vote of want of confidence. Mr. Holton, Mr. Tupper and others endeavoured to persuade him that such would not be the case, but that it was merely to adopt the principle that the Welland Canal should provide for fourteen feet of navigation. During that debate a letter was read from the late Mr. Shanly, whose authority and ability to give an expression of opinion are well known in this country. Mr. Shanly wrote:

The Welland Canal can never perform its proper functions so long as larger vessels can put in at Buffalo than can come down to Kingston, and it seems too bad, with our long canal experience in Canada, the improvements now entered upon should be deliberately planned on an imperfect and insufficient model.

He was speaking then for a fourteen-foot navigation. I am referring to this simply as a matter of history in regard to the building and enlargement of the Welland Canal, so that, we will find out where the blame lies and who is chargeable with the delay. You cannot, as I intimated before, charge it to either government, because I will show the House further, that when Mr. Mackenzie went out of power and when Sir John Macdonald was called upon to form a government, and did form a government, the then Minister of Public Works, now the hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), wanted to blame the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie for adopting the fourteen-foot navigation. The government have always been afraid to take the responsibility of

this work. When a vote of \$2,000,000 was asked for continuing the enlargement of the canal in 1879, Mr. Mackenzie is reported, in *Hansard*, as saying:

It was not the intention of the late government to go beyond twelve feet; so that there was about \$3,000,000 expended or to be expended, on the Welland Canal more than the late government intended to expend.

Now, this, to my mind, shows conclusively what an opposition will do sometimes in order to unfairly criticise a government in doing what they believe to be their duty and what they believe to be in the best interests of the country. The present hon. leader of the opposition—who was then the Minister of Public Works—endeavoured to show Mr. Mackenzie that he had committed himself to the fourteen-foot navigation, and that he was not responsible for it. However, there were men in the House at that time, who were big enough and who had foresight enough to see what the future of this country was going to be. The Hon. Mr. White, then member for Cardwell, said:

Whoever was responsible for the deepening of the Welland Canal to fourteen feet, he thought, were to be congratulated for having decided that it should be done at once.

So that, what is taking place to-day, on the opposition side of the House, on the part of some hon. members, in, I think, unfairly criticising the policy of the government in regard to this expenditure for enlarging the Welland Canal, is only history repeating itself.

Mr. CLARKE. Is there any proposition to enlarge the Welland Canal before the House?

Mr. McCLEARY. Before this House?

Mr. CLARKE. Yes.

Mr. McCLEARY. I can answer my hon. friend (Mr. Clarke) by saying that the Welland Canal has proven itself to be absolutely inadequate, in its present condition, to take any considerable amount of the trade going to Buffalo unless the entrance to the canal is properly and thoroughly enlarged to accommodate vessels going there. Therefore, when my hon. friend (Mr. Clarke) endeavours to draw a red herring across the track—as he would himself say—he is certainly not doing credit to his judgment or sustaining the opinion which gentlemen in this House has of him, that he is a man of large views and proper conceptions regarding the requirements of this great country.

As to the delay and the causes of the delay of the work on the canals, I have a remark to make. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) put a question on the Order paper the other day, asking if it was not the intention of the late government to proceed slowly with the enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canals, and the Minister of Railways and Canals

gave the answer that he believed it was. The hon. gentleman backed up his statement by saying that the ex-minister (Mr. Haggart) had lately given evidence in some court to the effect that he told the contractors that the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) had given his opinion that the money would not be expended on certain sections immediately. That reminds me, Mr. Speaker, that the old saying about chickens coming home to roost sometimes proves true, and it never was truer than in the case of the member for North Wellington. The hon. member (Mr. McMullen), who was so eager to charge the late government with delay in the enlargement of the canals, has placed himself on record regarding the enlargement of these very canals, and, as I hope he always does, he honestly, fairly and sincerely discussed the expenditures of the government in this respect. In 1892, he had something to say on the enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canal route. When the House was in supply, and when the late government was asking for an expenditure of \$400,000 for this purpose, this is what the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen) said :

It is to be regretted that this work should have been commenced at all until its necessity was fully and clearly decided upon. It is well known that two-thirds of the grain shipped from the west is unloaded at Kingston and put into barges and run down through the canals to Montreal. When we consider that railways are now constructed in all parts and operated so cheaply, and that the canal service is growing less in every country in the world, even in the United States, where it is only kept for the sake of competition with railways, we must come to the conclusion that this is a very unwise expenditure.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. POUPORE. Who said that ?

Mr. McCLEARY. Why, that language was used in this House by the hon. gentleman from North Wellington, who the other day asked, in all sincerity, I hope, who was responsible for the delay in the enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canals. It is rather hard, of course, to reconcile his anxiety now, with his previous statement that practically the canals ought not to be enlarged. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals rather incisively chastised my hon. friend from East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) for saying that the government should call a halt in any further expenditure on the canals, and particularly the expenditure at Port Colborne. I am glad the minister (Mr. Blair) relieved me of that duty, because, as a personal and political friend of mine, I would not have cared to say the things about the hon. member (Mr. Bennett) that the Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair) did. But, the hon. minister (Mr. Blair) might have looked at some of the utterances of the men who are now supporting him, and, indeed, he might

Mr. McCLEARY.

have considered the remarks made by one of his ministers who sits in council with him. The hon. member for East Prince (Mr. Bell) told us in his speech the other day :

I do not know what the policy of the government may be, but to my mind the policy they ought adopt, and which I hope they have pursued, is a policy of waiting and watching.

Waiting and watching for what, may I ask ? I hope it is not for an election. Perhaps he wanted to wait and watch until the port of Buffalo got all that is left of the trade coming from the North-west. Then let me direct the attention of the Minister of Railways and Canals to what was said by the minister without portfolio (Mr. Dobell). He told us :

The Minister of Public Works should hold his hand in this expenditure—

And that

—the day of large carriers is done away with on the upper lakes.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) told the House that the trade of the west would be carried in smaller craft of 60,000 or 65,000 bushels instead of craft carrying 250,000 or 300,000 bushels. I am afraid the hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) has not made a very careful study of navigation, and of the ship-building trade in Canada or the United States, else he never would have made that assertion. Sir, the smaller craft will never take the place of the large vessels on the lakes. I trust the government will not take the advice of the hon. member in this matter. That hon. gentleman (Mr. Dobell) has taken a sort of particular interest in this fast Atlantic service, and the government have evidently been advised by him in that, because in stead of having—as we might have had to-day, if the government had signed the contract they found before them when they took office—instead of having a complete fast Atlantic service to-day that would be of incalculable value to the people of Canada, we have nothing to show for all the exertions that have been made to promote that scheme.

Mr. BRODER. We have a bottle-nosed model.

Mr. McCLEARY. Yes, we have a bottle-nosed model, but as that is neither very fast nor a large carrier, it is of particularly little use to us. If the observations of the hon. gentleman from Quebec West (Mr. Dobell) regarding our canals go to the shippers of the west, and they believe them, then there is no use in the government spending a single dollar on the Welland Canal or on any other canal. He told us that our canal system was practically shut up for six months in the year, but had he taken the trouble to look at the last report of the Minister of Railways and Canals, he would have found that the canals were opened

on the 20th of April and closed on the 14th of December, giving 238 days of navigation, or exactly eight months, instead of six months, as he said. So that when the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals scores my hon. friend from East Simcoe for asking the government to stay their hand, he must be very careful that the hon. member for West Quebec does not use his influence over the government to make them believe that the statements he has made on the floor of parliament have some foundation in fact. Now, Sir, I want to say a few words regarding the volume of trade and the rates of freight by all-water route, by all-rail route, and by both combined. My hon. friend, the ex-Minister of Railways and Canals, in the very elaborate and instructive speech he made some nights ago, told us that there was but a moiety of the grain that went to the city of Buffalo that we could possibly compete for and obtain. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals took up that question, and I may say he understood the hon. ex-Minister of Railways and Canals just as I understood him; but when I come to read the report of the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Haggart's) speech, I find that I misunderstood him. I understood him to say that there were about 19,000,000 bushels of grain exported from New York that we could compete for. What he did say, I find by looking at the report of his speech, was that there were but 19,000,000 bushels of wheat exported from New York that we could compete for. This is what he said:

Let us look for a moment at the figures of the trade. About 273,000,000 bushels of grain go to the port of Buffalo each year. What proportion of that grain can we contend for in order to transport it to the other side? You must look at what proportion of that 273,000,000 bushels that go to the port of Buffalo is exported from the seaboard to Great Britain. You will find that only a moiety of that is exported to the other side. If you look at the export from the port of New York, you will find that only 19,000,000 bushels of wheat are sent from New York to all foreign countries.

And that is for the year 1897. Now, to correct the impression which I got from the remarks of the hon. ex-Minister of Railways and Canals, that he referred to grain, and not to wheat alone, I find by the last report of the Board of Trade of the city of New York that the grain exported from the port of New York in 1896, 1897 and 1898 was as follows: In 1896, 69,000,000 bushels; in 1897, 117,000,000 bushels; in 1898, 124,000,000 bushels. We would be able to compete at Port Colborne for at least 100,000,000 bushels of that, provided Port Colborne were placed on the same footing as the city of Buffalo in regard to its harbour and wharfage accommodation. There can be no question about that, I believe there are other exports from the United States which we could also compete for. When we look at the great volume of exports from the United

States to Great Britain, it is only fair to say that if we were in a proper position to receive it, we would be able to take a considerable quantity of that. By the last report I can lay my hands on, I find that the total exports of agricultural products from the United States were \$853,683,570 worth of which there went to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland \$649,885,790 worth; and for this we could put ourselves in a position to compete by our canal system or our railway system.

Now, I want to give a few more figures regarding rates to show you, as must be conceded by everybody who will give the matter thought, that an all-water route must have an advantage over an all-rail route or a combined rail and water route. Grain has been carried from Chicago to Buffalo at as low a rate as 1 cent a bushel, from Chicago to Ogdensburg at 2½ cents a bushel, and from Chicago to Montreal at 3½ cents a bushel. If there is any railway and water combination that can carry grain that distance for 3½ cents a bushel and make any money, it has yet to be developed; and the scientific energies of man will be strained to a far greater degree than they have ever been in the past to develop a railway that will be able to do anything of the kind.

Now, Sir, I will give you the average freight charges from Chicago to New York, by lake and canal, by lake and rail, and by all-rail, respectively. By lake and canal, corn has been carried from Chicago to New York for 453-100 cents, say 4½ cents a bushel; by lake and rail, for 692-100, or nearly 7 cents a bushel; and by all-rail the lowest rate ever given up to this year has been 12½ cents a bushel on wheat, and 1143-100 cents, or nearly 11½ cents a bushel on corn. My hon. friend for East Grey (Mr. Sproule) says the railways are prepared to do better than that. I know they are, and why? I know that already the railways have formed a combine and are fixing a rate on grain for the coming year at about 8 cents a bushel from Chicago to New York, and that they are agreeing to carry it from Buffalo to New York at 3 cents a bushel; and I will give you the reason why. Let me give my hon. friend from East Grey (Mr. Sproule) the reason why the railway people are ready to give these rates. There is a paper printed in Chicago known as the *Chicago Record*. That paper has a correspondent in this country who has been taking cognizance at what our government is doing in the way of enlarging our canals. Referring to these canals, that paper says:

The railway lines from Chicago to New York, within the last few days, have made a rate on grain for export of 13 cents per 100 pounds, which is equivalent to 7·8 cents a bushel for wheat. The railways between Buffalo and New York have reduced their rates to 3 cents per bushel. . . . The 'Record' comes to the conclusion that the Canadian route will be able to quote considerably lower rates than the rail-

ways. It says that with the old seven-foot Canadian canals, having small and imperfect locks, grain was at one time carried from Chicago to Montreal for 3¼ cents a bushel. The expense of carrying grain in a fourteen-foot vessel, 250 feet long, to Montreal, it is estimated, will be about twice the expense of the same vessel to Buffalo. Good judges of these matters say that such vessels with profit can carry grain from Chicago to Montreal for 2 or 3 cents a bushel. If the estimate of the 'Record' is correct, it is quite clear the Canadian route has the call.

There is no unprejudiced man who knows anything at all about the transport of grain, who does not believe that even if that is not consummated the coming season, it will take place as soon as the harbour of Colborne is put into a proper condition to receive vessels. The reason, and the only reason, why trade has been kept back from our canals, is the fact that we have had no harbour at Port Colborne. It is true that Port Colborne is in my constituency, but I am satisfied that the government have no intention of expending money there for political purposes. I am satisfied that they have no idea of benefiting any of their supporters in this House, and no expectation of gaining support by this expenditure. I think that the government is viewing this matter in a most magnanimous manner. They see that it is the last thing that must be done, that it should have been done at first, and that until Port Colborne is put into proper condition, we will not be able to capture any considerable quantity of the grain now going to Buffalo.

The proposition has been advanced by two or three hon. members on this side, that instead of expending this large amount at Port Colborne, to give us twenty-two feet of navigation, the government should only strive for a fourteen-foot navigation. I think that the hon. member for West Quebec suggested that to the House. He said that the day of large freighters is over, and that there was no need of accommodation at Port Colborne for vessels of that character. Then, some hon. gentleman on this side advanced the proposition, that these large freighters could go to the city of Buffalo, unload their cargoes there, and that our Canadian vessels could take on cargoes at Buffalo and come back to Port Colborne, thence down the Welland and St. Lawrence canals to Montreal. I cannot understand why such a proposition as that should have suggested itself to any hon. gentleman, particularly on this side. Leaving patriotism out of the question, do you think, Mr. Speaker, that it is possible for us to send our Canadian vessels to Buffalo, and get any considerable quantity of trade there? Why, the port of Buffalo has been open to us for thirty or forty years. Why did not our vessels go there for cargoes during all this time? The reason is obvious. Just so soon as a bushel of wheat goes into a United States elevator, it will be returned into United States car-

riers, either boat or railway, and a Canadian vessel would not have the slightest chance of getting any of it.

I was very sorry to hear such a statement made in a Canadian House of Commons. I was very sorry to be told that we should depend upon the port of Buffalo for wharfage accommodation for our boats. It is out of all reason to expect that we could load a single vessel there, unless we were willing to do the carrying for little or nothing.

While our government has been asleep as regards the enlargement of our canals, the people of the United States, particularly in the city of Buffalo, have been wide awake. Just so soon as the enlargement of the Welland Canal was begun in 1871-2, they began spending millions of dollars on the port of Buffalo. That port had no better accommodation than Port Colborne. It had no natural harbour, but the American people spent millions of dollars improving it, and are spending millions of dollars there to-day, building a great breakwater to protect vessels going in. While we have been going along in a slipshod fashion, trade has been leaving us. That is my answer to every one who asks me why the Welland Canal has not come up to the expectations of the governments which expended the money on its enlargement—simply that the canal was never finished and never put in proper condition for business. Time and time again, vessels come down—even small craft carrying from sixty-five to seventy-five thousand bushels of wheat—and, if there was a storm, they would not dare to come in, but would go to Buffalo or stand off for days at Long Point or somewhere else, waiting for good weather in order to get into Port Colborne. Is that any condition in which to leave Port Colborne, which is the key to our great St. Lawrence route, the wonder and admiration of the whole world? Why, Sir, it is almost unpardonable that the several governments of this country have so far neglected and so ruthlessly neglected doing this work years and years ago.

No, I am not charging it to any government in particular. I charge the government that first undertook this work in 1872 and up to 1878 with being negligent and indifferent to the construction of the Welland Canal. They undertook to build the canal with only twelve feet of water. At that time, the old Welland Canal had ten feet of water. There were then running on the upper lakes, when we undertook to enlarge the Welland Canal, over a hundred vessels drawing fourteen feet or over. Such vessels could hardly be expected to get into a canal having only twelve feet of water. When the original Welland Canal was built about seventy years ago—I think it was completed in 1829—there was not a single vessel on the lake drawing more than eight feet of water. William Hamilton Merritt, with foresight that did him credit, discerned

what was coming and what could be brought about by the building of a canal connecting Lake Erie with Lake Ontario. He undertook to gather private capital, and built what is known as the old Welland Canal, with wooden locks. In a very few years, there were on the upper lakes more than a score of vessels that could not get through that canal. Then the building of the old Welland Canal as it exists to-day was undertaken. That was completed in 1845. When it was completed, there were fifty vessels on the upper lakes that could not get through it. On the mitre sills of the old Welland Canal there was supposed to be ten feet six inches of water; but vessels were never allowed to go through drawing more than ten feet of water. Coming on up to the enlargement of the Welland Canal which began, as I said, in 1872—that is the canal as it exists to-day—our government were negligent and as indifferent as subsequent governments. Either they had not the foresight to know what could be done, or, if they had the foresight, they had not the energy and pluck and nerve to proceed at once to finish the canal, and make it fourteen feet navigation. But they dilly-dallied, and, instead of taking only five or six years to build it, it took twelve or fifteen years. And that Welland Canal was opened and vessels navigated it with only twelve feet navigation—twelve feet of water on the mitre sills. So, I think I have amply proved that the governments of our country have never had a proper grasp of this question, have never firmly taken hold of it in a large way; they have never had the faith they pretended to have in our country's development and progress. And now when, at this late day, the government sees the blunder that has been made and attempts to correct it, we find men in this House ready to stand up and ask them to hold their hands, ask them not to spend money in order that we may utilize the enormous expenditure that has already been made on our canal system. It seems to me absurd that gentlemen of intelligence, who know of the great commercial strides that this country has been making in the past, would in word or deed interfere or attempt to interfere with the undertaking that the government has in hand at this time.

I agree, that the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) is not in his seat; but, even in his absence, I wish to say a word or two upon another point. I do hope he will not be influenced by any of the hon. gentlemen in his government who have not the courage that he has. There are some who would hold him back. Last year, I had the pleasure of discussing in the House here a resolution that I placed upon the Order paper regarding the enlargement of Port Colborne harbour. The Minister of Railways and Canals was good enough at that time to sanction every word I said. He made these remarks:

Sir, having that in view—

That is, securing a considerable amount of the trade of the lakes.

—and succeeding as I have done in impressing my colleagues with the soundness of it, hon. gentleman will already have observed that a very substantial sum has been put in the estimates for the current year for the purpose of deepening the entrance to the canal. I am in hopes that the work will be completed during the current year. We are going to proceed with all despatch to obtain the end. We have in course of preparation specifications for the purpose, so that there may be no delay in inviting tenders and having the work entered upon.

That was the position the minister took a year ago. He expected last year that he would have the work begun and under contract, so that it could be finished this year. Now, I do not know why, but the hon. gentleman only asked for tenders at the beginning of this year; then they were postponed for three or four weeks more for the first part of the work; and the contract, I believe, has only recently been given. So, we shall not have this entrance to Port Colborne harbour—I am not speaking of the work that is absolutely necessary to be done by the Minister of Public Works, but of the entrance to Port Colborne harbour—ready before next year. I think it was too bad that the matter was delayed any length of time whatever. With the minister speaking as he did last year, knowing that we were losing our trade, knowing the necessities of the case, he should have been moved by the spirit which moved him while he was speaking; he should have gone on, advertised for tenders and had the work going on since last year, so that this year we could receive at Port Colborne the trade that we have been waiting and hoping for. When we think that at Chicago and South Chicago, of the grain craft, there are fifty-nine boats of a total capacity of 4,718,642 bushels already loaded, four of the capacity of nearly 500,000 bushels, that they are ready and will go to the elevators in a few days, and that there yet remains in the river in the neighbourhood of thirty boats to carry grain to the amount of at least 2,000,000 bushels—when we consider this, is it not too bad that our harbour at Port Colborne is delayed, and that when navigation opens, as it will in a few weeks, it will not be in a position to receive a fair amount of the grain which undoubtedly would come our way were we able to take it. Therefore, I feel a little apprehensive regarding the speediness with which the government intend to go on and do this work.

The Minister of Railways and Canals, in his address a week ago, stated very explicitly to the House why it was necessary that Port Colborne harbour should be improved. While he had not a map on the Table that would answer the inquiries of some hon. gentlemen on this side of the House as to the details of the expendi-

ture, he informed the House that his engineers had made it a matter of special inquiry; that Mr. Thompson, the resident engineer, Mr. Keefer, and the chief engineer, the Deputy Minister, had given the matter a great deal of thought and consideration, and that after looking carefully into the matter they had determined upon enlarging Port Colborne harbour. But some hon. gentleman, I think it was the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Clarke), asked the minister if there was not some difference of opinion as to whether Port Colborne harbour should be improved. The minister very generously told him that Mr. Keefer was not entirely in favour of the Port Colborne route, that he rather favoured the transshipment of grain at Port Maitland, and making a canal to meet the Welland Canal; that he favoured that plan instead of enlarging Port Colborne. However, the Minister of Railways and Canals stated that after considering the matter in all its bearings they had decided that it would be more advantageous to improve Port Colborne, and, I think, rightly. I may say, however, that had Port Maitland been selected as the port of entrance to the Welland Canal when the enlargement of the canal was decided upon, or when the old canal was built, it might probably have been a better thing to do. Port Maitland is a better natural harbour than Port Colborne. But I am sure that I am within the mark when I say that it would cost a great deal more to put Port Maitland into proper condition to compete with the port of Buffalo than it will to put Port Colborne into the same condition. Besides that, we would save ten or twelve miles of canal. In order to take the Port Maitland route, the government would have to build a canal 21 miles long, and then they would have to go to pretty nearly the same expense, if not quite as much, to put Port Maitland into any sort of condition to compete with Buffalo. So, Sir, I think that the Minister of Railways and Canals showed a proper judgment in deciding, with Mr. Thompson, the resident engineer, that the Port Colborne work was the proper one to take up.

Mr. Speaker, I have some other data, but I will not trouble the House with it, because I have already spoken longer than I expected. I want to show the actual condition of the trade at present on the Welland Canal. There is no need to show why the trade has fallen off. It must be patent to everybody that the reason is that we have not been in a position to take it. When we look about us and see what the prospects are for trade development in this country, I think we cannot entertain too sanguine expectations of what our canal system is going to do in the way of carrying trade that is offered for freighting on the great upper lakes. If we look at the growth of the lake tonnage during the years that are past, we will have some slight conception of

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what we may expect it to be in the future. When the old Welland Canal was opened 50 odd years ago, there were less than 200,000 tons of lake tonnage then navigating the upper lakes. Thirty years afterwards, about the time of the beginning of the enlargement of the canals, that tonnage had grown to 600,000 tons. Fifteen years afterwards it had grown to 1,000,000 tons, and in 1898, it had grown to the enormous figure of 1,500,000 tons. Now let us look at the freight tonnage. In 1885, it was 19,200,000 tons, that is the freight tonnage for grain and other commodities. In 1890, it had grown to 37,000,000 tons, and in 1898, it was 62,500,000 tons, nearly the combined tonnage of London and Liverpool, the two great cities of the commercial world. So, I say, that in view of what has taken place in the past, we can look forward with great expectations to the future, and I think we may not unreasonably expect that in ten years from now that 62,500,000 tons of freighting will be doubled. I do not think that that is at all an extravagant expectation. We will have ample business for every railway in this country to do. We are not going to shut up a single railway. The policy of the government has been in the past, as it is to-day, to favour railways that are tapping the lakes and Georgian Bay. The harbours from Sarnia to Parry Sound, in the improvement of which hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended, are tapped by the great railways of this country. They have been and are carrying no small amount of the traffic of the country. They will carry more; there is no doubt about that. I believe that the water route, the great St. Lawrence route is going to carry its share, and that it will carry more than the hon. gentlemen, who support the combined route, have any idea of. Even if it does not, it will have this beneficial influence upon the country, in the interest of the farmers and the people generally, that it will, at least, keep under control the freight rates that the railways will charge. The hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald), gave us, what I consider a very fine address, in regard to this matter. He had gone to some trouble in looking up figures, and he showed that it had been decided by experts that you could do, on the lakes, with one dollar, what it would take ten dollars to do on the railway. The water route will always be, not only a competitor, but it will be such a competitor, that it will necessarily keep down and regulate the freight rates of this country. In reference to the harbour of Montreal, I just want to say a word, and it will only be a word. The government are pursuing the right course in putting Montreal harbour in a proper condition. There is no use of making Port Colborne right unless Montreal is made right. I was astonished to find out, only a short time ago, the condition of affairs in

the harbour of Montreal, as to their capacity to receive what had gone to them. They are actually, in no condition whatever, to receive the trade, even if it went to them. Suppose all the trade that goes to Buffalo, should go to Montreal, they could not handle it. The government must arouse itself; it must not stint the expenditure of money in putting these two ports, Port Colborne and Montreal, in a proper condition to receive and discharge the commodities that may come to them for export. I hope that it will not be negligent in this regard, but that it will be diligent, and that when Port Colborne has been put in proper condition, when we have our entrance deepened, so that vessels can come in, drawing 22 feet of water, or 20 feet of water, when a breakwater is built around there to protect the vessels that come in—and the government have not seen fit to be niggardly in this regard, but have risen to the position the people expect them to take—we will have in Port Colborne and Montreal, respectively, the Buffalo and New York of Canada

Mr. LEIGHTON G. McCARTHY (North Simcoe). Mr. Speaker, exceedingly interesting and instructive speeches, have been delivered during this debate on the transportation problem of the country, and I am pleased to observe, that, at last, our legislators are waking up to the importance of this all important problem. The solution of this problem is, as I have said, the greatest importance to this government, to this House, and to this country. In fact, I think all true Canadians will agree that we have a task of the most burdensome, intricate and onerous kind before us. The future of this country is very largely wrapped up in the transportation question. Why? Because, Sir, it seems to me that we Canadians must have, and should have, if we are to prosper and progress, the enormous advantage to be gained and the large profit to be made by transporting the products of our own North-west and the western states via Canadian channels, to the European markets. We must apply ourselves to the solution of this problem. How are we to attain this end, is the question now being discussed by the House. Geography shows that we have the shortest routes, and, therefore, it only remains for us to properly improve these channels, and we must, of necessity, capture and control a very great proportion of the enormous trade which now goes via the channels of the United States. Then, what would be the effect of that? Is it not obvious that it would lower the rate of transportation, and thereby increase, to a very, very large extent, the profit of the producers of this country. How largely this country is interested in this question has only of recent years been appreciated. We have, as the hon. member (Mr. McCleary), who has just resumed his seat, said, been sleeping while our neighbours to the south of us have

shown us, with their wonderful activity, how a transportation system can be built up and developed. True, they have expended large, yea, enormous sums of money upon their waterways and harbours, but, has not the expenditure proved to be wise? Has not that expenditure been amply repaid? I submit that there can be but one answer to that question, and that is an answer in the affirmative. Yes. Probably, it was from the experience of our American neighbours, that Mr. J. R. Booth conceived and carried into successful operation the idea that the proper development of the transportation system, not only would carry our own Canadian freight, but would also carry, as the system which he has developed is carrying, the freight of the western states. That system, to which I refer, is what is known as the Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound Railway, which has abundantly proven the correctness of that astute man's ideas. Well, then, Sir, what lessons are Canadians taught by this experience to which I have referred? Is it not, that we must be prepared to spend large sums of money on the improvement of our transportation system, to so improve it, that it will reclaim and redivert that Canadian trade, which, I regret to say, has hitherto been diverted to American channels, and have it transported entirely via our Canadian routes? I say that if we make a proper and reasonable expenditure upon the improvement of our waterways, our harbours and other carrying facilities, it will have the effect of diverting into Canadian channels a very large proportion of the trade which now goes via American channels. The Canadian routes are shorter, as my hon. friend, the member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett), demonstrated, by stating that which is a fact, namely, that a vessel can make from Chicago to a Georgian Bay port, five trips in the same length of time that she can make three trips to Buffalo, and the geography shows that it is several hundred miles shorter. I have seen it stated that the prime requisite for accomplishing improvement in our industrial, commercial and financial conditions, are that the traffic, and especially the grain, must be carried by the shortest and most economical route possible, from the west to the seaports, and thence to manufacturing Europe. What, therefore, is the shortest, the best and the most advantageous route? That is the question which has to be decided by the government; that is the question which has to be decided by this House. I congratulate the hon. member for East Simcoe, who introduced this resolution, upon the ingenious manner in which he endeavoured to conclude that the route via the port of Midland was the most advantageous in Canada. It will be observed that in order to arrive at that alleged conclusion, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bennett) was forced to link the advantages of the port of Parry Sound with

the port of Midland. In all his arguments he was careful to do that. He joined these two ports together and in doing so he arrived at what he said was the clear conclusion that the Midland route was the most advantageous. Let me point out a grave distinction between the Midland route and the Parry Sound route. It is this: The Midland route is not an all-Canadian route, for all freight landed at Midland must be transported over the Grand Trunk Railway, the seaboard terminus of which railway is, as we all know, in Portland, Maine. Now, the Parry Sound route may or may not be an all-Canadian route, because it is possible to divert the traffic at Coteau and send it through American channels, or it is also possible to continue from Coteau to Montreal.

I was pleased to note that the hon. member for Welland (Mr. McCleary) devoted the greater part of his argument this afternoon to an attack upon the Collingwood route, which I have the honour to present to this House. The hon. member representing North Simcoe, on behalf of his constituents, has oft times presented the advantages of that route to this parliament, and it is apparently of such importance as to be deemed worthy the condemnation of the hon. member for Welland, who, no doubt, fears in it a serious rival to his scheme. The proposition which I present is this: That an air line railway should be built, joining the two ports of Collingwood and Toronto. By that means two very serious objections in the transportation of freight are obviated. First, we get over the long delay occasioned by going through the canals, and in the second place, the haul from Collingwood to Toronto is so short as compared with that of Midland or Parry Sound, that the advantages of the Collingwood route is at once obvious. It is only seventy miles from Toronto to Collingwood, through an easy country in which to build a railway. If this railway were built the chain would be complete, and thus the natural channel through which this trade should go would be perfected and the lower lakes, rivers and canals would be successfully joined with the upper lakes and canals. While, Sir, I am submitting this as the most advantageous scheme and as the best possible solution of this exceedingly intricate and important problem, I do not desire that we should confine ourselves to a single route. I believe that we should develop all the channels of transportation within our reach, because I am happy to think that in the future there will doubtless be sufficient trade for all the transportation routes that are now being proposed. When we develop our western country, and when we divert from American channels that trade which we must divert as a matter of course, when our waterways are properly equipped, I believe we will have sufficient trade to keep busy all these routes that are now

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striving for recognition. I must not, however, forget the very regrettable fact, that we are limited in our money supplies, and remembering that, it follows as a necessary consequence that that route which presents the best claims must be the first to be developed. Notwithstanding what the hon. gentleman from Welland has said, it is a fact that the most successful freight routes in the United States are the mixed rail and water routes. It would be well for us also to remember what the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) told us recently: That the American railways—not the canals, mark you—are equipping themselves to transport freight at cheaper rates. Let me for a moment compare the most prominent of the contending routes which have been brought to our attention. I omit the Midland route because, as I have said, its ultimate terminus is at Portland, Maine, and it therefore cannot be considered as an all-Canadian route. I regret that the hon. member for Welland is not now present, because I would like to have called his attention to the fact that politicians will regard him as a very brave man, even although the speech which he made this afternoon was delivered in the absence of his leaders. Judging from the experience of what has been meted out to my family in the past, I am afraid that if the Conservative leaders were present, the hon. gentleman (Mr. McCleary) would probably soon see an article in the Conservative press, reading him out of the party; for be it known that the hon. gentleman (Mr. McCleary) made a speech this afternoon, a greater part of which was devoted to telling how the Conservative government have blundered in their transportation policy; how they had made mistakes from the beginning, how they had slept, and how their apathy was something too enormous to conceive. Not only that, but the hon. gentleman (Mr. McCleary) on the other hand, said that the present government were doing everything that was proper and everything that was wise in relation to this transportation question. I may not be able to agree with the hon. gentleman in his last proposition, but I am in hearty accord with him in his contention that the Conservative government had slept, that they had blundered, and that they had not pressed our transportation problem to a certain conclusion as it should have been pressed.

In considering these routes, let us take first Cockburn Island, which is a starting point common to all. The various distances from that point to Montreal are as follows:

	Miles.
Taking these in order, there is first the all-water route by the Welland Canal:	
From Cockburn Island to Detroit River the distance is	288
Then down Detroit River	18
Through Lake Erie	216
Through Welland Canal	22

	Miles.
From Port Dalhousie, on Lake Ontario, to Kingston	148
Kingston to Montreal	160
Making	352
The Parry Sound route:	
	Miles.
From Cockburn Island to Parry Sound.....	178
By rail, Parry Sound to Coteau.....	341
Coteau to Montreal, by water.....	36
In all.....	555
Of which 341 miles are by rail.	
The Collingwood route:	
	Miles.
Cockburn Island to Collingwood.....	193
Collingwood to Toronto, by rail.....	70
Toronto to Kingston	148
Kingston to Montreal.....	160
In all.....	574

Now, the Parry Sound Railway Company is at present carrying grain the 555 miles, of which 341 miles is by rail, but via Collingwood the distance is only 19 miles more, but of the 574 miles via Collingwood, but 70 miles, as against 341 miles, are by rail. There are the same number of transshipments in each way, namely, at Parry Sound and Coteau, Collingwood and Toronto. Can it be doubted that if the Parry Sound Railway Company can carry grain by the route indicated, that the via Toronto can compete with advantage.

Then, comparing the Toronto route with the Welland Canal route, the saving in distance is over 300 miles, and the question is whether the grain can be carried 70 miles by rail with an additional transshipment at an equal or less cost than 400 miles by water (or, to be exact, 390).

That is no doubt the reason why my hon. friend (Mr. McCleary) went all round the question so far as the distances between these contending routes is concerned. He gave us an interesting address, but much as he slanged the city of Toronto, and much as he slanged the enterprising merchants of Toronto, he did not point out, and he could not point out, where any advantage is to be gained in the way of distance between the Welland route and the Toronto and Collingwood route. On the contrary, as I have said, the figures show that the Collingwood-Toronto route is 300 miles shorter than the other.

Mr. McCLEARY. May I ask the hon. gentleman, in what manner did I slang the city of Toronto or the board of trade of that city?

Mr. McCARTHY. The hon. gentleman said that Toronto practically wanted the earth and that the members of the board of trade, to whom he alluded as business men, were men who assumed that this House of Commons and the legislature of Ontario had nothing to do but legislate for the interests of that city, and that in the balance of the time they might attend to the business of

the country. If that is not slanging, it is a satire of the gravest kind. It is pointing the finger of scorn at those who represent that city.

Mr. McCLEARY. Mr. Speaker, I object to the hon. gentleman using that term towards me.

Mr. McCARTHY. If the word offends my hon. friend, I shall be most happy to withdraw it, and substitute the words, most satirical towards the board of trade of the city of Toronto and the citizens of Toronto generally. I was proceeding to say that the question is whether the grain could be carried seventy miles by rail, with an additional transshipment at an equal or less cost than 400 miles by water. I want to emphasize that. Because the hon. gentleman has been talking about the enlargement of the Welland Canal. He was interrupted by the hon. member for West Toronto, who asked him if there was any proposition to enlarge that canal. He did not answer the question, though he made a somewhat curt reply. It might offend the hon. gentleman if I said that he slanged the hon. member for West Toronto. I do not say that. I say that he answered in a curt manner, the effect of his reply being that the only proposition we had before us was the improvement of the harbour at Port Colborne. This last proposition which I have submitted, namely, whether grain can be carried seventy miles by rail with an additional transshipment at an equal or less cost than 400 miles by water, or to be exact 390 miles, is a matter for practical men; but from the inquiries which I have made and the statements I have seen as to the freight now being charged, there seems to be no room for doubt that the route via Collingwood and Toronto is of all the cheapest and best. It must be remembered also that the large ships which ply on the upper lakes cannot pass through the Welland Canal. My hon. friend from Welland has spoken of ships of 20 feet draught. He knows perfectly well that they cannot enter the Welland Canal or the harbour at Port Colborne, and there would be the necessity of transshipping at that point and probably also at the other end of the canal, which would not give the advantage which I conceded in the former part of my remarks, wherein I acknowledged that there would be one more transshipment in the route by Collingwood and Toronto than in the route by the Welland Canal. It follows, therefore, that smaller vessels will have to be used for the carriage of grain through the Welland Canal, and the transshipment which I have spoken of would have to take place.

But too great importance cannot be attached to the fact that by both the Parry Sound line and the Welland Canal route, Toronto, the capital of the province of Ontario, the chief province of the Dominion, is being side-tracked. Any policy which can

give to Toronto, without loss to the producer or shipper, a fair share of the business of the North-west and the western states, is one that ought to be acceptable to all parties and all sections of the Dominion. Montreal or Quebec must be the summer terminal points so long as grain is carried by water, either via the canals or via Toronto, and there is no antagonism between Toronto and Montreal—their interests are in this matter identical. But the grain that goes via Parry Sound railway may be diverted at Coteau to the American shipping ports to the loss and detriment of our own ocean terminal ports. It is clearly important, therefore, to make it feasible and practicable to tranship grain so as to benefit not only three of the chief cities of the Dominion, namely, Toronto, Montreal and Quebec, but also the ocean ports of the maritime provinces, and retain within the Dominion itself the handling of grain from its own ports.

Therefore, Sir, from these figures and for the reasons I have stated I submit that the proposition I have presented to the House is the best, most advantageous and most feasible solution of this difficult problem. I submit, Sir, with the greatest confidence that it is superior to the Welland Canal route, it is the most natural channel, and the one which should receive the immediate and prompt attention of the government. The hon. member for Welland has with considerable ingenuity diverted our attention by quoting figures with regard to the transport trade of the United States; but the enormous expenditure that will be necessary at Port Colborne, and to deepen the Welland Canal, to admit of the passage of vessels of large draft, must not be overlooked. The expenditure which would be necessary to equip the line referred to in my proposition would not be nearly as large.

Then, Sir, there is one further consideration as to the effect of the Welland Canal route on our inland marine. I submit, Sir, that the improvement of the Welland Canal suggested would be detrimental to them. It is desirable to encourage the building of more Canadian vessels and to afford them the opportunity of participating in this traffic by an ample protection against their well equipped and long established American rivals. The government, I submit are only justified in maintaining the Welland Canal at its present efficiency, and should not expend any further sums of money with a view to enlarging and improving its capacity, which would, I think, adversely affect our Canadian marine, experience in the past having unquestionably demonstrated that expenditure on the Welland Canal has been chiefly to the advantage of the Americans, and would, I fear, without doubt, be of still greater advantage to them in the future under improved conditions. This was shown by the figures which I quoted

Mr. McCARTHY.

to the House last year in discussing this question, and which therefore, I will not now repeat. Sir, I fear that future developments and enlargements of the Welland Canal at the present time means the creating to Canadian shipping a menace for all time to come, as United States vessels would be able to participate in the traffic in the ratio that their vessels exceed in capacity and numbers those of Canada, which would practically mean an American commerce over a Canadian route provided by Canadian money.

Therefore, I say, the government should consider the development of an all-Canadian route which can be equipped and put in operation in a very short time, viz., by the construction of a railway across the Portage between Toronto and Collingwood, on the Georgian Bay, which is the natural receptacle of the grain of the North-west, Canada and the western states. By this project Canadian vessels only would be entitled to participate in the traffic between Toronto and Montreal, and would have a monopoly over this route in bringing freight by return cargo, and a Canadian inland marine would be thereby fostered, encouraged and developed. There is one other scheme of transportation to which I desire to refer, and that is the Trent Valley Canal. We have not heard that scheme mentioned to any great extent in this debate. I am sorry to see the opposition benches so empty, because I would ask my hon. friends opposite, who spent during their term of office such huge sums on that most important work, to impress on this government the necessity of going on and completing it. It is now within a very few miles of Lake Simcoe, and I trust it will be pushed forward and soon enter that lake, because it will then be of great advantage to the towns and villages of that locality.

The hon. member for Welland made a statement which I am at a loss to understand. He said that those who advocate the Toronto and Collingwood route would have the government abandon the St. Lawrence Canal route. Why, nothing is further from our idea. It is in order to develop trade via the St. Lawrence Canal route that we ask for the development and proper equipment of the Toronto and Collingwood route.

My hon. friend from Welland asked how it was that the trade via Collingwood has fallen off. Let me ask him how it is that the trade via Welland Canal has diminished. To that question no doubt his reply would be that they have no harbour at Port Colborne. Well, Mr. Speaker, if our trade via Collingwood has fallen off, though not to the same extent as that via the Welland canals, the reason is because our harbour requires to be further deepened. True, we have a natural harbour, which Port Colborne has not, but we have not the neces-

sary depth of water, and we are asking this government to do for us what he is asking it to do for Port Colborne.

I desire to congratulate the government on the deepening of the St. Lawrence Canal system, and I now ask them to give their attention and consideration to the Ontario portion of that route, and particularly to the proposition which I have endeavoured to lay briefly before this House to-day.

This question, Mr. Speaker, must be considered on broad Canadian lines and a settled policy of some kind be at once adopted. A good Providence has given us, beyond doubt, the shortest natural route, and we know that that Providence helps him who helps himself.

Mr. HENRY CORBY (West Hastings). I am going, Mr. Speaker, to act on the resolution brought in by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) this afternoon, and make my remarks as brief as possible. I am glad to hear the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) urge the government to go on, and complete the Trent Valley Canal in that district of country, we are all very much interested in the completion of that work which has been kept dangling for so many years before the public. I might say that a deputation waited here a few days ago on the government to urge the necessity of diverting that canal by the way of Port Hope and Cobourg. But, that seems to me a ridiculous idea, because I understand that the height of land is 300 or 400 feet, which would have to be overcome, and I consider that the only feasible route is by the Bay of Quinte and down by Trenton. Running it that way, you will be land-locked from Trenton clean through to Montreal, with but two gaps to go through, one of one and a half miles and the other of five and a half miles.

I wish to say a few words with reference to the transportation question, which I consider one of the most important that can be brought to our attention. The great question to solve is the best plan of securing the grain trade of the west for ourselves. To-day we are told that 75 per cent to 80 per cent, and even 90 per cent, of the North-west grain goes by way of Buffalo and the Erie Canal to New York, and I was glad to hear the Minister of Public Works say a few days ago that the government proposed putting a large amount in the estimates to improve the harbour at Port Colborne. As one of the opposition, I would be pleased to support any reasonable grant, even up to \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000, to put that harbour in just as good shape as the harbour of Buffalo. There is no use in our trying to compete for the carrying trade of the great North-west unless we have a harbour suitable in every respect at Port Colborne, so that vessels can go there at any time in the season of navigation. If we get those improvements at that port and if the

government then do not feel disposed to go on and deepen the Welland Canal, they could utilize the water power they have at present on that canal to run an electric road and lighten the larger boats that go through to Prescott, Kingston and Ogdensburg. Let them utilize the water power of that canal in this way and carry that grain, even if they carry it free, where now two or three cents per bushel is charged only for bringing the grain across from Port Colborne to Port Dalhousie. The same thing might be done also lower down the River St. Lawrence. The men running these large propellers and boats have told me that even if the canal were deepened from Prescott and Ogdensburg to Montreal, it would not pay them to lose the time it would take to go down there, and the smaller boats could carry the freight cheaper than they could. They claim that in the time taken in going from Prescott to Montreal, they could at least take two round trips from Chicago to Prescott, which, in an ordinary season, would be the profit.

I might also say that I certainly think that the charges at the port of Montreal are no doubt a very great drawback to shipping our grain from that port, and it is necessary for the government to get to work and make Montreal harbour free and thus encourage our grain taken that route.

I am also informed that the New York Central Railway are offering to carry all the grain that goes down the Erie Canal at the interest on what it would cost the government to deepen that canal. I was also told by a gentleman from New York that the suggestion was thrown out that two tracks could be put in the Erie Canal and freight carried cheaper by rail on the bed of that canal than it would cost to deepen it. If that can be done there, I do not see why we could not utilize our water power on the St. Lawrence to carry grain from Prescott and Ogdensburg to Montreal, and that would cost us a good deal cheaper than to deepen our canal down to, say, twenty or twenty-two feet.

I certainly think it is the duty of the government to do everything in their power to divert the grain trade by the St. Lawrence route. We also know that the government should stand at no expense in properly buoying out the river St. Lawrence, and making it perfectly safe and navigable through to the ocean. To-day we know they are discriminating against us, for the reason that they say the Canadian route is a dangerous route. I say we cannot afford to stand for money; we must pay what is necessary to compete with the United States; we must make the Montreal harbour equal in every respect to New York, and we must give the shippers every facility for bringing their grain this way. I claim that we, as Canadians, have no choice before us, the government must perfect the navigation by way of the river St. Lawrence. Now, I heard

the hon. member for East Simcoe stating the other day his views in regard to carrying our grain by way of Midland and by Collingwood. I have heard the suggestion of the hon. member for North Simcoe, that the only advisable way to bring the grain, is by way of Collingwood and Toronto. I wish to say, that, if you are going to carry grain by a railway and water route, I think the best route in the Dominion, from Chicago to Montreal to-day is by way of Midland and city of Belleville, and the Bay of Quinte. Midland is situated on the Georgian Bay. The route is direct to Belleville, and from Belleville you are land-locked, from Montreal to Quebec you have the barges protected, and you do not have to go outside on the lakes at all. I claim, that if you are going to carry grain by rail, the best way is from Midland, via Belleville and the Bay of Quinte, and the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec.

Mr. ARCH. CAMPBELL (Kent, Ont.) One thing has been brought out very clearly in this discussion, and that is the almost unanimous opinion expressed by all the members of the House as to the necessity of increasing our transportation facilities. Now, what particular object have we in view? Of course, it is nice to see a great fleet of vessels going down Canadian waters and discharging their cargoes at a Canadian port. While we like to see that, we have something higher and better in view. It is well known, that the more cheaply you can transport grain from the west, the higher the price the producer receives; and every cent you can reduce the cost of transportation, it adds that much to the price of the products in the hands of the producers. Then, again, the more grain we bring down, the more vessels leave our ports, and the more seek our ports for cargo, and competition reduces the charge for bringing goods into Canada. And, so, not only do we get a higher price for our grain, but we get goods brought into our country at lower rates. That is the object, I presume, that we have in view, and the question of how we can best obtain these results, is what has given rise to the discussion in this House, which has been going on for some time. Various schemes have been suggested. The Georgian Bay and Ottawa Canal scheme is one that has come to the front; we have also the Trent Valley Canal, the all-rail route via Midland, and the all-rail route via Owen Sound, the Welland Canal route, and also, as has been very clearly pointed out by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), the Georgian Bay and Toronto scheme. I do not think, with the hon. member for North Simcoe that we should not spend any money at Port Colborne, for we have so much money invested in our canals, that it is the duty of the government to put Port Colborne in reasonably good shape to accommodate that share of the enormous quantity

of trade coming down the great lakes year after year, that will seek an outlet by the Welland Canal. It is absolutely necessary to give an entrance to that harbour, in order to be able to use the canal. I also approve the spending of a sufficient amount of money at Montreal. That port must be put in the best possible condition in order to meet the requirements of the country. I think the late government deserves a great deal of censure and blame for the dilatory manner in which they have carried out these works. It seems almost inconceivable that for eighteen years the late government were in power, and our facilities for carrying our grain trade to the seaboard, still of the most crude and unfinished character. Everything was conducted without a definite plan; and, when we look at Montreal, which has been our chief maritime port and consider its facilities for the handling of the grain transportation trade, we find that they are simply disgraceful to Canada. The late government were to blame for the way they allowed the works to be delayed. This government have inaugurated a new era. They have brought activity and intelligence to the work. They have spent about \$9,000,000 in enlarging the canals, which will give us 14 feet of water from tide-water to the head of the lakes. I believe the people will support and commend them for that. As to the work at Port Colborne, I have no doubt that that work will be pushed forward rapidly, and will be completed in a way to reflect credit on the government and the country.

While I am in favour of spending a reasonable amount of money at Port Colborne, I am strongly of opinion that the great highway from the west should be by way of the Georgian Bay and Toronto. I think the advantages of that route have been pointed out very clearly by the hon. member for North Simcoe. It is over 300 miles shorter than the route by the Welland Canal. It is the shortest possible route to the seaboard, and it can be constructed at reasonable expense, as compared with the other routes. It is true that there is one more transshipment, one more handling of the grain; but grain, in these days, can be handled at so small a figure, that this really is not a considerable element in the calculation. Then, also, it is 555 miles shorter to Montreal than it is to New York via Buffalo. For this route, there is only 70 miles of railway to be constructed. We have to-day a good harbour at Collingwood, and a good harbour at Toronto. There are 70 miles of railway to be built down hill, because the land at Collingwood is about 300 feet above Lake Ontario. The grades on that road are comparatively easy. For the first ten miles after you leave Collingwood, I am told the grades are only 10 feet to the mile until you get to the height of land, then you descend 400 feet from the height of land to the waters of Lake On-

tario. The advantages would be, therefore, that large steamers could go into the port of Collingwood or some other port on the Georgian Bay—I mention Collingwood on account of its excellent harbour—and there discharge their cargo. It could be transhipped into our lines of railway running to the city of Toronto where you would get it landed in the waters of Lake Ontario, and then it could be transferred into vessels that will run down the St. Lawrence to the city of Montreal. Thus you have the shortest possible route from the great west to the great east.

Then there would be another advantage of this route to the people of Ontario principally. The people of the North-west and Manitoba and the Western States have very little reason to complain to-day. They get their grain transported from the west to the seaboard now at a very low rate; and while we naturally want to attract that trade to Canada, yet, at the same time, it is not going to lessen their rates very much, because they have to-day from Duluth, Chicago and Fort William very low rates of freight to the seaboard. But what we have to complain of in the province of Ontario is, that we are charged very much higher rates of freight from points in Ontario to Montreal than they pay from Chicago, Duluth and Fort William to Montreal. We have no means of overcoming that difficulty. A line of steamers running through the Welland Canal down the St. Lawrence River, will not affect the rates in the province of Ontario very much. But I contend that by turning the stream of commerce from the Georgian Bay to the city of Toronto, cutting Ontario into two parts as it were, dividing the territory, and thus making a great highway from the Georgian Bay to the city of Toronto upon which freights would be carried, say, for 8 to 10 cents per 100 lbs. from any point along that line to Montreal, you will at once reduce the freights from all points in Ontario to Montreal. You will then compel the railways to reduce their freights in accordance with the rates on this great national highway, and thus you would at once afford to the people of Ontario enormous benefits in the reduced transportation of their wheat, their bacon, their cattle, their apples, their cheese, their butter and the thousand and one things that they have to export. It is a lamentable fact that to-day, from points in central Ontario, farmers have to pay more on their apples, on their cheese, on their butter and on their cattle than they do a thousand miles further west, to the city of Montreal. I say that if this route were adopted and a highway made from the city of Toronto to the Georgian Bay, you would at once afford a competing line which will compel all the railways to reduce their freights, and thus you will add enormously to the value of the produce of the rest of Ontario. If, instead of paying 15½ cents per 100 lbs. from points

to Montreal for export, we had a rate, as they have in the Western States to Montreal, of 8 or 10 cents per 100 lbs., why, you would immediately advance the value of the crop of the province of Ontario, the value of all our produce that seeks a market via Montreal would immediately be enhanced thereby, and you would thus confer upon the people of Ontario enormous advantages by reducing the cost of the transport of their grain from their homes to the city of Montreal for export.

At the same time I contend that this great highway will afford to the people of Manitoba, and the North-west, and the Western States, all the advantages that can be conferred by any other route that is in vogue to-day. They will be enabled to send their produce by the Georgian Bay and Toronto and down the St. Lawrence to Montreal, at fully as cheap a rate, by a route over 300 miles shorter than by the Welland Canal. Thus it will afford to them all the advantages the Welland Canal route will afford, and it will also enable the people of Ontario, the various manufacturers and dealers there, to reap some advantages from the construction of this highway, and it will in that way confer upon the people of Ontario all the facilities that are required by the people of the great west.

Mr. Speaker, when we look at the way in which affairs have been managed to the south of us, it is lamentable to reflect that we have been so blind to our own interests. Take the great city of Buffalo where 90 per cent of all the grain raised in our own North-west seeks a market for a foreign port, by a route 550 miles further to the seaboard than by our own national highway, I say it is a humiliating fact that 90 per cent of all the produce shipped for export from the great North-west seeks a market through a foreign port. The last year something like 270,000,000 bushels of grain passed through Buffalo to New York for export, while our own great national highway was almost idle. I contend that the government should carefully look into this matter before they finally decide. I believe that the route from Toronto to the Georgian Bay, which is over 300 miles shorter than via the Welland Canal, will confer upon the people of this country enormous advantages, advantages that will greatly enhance the value of all the produce raised in Ontario. It will afford to the people of the great North-west all the advantages that they desire. Every advantage that they will get via the Welland Canal, they will also receive for their shipments when made via this route. It will also confer upon the great city of Toronto one of the greatest possible benefits that can be conferred upon any city. It will establish in that city immense shipyards, because there will be a great number of vessels required to convey this grain from Toronto to Montreal, these ships will be constructed there, and will employ thousands and thou-

sands of men in their construction. It will enable manufacturers all over this Canada of ours to locate along this line of railway, because the rate will be reduced, say to 8 or 10 cents per 100 lbs. to Montreal, whereas they now pay 12½ cents to 15½ cents per 100 lbs. Thus you see the enormous advantages that will be derived from the construction of this route.

Then I contend that it will enable vessels going to Montreal to bring back return cargoes. Why, there are in the city of Toronto alone some 800,000 tons of coal consumed every year. That coal could be all brought from Cape Breton to Montreal in vessels, and then be carried up the lakes, affording return cargoes to our vessels. Not only that, but those cargoes could be unloaded into these large steel cars of the latest construction, that will carry them to Collingwood and a thousand miles west. The iron, and coal, and all the necessary articles that they require could be brought back in these vessels which would go down loaded with grain. I say that this route can be constructed at a comparatively small expenditure. There will be a Bill before the House in a few days from a company asking a charter to build this line of railway. The company is composed of wealthy men, men of undoubted ability. If the government favour the granting of this charter, I believe that it will be the beginning of a scheme that will confer upon the people of this country the greatest possible advantages. I trust the government will give this matter their most serious consideration, because I think it is one that will commend itself not only to this House, but to the people of Canada.

Mr. E. F. CLARKE (West Toronto). Mr. Speaker, to declare that the satisfactory solution of this transportation problem is a matter affecting vitally the interests of all classes and districts, is but to state a truism, and I presume that is the reason why so much time has been taken up in the discussion of the resolution which was presented by the hon. member for East Simcoe (Mr. Bennett) two or three weeks ago. Public attention is now more generally and more closely directed to the solution of this problem than it has been for many years past, and this, no doubt, is due to the fact that the immense works undertaken, many years ago, by the predecessors of the present administration, for the enlargement and deepening of the Welland and St. Lawrence canals, and for the accommodation of Canadian shippers in moving the products of the west from the great lakes to the seaboard, are now nearing completion, and the people who have cheerfully borne the burden and responsibility of these vast expenditures are, naturally, anxious to know what possible return they are to get out of them. For that reason, I think, the resolution of the hon. member for East Simcoe is timely. I think that the government ought not to proceed

Mr. CAMPBELL.

too hastily in the undertakings which have been suggested by individual members of the government from time to time during the past twelve months. We must not forget that, since these works of enlarging and deepening our waterways were commenced, the conditions have steadily changed. The marine architect and the marine engineer have been steadily at work, and the grain carriers of twenty-five or thirty years ago, as far as the upper lakes are concerned, at any rate, are practically things of the past, and improvements and changes have been made not only in lake transportation, but in transportation by land or rail. The mechanical engineer has also been steadily at work, and to-day, we have, as a result of his labours, vastly improved cars, vastly more powerful locomotives, a better road bed with heavier rails, and locomotives that can haul at least four times the weight that was possible for the locomotive of fifteen or twenty years ago to haul. So, I say it is timely that the resolution, which has been presented by the hon. member for East Simcoe should be considered and considered very carefully. A discussion upon this question of transportation commenced, so far as this parliament is concerned, with the proposition, made last year, respecting the enlargement and improvement of the harbour of Port Colborne. I think I may safely and fairly say that in anything that was said by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House in regard to the proposals of the government, no attempt was made to make party or political capital out of these proposals. The desire was expressed last year by hon. members on this side of the House, as it has been expressed this year, that the government should be placed not only in possession of the fullest information as to the scheme it has in hand respecting Port Colborne, but, also, that it should vouchsafe to the House the information and plans upon which it proposes to act. There was only one set of plans in existence twelve months ago when the vote was being taken by the government as the initiatory sum for improving the Port Colborne harbour, and the expenditures which the engineers said were necessary to carry out the works set out by these plans, amounted, if my memory serves me, to the enormous sum of \$5,000,000. In the exhaustive and able speech which we had the pleasure of listening to a few nights ago from the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), the statement was made that the present intention of the government was to expend somewhere in the neighbourhood of \$2,000,000 on the work at Port Colborne; and, if my memory serves me, the hon. gentleman promised to bring down plans and reports showing how it was proposed to make that expenditure. But, so far, we have not been favoured with these plans nor have we seen the repairs which the government have accepted. It is noteworthy, in this connection, to remind the

House that an engineer as eminent and as accomplished as Mr. Keefer rather favours, as the hon. member for Welland (Mr. McCleary) admits, the selection of Port Maitland as the Lake Erie entrance to the Welland Canal in place of Port Colborne; and as one desirous of sustaining and assisting the government in any reasonable measure of expenditure to put the Welland Canal into as efficient a state as it can be placed, I should have felt more comfortable if the information and plans which were to be brought down had been laid before parliament before this discussion was concluded. I repeat that, so far, we are in the dark; we are not in possession of the plans or information which have enabled the government to reach a conclusion itself. Now, I think that the hon. member for Welland was hardly fair to his colleagues on this side of the House in the strictures which he made respecting their remarks. I am sure that I can congratulate that hon. gentleman, however, upon the eloquence and earnestness with which he presented the case from the standpoint of Port Colborne, and I think he deserves very great credit for his efforts to satisfy the House that the government has acted wisely and discreetly in coming to the conclusion that it has come to in determining to pursue the course which it has determined to pursue. But, Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman, in the remarks which he has made, took very good care to present only one side of the shield, one side of the argument to the House respecting the Welland Canal route. I do not know of any hon. member in this House who, recognizing the vast amount of money that has been expended by parliament since the Welland Canal was first established, desires to do anything to militate against the success of our all-water route; but, I think, Mr. Speaker, that we would be derelict in our duty, as representatives of the people, if we did not point out, at last, the advantage which might obtain to the Dominion by the selection of some other route in addition to the Welland Canal, as a means of transporting the products of the great west to the seaboard. I take it, Sir, that it is not a disloyal act to the all-water route—to the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence Canals route—to advocate, as has been advocated by the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), and the hon. member for Kent, Ont., (Mr. Campbell) the claims of the Collingwood-Toronto route. That route is, as has been pointed out to-night, an all-Canadian route. I think that may be done without our being charged, as my hon. friend from Welland saw fit to charge my colleague (Mr. Osler) with being narrow, and having only the interests of the city of Toronto at stake. My hon. friend from Welland was very severe upon my colleague. He said that he was merely an echo of the Board of Trade of Toronto. The hon. gentleman must have

forgotten the sentiments contained in the speech which my hon. colleague delivered upon this very question two or three weeks ago. My hon. colleague's reputation as a broad, liberal-minded business man is sufficiently well established to withstand the attack which the hon. member for Welland made upon him and the charges of narrowness which he hurled against him; but, lest the House should forget what the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Osler), did say, in addressing it upon this question of transportation, I may be permitted to make two or three extracts from the speech to demonstrate that he was actuated by a desire to procure, in the expenditure of public money upon the completion of these transportation routes the best possible value, the greatest possible advantages for the producers, the shippers and the people of Canada generally. Mr. Osler said that:

The transportation question is an all-important one, and one which concerns the people of Canada perhaps more than any other question at present before them.

He recognizes the fact that this transportation question is a national question, a question the satisfactory solution of which affects not only the city of Toronto, but also, as I have already said, every village, every hamlet, every city, and every section of the Dominion. In giving utterance to these sentiments he was not tied up simply to reflect the opinions of the board of trade, but he was reflecting opinions that are entertained by the great body of the people of Canada, and especially by those who, like himself, occupy commanding positions in the business world and appreciate the importance of the question which is being considered. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Osler) said further:

There is no proposition that can be put before this House for the proper expenditure of public money which I believe will meet with such cordial approval from hon. gentlemen as the proposition to expend money to increase our transportation trade from our great west to the seaboard and to the market.

These are not the utterances of a gentleman who desires to aggrandize himself or the members of the Toronto Board of Trade especially. These are the utterances of a gentleman who, taking a broad view and having a firm grasp of the whole position, desires to do the best that possibly can be done in the interests of the people generally. He said further:

If we can improve our waterways, if we can cheapen our carriage in any shape or way, let us do it.

And he said further, and these are surely words of wisdom:

But let us be quite sure of what we are doing.

That is the position taken by hon. gentlemen who have opposed the proposals of the government respecting the expenditure at Port Colborne harbour. They did not de-

sire to offer any factious opposition to these expenditures if they were satisfied in their own minds that Port Colborne was the proper place to select as the Lake Erie terminal of the Welland Canal, and if the expenditures were made in the most judicious manner possible. But we have had the experience and the statements of gentlemen who have been members of this House and who are now members of the Senate, respecting the inadvisability of making the expenditures at Port Colborne. My hon. friend from Welland referred to the attitude taken by the late Hon. Thos. White respecting the sums to be expended in deepening our canal system. That gentleman had the utmost faith in the future of this country. He realized the immense development that would take place in our great west, and he thought the government of that day were acting in a niggardly spirit in not providing a larger sum for making our canals larger and deeper than was then in contemplation. We had a gentleman representing that section of Ontario which is now so well represented by my hon. friend from Welland, in the person of the Hon. Senator McCallum, and on the same occasion—having a like faith in the future of the country that the late Hon. Thos. White had—he urged that the government should adopt a generous policy in the matter of canal enlargement and deepening, and years ago he very strongly advocated the selection of Port Maitland as the Lake Erie entrance to the canal instead of Port Colborne. It is a matter of fact, that it has been reiterated again and again in the course of this debate, that we have nothing worthy of the name of a harbour at Port Colborne at present. There is no difference of opinion respecting that. We have had that statement made during this debate by the hon. member for Quebec West (Mr. Dobell), by the hon. member for South Grenville (Mr. Reid), by the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Casey), by the hon. member for South Lanark (Mr. Haggart), and by other hon. gentlemen who have spoken.

A petition has been circulated amongst the members of the House during the last few days from the board of trade of the city of St. Catharines, a city that is very deeply interested in the prosperity of the Welland Canal, and the admission is made in that petition :

That the testimony of vessel-owners, master-mariners and forwarders is conclusive that this harbour at Port Colborne is deficient in those qualifications which it ought to possess as a vitally important link in the national inland all-water route to Montreal. Those qualifications are safety and convenience of access from the lake in all weather ; sufficient depth of water at all times, and at the lowest level of water in Lake Erie during the season of navigation ; spaciousness and dockage. This harbour possesses none of them.

This statement is made by the representative business men of St. Catharines through

Mr. CLARKE.

the board of trade. They repeat here the statement often made during the course of this debate, that there is practically no harbour at Port Colborne, and the hon. member from Quebec West and others have declared that it will take an immense amount of money—possibly a very much larger sum than is at present contemplated—to put the harbour of Port Colborne into a position to compete with its chief competitor, the port of Buffalo. My hon. friend from Welland declared that it would take a much larger sum to equip Port Maitland efficiently than it would to equip Port Colborne. The statements which have been made by Senator McCallum and others, and which have never been challenged in my hearing, are to the effect that a better harbour and as good an entrance to the Welland Canal can be procured from Port Maitland at a much smaller expenditure of money than from Port Colborne. And, Sir, if any exception has been taken to the government policy respecting the contemplated expenditures at Port Colborne, it has not been because there was a difference of opinion as to the wisdom of completing and improving the Welland Canal by giving it an outlet to or entrance from Lake Erie, but because there was an honest difference of opinion as to whether the government was selecting the right port on Lake Erie at which to make the terminal. In view of that fact—and I do not think it can be challenged—it was hardly in accord with the fitness of things, and with the proper conduct of this discussion, that my hon. friend from Welland should attack my absent colleague (Mr. Osler) and others, because they conscientiously differed from him as to whether it was wise or prudent that this expenditure should be made at Port Colborne or at some other port contiguous to it. I believe that the government are justified in making whatever expenditure may be found to be necessary to give the shippers who desire to do business through the Welland Canal the very best possible facilities for entering that canal at all seasons when navigation is open. After that canal has been deepened, and now that the St. Lawrence canals are practically deepened to fourteen feet also, it would be a very foolish policy not to provide a proper entrance to the Welland Canal from Lake Erie. The objection has been taken to the policy of the government—and I repeat it for the last time—because this House has not been placed in possession of the facts and of the information to enable it to determine intelligently whether Port Colborne is the best possible place at which to make an entrance to the Welland Canal. But, in making the very best case possible for the Welland Canal—and my hon. friend (Mr. McCleary) did so—he neglected to state one drawback that will always remain in connection with transpor-

tation from the head of the great lakes to the seaboard by that route, and that is the additional mileage which will have to be covered by vessels traversing the great lakes by way of the Welland Canal to Montreal or Quebec. The hon. gentlemen from Kent and North Simcoe have both pointed out what this difficulty is, and it might not be amiss to draw attention to it again, because if we can make out a case for the Toronto-Collingwood route—it being more than 300 miles shorter than the Welland Canal route—it will be as to whether transshipment can be made at Collingwood and at Toronto and a haul of seventy miles by rail made, as against a route over 300 miles longer by water and the tedious delay of getting through the Welland Canal from Port Colborne to Port Dalhousie after transshipment at Port Colborne. That is one of the strongest reasons that can be advanced in favour of the Toronto-Collingwood route, it being a safer route and a much shorter route than that by the Welland Canal. If we take the rail and water routes as at present used or in contemplation, we find that the distances from Fort William to Montreal are as follows :

	Miles.
Via Welland Canal, all water.....	1,296
“ Owen Sound (563 by water, 460 by rail).....	1,023
“ Midland (589 by water, 416 by rail).....	1,005
“ Collingwood-Toronto (920 by water, 74 by rail).....	994
“ North Bay (621 by water, 364 by rail)....	985
“ Parry Harbour (566 by water, 373 by rail)	939

So that there is a difference in favour of the Collingwood-Toronto route as against the Welland Canal route of 302 miles. This seems to me to be a sufficiently substantial difference in distance to justify the claims of the former route being presented to this House as one of the routes that ought to be adopted in connection with our national lines of transportation from the west to the east. In this connection, I might refer for a moment to a proposition which has been presented to this House, vaguely it is true, in favour of another line of communication, namely, that by means of the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing, with the Georgian Bay. The demands or proposals which have been presented by the promoters of that route, are, to say the least, very modest. They ask, as I understand it, that the government of Canada shall guarantee the interest at 2½ per cent on \$30,000,000 for twenty years. If I have figured out correctly what the present value of that guarantee is, it means that the government of Canada is asked to commit itself to an expenditure of no less than \$11,747,598, which is the present value of an annuity of 2½ per cent for twenty years on \$30,000,000. Suppose this route was completed, what would be the saving in distance, as compared with the route from Fort William, via Collingwood and Toronto, the expenditure to complete which would

be a mere bagatelle in comparison with the liabilities which this country would have to assume if it undertook to finance the scheme of the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing route? The distance from Fort William to Montreal by that route, is as follows: Fort William to North Bay, via French River and Lake Nipissing, 621 miles; North Bay to Montreal, 352 miles; total, 973 miles; whereas, as I have pointed out, the distance from Fort William, via the Collingwood-Toronto route to Montreal, is only 994 miles. There is a difference in favour of the North Bay-Ottawa route of 21 miles. A further difference is that there will be 74 miles of land carriage in the Toronto-Collingwood route. But, when it is taken into consideration that the navigation of the French River and the Ottawa River would necessitate a much slower rate of speed than the other route, it seems to me there can be no comparison, for many years to come at any rate, between the two. I hope that the prognostications and expectations of hon. gentlemen on both sides of this House will be realized, even sooner than they anticipate, and that not only the Welland Canal route, but the Toronto-Collingwood route, the Midland route, the Parry Harbour route, and the North Bay-Ottawa route will all be required to carry the enormously increasing volume of trade from the great western districts of this Dominion to the seaboard. But, in view of the vast expenditures which have been made by the people of Canada upon the Welland and St. Lawrence canals, I think it is at least premature to commit this country to an expenditure of eleven or twelve or fifteen million dollars to parallel the St. Lawrence canals by another system of canals 90 or 100 miles to the north, when we have not yet received the advantages of the vast expenditures which we incurred on the existing system. The deepened St. Lawrence canal system will not be available until some time during the coming summer, and I think that before giving any aid or encouragement to the Ottawa route, we should hold our hand until we see what increased amount of traffic will be taken down by the Welland and St. Lawrence canals to the seaboard, and also, until we give encouragement to the proposed route by Collingwood and Toronto. My hon. friend from North Simcoe, has pointed out that the distance between Collingwood and Toronto is only between 70 and 74 miles, and application will shortly be made to parliament for a Bill to incorporate a company to construct a railway between those points. I do not wish to anticipate the discussion of that matter, but I have this to say, that I think that railway should be controlled absolutely by the government, or, if it is not, the most stringent provisions should be inserted in the Act of incorporation to prevent the proposed company from amalgamating at any time with either of the existing railway systems. My hon. friend from

Welland, referred sneeringly to the fact that we have one line of railway at present between Toronto and Collingwood, which ought to bring the traffic which seeks that route to the seaboard. As the hon. member for North Simcoe has pointed out, although we have that line of railway, there are no terminal facilities at Collingwood and no harbour of sufficient depth to accommodate the great freight vessels of the upper lakes. But there is this further difficulty in the way of making the present railway a grain-carrying road in the contemplated national line from Fort William to Montreal, that the Grand Trunk Railway Company have a competing point at Midland, and they are bending their energies to improving the line of communication between Midland and Belleville, and between Belleville and Montreal. It can not be anticipated, then, that the Grand Trunk Railway Company would endorse or extend its sympathy to a proposition for practically paralleling its present line between Collingwood and Toronto. Nor can it be assumed that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which has a competing line between Owen Sound and Toronto, would lend its aid or encouragement towards the completion of the proposed railway. If the government desire—in view of the advantage to our shippers of this shorter route—to assist and encourage the project, they should either undertake the construction and operation of the railway themselves; or, if they do not see their way clear to do that, they should at least insist on provision being made in the Act of incorporation of the company, that the company shall itself operate the road and maintain it independent of the influence of either the Grand Trunk Railway or the Canadian Pacific Railway.

I do not know that I should say much more on this matter, as the ground has been pretty well covered by the gentlemen who have preceded me. The hon. Minister of Railways and Canals said, however, that he hoped that this matter would be discussed from a non-party standpoint, and I have already said that, so far as hon. members on this side of the House are concerned, I believe that policy has been followed. But if we on this side were to form our conclusions from the statements made during the course of this debate by some hon. gentlemen on the other side, we would conclude that no previous administration since 1867 even knew how to spell the word 'transportation,' and that we are indebted to hon. gentlemen opposite for having done more during the past two years towards the solution of the transportation problem than was done by their predecessors in many years previous. I deny that statement in toto. I admit that, so far as the present administration has accelerated the work on the St. Lawrence canals and caused it to be completed in shorter time than would have been

the case under the old administration, they are entitled to credit; but in pushing those works to completion, they are only carrying out the policy enacted by their predecessors many years ago.

One hon. gentleman opposite did not confine his remarks to the subject of navigation between the lakes and the seaboard, but went on to congratulate the government on what he called its splendid achievement respecting the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. Surely our silence respecting a statement of that kind is not to be taken as an endorsement of the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite? Not at all, for we certainly dissent from the hon. gentleman's statement.

The hon. member for West Elgin also spoke of the achievements of the government in the port of Montreal, and particularly of the bargain which had been made through the harbour commissioners of that city, with the Connors Syndicate. In everything that has been said regarding the necessity of making Montreal or Quebec the national port, or making both national ports, I entirely agree. I believe that they ought to be well equipped ports, though my own judgment is that Quebec is the natural port of the Dominion, and that in the very near future there will be a great revival of business in the ancient capital. In the meantime, however, I entirely approve of the policy of advancing the interests of shippers from the port of Montreal; but if we are to be guided by statements which have been made again and again in newspapers friendly to hon. gentlemen opposite, notably the *Montreal Witness*, we are forced to the conclusion that in the plans adopted by the government for the improvement of Montreal harbour, the public interest was not always the first consideration. Again and again I have seen articles in that paper,—and that paper cannot be classed with the yellow press, the names of which appear so frequently in the Auditor General's reports—referring to the course pursued by the present administration with respect to the improvements in Montreal harbour.

While I admit that the action of the Montreal harbour commissioners in giving their assent to the contract with the Connors Syndicate should cause us to give the proposition of that syndicate our most careful consideration, the fact that a syndicate of foreigners has been given the very choicest and best sites in the port of Montreal seems to me to be picayune policy, to say the least. I think the government can borrow the money to construct those elevators as cheaply as the Connors Syndicate, and I think it would be more consonant with the views prevailing at present as to the great future in store for Canada if the government had reserved the sites for the people of Canada and constructed elevators on those sites. I have not the slightest sympathy with any policy which would hand over any part of the harbour of Montreal to foreigners to do

such an important work in connection with the transportation of merchandise.

I thought it was my duty not to allow the remarks respecting these particular phases of the government's transportation policy to pass unchallenged. I wish to add a word more to implement what has been said as to the wisdom of the government giving aid to the Toronto and Collingwood route. The hon. member for North Simcoe and the hon. member for Kent both referred to the fact that if we desire to encourage Canadian marine interests, if we desire to increase the tonnage of Canadian vessels operating on the great lakes, we should give our sympathy and support to the proposition to establish this all-Canadian route from Fort William to Montreal or Quebec. One of the drawbacks to the Welland Canal route has been the difficulty of getting return freights, and that has been discussed by my hon. friend from Kent. But in view of the steadily increasing volume of trade between the cities of Quebec and Montreal in the east, and the city of Toronto in the west, and in view of the great possibilities for trade between the maritime provinces and Montreal, we should encourage, as one of the national routes for the Dominion, that route which would enable us to put more freight carriers on the lakes, not only between Fort William, Collingwood and Meaford, but also between Toronto and Montreal or Quebec. If a line of freight carriers were established between Toronto and the cities of Montreal and Quebec, it would have a very wholesome influence on freight rates, in the summer at least; and I am satisfied that a line of vessels regularly plying between these cities would be very much more likely to get return cargoes than if plying at odd intervals between Montreal and any port on Lake Erie. If the interests of Toronto are not to be side-tracked by the adoption of any policy inimical to it, the government ought not to look any longer sideways on the proposition presented again and again to the hon. Minister of Public Works by the board of trade of Toronto, and before this session closes we should have an announcement of the determination of the government to assist in the establishment of this new through route, because it will be an additional feeder for the promotion of interprovincial trade. It will give us another line of competition against the railways; it will enhance the value of the products of the west and cheapen to the consumers in the west the output of the east. I think that the attention of the government should be called to the advantages of this route; and I am satisfied that if the government are not actuated by political animus against the city of Toronto, the claim of the city is so reasonable and the advantages of the route so apparent, that the policy of aiding it will be adopted by

the government, and in the very near future that route will be established.

I was very pleased to hear the speech of my hon. friend from Kent in advocacy of this route. I was very pleased to hear him point out the advantages which would obtain, not only to Toronto, but to the whole province, from its adoption, and I must say that statement to-night gives an emphatic contradiction to the one which he was alleged to have made at the annual meeting of the Reform Association of Toronto, namely, that the policy of the rural Liberal members from the province of Ontario might be summed up in the words that the city of Toronto should be allowed to stew in its own juice.

Mr. CAMPBELL. You know better than that.

Mr. CLARKE. I do not.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Well, I deny it now.

Mr. CLARKE. And further, the hon. gentleman is alleged to have made a suggestion to the members of the Reform Association at their annual meeting that it would be a good thing for them, if they desired to see this Toronto-Collingwood route carried out, to send members from the city to support the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite. We are willing, on this side, to support every feature of the policy of hon. gentlemen opposite that commends itself to our judgment, but we should hesitate even to do that if we thought these hon. gentlemen were actuated by any desire to persecute the city of Toronto and deprive it of the advantages which undoubtedly would accrue from the establishment of this route, because the free and independent electors of the city did not deem it prudent on their part to give a pliant support to the government.

I must apologize for having taken up so much time; but in view of the admirable addresses which have been made on the Toronto-Collingwood route, I desired to be heard also and to urge that this matter should receive the attention of the government; because I believe that the more it is looked into by them, the more it will commend itself to their judgment.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11.35 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, March 29, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

FIRST READINGS.

Bill (No. 111) respecting the St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Company.—(Mr. Tisdale.)

Bill (No. 112) to incorporate the Quebec and Lake Huron Railway Company.—(Mr. Carroll.)

Bill (No. 113) to confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Frost & Wood Company.—(Mr. Cowan.)

Bill (No. 114) respecting the Toronto Hotel Company.—(Mr. Osler.)

Bill (No. 115) to incorporate the Canada National Railway and Transportation Company.—(Mr. Campbell.)

Bill (No. 116) to incorporate the Acadia Mortgage Company.—(Mr. Russell.)

Bill (No. 117) to incorporate the National Sanitarium Association.—(Mr. Sproule.)

Bill (No. 118) respecting the Timagami Railway Company.—(Mr. McHugh.)

Bill (No. 119) to incorporate the Canadian Nurses Association.—(Mr. Sproule.)

Bill (No. 120) to incorporate the Ottawa, Brockville and New York Railway Company.—(Mr. Frost.)

Bill (No. 121) respecting the Ontario Power Company of Niagara Falls.—(Mr. Flint.)

Bill (No. 122) respecting the Lake Erie and Detroit River Railway Company.—(Mr. McGregor.)

Bill (No. 123) to incorporate the Yale Mining District Railway Company.—(Mr. Bostock.)

Bill (No. 124) to incorporate the Lake Superior and Hudson Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. Dymont.)

Bill (No. 125) respecting the Algoma Central Railway Company.—(Mr. Dymont.)

Bill (No. 126) to amend the San José Scale Act.—(Mr. Fisher.)

Bill (No. 127) to provide for the marking of packages containing apples and pears for export.—(Mr. Fisher.)

EXEMPTION OF C.P.R. LAND GRANT FROM TAXATION.

Mr. RICHARDSON asked :

Under the terms of the contract between the government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway does the clause relating to exemption of the land grant from taxation apply to lands granted in the province of Manitoba, or only to lands granted in the North-west Territories?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The only information I can give to my hon. friend (Mr. Richardson), is to quote from the section of the statute which ap-

Mr. FIELDING.

plies to the subject. Section 16, of the schedule to Canadian Pacific Railway Company Act, reads as follows :

The Canadian Pacific Railway, and all stations and station grounds, workshops, buildings, yards and other property rolling-stock and appurtenances required and used for the construction and working thereof, and the capital stock of the company, shall be for ever free from taxation by the Dominion or by any province hereafter to be established, or by any municipal corporation therein ; and the lands of the company in the North-west Territories, until they are either sold or occupied, shall also be free from such taxation for twenty years after the grant thereof from the Crown.

PURCHASE OF STEEL RAILS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS.

Mr. McINERNEY asked :

How many tons of steel rails were purchased by and delivered to the Department of Railways in 1897, 1898 and 1899, respectively, from what parties, and at what prices?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Only four or five days ago, I furnished the House, in the form of a return, with all the information that the hon. gentleman (Mr. McInerney) is asking for here.

Mr. SPEAKER. Dropped.

VANCOUVER DRILL HALL

Mr. PRIOR (by Mr. Earle) asked :

1. How much of the sum already voted for the erection of a drill hall at Vancouver had been expended up to the end of February last?

2. Is the work being carried on at the present time with all due diligence and despatch?

3. If not, why not?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. \$3,967.60. In reply to the second and third questions, the department understands that it is not practicable to conduct certain classes of building operations in the winter, and assumes that the work on the Vancouver drill shed is, for this reason, standing over until the spring opens, when it is expected to be proceeded with with all proper despatch. The contractors have until the 30th November, 1900, to complete the building, and there should be no difficulty in its being finished within that time.

ST. LAWRENCE CANALS—SUSPENDED OR CANCELLED CONTRACTS.

Mr. FOSTER asked :

What contracts existent July 1, 1896, on the St. Lawrence canals system were either suspended or cancelled, and replaced by new contracts entered into thereafter, and for what amounts respectively?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). The contracts existent 1st July, 1896, on the St. Lawrence canals system, which were suspended or cancelled, and replaced by new contracts,

are: Archibald Stewart, sections 1 and 2, Soulanges Canal; George Goodwin, sections 4, 5, 6 and 7, Soulanges Canal; George Goodwin, section 12, Soulanges Canal. The contracts were all under schedule prices.

EXTENSION OF INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY TO MONTREAL.

Mr. MONK (by Mr. Dugas) asked:

1. Has the Grand Trunk Railway Company made any claim upon the government, by reason of the improvement of the terminal facilities afforded the Intercolonial Railway at Montreal, or for any other causes arising from the contract between the government of Canada and the said Grand Trunk Railway, in connection with the extension of the Intercolonial to Montreal?

2. What is the total amount of said claim or claims?

3. Has any sum been paid by the government on said claims, and what amounts have been paid, if any?

4. Has the Grand Trunk Company made any claim upon or obtained any money from the government on account of the acquisition by the said Grand Trunk Company of blocks of property in the vicinity of the Bonaventure station at Montreal?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. No, the Grand Trunk Railway Company has not made any claim upon the government by reason of the improvement of the terminal facilities afforded the Intercolonial Railway at Montreal, or for any other causes arising from the contract between the government of Canada and the said Grand Trunk Railway, in connection with the extension to Montreal. 2. Answered by first answer. 3. No. 4. No.

USE OF PRIVATE CARS.

Mr. PETTET asked:

1. Does the government permit one of its employees, Mr. C. Schreiber, a civil servant in the Department of Railways, to use the private cars, the property of the people of Canada, for the purpose of pleasure excursions for his family friends?

2. Was this done within the last two weeks?

3. At whose expense was the car on this occasion (if any) provisioned and maintained?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. Mr. Schreiber, as deputy minister and chief engineer of Canadian government railways, is entitled—as similar officers on all other railways are entitled—to the use of an official car, on the line, when one is available; and the other railway companies, on their lines, extend the courtesy of free transportation to the deputy minister and chief engineer of Canadian government railways and his wife, including same in general terms of car and party. 2. Yes, within two weeks the wife of the deputy minister and chief engineer with some friends went to Halifax and return, using an official car. 3. No expenses whatever in connection with this visit were paid by the government.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY PASSES TO JUDGES.

Mr. ANGERS (by Mr. Legris) asked:

1. Whether the Minister of Railways and Canals has, within the past twenty-four months, granted free passes on the Intercolonial Railway to the judges of the several courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Dominion?

2. If so, how many such passes were granted; to whom, and when?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. The Department of Railways and Canals, for a number of years has granted free passes to two former Deputy Ministers of Justice and solicitors of the government railways, who are now judges, and one to an officer in charge of the Provincial Police of Quebec, who is a judge. That system has been in operation for a great many years. 2. Three such passes were granted within the last 24 months, as follows: Mr. Justice Burbidge, a former Deputy Minister of Justice and solicitor of Canadian government railways, in 1899; Mr. Justice Sedgewick, a former Deputy Minister of Justice and solicitor of Canadian government railways in 1899 and 1900, and the Hon. A. Chauveau, in charge of the Provincial Police of Quebec, in 1899 and 1900.

LIQUOR LICENSE ACT, 1883.

Mr. McMULLEN asked:

1. When did the Liquor License Act of 1883 go into force?

2. Who were the commissioners in the province of Ontario?

3. How much was paid to each of them?

4. What was the total amount paid out by the government for salaries, costs, expenses and disbursements of all kinds in connection with this Act?

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). The answer to the first question is that the Liquor License Act under the provisions of the last section thereof, came into operation on the 1st of January, 1884, but licenses issued under it only became operative from the 1st of May following. As to the second part of the question, I have here a list of names, and if the House requires me to read it I will do so, but I may state that there are 174 names.

Mr. FOSTER. It could not go on the minutes at all.

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE. I would certainly not have asked the officers in my department to prepare this record in answer to the question, had I known it would have taken two or three days to do so. I was going to ask the leave of the House to put it into the shape of a return.

Mr. FOSTER. That is the better way.

Mr. SPEAKER. The question is dropped.

UTTERANCES OF HON. CLIFFORD SIFTON.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

Whether the attention of the government has been called to the following utterances of the Hon. Clifford Sifton in Brandon on March 2: 'He knew there were difficulties. Manitobans were not satisfied with what had been done on the tariff. They had not, however, looked at the question from a Dominion standpoint. A deputation had come to Ottawa representing millions of dollars and thousands of people and more power to affect constituencies than was to be found in the whole of Manitoba. They said to Sir Wilfrid Laurier: If in twelve months your government does not do us justice and protect us by putting a duty on lumber, we will support Sir Charles Tupper. He had been called in and was obliged to state to his leader that when such legislation was passed he might as well get his resignation ready. He was the only member of the cabinet who cared a straw to keep the lumber free. He was the only member who would not be benefited if lumber duties were replaced.'

Whether, insaying 'he was the only member of the cabinet who cared a straw to keep lumber free,' he correctly represented the attitude of the Prime Minister and the overwhelming majority of his colleagues?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The attention of the government has not been called to the reported utterances of Mr. Sifton.

INQUIRY—*Re* J. PERRAULT.

Mr. MILLS (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Is the account set forth in 'Hansard' of March 21, 1900, and forming part of Question No. 20 on the Order paper of that day, a true account of the expense to Canada with reference to the Centennial Exhibition, held in the city of Philadelphia in 1876?

Is the J. Perrault whose name appears in said account, and J. X. Perrault, lately appointed on the staff of the Hon. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works, in connection with the Paris Exhibition, one and the same individual?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). 1. The account as set forth in *Hansard* of March 21, 1900, and forming part of question No. 20 on the Order paper of that day is identical with the account as set forth in the *Hansard* of June 17, 1895, pages 2735 to 2754 inclusive. I cannot state positively at the present time that this is a true account of the expenses to Canada with reference to the Centennial Exhibition, but have no doubt that it is. The turning up of the old ledgers and careful checking of the different items of the account would take a long time and cause a great deal of work. 2. Mr. J. X. Perrault, presumably the Mr. Joseph Perrault whose name appears in that account, is one of the four commissioners for the Paris Exhibition of 1900.

Mr. SPEAKER.

RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE—NOVA SCOTIA.

Mr. BELL (Pictou) asked :

1. Has a superintendent of the railway mail service in Nova Scotia been appointed?
2. If so, who has been appointed?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. No. 2. Answered by No. 1.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HYDROGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

Mr. PRIOR (by Mr. Earle) asked :

1. Has the attention of the government been called to the numerous wrecks that have occurred on the coast of British Columbia during the last three years, including the total wreck of the ss. 'Miami,' with 3,000 tons of coal on board, on White Rock, Trincomali Channel?
2. Is it the intention of the government to have a thorough survey of the coast made by competent hydrographical engineers?
3. If not, why not?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). Yes. Attention has been called to the fact that there have been a number of such wrecks, including that of the *Miami*. 2. Not in the immediate present. 3. Principally because hydrographic surveys of the ocean coasts have heretofore been made by the Imperial government, and the Royal Navy surveying ship *Egeria* has for the past two seasons been employed on the coast of British Columbia; and it is understood that she will continue work on that coast indefinitely. This department has made and is continually making small surveys of harbours and isolated rocks, and the results of these surveys have been embodied in the Admiralty charts. Good charts already exist of the localities where wrecks have lately occurred, and the wrecks have been in no way caused by defective surveys. This is emphatically the case with regard to the wreck of the *Miami*. The Nanaimo pilotage authorities, without proper inquiry, attributed the wreck to a defective chart. Captain Smyth of the *Egeria*, located the wreck, and found the ship had run on a well-known danger which was shown on the chart. In consequence of the very rough nature of the British Columbia coast, new dangers are constantly being discovered, but it is extremely improbable that the closest hydrographic survey would locate many of these dangers. The establishment of a hydrographic survey by the Dominion in British Columbia waters would involve the purchase of a steamer at a cost of at least \$120,000, and an annual outlay of not less than \$30,000.

FRASER RIVER IMPROVEMENTS.

Mr. PRIOR (by Mr. Earle) asked :

1. What sums have been expended on the Fraser River, B.C., (a) for surveys, (b) for improvements during the years 1890 to 1899, inclusive?

2. How much has been expended in cutting a channel through 'Sumas Bar' on the Fraser River, near Chilliwack, up to the present time?

3. What was the necessity for such expenditure?

4. What success, if any, has attended the operation?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. Expenditure during the ten years ended 30th June, 1899: Hydrographic survey, \$36,573.29; improvement of channel, \$261,981.20; total, \$298,554.49. 2. The cost of cutting the channel through Sumas Bar was \$7,420.71, and is included in the above item of improvements of channel. 3. To restore the main channel of the river to its former position, thereby preventing further encroachment of the river on valuable property through erosion at Miller's Landing. 4. Work has proved satisfactory for expenditure incurred; additional dredging is required to obtain the result looked for.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MARKHAM,
8th HUSSARS, NEW BRUNSWICK.

Mr. DOMVILLE asked:

1. Is the government aware that Lieut.-Colonel Markham, late 8th Hussars, received a cheque from the Militia Department in September, 1898, allowance for care of arms of the regiment, due June 30, 1898, for the year 1897-8?

2. If so, what was the amount of the cheque?

3. Is the government aware that this allowance was due to Major F. V. Wedderburn, 8th Hussars, he being the regimental storekeeper, duly appointed regimentally, and confirmed by authority from the department at Ottawa, and should have been paid over to him by Lieut.-Colonel Markham, then acting as commanding officer, immediately on receipt of it?

4. Is the government aware that the said cheque has never been paid over to Major Wedderburn, and that he is claiming from the Militia Department this allowance due to him?

5. Has the government received any official communications from the late officer commanding relating to the wrongful retention of the cheque in question by Lieut.-Colonel Markham?

6. Has Lieut.-Colonel Markham been called upon by the general officer commanding or the Department of Militia and Defence, to explain his reasons for illegally retaining this money, which does not belong to him, and keeping Major Wedderburn out of possession of it?

7. If so, what reply has Lieut.-Colonel Markham given for the wrongful detention of the cheque for the care of arms?

8. Does the government propose to take steps to compel Lieut.-Colonel Markham to refund the cheque illegally held by him; if so, what steps will be taken?

9. Is the government aware that the rent of the armoury at Hampton is unpaid and legal proceedings threatened?

Mr. SPEAKER. I wish to draw the attention of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Domville) to the details of this question. We occasionally have had a question raised with reference to aspersions or suggestions being made respecting individuals, and I draw the attention of the hon. member (Mr. Domville) to the fifth question where the word

'wrongful' retention of the cheque is used. It is only fair to the other party that the word 'wrongful' should be stricken out. So, in the sixth question the word 'illegally' should be stricken out, and in the seventh question the word 'wrongful,' and in the eighth question the word 'illegally' again appears. These words should be stricken out of the question.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). In the sixth question the words 'which does not belong to him' should also go out.

Mr. SPEAKER. Yes.

Mr. TAYLOR. Out goes the whole question.

Mr. SPEAKER. The question can be put as amended.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The answer to the question is as follows: 1. Yes. 2. \$240. 3. The department is aware from the correspondence which has taken place that Major F. V. Wedderburn claims the amount for storage of arms, but the arrangement made between the officer commanding the regiment and Major Wedderburn is one with which this department has nothing to do. 4. It would appear so from a letter addressed by Lt.-Col. Domville, late Commanding Officer 8th Hussars, to the Deputy Minister of Militia, dated 2nd December last. 5. Yes. 6. Lt.-Col. Markham has been called upon to account for the way the allowances paid to him have been expended. 7. Lt.-Col. Markham states that allowances having been paid to him under authority of Regulations and Orders, as officer commanding the regiment, he was charged with the due application of such allowances, and that his being called upon for a statement showing how the money has been expended 'is a reflection on me as an officer, and I cannot comply with the request.' 8. Under consideration. 9. It would appear so from the letter from Lt.-Col. Domville, already referred to, dated 2nd December last.

DEFICITS, SURPLUSES AND SUBSIDIES.

On the question (Mr. Dechene).

1. What was the amount of the deficits of the late Dominion government for the years 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895 and 1896?

2. What was the amount of railway subsidies promised in 1896, and if greater than in the preceding years, by how much?

3. What is the amount of subsidy voted by the late government for the Quebec bridge from 1892 to 1897?

4. What is the amount of the deficits of the present government for 1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899?

5. What is the amount of the surplus, year by year, for 1897, 1898 and 1899?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I would ask that this question be allowed to stand.

Mr. MONTAGUE. If I am not out of order, I would like to call the attention of the Prime Minister again to the similarity of this question to questions asked by hon. gentlemen opposed to the government, which, when asked, have been answered by the Prime Minister saying, 'You must move for a return.'

The PRIME MINISTER. Order.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I know I am out of order, but I thought—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Well, Mr. Speaker, if hon. gentlemen desire it, I can put myself in order very quickly. I do not want to do that; but I want to call the attention of the Prime Minister and the government to this, and to say that both sides of the House should have equal treatment.

The PRIME MINISTER. I think the hon. gentleman will find that answers were given to questions of that kind put by the hon. member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain); and his remarks do not apply to this question. Very lengthy answers were given to some questions put by hon. gentlemen opposite.

Question allowed to stand.

REMUNERATION OF POSTMASTERS.

Mr. ROSAMOND asked :

1. Has the Postmaster General, in view of the reduced rates of postage, taken into his consideration the reduced remuneration received by postmasters who are paid by a percentage on receipts?

2. If so, will he take steps to increase that remuneration?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock). I understand this to be a question asking whether the government intend to increase the salaries of postmasters. It seems to imply that there has been a reduction in the salaries of postmasters in consequence of the reduction in the rate of postage and a consequent reduction in the general revenue of post offices. If that is the meaning of the question, I have to say that instructions were given about the time of the reduction of postage that in no case was that reduction to be followed by a reduction of the salaries of postmasters, and I am not aware of any case in which a reduction of the salary of a postmaster has been made in consequence of the reduction of the rate.

Mr. ROSAMOND. Would the minister kindly answer whether he proposes to increase the remuneration of postmasters as it is at present?

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. That question has not been before me, and I have not been considering it.

Mr. WALLACE. How about a new post office?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE—THE LATE ALFRED BROWNE.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

1. Was the late Alfred Browne in the employ of the government as a superintendent of the railway mail service? If so, what was his salary?

2. Has any person been appointed to fill the position made vacant by the death of Mr. Browne?

3. If so, who is the person appointed? When was he appointed, and what is his salary?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mulock 1. Yes; \$1,500. 2. No. 3. The third question is answered by the answer to the second.

ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS.

Mr. MORIN asked :

What is the number of immigrants from Europe brought into Canada, at the expense of the Canadian government, for each of the years 1897, 1898 and 1899?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The government has not adopted or acted upon a policy of assisting immigration. There is no expense except the general expense of the immigration department. Every hon. member knows about what that would be.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding :

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising a Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Mr. Speaker, I must frankly and candidly admit that when two nights ago I pledged myself to the House that I would read and analyse the speech of the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), I did not at the moment quite understand what a task I had set myself to. It is one thing to listen to a speech even of that duration, with a friend on the right hand and a friend on the left, with whom you can take counsel, and with a reasonable interval allowed for refreshments, and quite another thing to sit down and wade through it in cold blood. Nevertheless, Sir, plighted words must be redeemed, and I trust that it will be accounted to me for righteousness that having pledged my word to do it I have done it. Sir,

it was a remark of King Solomon's, 'Oh, that mine enemy had written a book,' but, Mr. Speaker, if the book which King Solomon had in his eye was half as prosy as the speech of my hon. friend, I take leave to think that that wise king's exultation would have been greatly damped, or he would have added a rider to the proverb: 'Oh, that mine enemy had written a book, and that mine other enemies had to read it.' Sir, I have the speech here 'in extenso,' five and fifty pages of *Hansard* without one stop. Five and fifty pages of our *Hansard* have I waded through, and I give the House my word that I have been unable to discover five new ideas in those five and fifty pages.

Sir, I have looked in vain over the speech, for anything like a clear declaration of his policy. I have looked in vain for anything like a declaration of the scheme of reduction of taxation which he would recommend us to adopt. I look in vain for any fruitful suggestions, and I hope he will not take it amiss, if I say, that, so far as I could judge, the speech was made up in about equal parts, one half of scrap-book, and one half of snarling platitudes, peppered and salted, I will admit, with a great variety of tabulated mis-statements, and also certain gross blunders, which go rather far to justify the statement I have made on former occasions, that my hon. friend, quick and smart as he undoubtedly is, is one of those pretenders who have very little real knowledge of the subjects they discuss.

Now, I want to put in all sincerity, one or two questions to my hon. friend. What does he mean by it all? What does he hope to get by it? And, Sir, I think I must ask my hon. friend, where does he expect to go to, if it be true, that for every idle word a man speaks, he must render a strict account hereafter?

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman is touching a burning question just now.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. And, what an awful prospect yawns before my hon. friend, unless my other hon. friend here (Mr. Charlton), carries his point and *Hansard* is abolished.

Mr. CHARLTON. I did not propose any such policy.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I beg my hon. friend's pardon, I thought that was his suggestion. Now, Sir, I would like to ask the hon. gentleman does he hope to impress the public by such a speech as he has lately delivered. Sir, I take the liberty of telling him that the people of Canada, in mass, and at large, do not care a decimal point, one, or for the matter of that, two, for all the tabulated statements which he put together. What the people of Canada do like, and do want to hear, are such broad facts as we heard from another quarter a few nights before. They like to

hear that we have a surplus of \$7,500,000; they like to hear of a probable total growth of exports and imports, a probable total growth of trade, of \$150,000,000 in three years. They like to know that our growth of trade in three years, equals, if it does not exceed, the growth in the preceding 30 years. They like to know that we are able to borrow money at 2½ per cent, and that our securities, at long and last, are rated, for purposes of investment, by English trustees, on a par with English consuls. And, lastly, they like to know—although it is not a good Christian feeling, I dare say—that when English goods imported into this country have to pay \$2, Yankee goods have to pay \$3, and, furthermore, the Canadian consumer is benefited by the operation. These are the facts the people like to hear. And, as for my hon. friend's further points, as for his policy of pinpricks, his picayune criticisms and quibbling, all I can say is that I do not believe they will affect one vote, except adversely to himself, in the event, which I deem very unlikely, of any of his constituents perusing his speech of their own proper will and motion.

I observe that the hon. gentleman's friends in the press, took some considerable umbrage, the other day, because I ventured to quote to his disparagement, certain lines of the poet Tennyson. Perhaps a change of air would do the hon. gentleman good. He objects to Tennyson, let us try Pope. I have been looking at the hon. gentleman's speech and using my poor faculties in the endeavour to comprehend what it all meant, and I advise him, if he is not satisfied with Tennyson, to try the advice given by Pope 150 years ago, to the critics of his day:

The critic Eye, that microscope of wit,
Sees hairs and pores, examines bit by bit,
How parts relate to parts, or they to whole,
What forms the features, what inspires the soul,
Are things which York's small delegate shall
see
When man's whole frame is obvious to a flea.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Encore.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I will send hon. gentlemen the lines, and others like them by-and-by.

Before I proceed to discuss a little more minutely, the hon. gentleman's speech, I desire to say to the House and the country, that I challenge, I think, without exception, all his calculations and comparisons of expenditure as being grossly unfair, and I do it for these four excellent reasons. In the first place, because I contend that the hon. gentleman, for reasons which I have stated, and which I might amplify to a very great extent, is utterly unjust and unfair in selecting the expenditure for 1896, as being a fair and reasonable one wherewith to make his comparisons. I am willing to take that hon. gentleman's actual expenditure in the year 1895, and compare it with our actual ex-

penditure in the year which has just passed. I am willing to take his estimated expenditure—the main estimates alone, remember—for the year 1897, and compare it with our estimated expenditure for the year 1901, but I do say, in view of the facts I have stated, in view of the fact that the public service was starved and stinted, in view of the fact that the loss of millions was, by his untimely parsimony, inflicted on the public, it is utterly unfair and unreasonable to take the year 1896 as a fair standard of comparison. I object to his calculations, because the hon. gentleman has no right whatever to do as he has done, club together the capital expenditure and ordinary expenditure, and draw comparisons between the total of these in the one year and the other. Any man who knows anything of business, knows that the capital expenditure of one year may for very good reasons be \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000, or \$12,000,000, while, in another year, it may be \$1,000,000 or \$2,000,000, or per-venture, nothing at all. Under such circumstances, to make a comparison on such a basis, between one year and another is, on the face of it, manifestly and grossly absurd. Suppose, for instance, we were to carry out one of those projects which are now floating in the air. Supposing we were to spend \$10,000,000, let us say, in the purchase of a telegraph system, and from the operation derive a net profit of, say, \$1,000,000 a year, according to the hon. gentleman's mode of calculation, the country would be \$2 per head per annum, for that single year, worse off than in a year in which we had made no such profitable transaction at all.

The fact is you can make no honest comparison, no fair comparison, between one year and another, if you add capital and ordinary expenditure together. Take this very case in point. We come in and find the late government dawdling along with the construction of our canals, taking ten years to build what ought to have been done in five. My hon. friend opposite puts his hand to the plough, and does in three years what it would have taken his predecessors, according to past experience, thirteen years to do, or at least six or seven years. Yet, because he completes the canals and spends a few millions more a year than they did, therefore, forsooth, the charges on the country are to be calculated as ever so much higher in the years when my hon. friend completed the canals, than in the other years when hon. gentlemen opposite were dawdling over the job. Then, Sir, there is a third matter; not of so much importance after all, because I find that the difference between us would only amount to perhaps 100,000 or 125,000 souls—but I take leave to state that I wholly and entirely dispute the estimates of population which the hon. gentleman made. However, as that is a point I intend to go into this at greater length

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at a later stage, I shall say nothing further now except that I entirely dispute the figures which he gave. And, lastly, Sir, and most of all, I dispute the accuracy of his calculations; I dispute their fairness; I dispute their honesty, because all through he has most steadily and carefully avoided taking into consideration any of the new services which did not exist in his time, and on which many millions have been expended. Let him show me, if he can, from the first page of his speech to page 55, a single acknowledgment of the fact that in these increased expenditures was included the expenditure of more than a million and a half for the Yukon, was included the expenditure of half a million at least for increased services on railways and canals, was included about half a million for sinking fund, was included a considerable sum for interest. Interest, how accruing? In carrying out obligations which these gentlemen had incurred, and left behind them and not discharged. Bear in mind, these expenditures involve not one penny of loss to the people of Canada, except in the case of interest alone, for my hon. friend (Mr. Blair) puts into the treasury a dollar for every hundred cents he takes out for expenditure on railways, in the expenditure on the Yukon there is a surplus, and the sinking fund is a mere cross entry. But the hon. gentleman wholly refuses to allow for these; he will charge everything to our debit, but will not place a cent to our credit. Sir, I go a little further; I state distinctly here, that, striking out these particular special services of which I spoke and for which there is no corresponding entry in the year 1895, the cost is not a bit greater than it was in his time; and, that, having reference to any per capita calculation he likes to make, service for service, we are governing the country for less than he and his friends governed it. Moreover, Sir, I challenge entirely his averages and his percentages as they are applied to tariff matters. Had the hon. gentleman thought on the question for a moment, or if any hon. gentleman chooses to think on the question for one moment, he will see that necessarily and obviously, from the very nature of the case, you can make no possible fair comparison between a tariff which was avowedly protective and a tariff which we intend, at any rate, to make a tariff for revenue purposes. Just in proportion as any tariff is protective, so far that tariff is prohibitive; and, as Canada's protective tariff excluded a great quantity of goods, you can make no comparison whatever between it and a revenue tariff whose object is to admit at a reasonable rate all the goods the country may happen to require. Why, Sir, if I chose, I venture to say, I could draw a tariff, with a few strokes of my pen, under which, while it would be protective to the highest possible degree, I would have a very much lower average of duties

on the goods I did admit into the country than under an ordinary revenue tariff. The thing is easily done—put a very moderate duty on the goods you choose to admit, and put an absolutely prohibitive duty on the goods you wish to exclude; and the result will be that your protective tariff will levy a very low rate of duty, nominally on dutiable goods. Yet, the hon. gentleman, ignoring these facts, which every tyro in political economy should be familiar with, gets up and gives us page after page of what I have rightly called his mis-statements of averages and percentages. And yet, he has the audacity to lecture me because I do not think much of such averages or percentages.

More than that, Sir, on two or three important matters I entirely challenge the accuracy of the hon. gentleman's statement per se; and I repeat and I purpose to show that, while the hon. gentleman is a clever debater, while he can speak well enough within the four corners of his brief, he does not possess in reality any true and proper knowledge of the subject he has been discussing. A good deal has been said by my hon. friends opposite which, I think, might have been spared, about certain proceedings of my own in the way of using what I believe to be my fair, legal right to distribute useful literature to the people of this country through the post office. Now, I am going to make a sporting offer to the hon. gentleman—

Mr. FOSTER. Easy, easy!

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Do not be afraid; there is nothing illegal about it. My proposition is this, and I am going to ask my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) if he will consent, if he will promise and his friends will promise to carry out the bargain fairly—instead of his sending out a hundred tons, and I sending out a hundred tons, peradventure, that we combine them both together, his speech and my answer, and make a bargain that neither party will send to any constituent in Canada one speech without the other. And, further, for fair-play's sake, we will include the excellent budget speech of my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) beside me.

Mr. FOSTER. Is my hon. friend (Sir Richard Cartwright) sincere in his offer to put my speech along side his and frank them both to the five or six hundred thousand electors?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Perfectly sincere.

Mr. FOSTER. All right; I will have mine ready.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. But on one condition—the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) and his friends must agree to have them printed together, and that no separate copies must be sent.

Now, Sir, I have here under my hand the,

what shall I call it?—the ipsissima verba, or the corpus delicti?—here, Sir, are the five and fifty pages, duly strung together, of the hon. gentleman's speech. I am sorry to say that the first sentence that strikes my eye is one that I cannot at all accept. Speaking of my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) beside me and his speech, he said:

Any clerk in a very short time, could have compiled the figures that he used; but any clerk should be drummed summarily out of the service, who would make as disingenuous a use of those statistics as, I am bound to say, my hon. friend made.

And he proceeds to say, Sir:

As I said before, it would rather seem to be a simple collation of statistics, the disjecta membra of which, if I may be allowed the use of a Latin term, seemed to have been promiscuously sown wherever it was thought an appeal might be made, ad captandum, to people who have not had the opportunities of looking into and so have not the power of discerning what are really the facts of the case as bearing on the question under discussion.

Sir, I am an older member of parliament than the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster). I do not know but that I might, if I felt so disposed, so far as Ontario and Quebec are concerned, I might not to-day claim to be the father of this House. It has been my fortune, for nearly forty years to have crossed swords on budget questions, with, I may fairly say, the ablest men that all Canada could produce. I have made a good many budget speeches; I have answered a good many budgets—and I did not take four days to do it either. Sir, I think I may put in a claim, with some degree of reason, to be a tolerably fair judge of what a budget speech should be. And I think the House will acquit me of being, in a general way, disposed to indulge in indiscriminate gush over friend or foe—rather the other way about, perhaps. Now, Sir, what I want to say, speaking as a critic, and not as a colleague, is this. I say it gravely and without heat, I say that the speech which the hon. gentleman speaks of so slightly, the speech which was delivered on Friday last by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), was an admirable budget speech. I say that it was a lucid, well arranged speech, no longer than a budget speech ought fairly to be. I say more, that it was a speech which everybody who read it could understand. The wayfaring man though a fool would not err therein, whatever the members on the other side of you, Mr. Speaker, might do. Sir, the speech was a modest speech, an effective speech, and an eloquent speech, a speech that has done good service to Canada in Canada, and, as I shall show before I sit down, a speech that has done good service to Canada outside of Canada. I will add that it was a speech which forms an admirable contrast to the speech with which the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster), thought fit to answer it. Sir, I say those remarks of his were in

bad taste, were bad tactics; and I will do the hon. gentleman who sits beside him, and who leads the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper), the justice to say that he at least would never have committed such a mistake.

Now, passing on over a page or two of platitudes with which I will not trouble the House, I come to a sentence, which for certain reasons, I want to call to the attention of the House. The hon. gentleman says:

Hon. gentlemen smile as I recount these things. Why? Because they believe there is no longer necessity for truth and honour in the public men of this country, because they believe that the electorate is as debauched, as utterly to be contemned, as utterly to be despised, as the contempt and despising that they have put upon their promises solemnly made and repeated before the people.

Rather a nasty insinuation, and I would like very much to know what Sir Mackenzie Bowell would have to say about it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I will come to the hon. gentleman's statement of expenditure. He refers to his expenditure on consolidated fund account for 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895 and 1896. Then he takes up our expenditure for 1897, 1898 and 1899, and he draws this inference: See how much more these hon. gentlemen spent than I did. Sir, I say that is distinctly a dishonest inference. He knew when he made that statement, that a large amount of extra expenditure was for services for which he was not called upon to provide a dollar. He knew that those services were performed for the most part without costing the people of Canada one cent. He calls attention to the difference, and although he does not dare say so, he obviously leaves it to be inferred, as any hon. member will see, on reading his speech, that a very heavy extra charge had been laid upon the people, for which they had to be heavily taxed over and above the taxes which he had laid upon them. However, as I have got a good deal to say on that head, I will do no more at this moment than merely to call attention to the fact.

I proceed to review a certain little dodge of the hon. gentleman with respect to the expenditure for 1896. Now, you will have observed, no doubt, that the public documents and blue-books are sacred things in the hon. gentleman's eyes, when he can make of them a point to help him; but if the public accounts do not happen to suit his purpose, the hon. gentleman treats them with superb disdain. He puts down his total expenditure, for all purposes, for 1896, at \$41,702,833. The public accounts put down the expenditure at \$44,000,000 odd, and he waxes wrath and he waxes eloquent. Why? Because my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, in the exercise of his clear duty on coming into office, finding that this hon. gentleman and his friends had, for many years, neglected to charge up to public debt

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a considerable sum of money which they ought to have charged up, rectified the error and made the account what it ought to have been. Well, Sir, it may have been inconvenient for the hon. gentleman to have rectified it in 1896, but whose fault was it. He had half a dozen years, if my memory serves me, to have straightened this matter out, he neglected to do his duty, and my hon. friend did it, and now the hon. gentleman has the superlative audacity to accuse my hon. friend of playing a trick upon him, because he did his duty, and charged up that item which ought long ago to have been charged to public accounts.

Mr. FOSTER. With the permission of the hon. gentleman, I would like to ask him one question. Was that \$2,394,000 which is charged in 1896, and included in the expenditure for railway subsidies, and helps to swell the total, paid in 1896?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. It does not matter one straw, whether it was paid or not. The charge as a charge against the public, is properly capitalized at the amount of the interest, which is charged against the annual charges of Canada.

Mr. FOSTER. Will he answer another question? Have you yet paid the principal, or are you not yet paying it in simple interest at 5 per cent to the Québec government?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. It is a matter of no earthly consequence. If it be a perpetual annuity for which \$111,000 per year is paid, the burden on the people of Canada is equally the same; and my hon. friend was perfectly right in capitalizing it and treating it as he did, and charging it to the hon. gentleman; so that at a later period he might not find our debt swollen by the negligence of his predecessor in not making the entry that he ought to have done.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not like to bother my hon. friend, but I would like to ask him—

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I quite understand his point, and he understands mine. I say that he ought to have charged that money four or five years ago, and he did not, and he is not entitled to make such a charge against my hon. friend beside me.

Mr. FOSTER. There is a further question I would like to ask.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I consent, let him go on.

Mr. FOSTER. Would my hon. friend think it right, if there was to be a bookkeeping entry, that the sum which has been capitalized and charged should, in the arrangement, have been charged to the year when

the obligation was incurred, namely, in 1882 ?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I think it would have been right for my hon. friend's predecessor to have done that, I think it would have been right for the hon. gentleman to have done it half a dozen years before. I think he committed half a dozen serious errors in not doing it when he was Minister of Finance, if I only charge him with one error in each year. Now, Mr. Speaker, the point is this, that the hon. gentleman, on going out of office, left a considerable amount uncharged, which ought to have been charged, and it is charged up by my hon. friend beside me. It is rather an inconvenience, to some of his tabulated statements, that it should have been there charged, and he naturally squirms under the infliction.

Now, I come to another statement: I come to the statement, twice repeated by him, that his expenditure, for 1896, was \$41,702,000. That means, according to him, the total expenditure, capital and interest. I come then to his comparison of the expenditures for 1897, 1898 and 1899, which he represents, correctly enough, to be \$43,000,000, \$45,000,000 and \$51,000,000 respectively. Here, I want to call attention again to the dishonest character of this whole business. He takes two periods of three years each, and, in the face of the fact that the great bulk of the additions are represented by the new services, to which I have alluded, Yukon railways, sinking fund and such, the hon. gentleman deliberately aims to lead his hearers to believe that the Reform government had, without a corresponding advantage to the country, without a corresponding credit to the country, added many millions a year to the total expenditure. For reasons which I have given, I object in toto, to his false comparison and to his practice of doubling together the expenditures in such a manner. No good result can be arrived at from it; no comparison can be made under it, but a great deal of misleading and error will arise from it. Then, a little farther down, I come to the hon. gentleman's estimate of population. Now, Sir, for convenience sake, as I want to get through with this speech of his, I will reserve this until I come to deal with the census, merely stating that the statement which I made at Toronto, that the population of Canada was increasing and had increased at a greater ratio during 1897, 1898, 1899 and 1900 than it had in the years 1892, 1893, 1894 and 1895, is a statement which I am prepared to maintain in detail and give good reasons for—a statement, which, I think, every hon. gentleman who has any knowledge of the movement of population will know to be, on the face of it, prima facie, likely to be correct. But, here, I come to where the hon. gentleman was getting in his fine work. Here is

the per capita expenditure, and here the hon. gentleman goes on to point out, that, in 1895, the per capita expenditure, putting both capital and interest together, came to \$8.41 per head, while, under the present administration the hon. gentleman says the per capita expenditure has risen to \$9.72 per head in 1899. I put it to this House, I put it to all fair-minded men, would any man, from that statement, not imagine that we had added \$1.30 to the annual per capita charges upon the people of the country without giving any advantage in return. That is the inevitable inference, the only inference which the hon. gentleman could wish the people to draw from that statement of his. Now, I am going into details about this. I will assume my estimate of population to be correct, and I will take afterwards the hon. gentleman's estimate and see how the thing will work out. The House will know, as the hon. gentleman has worked it out in detail, that he represents that we have added \$1.30 as between 1895 and 1899, to the annual charges put upon the people of Canada, when he knows that between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000 of this total will cost the people nothing at all, because the money that goes into the Yukon comes out of the Yukon, because the money that goes into the railways comes out of the railways, because the money that goes into the sinking fund goes to reduce our debt, and these will not cost anything at all. If the hon. gentleman wished to make a fair comparison he would have deducted all these items, and if he had done so the addition to the public expenditure of \$1.30 per head would have shrunk into miserable proportions. But, he would not do that, nor would he make any allowance for the fact that my hon. friend beside me (Mr. Blair) had been completing the canals at speed whereas he and his friends had been dawdling along with them, and because he spent more than the hon. gentleman did, he assumes that the burdens of the people have been raised in proportion. In 1895, and I am now taking the hon. gentleman's own figures and his own estimate of the population, we had a population of 5,000,000, and an expenditure, chargeable to consolidated revenue, of \$38,132,000. What did that represent? That represented, for all services that were performed by these hon. gentlemen and charged to consolidated fund in 1895 an annual charge of \$7.62 per head. In 1899 we had an annual expenditure, after deducting the Yukon expenditure, after deducting the extra expenditures on railways, after deducting the sinking fund and the charges for interest, to meet liabilities incurred by him—we had an expenditure of rather under \$39,000,000, as against \$38,132,000. According to his own account the population in these four years, may have been increased a quarter of a million, and therefore, our per capita charge for purposes of discharging these identical ser-

vices which these hon. gentlemen discharged in 1895 was about \$7.40 instead of \$7.62. We did the same work as they did for 20 cents per head less, and if you estimate the population in 1899 at 5,400,000, or 150,000 larger than his estimate, you would have had an expenditure of \$7.18 per head instead of \$7.62 per head. I will come to deal with that matter a little later on, but, I repeat, that, service for service and deducting those services to which I have alluded, which did not cost the people anything, as I have pointed out, this government, in 1899, was doing the work, at least, 20 cents a head cheaper, which means a million of dollars on the average cheaper in comparison with the population than these hon. gentlemen were doing it in 1895.

Now, I come again to one of the hon. gentleman's pleasant little insinuations. The hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) most correctly stated that, in the years from 1878 to 1898, the debt had increased at the rate of \$6,500,000 a year. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) was not able to impugn the correctness of this statement of increase, but he took upon himself to read the hon. Minister of Finance a long and very severe lecture. And why? Because the hon. Minister of Finance had misstated the figures? Not a bit of it. Because that expenditure had not been incurred? Not a bit of it. But because he and his friends were occupied in building the Canadian Pacific Railway at the time. What on earth had it to do with the argument of the hon. Minister of Finance, whether they were building the Canadian Pacific Railway or any other railway? The hon. Minister of Finance was simply stating the fact that, in these eighteen years, on the average, the public debt increased at the rate of \$6,500,000 a year. The hon. gentleman could not deny it, and so he turned round and attacked the hon. Minister of Finance as if he had been guilty of some serious iniquity in making a simple statement of fact. I may just make a little criticism of my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) beside me, and I hope he will take it in good part. I have a criticism to make of my hon. friend, and it is this.

Mr. FOSTER. Be careful now.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Do not be afraid. My hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) stated that, in these three years he had added \$7,750,000 to the public debt or \$2,500,000 a year. That was nominally correct, but—let the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) prick up his ears—the hon. Minister of Finance was practically nearly \$1,000,000 astray.

Mr. FOSTER. That is your Finance Minister for you.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Why? My hon. friend had very wisely and properly contracted at 2½ per cent

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loan in London at a discount of 9 or 10 per cent, a wise transaction, a prudent transaction, a transaction from which Canada will benefit largely, though nominally it will represent an increase of debt of about \$1,000,000, and the difference must be deducted from the \$7,750,000, and he did not take credit for it. He allowed it to be supposed—and there I blame him—he allowed it to be supposed that this had been the money spent instead of \$1,000,000 of it being a discount. My hon. friend the minister (Mr. Fielding) has charged himself, in my calculation, with \$350,000 a year more than he ought to, and I hope he will take a note of it.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) in giving an enumeration of the various causes which led to the increase of the debt: The Canadian Pacific Railway, the canals—and, by the way, the Intercolonial Railway, which includes, I suppose, the St. Charles branch, and a very beautiful piece of administrative work that was.

Mr. FOSTER. Almost as good as the St. Frances locks.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. The hon. gentleman goes on to say, and mark this:

On the North-west rebellion we paid \$4,800,000 out of the revenues of the country, and they paid nothing.

And they paid nothing. Sir, it is not the purpose of this government to create rebellions and to charge their cost up to the people of Canada. Here I come to a statement which I do not exactly understand, but which I give the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) the benefit of. He states that in 1892 the remission of sugar taxation was \$5,200,000, and in 1893, the remission was \$4,000,000. I would like to know how the hon. gentleman manages to show that the remission of sugar taxation could have amounted to \$5,200,000. The utmost revenue we ever obtained from sugar, to the best of my recollection, was about \$3,200,000. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) is, no doubt, a man of parts, but how he deducted a remission of \$5,200,000 taxation out of a total taxation of \$3,200,000 is not immediately apparent to the ordinary observer—the wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot understand that. It may be right, but there is only one way I can see to understand it. Perhaps he and his compeers were abstracting an enormous sum of money out of the pockets of the people, and putting little into the treasury, and largely into the refiners, that the alteration in the tariff may have saved the people \$5,200,000, but it was not saved in taxes, so far as I can see.

Here again I come to another of what I am sorry to say I must call these very dishonest tabulations of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster). He takes the year 1895-6 and

the year 1898-9. He compares his expenditure of \$36,900,000 with \$41,900,000, and he draws the inference, and parades it at great length, that we cost the country \$5,000,000 more than he did. Now, this plan of taking 1896 involves this result. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) starved two important services. I, myself, and my hon. friend the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden), know that the result of the injury he did to the militia service was not repaired for two or three years: perhaps, is not fully repaired yet. I know, and my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte)—whom we all regret not to see with us—knows well that the result of his miserable parsimony in dealing with the public works of Canada was that a great many of the public works were neglected, were allowed to receive great injury, and so, probably, for every \$100,000 the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) saved, five or six hundred thousand dollars have subsequently had to be paid in order to make good the mischief caused by lack of repairs at the proper time. I had an instance brought to my notice the other day, showing the result of this miserable false economy, which is just the same as if my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), in a fit of economy, were to shut off about half the marine lights under his jurisdiction. The hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies) might save two or three hundred thousand, but how many millions of dollars would the country lose and would the trade of Canada lose under such an arrangement as that? What did that hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) do in the case of the St. Lawrence channel? He cut down the public works estimate to the bare bone, and the result was that while we have expended a great many million dollars in constructing the ship channel between Quebec and Montreal, certain necessary things that ought to be done to it every year in the way of sweeping the channel and removing boulders, were utterly neglected. Quite a considerable number of vessels were injured. Very heavy claims are accruing on that account, the navigation of the St. Lawrence has been seriously impaired, and the rate of insurance very considerably put up on our vessels, partly, at least, owing to the injuries caused by the undue parsimony of that hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster). Now, Sir, I take, as I took before, the year 1895, when the expenditure was \$38,132,000. I take the \$41,900,000—I deduct from it the \$3,000,000 I have alluded to for Yukon and the rest—and I find that for the services rendered, we pay \$38,900,000. Again, I repeat, and the House will bear it in mind, that these special services I have alluded to cost the country nothing, because return was made by them in due course. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) alleges that we increased the cost of government about 14 per cent. Well, the difference between \$38,100,000

and \$38,900,000—with which he ought to have made a comparison if he was desirous of doing it honestly—is just \$800,000, which is very little more than 2 per cent as against his 14 per cent. If you take my calculation of the population at 5,400,000, and the expenditure being \$38,900,000, you will find that it amounts to \$7.20 per head. The annual charge, taking his own statement, and taking his estimate of population for 1895, would amount to \$38,100,000, or \$7.62 per capita, being exactly 42 cents in our favour, if you adopt my calculation of the expenditure, and about 20 cents in our favour if you adopt the hon. gentleman's calculation. I submit to the House, in all seriousness, what possible use, what possible reason, what possible object can be served by making these calculations and omitting the material fact, that the bulk of the additions were new services, which new services in no way involve a charge upon the country.

Here is a sentence well worthy the attention of the House, and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) especially addressed it to me. I am going to quote it now, I am going to quote it again when we come to deal with the census returns, as to which I have a word or two to say:

I think it is the duty of the hon. Minister of Customs, of the hon. Minister of Finance, of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, to set this matter right at once, for, Sir, the canker and the virus of suspicion and non-confidence is in no way better imported into the government of the country than where you cannot take its blue-books solemnly given to the people as facts, as in every respect true to fact, and make your calculations upon the basis of the circumstances which actually exist.

Let the House take a note of that; let the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) take a note of it, for it is not the last he is going to hear of it before I have done with him.

But here I come to what is, perhaps, the cream and crowning glory of the hon. gentleman's statements. If there is one subject more than another which ought to have engaged, and which has engaged I do not doubt, the attention of a man in his position, it must have been the operation of the preferential duty on goods imported from Great Britain. He goes on to say:

These are not my own figures, but the figures of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and I give them for what they are worth, and I take them to be true. What are they? I have here a list of the rate of dutiable goods imported from Great Britain, and I find that in 1896 the rate of tariff imposed on dutiable goods from Great Britain was 30.20. In 1899 it is 29.62, or just 58-100ths of 1 per cent less than it was in 1896.

This is not a mere oversight, for he goes on to repeat it a little later, and makes a new calculation. Now, Sir, I have here the identical statement from which he was quoting; it was furnished to him, I believe, from my department; and it contains a cal-

calculation of the percentage on dutiable goods imported from England in 1899. Even if there had been a mistake in the figures, this is a matter which the hon. gentleman, if he had any real knowledge of the subject, ought to have known in an instant. He knew that we had reduced the tariff rate as a whole 25 per cent on English goods; he knew that that reduction had come into force in 1899, and he must have seen, or he ought to have seen if he had any real knowledge of the subject, that the reduction could not have amounted to so small a figure as 58-100ths of one per cent. More than that, he had, at any rate, the total amount of goods imported from England, which amounted to \$27,500,000, and he had likewise the total amount of duty paid on those goods, which was \$7,300,000 in round numbers; and any man with a particle of knowledge of the subject would have seen that his statement was absurd. What are the facts? The fact is that he is astray about 600 per cent. The reduction, instead of being 58-100ths of one per cent, was 3·62 per cent. The rate of duty was not 29·62 per cent, but 26·627 per cent. If the hon. gentleman wants to see the figures, I will send them over to him.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend probably was not here yesterday, but if he had been, he would have heard me say, what appears in to-day's *Hansard*, that I had made a mistake in the figures, taking a 9 instead of a 6, and I corrected the mistake before the House.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Very good. I accept the hon. gentleman's statement. I have no doubt he made the mistake, but my point is that any man with any real knowledge of the subject could not have made that mistake. It is the mistake of a lawyer arguing from a brief, who knows nothing about the subject except what he finds in his brief; it is the mistake of a parrot attempting to speak as a scholar. Why, Sir, if the hon. gentleman knew anything at all of the subject, he ought to have known that if you have a total revenue of \$7,300,000, it cannot possibly amount to 30 per cent of \$27,500,000. He had merely to take his pencil or look at the figures, and he would have seen that the thing was impossible. More than that. I make all allowance for the fact that in some lines the duties were raised, although not more than half the amount of the total 25 per cent reduction; but making all allowance for that, I repeat that it was utterly impossible for any intelligent man, if he had known anything of what he was talking about, to make out that a reduction of 25 per cent on the tariff eventuated in a reduction of 58-100ths of one per cent on the goods imported. In making that mistake, I think he exemplified what I have said, that he knew very little of what he was talking about. The hon. gentleman

had better learn, particularly when he is talking about any statement I may make, to look before he leaps.

I want to call attention to another statement made by the hon. gentleman:

My jubilant and juvenile friend, the Minister of Trade and Commerce—

Thank him!—

—when he was in Massey Hall, declared with a great flourish of trumpets that the trade of Canada in 1899 was \$90,000,000 and over greater than it was in 1896. Trade and commerce reports, when they come down, reduce that to \$82,000,000.

Sir, what I said was this:

In 1868 our total volume of trade was \$31,000,000. In 1895 (not 1896) our total volume of trade was \$224,000,000, being an increase in that long interval of \$192,000,000. Since 1895 our total volume of trade has increased from \$224,000,000 to \$319,000,000, being an increase of \$95,000,000 during those few years.

The hon. gentleman, I suppose, had this in his hand, and he chose, for reasons best known to himself, to represent me as speaking of the year 1896 when I spoke of the year 1895; and my figures are not only accurate, but within the mark. I turn to the Trade and Navigation Returns, and I find, as I said, that in 1895 the grand total volume of trade was \$224,420,000 and that in 1899 the grand total volume of trade was \$321,000,000. Will the hon. gentleman's arithmetical faculties enable him to deduct 224 and 321 and report the product? If he does, he will find that the difference is 97 and not 82; and in future, if he will take a bit of friendly advice, he will be careful, before he corrects a statement of mine, to verify his figures. Sir, the fact is this. I took the grand total, which, of course, differs a little from some of the other computations, though not materially in this case, because I was going back to 1868, and in doing so, that was the only possible point at which I could make the comparison. The fact remains that the hon. gentleman, with the facts before him and ample opportunities to learn what the real truth was, would not take the trouble to make the calculation for himself. I suppose some one of his myrmidons told him that I had made a mistake and he swallowed the bait, and so he makes a statement which is only \$15,000,000 astray. After this paragraph my hon. friend, for two or three pages, resolved himself into a brooding hen. He explained to us how all the time things were going to the deuce under the Conservative administration, they were really brooding how to make things better. Sir, if my hon. friend likes to take up that role, I do not know that I should object. I remember seeing long ago, in some account, I think, of the reign of Charles II., that on one occasion the Moors took prisoner a very valiant but very puny knight. They did not know what to do with him, and they finally set him to do the work of a brooding hen.

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There may be a precedent, if the hon. gentleman desires to fulfil that role, and I am bound to say he would be a great deal more usefully employed in this enterprise than some things he has been turning his attention to of late.

Here comes a rather curious sentence. The hon. gentleman is talking of the increases in iron and steel and other matters, and he goes on to say that the miners and farmers are paying largely increased prices for the articles they use. What is his inference from that? Does he want the farmers and miners to understand that because we largely lessened the duties on iron, therefore, they are paying more for them now? But if they are now paying more for their iron with our greatly reduced duties, what would they have been paying if we had left the duties alone?

Then comes a sentence which I hail with pleasure. The hon. gentleman goes on to point out that times of depression are not always times of great injury. He said:

The enforced economy from 1892 to 1895 has been a strengthening time for the business backbone and power of the country.

There is a glimmer of sense here, and I hail it with satisfaction. It is an oasis in the desert of verbiage I have been wading through. Let me call the hon. gentleman's attention to this fact. Long ago, long before he was Finance Minister, just such a case did occur in 1876, 1877 and 1878, and I pointed it out very thoroughly and strenuously to the Conservative party, and much thanks and credit I got for my trouble.

Then follow a considerable number of pages, which, I think, were put in for very little purpose that I can see, unless, peradventure, to tire the House and prevent a reply. But, later on, I come to a statement to which I want to call attention. The hon. gentleman goes into a statement which he might have spared us to show that the increase of our trade with Great Britain, after all, is not large, and he presented a long series of exports to the Argentine Republic, Belgium, France, Germany, Japan, the Spanish West Indies, and the Lord knows where else, in order to show that our exports to these countries grew greatly in comparison with the trade of Great Britain. But he omitted entirely this most material fact, that taking our trade with the two great competitors for it—for nearly all our trade is with Great Britain and the United States—in 1896, we sold to Great Britain \$67,700,000, and in 1899, \$85,113,000 worth, being an increase of \$23,000,000, in round numbers. Compare that with the United States. In 1896, we sold to the United States, \$34,400,000 worth, and in 1899, \$34,700,000 worth, being virtually no increase at all. While our export trade with the United States was stationary, our export trade of home products with Great Britain had increased

\$23,000,000, but that was a trifle which the hon. gentleman did not think it worth his while to enlarge upon at all. But he did enlarge upon the material fact that, while our trade with Great Britain had increased but 35 per cent, our trade with Hawaii had increased from \$31,000 to \$185,000, or 500 per cent. That was an important fact, but the fact that our trade with the United States had remained stationary, while that with Great Britain had increased 35 per cent, was of no importance at all. That fact he simply whistled down, because it did not suit his purpose.

Then, we go on through two or three pages of the speech, consisting principally of scrap book.

Mr. FOSTER. It is your own speech in 1888.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Very likely, and the best thing the hon. gentleman had in his speech. I have this to say with respect to that speech. I am not in the least degree disposed to recede from the statements I made in it. I continue to be of the opinion that the trade and good-will of the United States is of great importance to Canada, and of great importance to the British Empire.

Mr. FOSTER. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I continue to be of the opinion that it would be the work of a statesman of the very first class to do anything and everything that lies in his power to cement, consolidate and bring together those two great halves of the English race.

Mr. FOSTER. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I would be glad to do it. I know that the hon. baronet who is at the head of the opposition would have been glad to do it too. That we failed was not our fault, and circumstances and conditions have so altered that I do not say I would advise renewing the propositions or renewing them on the same lines.

Mr. FOSTER. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. But I might tell hon. gentlemen this. Great events are in the air and great events may come to pass, and before he and I pass off the stage, the great idea underlying reciprocity with the United States, the idea of bringing into close alliance, although not political alliance, the two great halves of the English race, may yet fructify in a manner that will astonish hon. gentlemen. And the man who helps that forward will do, as I have repeatedly said, the greatest service to England any man has yet done. One reason why I am pleased to see England and her colonies coming together is because the power, the strength, the vitality

of the alliance will go pretty far to show our American cousins that we can treat with them on equal terms, and I would suggest, as we are talking about figures, that whereas 70,000,000 minus 50,000,000 may be a negligible quantity, 70,000,000 plus 50,000,000 amounts to 120,000,000, and not all the rest of the world united together could afford to disregard 120,000,000 of Anglo-Saxons acting in unison.

I come here to a curious statement in the hon. gentleman's speech. He says that there are answers to certain questions which cannot be avoided. For instance, the answer to the question: What do he and his friends propose to do about the preferential tariff if they get into power? But, nevertheless, the hon. gentleman seems to have been pretty successful in evading that question. Here, Sir, is a delightful sentence. He says:

They have given the United States a preference in many things. What have they given them? Free corn for nothing; free binder twine for nothing; free wire for nothing; a cut on their iron—everybody knows that the United States to-day towers above every other country in the world in her production of iron.

That is redolent of the narrowest and most hide-bound protection I ever heard advocated. I would like to have my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) let loose: I would like to have my hon. friend from South Huron (Mr. McMillan) let loose to answer the hon. gentleman, and to inform him that when we admitted Indian corn free we conferred a great boon on the great mass of agriculturists in Canada.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Yes,—a great boon upon the great mass of the agriculturists when we admitted corn free. What did they want free corn for? To fatten the fat beef they export to England. And why, I should like to know, ought not our agricultural friends who want to use corn in that way, get their corn free as much as our manufacturing friends get their cotton free?

Mr. MONTAGUE. And I would suggest that you let loose the hon. member for Essex and Kent, Ontario, at the same time.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. The members for Kent and Essex represent two magnificent counties, where the people can grow, and grow profitably, everything that can be grown in Canada; and it makes little difference to them and to their constituents whether they grow a little more wheat, a little more peas or a little more tobacco, in place of corn. They are not going to suffer and they are not afraid of it. But I repeat, Sir, that we have admitted these things free. The hon. gentleman says: You admitted them for nothing. We admit them for the benefit of our people, because we, at any rate, believe

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that the consumers of this country and the great body of the producers have some rights to be regarded in the legislation of this country. We are here, as my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) very properly said, to legislate justly in the interests of all classes, and I have yet to learn that legislation on behalf of the great body of consumers and producers can be rightly objected to by any hon. member of this House. Then the hon. gentleman goes on:

But we are told: This preference to Great Britain is now an accomplished fact. When you get into power, what will you do with it? Will you repeal the preference to Great Britain? That is a question that will be asked; that is a question that must be answered. My answer to it is this—that certain facts when once they are accomplished, become accomplished facts, and, though they were accomplished against the will and against the wish of one party, and against what was considered by that party to be a fair and judicious policy, yet, when once they have been accomplished, it becomes a question whether, profitably to the interest of the country, these accomplished facts can be repudiated or antagonized.

Sir, I have done a little yachting in my time, and I think some hon. gentlemen here have done some sailing as well. Is there not a point in the compass known as north by south? And would not the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) be admirably qualified to take command of a ship steering north by south on a question, which 'must be answered.' I am bound to say that there is a good deal of family resemblance between the action and statement of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) and that of the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) who sits beside him. I think that hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) has said something to the effect, as regards his Manitoba policy, that it is an accomplished fact, and he is not going to raise it again; and I think he was perfectly sincere when he made that utterance. But I think the pair of them, with respect to preferential trade, occupy the position of that famous American statesman, whose name I have forgotten, who, at the conclusion of an impassioned address—quite as impassioned as that of my hon. friend (Mr. Foster)—closed by declaring: 'Gentlemen, these are my principles; but if they do not suit you, I can change them.'

Mr. MONTAGUE. Was it an American statesman?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. An American statesman of note.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) could have got an instance nearer home.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. No, I do not think so. But if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague) had known what was doing in this matter of preferential trade, he would have come to this same

understanding that some of his friends have—that we have got mighty close to a genuine revenue tariff and he and his protectionist friends have been thoroughly left in the cold by it.

Now, Sir, there are two points with which I would like to deal at some little length. In the first place, I might say a word or two as to the real incidence, bearing and extent of the preference which has been granted by Canada to Great Britain. But, on this point, I would like to know which of these hon. gentlemen represents the opinion of the opposition. One, I find, is continually declaring that the preference granted by us to Great Britain is a mere fraud, delusion and sham; and the other says that, because we have granted preference to Great Britain, we ought to have obtained substantial advantages from Great Britain in return—for giving her a preference which is a fraud, a delusion and a sham. Neither of these two things is the case. The preference we granted to Great Britain is a very substantial advantage to Great Britain and to British merchants. There is no doubt whatever that the preference we have recently granted will be still further an advantage to them, and a great gain to Canadian consumers and producers as well. On this same question of the preference to Great Britain there are several things to be said. Sir, it became apparent to me long ago, it became apparent to me long before we came over to this side of the House, that, from the very nature of the case, goods of American manufacture and production could easily bear a very much higher rate of duty than English goods, without being excluded from our markets. For that, there are a good many reasons, which will present themselves readily enough to anybody who chooses to consider this matter a little in detail. In the first place it arises, no doubt, from propinquity, from our nearness to the American producers and consequent convenience in dealing with them. Also, as a rule, Canadians can deal with American producers without the intervention of middlemen, at any rate without the intervention of middlemen to the extent that exists in dealing with producers in England. More than that, the tastes and habits of our people are closely similar to those of a very large number of American consumers. All these things go together to make it easier for the Americans to send their goods into our markets, even if they are taxed therefor higher than the English goods are taxed. Besides, there is the method of trade, which is worth considering. Everybody who has had much to do with the American business men knows that the object of the American is to try to do a large trade, and he will sacrifice a good deal for the sake of doing a large trade. The English merchants, on the other hand, desires, and very properly and reasonably, to drive a profitable trade. I remember very well

discussing this question with an eminent American statesman, and that gentleman saying to me, what was perfectly true, that the result of our preferential trade with England was not, and probably would not be, materially to diminish the import of American goods into this country, but, as he put it: It will compel our people, though they have to pay the same taxes as before, to cut down their prices to the Canadian consumer in order to meet the prices at which his English competitor will sell. That is the exact effect of our preference. It not only does no injury to the Canadian consumer, but it enables him to reap considerable benefits from it. He gets, in the first place, a direct advantage which is caused by the reduction of taxation; in the second place, he gets the advantage which is caused by the Canadian manufacturer having to come down to the level of the English prices; and he gets, in the third place, the advantage which is caused by the American manufacturer having likewise to come down to the level of the English preferential rate. So that when you estimate the real value of the remission of taxation under the preferential tariff, you must, at least, multiply it by three, to get at the full benefit extended to the people of Canada thereunder.

Sir, I caused some calculations to be made on this question which I think will be of some interest to the House. I desire to point out that if you simply take the ordinary percentage, you will run some risk of underestimating the extent of the reduction which is made under our preferential tariff. You will observe that our preferential reduction to England, applies to all articles, except spirits, wines and tobacco; so that if you want to see the real value and weight of the reduction made by the preferential tariff, you must first of all deduct from the amount of goods imported from England into Canada, the amount in value and the amount in duty paid on spirits and wine. If you apply that, you will see that our original cut went much further than people generally supposed. We imported, last year, in round numbers, \$27,500,000 worth from England, on which we paid, I think, \$7,300,000. There were \$500,000 in value of spirits and wines on which we collected a revenue of \$1,000,000. The result was that on the \$27,000,000 of manufactured goods imported from England, we collected a duty of \$6,300,000. Now, \$6,300,000 on \$27,000,000, will be, speaking roughly, about 23 per cent or 23½ per cent. It will be observed, therefore, that the present tariff, as applied to England, is very far indeed from being anything like as high as might be supposed, if you simply take the gross amount levied without making the deductions that I have alluded to. Further than that, I find—and this bears on the total importation, and the effect of our trade with Great Britain—I find that in 1895, we imported of goods paying 20 per cent, \$6,500,-

000 worth ; of goods paying 25 per cent, \$11,250,000 ; of goods paying 30 per cent, \$14,000,000 ; of goods paying 35 per cent, \$21,000,000, in all about \$52,750,000. Now, under our present reduction of one-third, the 20 per cent would be reduced to 13 per cent, the 25 per cent would be reduced to 16½ per cent, the 30 per cent would be reduced to 20 per cent, and the 35 per cent to 23½ per cent. The result would be this, in plain terms, that if we were to apply to our late importations the preference cut we have just made, the average, deducting wines and spirits, would amount to a very little over 20 per cent on English goods imported into this country, the balance of our imports consist of articles like coal, \$3,750,000 ; sugar and molasses \$6,500,000 ; spirits, wines and beers, about \$2,000,000 ; fruits and provisions, \$7,000,000, articles subject to specific duties about \$2,000,000, and a number of minor articles that I have not time to enumerate.

And, here comes in a point to which a good deal of attention is directed. The hon. gentleman, in part of his speech, made a reproach to my hon. friend, because he intimated that English merchants were looking here for a market, and he went on to say: When English merchants want to import provisions, where do they go to ? And he gave a long list of all the articles they import from the United States. Sir, as I pointed out the other evening, in proportion to population, England now buys three times as much per head from us as she does from the United States. We sold England, of provisions, about \$62,000,000 worth, in round numbers, last year, on the basis of 5,490,000 of a population. The Americans, with a population probably of 75,000,000, sold, according to the hon. gentleman's statement, which, I think, is substantially correct, about \$300,000,000. There is, therefore, an average for us of \$11 per head, sold to Great Britain, and an average for the Americans, in the same lines, of \$4 per head, sold to Great Britain. More than that, I do not think that these hon. gentlemen have been paying very close attention to the United States trade statistics of late. If they had, they would have noticed this remarkable fact, that according to their latest statements, unrevised, and, therefore, perhaps to be taken with some care, the total exportation of British goods to the 75,000,000 people in the United States, has shrunk to something like £18,000,000 sterling, being an average of \$1.17 per head. The total importation of British goods into Canada amounts to \$37,000,000 all told, free and dutiable, being an average for Canada, of goods purchased from Great Britain, of something like \$7 per head, as against \$1.17 per head of goods sold to the United States. Now, if that kind of thing goes on, the time is not far off, when our 5,500,000 will take half as much British goods, as the entire 75,000,000 to the south of the border, will take, at any rate in proportion to their population, an

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infinitely larger percentage than our American neighbours will take. I commend that to the consideration of those gentlemen who think that this question of the preferential duty is likely to cut but a small figure and have a small influence on the English mind. As long as they continued to export a great many million pounds sterling in value of their produce and manufactures to the United States, they were not likely to pay so much attention to their colonies ; but within the last few years, there has been a remarkable alteration, and to-day, I am inclined to think, that the amount of goods sold by Great Britain to her various colonies, including India, approximates to nearly one-half of her trade with all the rest of the world, if not more. I am speaking from memory, but, I think, that Great Britain sold between £80,000,000 and £90,000,000 sterling of goods to the colonies, and I think she only sold to all the rest of the world about £145,000,000 or £150,000,000. If these figures be correct, the question of preferential trade within the empire is susceptible of a new and much more important development than any of us supposed a little while ago.

Now, I come to consider another matter ; I come to consider the benefit that accrues to Canada from this preferential tariff. These hon. gentlemen make light of it ; these hon. gentlemen tell us that business is business, and that commercial men have no sentiment in business. I tell them, and I am in the judgment of merchants and exporters, of every man who travels from Canada to England, that the direct advantages to Canada, accruing from the granting of a preferential tariff by Canada to Great Britain, are enormous and are continually increasing. I say that we have a real and substantial, if not a legal preference in the markets of Great Britain. I say that, to-day, if Canada be true to herself, if Canadian producers and exporters be true to themselves, wherever Canada can give as good an article as can be got elsewhere, the English consumer is prepared to give us the benefit of the doubt. In view of the position of things, in view of the fact that England is the great customer for the enormous amount of surplus foodstuffs of the world, a preference of that kind is of immense benefit to the people of Canada. It depends upon themselves, and I warn them of it, that if they be true to themselves, if every Canadian exporter and dealer makes it a point of honour to see that no bad or damaged articles, bearing the Canadian hand mark, go from his own market to Great Britain they will reap the benefit. These hon. gentlemen ought not to be so blind. Surely the lesson given to them on Friday ought to have made some impression upon them. My hon. friend was to blame in one other respect beside the one which I have noted. When speaking of the enormous advantage

which Canada might derive from her securities being placed in the list of those open for investment to English trustees he estimated that the increment would be 2½ per cent to the purchasing price of our securities. I had occasion to study that subject more than a quarter of a century ago, and although things have altered somewhat since then, I beg leave to differ from my hon. friend. I say that he is too cautious, that he has greatly underestimated its probable effect altogether, and the great advantage it will be in view of the fact that we have recently introduced a 2½ per cent loan. It is not an easy thing to float securities at that rate against the natural dislike of the English Stock Exchange to seeing any new low-priced securities introduced among them. And when my hon. friend estimates it at 2½ he hardly estimates one-half, or one-third of the benefit which is likely to accrue to Canada from that matter, which would never have been given to us in God's world, but for this preferential tariff to Great Britain. I do not want to mix up the question of the sending of the contingents with paltry mercantile considerations. Yet, it is true, that, in all probability all the money that the contingents have cost us will be repaid two or three times over, first, by the advantage gained by admitting our securities on even terms, and next, by the fact that, in consequence of our sending these contingents the attention of the British government has been attracted to Canada, and the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) has been able to negotiate the sale of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of hay which have been purchased together with a great many other articles opening up a profitable trade in these articles with England and with certain other countries which we would never have obtained at all but for the attention attracted to us by the action of this government. What does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague), say?

Mr. MONTAGUE. I was not speaking to the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright), but I was merely asking if the sales of hay were not probably due to cold storage.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. No doubt incidentally they were. The fact that the hon. Minister of Agriculture has been eminently successful in aiding and developing the sales of agricultural products of various kinds, through the attention he has wisely bestowed upon the subject of cold storage, has helped, as it always will help, to introduce other articles to the notice of English purchasers. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) noted one thing. He noted that there had been a great increase in our trade with the United States, that we are purchasing more than ever from the United States. I have no

time to go into details, I have no time to show him that what we purchased on the free list, from the United States was purchased for our own benefit and eminently, for the benefit of our manufacturers, for the benefit of our farmers, purchased to please ourselves and for our own advantage. We did not purchase these articles to oblige the United States, but for our own benefit. But, my point is that the very fact that our purchases from the United States have increased, in spite of the fact that we levy a much heavier tariff on them than upon Great Britain proves conclusively that, we have, at long last, got a revenue tariff. The distinctive marks of a revenue tariff and of a protective tariff are that under a protective tariff, goods are excluded, while, under a revenue tariff, goods come in. They come in under our tariff, that is proof that it may be looked on as a revenue tariff, and it is good proof, to my mind, that we are, to all intents and purposes largely working under a revenue tariff at this present moment. Now, I want to say a word as to our policy towards the United States. This is a grave question, a question to which I invite the attention of the hon. baronet opposite, (Sir Charles Tupper), who, upon more than one occasion, aye, and in opposition to his own colleagues, has shown that he really did appreciate the importance of the question. We are abundantly willing to trade with the United States, but we are also able to do without them. Time was, I grant, when I would not have said that. There has been a very great and important alteration in many of the conditions regulating the commerce of the world within the last ten or fifteen years. I am aware of the fact that we do not stand still on this side of the House. I recognize the fact quite clearly, and I say that we are now very much better able to do without the United States than we were before. But, above all, do not let us make the mistake of believing, or supposing that the trade of a kindred people, numbering 75,000,000 adjacent to us, will ever be anything but a matter of the greatest possible importance and advantage to Canada if it can be obtained upon anything like fair terms. Our trade can compare, and the Americans are watching it closely, very favourably with the American trade. If the hon. gentleman's calculations be correct, at the close of the present year, or, of the ensuing year, I think, of the present year, our total trade will amount to \$375,000,000, and, with a population of 5,250,000 or 5,500,000, without going into minute percentages, is something like \$70 per head, for every man, woman and child in Canada. The total American trade is about two thousand million dollars with a population of 75,000,000. That is something like \$28 or \$29 per head, as against \$70 per head for Canada. Our tariff, particularly since this cut has been made, will con-

pare most favourably with that of the United States. I see that about \$358,000,000 of dutiable goods were imported into the United States in the last year, for which I have returns, on which they will have \$202,000,000 of duty, equal to 52 per cent. Now, this year on the dutiable goods that was imported we did not levy more than 27 or 28 per cent. What we have been saying to the United States is this: That if they do not want to trade with us we are able to do without them, we are able to prosper, we are able to increase enormously the volume of our trade. More than that, we are showing them, and they know it, that the trade of Canada is worth more to the United States—if she could get it—than the trade of all the rest of the new world, with Mexico thrown in, and the West Indies to boot. Sir, the United States may refuse to trade with us—that is their business—but the United States cannot refuse to compete with us, and we are teaching them that just so much as they refuse to trade with us to their gain or ours; just so much surer and more certain they made the competition which they will have to face in these markets which are naturally open to both. Now, Sir, if the House will permit, I think I will call it six o'clock, because there are one or two subjects of a different character which I propose to enter upon as soon as the House resumes.

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

AFTER RECESS.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Mr. Speaker, when the House rose, I had occasion to make a few remarks on the extent and importance relatively of the trade now maintained between England and the United States, and the trade between England and Canada. I pointed out that although I was not disposed to claim perfect accuracy for the figures I gave—inasmuch as I was necessarily using what are called unrevised returns—I pointed out that the total trade between England and the United States, exports and imports put together, amounted to something like \$672,000,000—\$584,000,000 imports and \$88,000,000 exports. I may mention that the previous figures I had been giving refer to the food exports, which, of course, are only a portion, though a very large portion, of the total importation from the United States. Assuming the population of the United States at the figures I gave, then you get the total trade between England and the United States at about \$9 per head of the population. Our total trade, based apparently on the same lines, was last year about \$136,000,000, being an average per head as between England and Canada,

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of \$26. That, you will see, is an enormous increase per capita as compared with the trade between England and the great republic. That trade, you will observe, was developed under the old preference, and looking at the enormous strides our trade with England has been making, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in view of the additional preference we are giving them, if this country goes on and increases with anything like the rapidity that now appears reasonably probable, then, within the space of a comparatively very short number of years, it is quite on the cards, not merely that the export trade of England with Canada will equal the export trade of England to the United States—I may say that at the present moment it is very nearly one-half of the total export to the United States—but it is altogether possible, I will not say probable, that by the time we attain a population of nine or ten millions, if things go on as they are—because there is a downward tendency as to the trade between England and the United States and an upward tendency in our trade—it is quite possible that the trade between England and Canada may quite equal the trade between England and the United States in spite of the enormous superiority of their numbers.

And now, I want to say a few words as to the policy of Her Majesty's loyal opposition on this question. I put a question without getting a very satisfactory answer last night, but I observed that about a week ago one hon. gentleman now before me, one of the leaders of the opposition, speaking on the proposal submitted by my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Russell) delivered himself as follows:

I will read, in order that it may go on record, side by side with the amendment on which we are called to vote, these views which I propose to present in a notice of motion.

Formal notice given—the identical words given to us; and here the words are:

That this House is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between these countries, and would thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire, and that nothing which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory.

I do not know, Sir, whether that rather remarkable declaration was made by the hon. member for York in one of those moments of weakness which are peculiar to him; but if it expresses his views, and if he expressed the views of his friends beside him, I think the time has come now for them to put themselves on record and to explain clearly and distinctly to Canada and to the British people what their policy on this matter is. Such an answer as he gave is not likely to be satisfactory either here or

on the other side of the Atlantic. A formal declaration such as he proposed to vote on the other night would at least have the merit of letting us know where they are, of letting us understand that these men are distinctly opposed to a policy of preferential trade.

In this connection I desire to call attention to the utter absurdity of the attacks which have been made in the course of recent debates and during the past few years on the attitude assumed by my right hon. friend the First Minister on this same question of preferential trade. Times without number we have been told that the right hon. First Minister threw away what hon. gentlemen opposite were pleased to call most golden opportunities on the occasion of the Jubilee year. Times without number we have been told that he had merely to ask and have, that if he had not frustrated the patriotic intentions of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, and various other worthies when he arrived on the other side of the Atlantic, he could for the asking of it have had a complete and absolute preference for Canada, and a discrimination in favour of our products. Now, Sir, I doubt myself whether a more utterly unfounded, unreasonable and unfair statement was ever made by any factious political partisans in the world. In the first place, I have the speech delivered by the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain at the Canada Club dinner on March 25th, 1896. I observe that Mr. Chamberlain speaks very fully, very clearly and very distinctly as to the proposition contained in the resolution which the hon. gentleman said he would submit, the proposition frequently advocated by the hon. member for North Bruce (Mr. McNeill), the proposition which these hon. gentlemen declare my hon. friend had only to ask for to obtain. What Mr. Chamberlain says is this :

I see no use in shutting my eyes to the consequences of the proposition which I desire to consider with an impartial mind. The first thing is to establish the facts, and the facts are as I have stated. In return, under this proposal, we should get a small and a very small, consideration in the shape of a preference of, it may be 2 per cent, it might even be 5 per cent, in our competition with foreign manufacture in the colonial market. Now, what, then, is the proposal we are asked to consider? It is a very startling proposal for a free trade country, and I say that in its present form it is a proposal which it is impossible for us to adopt.

Is that the language of a man from whom my hon. friend had only to ask in order to obtain what he required? Mr. Chamberlain goes on :

The percentage, therefore, would be much more in favour of the colonies than it would be in favour of the United Kingdom. But the second point, which is much more important, is that our foreign trade is so gigantic in proportion to the trade of the colonies that the

burden of an arrangement of this kind would fall with much greater weight on the United Kingdom than upon our fellow-subjects in the colonies. I therefore think we may very fairly ask our fellow-subjects in the colonies to better their offer if, as I believe, they desire to proceed upon those lines, and if those lines do really offer the best direction in which we can proceed.

Then he quotes Lord Ripon's despatch, which is to the following effect :

The resolution (that is, the resolution of the Ottawa conference) does not advocate the establishment of a customs union comprising the whole empire, whereby all the existing barriers to free commercial intercourse between the various members would be removed, and the aggregate customs revenue equitably apportioned among the different communities. 'Such an arrangement,' says Lord Ripon, 'would be free in principle from objection, and, if it were practicable, would certainly prove effective in cementing the unity of the empire and promoting its progress and stability.'

Mr. Chamberlain may have been willing, I think he has always expressed himself as willing, to consider a proposition as to sweeping away all customs barriers between ourselves and Great Britain, and making some discrimination, although he has always admitted that it would be almost impossible to carry it. Then, he goes on to say :

We are not conterminous countries; we are countries, as I have said, separated by thousands of miles, in some cases, and the circumstances of our different countries vary so considerably that it is evident that in any arrangement as to general free trade within the empire exceptions must be made in the case of articles that are chiefly taxed for revenue purposes.

All that shows clearly and distinctly the absolute correctness of the statement of my right hon. friend, that no encouragement was held out to him by any person having authority to speak for the British parliament or the British government, lending any ground for believing that had he asked, at the time he proposed the preferential tariff, a discrimination in our favour, particularly in food products, in which we chiefly desire discrimination, there would have been the remotest chance of its being granted. But, Sir, this matter, I think, has been put beyond any possibility or doubt by a letter which I also will place on *Hansard*, addressed by the Duke of Devonshire to my hon. friend Mr. Mulock. It is dated the 2nd of May, 1899, and is as follows :

Privy Council Office, May 2, 1899.

My dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 1.

The best answer I can give to your inquiries is to inclose you a copy of the report of the speeches made on the various occasions in the summer of 1897, when I had the pleasure of meeting the colonial Premiers, in my capacity as president of the British Empire League.

I do not think that, in any of those speeches, you will find anything to support the view of my opinion on the question of the policy of

granting preferential trade to the colonies, which appears to have been held by Sir Charles Tupper and by some of the journals in this country, which seek to attribute what they term 'protectionist heresies' to members of the Unionist government.

It was, no doubt, my speech at Liverpool on June 12, 1897, which was referred to by Sir Charles Tupper, and my admission that free trade had not done for us all that was once expected, may have been commented on by free traders or opposition journals.

But while I congratulate Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Dominion of Canada on the offer which has been made to admit British goods at reduced rates, as compared with those on the goods of other nations, as an important step in the direction of Imperial unity, I had no authority to offer, and did not offer, to Canada a preference in British markets. You are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter.

I understand the English language, I think, as well as the hon. baronet, and I say there never was a more absolute and complete contradiction put on paper to the assertion that my hon. friend had only to ask and have, than the declaration contained in that same letter. But incidentally I may remark that I hold another communication here, in the shape of an extract from Lord Rosebery's speech on the 1st November, 1897. Lord Rosebery quotes Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech as follows :

There are parties who hope to maintain the British Empire on lines of restricted trade. If the British Empire is to be maintained, it can only be upon the most absolute freedom, political and commercial. In building up this great enterprise, to deviate from the principle of freedom will be to so much weaken the ties and bonds which now hold it together.

Commenting on this, Lord Rosebery goes on to say :

Well, that is a view I hold, and that I believe you hold in this hall. I believe—

Mark this :

I believe that anything in the direction of an Imperial commercial league would weaken this empire internally, and excite the permanent hostility of the whole world.

And he goes on to say, referring to the proposal made by hon. gentlemen opposite :

The proposal, if I understand it rightly, would tend to interpose checks upon the free import of the food of the people. I believe that that is absolutely impracticable, and, but that if it were practicable and were done in the name of empire, it would only succeed in making the empire odious to the working classes of this country.

Now, Sir, I have read Lord Rosebery's and Mr. Chamberlain's, and the Duke of Devonshire's views—the three men perhaps in England who would, in their various capacities, be the most likely to have entertained such a proposal as my hon. friend might have made. Each and every one of them—some more emphatically and some less—put down his foot in the clearest manner to prove that unless and until the colonies were prepared to grant something like,

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for example, free trade in British goods—and I never heard that these hon. gentlemen were prepared to admit British goods perfectly free into Canada—unless and until that would be done, they would not be prepared to undertake or carry out any scheme of discrimination in favour of Canada. Under these circumstances hon. gentlemen opposite, if they are wise and honest, will cease from this time forth all their statements and declarations as to the so-called loss of golden opportunities on the part of my hon. friend.

Let me turn to another question, and an interesting one, which comes up incidentally in connection with the budget. After all is said and done, the true basis of national wealth—the item of national wealth which I think all here would most earnestly desire to see grow and increase—is the number of intelligent and prosperous men and women in this country. A question has arisen between myself and the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster) as to the amount of population in Canada at this present moment, which I am disposed to estimate at a considerably greater number than he is willing to allow. The hon. gentleman, I understand, bases his opposition to my calculations on some statements which he finds contained in the blue-book, the Trade and Navigation Report, issued by my hon. friend. I do not think that my hon. friend from York (Mr. Foster), and some of his supporters understand in the least what those figures mean. They are the mechanical, conventional figures which have appeared at any time in the last twenty years, and in no way represent the opinion of any one of authority or weight as to the population of the country. They simply show that if the growth of Canada, in any one particular series of years, is exactly identical with its growth ascertained during the last decade, the result would be so and so. That is all that is pretended to be established, yet the hon. gentleman brings these figures forth, as if they were formidable and well-sustained calculations which rendered impossible the statement I made that the evidence in our possession shows pretty clearly that, in all human probability, the increase of population in Canada in 1897, 1898 and 1899 has been very much greater than in the years 1892, 1893, 1894 and 1895, and is probably not much short of 100,000, and possibly 125,000 per year. That assertion was made by me, I think, with good cause. If there is one fact better established than another it is this, that when a country is reasonably prosperous, its population grows more rapidly than when it is not. In the second place, it is tolerably well ascertained by the great consensus of evidence that the exodus which did so much to deplete Canada, practically ceased by the year 1896, on the admission of these hon. gentlemen's own journals, and on the evidence supplied us in various shapes and

forms by our various municipal authorities and others. We have not in Canada, unfortunately, any adequate system of vital statistics, and I am obliged to proceed by guesswork to a certain extent, where in England I could speak with positive authority. But I think most people will admit that I am not making a very bold assertion when I say that in Canada, being a young country with a very large amount of untilled and unoccupied land, the natural increase of births over deaths ought at least to equal the rate of increase in such a country as England and Wales. I think that is a fair proposition to advance, and in doing so I say nothing of the well-known exceptional fecundity of a certain portion of our population.

I find by the very last returns for the year 1897, that the increase in England amounted to 1½ per cent for that year, and it was greater in some other years. I contend that it is clear to demonstration that during our prosperous years, our increase was not likely to fall below that of England and Ireland, and in addition we have positive proof in fifty different ways. We have proof from the sales of land by the Canadian Pacific Railway, from the numbers of homesteads taken up, from the reports of our immigration agents, and from the well-known fact that a very large additional mining population was brought into Canada in 1897, 1898 and 1899, including, of course, the population of the Yukon—these furnish as strong a prima facie case as it is possible to make out that the population, in all human probability, has increased very much more rapidly in the years I have named, from 1897 to 1899, than from 1892 to 1895, which, according to hon. gentlemen opposite, were years of depression in Canada, when he was reduced, as he tells us himself, to the condition of a brooding hen. More than that, I do not think that he or any man in this House would get up and state their belief that the growth of the population in Canada, under the circumstances I have alluded to, and bearing in mind the condition of the country in those four or five years and its condition since, was as great from the 1st July, 1891, to the 1st July, 1895, as it was from the 1st July, 1895, to the 1st July, 1899. And yet, Sir, if these statements in the trade and navigation returns are to be accepted as unanswerable evidence, according to them the increase of population was a little greater from the 1st of July, 1891, to the 1st of July, 1895, than it has been from the 1st of July, 1895, to the 1st of July, 1899. I do not think it is necessary for me to waste more words in saying that the whole preponderance of evidence, and I might have added the evidence afforded by the enormous increase in the importation of settlers' goods, goes to show that the odds are immensely in favour of my proposition that the growth of population since we came

into office is considerably greater than before. I would add for the future information of the House, that in the decade from 1881 to 1891, these same customs returns show—going on just as they had done before—a total increase of population in Canada at the rate of over one hundred thousand per annum, being exactly 100 per cent more than the actual increases reported under the census. Of course, that was all right according to the hon. gentlemen then, though I called attention long before it was recognized, to the probable error that existed. I give that fact to show the utter unreliability and absurdity of calculations made in that way, and for that purpose. I regret that they should have appeared there, because unlearned and ignorant persons like the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), and the editor of the *Star*, are misled by them, and I do not want them to be misled by anything appearing in a government book, no matter how fully it may be accounted for and explained afterwards.

Now, the hon. gentleman made one remark to which I wish to call a little attention. The hon. gentleman is most jealous, every body knows, of the honour of public men. He declared :

I think it is the duty of the hon. Minister of Customs, of the hon. Minister of Finance, and of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, to set this matter right at once, for, Sir, the canker and the virus of suspicion and non-confidence is in no better way imported into the government of the country than where you cannot take its blue-books, solemnly given to the people as facts, as in every respect true to fact, and make your calculations upon the basis of the circumstances which actually exist.

Sir, these are really valuable words, and deserved to be emphasized and remembered.

Now, about eight or nine years ago, we had occasion to have a census in this country. It so happened that it was very much in the interest of hon. gentlemen opposite—I may except, I believe, the hon. baronet, (Sir Charles Tupper), for, I think, he was not here at the time—to show or to appear to show the people two things. It was very much their interest to show, in the first place, that the population of the country was not decreasing. Long before that time a great deal had been said on our side concerning the extent and rapidity of the exodus going on. And, in the next place, it was their interest to make a good showing of the number of industrial establishments. These hon. gentlemen set to work to do these things. I do not see my hon. friend the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) in his place, but older members of the House, at any rate, will recollect that, shortly after the census had appeared, that hon. gentleman, in his place, brought forward the most absolute and overwhelming evidence that in one single small subdivision not less than two and fifty people in that small section, who had been residents of the

United States for terms varying from three years to twenty-two years, had been falsely and improperly placed in the census, swelling the apparent number. When a statement of that kind was made by a prominent member of the opposition, the government, if they were honest, if they desired to establish the facts, had two things to do—to take the matter into their own hands and make a thorough and searching investigation, or to throw open their archives to the members of the opposition and allow them to do it for them. Failing either, the government became, to put it mildly, accomplices after the fact in a villainous fraud. What the government did on that occasion was absolutely to shut down on my hon. friend and refuse him and other members of the opposition the smallest opportunity to obtain the information which it was absolutely necessary to get in order to show the extent of these frauds. And in that position the matter remained from that time to this. Now, I have not the means of accurately ascertaining the extent of the fraud as to population. I have justification for saying that the whole subject of the population of Canada, as given in the census of 1891, is subject to the very gravest suspicion of having been improperly manipulated by the government of the day for a political purpose, and I have declined from that time out to accept the statements in the census qua population as being anything more than approximations or guesses. Whether the total of the frauds committed ran to 100,000 or 150,000 or higher, I say I cannot tell. All I can tell the House is this—that the government of Canada for the time being were accomplices after the fact and did their uttermost to shut off investigation. Details of that will be found in the *Hansard* of 1895. Full details of that I took care to have published in the speech of mine at Massey Hall, which seems to have exasperated hon. gentlemen on the other side to such an extent.

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I recollect, in the old days, we used to have a saying, indicating that if you throw a stone among a pack of wolves, it is satisfactory to hear them howl. Now, I take it, that that is a sound general axiom. But when, after eight months, they keep howling still, it can hardly be wondered at that I feel a pleasing assurance that I did my duty on that occasion. But, Sir, if it is a matter of suspicion, however grave, as to the frauds that were practiced in the matter of population, it is not a matter of suspicion at all as to the frauds that were practiced as to enormously exaggerating the number of industrial establishments in Canada. I would just quote a few remarks I made at that time to show that these gentlemen had tolerably full warning at

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that time. I quote from *Hansard* of 1895, vol. 1, page 639 :

Now, Sir, with reference to the returns of population, the conduct of the department, and the conduct of those charged with making the census returns is open to the gravest suspicion. In other respects, it is open to no suspicion at all. Sir, I have here a volume called, 'Census of Canada for the years 1890-1, vol. 3,' to which I wish to attract the attention of the House. I do not object to men defending their cause by any honest arguments, but I do object, and I think the country will object, and I hope the whole House will sustain me in objecting, to seeing our census returns made the means of disgraceful fraud. As to the returns of population, I have indicated what I think. But now we come to the proofs which these census returns offer us of the huge increase in industrial establishments, and of people employed therein under the national policy. These census returns declare that 25,000—only think, 25,000—new industrial establishments blossomed into existence between 1881 and 1889, and that 112,000 people were employed in these establishments, who, presumably, would not have been employed at all but for them. I have taken the trouble to analyse these statements. I am not going to deal with the matter fully; my friends must help me to bring before the country the results to be learned from the analysis of the returns with regard to these figures, 25,000 new industries. First, I come to what appears to be a wholly new industry, because I find no reference to it in the similar volume of the census of 1881, which also I have in my hand. This is the industry of knitting factories. You will find them narrated on page 195. The House will be delighted to hear that there are now, or were in 1891, 223 industrial establishments in the shape of knitting factories in Canada. Where is the Minister of Militia? Is he here just now? Or is there no Nova Scotia minister representing that province?

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT. Well, I am very sorry, because I was about to congratulate him. Nova Scotia is specially privileged. Of the 223 knitting factories, 99 were developed in Nova Scotia. And more than that, of the 99 developed in Nova Scotia, 93 were developed in the county of Shelburne. I find on further examination that the 93 industrial establishments in the shape of knitting factories in the county of Shelburne employed collectively 126 hands. I find, further, on the same page of the census, that they earned in that year \$1,833, being at the rate of \$14.55 per year for each hand, or 28 cents a week, and 4½ cents a day.

I find that in Quebec, in the county of L'Assomption, there were 12 industrial establishments known as knitting factories, employing collectively 12 hands, earning an average of \$63 a year, being at the rate of \$1.20 a week, wherewith, I suppose, to discharge the wages of superintendents, the cost of finding power, and dividends to the company. Portneuf is equally favoured, it has 12 establishments, which average \$90 per year in wages, or \$1.60 per week. Now, I find here that the value of machinery and tools employed in each factory are given; and it may interest the hon. member for Shelburne (Mr. White) to know that the 93 knitting factories in Shelburne actually employed for machinery and tools to the value of \$623, being at the rate of \$7 per factory for machinery. Now, I want to call the attention of the House to this fact. We are told there were 25,000 new establish-

ments; I have shown you what some of those consist of. I have analysed these further, and I find that out of the 223 knitting factories there may possibly be 30 that deserve the name by a stretch of courtesy. Those 30 pay \$288,000 in wages out of a total of \$322,000. The remaining 193 pay an average of \$200 a year for all purposes. But, Sir, great as the knitting factory is, fine as the work which the national policy has got in there—

Perhaps I should say the census commissioners.

--finer still in the work which the census commissioners get in there, it pales before the industry of carpet-making. The House will be glad to know, I was glad to know, that there are now 537 industrial establishments for making carpets in the Dominion of Canada. I find by a reference to the census returns of 1881 that there were only 11 then in existence; we have, therefore, an increase of 546, which is something like—how many thousands per cent? Is it 5 000 or 50,000 per cent? Some of those hon. gentlemen who are good at it may occupy their leisure time in making the calculation. Well, Sir, of these 537, 51 are in New Brunswick under the fostering care of the minister; and they employ 51 hands, mostly old women. Their collective wages are \$1,792; so that each of them earns \$36 per year, or 70 cents per week. Nova Scotia possesses 106 for carpet-making, employing 117 hands, who earn \$62 a year, or \$1.10 per week.

And so on, and so on, and so on. I will not inflict the rest on the House, but I may say that these were sample bricks of which my hon. friends on this side, before the debate closed, gave any imaginable quantity, any quantity of instances of the way in which these intelligent census commissioners improvised 25,000 new industrial establishments, that had been established in Canada in the space of ten years. I will give just one more sample, the town of Port Hope, and that is the last I shall inflict on the House:

During the last ten years, unhappily, Port Hope lost 539 in population, besides the natural increase; but while the people decreased, the industrial establishments multiplied. There are now 147 industrial establishments in Port Hope; 63 of these employ one man, or one woman, one boy or one girl; 20 of them employ two men, or two women, two boys or two girls; 33 of them employ three men, women, boys or girls; 116 establishments employ 219 people, or equal to one man or woman to each industrial establishment, and three-quarters of a boy or girl to spare.

Now, Mr. Speaker, my point is this, as the hon. gentleman brought up the question incidentally, that, with full knowledge, these hon. gentlemen made our last census of 1891 all but absolutely worthless as regarded the industrial establishments, and subject to the gravest suspicion as regarded the number of people in this country. I am not now going to take up time by discussing the question as to whether a *de jure* or a *de facto* is the best system of taking a census. There may be difficulties about altering a system which has been in existence 20 or 30 years, and although the *de jure* system applied in a country like this, where there

are about a million of our people resident in the United States, affords almost unlimited facilities for fraud in the hands of an unscrupulous government, I am not prepared to say absolutely that it is possible to dispense with it, however desirable it may be. But what I want to call your attention to is the fact that we are very much at sea, owing to the conduct of these hon. gentlemen, on the very important question of what was the true population in 1891, and upon that basis, what was the true population of Canada in 1896. Had it not been for the deficit then existing, I would certainly have pressed hard to have had at least an enumeration of the population made, but in the teeth of the deficits for three or four successive years and a deficit certain for that year, it was hardly possible for us to undergo the expense that such a step would involve.

But, Sir, I may call attention to the fact, that the ex-Minister of Finance thinks no duty of a government is more sacred than to take care that these national returns—perhaps he does not count the census return as a blue-book—but that the blue-books of the government shall be perfectly accurate and above suspicion in all points. Now, I have noticed on the part of the hon. gentlemen and I have noticed on the part of their press a good deal of grumbling, which appears to me rather unreasonable. Those hon. gentlemen grumble because the party who assailed an unjust and high protective tariff have altered their tactics from time to time. I am credibly informed that a good many of the elderly Boers thought that Lord Roberts behaved exceedingly badly to them when he would not attack them in front as his predecessors had done. Sir, we were perfectly justified in executing a flank movement, whether that flank movement took the shape of reciprocity or preferential trade. Sir, the Boers and the protectionists were very well entrenched, and not very pervious to frontal attack, as we found on more than one occasion. There were barbed wire entanglements, there were gerrymanders and there were Senates in front of us to obstruct the progress of civilization. But I am happy to say that the flank movement seems to have had a very good practical effect, and that we are now in the enjoyment of a tariff which has greatly lightened the taxation of the people, which has given consideration to those manufacturers who dreaded, perhaps with some reason, the extraordinary development of the tactics used by the American manufacturers, and great general prosperity to this country. And here, Sir, I want to make a few remarks on the general position. Sir, even the hon. member for York, although he would have liked very well to have done it, could not deny that there had been a tremendous advance all along the line. These hon. gentlemen may say that it is all pure luck. The

hon. member for York devoted a good deal of time to showing that luck came in cycles, prosperity and depression succeeding each other, and that governments had very little to do with it; in fact, I think he rather leaned to the heresy that governments were only flies on the wheel.

Mr. FOSTER. You have a patent on that.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. No, the hon. gentleman is mistaken; the man who first made that statement, if the hon. gentleman wants to know it, was the Hon. Sir John Alexander Macdonald, and the place at which he used it, Halifax, and it was in reference to a speech he made on the subject of confederation. I give every man his due, dead or alive. These hon. gentlemen may, if they like, say that it is pure luck. I am not going to deny the fact, that the Liberal party have had very rare good fortune since they came into office in 1896. It would be untrue, and foolish to do so, but, if we have had rare good luck, we have used it well, and helped it on. The preferential tariff was not a piece of pure luck, the sending of the contingents was not a piece of pure luck, the great development of the agricultural interests of the country through the instrumentality of the hon. Minister of Agriculture, largely, was not a piece of pure luck, the opening up of the British Columbia mining districts was not a piece of pure luck, and hon. gentlemen will remember that we were severely attacked because of the aid we granted in that direction), the floating of our loan at 2½ per cent, was not a piece of pure luck, the obtaining of leave for trustees to invest our securities, was not a piece of pure luck. Why should these men grudge us our luck? We have the right to our turn as well as they. The Conservative party profited to the utmost, as everybody knows, by our bad luck in 1878. Let them take their medicine to-day. Our right is to profit. When was the trade of Canada more buoyant than it is to-day? When was the general prosperity so universal as it is to-day, when was the reputation of Canada so high, not merely on the stock exchange, but on the field of battle, as it stands to-day? I do not want to quote any more poetry, because my efforts in that direction do not seem to be appreciated, but, I may remark, that it is just well, now and then, to see ourselves as others see us, and I want to call the attention of the House to the way in which the leading journals of England have received the statement and the speech so belittled by the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster). The *Times* states that:

Mr. Fielding's statement contains many points of interest to people in this country. One point transcending all others is the patriotic spirit of Imperial solidarity, in which the speech was conceived, delivered and acclaimed. It was not the mere statement that the past year was the most prosperous in the history of Canada.

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ada that caused the speech to be punctuated with patriotic cheers and followed by the singing of the national anthem. It was rather the common feeling that the past year also witnessed and sanctified the close affection binding the Dominion to the mother country in a community of sacrifice, sorrow and achievement, these real chords of man, these true bonds of empire. It was not the common felicitation over a prosperous balance sheet, nor even over the new adjustment of fiscal relations, however advantageous and desirable in itself. After referring to the increased preference in favour of Great Britain from July 1, the 'Times' adds that there is no immediate suggestion of reciprocity in this graceful, gratifying concession of Canada to the trade of the United Kingdom. The reciprocity, so far is the natural consequence of the fiscal policy adopted by Canada with Great Britain to the advantage of both parties. Without recasting our whole fiscal policy, we have no other reciprocity to offer. We hold that the best form of reciprocity is in the abstract, that in which two countries exchange their respective products as freely as possible without let or hindrance from fiscal barriers on either side. Perhaps in the concrete the next best form might be a common fiscal tariff for all parts of the empire, but the time for that is evidently not yet. The two ideals are economically irreconcilable, perhaps, but some day it may be found politic to subordinate the purely economical ideal to the larger ideal of a consolidated, united empire. It was perhaps within the bounds of possibility, said Mr. Fielding, that England might be induced to impose a duty for the benefit of the colonies. We do not question the possibility in the abstract, but inasmuch as Canada found her advantage in successive reductions of her tariff in favour of a country imposing no duties except for revenue purposes, perhaps it is equally possible that the solution of the problem of an Imperial Zollverein may in the end be found in the common acceptance of a policy of free exchange rather than in the reversion to a policy of protective duties and preferential tariffs.

Then, we have the *Standard*, the special organ of the English Conservatives, not, I am afraid, likely to be so much in favour with those who call themselves Conservatives in Canada. The *Standard*, after congratulations on the prosperous year, says:

It is scarcely less pleasant to hear of the success that attended the experiment of preferential trade with Great Britain. On this question Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues adopted what, on the face, was a more sentimental policy than was considered proper by Sir Charles Tupper and the opposition. While the latter always insisted that Great Britain must alter her fiscal system and give a preference to Canadian products if Canada lowered her duties on British goods, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, putting all such conditions aside boldly, made a reduction of 25 per cent in favour of British importers. After reciting the proposed extension of the preference, it adds that this is to be carried out without any claim of reciprocity from us. Though the Imperial government would, no doubt, be promoting Canadian interests if it could accept the arrangement for admitting colonial stocks to the privilege of trust investments in this country, the prospects of the adoption on our part of anything like a Zollverein were discussed by the Finance Min-

ister with complete appreciation of what is practicable in the United Kingdom. The supporters of preferential trade within the empire will welcome the beginning made by Canada as the one way in which, if ever, such a thing might most easily be brought about. It is, however, not a question of immediate importance, and in the meanwhile, without complete reciprocity, it appears that both Canada and the United Kingdom reap the advantage of the one-sided preference now given. The Dominion obtains an increase of trade. The British importers pay a lower duty. Mr. Fielding mentioned that the immigration returns showed an increase; that many people were leaving the United States to settle in western Canada; that the whole future of the colony and its place in the empire depend on its obtaining a considerable increase of population, so that its immense resources may be adequately developed. Of late years there has been a marked advance in this respect observable, and the stream of British immigration to the United States has been diverted more and more to Canada.

The *Financial News* says :

We are not grateful merely for what Canada is doing for the mother country in the field or in the less glorious sphere of commerce. What appeals most strongly to our instincts is the splendid example Canada is giving to her younger sisters. Let the Australians note well that the financial prosperity and the political vigour which show in every sentence of Mr. Fielding's speech could be attained only by a federated Canada. Let the Australian colonies dwell on the fiscal stability of the Dominion. Let them emulate the course of Canadian statesmen. Australia is not one whit behind Canada in that generous impulse which has rallied over-sea Britons round the Imperial flag in South Africa. But the various colonies in the southern seas have not yet attained the same sense of political and financial responsibility that is so conspicuous in federal Canada. That will come in due course. Meantime, the example of what Canada has been able to achieve with her own financial credit should give a strong impetus to the Australian longing to make federation real and unimpaired by local and colonial jealousies. The privilege earned by Canada of having her debt recognized as trustee security is one the Australian colonies greatly desire, and they have now a good idea of what they must do ere it is conceived. Canada has evolved its own destiny unaided, and no attempt has been made to force the lessons she teaches to-day. We must not imagine she teaches the other colonies only, she has lessons for the mother country. We have need to envy the fiscal insight of the Canadian government and the disinterestedness of her people she plainly shames us for sacrificing the welfare of the colonies which still reverence the Imperial connection by refusing to discard the fetish of a fiscal policy that has survived its usefulness.

Stronger testimony could hardly be given of the truth of the statement I made a little while ago, that the eloquent speech of my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), in delivering his budget had done right good service, not only in Canada, but to Canada, across the ocean in the motherland, with whom, for many reasons, we desire to dwell on terms of the utmost amity and concord.

I am glad now, Sir, to be able to tell the House, that I am approaching very rapidly the conclusion of the remarks I have to offer. There was one point I am bound to say, on which the ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster) offered caution, that I thought well placed. His remarks on the surplus and the use to be made of the surplus deserve attention. They are not his own, but they were good.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I do not in the least desire to belittle the fact that he sometimes knows a good thing when he sees it, and uses it. In the main, I agree with him, that a great surplus should be used for the purpose of reducing taxation under ordinary conditions. Of that there is no doubt. We are using our surplus to give a reduction, and a much larger reduction in reality than in appearance, to the consumers of Canada. But, there are occasions, and this is one of them, on which it is wise to remember that for good, sound financial reasons, it is not politic for us to rush into the money markets of the world, to borrow. We have recently attempted to establish a Canadian 2½ per cent loan, and we have a huge amount of money that within a short number of years we will desire to reinvest at that rate. Under these circumstances it would be indiscreet; it would be foolish for my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), for the sake of some piece of economic pedantry to insist on doing away with the entire surplus he possesses. The people are not suffering from taxation at this present moment. Our taxation has been very greatly lightened in reality, as compared with the taxation we found when we came into office, and under all the circumstances, while I entirely agree with the general gist of the remarks made by the ex-Finance Minister: that as a rule a surplus should be used for the purpose of reducing taxation; still, when we have a considerable capital expenditure, it is always an open point whether it is not well to use the surplus for the purpose of preventing the increasing our debt, or for the purpose of preventing us going into the money market at an inauspicious time. For these reasons I agree entirely with the position taken by my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), that on the whole, it is better for us to use our surplus to prevent an increase of debt, than for the purpose of extinguishing taxation. Then, Sir, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), reminded us that these periods of prosperity always go in cycles. He reminded us that the lean kine always succeeded the fat kine. I think, I noticed when the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), was dwelling on his parable, that the lean kine always devoured in the long run the fat kine, that looked rather hungrily at his neighbour (Sir Charles Tupper), who like myself,

in advancing in years, has become tolerably well furnished with flesh.

For my own part, I think there are three things that the country needs to exercise judicious caution about. One I have alluded to already. We have attained, by reason of the preferential tariff, to an extraordinary degree of favour with our chief customer, the English people. We can maintain that, we can extend that; we can double, treble and quadruple the enormous amount we have already sent to England, but on one condition, and on one condition only. That condition is, that the exporters of Canada and the producers of Canada make it a point of honour and a point of interest, in seeing that the goods they are exporting from Canada are sent to England of good quality and in good condition. There is a second thing that we will require to exercise a good deal of discretion about. In Canada as in other countries, labour and capital are sometimes in danger of coming to strained relations. I know that in certain quarters of Canada, very considerable loss to the public has been sustained by the strikes which will occasionally occur between employers of labour and the labourers; and I hope that a means may be found by this parliament and by this government, for setting in Canada, a good example to other countries in the matter of maintaining friendly relations between employers and employees. They eat off the same loaf; their interests in reality are the same, and I am inclined to think that if they can be brought together on fair terms (if they can be made more ready than they sometimes are to hear each other's side of the case), there would be little danger of any unfortunate collisions between these two important classes. Those who have studied the history of strikes in England and in the United States, know that I am speaking well within the mark, when I say, that a great industrial strike is often almost more expensive than a great war. And, wholly and clearly apart from the evil feeling and bad blood engendered between the contending parties, the economic loss, even in a comparatively trifling strike, is great enough to deserve the most careful attention of all statesmen.

There is a third thing which the government desires to keep in mind. In Canada, in former years, we were rash and reckless in continually increasing our fixed charges. I gave an illustration the other night of the extent to which the fixed charges, and the charges for the collection of revenue, had absorbed almost the entire available margin of income, and I would guard the House and the government, if I can, against allowing anything of that kind to occur with us.

For the rest, Sir, I invite examination. The facts which I have given lie open and can be proved. If I have made a mistake, let hon. gentlemen show wherein I have misstated the facts, or wherein I have erred,

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but, Sir, let them state what I do say; let them not put words in my mouth which I never used; and let them be good enough to verify their quotations before they make them. For the rest, I now and here repeat, on behalf of the government, the challenge I made at the opening of this session. If these gentlemen opposite condemn any particular expenditure of ours, whether it be for public works, or whether it be for railway subsidies, or for any other purpose; let them rise in their places in parliament and by word of mouth and by vote, record their disapproval of our acts. If they disapprove of our policy; if they want to uproot our preferential tariff; if they want to cut asunder the bonds which now unite us to the motherland, let them take the same manly course and put themselves on record and stand and fight by it. And, if they will not do these things, if they will prefer to remain silent, then I advise them to accept the situation, to hold their peace, and to be content with the general prosperity which has prevailed in Canada since this government came into power.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Mr. Speaker, I dare say you have often heard it said by people who are engaged in agriculture, that the hardest work that the mower ever has to engage in, is when he has a very short crop of hay. Certainly if hon. gentlemen opposite are satisfied with the exhibition that the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), has made of himself to-night, I can assure you that that sentiment is heartily reciprocated on this side of the House. The hon. gentleman has said something to us on the subject of good taste. I would like to ask that hon. gentleman whether he thinks it was in good taste—for the first time, I believe, in this House—for an hon. gentleman to refer to the plea of indisposition on the part of any hon. gentleman as a pretext that was unfounded and that was used because the hon. gentleman making it was not prepared to address the House. I think, Sir, if I know anything of good taste, that it never was outraged more than it was when the hon. gentleman referred to the adjournment of the House in consequence of my hon. friend from York (Mr. Foster) being somewhat indisposed that day, and not prepared to make a very long address, as he had to do. But, Sir, we had a curious illustration given by the hon. gentleman himself. He rose to answer the speech of my hon. friend, and stated that he intended to go into a very elaborate criticism of all the statements my hon. friend had given to the House; but before he proceeded very far, he found that he was a little indisposed himself, and he moved the adjournment of the debate in order to enable him to prepare fully for the encounter which he had undertaken and for

which he found himself unequal. The hon. gentleman was good enough to indicate that in 1888, when I held the position of Minister of Finance, I had on the plea of illness failed to reply to a statement he had made on unrestricted reciprocity, and that during the whole of that debate I was absent from the House. I think, Sir, whatever my failings may be, and I know they are many, that gentlemen on both sides of this House will not include cowardice among them. I can tell the hon. gentleman that he was setting a bad example—that he was directing the minds of hon. gentlemen in this House in a direction that would not be very profitable or advantageous to the government at this hour. What is the fact, Sir? That two of the most important departments held under the government are vacant at this time on the plea of the illness of the parties who hold them. Has the hon. gentleman these suspicions aroused as to the sincerity of gentlemen on this side of the House who at any time may be indisposed and in a condition in which it would be desirable for them to make a laboured effort in this House, owing to the fact that two of his colleagues are absent on the plea of illness, because it is convenient for the government not to have them present in the House? Are we to understand that the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton), who is absent on the plea of failing in his hearing, which is chronic, and which has existed from the time we knew him here, and which was no worse so far as we could judge, is absent because he found it convenient to go when the Committee on Public Accounts was preparing to take up the Yukon scandal and put people on oath and have that matter investigated this session? Has the hon. gentleman that suspicion from the fact that he and his colleagues had resorted to this means of sending out of this House members holding important departments in the public service, because it was more convenient for the government that they should not be in a position to have their conduct examined and overhauled when the House is ready to examine and overhaul it? I would like my hon. friend in the future to look at home before he attempts to indulge in such innuendoes, to violate good taste to an extent which I have never known or seen in this House before, and to set an example which is calculated to lead to very unpleasant comparisons. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman has used language for which I thought he would apologize when he addressed the House to-day. He ought to have apologized. He used language which we have not been accustomed to hear used across the floor of this House by anybody, in reference to my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). Ex-Minister, if you please.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I have only anticipated, Mr. Speaker, by a few months an event which I have no hesitation in saying is certain to happen. That hon. gentleman forgot himself so far as to say in regard to my hon. friend the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) :

Now, I am bound to say that the speech of the hon. gentleman deserves some considerable attention at our hands. I may define it briefly as a magazine of misstatements.

The hon. gentleman tells us that he has had great parliamentary experience, and that he listened with profound delight to the brilliant financial exposition made by the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), which he had hardly ever heard equalled, certainly never excelled, in any parliament during the long period of his public career; and he ventured to say at the same time that he had listened to the most feeble, puerile criticism on the part of the ex-Minister of Finance that he had ever heard. Now, I may say to my hon. friend that I have had still greater experience than he has had.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Excuse me, you have not.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes. I tell the hon. gentleman that I have been in public life eight years longer than he has.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Not in parliament, however.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I say I have been in public life, and I have been not only where I had an opportunity of hearing what finance ministers could do on the floor of this parliament, but where I have had an opportunity of listening to the greatest financial experts that are to be found in the world—those in the Imperial parliament; and I tell the hon. gentleman that during my public life of forty-five years in May next, I have never heard a more disingenuous statement come from the lips of a Finance Minister than the budget speech delivered by my hon. friend opposite. I say more, Sir: I say I have never heard a more stringent, a more exhaustive, a more complete, a more crushing criticism of a budget speech than that delivered by my hon. friend, the ex-Finance Minister. This is a matter on which gentlemen differ in opinion; and if I did not entertain that exalted opinion of the great, the brilliant effort made by my hon. friend the ex-Minister of Finance, I have no doubt that when the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) sat down to-night after declaring how he intended to tear and rend that speech to pieces, he gave the House the evidence that he was unable to make a single point against that speech, except the point in which he had been forestalled by my hon. friend from York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) in the correction of one of those slight errors which will frequently occur in handling a

mass of figures—a mere clerical error. The hon. gentleman made use of language which I think we will all, on reflection, condemn. I do not think there is any gentleman on that side of the House who will say that the term, 'miscreant,' is a proper term to apply to public men sitting on the one side or the other. What did he say? He said:

The old flag, at long last cleansed and purified, has been rescued in fair fight from the hands of the miscreants who traded on it and degraded it, and the old flag now waves better and purer and loftier than ever.

When did that hon. gentleman ever do anything to raise the old flag? If there is one man more than another in Canada who has done all that lay in his power to degrade and lower and destroy that flag, so far as Canada is concerned, it is the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce. What did he do in 1891, when leagued with parties in the United States, who were determined to destroy British institutions, and united with avowed annexationists in the United States, he led the van in this country upon a policy denounced by the Hon. Edward Blake as one so disloyal that it would deprive Canada of British institutions—a policy so disloyal that Mr. Blake felt compelled to refuse to go into the battle with his late confere because he was not willing to fight under false colours and because he believed that the commercial subjugation proposed by the hon. gentleman to the United States would end in political subjugation and destroy our British connection. I do not attribute to him, as I properly might, the term that he has used. I might say that no man but a miscreant would have adopted such a policy, but if I use that term, I take it from his own mouth and his own lips. To whom does he apply that term, and whom does he charge with having lowered and degraded the flag of England? It is the men who fought to the death that disloyal policy which the hon. gentleman advocated. It is the men who defeated the conspiracy which the hon. gentleman had entered into when he leagued himself with parties in Washington to destroy British institutions in Canada. If that term 'miscreant' could be hallowed and rendered an honourable epithet, it would be by applying it to the conduct of men who raised and saved that flag, as the Liberal-Conservative party did in 1891, when they defeated the disloyal attempt to subvert British institutions in Canada. The hon. gentleman further said:

It is a sad symptom of the mental deterioration which I deplore, that we find in the hon. gentleman's case, that words such as 'candour,' 'purity,' 'loyalty,' 'honesty,' are perpetually in his mouth and perpetually absent from his heart.

Where does the hon. gentleman find instances of men who can have all these epithets in their mouths and not one of the qualities they represent in their hearts?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

He finds them in his own associates, and it is from their conduct that he has evolved the slander which he has attempted to fasten on my hon. friend.

The hon. gentleman quoted from Tennyson:

A lie that is all a lie can be met and fought out right,

But a lie that is half a truth is a harder battle to fight.

That is the battle we have to fight. We have to fight the lie which is half a truth, and from the hour the hon. gentleman took his feet until he resumed his seat, his whole tissue of misstatements was precisely that lie which is half a truth and hard to fight.

He said to my hon. friend: 'I sympathize with him from the bottom of my heart. I myself have known what it is to have hard luck.' Although it is rather late in life for either the hon. gentleman or myself to be greatly improved by lessons, will he allow me to point out what the cause of his hard luck has been. The Nemesis that has pursued him for many long years was that he had a higher opinion of himself than anybody else had. Does he remember when he went out on strike in 1869? Down to that hour, he prided himself on being a blue-blooded Tory, a Tory of Tories, and I frankly admit that while he was in the rank and file, he was a fairly respectable member of the great Liberal-Conservative party of that day. But, unfortunately for him, that great man to whom Canada owes a debt she can never repay, the Hon. Sir John Macdonald, did not estimate the hon. member's talents and attainments and abilities so highly as he did himself; and when a vacancy occurred in the office of Finance Minister, he called to his aid one of the ablest financiers Canada has ever known—Sir Francis Hincks. What happened? The hon. gentleman there and then sat down and wrote Sir John Macdonald that he would turn his back upon him at once and for ever because he was not given that position. Was that going out on strike?

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. The hon. gentleman has made a statement without a particle of foundation of truth, and he knows it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would call upon you, Mr. Speaker, to call the hon. gentleman to order. No hon. gentleman in this House can charge an hon. member with having wilfully made an untrue statement.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. The hon. gentleman has made a statement impugning my conduct. Let him produce his authority.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman must withdraw that statement.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I think the hon. gentleman should withdraw the last

part of his statement, namely, that the hon. leader of the opposition has made a statement which he knows to be untrue.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I stated that it was absolutely without foundation in fact, which it is, but I will, in obedience to your ruling, Sir, admit that while it is utterly and absolutely without the smallest particle of foundation in fact, I have not the legal proof that he knows it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is an aggravation of the offence, and I must insist on an absolute withdrawal of the statement.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I understand that the hon. member has withdrawn the statement.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I withdraw the statement.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I am simply asking the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) if he withdraws the expression. I understand him to do so.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Certainly, I withdraw it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman having got a lesson which, I hope, will not require to be repeated during this discussion, I shall resume my observations. And I say that the statement I have made I know to be simply accurately true—

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. I call the hon. gentleman to order.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) must accept the statement made by the hon. minister (Sir Richard Cartwright). Consequently, I suppose, he is accepting that statement.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Mr. Speaker, I wish you to remember that the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) has challenged me for my authority for the statement I made. Have I not the right to give it?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. No, the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce has stated that he never wrote such a letter, and—

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no; he did not say that.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. I understood the hon. minister to say that the statement made by the hon. leader of the opposition is not correct. Consequently, it must be accepted by the leader of the opposition.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. But the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) has challenged me for my evidence. I state in the presence of this House that I saw the letter, that Sir John Macdonald showed me

the letter. I do not believe the hon. gentleman—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. Order. I do not think this is a proper discussion. The statement made by the leader of the opposition was a personal statement affecting the Minister of Trade and Commerce. The hon. minister denies that statement; and that denial must be accepted by the hon. leader of the opposition.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I am quite sure, Sir, that you will not rule that when an hon. gentleman in this House challenges the authority on which a statement is made, an hon. member is not permitted to give that authority.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. There has been a denial by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and that denial must be accepted.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Now, Mr. Speaker, having disposed of that little incident, I want to go on and indicate the hard luck that pursued the hon. gentleman from that time to this. From that hour when he was not made Finance Minister by Sir John Macdonald he devoted his life in this House to the most violent abuse, the most incessant tirade of abuse, that it was possible for one man to use toward another. And with what result? With the result that day after day the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald rose higher and higher, the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) sank lower and lower. I call that very hard luck. But harder luck awaited him. He was entrusted with the coveted position of Minister of Finance by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. And, Sir, during the five years that he held this office, as the records of parliament will show, no man that ever undertook it, failed so utterly and lamentably to discharge the duties incumbent upon that high office as did the hon. gentleman. He knows that every calculation he gave in the House proved, when twelve months came around, to be utterly fallacious and without foundation. He knows that he witnessed the country sinking day by day, year by year, lower and lower, until the independent electors of Canada at last got the longed-for opportunity and swept him and all about him out of office with one of the most overwhelming majorities ever known in the history of this country. That, certainly, was very hard luck. But still worse remains to be told. The hon. gentleman made the humiliating confession on the floor of this House two years ago that as Minister of Finance he had come to the conclusion that the policy that was advocated by the Conservative opposition of that day was well founded, and he had determined to adopt it; and that he had prepared a tariff for the purpose of giving a certain amount of protection to the interests of Canada—

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. Not a particle of protection.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. We will not discuss that. That was the question at the time. The industries of Canada were sinking, and the hon. gentleman came to the decision to raise the tariff by a very considerable amount. He himself stated two years ago on the floor of this House that a free trade brigade came up from the maritime provinces, and told him that they would cross the House and vote against him if he did not abandon his proposed tariff. And the hon. gentleman abandoned his convictions and his own deliberate determination to hold his office, failed to do that which the interest of his government and the interest of the country required, and let the country go to Jericho. I call that particularly hard luck. Has any hon. gentleman in this House or in any place where parliamentary government exists, ever been compelled to make a more humiliating confession as to his position than that statement of the hon. gentleman with all that it implied? But it did not end there. The hon. gentleman went out of office—by the indignant assistance a posteriori, of the electors of Canada. And it disagreed with him very much. For eighteen long years he sat on this side of the House, showing that he and all those whom he was able to control were as utterly destitute of principle as any body of politicians ever known in this country or in the world. He was one day for absolute free trade; another day he was for unrestricted reciprocity with the United States and the adoption of the highest protective tariff in the world, even if he had to turn his back upon Canada. The hon. gentleman, when he was asked at Oshawa by Mr. Scott whether he was prepared to adopt the American tariff and to discriminate against England in order to obtain unrestricted reciprocity, answered: I am. Just as he told us in this House, that Canada owed nothing to England, that England owes more to Canada than Canada owes to England. And when reminded of this the other day, he approved it and repeated it. All that we owe to England, said the hon. gentleman, is Christian forgiveness for the deep wrongs she has inflicted upon Canada by the mismanagement of our affairs. That is the position of the hon. gentleman who, according to his own statement has elevated and cleansed the flag of England. It is astounding that an hon. gentleman should so expose himself as to make statements of that kind. But still worse luck remained—hard as that was, still worse remained. At last his party got back into power. They did not come in on any great principle; they got back by an accident of an accident, by a conspiracy which I will not weary the House by referring to in detail. But, in order that they might get into power, where did the hon. gentleman

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

find himself? Why he found that the party he had dragged down from the time he first became connected with it down to the hour that they got back into power, only got back into power by submitting him to the greatest humiliation that any man ever suffered in this country. They manacled him and chained him to the deck. They gagged him that he might not open his mouth until the elections were over. When he was let loose it was all up with them. Nothing could get them into power unless he was prevented from opening his mouth and ruining their cause, as he did when he was Minister of Finance. When he was Minister of Finance he said that a howling mob occupied Parliament Square. So they did, they were clamouring for bread. And what did General Distress say to that army? He gave the word of command: 'Starve.' Why, Sir, the hon. gentleman, as I say, has had the misfortune to be one of the great causes of the ill-luck of his party. It has pursued him and will pursue him until he sinks out of sight. His opinion of himself is so great that he could not believe that anybody knew anything but himself. When his own party, when his leader and the ablest men in the ranks of the Liberal party went to him as Minister of Finance and begged him for God's sake to do something to rescue the prostrate, dying industries of Canada, the hon. gentleman said: You know nothing about it. He says that he borrowed the expression: 'Flies on the wheel' from Sir John A. Macdonald—I suppose, as he is borrowing a good deal that belongs to us just now. But, what did he tell them? He said: Oh, it is all nonsense, you don't know anything about it, you must not undertake to teach me, the great Minister of Finance of Canada. He said: What you must do is this, you must be more industrious and you must be more frugal. That is to say: You must work harder and you must eat less. He said: We are mere flies on the wheel, we have to go around with it instead of being able to stop it or to hinder it. There, I say again, was the hard luck the hon. gentleman experienced. When he got back to power, carried back on the shoulders of the people upon whom he had been so heavy a burden for so many years, he found that he could not go back into the position in which he had been such a gigantic failure in attempting to discharge the duties of the Minister of Finance; and so he was relegated to a back seat, and a young gentleman whom he is now obliged to extol and eulogize in this House, took his place. Sir, what became of him? He knows that he is a barnacle on the state to-day. He knows that he has not given one dollar's worth of value to the people of Canada for the \$7,000 a year that they have to pay him. Indeed, he himself declared in this House that his office was an entirely useless

one, that there was no benefit in wasting public money upon it, and he has proved that to a demonstration. Not only has he proved it to a demonstration, but he has shown that a man in his position, destitute of any confidence in the judgment of other people, who thinks that he has in his own cranium all the knowledge of the known world, can do a great deal of harm. Sir, all that he can say of his work as Minister of Trade and Commerce is that he has brought to naught a magnificent project on which the heart of the people of Canada was set, supported by both sides of the House, brought to perfection, the contract ready for signature, the British government joining with Canada and giving £75,000 sterling a year for ten years to enable us to have a fast Atlantic service. Sir, when parliament had given power to the Conservative government to ask for tenders, to complete the contract, and to sign the contract subject to the approval of parliament, he knows that for some cause or other, when that contract was ready for signature, it was not signed, although the British government were perfectly satisfied, and we had one of the most able and effective firms that could be found in the world, the Allans, of Glasgow and Liverpool and Montreal, undertaking to perform that service, and the service would have been ready on the first day of May last to go into active operation, with four steamships, and would have given to Canada all the advantages which we were expecting. Sir, the hon. gentleman destroyed that project because he said that he could do better. He could not believe that any wisdom could exist outside of himself. And where is he now? Why, he is in the humiliating position of having to stand up in this House and confess that he has destroyed that magnificent project, and that it is out of sight. He has been peddling, wasting the public money in sending gentlemen backwards and forwards across the ocean to negotiate with people who were utterly incapable, as I told him at the time on the floor of this House, to render such a service. Time was wasted, the golden opportunity of advancing the interests of the agricultural community was lost, and he now confesses that the materials of ship-building have so increased in price that he has had to abandon the project. I call that very hard luck for a gentleman who occupies so great a space in the public eye. That is a humiliating position to occupy, and I do not wonder that he says that he sympathizes with my hon. friend in his hard luck, for he knows what hard luck is.

Well, Sir, he says there was great depression between 1873 and 1878. He is quite right. He says that that great depression was followed by a great fall in values. He is quite right again. It is perfectly true that there was then a great fall in values,

and I want to know if that does not fully maintain the argument and the calculations based upon the soundest principles of finance, of my hon. friend beside me (Mr. Foster) that the great expansion of trade and the wonderful position the country occupies to-day are owing to an increase in values. Therefore, the hon. gentleman has made a case against himself. But, here is a libel uttered by him on the floor of this House which is deeply to be regretted. Sir, the hon. gentleman dared to say on the floor of this House :

I well recollect that there was nothing that those hon. gentlemen did not stoop to in those days. I well recollect that they induced manufacturers who were carrying on their business at a reasonable profit to suspend operations for the purpose of inflaming their operatives against the Liberal party.

Now, Sir, there is a gross libel uttered against a great body of gentlemen who have done an immense deal by their energy, enterprise and capital to build up Canada to its present high position. They are thus traduced on the floor of this House by a gentleman who undertakes to speak for the Liberal party. I say that a gentleman who would charge hon. gentlemen on this side of the House with stooping to such a thing, was again measuring our corn in his own half bushel. He knew that if he had been in our place at the time he would have done that himself. But, no man in the Liberal-Conservative party would have so degraded himself in his own estimation, and in the estimation of every respectable man in this country, by stooping to so contemptible a means of advancing party interests. But what more does he say? He makes a deeper, blacker and fouler charge against a great mass of intelligent people, than that—I refer to the Orangemen. I am not an Orangeman, and I, perhaps, know as little about Orangeism as any man in Canada. But I have always understood that one of the great features of Orangeism was reverence for the flag and Crown; I have always understood that one of the great features of Orangeism was the maintenance of British law and British order. Now, Sir, what did the hon. gentleman say :

I remember when an Orange demonstration was engineered in the city of Montreal for the express purpose of setting religion against religion and race against race if it were to the detriment of the Liberal party. What did these men care then, or what do they care now.

He is speaking of every Orangeman in Canada when he makes that statement—

—if the streets of Montreal were to run red, provided always that they scored a point against the Liberal administration.

If the hon. gentleman thinks that he can advance the interests of his party in this country by a foul, a false and a malicious statement of that kind, uttered against a great body of intelligent independent men

throughout Canada, I think he greatly mistakes his position. Now, he says :

I am speaking of what—

I am glad to know that I am getting through with these personal references in regard to the hon. gentleman, as it is always, as everybody knows, a most painful thing for me to be compelled to make them. He says :

I am speaking of what is perfectly well known to every man here who paid any attention to the history of Canada, when I say that until after they were elected in 1878, they—

That is the Liberal-Conservative party—

—never avowed that they intended to introduce a policy of protection.

This is a statement boldly, broadly and clearly made by the hon. gentleman. Now, let me give him a proof which will controvert every word of what the hon. gentleman says. On March 10, 1876, Sir John Macdonald moved :

That the Speaker do not now leave the Chair, but that it be resolved that this House regrets that His Excellency the Governor General has not been advised to recommend to parliament a measure for the readjustment of the tariff which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business deplored in the gracious speech from the Throne, but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries, as well as to the agricultural products of the country.

I am inclined to think that the hon. gentleman's memory is getting very short, and I will not say that when the hon. gentleman made that statement he knew there was not a word of truth in it, but he ought to have known it if he did not, and if he does not know the facts that are so perfectly patent to every hon. member of this House and the country, the sooner he disappears the better. On that resolution I made a few remarks. I do not intend to weary the House with them, but, if the House will indulge me for a moment, I will read a short extract from my speech. On the 20th of February, 1877, I said :

Whether you look at it, Sir, in relation to revenue, whether you look at it as a means of getting a reciprocity treaty; whether you look at it as a means of giving a just, fair and legitimate protection to the great manufacturing industries of, and to the great agricultural interests of this country; look at it from what point you may, a policy the very reverse of that which is pursued by this country is demanded by the interests of Canada. Boards of trade, representing the commercial and manufacturing interests of this Dominion, have dealt with this question and in no uncertain way. They have asked that the tariff be so reconstructed as not only to preserve our credit intact, but to foster and promote our industries. The resolution which the right hon. gentleman (Sir John A. Macdonald) moved a year ago, the policy on which the party he leads have taken their stand, propounds to the country that fitting protection should be given to the suffering industries of the country.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER.

What did Mr. Mackenzie say? Did he say that we had not avowed the policy of protection? He addressed the House in answer to myself, and what did he say?

I congratulate the hon. gentleman—

Dr. Tupper then—

—as a Nova Scotian representative—though he says he is a citizen of Ontario and speaks in that character—that he has been obliged to hoist the pure protection banner, and that under that he is resolved to fight for the future. So be it. We have never swerved in our devotion to what we conceive to be the true trade principle of the country, viz.: that we should have a revenue tariff, and a tariff imposed only for the purposes of revenue, although it is well known that, with our revenue necessities, such a tariff practically yields a very large measure of protection.

I give the hon. gentleman that as the evidence of a man whose word will be believed from one end of Canada to the other as completely and as unreservedly as that of the hon. gentleman. The hon. gentleman said :

The House may have noticed that in comparing expenditures between this government and the last, he—

The hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster)—

—was exceedingly careful to select the year 1896, knowing, as he well knew, that the accounts for that year had been deliberately cooked, so as to make them wholly unreliable as a means of comparison.

I am astonished; the last man in this House, the last man in this country that should ever refer to such a disgrace to any public man as the cooking of accounts is the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright). On the floor of this House, in 1874, in speaking on the budget, I not only said, but proved, that the hon. gentleman, in order to create a deficit, against the outgoing government, which had never existed, took bodily, money voted for capital expenditure, and spent as capital expenditure and transferred a large amount to consolidated revenue account by which he cooked the accounts, and when the hon. gentleman ventured to question the accuracy of my statement, I declared that I would go before the Committee on Public Accounts and bring the ablest men of his own department to prove the absolute correctness of the statements I made. The hon. gentleman shrank from the encounter and never gave me the opportunity. I think it hardly lies in the mouth of the hon. gentleman, in the face of the evidence in the public records of the country to charge any man with cooking accounts. But, the statement was utterly foundationless; in fact, my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) did not compare the year 1896 at all, and therefore the whole argument fell to the ground. The hon. gentleman's argument was that the amount of the estimates for 1897, \$38,358,000 must be increased by supplementary estimates, to

the extent of \$3,000,000. What occurred was this: The government of that day, of which I was a member, brought down estimates to this House and they were met by obstruction—such obstruction as never occurred in this House before, such obstruction as I hope, for the honour and character of the country and of this parliament, never will occur again—in consequence of which they were unable to pass their estimates. We said: It is folly to bring down supplementary estimates when these hon. gentlemen will not allow any estimates to pass at all, except those that they might be inclined to accept. Although we had an overwhelming majority at our back we were met by a factious obstruction to prevent supplies being voted. These estimates were not supplementary estimates; these estimates never would have found their place on the Table of the House. What occurred was this: All the ministers put into their estimates all the applications that were made for the purpose of bringing them down before council, there to select all that the government were prepared to adopt, and bring down to the House and nobody can say to-day whether there would have been \$2,000,000 or \$1,000,000, or \$500,000 in the supplementary estimates, because when they came before council they never were taken up, for the reason that we found that we were in the position in the House that we could not carry our main estimates. Therefore, it was utterly useless to bring down supplementary estimates. The hon. gentleman's statement is utterly unfounded in fact, but, here is a statement made that I must detain the House for a single moment while I refer to it. The Minister of Trade and Commerce said:

The ex-Minister of Finance is not ashamed to stand up and give the House to understand that he had reduced the expenditure to a matter of \$37,000,000. How did he do it? By starving two of the most important services Canada has to deal with, by so reducing the expenditure on militia as to make the whole outlay for the year practically useless.

Does the minister (Sir Richard Cartwright) not know that there was a Liberal brochure scattered through the province of Quebec broadcast, denouncing my government for having spent an enormous amount of money on the militia service. Does he not know that when the Venezuelan trouble arose, and when Germany did not show any too great friendship for the mother country, one of the first acts of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's government was to expend about \$3,000,000 to place the best arms that could be secured in the hands of the Canadian militia? Does he not know that that government lost a large support in the province of Quebec on account of the declaration that they were wasting money in providing these arms. I may say in passing, that the rifle placed in the hands of every militiaman by Sir Mackenzie Bowell's government, was the very rifle that the British government selected

for service in South Africa, and had that expenditure not been made by the Conservative government, every one knows that the cost of sending the Canadian contingents of 2,500 to the seat of war, would be enormously increased by this government having to purchase that very rifle for each volunteer. I despair of seeing a blush mantle to the cheek of the minister (Sir Richard Cartwright), but if ever a statement was made by an hon. gentleman that he should be ashamed of, it is that statement.

The hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) has indulged in a sporting offer. In his somewhat advanced years he is getting very sporty. He has challenged my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) to have his speech bound together with his own and circulated all over this country. Well that is not original, for my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) has anticipated it. I have the great Massey Hall speech which the Minister of Trade and Commerce was compelled to grind out by his hard taskmasters; it is the *Globe* newspaper's verbatim report of that speech, and my hon. friend (Mr. Foster), has given the Minister of Trade and Commerce the full benefit of being responsible for it, and then he has subjected it to that same caustic criticism that he subjected the speech of the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), and he has circulated both the speech and the criticism. The challenge of the Minister of Trade and Commerce has, therefore, not even the merit of originality. I undertake to say that if he attempted to carry out his challenge, there is not a man on the Treasury benches nor one of his supporters behind him, who would not go to him and say: For God's sake Sir Richard do not ruin the party by doing such a thing as that.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The Minister of Trade and Commerce asked: Where is the amendment. Well, the amendment is here, and the hon. gentleman got due notice of it. We did not treat this amendment as the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell) treated his amendment on going into supply, when he concealed it in the inner Chamber where he was concocting his speech upon the subject, and was so careful not to allow any person on this side of the House to have the least inkling of what he proposed to move until the very minute he was about to resume his seat after making his speech. I was under a great disadvantage in answering the hon. gentleman (Mr. Russell) on the spur of the moment, but I did the best I could, and his resolution was of such a character that even though taken by surprise and without an opportunity of giving it consideration, the answer to that speech is such that I do not think the Minister of Trade and Commerce will agree that it shall be bound up along with the speech

of the hon. member (Mr. Russell), and circulated throughout this country. I shall be quite ready to join in that commercial enterprise if the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), is anxious for it. Now, Sir, the amendment which the hon. minister has inquired after, is this :

That all the words after that be left out, and that it be resolved that this House is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in, and commerce between these countries, and would thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire, and that nothing which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory.

There is the position on which we take our stand, and there is the line on which we are prepared to go to battle with hon. gentlemen in the face of the intelligent electors of Canada, and to ask these electors whether they want a preference such as has been given without any return on the other side, or whether they want a mutual preference that will carry out the objects that those who have moved in the direction of inter-Imperial preferential trade have held to from the first. I do not intend to occupy much more time with the remarks of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, but he said some things this afternoon of which I propose to take a little passing notice. He told us that my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) had been guilty of a great act of unfairness when he mingled expenditure on capital account and expenditure on consolidated revenue together. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), did nothing of the kind. He put both expenditures in parallel columns so that every intelligent man in the House and in the country would be able to separate the one from the other as readily as it could possibly be done.

The hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) boasted of what his government had done with reference to the canals, and I may say that I believe they have pretty much abandoned their attempt at grand larceny with reference to our canal policy. The Minister of Trade and Commerce is entirely mistaken when he says that the policy of deepening the canals to fourteen feet is the Liberal policy. Let me tell him that a canal commission was appointed immediately after confederation with Sir Hugh Allan at its head, and including in its membership eminent engineers and merchants. It was perhaps one of the ablest commissions ever appointed in this country, and it reported in favour of the Welland Canal being deepened to twelve feet and the St. Lawrence canals to the same depth. That policy was adopted, and it was proceeded with under Sir John Macdonald's government and the contracts let. Then as the question obtained greater attention, certain gentlemen in this country and in this House

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came to the conclusion that it would be better to secure a fourteen-foot navigation than a twelve-foot navigation, and this matter was pressed upon the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie and he utterly refused to listen to it. Turn to *Hansard* of 1875, and you will find that when the question of deepening the Welland Canal to fourteen feet was propounded by the Hon. Mr. Holton, on going into supply, I gave a hearty and enthusiastic support to the project, as one which I was satisfied the interest of Canada required; and you will find that, notwithstanding the entreaty of Mr. Holton, a friend of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, that motion was voted down by Mr. Mackenzie's government. Then I may say that when we were engaged in the great work of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, costing the country such an enormous sum of money, we did not feel warranted in pushing the work with the same vigour that we otherwise would especially when the hon. gentlemen told us that it would be utterly fatal to the credit of Canada, completely ruinous to the country, to attempt it at all. But, in the eighteen years that we were in power, as the ex-Minister of Finance has said, \$36,000,000 was expended by the Liberal-Conservative party on canals; and when hon. gentlemen opposite were brought down to the point, the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), declared that he could open the fourteen-foot navigation in two years; but after three years and more, the canals are not yet open to fourteen-foot navigation. But, Sir, the hon. gentlemen will find that with all this abounding trade, with these enormous revenues, with money to burn in their hands, the government has only spent about half a million dollars a year on the canals during the last three years, more than the annual expenditure of the three years before they came into power; and yet one would suppose that they had made up their minds at one time that they were going to take this question of canals entirely into their own hands.

Now, Sir, I think I am about done with my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce, because some other remarks he made, I shall take up in connection with a little criticism of my hon. friend the Minister of Finance. I may say that I have little reason to find fault with these hon. gentlemen. I am now following the example of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, who, on two or three occasions, turned round to scold his friends, and he found a good deal of fault with the Minister of Finance. I think I must find a good deal of fault with the ex-Minister of Finance. I do not think he treated me altogether well when he subjected that budget speech to such an exhaustive and complete criticism as absolutely to leave me nothing but a few crumbs to deal with, when I came to take the question up, I believe there is in this country a society

for the prevention of cruelty to animals; who, when they find that everything like vivisection is going on, come down on the parties practising it, although those parties say: 'We are only resorting to vivisection in the case of a dumb animal, whereas the life of a human being may depend on it.' But the society have pursued their hostility to vivisection to a great extent; and I am inclined to think that if any of them had been in the House the other night, when the ex-Minister of Finance was subjecting these two hon. gentlemen to vivisection, they would have been disposed to take action against him to prevent cruelty to animals. The hon. Minister of Finance commenced his budget speech with a grand burst about the wonderful prosperity of the country. He said:

The year 1898 was regarded as a phenomenal year; but great as was its activity, that of the year 1899 was still greater, and I may say of that year that it was beyond all question the most prosperous in Canadian history.

There is no person on this side of the House, no Liberal-Conservative in Canada, who does not rejoice that the hon. Minister of Finance was able to make such a statement as that. But what I complain of is, that running through the whole speech from A to Z, the story was told as if these hon. gentlemen had brought this about—as if Canada owed this marvellous prosperity and progress to something which they had done. The hon. gentleman did give Providence a passing remark at the very conclusion of his speech, and it was evidently very grudgingly done. But, I think, it would have been only fair on the part of the hon. gentleman, to have said that Canada was enjoying this exceptional prosperity, not because of the present government, and the marvellous things they had done to bring it about, but that the rest of the world was in the same condition. I hold under my hand an extract, which, I am sure the House will allow me to read, on this subject, from the *London Times* of January 6, 1900:

The year just closed has been an 'annus mirabilis' in regard to trade. In the remarkable story told in the series of reports published in our columns yesterday, and dealing with the chief industries of the country, there is a record of prosperity rarely equalled. . . . In almost all the metal and mineral trades prosperity rarely equalled is reported. It is evident that makers do not know how to cope with the orders which they have booked and which are coming in. From the Cleveland district we learn that 'all previous records in the steel and iron trades have been surpassed during the past year, pig iron prices especially being better than during the previous twenty-seven years. . . . More than one report makes it clear that 1899 was the best year for about a quarter of a century.'

What is the history of the United States of America? Precisely the same. The hon. gentleman knows that they declare that

they have reached a position in their trade and commerce and everything that indicates the greatness and advancing prosperity of the country, such as they have never known before. Therefore, what I object to, is putting these things forward in a manner to lead—not the members of this House, who know how little hon. gentlemen opposite have to do with it—but, people not so well informed, in some of the back settlements of the country, to believe that this government has achieved something marvellous for Canada, that has never happened in its history before. The hon. gentleman referred in passing to the loss of revenue in the post office, and he said, that he remembered my speaking at Brockville, and saying that the loss of revenue consequent on a two cent rate of postage would have to fall on other taxes.

I say so now and I am prepared to establish it. The hon. gentleman admits that there has been a loss of revenue, owing to the two-cent postage, amounting to \$334,032. But, he did not tell the whole story. I will not say, when speaking of my hon. friend, that a lie which is half a truth is the hardest to fight, but he did not tell the whole truth. What is the whole truth? It is that you must add to that amount of \$334,032 the amount of \$387,783 wasted public money during last year, in all, from half a million to a million dollars, wasted because this government used the mounted police to do our postal work. They used the mounted police for this service, and then ruined, as the major-general commanding says, the whole militia service of this country, destroyed all the schools of instruction and everything of that kind, by sending up to that country 200 of the permanent force. Everybody knows that there was no section of the country to be found in which peace and order existed to a greater degree than the Canadian Yukon. What, then, was the object of using the mounted police in this postal service and sending up the permanent force? The only object was to have the post office work charged to the Mounted Police Department instead of the Post Office Department. And everybody who knows anything of the question knows that it would have cost more than was charged against the mounted police force to properly perform the postal service in the Yukon, but instead that service was a scandal and disgrace. Charging the cost of the mounted police force engaged in the postal work to the Post Office Department would make a deficit of \$732,815 for the last year instead of \$334,000.

I stated at Brockville, and I repeat it here, that this reduction in postage, which has been a great boon to the merchants and bankers and commercial men, has not been an advantage to anything like the same degree to the agriculturists and the ordinary tax-paying population.

Then, the hon. gentleman said that our government railways are being developed to a considerable extent, but that our expenditure in that direction was a profitable one, because it was giving increased revenue to the Intercolonial Railway. I deny that statement. If we could get at the truth, which ought to be most easily obtained, we would have evidence clear and unmistakable that instead of the development of the Intercolonial Railway system giving increased earnings, it has been the cause of a heavy deficit. From Lévis to Montreal, the Intercolonial Railway has not paid its expenses or anything like it, and what increased revenue is we must look for in the province of Nova Scotia, and that is due in a great measure to the development of Newfoundland and the consequent increased business between that colony and our far eastern provinces. But that subject we will discuss more fully on another occasion.

But there is no difficulty in showing a surplus in the Intercolonial Railway when you spend a million dollars per year on that railway, and you have done this year, and charge it to capital account. Every one who knows anything of the subject knows that while you keep adding to the capital account and put a million into the hands of the man who is responsible for operating the railway, he can make the surplus pretty much what he pleases. That will be established beyond controversy when we reach and probe this subject a little further.

The hon. gentleman said that he would divide the period from 1868 to 1899 into three periods. To that division I take exception. He says that during the first period there was a Conservative government in power part of the time and a Liberal government the balance—that was the first ten years, from 1868 to 1878. Let me ask my hon. friend what he meant by this sentence :

There was a Conservative government in power part of the time and a Liberal government for part of the time, when we had a much lower tariff.

That reads as if, when the Liberal government was in power, we had a lower tariff. Does the hon. gentleman mean that during part of that ten years, from 1868 to 1878, when the Liberals were in power, there was a lower tariff ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). There was a lower tariff than the one which followed when we had the national policy. I divided the term into three periods—one the low tariff period ; second, the national policy ; and, third, the present tariff, which I described as a moderate tariff.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I cannot believe that my hon. friend is as stupid as he appears.

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The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I think the hon. gentleman is.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Let me put the question again. He knows that the Conservative party were in power from 1868 to 1873, and that from 1873 to 1878 the Liberals were in power. Now, taking the sentence I have quoted, I ask him again if he means that there was a lower tariff when the Liberals were in power than when the Conservatives had office ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I say that there was a lower tariff than in the period which followed, the national policy period, and the period subsequent to that, but I cannot make the hon. gentleman understand if he will not.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I put the question again. The hon. gentleman knows that the Liberal-Conservatives were in power from 1868 to 1873, and that from 1873 to 1878 the Liberals were in power. Does he say that there was a lower tariff when the Liberals were in power ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I say that there was a lower tariff than during the two later periods with which I was comparing it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman does not mean to say that the tariff was much lower when the Liberals were in power than when the Conservatives had office ?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The tariff at the beginning of confederation was immensely lower than in 1878, when the national policy was established, and still lower than the subsequent period.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is not the point.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. That was the point I was discussing.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman's language would imply that the tariff was lower when the Liberal party was in power, from 1873 to 1878, than when the Conservatives had office, previous to that date. He ought to correct that.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. I have nothing to correct. I was comparing the first period with that which followed when the national policy was introduced, and which, I suppose, the hon. gentleman will not object to my calling a high tariff period.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Quite right, we are very proud of that.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Then, we had a period from 1896 to the present, which, if not a very low tariff, is certainly a comparatively moderate revenue tariff.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That we dispute it toto. And he then goes on to speak of the increase of trade that has occurred, in comparing one period with another. Now, I ask the hon. gentleman if he thinks that a bald statement of the figures of the trade in the various periods is any indication whatever of the ability of the men who are guiding and controlling public affairs? I am sure he does not. Yet there is no other inference in the whole story as told by the hon. gentleman—the reader is left to infer that this increase has been due to the accession to power of the Liberal party, though the hon. gentleman knows that there is no justification for such an inference. That period when the industries of Canada had the highest protection was a period during which our tariff was 15 per cent. I do not say that the tariff was one of the most highly protective tariffs, but I say that the industries of Canada never enjoyed a greater measure of protection than that they enjoyed from 1868 to 1873. The hon. gentleman knows that a civil war was ravaging the United States. A million men or more were taken away from production and engaged in war. Manufacturing industries of all kinds were thoroughly disorganized. In that condition of things, Canada had a market in the United States which gave it one of the greatest periods of protection that could possibly be. I am justifying the position hon. gentlemen opposite found themselves in. In 1873, when they came into power, fortunately for humanity, that great internecine struggle was over. But the protection that Canada enjoyed was swept away. Then came the effect of a low tariff upon Canada, leaving her a slaughter market for the United States whose industries were re-established and reorganized from one end of the country to the other. The result was that a high tariff which was imposed by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, then the Finance Minister, was a much lower tariff relatively than the 15 per cent tariff that had existed before.

If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) wished to claim credit for Canada's present prosperity, it would have been worth while to show reason for that claim. Why, it was amusing to notice the rounds of enthusiastic applause that the hon. gentleman was greeted with at every sentence, while he spoke of this magnificent prosperity. If it had all been due to the Finance Minister, he could not have been more heartily cheered. But the applause was greatest when he said he had taken seven millions more from the people than had ever been taken from them before. The welkin rang with tremendous cheers, as if he had accomplished the most desirable feat in the history of the country. Where did this trade and this prosperity come from? What are the facts with regard to these figures that the hon. gentleman knows are so delusive and calculated to mislead the people who have not studied

this question? I challenged these hon. gentlemen two years ago, I challenged them a year ago, and I repeat it to-night—I challenge them to show one single act, one single item of public policy they have initiated and carried out that increased the prosperity of Canada. And, Sir, they were dumb; and they are dumb now. I shall refer by and by to the miserable plea, the skeleton of a plea put in by the Minister of Trade and Commerce to show what they did do. When we examine that a little more closely, we shall find the reason why these gentlemen are dumb when asked to name one single feature of public policy, one act of administration that has added to the prosperity of Canada that had been initiated by them. It is only where they have so servilely followed the steps of their predecessors, where they have abandoned all their principles and all their policies and have accepted and adopted ours, that they can show that they have done anything to secure prosperity for this country.

They say: Then do you denounce us, do you attack us for adopting your policy? Certainly not; we never have done so. We say that is the only thing they are to be credited with. They found they were wrong for twenty years, or they were deceiving the people of this country and they may take which ever horn of the dilemma they please—and they threw their own policy to the winds and adopted that of the Liberal-Conservative party. That is the one redeeming feature of the tenure of office. It is a great sacrifice to public character for men to be in that position; and these hon. gentlemen wish to evade the facts. You know, Mr. Speaker, as everybody knows, that there is no means by which the mass of the people of this country can judge so completely the claims of the two great parties contending for public favour as to ask which of these parties has had the wisdom to inaugurate a sound, judicious policy and to carry it out honestly, and which of them has been mistaken from the first, wrong in everything it has undertaken, and compelled to abandon every line of policy it adopted. Why, Sir, there is no doubt if you want to judge of the character of two of your neighbours, there is no test that you apply to them more readily or more sensibly than that of honesty, their straightforwardness, their truthfulness. If you find that they deceive you, if they say one thing and do another, you lose confidence in them. Just so it is with political parties. I have shown the evidence to the House and have given Mr. Mackenzie's statement, as to our course when we went to the country in 1878, pledged to the adoption of the national policy of protecting the various industries of Canada. When we came in, what took place on the floor of this House? I call the attention of the Minister of Trade and Commerce to it. When Sir Leonard Tilley, as Minister of Finance, stood up in the House

in 1879 and propounded his tariff, hon. gentlemen opposite, then on this side, said: Well, we never believed that you would do it; but you have kept your word, you have done exactly what you declared you would do. What was the result? The result was, instead of the deplorable condition that Canada had sunk to, instead of a series of deficits one after another amounting to many millions on account of ordinary revenue, we had sufficient revenues for the necessities of the public service. Instead of leaving industries ruined, the national policy revived the industries of Canada. It has acted as if by magic over the whole face of the country; and the statement that hon. gentlemen made in regard to what the effect of that policy may be was falsified by the results. Does the hon. gentleman remember when he stood here and said: Do you tell me that you can get more revenue by putting on prohibitory taxes? Why, he says, the thing is an absurdity on the face of it; you will lessen your revenue instead of getting more. Well here again they found that they were mistaken. When the policy went into operation we had a buoyant revenue, and were in a position not only to carry on the public services of the country efficiently, but to grapple with the most gigantic work that five million of people in any country ever undertook to grapple with. What more did they say? They said: See what a cost this is going to be to the country. By creating these industries you are shutting out cheap goods that will come into Canada from the United States—which were then making a slaughter market for Canada. They said: You are going to stop all that, you are going to make these goods so excessively dear that you will ruin the people. There again they were proved to be wrong. We answered them: No, we will bring capital into the country, we will bring labour into the country, and we will give work to Canadian hands on Canadian soil; and the competition of the capital and labour brought in under a protective policy will bring down the prices of articles until they can be purchased just as cheaply as in any other country. There again the event proved that we were absolutely correct.

Then what did that enable us to do? It enabled us to deal with the great question of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Let me here draw the attention of the House to the fact that during the period from 1878 to 1896, no less than 10,127 miles of railway were added to the railway system of Canada. Does the hon. gentleman think that that had any effect on the progress and prosperity of Canada? Does he think that opening up this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, that opening up the great prairies of the west with a line of railway communication, that penetrating this country in a manner that had never been dreamed of by public men, with a line

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from Ottawa and Pembroke away to the head of Lake Superior and so on to Manitoba—does the hon. gentleman think that that contributed anything to this great impetus given to the prosperity and trade of Canada? The hon. gentleman knows how that project of the constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway was met by the Liberal party.

Now on this question of the progress and prosperity of Canada and the development of its trade, especially for the past two or three years, let me refer to a subject which the hon. gentleman has not given prominence to. The *London Economist* of January 14, 1899, speaking of the world's production of gold, says that the increase in 1898 was the largest in any year since the early fifties. In 1898 the production amounted to £60,000,000; in 1896, the production was £40,000,000, showing an increase in two years of £20,000,000. Now, does the hon. gentleman think that is worth a passing note in a budget speech, as one of the means by which this great expansion of trade and business throughout the world has been brought about? On this same question let me quote from the *Railway and Commercial Gazette*, London, of January 7, 1899:

To this extent, the past year has been productive of excellent results.

It has not only revived confidence among our traders, who see great possibilities in the near future for the consumption of iron and steel, but it has at the same time provoked a great revival of industrial activity in Europe, in which the two Anglo-Saxon nations on both sides of the Atlantic are largely participating.

The hon. gentleman himself, in his budget speech, shows, as you will see by reference to it, that the increased mineral wealth in the Dominion of Canada from 1896 to 1899 has gone up from \$22,584,513 to \$46,245,878. Has that nothing to do with the expansion of trade that has taken place? Why, Sir, if the Liberal party had not been repudiated by this country the hon. gentleman would not have been in a position to make any such budget speech in 1900 as he has been able to make. I will show that not only have they done nothing, not only are they unable to put their finger upon a single thing that they have done to promote the prosperity of Canada, but I will show that while the Liberal-Conservative party has been the progressive party, the Liberal party has been the obstructive party. It was the Liberal party that set its face straight and stiff against every movement forward, and it was the Liberal-Conservative party who initiated every movement that has contributed to the progress and prosperity of Canada. When we brought forward the policy of the construction of an inter-oceanic line of railway in 1871, my hon. friend knows that in this House we met with the most determined obstruction from the Liberal party. What did Mr. Blake say on that occasion? Why he said that

it was fatal to the confederation of Canada. Could he have taken stronger ground? Here was a project to open up the avenues of trade, to open up the country for development, and yet it was denounced as disastrous, and Mr. Blake declared that it was fatal to confederation. In 1879, Mr. Mills, now the Minister of Justice, said, as you will see by referring to the *Hansard*, page 1928:

This country was not able to construct a railway across the continent, and the sooner they honestly admitted their inability in the matter the better for all classes. . . . There was no Asiatic traffic, there were no articles of commerce from Asia that were likely to find their way over this railway.

Well, Sir, Mr. Mills was a great Liberal statesman. Now, let me give you another opinion, that of the Hon. William A. Seward, Secretary of State under President Lincoln. After he had made a short visit to the Dominion of Canada, he penned the following prophetic words:

Having its Atlantic seaport at Halifax, and its Pacific depot near Vancouver Island, British America would inevitably draw to it the commerce of Europe, Asia and the United States. Thus, from a mere colonial dependency, it would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her other nations would be tributary; and in vain would the United States attempt to be her rival, for we could never dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce, nor the power which that commerce confers.

That is what a great statesman thought of the prospect of getting any Asiatic trade. Why, Sir, the three steamships running constantly between Canada, Yokohama, in Japan, and Hong Kong, are actually carrying out his words. Why are they so successful? Why have they so outdistanced the San Francisco line of American steamers to the same place? Because, as Secretary Sewell saw, a party coming from London to Yokohama, can save a thousand miles by taking the Canadian Pacific Railway, instead of going via New York and San Francisco. I am sorry to disturb the slumbers of the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), because he seems to be in a very happy condition, but, that hon. gentleman, speaking in Charlottetown, in December, 1880, said, in reference to the contract under which this road was to be built, and under which it has become such a gigantic success:

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

What does the hon. gentleman think of himself in the capacity of a prophet? Had nothing been done in other ways? What was done in addition to the establishment of this great inter-oceanic line? There was the opening up and developing of the great prairie country in the North-west. Let me

read an extract from a publication issued by the Hon. Mr. Greenway, then the Premier of the province of Manitoba, who, in an immigration advertisement, issued three years ago, in 1896, said:

Twenty-five years ago the chief products of Manitoba were the furs of wild animals. Today (1896) these products are wheat, cattle, butter, cheese. In twenty-five years the population increased from 12,000 to 200,000, the land under cultivation from 10,000 acres to 2,000,000 acres, and the number of schools from 16 to 382. Even in a single decade the results are no less remarkable, as may be seen from the following figures:

	1885.	1895.
Wheat produced, bush.....	7,429,460	41,776,038
Oats produced, bush.....	6,364,263	22,555,732
Barley produced, bush.....	1,113,481	5,645,036

Total, bushels.....14,907,184 59,975,807
Increase in ten years, 45,068,623 bushels.

The area in wheat, oats and barley under crop was, in 1885, 566,628 acres, and in 1895, 1,722,733 acres; increase, 1,156,545 acres.

I want to ask the hon. gentleman whether he thinks that the opening up of that country by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the development which Mr. Greenway has put on record, in ten years, is no evidence of what those, who went before him, those who carried out the policy, against which the Liberal party of this country fought to the death, have accomplished in the interest of Canada. What more did Mr. Greenway say? As you know, the Hon. Thomas Greenway is a large and extensive farmer in the province of Manitoba, and he knows, as Premier of that province for many years, thoroughly whereof he speaks. On the 21st of October, 1899, he said:

Manitoba and the North-west Territories have produced this year approximately 50,000,000 bushels of wheat. That is but a bagatelle to what the production will be in the future. You can easily figure what a tremendous saving there would now be to the farmers if the rate on wheat were reduced to 10c per 100 pounds; but what, I ask, would it be on 100,000,000 bushels, or 500,000,000 bushels, and the wheat production in this country will reach the latter figures in the not very distant future. I read in a paper recently that the whole wheat area of the United States produced this year 500,000,000 bushels of wheat, and the same paper stated that Manitoba had produced as much as a tenth of that amount. And yet, remember, there are only 35,000 farmers in Manitoba, and only a tenth of the arable land is under cultivation. Vastly more people will come into this country during the next few years than we have ever had before.

I give that to the hon. gentleman, as additional evidence. Now, I am afraid that the House will be as tired as I am myself, if I keep it much longer, and, if it is agreeable to hon. gentlemen opposite, I will move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to; and House adjourned at 11.10 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, March 30, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

OFFICIAL DEBATES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. CHAMPAGNE presented the third report of the Select Committee appointed to supervise the Official Report of the Debates, as follows :

The committee recommend that Mrs. Mary H. Dansereau, widow of the late Mr. J. C. Dansereau of the staff of translators, who died on the 7th instant, be paid the sum of \$100, which amount he (the same as the other members of the staff) would have been entitled to receive had he lived up to the 15th instant.

Mr. CHAMPAGNE moved :

That the third report of the Select Committee appointed to supervise the official report of the debates of the House be now concurred in.

He said : I may say that the report is only in connection with the claim made by the widow of the late Mr. Dansereau. There is no other matter mentioned in the report, and I do not think it ought to be delayed.

Mr. SPEAKER. Stand.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 128) to amend the Weights and Measures Act as respects the contents of packages of salt.—(Mr. Holmes.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding :

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising a Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Mr. Speaker, in resuming the observations that I was making when the House rose last night, I may say that I had reached that portion of the speech of my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) in which he refers to the very gratifying fact that in the province of Ontario several new establishments have been started within the last year or two and that there is, he believes, every probability that the iron deposits of that province will be worked upon a very much larger scale than ever before. I may say that no person has heard that with greater pleasure than I have myself. It will be remembered by the House that when I had the honour of holding the position of Minister of Finance I introduced a measure into this House calculated, in my judgment, to promote the iron industry of Canada, and, although that measure has not realized all the expectations that I ventured, at that time, to indicate would be achieved, I am safe in say-

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ing that not a blow would have been struck, in connection with the iron industry in any part of Canada, but for the policy adopted in 1887. The reason that the fullest and greatest realization of everything anticipated did not accrue was owing to the remarkable fact, that shortly after the adoption of that measure pig iron fell in the greatest market in the world for pig iron, the United Kingdom, something like 50 per cent. Of course, there was no meeting such a contingency as that, but, as I said before, fortunately for Canada, notwithstanding that great fall in the price of pig iron, some measure of progress had taken place in regard to the iron industries of Canada, and I say that is very gratifying to learn, as a result of the policy propounded on that occasion, and the renewed condition of things by which the price of pig iron has largely increased, the fact that in Hamilton, where a considerable iron industry has steadily been carried on, notwithstanding the depressing circumstances that I have referred to, a nickel and steel company is being organized with a capital of \$6,000,000, and which, there is every expectation, will become a very important Canadian industry. I saw a statement made on the 28th of this month of a meeting in New York of the organizers of the Canadian Steel Company. It is as follows :

A meeting of the organizers of the Canadian Steel Company, the incorporation of which, with \$18,000,000 capital, \$3,000,000 preferred, is now pending in the Canadian parliament, was held in this city this week. At this meeting the details of the organization were agreed upon, although the formal organization cannot be effected until the charter has been actually issued, which it is expected will be done about the 20th of next month.

That is in Welland. I now come to the announcement made by the hon. Minister of Finance in regard to the iron industry of Nova Scotia. He said :

I can look back with pride and satisfaction to the movement of that day, and feel that time has vindicated that policy of the Nova Scotia government, and that the enterprise then started has been fruitful of advantage to the province and the direct cause of the creation of this new enterprise which bids fair to make the town of Sydney the Pittsburg of Canada.

My hon. friend was good enough, in another part of his speech, to say that I had paid a great compliment to his modesty. There is no quality of the human mind that I admire so much as modesty, and I am always ready to recognize it on the part of any gentleman, but, I am afraid that I can hardly pay the hon. gentleman the compliment of having exhibited a great deal of modesty in regard to this matter when he undertakes to claim that the present great development of the iron and coal industries of the province of Nova Scotia is due to himself. I may say to the House that, I think, my

hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), ought to have given me a little share of credit for that progress in that development, and, I think, he was a little selfish in claiming it all. I think, the House will agree with me when I state the facts that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding), hardly did me justice on that occasion. The facts are these: Two years ago the scheme was proposed by the gentlemen connected with the great industrial development in Nova Scotia, which bids fair to make the county of Cape Breton which I have the honour to represent, and the town of Sydney, rival even Pittsburg itself. A gentleman interested in that, Mr. Whitney of Boston, a most energetic and enterprising man, who has shown that he is equal to very great financial enterprises, was engaged in the coal industry in Nova Scotia. Having investigated the great mineral resources of that province and the advantages possessed by the county town of Sydney, for the development of a great iron and steel industry, he became much interested in the matter. Mr. Graham Fraser, of the New Glasgow Iron and Steel Company, was also deeply interested. These gentlemen accompanied by the mayor of the town of Sydney came up to see the Minister of Finance, and they implored him to adopt the policy of extending the bounty system that had been placed on the statute-book by the Liberal-Conservative party, and which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding), had himself adopted as part of the national policy, when he was swallowing the rest of it, in bringing down his tariff. They came to my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), and they implored him to extend that measure of assistance necessary for the inauguration of a great enterprise of that kind. My hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), gave them an absolute, palpable refusal to do anything, and they went home utterly discouraged. A year ago last summer, I visited my constituents in Sydney, and I was waited on by the mayor, who asked me if I would accept the public presentation of an address from the Board of Trade. The mayor himself was a political opponent of mine, and the majority of the members of the board were also my political opponents, but he stated frankly to me that they came to me to see if it were possible that I could help them in the great difficulty in which they found themselves placed, inasmuch as after all the pressure they could bring to bear on the government, they had met with an absolute refusal from the government, to do anything in the way of extending the bounty system as it then existed. The difficulty was this, that before the enormous capital required to build up that great enterprise could be obtained, the bounty under the law, would expire, and they would be deprived of any advantage whatever from it. I could excuse my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), to some extent. There was the incubus upon him of the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cart-

wright), who, no doubt, represented to him, that it was impossible for that government to stultify themselves in reference to every portion of their policy, and he, (Sir Richard Cartwright), no doubt, pointed out to him, (Mr. Fielding), that he had used his most powerful invective against the principle of bounties, as one of the most extreme phases of protection, and that, therefore, the government should not listen to any such mad proposal as the extension of that system. Whatever the cause was, I was informed by these gentlemen that they had met with an absolute refusal.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). Who are these gentlemen? Who were the gentlemen that made that statement to the hon. member (Sir Charles Tupper)?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. What statement?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE The statement the hon. gentleman has just made. My hon. friend (Sir Charles Tupper), says he was informed they had met with an absolute refusal. I wish to know who 'they' were.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I have no hesitation in saying that statement was from Mr. Whitney and Mr. Graham Fraser; it was from the representatives of the Dominion Coal Company, and the New Glasgow Steel Company.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. What time?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. When I visited my constituents the summer before last; after they had been here, and met with an absolute refusal from my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding). My hon. friend cannot be ignorant of the facts, because there was a public address presented to me in the largest hall that Sydney could afford and crowded to the doors, the platform covered by political friends of the hon. gentleman with the mayor, his political friend, in the chair. I responded to that address and I frankly told them that I thought they ought not to despair, notwithstanding the refusal they had met with, and that I hoped the government might be induced to reconsider their position and change their attitude. I told them that I would give them such assistance as I could. I do not insinuate for a moment, that my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding), was dependent upon the speech which I made upon that occasion, for one of the most brilliant passages in his budget speech, but there is a remarkable likeness between it and the manner in which he portrayed the wonderful position of the town of Sydney as a great seat of the iron and steel enterprise. I suppose, that wonderful likeness has arisen from the fact that great minds sometimes jump together. However, I stated frankly to the Board of Trade of the town of Sydney, that I would myself go to the government and would urge upon them, in the

strongest possible manner, the reconsideration of that important question. I told them their case was so overwhelmingly strong that I did not despair of convincing the government that they should reconsider that question, and change the attitude they had adopted. I told them that if that failed, all I could say to them, was that, should the time come, when I was in a position to render substantial aid to carry out the views which they held so strongly, and in which I heartily concurred, they would find me prepared to do so. The speech was published verbatim by the Board of Trade, and I have no doubt a copy was sent to my hon. friend, but even if it were not, a lengthy report of the speech appeared in the *Halifax Chronicle*, the organ of his party in Nova Scotia. I may add that the *Morning Chronicle* characterized a portion of my speech as being of a political character, but it was immediately informed by the leading men of the Liberal party in the town of Sydney, that there was no foundation for any such statement, and that the Liberals of Sydney heartily endorsed every word I said.

Then, when I was invited to open the provincial exhibition in St. John, N.B., not long afterwards, I had the good fortune to meet my hon. friend, the Minister of Finance, my hon. friend, the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), and my hon. friend, the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair). I solicited an interview from these gentlemen in the hotel where we happened to be staying. They were good enough to accord me that interview, and I there discussed, with these three gentlemen, in all its phases, the great importance of reconsidering the decision they had arrived at, and of extending the bounty so as to enable this large amount of capital to be invested in successfully promoting that great industry. I may say that my observations received the most respectful consideration. We discussed fully and freely together, the question, and I was assured that they would give the most careful reconsideration to the subject.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Did you say 'reconsideration'?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Yes, yes, reconsideration, because the subject had been pressed upon them by all the parties most deeply interested, who had met with an absolute and positive refusal.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. We shall see about that later.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Well, I shall be able to furnish my hon. friend with the most abundant evidence on that subject. They promised to reconsider that question. They did not intimate for a moment, not one of them, that they had not given a complete refusal to the proposals laid before them, and they were good enough to promise me that if they arrived at a

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favourable conclusion, they would give me that information. They did not do so. When the House met, as will be seen by reference to *Hansard*, I took this matter up in my speech on the address as one of the gravest importance, and I again pressed upon the government the great importance of taking up that subject; but it was without effect. When my hon. friend brought down his budget, without making any provision for this important matter, I again took up the question, as will be seen by reference to *Hansard* of last session, and pressed it as strongly as I could upon his attention and upon the attention of the government. I not only did that, but I told my hon. friends frankly, when discussing the matter with them in St. John, that I did not ask this as any political favour to myself, because I could only assure them that if they refused, I should make that one of the leading planks in my platform whenever I had an opportunity to discuss these questions with the great electorate of Canada. But let that be as it may, I am happy to say that the hon. gentleman did reconsider the question; the scruples and difficulties they had entertained were overcome; and they brought down the policy to which I gave that hearty assent, which I had pledged myself in the city of St. John to give; as I pledged in the town of Sydney that they would find the great Liberal-Conservative party of Canada standing solidly behind the government in maintaining a policy of that kind, and that if the hon. gentleman should meet with some difficulty on his own side of the House, he would find none on this side. There was an entire support of the Liberal-Conservative party to the policy. Under these circumstances, I think I cannot compliment my hon. friend on his modesty in taking entirely to himself the credit for his great measure, for it is one of the greatest that has passed this House.

Now, my hon. friend said a remarkable thing to put in a budget speech. Budget speeches are not generally of an aggressive character, and Finance Ministers do not generally adopt the aggressive tone which the hon. gentleman adopted towards myself. That, of course, is a matter of taste and judgment, and I am inclined to think that after this experience it will not likely be repeated. At all events, I do not expect it to be repeated by the hon. gentleman for a decade. He said:

He (Sir Charles Tupper) poses as a great disciple of the national policy, but my memory carries me back to a time when men who were more loyal to the national policy than he was, brought into this House a resolution to sustain certain features of the original national policy; and when the hon. gentleman found he was in difficulty over it, he voted against the national policy rather than resign his office.

Now, I do not intend to waste the time of this House on a matter which can be found

on the journals of the country ; but I say this, that from the first hour I entered this parliament down to the present, no person has ever found me on that question adopting any but one line and one action with regard to the duty on coal. I fought for it in this House in season and out of season, as the hon. gentleman knows ; I fought for it yearly. Although it was struck off the statute-book by an unexpected attack on the government, for which no preparation had been made, just as the salary of the Governor General was reduced by a motion emanating from the same party and suddenly sprung on the House, the hon. gentleman knows that I adhered to the policy of imposing a duty on coal until I had an opportunity of seeing it completely vindicated and adopted by this House, and brought to an eminently successful issue. My hon. friend boasts of what he did in relation to the Dominion Coal Company, and he boasts of what he is now accomplishing in connection with that industry. I ask my hon. friend where that coal policy would have been to-day if he and his friends had triumphed. I ask if that coal policy was not carried by the Liberal-Conservative party in spite of all the opposition the Liberal party could give to it, himself among the number. He was not in this House, but he was doing his little best outside of it to support the party who unitedly fought that policy whenever it was proposed. What has been the effect of defeating the hon. gentleman ? Why, Sir, the effect of it has been that the coal sales of the province of Nova Scotia have increased from 693,511 tons in 1878, when the national policy was adopted and the duty was first imposed, to 2,419,137 tons in 1899. My hon. friend now boasts of what this iron policy is going to do not only for Nova Scotia but for the whole of Canada—because he is perfectly correct in saying that there is no place in the Dominion of Canada where that great enterprise can be carried out with a better prospect of success than in the town of Sydney ; but I ask him where would that policy have been if he had triumphed ? Where was that hon. gentleman after nineteen years of confederation. Why, he was leading an onslaught against confederation in the province of Nova Scotia, and he succeeded in getting a majority of the legislature of that province pledged to support him in taking Nova Scotia out of the union and destroying confederation. Where would there be to-day a possibility of any iron industry in the province of Nova Scotia if the hon. gentleman had not been defeated ? That was in the year 1886. Fortunately, I was able to go down to Nova Scotia in 1887. I resigned my position of High Commissioner of Canada, re-entered the government as Finance Minister, went down to Nova Scotia to meet the hon. gentleman's agitation, and came back here with two-thirds of the province of Nova Scotia at my back ;

and I would do the same thing again tomorrow if the opportunity presented itself.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. The hon. gentleman said that the last time, but he did not do it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman carried the province of Nova Scotia on a recent occasion by a large majority ; but he did not carry it. Sir. My policy carried it. The hon. gentleman as Finance Minister enabled his successor as Premier of Nova Scotia to say to the people of Nova Scotia : 'Your having the duty maintained on coal depends on your maintaining the Liberal government at Ottawa.' So the hon. gentleman carried the province of Nova Scotia by adopting the policy against which he had fought during the whole of his public life until he became Finance Minister. I will not detain the House any longer in reference to that question ; but I think my hon. friend will learn that it is just as well not to forget the past altogether. When spreading his wings and soaring in the air, and boasting what a magnificent nation has been created on this northern half of the continent—when the hon. gentleman admits, as he had to by the statistics, that even the great republic to the south cannot compete with us, he ought not to forget that if we occupy that proud position, it is because his puny arm was too weak to oust us from it. But if the Liberal-Conservative party had not been more powerful than the hon. gentleman and his party, we would be in a different position to-day.

The hon. gentleman had something to say upon this much vexed controversy as to how much his party had cut off the tail of the national policy horse when they appropriated that useful and valuable animal to themselves. On this point the hon. gentleman said :

My hon. friend the leader of the opposition has once or twice spoken of the extent of our tariff reform as 71-100ths of 1 per cent, while his hon. friend who sits near him (Mr. Foster), and who is perhaps more accustomed to deal with figures, has placed it, in a resolution on the journals of the House, at 1·71 per cent.

I had the curiosity to look up the *Hansard*, and I find that I did not say it was 71-100ths of 1 per cent at all. I had not gone into the subject or made the calculation, for I was on the Atlantic when the Finance Minister's statement was made last session, but I was quoting my hon. friend the ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster), who is the highest authority in this House or country on such questions.

On the 11th of August, in the *Hansard*, 1899, the hon. gentleman will find these words in Mr. Foster's speech :

From 1892 to 1896 the average rate was 17·47 per cent, while for 1898-9, the average rate was 16·76 per cent, or just 71-100ths of 1 per cent reduction from the average of the years 1892 to 1896.

That sustains, at all events, the statement I made, and gives a higher authority than mine for it.

I am afraid that my hon. friend (Mr. Foster), who has been so highly complimented by the Minister of Finance, has rather overstated the case. I find that the average rate of duty from 1894 to 1896 was 18.24 per cent, and I find that the average rate of duty from 1897 to 1899 was 17.71 per cent, a reduction in duty of 54-100ths of 1 per cent, instead of 71-100ths. If my hon. friend wants the figures upon which the calculations are made, I hold them in my hand. I took out coin and bullion and averaged the duties in the three years preceding the advent of the hon. gentleman into power, and the duties in the subsequent three years, and the average rate is what I have said, or, to be exact, it is .539, or not quite 54-100ths of 1 per cent.

I now come to one of the most disingenuous and unfair statements possible for a gentleman on the Treasury benches to make, a statement calculated to grossly misrepresent the attitude I had adopted with regard to the tariff of 1897-8. The hon. gentleman read from my speech as follows, which was delivered when he brought down his tariff in 1897 :

The result is that this tariff goes into operation and the hon. gentleman knows that the industries of this country are already paralyzed in consequence, while hon. members gloat over the destruction of Canadian industries. I was reading the wail, the sorrowful wail, of those industries in the Montreal 'Gazette,' where one manufacturer after another declared that those industries were ruined, that their mills must close, and that they saw staring them in the face a return of the deplorable state of things that existed when the hon. gentleman who last addressed the House was in charge of the fiscal policy of this country. I say that a deeper wrong was never inflicted upon Canada.

I may say that I was reading from the Montreal *Gazette*, and what did I find in that paper? I found that not only one but several of the large industries of Montreal had locked their doors and there were hundreds out of employment, in consequence of the tariff hon. gentlemen brought down. The hon. gentleman has admitted, what we all know to be a fact, that having tried his hand at tariff making, a perfect horde of delegations of people engaged in industries came down upon him in this city, and the result is stated by him in his budget speech :

And when we did learn something, we had the courage to come down and say so, and to make the change. And so with the change in one item and a change in another, here a little and there a little, we made it a good tariff. But has my hon. friend said it was a good tariff? No.

The fact is that the hon. gentleman having tried his 'prentice hand at tariff making, found that his tariff would not suit at all and was compelled to change it. This wail of disaster did go up in the great manufacturing centre of Montreal, delegates poured

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in on the hon. gentleman, and he changed the tariff. I will not say in how many cases, but will be safe in saying twenty or thirty at all events. The great feature of that tariff which I condemned was this :

That when the customs tariff of any country admits the products of Canada on terms which, on the whole, are as favourable to Canada as the terms of the reciprocal tariff herein referred to are to the countries to which it may apply, articles which are the growth, produce or manufacture of such country, when imported direct therefrom, may then be imported direct into Canada, or taken out of warehouse for consumption therein at the reduced rates of duty provided in the reciprocal tariff set forth in Schedule 'D.'

Which reduced rate was 12½ per cent the first year and 25 per cent the second. That was the position to which I was inviting the attention of the House ; and in that connection I was showing that radical changes had been made subsequently, which enabled these industries to reopen their doors and the people to go back to work.

I will give the hon. gentleman the credit of having one great quality which his predecessor on that side (Sir Richard Cartwright) was never gifted with. He has a receptive mind. He has shown that he is capable of being taught. He has shown that when he has made a mistake, he does not come to the conclusion that there is no other wisdom in the world except that which he possesses ; and when I convinced him of the great mistake he made on a most vital question, the iron industry, he changed right about face and did that which previously he had refused to do. Again he said :

And so, Mr. Speaker, we have the tariff as brought down in the first draft, then the final draft of 1897, and then the tariff of 1898; and, from beginning to end, the whole was condemned by the hon. gentleman, who declared that it was going to prove disastrous to the interests of the country.

A more disingenuous statement never was made on the floor of this House, than the statement that I had applied that condemnation to the tariff of 1898. I say, Sir, that the hon. gentleman will search in vain for any evidence of such a state of things. The quotation from *Hansard* proceeds :

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No? Then, if the tariff of 1898 was a good tariff, why did the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) vote against the preference feature of it? It is too late for him to come and pretend—

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) has asked a question, will he not allow me to answer it?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Yes.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I did not vote against the tariff of 1898; I voted against the statements made in the motion of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell), that I considered were untrue. But, I will ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) this question: Was not the tariff of 1897 the Cobden medal tariff, and is the tariff of 1898 a Cobden medal tariff?

I do not refer to that subject for the purpose of disturbing in the least degree the feelings of my right hon. friend the leader of the government. But, this is one of the strongest, one of the clearest, one of the most complete evidences of a radical change between the tariff that I denounced, the tariff of 1897, and the tariff of 1898, that it is possible to conceive. One was a tariff under which my right hon. friend could properly receive the Cobden medal from Lord Farrer in the language in which that gentleman gave it; but in presenting that medal the words that Lord Farrer used were that if my right hon. friend had done that which was actually done in the tariff of 1898, they would not have assembled there to give him that medal. Is that proof or is it not that there was a radical change in the principle and essence of the tariff of 1898 as compared with that of 1897? Now, I stated the reasons why I could not support the amendment of the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Russell). Let me read that amendment:

That this House regards the principles of British preference in the Canadian customs tariff as one which in its application has already resulted, and will, in an increasing measure, continue to result in material benefit to the mother country and to Canada,—

I deny that it has resulted in any benefit to the mother country. I say that the imports from Great Britain under that preference tariff are utterly insignificant as compared with what they might naturally have been expected to be without any preference whatever, in the enormous expansion of trade that Canada has experienced between 1896 and the present time. Moreover, I say it has not resulted in any good to Canada. The hon. gentleman may say that the people have been relieved of some taxation. I have stood before great masses of the electors of Canada, and I have put this question to them: Have you paid less during the last year since that tariff preference came in for the goods that you get from England than you paid before? And on every occasion there has been an overwhelming responsive 'No.' Therefore, there has been no benefit that has reached the Canadian farmer, none that has reached the producers of Canadian goods under that tariff. Therefore, Sir, I was unable to vote in favour of a declaration that I believe to be utterly unsound and absolutely contradictory of the facts. The resolution goes on:

—and which has already aided in welding, and must still more firmly weld together the ties which now bind them, and desires to express its emphatic approval of such British preference having been granted by the parliament of Canada.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce said that this preferential tariff had been of great value to Great Britain. He said last night, as I understood him, that he had no doubt that we had obtained the permission

to have trust funds invested in our securities, which would be of great value to Canada largely in consequence of the preferential tariff. But what does the Prime Minister say on that question? He ought to be an authority. He is the leader of the government and has the Minister of Finance to advise him on financial questions, and the hon. Minister of Customs behind him, unsafe as it may be to trust the hon. gentleman (Sir Richard Cartwright) who sits in immediate proximity. What did the Premier say? Speaking in the city of Montreal and the city of Quebec, he said that Great Britain had accepted preferential trade at a great sacrifice, because, to obtain it, she had had to denounce the Belgian and German treaties and thus lose a large amount of a valuable trade, much greater than any benefit that it would be to her. So, the hon. gentleman finds that he is in controversy on that question with the Prime Minister and that I have the Prime Minister on my side as to this preference tariff not being the boon to Great Britain that would induce her to make valuable concessions to Canada.

Now, the hon. gentleman has said that one of the great features of this preferential tariff has been the enormously expanding trade of Canada, for the reason, as he puts it, that if you buy from a country they will buy from you. That is the cardinal principle that my right hon. friend the Prime Minister has again and again enunciated; and he has gone so far as to say that this great expansion of our exports to Great Britain has been in consequence of a preference which never preferred. I have shown on a former occasion that the statistics of the three years previous to hon. gentlemen opposite coming into power, as compared with the figures since, show that there has been an average decrease in the imports from England in the three years under their management of \$1,285,173, or about 3.90 per cent. Was there anything in that to make the English mercantile community so wildly enthusiastic about what Canada had done for them? Did they feel greatly benefited when they found that in three years, under hon. gentlemen opposite, with one full year of the preference in force, they had actually sent less to Canada than before, notwithstanding an enormously expanding trade in this country? In contradistinction we have the fact, that the government gave no preference to the United States—he says that he gave a preference against the United States in favour of England. And with what result? With the result that in the three years 1897, 1898 and 1899, the average imports from the United States amounted to \$77,787,266, as against average imports for 1894, 1895 and 1896 of \$55,414,215—or an average increase of \$22,373,051, or 40.37 per cent, as against a loss of 3.90 per cent of trade from the

mother country. The hon. gentleman says that this is of enormous advantage to Great Britain. I do not think that the figures show it. These hon. gentlemen tell us that England will buy our cheese, butter, eggs and all these things, not because they prefer them, but because Canada gave them a preference—that in the gratitude of their hearts they want to eat our bacon, our butter and our cheese, whether they like them or not. I am going to quote what I consider a very high authority to contradict that statement. I have shown by figures, that where you gave no preference, as in the case of the United States, there has been an increase of imports, and where you gave a preference, to Great Britain, there has been a falling off. But, I wish to give a higher authority than any hon. gentleman of the Treasury benches—and that is your own, Mr. Speaker. You are an agriculturist, you know something about cheese, and bacon, and you know something about how the sale of these articles is to be promoted. Let me read what you said on the floor of this House, and I heartily endorse every word of it, although I do not always endorse what you say now. On May 8, 1898, as will be found in *Hansard*, page 5852. Mr. Bain said in the House of Commons:

When we do the best we can and put our natural products on the English market in the best possible condition, when we offer the best quality of cheese, the finest grade of butter, the finest wheat the world produces, and put them on her market in the best condition, then we have a guarantee that the English dollars will come to our pockets, and come in a legitimate process.

That is the whole thing in a nut shell, and I hope this eminent agricultural authority will be heeded and will have the effect of destroying some of those fallacies.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (Sir Richard Cartwright). I hope my hon. friend will listen to other advice he got from that quarter equally pertinent.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I always do, with great respect. I now come to the point I raised before. I have shown that the policy of 1897 was the policy I denounced. It was a free trade policy, it was a policy of giving to all the world, and not giving anything to England. At that time England was almost the only country that could not take advantage of it. But I say it was a policy open to all the world; and the hon. gentleman the Minister of Trade and Commerce followed it up by stating that they intended to drive that wedge home and steadily to increase the preference until they had reached that happy hunting ground of free trade. Now I will read what Lord Farrer said, when delivering that medal to the right hon. gentleman:

There is a party amongst us who would willingly discriminate against German and Belgian
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goods, and who look upon the denunciation of the German and Belgian treaties as a step towards what they have been pleased to call the commercial federation of the empire—a system under which commercial union in the different parts of the empire will be fostered by laws excluding or discouraging foreign goods. If this were to be the consequence of what you have done, I need hardly say that we of the Cobden Club would not have been here. It is because we believe that your efforts are founded on the opposite principle, and will be followed by opposite results, that we, followers of Adam Smith and of Peel, of Bright and of Cobden, are here to congratulate and to thank you. You do not ask us to abate one jot of our free trade principles.

There is a declaration of Lord Farrer in the clearest and most comprehensive terms that if he had had that tariff of 1898 before him, my right hon. friend would not have received that great distinguishing badge which I told him on a former occasion I was afraid he would find a mill stone around his neck, and I am still of that opinion. Let me now recall what I stated to my hon. friend the Minister of Finance in reply to his statements as to my attitude on the tariff, and I give it as an evidence of the position that we took on this side of the House:

The first is that this proposed tariff, exposing the industries of Canada to competition with all the world, and the reduction of 25 per cent below the general tariff which is adopted, will be fatal to Canadian industries.

I believed that then, and I believe it now.

That may not be felt—

Fortunately we have been rescued from that, fortunately the abandonment of the free trade policy that Lord Farrer spoke of, and the adoption of the exclusive preference to England, has saved us from that danger we were exposed to under the tariff of 1897, which as Lord Farrer said, was open to all the world.

That may not be felt perhaps immediately, but at a very early day it will be felt; and, the gentlemen on the back benches have enlightened us by telling us that after personal communication with the government, they have obtained a pledge that this is only the entering of the wedge, and that it will be driven home until every vestige of protection is rooted out. My second and great objection is that this policy has destroyed the prospect of obtaining preferential trade, the most gigantic boon which, in my judgment, could be obtained for Canada, and one which, if the hon. gentleman was determined to make his attack on the industries of the country, they ought to have secured, if for no other reason than as some compensation for the injury they were doing.

And I moved this resolution:

That in the opinion of this House the reduction by 25 per cent of the duties upon all imports except wines, malt liquors, spirits, spirituous liquors, liquid medicines and articles containing alcohol; sugar, molasses and syrups of all kinds, the product of the sugar cane, or beet-root, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes in favour of any country whose tariff is or may be made on the whole as low as that of schedule D, is cal-

culated to imperil the industrial interests of Canada, and is in principle opposed to preferential trade of any kind with the mother country.

That on several occasions the government and parliament of Canada have requested Her Majesty to be pleased to take such steps as might be necessary to terminate the effect of the provisions of all treaties which prevent the parliaments of the United Kingdom and the self-governing colonies adopting such tariffs as may be required for the promotion of trade within the empire, but no decisive action has been taken in this direction.

That the desire for preferential trade with the United Kingdom is now general throughout Canada.

That this House is of opinion that the government of Canada should cause Her Majesty's government to be advised that so soon as the difficulties in the way are removed the parliament of Canada is ready to enter into a preferential trade arrangement with Great Britain and Ireland.

That this House cannot consent that any arrangement made by the government of Canada with any country involving serious considerations of tariff and revenue should become operative without the sanction and ratification of parliament.

Now, there is a policy, there is a statement, there is the proof that this tariff I condemned in 1897 was radically in principle unlike that which was introduced in 1898, and we were all glad to get rid of the exposure of our industries to the competition of the whole world under a preferential rate, and we were anxious to have it limited, if it must be given to anybody, to the mother country. Now, let us see what the Minister of Finance said in his budget speech in regard to the United States :

If, in the United States there had been manifested any great desire to have better trade relations with us, I am sure there would be a very strong demand from many people in Canada for reductions in the tariff on American products. But our American neighbours feel it to be their duty, and they feel it to be consistent with their best interests, not to encourage closer trade relations with Canada. And while they take that position, we do not think the moment is favourable for making reductions upon articles which are produced in the United States. The Joint High Commission, though it has not accomplished much, has not yet come to the end of its term. It is theoretically, at all events, still an open question, and though there may be no immediate prospects of its re-assembling, it has not yet been dismissed by the only authorities who can terminate its existence. If we shall have an opportunity of opening up trade relations with the United States, I am sure this government will not fail to take advantage of it.

Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman in this great burst of loyalty, and which he has endeavoured to keep up to the very highest point, has always taken the attitude he took in 1897 in this House, namely, that it was Great Britain to which Canada desired to turn for her trade, and we desired to discourage, at all events, the offering of any inducements to the United States. Now, how does my hon. friend account for the fact that under that policy, under that tariff

which he introduced with a grand burst of loyalty, a great flourish of trumpets as to what he was doing for England, how does it turn out that at the end of three years you have done nothing to increase that trade? Your imports have been less from the mother country during the three years that you have been in power as during the previous three years before you came in. On the other hand, we find that in 1899 there was an increase of \$37,500,000 over the average for 1894-1895-1896, or 68 per cent increase in favour of the United States. I say that if the English people can be made to feel grateful for the creation of a tariff that brought about that result, I do not think they would exhibit that amount of intelligence that I should hope to find in that country. I think I mentioned last night that my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce, speaking at Oshawa, on February 10, 1891, is thus reported :

C. W. Scott asked: 'Does the Liberal party favour discrimination against Great Britain by admitting American manufactures free and taxing the manufactures of Great Britain?'

Sir Richard Cartwright replied: 'Certainly we do.'

Although the hon. gentleman has not boldly proclaimed that they did give a large preference to the United States of America in the construction of their tariff, which has raised the exports from that country into Canada no less than 68 per cent, while they have been lessened from England, he has succeeded in carrying out a discrimination in favour of the United States, if there is any truth to be found in the statement that was made in the platform of the Liberal party in 1893, when they declared, in express terms, that the tariff of Canada discriminated against England. I ask if there is an hon. gentleman on that side of the House who will repeat that to-day. Was that statement true? Was there discrimination in the tariff? If so, you have increased it tenfold. The statement made by the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), to a section of the Chamber of Commerce in England, has exposed that hon. gentleman to the fact that his statements have proved to be utterly delusive. He said that our tariff discriminated against England, and he said that their tariff would change and reform that. Instead of doing that the tariff of hon. gentlemen opposite has raised the imports from the United States no less than \$37,500,000 during the short period that they have been in power. I do not intend to say much more upon this subject, but I may say, in excuse for the very incoherent manner in which I am dealing with this subject that I have been following the extraordinary course pursued by the hon. Minister of Finance in introducing his budget. He passed from one subject to another, back and forward, to and fro, and I am obliged to follow the very irrational course he pursued in order to be consistent. I do not

intend to detain the House in speaking upon the question of making machinery free used in the manufacture of beet-root sugar, that cannot be manufactured in Canada. It is a policy that I entirely approve of. When the question came up last year I ventured to advise my hon. friend to investigate it and see what action could be taken by the government that would be calculated to promote the beet root sugar industry. I think, that if the sugar people are very thankful for what he has done, they are very easily satisfied, and I am inclined to think that, although he has done something, he has not investigated the subject with any very great degree of care.

I find that he has taken to heart the advice which I ventured, across the floor of the House, to extend to him in reference to the West Indies. I stated last year, and I repeat again, that I regard it as a most unfortunate thing that Great Britain should, owing to her hostility to countervailing duties, paralyze the industries of her possessions in the West India Islands, and reduce them to such a condition of difficulty and embarrassment that she absolutely had to advise them to endeavour to negotiate a treaty, and assisted in negotiating a treaty with a foreign power. When England has succeeded in placing the commerce of the British West India Islands under the heel of the United States of America, she has gone a long way, in my opinion, towards bringing about different sentiments in regard to the political relations of those countries. I do not hesitate to say, having pressed this matter strongly on the attention of the hon. Minister of Finance, that I am glad to find, as he said, in his very modest speech, that he was not above taking a little advice from wherever it might come, and I am glad that he has adopted the policy of endeavouring, at all events, to rescue Trinidad from that condition of things, which I regard as calculated to be fraught with very unpleasant consequences. I should be only too glad if a treaty can be arranged with Trinidad that will enable the productions of Canada to go in, in the freest possible manner, raw sugar being taken in return. I told my hon. friend when he introduced his 25 per cent tariff to the West Indies that he would find it perfectly delusive, and he now admits that he has failed to accomplish what he expected. I am glad to see this additional step taken, which I say is in the right direction.

Now I come to the question of preferential trade, and if I am obliged to detain the House at a much greater length than I would like to do, if I am obliged to reiterate again and again, on the floor of the House, the position I have taken on that important question of preferential trade, my excuse must be that I regard it as the most vitally important question that is today before the people of Canada. I say that any system of inter-Imperial prefer-

ential trade that will give to the people of Canada the advantage of a preference in the markets of the mother country, is a policy so fraught with enormous results to the people that too much attention cannot be given to it. The hon. gentleman said, and I was greatly surprised to hear him make such a statement, that :

England, which after a great struggle under Bright and Cobden, had made the people's food free, was asked to turn back the hands of the clock and tax the food of the people. England was asked again and again to accept this condition, and just so long as that demand was made the great journals and the great leaders of thought in England scoffed at preferential trade of that kind.

That is a bold and unqualified statement, but it is a statement which is not borne out by the facts. I say that the greatest journals of England have looked upon that measure with great favour, and on more than one occasion they have indicated that it was a question deserving of the most careful and thorough attention from the government of that country. One hon. gentleman, going farther than the hon. Minister of Finance, defied anybody to show one line in anything that had been uttered, or said, or written by the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain in favour of that policy. I propose to draw the attention of the House for a few moments to this subject. The hon. Minister of Finance indicates that the government have reached the hearts, and through the hearts, they have reached the stomachs of the people of England with Canadian productions, and have created a yearning desire for our cheese, our bacon, our butter and our eggs. Do these hon. gentlemen remember, that when the McKinley tariff was passed and when the Liberal-Conservative government said that they proposed to send eggs to England, they were met with a shout of derision by the Liberals of this country, because the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, being then supreme on financial and commercial questions in that party, held strongly to his pet doctrine that governments were flies on the wheel, and that there was nothing that they could do to promote trade in butter or eggs or anything else. But he has had to listen to a different story from the hon. Minister of Finance. Take the question of cheese. Will hon. gentlemen tell me if there was any preferential tariff in force from 1878 to 1895? What occurred in the cheese trade? We sent, in 1878, \$3,801,643 and in 1895, \$14,220,505 worth of cheese to Great Britain. The cheese of the United States was driven out of the English market by Canadian cheese long before the preference was thought of, and that ascendancy attained under the Liberal-Conservative rule has, I am happy to say, continued to the present time. So it is with Canadian bacon. As I went through the streets of London, I was glad to see in the large grocery stores,

that Canadian cheese and Canadian bacon were rated of far better quality and selling at a higher price than the American products. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) says that we do not ask for any quid pro quo from England, and that we do not want any pound of flesh. Let me tell him that Canada did not originate this policy of preferential trade. Inter-Imperial preferential trade was adopted in 1891, by the United Empire Trade League, composed of a number of eminent members of the Lords and Commons and commercial men of both political parties. Their object was not to benefit Canada, but to benefit the empire. They were Englishmen and their policy was propounded, because having examined all the means to bind the empire together, they thought this was the best. They arrived at the conclusion that to the feeling of sentiment might be added mutually beneficial trade relations, and that both combined, would indissolubly unite the empire together.

I want to meet the statement made by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding), that nothing will induce the English people to reverse their policy and to impose any duties upon the food of the people. In 1890 and 1891, I went into that subject very fully, in the *Nineteenth Century*, and I gave elaborate evidence from the best authorities to show what substantial advantage might be given to colonial products in the English markets, without at all raising the price of food. I will give the hon. gentleman a very high authority. The Right Hon. Mr. Goschen, when Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1891, used this language, and he is now in the present government as First Lord of the Admiralty. He said:

I think it possible that the advantage of the consolidation of the empire may be so great that, if the increase in the price of the loaf is extremely small, the producers with whom the power now lies far more than with the consumers, may not object. I differ with the hon. member for Leeds, who supposed that if we had any customs union or arrangement by which favour was shown to the colonies, the United States would have a right to interfere. I do not think the United States would have a right to remonstrate or interfere in the way he suggested.

I give that to the hon. gentleman from an eminent British statesman, who does not regard that phase as a contingency. I may say that the masses of the people, the consumers, will, in my judgment, be the very agency that will bring about the condition of things in England which we desire to see. The United Empire Trade League went to Lord Salisbury with the request that he would have the Belgian and German treaties abrogated, because no such arrangement of inter-preferential trade could be carried out unless that were done. Lord Salisbury said:

On this matter, public opinion must be framed or formed before any government could act.

Did Lord Salisbury say, it is quite impossible to undertake or to deal with a subject of this kind. Not at all. Lord Salisbury said further:

On this matter, public opinion must be framed or formed before any government can act. No government can impose its own opinion on the people of this country in these matters. You are invited, and it is the duty of those who feel themselves to be the pioneers of such a movement and the apostles of such a doctrine, to go forth to fight for it, and, when they have convinced the people of this country, their battle will be won.

That is not very discouraging. Lord Salisbury's advice was taken, and the United Empire Trade League agitated all over Britain in favour of this matter, and after the general elections in 1895, they went back with this statement to Lord Salisbury:

The greater number of the members returned to the present parliament in support of your lordship's policy and administration, advocated either in their election addresses or in their platform speeches, the policy of united empire trade, and to this fact must be ascribed some portion of the unparalleled majority in the House of Commons by which your lordship is supported—especially from working-class constituencies.

Now Sir, there is the fact, and yet the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding), has actually said that no man with a head on his shoulders (or words to that effect), could be found that would advocate any such thing. The *Times* newspaper of March 10, 1896, said:

The Prime Minister has addressed a letter to Sir Howard Vincent, as honorary secretary of the United Empire Trade League, in reply to the memorial presented last month by the council of that body, praying that notice might be given denouncing the clause in the commercial treaties with Germany and Belgium preventing British colonies from levying a lighter duty upon British goods than upon foreign goods, should they elect to do so. Lord Salisbury says that 'since the accession to office of Her Majesty's present advisers the question of the trade relations between the mother country and the colonies has been taken into serious consideration, and that he is in thorough accord with the views expressed by Mr. Chamberlain as to the extreme importance of securing as large a share as possible of the mutual trade of the United Kingdom and the colonies for British producers and manufacturers, whether located in the colonies or in the United Kingdom.'

I do not think that bears out the statement made by the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding). Then on the 25th of April, 1892, the Canadian parliament passed this resolution:

That if and when the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland admits Canadian products to the markets of the United Kingdom upon more favourable terms than it accords to the products of foreign countries, the parliament of Canada will be prepared to accord corresponding advantages, by a reduction in the duty it imposes upon British manufactured goods.

That is our policy to-day, that is the position we take. We say it is a question of business: that it is a question of trade. That is a question which, under our con-

stitution, has been confided to the people of Canada, and, Sir, we respond to the appeal made from high authorities in Great Britain on this question, and, we believe, with them, that it will promote the unity of this great empire. We believe that we are right, and that it is just and proper we should ask from Her Majesty's government, that they should adopt the same policy with reference to Canada, that Canada adopts in regard to Great Britain. I may say that at the second meeting of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, I moved a resolution, proposing that a 5 per cent duty should be imposed by Great Britain in favour of the products of her colonies, and against foreign products, and that was defeated by a vote of the Chambers of the Commerce of the Empire, 47 voting against and 34 voting for. In an article I contributed to one of the magazines of the day, I showed that if the delegates from Australia and South Africa had voted in accordance with the instructions they had received from the Chambers of Commerce that sent them there, that resolution would have been carried. In the Ottawa conference, it was resolved :

That this conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies by which trade within the empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries.

That resolution was sent home to the Imperial government. Lord Rosebery was at that time, I think, in power; if not, he was Foreign Minister, and Her Majesty, in her speech at the closing of parliament, said :

A conference was held at Ottawa in the month of June last, at which representatives of the Imperial government, the Dominion of Canada, the Cape and the Australian colonies met to consider questions relating to inter-colonial tariffs and communications.

I have learnt with satisfaction that the proceedings of the conference were of a character calculated to strengthen the union of the colonies concerned, both among themselves and with the mother country.

There, Sir, you have from the Prime Minister of England, speaking through the mouth of the sovereign in closing parliament, the declaration that that policy which was propounded and adopted by the Ottawa conference, at which Her Majesty's government, Canada, Australasia and South Africa were represented, was calculated to strengthen the unity of the empire. Then, the Toronto Board of Trade took this question up in 1896, and passed a resolution of a similar character :

Whereas, while the trade legislation of other nations is framed to subserve their local interests, all British trade and other legislation should aim to secure within the empire a union of interest of a federal character, and the policy of each British community should be designed to retain within the empire subjects whose labour would otherwise go to foreign lands ;

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Resolved, that, in the opinion of this conference, the advantage to be obtained by a closer union between the various portions of the British Empire are so great as to justify an arrangement as nearly as possible of the nature of a Zollverein, based upon principles of the freest exchange of commodities within the empire, consistent with the tariff requirements incident to the maintenance of the local government of each kingdom, dominion, province or colony, now forming part of the British family of nations.

Well, Sir, Mr. Chamberlain opened that Chamber of Commerce with a speech of immense significance. He said :

And I admit that, if I understand it correctly, I find the germs of such a proposal in a resolution which is to be submitted to you on behalf of the Toronto Board of Trade. What is that resolution? I hope I correctly explain it. That resolution I understand to be one for the creation of a British Zollverein or customs union, which would establish at once practically free trade throughout the British Empire, but would leave the contracting parties free to make their own arrangements with regard to duties upon foreign goods; except that—this is an essential condition of the proposal—that Great Britain shall consent to replace moderate duties upon certain articles which are of large production in the colonies. Now, if I have rightly understood it, these articles would comprise corn, meat, wool and sugar, and perhaps other articles of enormous consumption in this country, which are at present largely produced in the colonies, and which might be, under such an arrangement, wholly produced in the colonies, and wholly produced by British labour. On the other hand, as I have said, the colonies, while maintaining their duties upon foreign imports, would agree to a free interchange of commodities with the rest of the empire, and would cease to place protective duties upon any product of British labour.

Hon. gentlemen opposite say that there are no protective duties now, but that they have a revenue tariff; and, therefore, that comes entirely within the statement made by Mr. Chamberlain. That congress passed a resolution to this effect :

That this Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the empire is of opinion that the establishment of closer commercial relations between the United Kingdom and the colonies and dependencies is an object which deserves, and demands, prompt and careful consideration. The congress, therefore, respectfully represents to Her Majesty's government that, if the suggestion should be made on behalf of the colonies or of some of them, it would be right and expedient to promote such consideration, and the formulation of some practicable plan, by summoning an Imperial conference, thoroughly representative of the interests involved, or by such other means as Her Majesty may be advised to adopt.

I was a little surprised to learn that the Finance Minister could so asperse the leader of the government of which he is a member as to intimate that this question is scoffed at by everybody, that it is an utterly idle and impracticable story, and to assert, like other hon. gentlemen, that not a word nor a suggestion along that line had been uttered by Mr. Chamberlain. What did the

Prime Minister say on the 17th of May, 1896, when seeking the sweet voices of the people? On this question of preferential trade, he said:

In regard to this question of preferential trade, Mr. Laurier desired to say that Sir Charles Tupper was no more favourable to the idea than himself.

My hope is, nay, my conviction is, that on the 23rd of June the Liberal party will be at the head of the polls; and then it will be the Liberal party, with its policy of a revenue tariff, that will send commissioners to London to arrange for a basis of preferential trade.

The hon. gentleman went more fully into the subject at London, Ont., where he said:

Now, the statesmen of Great Britain have thought that the governments of the colonies have come to a time when a new step can be taken in their development? What is that? That there shall be a commercial agreement between England and the colonies. That practical statesman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, has come to the conclusion that the time has come when it is possible to have within the bounds of the empire a new step taken, which will give to the colonies in England a preference for their products over the products of other nations. What would be the possibilities of such a step if it was taken? We sell our goods in England. We send our wheat, our butter, our cheese, all our natural products, but there we have to compete with similar products from the United States, from Russia, and from other nations. Just see what a great advantage it would be to Canada, if the wheat, cheese and butter, which we would send to England, should be met in England with a preference over similar products of other nations. The possibilities are immense.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the new and progressive Secretary of the Colonies, has declared that the time has come when it is possible to discuss that question. But, Sir, if England is going to give us that preference, England would expect something from us in return. What is it she would expect? England would expect that we would come as closely to her own system of free trade as it is possible for us to come. England does not expect that we should take her own system of free trade, such as she has it; but I lay it before you, that the thing the English people would expect in return is that, instead of a principle of protection, we should adopt the revenue form of tariff, pure and simple. These are the conditions on which we can have that boon.

The right hon. gentleman says now that he has got that power, and I say that he gave the most emphatic pledge that it was possible for a man to give to the people of Canada, that if he obtained power his first act would be to send commissioners to England to negotiate for that preferential trade. I am sorry to say that for some cause not yet explained to the people of Canada nor to this House, the views of my right hon. friend underwent a radical and complete change, and that before he touched the soil of England.

Well, Sir, the Minister of Trade and Commerce read for the third or fourth time in this House a letter of His Grace the Duke

of Devonshire on this subject in response to a communication which had been made to him by the Postmaster General. That hon. gentleman sent that communication without referring the matter to me, as I think he was bound in courtesy to do. Seeing that he was sending what purported to be a speech of mine in order to obtain an opinion upon it, I think he should have taken the trouble to verify that speech before sending it. However, the Duke of Devonshire says in his letter that he never made a formal offer of inter-Imperial trade to my right hon. friend.

Nobody supposed he had any power to do so. As a member of the government he could discuss the question, but was not in a position to make an offer; but I put it to my right hon. friend whether he did not understand the speech made by His Grace the Duke of Devonshire to be an invitation to the colonial Premiers to make known what they thought on this question of an inter-Imperial commercial arrangement. If that was not his understanding of the speech, why did my right hon. friend reply that he did not want anything of the kind? Will he tell this House that the other Premiers did not consider it an invitation to them to state how far they would be able to go in making proposals to Her Majesty's government. The evidence is clear that they did, nor does the letter of His Grace in the slightest degree contradict that view. On the contrary, he said:

Very few disciples of free trade fifty years ago would have believed for a moment that at this time France and Germany would be carrying on an enormous trade under strictly prohibitive conditions, and not only that they would not have opened their markets to us, but they would be competing over us for the possession of as large a portion as possible of the surface of the earth, not for the purpose of opening it up out of the universal benefits of free trade, but for the purpose of excluding from those portions English trade. The world has not become the commercial paradise which was predicted in the early days of free trade opinion, when it was hoped that free trade would bind all the nations of the earth so closely together that it would be a matter of comparatively little importance by whom they were ruled, or under what influence they were governed. We have since learned by painful experience that no old nor new markets are being thrown open to us by the influence of free trade alone, and that if we want to provide for increasing commerce, which is necessary for the support of our increasing population, we must find those markets for ourselves, and must use every opportunity either of expanding or consolidating our colonial possessions.

Lord Salisbury said that he was at one with Mr. Chamberlain in the views he had announced on that important question and His Grace the Duke of Devonshire accentuated that statement. But my right hon. friend, instead of redeeming the solemn pledge he had given the people of this country, betrayed the people. What did he do? In answer to that speech, he said:

I claim for the present government of Canada that they have passed a resolution by which the products of Great Britain are admitted on the rate of their tariff at 12½ per cent, and next year at 25 per cent reduction. This we have done, not asking any compensation.

There is a class of our fellow-citizens who ask that all such concessions should be made for quid pro quo.

The Canadian government has ignored all such sentiments.

We have done it because we owe a debt of gratitude to Great Britain. We have done it because it is no intention of ours to disturb in any way the system of free trade which has done so much for England.

Many schemes of union had been suggested, but they all had the fatal objection of interfering with the freedom of trade of the colonies.

The colonies had already granted certain concessions to the mother country, but they asked for no quid pro quo, no pound of flesh.

What we give you by our tariff, we give you in gratitude for the splendid freedom under which we have prospered. It is a free gift. We ask no compensation. Protection has been the curse of Canada: we would not see you come under its baneful influence—for what weakens you must weaken us.

I ask my right hon. friend is that what the people had a right to expect at his hands. When asking their suffrages, he declared that if they would clothe him with power he would send a commission to negotiate inter-Imperial preferential trade between Great Britain and Canada, but having obtained power, he deliberately turned his back on this pledge, and down to this hour there is not a man in this country who has been taken into his confidence and been told what was the cause of this overwhelming change of opinion on his part. It is very significant that he should have gone out of his way to curse that which he was sent to bless.

I may say that Lord Salisbury does not agree with my right hon. friend in his view that inter-Imperial preference would interfere with free trade. He was written to by a gentleman in England as long ago as April 5, 1887, and he instructed his private secretary to reply as follows:

I am to reply that Lord Salisbury does not imagine that differential duties in favour of our colonies, whatever may be said for or against them, can properly be described under the term protection.

There is a sweeping away of the whole foundation of my right hon. friend's position when on the high road to obtain a Cobden medal. His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, made another pronouncement; and if by his speeches he did not mean to invite the colonies to propose what measures they considered would contribute most to the unity of the empire, I do not know what he meant. At the Merchant Taylors' Hall, London, on July 5, 1897, he said:

We know that while our colonies and our dependencies can by a strengthened unity greatly enlarge and enhance our power and influence in

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the world, yet at the same time we have much that we can offer to them, and which we do offer to them; and it is not in the interest of the islands alone—it is in the interest of the whole English-speaking race—that we advocate the idea of unity, and we urge upon you to take every measure that it is in your power to take to cement and strengthen it. But, ladies and gentlemen, we believe ourselves, the British race both here and abroad, that we are not only a sentimental people, but a practical people, and the idea which must have occurred to many of us, after witnessing the demonstration at home and abroad which we have witnessed in these recent times is, what is to be the practical outcome of it all; what are the measures which we are about to take in order to satisfy the aspirations which many of us have formed; and how are we going to give effect to the sentiment the existence of which, as I have said, is now undoubted?

The hon. gentleman was using every means to induce the Premiers whom he was addressing to take this question up.

On the 21st of June, my right hon. friend again said:

Realizing this, and at the same time realizing the great utility which would follow from a closer union between England and her colonies, the Canadian government have undertaken in some degree to solve the difficulty. They have given to Great Britain a preference in their own markets.

My objection to this preference is stated in the resolution for which we voted in 1897. My objection was that it was an inducement to England not to give us anything in return. Down to that hour the question had been discussed on the basis of mutual benefit and with the object of using the tie of self-interest to knit and bind more closely together the colonies and the empire. That could best be done by the empire benefiting us and we it, and every one knows that hundreds of thousands of men would be brought into the Dominion by a policy that would give Canadian products a preference in the English markets over the products of foreign countries, and every man brought into this country is an additional strength to the empire, as has been recently shown. Therefore, the great objection we had to this preference was that we were throwing away the greatest incentive and the strongest argument that could be used by those who were seeking to have an arrangement made by which the products of the colonies could enter the British market on better terms than the products of foreign countries. It is on that ground that we object to this preference clause. We object to it as throwing away the most effective means by which a preference in the British market could be secured for our goods. This is what the right hon. gentleman said:

Now, Sir, this we have done deliberately, and for this let me tell you, gentlemen, the Canadian government and the Canadian people ask nothing in return. They have done it out of gratitude for the motherland. They do not ask any quid pro quo; they do not ask for the pound of flesh; they do not require a price for their loyalty.

I am afraid he was not exactly speaking then under the inspiration of the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce, who says that we owe nothing to the motherland except forgiveness, in a spirit of Christian charity, for the wrong she has done us. I am afraid he was not acting under that aspiration.

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE. It shows what high Christians we are.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Quite so.

They have done it out of gratitude for the motherland. They do not ask any quid pro quo; they do not ask for the pound of flesh; they do not require a price for their loyalty.

The question had, up to that time, been discussed upon the broad principle of mutual benefit to Great Britain, and to Canada, and the outlying portions of the empire. But, the right hon. gentleman narrowed it down and gave it an entirely different character, taking the strongest means he could to prevent anybody ever accomplishing anything in favour of this great measure that the whole people of Canada desire, that every man in Canada to-day longs for, and that every intelligent man knows will do more for Canada than any policy that has ever been propounded in Canada, or that can be conceived.

And, what does Mr. Chamberlain say in reply? He evidently saw that my right hon. friend was labouring under some hostile spirit, that could not very well be explained. Mr. Chamberlain knew what the position was. I was over in 1896, after the defeat of my government. I had the honour of dining with the United Empire Trade League. And, some members of that organization expressed their deep regret that I should have been defeated, because of the support that I was prepared to give to inter-Imperial preferential trade. I said: I am happy to be able to tell you that you are quite mistaken; that, instead of my defeat being an injury to inter-Imperial trade, it will be the reverse: the hon. gentleman who has defeated me, and who is now the Premier of Canada, is pledged as strongly as I am in favour of inter-Imperial preferential trade, and has declared that one of the first things he would do, if he got power, would be to send a commission to England to negotiate it, and I have the most unbounded confidence that he will keep his pledge: and the result will be that you will have the Liberal party of which he is the head, struggling to obtain this great boon, and the Conservative party standing behind them, giving all the aid and sympathy they can. Mr. Chamberlain said, in reply to the right hon. gentleman on June 21, 1897 (Sir Wilfrid Laurier)—for he spoke later:

My Lord Mayor, if our self-governing colonies desire now or at any future time to take their share in the glories and in the responsibilities

of the empire they will find that we are ready to meet them more than half-way, and that we will make it our duty to establish firmly that principle of our connection: 'Each for all, and all for each,' upon which alone the stability and the prosperity of the empire can depend and—

Mark this, Mr. Speaker:

—if they are wishful to draw closer the commercial relations between themselves and us, now or at any future time, again I say we will meet them, and in no huckstering spirit. We will not treat this as a transaction in a ledger, to be weighed in proportion to the exact balance of profit and loss. No, there is a principle, and, as I have said, a sentiment behind it which will carry all before it, because we see in such tightening of Imperial bonds a guarantee for security and continued unity.

I say, that the man who, in the face of that will say that there is no public man in England who will listen to the discussion of this question, that it is scorned by the press and the people in that country, utterly fails to grasp this subject, utterly fails to see it in its true light. But, my right hon. friend came back, and, I wish to remind him of a point which, it seems, has escaped his notice. He was attacked for having betrayed the interests of Canada, for having failed to redeem the pledge he gave to the people. He went to Toronto and gave his answer. And, what was it? I will give his exact words, as taken in his speech in Toronto, after his return in 1897:

Certainly, if I thought I could have obtained for my country, for the products of Canada, a preferential treatment in the markets of Great Britain, I would not only have been wanting in patriotism, but I would have been wanting in reason—I would simply have been an idiot—if I had failed to obtain such a preference. But let me say that above all things, in matters political, I have learned my lesson from British precedents, and I know that all reforms have to be taken one step at a time, and he who endeavours to do more than that is likely to end in failure.

Then he went on to say that the treaties had been denounced, and that they were the great hindrance in the way, and proceeded:

There is nothing in the way now. The coast is clear. The ground is ready for discussion, and it can be discussed with a hope of obtaining some satisfactory solution of the problem.

There is another pledge, a pledge made since he came back—that the great difficulty out of the way, he would do everything in his power to obtain this great boon for Canada. What step has he taken, down to this hour? He has done nothing but block every effort made in this House to take a single step in that direction. Though he declared that the great difficulty had been removed, and he was ready to do everything, he has done less than nothing.

The Minister of Finance says that Mr. Chamberlain has never committed himself on this question. I want to know how he accounts for the declaration of the leader

of his own government, that Mr. Chamberlain had committed himself in the fullest degree, and had proposed a policy that was perfectly practicable, and that under a policy of revenue tariff—which the hon. gentleman says he has now—it could be carried out without difficulty. Does he say that the leader of the government does not know anything about this subject? Does he cast ridicule upon that gentleman, and say he is incapable of reading the English language and of learning the sentiments of a public man from his express declaration on manifold occasions? The hon. gentleman's (Mr. Fielding's), statements are a serious reflection upon his leader. As the hon. gentleman knows, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the presence of these Premiers, said in effect: What are you prepared to do in reference to commercial matters? I see that a conference of the Premiers of Australia declared in favour of having a commission appointed, and we want to know if these are your views still. We know that the Premiers of Australia had agreed, that they had passed a resolution asking for a commission on this subject. And who stopped it, who blocked it, who prevented anything being done? The onus rests on the right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), who had given his pledge that he would do everything in his power to support this policy. Speaking to the Premiers, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain said:

In the meanwhile, however, I may say that I note a resolution which appears to have been passed unanimously at a meeting of the Premiers in Hobart, in which the desire was expressed for closer commercial arrangements with the empire, and I think it was suggested that a commission of inquiry should be created in order to see in what way practical effect might be given to the aspiration. If that be the case, and if it were thought at the present time you were not prepared to go beyond that inquiry, if it were the wish of the other colonies, of Canada and of the South African colonies, to join in such an inquiry, Her Majesty's government would be delighted to make arrangements for that purpose, and to accept any suggestions as to the form of the reference and the character and constitution of the commission, and would very gladly take part in it.

Does the hon. gentleman dare to tell me, or any hon. gentleman in this House, or out of it, that the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain, who had followed step by step, line by line, the declarations that had been made in regard to this subject, by the Premiers, and ended in proposing to these gentlemen that he would form part of a commission to take this subject up and inquire into it—does he mean to say, that that indicates that there is no man in England that we can quote a line from, or any public journal of influence, to show that there is any utility in doing anything in regard to this matter? Now, Sir, Colonel Sir Howard Vincent was interviewed on this subject, February 12, 1897, and this is what he said:

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In view of Mr. G. E. Foster's and Sir Charles Tupper's speeches, and the action of the Canadian parliament, a correspondent asked Colonel Howard Vincent, M.P., to-day what action was intended in the Imperial parliament respecting a tariff of preferences with the empire. He replied: 'I cannot say definitely, but we shall march forward day by day, and stage by stage, in accordance with Sir Charles Tupper's views and those of the Canadian government.'

Col. Vincent continues:

The United Empire Trade League now numbers quite two-thirds of the ministerialists in the British Commons.

And yet, the hon. gentleman tells this House that no man can be found in England that will lend any countenance or any sanction to these proposals. I have been obliged to detain the House at length on this question because I consider it of vital importance, and I am anxious to place before the country, clearly and distinctly, the great issue that is between the parties. Hon. gentlemen opposite propose to give a preference which we on this side of the House think is calculated to prevent anything ever being done that will induce the British government and the British parliament to negotiate on this question, because all these questions have to be negotiated on the principle of reciprocity. We take our stand on the principle of protection. We say we are prepared to protect the great industries of this country, and we couple with that the proposition that no protection, no boon, as the right hon. gentleman has justly said, and repeated again and again before the elections, can be given to the great agricultural interests of Canada that will compare for a moment with the advantage it would derive in securing the imposition of a duty upon the products of foreign countries going into the British market that will give an advantage to Canada.

Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman says that every London journal scoffs at the idea of preferential trade. Why do they scoff at it? They did not scoff at it before the preference was thrown at them, and before they were told that we wanted nothing for it, that it was given out of sympathy for the gigantic blunders that they had made, as a member of this government has declared, but we wanted nothing for it. Here is what the *Times* said on February 13, 1896:

It is believed that the accession of Sir Charles Tupper to the ministry will lead Canada to make some kind of an effort of preferential trade with the mother country. It is probable that the united governments of Australia will make a similar effort. The recent turn of foreign affairs, especially regarding Germany and America, have given much popular impetus to this movement.

And yet, every London journal, according to the hon. gentleman, scoffs at the idea of obtaining inter-Imperial preferential trade. Now, let me refer to the boards of trade. I suppose there are some men in

the boards of trade of Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa, who have heads on their shoulders, some men who have a little knowledge of commercial affairs as well as the Minister of Finance. Now, Sir, this proposition that the hon. gentleman scoffs at, derides, and says is out of the question, that it is a waste of time to discuss it, is not so regarded by the boards of trade of Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa, who have, within the last month, passed resolutions strongly affirming the desirability of sending delegates to a congress of the Chamber of Commerce, to press this very policy upon the associated chambers of commerce of the empire. I will ask the permission of the House to have these resolutions of the boards of trade entered on the record, as I have really no time to read them :

Ottawa Board of Trade :

Whereas, the second congress of the Chamber of Commerce of the empire declared, in 1892, 'That arrangements should be devised to secure closer commercial union between the mother country and her colonies and dependencies,' and, 'That a commercial union within the British Empire on the basis of freer trade would tend to promote its permanence and prosperity ;'

And whereas, it has been generally admitted that the colonies should contribute towards the cost of Imperial defence, and, as a matter of fact, colonial forces have participated with those of the United Kingdom, in defending the integrity of the empire ;

Therefore, be it resolved, that, in the opinion of this congress, a certain degree of closer commercial union among the countries of the empire can be most conveniently established a step towards the introduction of inter-British free trade most readily taken, and the responsibilities of each part of the empire most equitably borne by providing a revenue for its defence, and, other common Imperial purposes, from the proceeds of a small uniform duty (over and above those of the local tariffs, where any such are levied) on all importations from foreign countries, into every part of the empire.

Montreal Board of Trade :

That in the opinion of this congress the bonds of the British Empire would be materially strengthened and the union of the various parts of Her Majesty's dominions greatly consolidated—

(a.) By the colonies contributing towards the naval and military defence of the empire ;

(b.) By the adoption of a commercial arrangement that, while conserving the present freedom of action as to the fiscal policies most suitable to the geographical conditions and diversified interests of the individual countries composing the empire, will provide for the imposition of a moderate special ad valorem duty on importations from foreign countries to be levied uniformly by all parts of the British Empire, thus not only providing revenue for joint Imperial responsibilities, but also inaugurating a policy of mutual benefit whereby each component part of the empire would receive an advantage in trade as a result of its national relationship.

Toronto Board of Trade :

Whereas, it is generally recognized that an advantageous commercial bond is the strongest link in national unity, and maintenance and strengthening of trade is the keystone of a state's successful development ;

And whereas, the existence of an empire is largely dependent upon the material prosperity of its people :

Therefore, be it resolved that, in the opinion of this congress, the bonds of the British Empire would be materially strengthened and the union of the various parts of Her Majesty's dominions greatly consolidated by the adoption of a commercial policy based upon the principle of mutual benefit, whereby each component part of the empire would receive a substantial advantage in trade as the result of their national relationship.

Sir, I do not propose to take up further time than to move the resolution which I hold in my hand, and which is seconded by Mr. Foster :

That all the words after 'That' be left out and the following added instead thereof:—'this House is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between these countries, and would thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire; and that no measure of preference which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory.'

That is the policy that we propound to-day in opposition to the policy proposed by the hon. gentleman of increasing to 33½ per cent the preference given to English imports. I have no hesitation in saying that, although the condition of things is flourishing to-day, and although that preference, if it should take effect, might not be very seriously felt at present, yet, let a little stringency come and the hon. gentleman will find industry after industry going down in Canada. They will find that without having accomplished anything beneficial to Great Britain, without having increased by one pound or by one dollar the exports sent from this country to Great Britain, without having accomplished anything that will promote in any measure the unity of the empire, the action of the government are taking is going to be fraught with danger to the best interests of the country. I say that the policy that we propose is a policy of 'fitting protection.' That was the original term, that is the term we use now, 'fitting protection' to the manufacturing, the mining, fishing, lumbering, agricultural and shipping industries, and to Canadian labour. There is the ground on which we are ready to go to battle with hon. gentlemen opposite any moment they may choose to select. I have no hesitation in saying that the claim the hon. gentleman made in his budget speech, claiming the earth for themselves, claiming that recent events had brought about a tremendous effect upon Great Britain, is wholly unwarranted. The hon. gentleman closed his speech by saying :

It is the story of a people who bear cheerfully every obligation that comes upon them for the maintenance of their own public service, and who have found their devotion to the Throne and the person of their Sovereign so quickened by the inspiring events of recent years, that they quite freely give of their blood and of their treasure for the defence and the honour of the empire in lands that are far away.

Does the hon. gentleman think that that is due to this government?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). Yes.

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. Let me remind the House of what the Prime Minister of Canada said in Sherbrooke. He apologized for having done anything. He said he had not consented to anything, not even to allowing men to enlist in the British army from Canada, he had not consented to anything until he was borne down by the overwhelming sentiment of the country. Let me call a witness from that side of the House. The hon. the junior member for the city of Halifax (Mr. Russell) has borne this testimony:

It was the opportunity and the privilege of the leader of the opposition to initiate the proposal to offer Canadian troops for service in South Africa. It was a proud, and enviable, and distinguished opportunity.

Then, what do we find the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) saying on this subject:

After parliament was prorogued, events went on, until it came to the point where the Prime Minister declared that Canada was not at war with the South African Republic; that our Militia Act forbade the sending of our troops outside of Canada unless her territory was threatened; and, moreover, that parliament was sovereign in the matter, and that, without the sanction of parliament, the government could do nothing. I think this is a fair résumé of the position taken by the right hon. gentleman in his often-quoted interview with the 'Globe.' The leader of the opposition took issue with the Prime Minister. In a telegram which did not reach its destination, but which was published broadcast—

And known well to the hon. gentleman.

--the hon. gentleman advised the government to send troops right at once and not to mind parliament. I need not say where my sympathy stood. Ten days later the government gave up, and decided to send troops.

I commend that to the attention of hon. gentlemen opposite. What more have we, Sir? At this moment we have the fact that supporters of the government are now agitating the question and are holding public meetings in the province of Quebec. The hon. member for Laprairie and Naperville (Mr. Monet), the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa), and the hon. member for Charlevoix (Mr. Angers), are holding public meetings in the province of Quebec denouncing the sending of troops, apologizing for the Premier, and saying that he was forced by that dreadful man, Sir Charles Tupper. This may be a farce that

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is being carried out, but, I think, if it is one, it is not particularly creditable to the hon. gentleman.

If my hon. friend the Minister of Finance will excuse me for invading his patent of the very eloquent peroration that he made in concluding his budget speech. I will, after having stated the policy of the great party which I have the honour, at present, to lead, conclude my remarks by saying that the story of the party and of the government of this country is the story of a party who glorify the federation they did their utmost to obstruct.

It is the story of a party, who, having failed to defeat the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, now boast of what it has achieved for the country.

It is the story of a party, that, after the denunciation of protection, have adopted it as their policy.

It is the story of a party who pledged themselves to secure reciprocal trade between England and Canada, and afterwards declared they did not wish that policy adopted.

It is the story of a party who have violated every pledge they gave to the country when seeking power.

It is the story of a party who avowed the policy of promoting trade with the mother country and so changed the tariff as to cause a diminution of the imports of England in three years of 3.90 per cent, and an increase of imports from the United States of 40.37 per cent in the same period.

It is the story of a party who opposed sending a Canadian contingent to aid England in South Africa until forced by their opponents to do so, and now claim the entire credit themselves.

It is the story of a party who opposed every measure that has caused the great development and prosperity of Canada and now attempt to reap where they had not sown.

I beg to move:

That all the words after the word 'That' be left out and the following added instead thereof:—'this House is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between these countries, and would thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire; and that no measure of preference which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory.'

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS** (Mr. Paterson). Mr. Speaker, I trust that the honourable baronet (Sir Charles Tupper) has not concluded his speech and left the Chamber without hearing a few words in reply to some of the observations that he has made.

Mr. **BERGERON**. He is going to Quebec.

An hon. **MEMBER**. He will hear you.

Mr. **DAVIN**. Speak a little louder.

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS**. The only reason I would like to have him present is

that I may feel constrained to make, for a moment or two, a few references to him, perhaps, more personally, nothing in the way of anything personally objectionable, nothing in the way of anything that could be termed personalities, but in regard to things in which he has taken a prominent part. He told us, in the eulogy which he passed upon the speech of the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), by way of criticism of the speech of the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), that it was such an able, such a marvellous speech—of course, it could not be anything else but marvellous when delivered by an hon. gentleman who was said to be possessed of more financial knowledge than any other man in the Dominion of Canada—and he had gone so exhaustively into the subject that he had really left nothing for the hon. baronet to say. There was a mere crumb left. The hon. leader of the opposition has been masticating that crumb for four hours, so that, it is reasonable to conclude that if he had left a whole loaf we would have been detained here during the whole of this session by the hon. gentleman. The first hour of the two hours during which the hon. gentleman spoke last night was taken up in abusing the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), and while that hour lasted the hon. gentleman remained present, in order, by his presence, to give an additional zest and force and zeal to the hon. gentleman while he was pouring out his abuse upon him.

The **MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE** (Sir Richard Cartwright). It was for Auld Lang Syne.

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS**. When the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) devoted the next hour to lauding himself, the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce felt that the noble baronet had enough reserve power by way of self-esteem to enable him to do full justice to himself without his presence, and, therefore, he withdrew from the Chamber. During these two hours I think that the only remark that he had occasion to make, outside of these personal references to the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce was that the Liberal party were disloyal when they adopted the principle of seeking unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. He denounced them very strongly in that respect, but, as was pointed out, and that is one of the reasons why I wanted to have him here at the present moment, he forgot to tell the House, and to tell his party, that if the Liberal party were willing, at one time to trade, or to see if it were possible to trade with the American people on a broad basis, on an unrestricted basis, if you will, the hon. baronet himself, who declares it to be so disloyal, was himself the one who, I think, made the actual pro-

posals, or offers to the United States on that very basis. Hon. gentlemen opposite will please to remember, whenever any of them see fit to allude to the subject, that the gentleman they have chosen as their leader, the one who leads their forces, was the one who is said to have led in this movement. What do I find? From the *Hansard* of 1888, page 1047, I find that Sir Charles Tupper spoke as follows:

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. To-day they (the Liberals) have escaped sudden destruction on the rock of commercial union only to be stranded on the shoals of unrestricted reciprocity.

Mr. PATERSON (Brant). You were very near there yourself.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says I was very near there myself. I am puzzled to know what sort of mental organization a man must possess who cannot discover the distinction between an unrestricted offer and unrestricted reciprocity. When as a negotiator, when as one of Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries, it became my duty to ascertain whether the United States were prepared to meet us half way, or to do anything to remove the obstructions to the freer commercial intercourse which we all desire, when I was in that position, I put an unrestricted offer before them certainly, but did I say anything about unrestricted reciprocity? What was the offer? Did it commit me to anything except that I was prepared to negotiate in regard to the question of freer commercial intercourse? The hon. gentleman said, you made an unrestricted offer. I said I did, and I did so deliberately, because if the statesmen of the United States were prepared to offer us unrestricted reciprocity, I wanted to know it, but I was not committed to it. I said that I was prepared to negotiate the settlement of the fisheries difficulty on the basis of freer commercial intercourse, but I ask any hon. gentleman on the other side if I would not have had a perfect answer to any proposition, either that the proposal did not go far enough, or that it went too far.

Mr. MACKENZIE. You made an offer, but you did not mean it.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. The hon. gentleman says that I made an offer which I did not mean. That would be a very mean thing to do. I think my hon. friend cannot mean that. I made an offer in a broad and comprehensive form, meaning exactly what I said, that I was prepared, or that the British plenipotentiaries, who authorized me to make the offer, were prepared to negotiate the settlement of the fisheries question upon the basis of greater freedom of intercourse between the United States and Canada; but did that commit me to unrestricted reciprocity? I was asking for what every public man in this country, every man on both sides of this House, has endeavoured to obtain, and has asked for over and over again.

Mr. MACKENZIE. If they accepted your offer, would not that have committed you?

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. No, it would not have committed me to unrestricted reciprocity. I tell my hon. friend, as I have already explained, that if they had accepted the offer, and had said: Yes, we will settle this question on terms of greater freedom of commercial intercourse, and had then said: We are prepared to negotiate in regard to those terms, and had

asked: What greater freedom do you wish? I would have formulated the greater freedom which we desire, and would have put a distinct statement before them. Then I would have been bound to formulate my policy and to say how far I was prepared to go or how far I required them to go in order to negotiate the question on that basis. I had to take up more time to teach hon. gentlemen the difference between an unrestricted offer and unrestricted reciprocity. I should despair, and I will save my breath for something more important.

There is the history of it, from the very man who made a formal offer to the United States. True he tells us it was an unrestricted offer, and he pities the mental organization of the man who cannot see the difference between that and an offer of unrestricted reciprocity. If the plenipotentiary of a great power made an unrestricted offer of reciprocity to another great nation, could it mean anything else but an offer of unrestricted reciprocity? Suppose the Americans had said: We want reciprocity in minerals, as you have offered, and that Sir Charles Tupper replied: I did not offer that; the natural reply of the Americans would be: Oh, yes you did, for your offer is an unrestricted one. Suppose the Americans said: We want reciprocity in manufactures. Could the hon. gentleman have said: No we will not grant that. Would not the Americans say: What do you mean? you made an unrestricted offer, and if you leave out manufactures, surely it is a restricted offer. The same remark would apply, suppose the Americans had said that they wanted reciprocity in farm products, or in anything else. If the American government saw fit to ask for reciprocity in any one article, the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), and his party were bound hard and fast to give it to them, for there is no man of honour could claim that he did not mean to give it, when he made an unrestricted offer. He made the offer as a member of the Canadian government, and for the Canadian government, and he committed the Conservative party to that offer. The Liberal party asked the people of Canada to return them to power with a view of showing how broad a treaty they could get, that would be advantageous, both to Canada and the United States, and no one in the Liberal party ever understood that there was to be commercial union. No one in the Liberal party ever said that their offer was to be a joining of the funds of the two nations. A little while after that the Conservative party went to the country, and they gave as a reason why they had brought on the elections, that they were going to the United States government to secure reciprocity, and that they wanted the opinion of the people of Canada in reference to it. But, the Conservatives wanted to go to the United States on the old lines, and the Liberal party said: No, we never can get a renewal of reciprocal relations with the

Mr. PATERSON.

United States, while they are in their present frame of mind, if our offer is to proceed along the lines of the old reciprocity treaty, we hold that it is the duty of the Canadian government to go there with a view of discussing all the commercial questions involved between the two countries, and all the items in the tariff. No one would have expected, and, I myself, never on any platform, or anywhere else, treated our proposal in any other shape, than that it was to be understood that if it were possible, a broad reciprocity treaty would be accomplished. I do not think anybody contemplated anything else, than that there would be a scheduled list of goods upon which the parties might not be able to agree: as to which their interests would not be mutual, and on that basis was unrestricted reciprocity discussed in the country, and on that basis would negotiations have proceeded. But, Sir, I have shown from the words of the hon. gentleman, that if there was anything disloyal in it, then the leader of the Conservative party (Sir Charles Tupper), was the man that made that disloyal offer, as a member of the Canadian government, or if he was not a member of the government at the time, then he made the offer as its agent. That is about the only remark the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), made in his two hours speech that I thought was worth taking a note of. By the way, I think he made the extraordinary statement, that when the Conservatives were in power from 1868 to 1873, with a low tariff, the reason why that tariff was in force, was because there was a tremendous civil war in the United States during these years, and that that made sufficient protection for him. Of course, we all know that history relates that the American civil war had terminated some time before the year 1868. I believe the hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper), alluded to the fact that the post office deficit of \$342,000, as acknowledged by us, was not as great as the three-quarters of a million deficit which he predicted. But, he was equal to the occasion and ready with the excuse, that while there was a shortage of \$342,000, yet we were paying \$387,000 to the North-west mounted police in the Yukon, and as we availed of their services to carry the mails—they having the time on their hands to do so—he, therefore, charged the whole expenditure for the North-west mounted police against the Post Office Department, in order that he might try to vindicate his prediction.

I wish now to call the attention of the House to the position taken by the hon. gentleman in 1897, when the tariff of this government was introduced, and when he predicted that it would result in disaster and ruin to the industries of this country. The hon. gentleman's speech on that occasion has been quoted time and again. The hon. Finance Minister alluded to it, and the hon. gentleman accuses him of having

done so in the most disingenuous statement he ever heard. But I do not think that was the case, for the hon. gentleman made the speech, and he does not deny it. The hon. gentleman, however, says: 'I made that speech with reference to the original tariff which you brought down on April 23, 1897, but some weeks later you brought down amendments to that tariff; deputations waited on you; they pointed out mistakes which you had made, and then you changed the tariff, I do not know in how many items; but it was not the tariff which you first brought down and which was the one to which I drew attention.' Now, what were the changes made in the tariff between the 23rd of April, when it was first brought down, and some time in May, when the second resolutions were laid on the Table? What did the changes amount to which removed the occasion of the hon. gentleman's wail and gave continued life to industries which he feared the original tariff would send to destruction? I have had prepared a summary of the changes made by the subsequent resolutions. As hon. gentlemen know, there are 641 items in the tariff, taking free and dutiable together. The duty was reduced on 40 items by the tariff resolutions introduced during the session of 1897, subsequent to the resolutions of the 23rd of April, 1897, the reduction in duty based on last year's importations being \$435,813. There were 21 items transferred from the dutiable to the free list by the tariff resolutions introduced during the session of 1897, subsequent to the resolutions of the 23rd of April, 1897; the duty that would have been paid on such items last year, under the tariff rates of the resolutions of April, 1897, amounts to \$117,583. The total reductions in duty by the changes made by the resolutions of 1897 subsequent to the 23rd of April, amounted to \$553,396. The tariff was increased during the session of 1897 after the 23rd of April on 21 items; the increase of duty on last year's importations of these items amounted to \$100,157.85. Therefore these changes, which, according to the hon. gentleman, changed the character of the whole tariff so completely that from being one which would destroy and ruin the industries of the country, it became one which he says is modelled after the Conservative tariff, gave us, in a total tariff revenue of \$25,000,000 or \$27,000,000, reductions amounting to \$553,396, and increases amounting to \$100,157.85, making the net reductions \$453,238.15. This statement will show how hard driven the hon. gentleman is when he attempts to justify his wail in 1897 and his subsequent position in regard to the tariff.

But the hon. gentleman says that another thing he objected to in the first tariff was that the preference was not confined to Great Britain alone, but applied to all other countries that would admit our goods on as favourable terms as we admitted theirs. Well, he ought to have known what other

countries would come in under the preferential tariff. He well knew that the great imports that come from the United States could not come in under the preferential tariff, because their tariff was far higher than ours. They could only secure that privilege by making their tariff as low as ours, which would have been of great advantage to this country—to manufacturers and producers as well as to consumers. He knew that the goods of Belgium and Germany could come in under their treaties; but he should have known, and I have no doubt did know, that there was scarcely any other country with which we did any trade worth mentioning that was in a position to avail itself of the preferential tariff, except the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Let us see what the effect was upon our trade with these two countries. Let us see whether it was so great that it made all the difference between the tariff which the hon. gentleman now says is a good tariff, claiming that it is a copy of his own—though I cannot see that he is correct in that—and the tariff of 1897 as originally introduced. Here is a statement which I have had prepared, showing the imports for consumption from France, Germany and Belgium in the last three years:

France.

1897—Last year prior to preference....	\$2,601,351
1898—When preference in operation....	3,975,351
1899—Preference only in operation for one month	3,889,295

Germany.

1897—Last year prior to preference....	\$6,493,368
1898—When preference was in operation	5,584,014
1899—Preference only in operation for one month	7,393,456

Belgium.

1897—Last year prior to preference....	\$1,163,632
1898—When preference was in operation	1,230,110
1899—Preference only in operation for one month	2,318,723

But, we brought down our preferential tariff, which he said was going to ruin the industries of this country, so that when the hon. gentleman takes the ground that his prediction of ruin and disaster to the industries of this country was perfectly justified, and that its non-fulfilment is due only to the changes subsequently made in the session of 1897, his contention is destroyed by these tables. He should now candidly confess that my hon. colleague, the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding), had greater wisdom and foresight than hon. gentlemen opposite, and was better able to gauge the conditions of trade than those hon. gentlemen who fought against this tariff, which has been one of the greatest blessings, so far as fiscal legislation is concerned, that was ever enacted in this country.

Let me allude briefly, before the House rises for recess, to the statement of the hon. gentleman, that the late government had been the means of introducing capital

into this country, and of causing an increase in our population. We are accustomed to boasting from the other side, but in boasting that the national policy had been the means of introducing population into this country, the hon. gentleman out-heroded Herod. Why, the record show that after the late government, by the expenditure of millions of dollars, had succeeded in inducing some 800,000 immigrants to enter this country, it was discovered, when the census was taken in the year 1881 by these hon. gentlemen's own officers, that not only had the whole of these 800,000 left the country, but that 200,000 or 300,000 of our own sons and daughters had gone besides. Instead of having had the benefit of the natural increase in population, which would be about one-fifth, we lost these 800,000 immigrants, and 200,000 of our own people as well.

Then these hon. gentlemen boast of having brought capital into this country, they boast of the millions invested in the iron industry through their policy. Where were these millions invested? When they brought down their tariff in 1888, what iron industry did they bring into the country? Perhaps one in Hamilton, but these industries, to which the hon. gentleman referred as coming into Canada with their \$18,000,000 capital, came in under the Fielding policy.

Let me draw your attention, Mr. Speaker, to one test as to whether the country is increasing in population more rapidly since the advent of this government to office than previously. There is no absolute test except the taking of a census, but I give this as a test, which ought, at any rate, to have some force in leading us to the conclusion that never, during the history of Canada, when the Tories were in office, has our population increased in anything like the ratio at which it is increasing at present. Let me give the imports of settlers' effects, as taken from the entries made at the customs-houses:

IMPORTS—SETTLERS' EFFECTS.

1899—Page 611, Trade and Navigation Returns.

From Great Britain.....	\$ 458,888
" United States	2,183,861
All other countries.....	163,207

Total \$2,805,956

1896—Page 343, Trade and Navigation Returns.

From Great Britain.....	\$ 429,872
" United States	1,714,168
All other countries	44,935

Total \$2,188,975

Imports, 1899	\$2,805,956
" 1896	2,188,975

Increase of 1899 over 1896..... \$ 616,981
An increase of 28 per cent.

This shows an increase of 28 per cent in 1899 over 1896, which clearly indicates a considerable increase of immigration.

Mr. PATERSON.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is made up of the Doukhobors and Galicians, who do not count, or ought not to count.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. These tables shows that from the United States, the settlers' effects imported, amounted to \$2,183,861, from Great Britain, \$458,888, and from all countries, \$163,207, and yet the hon. gentleman says, the increase is made up of Doukhobors and Galicians.

There is also a movement among our population, more or less—people going from this country to the United States, and people coming back, and, therefore, let us look at that side of the question. I have showed that there is an increase of 28 per cent in those coming in, but now let us take those going out, as judged by the exports of settlers' effects. The following is the statement:

EXPORTS OF HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS.

1899—Page 696, Trade and Navigation Returns.

To United States.....	\$910,409
" Great Britain	71,340
All other countries	11,064

Total \$992,813

1896—Page 476, Trade and Navigation Returns.

To United States.....	\$1,163,605
" Great Britain	53,314
All other countries.....	20,374

Total \$1,237,293

Exports, 1896	\$1,237,293
" 1899	992,813

Decrease of 1899 from 1896..... \$ 244,480

Or a decrease of 20 per cent.

According to these tables, settlers' effects coming in, have increased 28 per cent, whereas, the exports of settlers' effects have decreased 20 per cent.

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

AFTER RECESS.

IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill (No. 67) respecting La Banque Jacques Cartier, and to change its name to La Banque Provinciale du Canada.—(Mr. Brodeur.)

Bill (No. 72) respecting the Merchants Bank of Halifax, and to change its name to 'The Royal Bank of Canada.'—(Mr. Russell.)

Bill (No. 76) to incorporate the Canadian Loan and Investment Company.—(Mr. Clarke.)

Bill (No. 82) to incorporate the Crown Life Insurance Company.—(Mr. McCarthy, by Mr. Stubbs.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The question of the expenditure and of the debt has already been dealt with so fully and so ably by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) and by the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) that I do not feel it necessary to add any observations upon that point. I must say, however, that while nominally the expenditure has increased, that the annual expenditure is larger by some millions last year than it was during the reign of hon. gentlemen opposite, it by no means follows that the burdens of the people have therefore been greater. As has already been explained, in our system of bookkeeping large items may be added to the expenditure during the year that may not be a burden to the extent of one cent upon the people, as is the case with more than one item that goes to swell the expenditure charged against the government. Again, where a country is growing very fast, where the population is largely increasing and becoming wealthier, an extra expenditure would not necessarily mean that so much more would have to come out of the pockets of the same number of people that were in the country some years previously. There can be no doubt, as I remarked before six o'clock, that there has been a large addition to the population in the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. WILSON. How many?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. That is a matter of estimate; the hon. gentleman might make one estimate and I might make another. In the Trade and Navigation Returns that have been alluded to, there is put down in the column of the amount of customs duties per head of the population, a star note which says:

The calculations in this column are based on a re-estimate of the population of the Dominion in each year by the Department of Agriculture and Statistics.

An effort has been made to show that this is my own personal estimate. It is not so there, it is not so printed. I do not hesitate to say that if I were asked to make an estimate of the population at the present time I would very largely exceed the figure that is placed here. Nor do I hesitate to say that the estimate that I would make of the population of Canada at the present time would be a larger one than was made by the Minister of Trade and Commerce in his speech at Toronto to which a reference has been made; and there is no contradiction whatever between the figures that appear here and the figures he gave as his estimate, and which I consider were under the mark. These figures are simply what they profess to be, or what they are said to be, a re-estimate of the population of the Dominion of Canada as made by the Department of

Agriculture and Statistics. How is that re-estimate made? Is it by taking the amount of immigration that is coming into the country, is it by taking the amount of the lessened emigration from the country, is it in any way based upon an inference which might be drawn from an increased importation of settlers' effects, or a decreased exportation of settlers' effects? Are any of these, which are material factors in making a true estimate, taken into account by the statistician of the Department of Agriculture when he makes his estimate? Not at all; he does not profess to do it. This is purely a mechanical re-estimate. He takes what the increase was during the previous decade and adds a proportionate amount from year to year, paying no attention whatever to the circumstances of the country, as to whether trade has decreased or as to whether trade has increased, as to whether people are leaving the country in large numbers or coming to it in fewer numbers, as to whether it be a period of prosperity in which people are seeking the country in large numbers or as to whether emigration from the country is very much lessened. Therefore, that column is only valuable looked upon in that light. The only estimate by which you can arrive at the burden of taxation upon the people is by taking the rate of taxation that is imposed by the government for which they are responsible. We arrive at that, in a rough and ready way. I grant it is only a rough and ready way, as it has never been claimed, on either side of the House for a moment, that you can take the percentage of customs duties and apply it to the total importations of goods, dutiable and free, and say that it is an absolute test as to correctness. But, it is an approximate test and one which is valuable. An argument was sought to be made by the hon. baronet, this afternoon, when he said that he had been addressing audiences all over the Dominion, and that where he had asked the question, having addressed thousands upon thousands of people, if they were buying anything cheaper from England than they did before, the answer, in every case, was, No. One of less intelligence than the hon. baronet knows that this is no question to ask with the view of having any bearing upon the question as to whether the taxation imposed on the people has been increased or not. The government of Canada and the parliament of Canada do not make the prices of goods that are imported into Canada. They are determined by a source more powerful, more mighty and more universal than that. The government of Canada and the parliament of Canada have no power and no desire to exercise it, if they had, to say to a man, or to a family, that they shall buy a larger, or a smaller, quantity of goods. In neither of these cases have the parliament or government of Canada anything to do

with reference to the cost of the goods. But, there is one thing that the parliament of Canada can do in reference to dutiable goods. They say to the people of this country that before you can get these goods into your possession to be your property you shall pay so many cents on the dollar to Her Majesty's collectors of customs at the various ports in this Dominion, to go into the revenues of this country to carry on the affairs of this Dominion. In that respect, and in that respect alone, the parliament of Canada stands between the people and the price that they pay for their goods. When the great Liberal convention assembled, their declaration was that the rate of taxation which was imposed by the government, was excessive, and they called for a reduction of the amount of taxation. This government, when they came into power, recognized that this was a requirement of the people of that convention that they must give heed to, and acting upon that, they proceeded to reform the tariff in such a way as to lessen the rate of taxation, as to lighten the burdens that had previously been imposed by the government and parliament upon the people. That reduction is arrived at in a rough and ready way, as I said before. I do not claim it to be perfectly accurate, but it is a rough and ready way of getting at it, which has been adopted by hon. gentlemen opposite in arguing upon the question and seeking to minimize the percentage of the decrease. They have been willing to assume that. I call attention now to the remarkable calculation that was made by the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) in his speech when he was dealing with this question. He took the figures of 16·70, which was the percentage of customs duty collected in our last year, and he admitted that it was 18·28 in their last year. Assuming that to be so, he admitted that, taking these figures, we had remitted \$2,435,000 of taxation to the people. But, he said, while this is the case, it is nothing to what I did myself. I remitted taxation to the amount of \$5,900,000, because he says—it is printed 1889, but it is evidently a mistake in the figures as he compares 1889 with 1895—that there has been a reduction of 4·66 per cent in the rate of taxation under the Liberal-Conservative government:

If you take the imports of 1895, which were \$105,252,000, you will find that 4·66 per cent of it is \$5,900,000, that is to say, the reduction in the rate of taxation from 1889 to 1895 is 4·66 per cent; and the actual volume of taxation taken off upon that basis is \$5,900,000.

Having said this, he says:

Does the hon. Minister of Customs dispute these figures?

To which I reply:

No, but I would treat them somewhat differently.

Mr. FOSTER. How would the hon. gentleman treat them differently if he treated them

Mr. PATERSON.

honestly? I take my hon. friend's statement now. He would treat them different. How?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Because you are speaking of reductions made on your own figures. Our reductions are made upon your revenues and your figures.

I, therefore, would treat them differently in this way: The hon. gentleman says: I had a certain rate of taxation in 1889; in 1895 I reduced that rate of taxation by 4·66 per cent, and that reduction upon the imports of that year meant that I took off taxation from the people to the amount of \$5,900,000, while you, according to your own calculation, have only thrown off \$2,435,000. The hon. gentleman says that he took off taxation to the amount of \$5,900,000, but, he threw off taxation that he had imposed himself, while the \$2,435,000 that we have saved to the people of Canada is \$2,435,000 less than the lowest amount that he imposed without this \$5,900,000. That is the difference. Supposing we take him at his own test. We will take the year 1889, in which the rate per cent of duty was 21·65. Our rate, in 1899, was 16·70, which is 4·95 per cent less duty imposed by us in 1899 than was imposed by him in 1899. Now, the imports, dutiable and free, last year, were \$154,051,593. If you multiply that by the reduced rate of taxation we have made in 1899, which would be 4·95, it would give you the reduction that is made between our tariff in force in 1899, and his tariff in force in 1889 of \$7,625,553. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), claims that he brought the rate of taxation down to 16·99, and that he saved by that \$5,900,000 to the people, but we gave \$1,725,553 more of a saving to the people over and above his \$5,900,000. There is another point which must be remembered. When the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) had made that reduction in 1895 (for which he claims credit in having thrown off taxation amounting to \$5,900,000, and we had a deficit of \$4,153,875. We took off \$1,725,553 more than his \$5,900,000, and we have a surplus of \$4,837,749. And, while the Conservative rate was 16·99 when it was reduced in 1895, it rose next year to 18·28, and still in that year of 1896, the Conservative government had a deficit of \$330,551, notwithstanding they did not pay all their liabilities during that year. I wish the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) were here, for I would like to have tendered him my personal thanks for calling our attention to the rate of duty that he imposed in 1889, and which he took credit for reducing in 1895; because we will be able to see what the rate of taxation was for the parliamentary term of five years from 1887 to 1891, during which gentlemen opposite were in power. We will see whether there was not good ground for the Liberals in those days, telling the people that they were being bled freely in the matter of taxation. Hon. gentlemen opposite have the Trade

and Navigation Returns before them with the percentages for these various years from 1887 to 1891 inclusive, and if they take the trouble to average these five years they will find that it amounts to 21·14, or 4·44 more than our rate in 1899. Now, Sir, if we were to take that rate of taxation on our total importations of last year we would have collected \$6,839,890 more than we did, and if we continued it for five years, as he (Mr. Foster) did, we would in that time have taken \$34,000,000 extra taxes out of the pockets of the people of this country. During the five years the Conservatives had this excessive rate in force, their net surpluses, with that enormous taxation, were only \$7,273,954, while we, taking \$6,839,890 less than their rate of taxation had a surplus last year of \$4,837,749. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) thus called our attention to the taxation he had wrung from the people in these years, while he claims that he reduced the taxation by nearly \$6,000,000 in 1895. Well, Sir, if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) were here I would have asked him: Why he took this \$6,000,000 extra taxes out of the pockets of the people for five years, and why now he seeks to have credit because after a long five years he reduced the heavy taxation on the people. Instead of giving him any credit for the reduction of \$5,900,000 in taxation of 1895 over 1898, we censure him now as we did at the time, because for five long years he kept on that enormous rate of taxation. There is another point to which I ask the attention of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster). He told us that he took the taxation off sugar, that he made sugar free, and that that was a boon to all the people of Canada. Well, did he make sugar free? No, he did not. He made the raw sugar that the refiner uses free, but he put 80 cents per 100 pounds on the refined sugar, and it is refined sugar that the people of this country use almost entirely. Now, Sir, in the Reform tariff brought in by this government, we put 50 cents per 100 pounds on raw sugar and \$1 per 100 pounds on refined sugar. We thus gave the refiner the difference of 50 cents per 100 pounds to compensate him for loss in manufacturing, and to give him, as it would, an incidental protection to the extent of that 50 cents. But all the time that the Conservative tariff was in force, grinding the people down—and which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) asked credit for reducing by \$5,900,000—all this time the Conservative government were giving the refiner his 80 cents protection. Now, under the 50 cents incidental protection in our tariff the sugar refineries are working, the sugar refiners are profiting, and if they can do that now, they could do it during these five long years of Conservative rule when they had 30 cents per 100 pounds extra given to them by that government, one cent of which did not go into the treasury, but all of which came out of the pockets

of the people, and with the consumption in Canada of 200,000,000 pounds of sugar annually, that meant \$600,000 a year taken from the people, not one cent of which went into the Dominion treasury. That is how the financial management of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) worked out. I have already pointed out the reduction that was effected in the taxation by our readjustment of the tariff which brought it down to 16·70 per cent. 'Ah!' the hon. gentleman says, when he tries to weaken the argument with reference to our reduction in the rate of taxation, 'Ah,' he says, 'there is a large importation of Indian corn, since you put it on the free list, which is entered in the home consumption column now, which was not entered in the same column before, and that goes to swell the amount of the imports, but if that were eliminated it would advance the rate of taxation beyond 16·70 per cent.' He intimated as much as if there was some fault in the department as to the manner in which the entries were made, and he says that either the clerks did not choose to do the right thing, or, when the minister was calculating the rate he did not give fair and honest information in reference thereto. Well, Sir, the clerks did do what was right, and we gave the calculations just as they appeared in the returns. When goods are free and come into this country they pass through the customs, and when they pass the customs, being free goods, they pass into the possession of the man who owns the goods, and the Department of Customs has no further charge or interest in reference to them. When corn, therefore, went on the free list, and passed through the customs, it had to be entered in the column for home consumption. If there was a duty upon goods, and it was not paid at the time, then those goods would go into bond and appear in the column of general imports; they would not appear in the general consumption column at the same time. But as they are withdrawn little by little, it may be, from the warehouse, and the duty is paid upon them, then they are put into the home consumption column. But when goods come in free, the law makes no provision for putting them in bond. We do not want our bonded warehouses, which cost us money, to be burdened with free goods for people's convenience. We have passed the goods, they are free, they belong to the parties importing them, and they take them; and they are free to work them up, to export them, or to do anything else they please with them. Therefore, they go at once into consumption, whether that consumption be by way of grinding, transforming them into some other articles, or exporting them; and the government is then relieved of those goods. Therefore, there is nothing wrong in the transaction; there is no other way in which the goods can be kept or entered. 'Well,' the hon. gentleman may say, 'After all there

was a large quantity of the corn exported.' True, there was ; and yet these hon. gentlemen will go before the farmers and point perhaps to 23,000,000 bushels of imported corn, and say, 'There—that is what is displacing your coarse grains.' But when it suits their purpose, they will find that perhaps 16,000,000 bushels are exported, and when it comes to calculating percentages, they say, 'You must take that off.' If you are going to analyse critically in that way, you will have to go through your whole trade and ascertain how it is affected. You would have to take the coin and bullion, which is in the same category, and of which some millions more are exported in one year than another. You might have a large quantity of corn that would be in your elevators and not exported at all. It might be that you would bring in more dutiable goods in one year than another. All these things you would have to take into account, and all we can do is to make a rough and ready test. All we can do is to take the articles, dutiable and free together, and ascertain the percentages upon them ; and does the hon. gentleman mean to say that even if that corn is exported, it has not done good to the people of this country ?

Mr. CLANCY. That is another question.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Why, Sir, what did the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) say, when he denounced this government as having done something utterly outrageous because for a few weeks before the close of navigation, when there was a pressure of grain to reach the seaboard, and there were not enough Canadian vessels to carry it, they gave permission, as far as they were able to give it, for some American vessels to carry some of that grain, which was only a small proportion of the whole traffic ? The hon. gentleman said that we had done an outrageous thing. But there was no profit in keeping that grain in the country, whereas, on the other hand, the export of it meant employment for our shippers, our elevators, our railroads and many others of our people. And why are we enlarging the watercourses of this country, and aiding transportation in every way, except that we may do a larger carrying trade, and enrich the country thereby ? That is what we have done, and if you are going to deal with this question, you must not stop at Indian corn.

Mr. CLANCY. Will the hon. gentleman permit me to ask him a question ? Does he pretend to say that he can afford, in making a calculation as to the percentage of taxation, to disregard 16,000,000 bushels of corn which he knows has gone out of the country ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I have told the hon. gentleman that this is but a rough and ready way of getting at the percentage, and that it will be effected not

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only by corn, but by coin and bullion, and by other circumstances which I have mentioned. But I say if you are going to be critical in one case, you should deal with other cases in the same way.

Mr. CLARKE. But that does not affect the argument of the hon. member for York, N.B. (Mr. Foster.)

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Yes, it affects the argument of the hon. member for York very clearly and distinctly. Then, let us take it in this way. I suppose that if there be an increase of traffic and trade in this country, and if the government have brought that about by legislation, they ought to have credit for that.

Mr. CLARKE. Certainly.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Very well. When they had corn on the dutiable list, it went into the total imports. Now that it is free, it goes into the column of home consumption, and it also goes into the column of the total imports. When there was a duty upon it, it did not go into the home consumption column until it was used and taken out of bond. Very well ; let us apply that test, applying the percentage to the total imports, in which the cases will be equal, save and except that there may have been more corn imported in one year than in another. If that is brought about by our legislation, that is to our credit. The percentage on the total imports of 1896 was 17.13, and the percentage on the total imports of 1899 was 15.81, a lower rate by 1.32 per cent. The total imports in 1899 were \$162,764,308, which, multiplied by 1.32 gives a saving in that year of \$2,148,488. As I said before, this is but a rough and ready test for reaching the conclusion ; but it is a test which these gentlemen cannot deny. It is a test which shows that a very large reduction has been made in the taxation of the people. But, Mr. Speaker, I desire to do this, and I think it is well that I should do it. I propose to take this matter out of the realm of dispute and division. I have here a table of nearly a hundred articles, which, if hon. gentlemen will allow me, I will hand in to *Hansard* without reading it, as to read it would tire myself and be tedious to the House. It is a calculation which I asked the officers of the department to make—an actual calculation on the goods that were imported into this country last year. I asked them to take the amount of the duty that was paid under our tariff upon those goods, and then to apply to the same goods the tariff that was in force in 1896, in order to show whether there was any distinction or not ; and I do not think hon. gentlemen opposite will be able to dispute these figures.

Mr. SPROULE. Does not the hon. gentleman see that the changed values of the

goods would make all the difference in the world ?

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS.** The changed values cannot affect the matter when we are dealing with the percentage of taxation, which the people would have to pay under the Tory tariff as compared with the percentage they have to pay under our tariff. I will read a few of the items which would concern the farmers more directly perhaps than other classes, and I venture to say that the large sum of \$1,000,000 less duty on articles chiefly used by the farmers was paid last year than would have been paid under the tariff of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. **CLANCY.** How much on Indian corn ?

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS.** There was no duty on Indian corn, but the duty that would have been paid under the Conservative tariff on the difference between the amount imported and the amount exported was \$549,977. On binder twine, the farmers paid no duty this year.

Some hon. **MEMBERS.** Oh, oh.

Mr. **CLARKE.** How much did he pay for the twine per pound, as compared with 1896 ?

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS.** Surely the hon. member for Toronto (Mr. Clarke), will not put himself in the same category as the hon. member for Leeds (Mr. Taylor), and gentlemen of that kind, who would hold this government responsible for the war in the Philippines and the consequent advance in manila and all the other circumstances connected with the raise in value of binder twine. All that the government can do is to stand between the consumer and the producer, and we let the farmers take their binder twine without paying a cent of duty. If we had made them pay the same rate as the Tories charged, we would have taken \$102,300 out of their pockets. Then, take barbed fencing wire, of which a large quantity came into this country last year, we let it in absolutely free, but if we had charged the same rate of taxation as the Tories did, we would have made the consumer pay \$126,885. Galvanized iron or steel wire, No. 9, 12 and 13 gauge, we let in free, and, if we had made the farmer pay what the Tories charged him, we would have collected \$42,980 of a tax on this article. Cream separators, so valuable to our farmers and dairymen, we let in without charging a cent of duty, but if the Tories had remained in power they would have collected a tax on these of \$45,000.

Mr. **CLANCY.** How much reduction on mushroom spawn ?

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS.** I believe they are free, and whatever came in did not pay any duty. Pronged forks are dutiable

under our tariff, and paid \$2,753 duty, but if the Tory tariff had been in force, they would have paid \$3,858. Hay tedders paid \$1,163 duty, but under the old tariff, they would have paid \$1,628. Hoes and other implements paid \$772, and under the old tariff, they would have paid \$1,093. Rakes n.e.s. paid \$1,226, on the quantity that came in, but the late government would have collected \$1,716 on the same quantity. On scythes and snaths, sickles or reaping hooks we collected \$8,258, but under the old tariff, the farmers would have paid \$11,994, or they paid one-third less than the Tories would have made them pay. Yet, you will find men like the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague), asking where there is one item that has been reduced in price to the farmers. Why, I am giving you some of the items, and could give you them by the hundred.

Mr. **CLANCY.** That is exclusive of the British preference ?

The **MINISTER OF CUSTOMS.** This is the actual duty paid on the importations, and I am contrasting the actual duty paid with what would have been paid under the old tariff. It is well that our farmers should have access to this information, so that they can understand how ridiculous is the statement made by hon. gentlemen opposite, that our tariff has not operated to the advantage of the agricultural community. On spades and shovels, the duty paid was \$8,865, but under the old tariff, it would have been \$10,851. On all other agricultural implements, our farmers paid \$5,409, as compared with \$7,616, which the Tories would have charged them. Here are a few more items, showing what was paid under present tariff and what would have been paid under old tariff :

Statement showing the actual result of some of the tariff changes directly beneficial to the farmers.

Article.	Present tariff.	Old tariff.
Indian corn	Nil.	\$549,977
Binder twine	Nil.	102,300
Barbed fencing wire.....	Nil.	126,885
Galvanized iron or steel wire, Nos. 9, 12 and 13 gauge.....	Nil.	42,980
Cream separators	Nil.	45,000
Seed beans from Britain.....	Nil.	15
Rape seed, sowing	Nil.	402
Books on application of science to agriculture	Nil.	(a)
Agricultural Implements.		
Farm, road or field rollers.....	\$ 40	\$ 56
Forks, pronged	2,753	3,858
Hay tedders	1,163	1,628
Hoes	772	1,093
Knives, hay or straw.....	26	36
Manure spreaders.....	140	175
Post-hole diggers	48	68
Potato diggers	73	107
Rakes, n.e.s.	1,226	1,716
Scythes and snaths, sickles or reaping hooks	8,258	11,994

(a) Cannot be ascertained.

Articles.	Present tariff.	Old tariff.	Articles.	Present tariff.	Old tariff.
Spades and shovels and spade and shovel blanks, and iron or steel cut to shape for same.	8,865	10,851	Collars of all kinds.....	\$ 18,268	\$ 33,346
All other agricultural implements, n.e.s.....	5,409	7,616	Laundry blueing	4,143	5,227
Wind-mills	3,926	4,711	Soap, common or laundry.....	28,223	36,094
Threshers and separators.....	17,934	21,521	Paris green	1,881	2,505
All other portable machines....	11,367	15,974	Carpets, n.e.s.	23,948	26,269
Iron and Steel Manufactures.			Combs	37,770	42,856
Wire fencing, woven, and wire fencing of iron and steel, n.e.s.	3,395	6,524	Fur skins, wholly or partially dressed	81,254	87,989
Stoves	31,693	34,915	Common and colourless window glass	67,072	76,311
Axes	10,353	14,494	Gloves and mitts of all kinds....	229,853	253,347
Saws	23,146	25,288	India rubber and waterproof clothing	45,647	53,460
Files and rasps, n.e.s.....	22,224	26,876	Hats, caps and bonnets.....	381,468	435,557
Adzes, cleavers, hatchets, hammers, picks, mattocks.....	(b)	(b)	Jellies, jams and preserves.....	18,539	23,372
Tools, hand or machine, of all kinds, n.o.p.	142,966	171,746	Of the items that I have been reading lately large quantities come in under the preferential tariff.		
Table cutlery, n.o.p.	47,212	64,616	Leather belting	\$ 7,101	\$ 7,693
Nails and spikes, cut.....	4,554	6,942	Mustard, ground	15,559	19,464
Nails, wire of all kinds, n.o.p..	2,330	3,884	Pickles	36,279	42,924
Butts and hinges	5,104	5,565	Starch	33,384	34,847
Sleighs	1,487	1,785	Table cloths	13,893	17,377
Cart or wagon skeins or boxes..	239	321	Twines of all kinds, n.e.s.....	7,703	9,094
Miscellaneous articles.			Umbrellas	35,640	45,936
Coal oil	424,888	509,866	Woollen Manufactures.		

(b) Cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty, as they are differently classified in each tariff.

But I must pass on. It is a little tiresome reading these figures, not only to myself but also to the House. And yet they are valuable. Coal oil—

An hon. MEMBER. Hear, hear.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Coal oil—

Mr. TAYLOR. Ought to be ashamed to mention it.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor) says I ought to be ashamed to mention it. If I ought to be ashamed when I tell what we collected under our rate, what will the hon. gentleman say when I tell him what they collected under their rate? We took \$424,888 in duty on coal oil—

Mr. TAYLOR. You promised to make it free.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. And we ought to be ashamed, the hon. gentleman says. And yet will the hon. gentleman raise a blush of shame when he learns that they collected \$509,866 in taxation on coal oil?

Mr. TAYLOR. It is six cents a gallon higher now.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. But we have taken about \$85,000 less taxation on it than hon. gentlemen opposite. If we ought to be ashamed to mention these figures, what double shame should overwhelm these hon. gentlemen who took \$85,000 a year more for all these years?

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Blankets	11,582	15,906
Cassimeres	35,284	42,786
Cloths	388,156	467,565
Coatings	144,961	182,747
Overcoatings	2,452	3,006
Tweeds	141,936	171,324
Flannels	18,337	21,501
Knitted goods, including knitted underwear	65,456	74,230
Shawls	18,737	19,682
Shirts	10,689	12,349
Socks and stockings.....	177,723	265,762
Undershirts and drawers.....	22,563	25,411
All fabrics and manufactures, n.e.s.	971,037	1,022,005
Clothing, ready-made, and wearing apparel	313,052	351,491
Hosiery	5,714	7,233
Carpet, tapestry	127,451	143,130
“ 2-ply and 3-ply.....	6,280	7,856

Cotton Manufactures.

White or bleached fabrics.....	105,735	122,217
Fabrics, printed, dyed or coloured	901,035	940,266
Handkerchiefs	44,093	48,147
Shirts costing more than \$3 per dozen	8,679	10,945
Shirts, other		
Sewing thread on spools.....	59,395	71,004
Clothing	105,996	109,285
Socks and stockings	25,362	34,417
Towels	7,777	8,303
Velvets, velveteens and plush fabrics	53,036	66,987

Mr. DAVID HENDERSON (Halton). Before the hon. minister leaves the items of cottons, I would remind him that he has not given gray or unbleached cotton. Perhaps he has passed that by unintentionally.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. It was not intentional. That also would show a lower rate.

Mr. HENDERSON. I think not.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Speaking off-hand, the rate on gray and unbleached cottons was 25 per cent, and there is

25 per cent off that under the preference, making 18½ per cent; and it was 22½ per cent under the old tariff. And we propose now to take off one-third instead of one-quarter.

Mr. HENDERSON. But the rate of taxation on these goods was higher last year than under the Conservative tariff, and I thought that was the reason the hon. gentleman left it out.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman will find that that is not correct.

Mr. HENDERSON. Quite correct.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Very well; the hon. gentleman (Mr. Henderson) knows what the rates are and he can figure it out.

Mr. HENDERSON. I am afraid the hon. minister left it out because the figures would not tell in his favour.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. My hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) asks if the hon. member for Halton (Mr. Henderson) objects to the rate from the United States being too high. I do not think he does.

Flax, Hemp and Jute Manufactures.

Articles.	Present tariff.	Old tariff.
Carpeting, rugs, matting and mats, of hemp or jute.....	\$ 30,496	\$ 38,459
Damask of linen	86,850	93,068
Handkerchiefs	35,425	38,941
Linens, brown or bleached.....	16,509	17,296
Linen thread	22,136	22,775
Shirts of linen	1,606	1,989

I have given these, and there are many more. A large number of these lines of goods do not come in under the preferential tariff, but under the general tariff, as the goods do not come from England at all. And yet I have shown an actual saving to the pockets of the people. On those that do come from Great Britain in a large measure, and I have given many of them, the hon. gentleman can see the saving that has been effected. Whether under the general tariff or under the preferential tariff, it is one tariff so far as this government and this parliament are concerned, it is an enactment of this legislature. I have given these figures now so far as they could correctly be ascertained, with some difficulty in the classifications, I admit, but I believe they were honestly prepared by the officers of my department, and I have given them to show by the actual transactions the savings that have been made to the people. In many of these cases they will show that reductions have been made to such an extent as to reduce the rate of taxation upon the people perhaps one-quarter or one-third, or more, while in many cases they have been absolutely put upon the free list, giving the people the benefit.

Then I might mention this, that English goods coming from Britain under the preferential tariff require to be accompanied by a certificate in order to make sure that they are goods that are entitled to get the benefit of the preferential tariff; therefore we require certificates that will satisfy our department that there has been at least 25 per cent of British labour or additional cost added by British labour to the article before we admit it into the country. Many invoices have reached us that perhaps lacked this certificate, and when an invoice lacks this certificate then the officers of the customs require the importer to pay the full rate, do not give him the benefit of the preferential. But when the importers send back to the parties from whom they purchase and get a certificate in proper shape and bring it to the customs, then a refund is granted to them, and last year the sum of those refunds amounted to \$54,000 on this account. That \$54,000 would represent goods to the value of \$1,000,000 on last year's importations, and these refunds are still continuing to be made.

Now, I think I have put it beyond the possibility of hon. gentlemen, unless they wish to be supremely ridiculous, taking the platform and using such expressions as have been used, I think by the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), as well as by the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague). These gentlemen say they would like to know one single item that has been reduced in price by virtue of our tariff. I have not given them all, they can go through the list themselves. I do not claim that all lines of goods come in under our preferential tariff, but I say that the rate under the preferential tariff on the whole list of between 900 and 1,000 items as found in the Trade and Navigation Returns, with the exception of a paltry dozen or so, every article that comes in from England comes in under a lower rate under the preferential tariff than it did under the tariff of hon. gentlemen opposite. Articles amounting to millions of dollars worth come in and get the benefit of it. I wish to enforce this upon hon. gentlemen when they speak about importations from Great Britain and the benefits that arise; I say that there is a benefit to the consumers of Canada that they get through this tariff of ours that are not revealed in the figures that I have given to the House. Why? Because in articles where Great Britain and the United States are competitors, the United States importer, in order to get the Canadian market in competition with England, has got to lay his goods down as cheaply as the Englishman. Therefore, when an American comes over here and wants to sell his goods he will say to the Englishman: I can get in a hundred dollars worth of goods for \$26.25 now, and he will get them in for less after the 1st of July. If I buy a hundred dollars worth from you I have got to pay \$35 to get them

in under the customs. Therefore, he will have to reduce his price by the whole 25 per cent, which will go into the treasury of the country; but the man that buys the goods, the consumer, will get them as cheap as if they came in under the preferential tariff; the Yankee has paid it. So when you talk about the benefit of a preferential tariff extending only to certain articles, it extends to millions and tens of millions dollars worth of goods. More than that, if there be anything to fear in the position hon. gentlemen opposite take that by a reduction in the tariff you are in danger of hurting our manufactures, it can only be by making them sell at lower prices, then there is a saving on all the home productions in reference to that matter. The manufacturer will look after himself, and he will introduce cheaper methods of working, he will see to equipping with the latest machinery, and he will meet in the future as he has done in the past, competitors under this tariff. I venture to say that one of the beneficial results of this reduced tariff which we have enacted has been to give an impetus to manufacturing in this country, and I believe to-day our manufacturers are better equipped and better able to turn out not only more but better and cheaper goods than they would have been had they been hampered as they formerly were under the tariff of the old days.

Now, let me give you the gross sum. I have here a table that has been prepared containing a list of articles in the gross, showing the amount of duty saved to the people on last year's importations as compared with the Conservative tariff. On bituminous coal there has been a saving of \$157,000; on coal oil, \$85,000; on Indian corn, \$550,000; on iron and steel manufactures, \$850,000; on binder twine, \$102,000; on barbed wire, \$126,000; on galvanized fencing wire, \$43,000; on cream separators, \$45,000; on books and printed matter, \$69,000; on cotton goods from Great Britain, under the preferential tariff, \$163,000. I call the attention of the hon. member for Halton to these figures in order to show that the reduced price of cottons from England governs the price of cottons that the Americans send into this market. The hon. gentleman knows that. In woollens from England, under the preferential tariff, there was a saving of \$451,000. Now, woollens are as much an absolute necessity in every household as coal oil or many other articles. If we are not able to show a reduction on each separate item that any member of this House would like to see—and yet our views do not all agree on each individual item—still the great thing is that we have given to the people a benefit on many things that they actually do use. We know that there is no article more generally used in every household than woollen and cotton goods, and these other things that I have enumer-

ated; especially in a farmer's household, coal oil and many other of these articles that I have mentioned are very largely used. The same may be said of iron and steel manufactures, binder twine, barbed wire and so forth. On silks there has been a saving of \$63,000. I think it was the ex-Minister of Finance who said, in alluding to silks, that although we had taken off one-third under our preferential tariff of the duties on silks, the effect would be to favour the wealthy. Why, Mr. Speaker, if the prosperity that now prevails in this country continues as we believe it will, it will not only be the wealthy who will wear silks, but you will find that they will be used more and more by people who are not wealthy. In hats, caps and bonnets there was a saving of \$52,000; in fancy goods, \$32,000; flax, hemp and jute, \$35,000; earthenware and china, \$41,000; drugs, dyes and chemicals, \$21,000.

These reductions I have mentioned on woollens, cottons, silks, hats, caps, and bonnets; flax, hemp and jute; earthenware and china and drugs, dyes and chemicals are reductions on importations under the preferential tariff.

Other reductions could be shown, but these, perhaps, are the chief ones, and if you total them up you will find that they amount to \$2,885,000. And who says that is not a material reduction in the rate of duty that the people of this country have to pay? I have a table here of the percentages of reductions, but, I suppose, I need not give that. I suppose the actual results are given, and I need not prolong this, but, perhaps, I may give these figures. These hon. gentlemen talk about the reductions we have made upon certain articles being—I do not know how low they have gone, but, by some of their peculiar processes they have reckoned them as low as 53-100ths of 1 per cent. We listened this afternoon to something of that kind. Let me give the results, as ascertained by actual experience, between the years 1896 and 1899. This shows the average ad valorem rate of duty imposed on certain lines of goods the importation of which into Canada are largely from all countries. The way it is arrived at is by taking the total value of the goods imported and dividing it into the duty in order to find the rate. When I give these reductions, you will notice, Mr. Speaker, and I hope the House will notice, that when I say there is a reduction of 9.32 per cent on books and printed matter, for instance, it is not a reduction of 9.32 per cent, properly speaking, it is not a reduction of 9 per cent on the hundred; it is a reduction of 9 per cent from 26 per cent, which is about equal to 33½ per cent of a reduction, as far as the percentage of reduction is concerned. Bear this in mind, because that is what I mean when I speak of such a reduction. The figures are as follows:

	Rate of 1896.	Rate of 1899.	Reduction in 1899 as compared with 1896.
	p. c.	p. c.	p. c.
Books and printed matter.....	26·94	17·62	9·32
Brass and manufactures of.....	28·22	27·53	0·69
Carriages.....	30·09	29·70	0·39
Cement.....	33·24	31·15	2·09
Cotton and manufactures of.....	28·53	26·36	2·17
Drugs and dyes.....	24·96	22·40	2·56
Fancy goods.....	30·13	29·28	0·85
Flax, hemp and jute, and manufactures of.....	22·25	20·71	1·54
Fruits, green.....	26·78	23·75	3·03
Furs.....	16·01	15·75	0·26
Glass and manufactures of.....	25·59	24·08	1·51
Gloves and mitts.....	35·00	31·76	3·24
Gold and silver, and manufactures of.....	29·60	27·88	1·72
Gutta percha and India-rubber, and manufactures of.....	29·49	27·37	2·12
Hats, caps and bonnets.....	30·00	26·23	3·77
Agricultural implements.....	22·91	20·41	2·50
Iron and steel, and manufactures of, including agricultural implements	25·65	22·38	3·27
Leather and manufactures of.....	20·11	19·18	0·93
Paper and manufactures of.....	31·00	29·30	1·70
Provisions.....	31·26	28·52	2·74
Silks.....	30·26	28·89	1·37
Wood and manufactures of.....	22·40	22·70	(Inc.) 0·30
Wool.....	31·82	27·53	4·29

Now, to show what the advantages are from the preferential tariff, I have a table here which I will give to hon. gentlemen, which shows the average ad valorem rate of duty on importations from Great Britain

in 1896, and the average ad valorem rate of duty on the importations, under the preferential tariff, from Great Britain in 1899 :

	Average ad val. rate of duty on importations from Gt. Britain 1896.	Average ad val. rate of duty on importations under Pref. Tariff from Gt. Britain. 1899.	Reduction.	Equal to.
	p. c.	p. c.	p. c.	p. c.
Cotton manufactures.....	28·20	23·66	4·54	16
Woollen ".....	32·01	25·91	6·10	19
Silk ".....	30·33	23·93	6·40	21
Fancy goods.....	29·57	24·62	4·95	16
Flax, hemp and jute, manufactures of.....	22·19	20·16	2·03	9
Hats, caps and bonnets.....	30·00	22·50	7·50	25
Gloves and mitts.....	35·00	26·25	8·75	25
Furs.....	15·95	13·83	2·12	13
Iron and steel manufactures.....	21·02	12·61	8·41	40
Drugs, dyes and chemicals.....	22·57	17·34	5·23	23
Earthenware and chinaware.....	30·00	22·54	7·46	24
Books and printed matter.....	23·65	10·88	12·77	54
Glass and manufactures of.....	23·35	19·35	4·00	16
Leather and manufactures of.....	19·30	13·78	5·52	28

All these items that I have given, when added together, amount to \$20,300,137 ; the average rate on these articles under the old tariff was 25·94 per cent, while, under the new tariff, it is 19·81 per cent, or 6·13 per cent of a reduction, which is equal to an

average of 19·81 per cent in the taxation of the people of the country. I do not wish to spend more time on this subject. I think that I may fairly claim that I have demonstrated in a fair and candid way to the House, by figures, getting down to de-

tail, which takes it out of these averages, and away from these calculations and percentages, takes it away from all these questions of corn and imports and exports, which, I say, are valuable as rough tests, that we have made material reductions in the taxation of the people.

I want to speak in reference to the increased trade of the country. I do not think I would be making an outrageous claim if I should say that a large part of the increased trade is due to actions that have been taken by this government and parliament. I think there is no one in this country who, looking abroad and seeing the evidences of prosperity on every hand, will not be ready to admit that times are now more prosperous than they ever were before. These hon. gentlemen ask us sometimes: What have you to do with better times? There have been better times in all the countries under the sun, they will tell us. What have you done in reference to them? Well, Sir, times are better. I will tell you one reason why I think they are better. Trade in order to be prosperous must be confident, and there must be confidence prevailing throughout the country. There must be confidence in our public men; there must be knowledge that the affairs of the country are guided by men in whose charge they may be safely entrusted. If in the country there is a government divided against itself; if you find in the cabinet men who cannot pull together; if you find one minister charging another with writing anonymous letters to His Excellency accusing him of dishonourable acts; if you find one member of the government standing up in the name of seven others and declaring that the man they swore to serve under as Prime Minister was virtually incapable of carrying on with any measure of success the government of the country; if you witness scenes like that, handed down to history through the mighty agency of the press, how could the people have confidence in the country or in such a government. Sir, no matter how anxious a Canadian might feel for the prosperity of his country, he must despair of its future, when he saw the leading men of Canada taking up such an inglorious position in the very halls of the legislature. These scenes were witnessed here and the people did not forget them; and when these men were dispossessed of power, confidence was restored, and I believe that was one of the great factors in starting that prosperity which ever since has gone on increasing day after day. One of the hon. gentlemen opposite ventured to shout something across the floor as I was speaking, but it seems to me if I were in his place I would keep very quiet, when things of this kind have to be alluded to in order to answer arguments presented from the opposite side of the House. These gentlemen on the other side have asked us: What have you to do with

Mr. PATERSON.

the prosperity of the country, and I answer them: That the turning out of power of men guilty of the acts I have described, and the return to power of the present government was one of the great factors in our prosperity. This government, when it came to office, recognized that the surest way to secure prosperity for the country was not to handicap its commerce any more than the revenues required, and with due regard to existing industries. This government recognized that if you have a largely increased trade you increase the wealth of the people, you enable them to buy and consume more goods—both the goods of your own manufacture and goods imported from other countries. Has not the result of our policy been that an impetus has been given to every department of trade. I point you to increased imports and I point you to the vastly increased volume of trade that is swelling and expanding to an extent calculated to cheer the heart of every Canadian. On the other hand, I point you to the prophecies of gentlemen opposite that our policy meant throwing men out of work on to the streets, and I point you to the fallacy of that prophecy. I state here to-day, and the manufacturers of this country are ready to confirm it, that never in our history have Canadian factories been so pushed to supply their orders as they have been since the Liberal tariff was introduced in 1897. The people of this country are a people that any country might well be proud of, and all they want is a chance to develop their energies and to manifest their ability and enterprise. What do we want in Canada? We want markets for the products of our people, and we are finding them in large measure in other countries of the world, even for our manufactured goods. Live manufacturers will tell you to-day: We want people in the country, we want consumers for what we make. Sir, the policy of this government is to give them consumers, to populate the country more rapidly than ever in the past, and to put money in the pockets of the people with which to buy goods whether made in Canada or other countries. That is the policy we have endeavoured to follow up, and in reference to our domestic commerce, as well as our foreign trade, every one knows that they never attained anything like the volume they have attained at the present time.

Let me refer to a very remarkable statement made by the ex-Finance Minister, for it shows how hard he was pressed to try and weaken the effect of the budget speech, a speech which I candidly confess I have never heard equalled during the 27 years I have been in this parliament. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) deserves our pity in being compelled to try to answer such a splendid speech as that delivered by the Finance Minister. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) recognized the great increase that

has taken place in our trade, and so he sought to minimize it. He recognized that the foreign trade of this country had gone up by millions of dollars since the Liberals came into power, and in trying to explain that away, this was the language he used :

As every financier knows, there is kept up in the old country and in the United States, and to a certain extent in this country, what is known as a barometer of prices from year to year. There is none better on this continent than that kept by Bradstreet. Bradstreet's index of prices is known and relied upon all over this continent. For the last fifty years they have taken the prices of some 96 or 100 staple articles, arranged their system in a series of index numbers, which show the difference in prices from year to year. If you will go to October, 1890, you will find that the index number is 105,993.

I can imagine how anxiously people would hunt up the index number—105,996. He says :

I am not going to take up time explaining the technical construction of this system.

Well, he did not explain it.

I am not going to take up time explaining the technical construction of this system, but will merely give the figures, and any hon. gentleman who wishes to look into it will very soon find out the basis on which the thing is worked.

And then he works it out.

In October, 1890, the index price number was 105,996. In 1895 it had gone down to 71,672, or a drop of 47 per cent. What does that mean? It means that the average value of articles in 1895, taking all classes and kinds, was 47 per cent lower than in 1890. If any one attempts to show, by simply taking the volume in the Trade and Navigation Returns, that the purchasing, producing, the exporting and buying capabilities of this country are so much less in 1895 than in 1890, he will get no idea of the difference at all. He has to take the comparative value; and if he wants to find out what the trade of 1895 was as compared with the trade of 1890, he has to compare the levels of value of each and the difference between the two levels, as shown by Bradstreet's index, is 47 per cent. Suppose we work that out. Taking the exports and imports in 1895, their valuation in Canada was \$203,504,332. We now want to find what the value of that 1895 trade would have been according to the prices of 1890. We add 47 per cent, which is \$95,645,000, and you have \$299,150,000, as the trade of 1895, and that would have been its value had it kept the level of prices attained in 1890. Hon. gentlemen see the point. Some one says: Your trade is diminishing because the books in 1895 show less value than in 1890. I answer him, in the light of this index, by saying: No, the activity, the producing power, the exporting and the buying power of this country, is actually higher than in 1895, measured by its trade, than in 1890, and you get at something like a fair comparison by taking the prices of the different years into account and bringing them down to the same level in each case.

That is to say that if you got this index away back in 1895, you would have many millions more trade than you had. What a

great thing. But people will say that the year 1895 has long passed and we did not have that trade at all. It is a serious thing according to the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) that you should have the virus of suspicion introduced into the correctness of figures, but I want to know why the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) did not have the index so that when he, as Minister of Customs, made his entry in the Trade and Navigation Returns, he would have known that according to Bradstreet's index, he should have put down ninety-five millions more. Then the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) applies the same rule in order to reduce the trade of this country. He says :

Suppose we apply that rule to 1895, and then compare with 1899. In 1899 the prices were 17 per cent higher according to the index than in 1895, so that if you would make a fair comparison, you would have to add 17 per cent to the trade figures of 1895, which would give an addition of \$34,700,000. And in comparing 1895 with 1899, the imports and exports of 1895, instead of reading \$203,000,000, would read \$238,000,000. I mention these facts simply to call your attention to this point, that we have not exhausted the subject when we imply take the figures in our books unless we keep in view the varied rates of prices in these goods year after year as our trade history goes along. If we were to apply that \$34,000,000 it would reduce the \$64,600,000 to about \$20,000,000 and still we would have a magnificent addition to our trade.

When the hon. gentleman has to resort to figures of that kind, hon. gentlemen will see that he is very hard driven, indeed. Let me give you the total trade of Canada on the basis of imports and exports :

TOTAL TRADE OF CANADA ON THE BASIS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

Total trade in 1898-9.....	\$321,661,213
" 1895-6.....	239,025,360
<hr/>	
Increase for three years under Liberal government.....	\$ 82,635,853
at the rate of 27 millions per annum.	
Total trade in 1895-6.....	\$239,025,360
" 1877-8.....	172,405,454

Increase during eighteen years of Conservative government..... \$ 66,619,906
at the rate of \$3,700,000 per annum.

But the hon. gentleman tells us that the total trade of Canada is not what we should measure the prosperity of the country by. He ventured to say, and a remarkable statement it was, that the trade that comes into this country, illustrated by the importation of corn, is of very little moment, except to a few people. Did anybody ever hear a business man, who is conversant with the trade of the country, make light of a transaction of that kind, as illustrated by the corn which is carried in Canadian ships, put through Canadian elevators, transferred from them to the railroads, and shipped at the sea-board, giving employment to Canadians at every point? Did not the government of

year, they were \$100,000,000, or \$21,000,000 less. I would remark to hon. gentlemen, who claim that we have kept the old national policy in force, that these figures show that our tariff is not based on the principle of protection. That cannot be a protective tariff under which the imports increase in such a ratio. This tariff stimulates importations, but the object of a protective tariff is to prevent importation.

Mr. TAYLOR. And manufacture the goods in the country.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman cannot argue on both sides. He cannot say that we have retained the national policy and at the same time claim that we are destroying the industries of the country. But, hon. gentlemen opposite are utterly unable to avoid contradicting themselves in their anxiety to find fault with the present tariff. In the one breath, they tell us that it has not reduced the cost of goods one cent or helped Great Britain in the slightest, and in the next breath they tell us that it is ruining the industries of the country. You cannot take up any speech made by any one of those hon. gentlemen without finding in it contradictory statements, each of which destroys the other. Now, I come to another point I wish to make, and I would be glad if the ex-Minister of Finance were present. If he were present I would ask him where he got his figures on which he based the following statement:

Did it all happen because these hon. gentlemen came in? Then, let us see what has happened since. What has happened within six months, up to December 31, 1899. Why, the mining products have gone off by a million dollars, the fisheries have kept about stationary this current year, they are going behind. Agricultural products have dropped by \$5,200,000. Here is a short statement which will show the decrease within the last six months:

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Cattle	\$ 7,177,533	\$ 5,391,544
Horses	941,193	479,223
Wheat	7,414,273	5,983,282
Cheese	13,458,844	12,112,649
Wood and timber	21,166,303	18,099,249

If the coming of these hon. gentlemen into power, and their remaining in power caused all this great burst of trade, why is it, since they have been firmly seated in power for the three years, that these things have commenced to go down? Is it not far more common sense-like to say that governments may come and governments may go, but, unless legislation and administration are totally bad and pig-headed, in a country like Canada, with its enterprise, its pluck, its general diffusion of knowledge, and its general business activity, these great lines of production will go forward year after year subject to those changes which taken place in trade in every country, by reason of forces within the country or even of forces entirely outside the country, but in either case entirely beyond the power of the government to affect or mitigate.

In these remarks, the hon. gentleman claims that all this great outburst of trade was not due to any action of the government at all, but to forces which it was entirely beyond the power of the government to affect or mitigate. But, shortly before that, in the very same speech, he argued that this increased prosperity was due to governmental action, but not the action of a Liberal government. It was due, he said, to the action of the preceding Conservative government.

Must there not be a period of brooding and preparation and of long sustained course of gestation before the splendid possibilities break out into fulfilment and completion? And it is the glory and the pride of the Liberal-Conservative party that they directed the destinies of this country in that long brooding-time of patient preparation.

That was how he accounted for it in the earlier part of his speech, but he afterwards said that his wise policy of the Tory government had nothing to do with it at all. But, what I would like particularly to ask the hon. gentleman is whether these two columns of figures of exports to Great Britain were not meant to imply a comparison between six months of the current year and six months of last year. The hon. gentleman did not give the years, but I do not see how any other inference could be drawn. He says that they show the decrease within the last six months, and evidently he wanted us to understand that our exports to Great Britain in the last six months had decreased as compared with the same six months of the previous year. Well, the only place where I can find figures to correspond with these is in the Trade and Commerce Returns, and I find that instead of comparing the last six months of 1899 with the corresponding six months of 1898, the hon. gentleman compared them with the corresponding six months of 1897, because the figures agree exactly. But, the six months of 1897 give larger figures than those of 1898, and he consequently used them so as to make a stronger case. If I am correct—and he will have an opportunity of saying whether I do him wrong, and if so I shall be only too glad to make acknowledgment—but if I am correct in my supposition and he has taken it from this table, he has made a great mistake, a mistake he ought not to have made; for this table is plainly headed 'Comparative statement unrevised, of the quantities and values of the principal articles of merchandise imported into Great Britain from Canada during the month of December, and the six months ending December 31st, in the years 1897, 1898 and 1899 respectively—from English returns.' The hon. gentleman knows that the English returns are not correct returns so far as the importations of Canadian products are concerned. You can understand then, Sir, why I wish to

have the hon. gentleman here. You can understand that if I am forced to the conclusion that these are the figures he has taken, he has done that which ought not to be done, by mistake, and has given figures which ought not to go to the country. We have here the Trade and Commerce Returns which show 'the classes and values of export trade in the six months ending December 1896 to 1899, of home products.' If he had looked at the table he would have seen that it was not in harmony with the other, which should have been a warning to him against taking these figures. I will read a short extract from the British trade returns which make it clear why their figures are not to be accepted as final on this point. One paragraph says :

A considerable amount of Canadian produce finds its way to the United Kingdom via the ports of the United States in winter, when many Canadian ports are closed by ice. To a limited extent produce from the United States is sent to the United Kingdom via Canadian ports, in the summer. Where, in such cases, the official documents enable a distinction to be drawn between Canadian and United States produce, it is credited to the true country of origin. But in many cases, such a distinction cannot be made, so that in using the statistics it should be remembered that a certain amount of the trade of Canada with this country, especially in winter, is unavoidably included under the heading 'United States.'

That is what every one conversant with trade knows—that, so far as the British returns are concerned, goods shipped from the United States in many cases are credited to the United States, though they are in reality Canadian products. Therefore, if that is the table the hon. gentleman used, he made a grave mistake, and one that is very misleading.

Take the item of cheese, for instance—the hon. gentleman gives in his first column an export of \$13,458,844, and in the next \$12,112,649. Now, the statement that was prepared by the department for me for the six months ending 31st December, 1898 and 1899 respectively, shows with reference to cheese, that in 1898, we exported to Great Britain \$11,823,550 worth, while in the six months for 1899, instead of the export being less, it was \$14,384,762. And so with the other items. So, the figures that he has given us tending to prove a reduction are entirely erroneous, as I understand them; and if I am mistaken or if he meant other months than his plain speech would lead one to believe, I should be glad to have him correct me. I have a statement covering the eight months ending the 28th of February, 1899 and 1900, a comparative statement of exports from the Dominion for these years. And this statement shows, that, for the eight months ending February 28th, 1899, the grand total of our exports, produce and non-produce, was \$114,692,900, while, for the eight months ending 28th

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February, 1900, it was \$129,158,755. But, I have spent altogether too long on that subject.

I come now—and I will close with that—to deal a little with the question of preferential trade with Great Britain. The line is drawn now, as the hon. baronet (Sir Charles Tupper) told us. This government and this parliament have adopted a preference to Great Britain. That preference has been in force during the past year, giving a reduction of 25 per cent on articles that come within its scope; and, if the Finance Minister's motion is agreed to, that preference will be increased to 33½ per cent after the 1st of July next. The hon. leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) has moved an amendment in which he virtually declares, as hon. gentleman on that side declared before, that they are opposed to us giving a preference to British goods coming into this country unless we get a quid pro quo from the old country. Let us not be misunderstood—while the Liberal party stands by the preferential tariff, under which the whole of Canada has reaped immense benefit—while the preference had benefited the English people at the same time, the Conservative party have now committed themselves so that if they obtain power at the next election they will wipe the preference law from the statutes of Canada and give no preference to the mother country. We know where we stand, therefore.

It is claimed that the preference has done no good to Great Britain. If so, how is it that these hon. gentlemen say that by granting it we have put a barrier in their way to securing a preference in the British market by a reduction of our duty. The hon. gentleman read to us his proposition that we would abate the 5 per cent of our duty if Great Britain would put 5 per cent on foreign produce coming into that country and let ours come in free. Well, we have abated more than 5 per cent on many of the leading lines of British manufacture; and they declared it has not done Britain one particle of good. If we have voluntarily remitted 8 or 10 per cent in favour of British goods and it has done no good, what a lever they will have going to Great Britain and asking them to give us a preference of 5 per cent in consideration of the reduction of our duties by 5 per cent. There never was a party in the country in such a ridiculous position, or with such utterly ridiculous arguments as the hon. gentlemen are compelled to use. Let us see whether there is any truth in what they say. I would say that I consider it is exceedingly gratifying to know that the preference granted to Great Britain has resulted in a substantial increase in her exports to Canada. That is one object that the Liberals had in view. I have a statement here showing the imports into Canada from Great Britain for the past ten fiscal years :

1890.....	\$43,390,241
1891.....	42,047,526
1892.....	41,348,435
1893.....	43,148,413
1894.....	38,717,267
1895.....	31,131,737
1896.....	32,979,742
1897.....	29,412,188
1898.....	32,500,917
1899.....	37,060,123

Hon. gentlemen opposite will see that under the Tory administration our imports from Great Britain were going down and down, till, from 1890 to 1897—and hon. gentlemen will remember that the preferential tariff was only in force for two months in 1897, and, therefore, for that purpose you can put in 1897 as under the Conservative tariff, so far as any preference to Great Britain is concerned—the imports from Great Britain dropped from \$43,000,000 to \$29,000,000. It was a decrease in trade, a trade gradually dying out. Well, if our preferential tariff had done nothing more than arrest the process of decay and decrease, it would have been something in Britain's favour. But is that all we did? No, Sir. In 1898, when the 12½ per cent was on, imports had risen from \$29,000,000 to \$32,000,000, in 1899, when the full 25 per cent was on it went up to \$37,000,000. Now, you will observe from these figures that our imports from Great Britain gradually decreased until, in 1897, they were \$14,000,000, or about 30 per cent less than in 1890; while, since 1897, there has been a steady and appreciable increase, and we believe it is due in great part, if not entirely, to the operations of the preferential tariff. Now, let me show that the import trade from Great Britain has increased in the following ratio since we came into power and enacted the preferential tariff. In 1897-8, the first full year when the preference of the one-eighth was in force, the trade increased over the year 1896-7 at the rate of 10 per cent; in 1898-9, when the full preference of one-fourth was in force, over 1897-8 at the rate of 14 per cent; and in 1898-9, over 1896-7, at the rate of 26 per cent.

So, you see that since we came into power British imports have increased 26 per cent, while they steadily decreased from 1890 to 1897, under our Conservative friends, about 30 per cent.

The preferential tariff, however, only applies to dutiable goods, and it is in the importation of such goods that we expect increases as a result of the tariff. Now, let us take the total value of dutiable goods, because we get free goods from Britain as well as from the United States. The total value of dutiable goods from Great Britain, entered for consumption in Canada, for the last three years, was as follows:

1897.....	\$20,217,422
1898.....	22,556,479
1899.....	27,521,508

The increase in 1897-8 over 1896-7 was at the rate of 11½ per cent; in 1898-9 over 1897-8 at the rate of 22 per cent; and in 1898-9 over 1896-7 at the rate of 36 per cent. More than that, from the returns of the trade of the six months ending December 31, 1899, just completed, we find that the imports from Great Britain for that period were in excess of the imports of the same period of the previous year by \$3,148,922. And so it goes on.

I have a statement here which illustrates the increases and importations from Great Britain as a result of the preferential tariff, and I call the attention of hon. gentlemen opposite to it:

Woollens—	
1899.....	\$7,686,366
1897.....	5,576,859
Increase.....	\$2,109,507
Cottons—	
1899.....	\$3,906,676
1897.....	2,693,114
Increase.....	1,213,562
Drugs, Dyes and Chemicals—	
1899.....	\$ 415,155
1897.....	228,350
Increase.....	\$ 186,805
Flax, Hemp and Jute Manufactures—	
1899.....	\$1,610,210
1897.....	1,158,809
Increase.....	\$ 451,401
Glass and Manufactures—	
1899.....	\$ 289,049
1897.....	187,888
Increase.....	\$ 101,161
Machinery—	
1899.....	\$ 453,728
1897.....	193,750
Increase.....	\$ 259,978
Other Iron and Steel Manufactures—	
1899.....	\$1,865,642
1897.....	1,649,081
Increase.....	\$ 216,561
Silks—	
1899.....	\$2,062,428
1897.....	1,396,015
Increase.....	\$ 666,413
Scap—	
1899.....	\$ 188,068
1897.....	106,345
Increase.....	\$ 81,723
Oils—	
1899.....	\$ 389,065
1897.....	305,027
Increase.....	\$ 84,038
Paints and Colours—	
1899.....	\$ 255,967
1897.....	210,234
Increase.....	\$ 45,733

Paper and Manufactures of—	
1899.....	\$ 248,745
1897.....	229,368
Increase.....	\$ 19,377
Pickles, Sauces and Capers—	
1899.....	\$ 118,724
1897.....	87,098
Increase.....	\$ 31,626
Carpets, Rugs, &c., n.e.s.—	
1899.....	\$ 121,936
1897.....	92,820
Increase.....	\$ 29,116
Collars and Cuffs—	
1899.....	\$ 44,870
1897.....	30,119
Increase.....	\$ 14,751
Earthenware and Chinaware—	
1899.....	\$ 577,290
1897.....	386,780
Increase.....	\$ 190,510
Fancy Goods—	
1899.....	\$ 892,239
1897.....	873,182
Increase.....	\$ 19,057
Hats and Caps—	
1899.....	\$ 794,338
1897.....	694,342
Increase.....	\$ 99,996
Leather and Manufactures of—	
1899.....	\$ 200,794
1897.....	101,246
Increase.....	\$ 99,548
Total of above, 1899.....	\$22,121,290
“ 1897.....	16,200,427
	\$5,920,863

Increase, 36 per cent.

Mr. CLANCY. Does the hon. gentleman include the quantities as well as the values there?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I am giving the values.

Mr. CLANCY. The hon. gentleman is not making it very clear. There is a great addition in values.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. It will look clear to the hon. gentleman when he sees it in print. I have shown, Sir, that the rate of increase in 1899 over 1898 on importations from Great Britain was 5 per cent greater than it was on goods from the United States. Then, the hon. gentleman made a statement which has been alluded to by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, an unaccountable statement, still more unaccountable than the one I have referred to, but which the hon. gentleman corrected

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himself the next day. But, I am anxious to know how he is going to correct it in his speech, I am anxious to know how it is going out to the country. The hon. gentleman rose the day following and made this explanation:

Before the Notices of Motion are taken up, I want to make a correction in one of the figures I read yesterday, in that multitudinous list, in regard to the rate of duty upon British dutiable goods imported into this country.

In my main notes I had it correctly, but in the slip that was transferred by the page the figure 9 was substituted for 6. It should be 26·62, instead of 29·62, which would make a difference of 3·58 instead of ·58. It is an important change, and I would like to mention it so that the error may be corrected.

It is an important change. It is such a mistake as the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce said it seemed impossible for any man to make who had given the subject any thought at all. Knowing that there was 25 per cent of a reduction of duties on importations coming from Great Britain, and knowing the millions of these goods that came in, knowing that the rate was lower and must be lower, to say that it was only ·58 per cent seems an unaccountable mistake to make. He says he had it right in his main notes, but, that, on the slip that the page took to the *Hansard* instead of it being 26·62 it was 29·62. He should not have slips of that kind around.

Mr. CLANCY. That is something like the hon. gentleman's corn slip.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. No, the hon. gentleman is wrong; the corn is put down properly. This was not a mistake of a single figure. If it had been that, and if the hon. gentleman wanted to correct it, what I want to know is what he is going to do with his speech. If it were simply that it was printed 29·62 when it should have been 26·62, that might occur with any one, and all the hon. gentleman would have to do, when he corrected the report of his speech in *Hansard*, would be to change the figure. But, he cannot correct it in that way, because he founded his argument upon it, because the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) lent the strength of his approval to it by calling the attention of the House to it and emphasizing it as did the hon. ex-Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Haggart). Is he going to blot out what other people said, is he going to change these arguments, is he permitted to revise *Hansard* in that way? He said:

Again they are not my own figures, but the figures of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, and I give them for what they are worth, and I take them to be true. What are they? I have here a list of the dutiable goods imported from Great Britain, and I find that in 1896, the rate of tariff imposed on dutiable goods from Great Britain was 30·20. In 1899 it is 29·62, or just fifty-eight one hundredths of one per cent less than it was in 1896. Again I say that these are

not my figures. They are the figures taken from the public table published by the Minister of Trade and Commerce in his report.

Mr. HAGGART. With the percentages calculated by him ?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, with the percentages calculated by his department and set down by the department, and this is simply a copy of those figures which I have put upon this paper from which I am reading.

Mr. MONTAGUE. And under the operation of the preference.

This was to call the attention of the House to the remarkable fact that this preferential tariff had only reduced the rate on dutiable imports by 58-100ths of 1 per cent.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, under the operation of the preference. Now, what is the matter with this preference. Here you have an important policy founded upon a preference. A preference of what ? A preference of 25 per cent of the duty, and it goes into force 12½ per cent first, and then another 12½ per cent, making it 25 per cent and for eleven months of this year 1899, the 25 per cent reduction has been in force. If you were to take 30·20, which was the tariff on dutiable goods in 1896, their full reduction of 25 per cent would be 7·55. They should have had these figures of duty reduced to somewhere near 7·55 per cent, but instead of that they are reduced 58 per cent, or they about swallow the decimal and left the main figures of 7 per cent intact.

How could any man make a mistake like that, when he said there should be 7·55 per cent of a reduction and make it 58, and then rise up in his place and say that a boy took the slip off which contained the figure 29·62 instead of 26·62 ? If it had been a simpler error in the figures, which might easily occur in the case of any man, that would be rectified, but it cannot be rectified with these remarks and interjections of his colleagues and his own explanations. To get his speech right he will have to strike out of it every word upon that subject, because his whole argument applied to those figures. The hon. gentleman said, alluding to the figures in the Trade and Navigation Report, there is nothing so utterly destructive of confidence in the public records as to allow the virus of suspicion or doubt, to enter into them. I say to the hon. gentleman that there is nothing more calculated to introduce the virus of suspicion into the figures which he has given than this correction which he seeks to make. Any man may make mistakes, but there is a mistake that ought to be so obvious, that ought to be so patent that any one would see it. What are the facts ? The average rate of duty collected on dutiable importations from Great Britain in 1896, under the hon. gentlemen, was 30·20 per cent. The average rate on dutiable imports from Great Britain in 1889 was 26·63 per cent. That is the difference. In 1899 the average rate on the importations under the preferential tariff from Great Britain was 22·09 or 8 per cent lower on the goods

that came in under the preferential tariff, but, as hon. gentlemen know, all goods do not come under the preferential tariff. Liquors, wines and tobacco are excepted, and there may be some other goods to which the 25 per cent reduction does not apply and the duties upon wines and liquors are higher than they were before. Nevertheless, the average rate on dutiable goods, taking the whole of the importations, was 26·63 per cent, as against 30·20 per cent in 1896, while the average rate under the preferential tariff was 22·09. The average ad valorem rate on the dutiable importations from the United States in 1896 was 26·69. In 1899 it was 26·34. So that the statements of these hon. gentlemen that we were giving such a great advantage to the United States are not borne out. These hon. gentlemen say that our tariff does not favour Great Britain, but that it favours the United States. Let us see. I have a statement here showing the average ad valorem rate of duty on dutiable goods imported for consumption from Great Britain and the United States during the following years :

Mr. CLANCY. Does that include just dutiable goods ?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. It is a statement showing the average ad valorem rate of duty on dutiable goods imported for consumption from Great Britain and the United States, and it is as follows :

Year.	Great Britain.	United States.
1890.....	28·78.....	26·58
1891.....	28·98.....	25·96
1892.....	29·43.....	26·48
1893.....	29·80.....	26·73
1894.....	29·99.....	26·95
1895.....	30·05.....	26·73
1896.....	30·19.....	26·69
1899.....	26·63.....	26·34

So that hon. gentlemen can see that while their rate went up on British goods their rate went down on United States goods, and they will find that the rate, now, that, under them, was 3½ per cent higher on British goods in 1896 than on goods from the United States, under us is, on British goods, 26·63 per cent, and on United States goods, 26·34 per cent.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The Tory discrimination has been entirely eliminated.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. As my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies) says, the Tory discrimination has been entirely eliminated. That is what we said we would do. Now, the trade statistics of this country show that under the operation of the Tory tariff imports from Great Britain decreased while imports from the United States steadily increased. Here are the figures :

	Great Britain.	United States.
1889.....	\$42,317,389	\$50,537,440
1890.....	43,390,241	52,291,973
1891.....	42,047,526	53,685,657
1892.....	41,348,435	53,137,572
1893.....	43,148,413	58,221,976
1894.....	38,717,267	53,034,100
1895.....	31,131,737	54,634,521
1896.....	32,979,742	58,574,024

I may say that from 1889, the imports from Great Britain fell from \$42,000,000 to \$32,000,000 in round numbers, while the imports from the United States increased from \$50,000,000 to \$58,000,000. These gentlemen opposite speak about the fact that the trade from the United States has increased. So it has. But, in what? Has it increased in anything that militates against Great Britain or her trade, or in anything that militates against Canada or the consumers of Canada? No, certainly not. The trade of the United States has gone up by thirty-odd million dollars, but for what reason? Why, because we believe in giving to the manufacturers of this country their raw material, duty free, in order that they can compete with other manufacturers, and in order that the consumer in this country can get the benefit of it, in the reduced price of goods—and he does get the benefit of it. It is not done to favour the United States, but it is done to benefit our own people and our own manufacturers, and it does that. Here is a statement, showing some of the chief free articles which we get almost entirely from the United States, and which we cannot get to advantage or profit from Great Britain, at least for the present.

Statement showing the chief free articles which we get almost entirely from the United States, and which we cannot get at any rate to advantage or profit from Great Britain, at least, at present.

Importations from United States, 1899.

Coal and coke	\$ 6,846,030
Binder twine and articles for manufacture thereof	886,604
Raw cotton	3,110,497
Fruits, green	557,462
Indian corn	8,966,890
Flax-seed	1,062,753
Tobacco raw, excise purposes	1,878,725
Rubber, crude	1,606,151
Lumber	2,899,864
Coin	4,201,396
Ores	116,487
	<u>\$32,132,859</u>

There is \$32,132,859 worth of these articles that are free. Free for what purpose? Free to benefit our own people, free to benefit our manufacturers, free to enable them to compete with others, and free to give the Canadian consumers their goods at a cheaper price. What injury does that do to Great Britain, when Great Britain is not now in

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a position to compete in these articles. Here is a list of dutiable articles that at present Great Britain does not compete closely with the United States in, and which, therefore, cannot be said to be of any great injury to Great Britain :

Statement showing dutiable articles which we get almost entirely from the United States, and which we cannot get from Great Britain to advantage, or at any rate, with profit to her at present.

Importations from the United States, 1899.

Animals, living	\$ 583,909
Breadstuffs and grain	944,924
Carriages	1,318,789
Coal and coke	3,664,612
Fresh fish	273,834
Electrical apparatus	538,789
Fruits, green	817,003
Certain agricultural implements.....	1,696,357
Oils, mineral	681,092
Provisions	1,618,078
Vegetables	275,318
Manufactures of wood	983,738
Seeds and roots.....	342,116
Turpentine	229,283
	<u>\$13,967,842</u>

These are dutiable articles amounting to \$13,967,842, which Great Britain cannot compete with the United States in. Therefore, if you take the total dutiable imports from the United States, during the last fiscal year, 1898-9, amounting to \$41,471,821, and deduct from them the goods in the statement last quoted, amounting to \$13,967,842, it leaves you \$30,503,982, as coming from the United States, that you may say, would compete with Great Britain at the present time. The total dutiable importation of goods from Great Britain, deducting wines and spirits, which we do not get in any quantity from the United States, would be \$26,903,268, nearly as much as the imports from the United States in the articles in which the two countries compete. The total free importation from the United States, during the last fiscal year, amounted to \$48,535,342, but if you deduct \$32,132,859, which we cannot expect to get from Great Britain, it leaves the free goods from the United States \$16,402,483, while the free importations from Great Britain, during the last fiscal year, amounted to \$9,538,615. But, the only fair way in which to compare our import trade from Great Britain and the United States, is to take as the basis of comparison the goods in which the two countries are competitors. The free list in the tariff is framed for our own benefit, and for our own benefit alone—the benefit of our manufacturers and the benefit of our consumers. Now, then here is a list of the goods in which the two countries compete. The first one, 'ales, beer and porter,' should not have been put in here, as it does not come under the preferential tariff, but, however, it has found its way in. The list is as follows :

Statement showing the importation of principal dutiable manufactured articles from Great Britain and the United States during the fiscal year 1899, in which articles these two countries are, or can be, the chief competitors in the Canadian markets.

	Great Britain.	United States.
Ale beer and porter.....	\$ 100,289	\$ 72,860
Books and printed matter....	222,442	695,134
Brass, manufactures of.....	44,122	364,815
Bricks	26,708	101,341
Buttons	30,705	71,931
Carpets, rugs, &c.....	121,936	36,317
Cement	129,738	52,578
Clocks	7,326	156,374
Cocoa, coconuts, &c.....	76,186	122,414
Collars	44,870	11,400
Copper, manufactures of....	4,017	78,336
Cordage	34,835	73,465
Cotton, manufactures of....	3,906,676	1,679,428
Drugs, dyes and chemicals..	415,155	757,240
Earthenware and chinaware..	577,290	136,256
Fancy goods	892,239	401,603
Flax, hemp and jute, manu- factures of	1,610,210	69,395
Fruits, preserved	49,754	57,237
" dried	52,171	471,840
Furs, manufactures of.....	275,130	99,357
Glass,	289,049	484,210
Glue	17,682	99,363
Gold and silver manufactures	51,623	333,026
Gunpowder	40,465	170,752
Gutta percha, manufactures..	120,681	355,951
Hats, caps and bonnets.....	794,338	702,687
Ink	21,265	79,769
Machinery	453,728	2,944,914
Other iron and steel.....	1,865,642	8,531,904
Lead manufactures	217,848	136,299
Leather and manufactures of.	200,794	1,431,149
Miscellaneous metals	83,460	632,381
Oils, vegetable, &c.....	386,430	371,350
Oilcloth	230,492	65,647
Paints	255,967	190,674
Paper and manufactures of..	248,745	911,796
Pickles	118,724	63,547
Silks	2,062,428	245,811
Soap	188,068	165,777
Spices	90,688	76,013
Stone, manufactures	48,470	105,407
Sugar	233,399	862,240
Tin, manufactures of	10,400	79,981
Tobacco	47,820	69,481
Watches	13,947	348,259
Woollen, manufactures	7,686,366	428,631
	\$24,400,318	\$25,296,340

Now, there is a large list of importations from both countries, in some cases the importations being much larger from one country than the other, and vice versa. The result is that in the importation of these articles in which both countries compete, we take \$24,400,000 from Great Britain, and \$25,296,340 from the United States. There is a total trade of about \$50,000,000 in which Great Britain competes with the United States, and nearly \$24,000,000 of that comes under the preferential tariff, comes in at a reduced rate, and as I have said, in cases where the British goods compete heavily with the goods from the United States, then the preferential rate governs the value of goods from the United States, and that is

one benefit that the people get from what the Liberal government has done. The ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster), in challenging our 33½ per cent preferential rate, said :

What is one of the first effects of this cut of 33½ per cent, made hastily, without discrimination as to articles. It is that it places articles of luxury about the lowest on the list of dutiable goods coming into this country. If the 33½ per cent cut is effective, it lets jewellery in at 20 per cent. It lets manufactures of gold and silver used by rich people in at 20 per cent ; it lets in silks, which are used by the wealthy, at 23½ per cent ; it lets in laces at 23½ per cent ; it lets in pianos at 20 per cent ; it lets in porcelain goods at 20 per cent ; it lets ribbons in at 23½ per cent ; it lets shawls and rugs in at 20 per cent ; it lets in watches at 16½ per cent ; it admits high class worsted goods at 23½ per cent ; velvets at 20 per cent ; Brussels carpets at 23½ per cent ; cottons, gray and white at 16½ per cent, and coloured cottons at 23½ per cent. It is an acknowledged principle in the levying of tariff rates in every country that what we call the luxuries of life, which can be afforded by the rich and not much wanted by the poorer classes of people, shall pay a higher percentage of duty. Under this cut, if it be effective, these articles will be amongst those which pay the least duty, and our farmers and artisans will not derive any benefit compared with that derived by the richer classes.

Another point to be observed is how this is going to affect the industries of this country. So far as I can judge, some of the most important industries of this country will find that the cut operates to such an extent that the tariff affords them little or no protection.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), would have been more honest in his statement, if he had said it admitted all woollen goods, including some articles on which the Conservatives had 50 or 60 per cent with their specific and ad valorem duties, as well as these high-class worsted goods. Here is a statement which I commend to the attention of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), and to the House :

STATEMENT showing the imports for consumption in 1899, of the following articles mentioned in the speech of the Hon. Geo. E. Foster, unrevised *Hansard*, page 2802.

	Imports for consumption from Great Britain.	Imports for consumption from other countries.
Jewellery	\$ 39,338	\$ 432,183
Gold and silver manufactures ..	51,623	290,697
Silks	2,062,428	1,714,618
Laces	464,226	154,905
Pianos	2,421	81,966
China and porcelain ware...	66,479	207,421
Ribbons	502,831	352,739
Shawls and rugs	88,429	32,535
Watches	4,169	40,446
High class worsted goods—		
Brussels carpets	406,492	415,728
Cottons, coloured.....	2,282,566	851,620
Cottons—		
Gray and white.....	296,621	257,755

I would like to know when cottons, gray and white, and coloured cottons were confined to the wealthy people alone. I supposed they were articles found in every household in the Dominion of Canada, and yet he calls them articles of luxury. I would like to know what does he want to clothe the people with. He tells us that we will let in jewellery lower from Great Britain, but of jewellery we imported last year from Great Britain only \$39,338 worth. He tells us that we are going to let in gold and silver manufactures from Great Britain, but all we got last year under this head was \$51,623 worth. The hon. gentleman says you are going to let in pianos at a lower rate; and what pianos did we get from Great Britain last year? \$2,421 worth. And you are going to let in China and porcelain ware, of which we got in last year \$66,479 worth. You are going to let in ribbons, and I do not know a lady who will not deck herself with a ribbon, one as well as another. He also speaks of shawls and rugs which are going to come in at the lower rate of duty. You are going to let in watches, and the watches imported last year, which he fears are going to derange the whole fiscal system of this country by coming in at the reduced rate of duty, amounted to \$4,169 worth. Then, on worsted goods the reduction applies not only to the high class, but to the low class as well, which in some cases under the combined specific and ad valorem duties of hon. gentlemen opposite had to pay as much as 50 or 60 per cent. The reduction will also apply to cottons, gray and white, and to coloured cottons. These articles surely are not luxuries; but the hon. gentleman is right when he says they will come in under the preferential tariff. I have a table here showing the reductions on a large class of goods with the one-third off; but I shall not use it to-night, because that one-third preference is not yet in effect. I have been dealing with the existing reduction on the products of Great Britain coming into this country, showing the benefit which Great Britain already has; and all I can say is that if this House will sanction the proposition of the hon. Finance Minister, great as has been the reduction in the taxation that the people have saved during the past year, there will be the added benefit that they will secure from the further cut which he proposes shall go into effect on the 1st of July next. Now, Sir, I think that is a benefit not only to Great Britain, but to the Canadian people. I do not put our preferential tariff on the ground alone that it is a benefit to Great Britain. It is a benefit to Great Britain, but it is to be remembered that it is also a benefit to ourselves. If there were no other result from it than the reduction of taxation obtained by the people, then, Sir, it would be a carrying out of the pledge we gave to the people that we

would reduce their burden of taxation. While we give that advantage of 25 cents on the dollar to England over every other nation on the earth, and gave it gladly, it is also for our benefit, because the goods we receive from Great Britain come to the consumer at that much lower price. More than that, when Great Britain's competitor sends in similar goods, the consumer gets the benefit of the preferential tariff, while at the same time the revenue gets the advantage of the higher tariff which stands against the foreigner.

But, Sir, I have more than that to say. I am a citizen and an admirer of Great Britain, and while I desire the unity of the empire, there is a bond of trade between us, and the more trade we do with the mother country, the closer will be the ties that will bind us together; and these ties have been wonderfully strengthened by our preferential tariff. Hon. gentlemen opposite may talk as long as they please; but what avails their puny mouthings against this preferential tariff as of no avail to Britain, when the English press, the greatest and mightiest press on the face of the earth, is unanimous in declaring that that was a boon granted to Great Britain, and that it did bind the colonies and the mother country more closely together? Do these hon. gentlemen think that they can make the Canadian people believe what they say, that this preferential tariff is a delusion and a snare and a fraud, in face of the fact that Her Majesty's secretary of State for the Colonies sent to this country his thanks, declaring that it did and would knit together the colonies and the mother country more firmly than ever they have ever been in the past. Why, Sir, the very words of the Colonial Secretary telegraphed to this country congratulating the government on this tariff, were incorporated in a motion that was moved by my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Russell), and the Tory party in parliament to a man voted it down; and now they are emphasizing their position somewhat more forcibly and distinctly by the amendment which they have moved. We are glad of it. Now we know that while we stand by the preferential tariff, while we stand by the old land and that which benefits her as well as our own people, we stand opposed by a party who by their acts are now pledged, if they come into power, to repeal that preferential tariff and go back to the old state of things. The people of this country will have to pronounce on that question, and I venture to say that when their verdict is rendered, it will be a verdict such as they have already given in unmistakable terms, as far as we can judge from public utterances which we have listened to, and from private conversations which we have had with the people, that one of the best and wisest policies ever adopted by the Canadian parliament

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was to give that preferential treatment in our markets to the products of the mother country.

I have said that the reduced duties are for our own benefit, if they were nothing more, if you left Great Britain out of consideration. But, Sir, this preferential tariff has done more for us, as we believed it would. We believe we have got what these hon. gentlemen say we ought to get, and what they say they are going to get by an Act of the British parliament, or else they are going to destroy the preference which we have given to the English people. We have to-day, by virtue of our preferential tariff—there is no doubt about it in my mind—a decided preference in the British market. If it is not a legal preference, it is a preference through the good-will of the British consuming public themselves, who by this preferential tariff had their hearts drawn out towards Canada as they never had before. Why, Sir, if it were nothing more than an advertisement, business men know that as an advertisement it is worth all that we paid. Paid? We paid nothing for it, because in reducing the duties, as I say, we were simply reducing our own burdens. But, Sir, we have had a market in Great Britain to an extent such as we never enjoyed before—a market which is going on increasing, and what has been the result? Wealth to the great agricultural class of this country, which means wealth and prosperity to every man who dwells in it. Who will deny it? I have given you figures most gratifying in their character as to the total export trade of Canada; but, Sir, if it had not been for the British market for our products, I could not have given such gratifying figures. I have given you the total exports to all countries; but let me now give you the quantities of those exports that went to Great Britain alone, influenced, I believe in no slight measure, by the fact that the British heart was touched by the act of the Canadian government and the Canadian parliament. Take the total exports of Canadian and foreign produce from Canada to Great Britain. They are as follows:

1898-9.....	\$99,091,855
1895-6.....	66,690,288
	\$32,401,567

of an increase in three years under Liberal administration, or at the rate of \$11,000,000 per annum.

In 1877-8, these exports amounted to \$45,941,539, which, deducted from \$66,690,288

in 1895-6, gives an increase in eighteen years under Tory rule of \$20,748,749, as against \$32,401,567 in three years under Liberal rule. Or, in other words, the increase in eighteen years, under Conservative administration, was at the rate of little over \$1,000,000 per annum, while in the three years of Liberal administration, and under the influence of the preferential tariff, it has been about \$11,000,000 per annum.

Hon. gentlemen opposite may say that that includes foreign grain, which simply comes into this country and passes through it. Very well, let us take the exports of Canadian produce only to Great Britain. That export was as follows:

1898-9.....	\$85,114,555
1895-6....	62,718,941
	\$22,395,614

of an increase in three years under this government.

In 1895-6, the last year of the late government, we exported, as I have said, Canadian products to Great Britain, \$62,718,941, and in 1877-8, eighteen years ago, we exported \$35,861,110, showing an increase in eighteen years, under Conservative rule, of \$26,857,831, or at the rate of a million and a half dollars per annum, as compared with an increase of \$22,395,614 in three years of Liberal administration, or at the rate of over \$7,000,000 per annum.

Take the exports of animals and their products, and agricultural products, the produce of Canada alone, to Great Britain:

1898-9..	\$60,052,542
1895-6....	42,074,387
	\$17,978,155

of an increase in three years under Liberal administration. Now, take the figures for 1877-8, eighteen years ago, and they amount to \$19,147,608, and comparing them with the figures for 1895-6, we find an increase of \$22,926,779 in eighteen years of Tory rule, or at the rate of one and a quarter million dollars per annum, as compared with an increase of \$17,978,155 in three years, under Liberal rule, or at the rate of \$6,000,000 per annum.

So I might go on with other facts. Take the aggregate trade of Canada with foreign countries, and the following table will show what immense strides we have made between 1896 and 1899:

AGGREGATE Trade of Canada with Foreign Countries.

Countries.	1896.	1899.	Increase, 1899.
	\$	\$	\$
Great Britain.....	99,670,030	136,151,978	36,481,948
United States.....	103,022,434	138,140,687	35,118,253
France.....	3,392,482	5,447,017	2,054,535
Germany.....	6,688,990	9,613,025	2,924,035
Spain.....	445,592	593,660	148,068
Portugal.....	88,262	92,937	4,675
Italy.....	287,676	520,864	233,188
Holland.....	439,680	872,941	433,261
Belgium.....	1,018,789	3,168,136	2,149,347
Newfoundland.....	2,333,721	2,335,323	1,602
West Indies.....	4,707,243	4,398,902	(Dec.) 308,341
South America.....	2,063,145	2,631,635	568,490
China and Japan.....	3,339,429	3,194,849	(Dec.) 144,580
Switzerland.....	332,405	571,526	239,121
Other Countries.....	3,771,454	5,215,018	1,443,564

Then, take the total exports of Canada, and you will see how the preferential trade has helped us with Great Britain :

TOTAL EXPORTS OF CANADA BY COUNTRIES.

Country.	1896.	1899.	Increase 1899.
Great Britain.....	\$66,960,288	\$99,091,855	\$32,131,567
United States.....	41,448,410	45,133,521	685,111
France.....	581,540	1,557,722	976,182
Germany.....	757,531	2,219,569	1,462,038
Spain.....	83,814	59,178	(Dec.) 24,636
Portugal.....	41,666	29,641	" 12,025
Italy.....	56,759	125,265	68,506
Holland.....	139,828	372,548	232,720
Belgium.....	98,031	849,413	751,382
Newfoundland.....	1,782,309	1,808,317	26,008
West Indies.....	2,810,817	3,043,963	233,146
South America.....	1,496,118	1,456,051	(Dec.) 40,067
China and Japan.....	668,011	425,350	" 242,661
Australia.....	517,258	1,596,138	988,880
Other countries.....	841,472	1,218,374	376,902
Decreases.....			37,932,442 319,389
Increase to Britain.....			37,613,053 32,131,567
As against all these other countries.....			5,481,486

Our export trade to Great Britain increased by \$32,000,000, compared with a total increase to all other countries of about \$5,000,000, including the United States. That shows the effect of the preferential tariff. Under its influence our trade with Great Britain has gone up by leaps and bounds. The people of Canada know to-day that there never was a policy introduced in this House which has had the great success in promoting the prosperity of this country as the policy of the preferential tariff adopted in 1897. Under pressure from this government, the British government abrogated the treaties with Germany and Belgium, and gave us that freedom which we had long desired but could never obtain under Tory rule; and when we gave unsolicited and voluntarily the preference we did to Great Britain against every other nation, that stirred the heart of the British people as nothing we had done had ever

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stirred it before. The result, as every merchant who visits Great Britain will tell you, is a most marvellous change of feeling on the part of the British people to this country and a most earnest desire to do an increased business with us. That is due to the fact that we gave them this preference in our market, without any bartering or huckstering, in our own interests and the interests of the empire as well, and the visit of our First Minister during the jubilee celebration intensified that good-will by the admiration and respect which his personal qualities aroused among the people on the other side, and which are felt by every man in this country whose opinions are worth anything. And, under these circumstances, and when these feelings are aroused, and when, in our own interest, we wish to reduce the burden of taxation and in the interest of the unity of the empire at the same time propose an additional preference to our British brethren, the Tory party in this House fight against giving the additional preference—and not only that, but give us to understand that they restored to power will wipe that preference off the statute-book, Sir, let them stand by their colours; I stand by the preferential tariff, and I stand by the proposition to make that preference greater than it has been hitherto.

Mr. PRIOR moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 11.20 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, April 2, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

THE HUTTON-HUGHES CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) I asked the Clerk for a copy of the Hutton-Hughes correspondence, and I find it is in such general demand that the typewriters cannot supply a sufficient number of copies.

It would be well, if there be no objection, that suspension of the rules should be moved so as to permit of its being printed. It is a document of present interest.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Will my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) renew his application to-morrow?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 129)—from the Senate—to incorporate the Canadian Steel Company.—(Mr. Wood.)

OFFICIAL DEBATES OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. CHAMPAGNE moved:

That the third report of the Select Standing Committee appointed to supervise the Official Report of the Debates of this House during the present session, be now concurred in.

Motion agreed to.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—OFFER OF A CONTINGENT FROM BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. E. G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) Before the Orders of the Day, I wish to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the papers brought down at my request in regard to the offer by the British Columbia government of a contingent for South Africa. I see from these papers that the British Columbia government wrote to the Secretary of State saying that a hundred men and horses, with complete equipment for the horses, would be sent and transportation paid to Halifax. I also see that the Right Hon. Mr. Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, telegraphed that that contingent would be gladly accepted by the British government if it was a unit. Then, the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) telegraphed to British Columbia that the province must pay all costs and charges until the men landed in South Africa. The right hon. gentleman also telegraphed a day or two afterwards, that this contingent must be a unit of one hundred and sixty mounted men, as requested by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Then comes a cablegram from Mr. Chamberlain saying:

Please add to my telegram of February 3—

Which refers to the offer of British Columbia.

—the following: 'Her Majesty's government will defray expenses of transport of any further contingent if enough to ship.

This cablegram shows that Her Majesty's government were willing to pay the transport of that contingent to South Africa.

That is the last paper that is brought down in answer to the order for the return. I wish to ask the Prime Minister, whether, after he received that cablegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he informed the government of British Columbia that if they sent a contingent of 160 men and horses their transportation would be paid by the British government to South Africa? It would seem to me that while British Columbia was willing to send 100 men, and, perhaps, pay their transportation to South Africa; if they had known that transportation would have been paid for them they would have been perfectly willing to send 160 men. I, therefore, ask the Prime Minister whether there is not some further correspondence to be brought down?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). All these applications were referred by me to the Minister of Militia, and I will have to make inquiries.

Mr. PRIOR. Perhaps the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) could inform me.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). Copies of all the papers in the department have been placed in that return as far as I know. I will make further inquiry about it.

INQUIRIES FOR RETURNS.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to speak about returns that have been ordered by the House and not brought down. I shall confine myself to those that I myself moved for and for which an order of the House has issued. A return moved for on the 7th of February with reference to United States vessels being admitted to coasting on the lakes was brought down on the 20th of March; but, as pointed out before, it is altogether incomplete, and is entirely unreliable for the purposes for which I wished it. The supplementary part has not yet been brought down.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). In what respect is it incomplete?

Mr. FOSTER. I pointed out at the time, as will be found in *Hansard*, about March 23rd.

The PRIME MINISTER. Will the hon. gentleman repeat what he said?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). I think all that was in the department was brought down.

Mr. FOSTER. There is none of the correspondence which took place between the government and the different boards of trade and other boards, representing the

Mr. PRIOR.

shipping interest. On the same day, the 7th of February, I asked for copies of all correspondence with reference to the traffic arrangements between the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Intercolonial Railway; there is no answer to that. On the 7th of February, I asked for a return with reference to the dates and times of contracts for the Yukon mails now current. No answer has been made to that; and in this connection, I may say that the return I asked for in May, 1898, embodying the same information for that year, has not yet been brought down.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). I am sure I made the return.

Mr. FOSTER. No. The order of the House was on the 10th of May, 1898. Then, there was an order of the House on February 7, for the names of the clerks in the civil service, who received statutory increases; that has not been brought down. Another order was for contracts for the supply of steel rails. I received a return to that order on March 20; but, as I pointed out a day or two afterwards, it was incomplete, and consequently not available for the comparisons I wanted to make.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). Perhaps the hon. gentleman will allow me to state that he did mention that the return was not complete; and, as I handed it to him, just as I received it from the department, I was not in a position to state that his impression was not correct or was correct. I found on inquiry that he was in error as respects the omission he spoke of, namely, that there was nothing to show on what dates these rails were to be delivered.

Mr. FOSTER. There was something to show when the rails were to be delivered, but what I wanted, was the date when the rails were actually delivered.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I did not understand the hon. gentleman to ask for that. I do not think the motion called for that.

Mr. FOSTER. I think it did. Then, on the 7th of February, I asked for a return of the Yukon liquor permits; that is not brought down yet. On the same day I asked for the appointments to the staff at Kingston; that has been brought down to-day. On the 14th of February, I asked for the Lemieux papers, and received them on March 15th. I pointed out to the House that they were altogether incomplete.

The PRIME MINISTER. In what respect?

Mr. FOSTER. Correspondence mentioned in the parts brought down is not included. For instance, Mr. Ennis laid his case before

the Minister of Justice, and I was anxious to see what stand the Minister of Justice took on this now somewhat famous case. On the 26th of February, I asked for a return with reference to the Hopewell mail contract in Albert County, N.B.; that is not down. On the 14th of February, I asked for a return of the appointments to the official staff of the contingents; that has not been brought down. What was brought down by the Minister of Militia and Defence today, was the Kingston staff corps papers. On the 19th of March, I asked for the papers with reference to the Restigouche Railway, so that I might get at the basis of cost on which the subsidies were paid; I have not received that return. On the 19th of February, I asked for a return with reference to the gold claims in the Yukon—what claims had been given as compensation, so to speak, for those which it was claimed had been lost through the inefficiency or mistakes of officials. On the 19th of March I received an order of the House for the correspondence with reference to the militia canteens; that has not been brought down. On the 19th, I asked for a statement of the living allowances granted to the Yukon officials, which has not been brought down. On the 19th, I asked for details with reference to the Dawson water front, and fines collected in the Yukon; that has not been brought down. On the 19th, I asked for a return of all liquor permits for the Yukon, granted by the government, or by the council of the Yukon. On the 28th of March, I asked for the papers in relation to the retirement of Lieut.-Colonel Domville. On the 28th, I asked for a return of the scrap iron sales or contracts made by the Intercolonial Railway, and a return showing the cost of commissions of investigation. These were ordered on the 28th, and I do not expect them at this early date, but I mention them in the order of the papers. The government will see, that there are many of these which ought to have been brought down long ago, for which there seems to be no valid excuse for a business administration.

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND (North Oxford). I wish to say, with reference to the order for the list of the Yukon permits, that no permits have been issued by the department here. I at once asked for a report from the Yukon council, but there has not been time yet to receive it. I shall be glad to bring it down as soon as it reaches the department.

Mr. FOSTER. Last year we were met by that excuse whenever we asked for information—that the Yukon was so far distant that we could not get it. We have spent money in establishing a quick communication with the Yukon, and I do not think the House ought to be put off with a statement of the interminable land distance between us and the Yukon. There is a means of communication which the government

could use to obtain the information for the House without delay.

Mr. DAVIN. In that connection, I should like to ask the hon. gentleman, whether he has placed on the Table, the papers he said he would, in response to a question from me, regarding the agreement between the government and the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the town site trustees along the line?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. They are here, and I am waiting for a chance to lay them on the Table.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I would call the attention of the acting Minister of the Interior to the fact that certain returns ordered by the House are not yet brought down. We have not yet got copies of correspondence between the Department of the Interior and persons in the North-west Territories respecting securities for seed grain indebtedness and claims for patents refused in consequence of such bonded indebtedness. Also copies of advertisements calling for tenders for printing for the North-west Territories government from 1890 to 1899. Also copy of order in council on which the royal commission on the shipment and transportation of grain was issued.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Part of the report is brought down, and the rest is being prepared as fast as possible.

Mr. DAVIN. What is brought down is part of the report which is being printed. But what the House ordered was a copy of the order in council on which the commission was issued and a copy of the letter of the Minister of the Interior to Judge Senkler.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. My recollection is I brought that down.

Mr. DAVIN. I will make inquiries. Also copies of all memorials of the town council of Moosejaw to the Interior Department.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I have made a memo, and will bring down the returns as quick as possible.

GASPE SHORT LINE RAILWAY.

Mr. BOURASSA moved that the House resolve itself in committee on Bill (No. 70) to incorporate the Gaspé Short Line Railway.—(Mr. Lemieux.)

Mr. JOHN McALISTER (Restigouche). If the object of this measure were to promote the interests of the Gaspé district, I would certainly give it my hearty support, but I did oppose it the other day in committee on the ground that it is going to interfere with the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway, which runs down along the coast. The

assurance was given the Railway Committee that there was no intention to interfere in any way with the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway, but power was asked to take over that railway, and if the Bill went through it would be the means of putting the Atlantic and Lake Shore on a better footing. Since then I have observed a letter that appeared in a local paper published in the town of Campbellton, to the effect that a meeting of the municipal council of Gaspé and Percé Board of Trade was held in Percé on the 14th March and passed certain resolutions strongly in opposition to this measure. It seems that these people did not want the Gaspé Short Line Company to have any connection whatever with the Atlantic and Lake Superior road, they claim that the only object of this measure was to prevent the building of that piece of road which remains unbuilt from Paspébiac down to Gaspé. I would like some explanation as to the situation on this point before this Bill goes through.

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. gentleman objects to details, perhaps it would be better to let the Bill stand as the promoter is not here.

Mr. McALISTER. I object to the general principle, but all I ask is an explanation of the true intent of the Bill.

Mr. A. T. WOOD (Hamilton). I gathered at the Railway Committee that the hon. gentleman was perfectly satisfied with the arrangements made for the paying of the debt and everything else.

Mr. McALISTER. I am referring to what has transpired since.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) I do not think it is a rule always to be insisted upon, that a man who has taken charge of a Bill and is supposed to understand it thoroughly should necessarily be the man to carry it through its different stages, after it is once launched, but I think it is a fairly good rule to apply, provided the session is not too far advanced, that the father of the Bill shall be here when it is being discussed, and we are not so far advanced that we cannot let this Bill stand over and put it through another day.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). The hon. member for Restigouche (Mr. McAlister) mentioned, when this Bill was before the Railway Committee, that he thought there were reasons why, possibly, if it were to pass, the new company incorporated might have a prejudicial effect on the existence or operation of the Atlantic and Lake Superior or what is known as the Baie des Chaleurs Railway. My hon. friend did not offer any serious objection to the Bill passing that committee. He stated the fears that he entertained in the matter, and left it there. But it was

Mr. McALISTER.

very well explained, not only by the hon. gentleman who is promoting the Bill, but by other hon. gentlemen from the province of Quebec, that it was because the Baie des Chaleurs Railway was in the condition in which it now is, and because it was quite certain that the property of that company would be put up to sale and disposed of in a short time, that it was absolutely necessary that the new incorporation should be passed by parliament, so that people who are interested in having that road continue in operation and who have other railway interests in the locality might be in a legal position to bid the property in and put it into operation. And the reasons which were urged by these hon. gentlemen were so clear and cogent that there was not a member of the committee who felt that any serious objection could be raised to the passing of the Bill. Now, it is well known that the condition of the company is a very unsatisfactory one. It is in extremis, from what I can learn, not able to pay its bills or to pay the men who are operating it; and it is now on the eve of being offered at sheriff's sale in the county. Under these circumstances it is easy to see that the interests of the people of that locality are very much involved in having some legislation passed, and passed without delay, so that the enterprise may be taken up, so that it may be in strong financial hands, and the line continued in operation. All the reasons, it seems to me, are in favour of passing the Bill and against any delay. But I do not understand my hon. friend from Restigouche (Mr. McAlister) that the Bill be delayed. He has been communicated with, and he feels it his duty, very properly to mention to the House the objections that have been stated to him; but, beyond that, I do not understand that the hon. gentleman desires to go. It appears to me that no good reason has been shown, nor do I think any will be shown, why we should not take this Bill up and pass it, the same as any other Bill. Nothing will be gained by delay; but I believe that serious difficulties will arise if the matter is allowed to stand.

Mr. BERGERON. Not for three days.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Well, I do not know.

Mr. FOSTER. There are times when the Minister of Railways and Canals is in a great hurry; and there are times when he moves more leisurely. He does not pretend that the delaying of this Bill for a few days is going to make any difference legally or financially in the position that the road would be in compared with its present position. We pass these Bills and they are assented to at the end of the session; and whether we pass them this week or next week they are not assented to and do not go into operation any sooner. The argument is that this concern should be put into

strong financial hands. But it does not seem certain that a capital of only \$500,000 for taking over the whole line to Paspébiac is assurance that it is going into very strong financial hands. Suppose the road is in extremis, I do not think that anything is to be lost by delay—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. What is to be gained?

Mr. FOSTER. This is to be gained—that when we pass legislation here, it is the essence of our work that it shall be done openly, that every locality shall have the opportunity, if it is affected, to be heard; and, as my hon. friend (Mr. McAlister) has brought to our notice a movement on the part of the Board of Trade of Gaspé in reference to this matter, it would not be unwise to wait until we get representation from that quarter, or at any rate, to wait for a little while to see what does come in. Now, as to this road being in extremis and sold out, the fact of this new company being incorporated, does not make the new concern the possessor of the road. If the road is sold out, every association of capitalists has a right to come in and compete for the purchase of the road. Many companies may seek to acquire it which may be stronger, financially, than this company. The gentlemen who are mentioned here I do not know either personally or as to their financial capacity. The company is evidently a small one. I had not the advantage of being at the committee when the matter was discussed there; but when these Bills come to the House, we who had not the privilege of being in the committee have a right to information concerning them. A certain advantage is given to a small company like this when you pass a charter, covering certain ground which is already, as I understand it, preoccupied by another company which has spent a great deal of its own money and, what is still worse—or is still better, according as you look at it—has spent large amounts of this country's money as well. It has struck me that a good deal of care ought to be exercised when a small company is allowed to get a status in the pre-emption of ground which is already taken by a company which had built a large portion of the line and proposes to build more. Under the circumstances, I think it would be better to allow the matter to mellow for a few days.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). I cannot quite understand the point that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) wishes to get at. This question was fully threshed out in the Railway Committee.

Mr. McALISTER. My information is that the people of the county of Gaspé are opposed to it, as are a great many in my own county who are financially interested.

Mr. McMULLEN. That may be a reason why the hon. gentleman (Mr. McAlister)

should offer his personal objection. But public notice has been given that the Bill would be taken up, and it has been before parliament for a considerable time; and if people are opposed to the measure, as the hon. gentleman says, they should have formulated their opposition and got it before the Railway Committee, so that their objections could be fairly considered.

Mr. McALISTER. These are things that have arisen since the Railway Committee sat.

Mr. McMULLEN. Nothing was presented of the kind that the hon. gentleman refers to. And, in the committee, the promoter of the Bill stated that it was desirable that the Bill should be pressed through, as rapidly as possible, in order to get into a position to handle the road if it is brought under the hammer. And, if it is, I think it is highly desirable that this House should give a legalized status to any company that is prepared to handle it. This Bill places the new company in position to take it over, but any other individual or company would be in the same position. If you do not permit them to get into that position you may prevent the road being taken up and handled in the manner called for by the interest of the entire district. If the hon. gentleman has any personal objections, or if he desires to voice the objection of any resident in the county, let him get up and state what it is and let us understand what the opposition amounts to. We had no statement of it before the Railway Committee. The hon. gentleman did not attempt to impress the Railway Committee with any argument to show that the Bill should not become law. When the hon. gentleman keeps the committee and the House in the dark, he can hardly expect that the House will hold its hand. The object of the Bill is simply to give a legal standing to this company.

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND (North Oxford). I was somewhat surprised to hear the hon. member for Restigouche (Mr. McAlister) say that the people of Gaspé and that district were opposed to the Bill. The evidence before the committee was that the people were almost unanimously in favour of it.

Mr. McALISTER. The hon. member for the county stated that, but I do not think any evidence was given of it. Since then, my information is that the people of Gaspé are opposed to it.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I think that I can show my hon. friend that evidence was given before the committee as to the position of the people in the district toward this matter. This point was raised, and the hon. member for the county and the member for the adjoining county supported the Bill very strongly and gave strong reasons why the powers asked for under this Bill should

be given, not only to build this road if it were necessary—which is not paralleling the road that has been referred to—but also that power should be given to purchase the other road should it come into the market, as it is supposed it will do in a short time. The member for Bonaventure (Mr. Guité) especially has a very particular grievance against this company. I am told that they only run a train every week or two when it suits them, and they are holding the ground, to the great disadvantage of the people of that district. The object of this Bill, as was stated in committee, is, if possible, to give railway facilities to the people of Gaspé and of that district. It is well known that the people are suffering an outrageous grievance from the way this matter has been managed in the past, and they want to be relieved, and the present Act is meant to relieve them by giving them railway facilities. Personally, as a member of the House, I would be perfectly willing, as I always am, to grant a reasonable delay if any plausible reason can be given for a delay. The Bill was fully discussed in the committee, and important reasons having been given for this legislation, I cannot imagine why there should be a delay at the present time.

Mr. J. G. HAGGART (South Lanark). The only possible object of delay would be to favour a lot of parties who were creditors of the road. As the hon. gentleman knows, the franchise of the road cannot be sold by the sheriff, but this empowers a company to take the franchise of the road upon purchasing it and to go on and work it. It is true that under the general Railway Act the courts give them the power of working it for a year; then it is necessary for them to come to parliament and get the right to work the road. The only objection that I can see to the Bill is that some creditors hope, if the franchise remains in the hands of the original corporators, that they would have a better chance of getting paid their indebtedness in full than they would if this Bill passed.

Motion agreed to, and House resolved itself into committee on the Bill.

(In the Committee.)

On section 2,

Mr. FOSTER. What is the proposed length of this road?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). It was stated in the committee that the new line would be 120 or 125 miles long.

Mr. FOSTER. Between what points?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. It runs pretty well the length of the peninsula.

Mr. FOSTER. Between what points is it to run?

Mr. SUTHERLAND.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. From the extreme point of the Gaspé peninsula up 120 or 125 miles.

Mr. TISDALE. To a point on the Intercolonial Railway.

Mr. BERGERON. If there is not traffic enough to keep up the old road, how will the two roads live?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. It was stated that no point on this road was within 40 or 50 miles of the old road.

Mr. FOSTER. Is it not going to join the old road?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Not the way it looks on the map.

Mr. FOSTER. What in the world then do we want of two franchises running parallel from Gaspé out to the Intercolonial Railway.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). My hon. friend is in error, they are not parallel at all. The former Baie des Chaleurs, or the present Canada, Lake Superior and Atlantic Railway, girds the shore from Metapedia to Paspebiac. There is a charter now to extend that railway along the shore to the Gaspé Basin; but this road is intended to leave the Intercolonial Railway north of Causapscaal.

Mr. FOSTER. How far from Paspebiac?

The PRIME MINISTER. I suppose 30 or 40 miles, speaking under correction. My hon. friend is familiar with the locality and knows where Metapedia is. Causapscaal is just about the end of the valley. The road is intended, therefore, to start from Gaspé Basin across the country to a certain point in the York valley and thence to the Gaspé Basin. The point of junction is the same, it is to reach the Gaspé Basin, which is also the terminus of the present road, that is to say, the Atlantic and Lake Superior. But it does not cover the same route at all. I am not very familiar with the geography of the interior of Gaspé, but I have always understood that the interior of the Gaspé peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Baie des Chaleurs, is a valuable country for settlement. It is a well timbered country, particularly with cedar. The road covered by this present charter does not at all rival the Atlantic and Lake Superior, it does not cover the same ground.

Mr. FOSTER. Here we are down in the counties of Gaspé and Bonaventure. We have the Intercolonial Railway, and we have already chartered one company to build out to Gaspé which is the objective point, that is to say from a point on the Intercolonial Railway to Gaspé, or towards Gaspé. The road is now built towards Gaspé as far as Paspebiac, which I understand is about 83 miles from Gaspé. We have spent a large amount of money in attempting to get that

road built from the Intercolonial Railway down to Paspébiac, and it is built now within about 80 miles of Gaspé. Now, here comes a proposition to charter another road to run from a point on the Intercolonial Railway up to Gaspé by a parallel route, all through virgin soil, a new country. My hon. friend says that it touches a new country. Is the county of Gaspé so teeming with productions that you require another road in addition to a road built now as far as Paspébiac, which has a franchise down to Gaspé with only 80 miles remaining to be built? Is the county of Gaspé in a position to ask now that another road should be built from Gaspé up to the Intercolonial Railway a little to the north of the road, and paralleling it? As sure as the hon. gentleman lives he knows that the charter simply is the stepping stone to the subsidy which is to come afterwards. Here is an instance of the paralleling of roads through a most sparsely settled country which has not been, in comparison, equalled, I think, in all the roads that we have built close by, or parallel to each other.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Have they not petroleum wells there?

Mr. FOSTER. No, neither the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland), nor any other man can tell that there is a petroleum well there that is worth driving a horse and cart to, let alone building a railway to. We do not know that there will be any future for that industry, because, the experiments have not, as yet, as I am informed, demonstrated the fact that petroleum is to be found there in such commercial values as will make it at present a basis for building a line of expensive railway. Why is it that we are paralleling this road from Bonaventure to Gaspé, through a sparsely settled country. Only the fringe of the country is settled by farmers and fishermen, and when you go ten or twelve miles back from the fringe you have nothing but the primeval forest. It is well timbered, but I am informed that the timber is not of the most valuable kind.

The PRIME MINISTER. On the contrary, the timber is valuable.

Mr. FOSTER. It is a poor timber belt.

The PRIME MINISTER. No, it is very valuable timber.

Mr. FOSTER. I do not think my right hon. friend (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) is in favour of the policy proposed of paralleling that road from the Intercolonial a little to the north of this present one which we have built from Matapédia down to Paspébiac, and which proposes to go on to Gaspé, inviting a subsidy from this government in order to parallel that. Having the history of the present road before his eyes, the depleting subsidies to meet large expenditures, simply because they had not the capi-

tal they should have had when they started, is my right hon. friend prepared to take up these gentlemen—very honourable and very good men they may be, with \$500,000 of a capitalization, with these names as a basis for admitting another road, of almost equal length and grant them a charter for a railway to go through the same district, but a little farther to the north and between the two same objective points? The right hon. gentleman is prepared to do it and to do it with a company which has \$500,000 of a capital and no more. There is not, so far as I know, one strong financial name amongst them. The hon. gentleman may know them better than I do myself. I am not casting any discredit upon the gentlemen at all in any way, but, it does not seem that they are men of large financial standing. My hon. friend says that he knows some of them, and he says that they are men of financial strength. He said the same thing last year in regard to some of the gentlemen promoting the Edmonton and Yellow Head Pass Railway. He said that the gentleman whose name was at the head of the list was a gentleman of high financial standing. Yet, these gentlemen have sold out their franchise, as I said they would, last year. It seems to me that if this is going to be the policy of these hon. gentlemen, if these charters are going to be put through this House year after year, thus giving an invitation for applications for further subsidies for the paralleling of roads, instead of the discouragement of the paralleling of roads and the husbanding of our capital for needed railway schemes, the hon. gentleman is going back on his past record, and is initiating another call for large subsidies for paralleling roads through territories which are not thickly inhabited or productive.

The PRIME MINISTER. Mr. Chairman, I would wish, for my part, that my hon. friend (Mr. Foster), would give us his whole mind upon this subject, because, without a full declaration on his part, I do not conceive how any one can show such hostility to this Bill unless there are reasons that he has not informed the House of. What is the reason he should throw so many obstacles in the way of the passing of this charter? The present road has been an incubus on the Gaspé peninsula, and if it had not been for that road probably there would not have been any necessity for this charter. It is not so much on account of the new charter that this Bill is desired, but, on account of the power which is granted that this company may acquire the old road and put it upon something like a business basis. What has taken place? I agree with my hon. friend that we have given subsidies more than sufficient, or which should be sufficient, to provide railway facilities for that district to build a road from Paspébiac to Gaspé. And if the subsidies had not been squandered in the most lamentable, I might

say in the most criminal manner, the people of Gaspé would have had railway communication. They cannot have that railway communication in the present position of affairs; they cannot have it unless there is a change in the ownership of the present railway. It is not so much for the new charter which is granted that the people of Gaspé are anxious, but they recognize that in this charter there is the germ of the possibility of change so that if the old road is brought under the sheriff's hammer and disposed of it can be acquired by the new company which will put it on a business basis. I do not know the incorporators, I have heard of them, but personally, I have had nothing to do with them. But, if they do nothing more than provide a new management for the old road and apply some business methods to it, it will go a long way towards relieving the people of Gaspé of the incubus which is weighing upon them. This is not paralleling the present road. These roads are in two different parts of the country. The present road is, chiefly serving the shore of the bay.

Mr. BERGERON. Is it operated just now?

The PRIME MINISTER. It is not operated just now. It has been suspended for six weeks or so. At all events, if they have resumed operations, it has only been within a few days.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Trains run once in a while.

The PRIME MINISTER. No, I do not think that during the present winter they are running trains at all. I have had representations made to me in order to secure relief for the people of Gaspé from the exasperating conditions under which they are labouring. These people are absolutely without railway communication. I have no hesitation in saying, and I do not believe I am stating it too strongly, that there is any possibility of this road being operated so long as it remains under the present management. There must be a total change. The only way that can be brought about is by the road being sold and by a new corporation taking hold of it.

Mr. J. G. H. BERGERON (Beauharnois). Mr. Chairman, I do not want to do anything that would deprive the people of Gaspé of railway facilities, but I do not know how they will be able to get these railway facilities by the proposal as explained by the right hon. Prime Minister. He said that he was surprised to see such opposition offered to this railway. He must remember the *Bale des Chaleurs* Railway, which does not smell very good in the noses of the politicians of this country. The affairs of the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company, are at present, if I am not mistaken, presided over by Senator Thibaudeau; and

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Préfontaine) is one of the directors and owners of the line. I said, the other day in the committee, and I admit that I might have made these remarks there, that there was no one representing the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway present. We have a recollection, some years ago, of a scheme of this sort which culminated, last year, in the whole of a county coming before parliament and asking to be relieved from the results of the machinations by which they had been deprived of their line of railway. I refer to the people of St. Andrews, in the county of Argenteuil, in reference to whose case a Bill was run through parliament in this way, hardly any one knowing anything about it. The right hon. gentleman (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) is just as much interested as we are, I hope, in seeing that such a thing is not repeated. My hon. friend insists that this contemplated line and the old line do not run parallel to each other, but if that be the case, how can he pretend that a new company will buy the old company out. If the effect of passing this Bill is to leave the Atlantic and Lake Superior with its terminus at Paspébiac, then the Atlantic and Lake Superior will never be operated and the people of that part of the county will be deprived of a railway. When I was down there in the winter of 1897, the government were operating this road during election time, and they lost a good deal of money by doing so. I quite understood while I was there that the reason the Atlantic and Lake Superior did not pay was because it had no terminus. At that time it ran to Caplin, and though Paspébiac where it ends, now is a larger place, yet it can never pay until it gets to its proper outlet at Gaspé Basin. If we pass this Bill we kill the old line completely, and all its creditors and its investors will lose their money. It is true that the investment is not large, but whatever it be, it will be lost, as will also the subsidies voted to the Atlantic and Lake Superior, both by the Federal and Quebec governments. It seems to me that there might be some other way of forcing these gentlemen connected with the Atlantic and Lake Superior, who are all friends of the government—

The PRIME MINISTER. Not all.

Mr. BERGERON. Most of them. I know my right hon. friend has his finger on one. I know Mr. Armstrong's name is there for something. I remember that last year, when I was insisting that the subsidy should be paid to the Atlantic and Lake Superior, the Prime Minister insisted that it should be paid to 'a company' that would build the road. Hon. gentlemen, perhaps, see something in that now, or, as we say in French, 'le chat est sorti du sac.' Suppose we do grant this charter, my hon. friend does not know whether the old company will come to an arrangement with this com-

pany. Anyway, how will the new company float its debentures? Mr. Armstrong is well known in England, and he has been for years there trying to float the Atlantic and Lake Superior debentures. The people of England will say: 'Now, you want to build a parallel road, and there is no inducement for us to invest in it; and if it is not a parallel road, how can it facilitate the bringing of the present Atlantic and Lake Superior road to Gaspé?' This is a piece of legislation which the members of this House do not understand, and we should not pass such a Bill without knowing what the practical result of it will be.

Mr. FOSTER. I will have to reconstruct my argument now because the Prime Minister has shifted ground entirely from the declaration in section 9 of this Bill. He now declares in effect: That it is not the intention of this company to build a railway at all. Are we to pass legislation stating that a railway company shall be incorporated, not for the purpose of building a road, but in order that it may have an entity, so that it may purchase another road which lies to the south of it? The whole argument of the Prime Minister is that he proposes to charter a company to build a railway by a certain route, while he is certain that this company never intends to build by that route or any other.

The PRIME MINISTER. I did not say that at all.

Mr. FOSTER. The whole argument of the hon. gentleman is: That the people living along that present line of road have been cheated out of money which is their due, and have also been deprived of railway communication; both of which I admit are hard on the people. But, even if this road which we now propose to charter is a bona fide undertaking, it will not give the people along the route of the present line any communication, and it does not give them one single cent of their claims against that road, and which are, I believe, just claims. The only way in which these people could be benefited is that this company shall become possessed of the franchise of the present road, and not that it shall build a road to the north. The Prime Minister shakes his head, but can he tell me any other way in which these people along the Baie de Chaleurs will compass either of these objects?

The PRIME MINISTER. Oh, yes.

Mr. FOSTER. I put it again as straight as it can be put. This new company asks a charter to build from Gaspé Basin to a point on the Intercolonial Railway, north of the Atlantic and Lake Superior road. Suppose it carries out in good faith the building of that line, in what way will the people living along the Atlantic and Lake Superior road get any better railway ac-

commodation than they have now? This new line will be forty miles to the north of them. In what way will they get a single claim paid that is their due now, by these gentlemen going to work and building an entirely different road? The whole crux of the thing is in section 14, where you give this company the power to buy out or to rent the line which is at present owned by another company. Then, why not expunge section 9 entirely; what is the use of enacting a fraud?

The PRIME MINISTER. I will give the hon. gentleman a reason. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) told us that he was not in the committee when the question came up, and neither was I. I, perhaps, have more knowledge of the geography of the place than the hon. gentleman, because it is in my own province. The hon. gentleman knows that the Gaspé peninsula is largely mountainous. There is a fringe of settlements along the Baie des Chaleurs shore, but three or four miles in the interior, it is mountainous. The present railway as intended cannot be a parallel road.

Mr. FOSTER. You mean the contemplated road?

The PRIME MINISTER. The contemplated road cannot be parallel to the present road, and I am sorry we have not a map of the locality here, because it would show that at once.

Mr. BERGERON. And so am I sorry, because it will show exactly the opposite.

The PRIME MINISTER. The present road skirts the shore and will serve the present settlement. This new railway is intended to start from Gaspé Basin, and runs through the valley of the York River in the interior, and then across the peninsula to the Intercolonial Railway. It cannot be a parallel road, and it cannot serve the same population. It is certainly not a rival road and there may be room for two different roads. The argument of my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) then fails altogether. There are two objects in this charter which we are discussing. One is to charter a railway from Gaspé Basin across the peninsula to the Intercolonial Railway, and the other to acquire the existing railway, and I candidly say that I attach far more importance to the second contemplated scheme than to the first. If it is carried out, as I hope it will, it will give some relief to the people of the Gaspé peninsula, who certainly deserve it. So long as the present railway remains under its present management, I do not see how it is possible that the people of the Gaspé peninsula can have any satisfaction. The existing road to Paspébiac must change hands and have new blood infused into it. I do not want to speak harshly of the present company. I do not want to say things which should not be said unless they are

absolutely indispensable for the purposes of the argument. But this, at all events, will be admitted, that the management of the present company has been most unfortunate, and that for twenty years this road has been built and operated in such a way that the people of Gaspé are no more advanced to-day than they were twenty years ago.

Mr. FOSTER. Except in the summer season.

The PRIME MINISTER. Not even in the summer season, because I am informed that the men employed on the road have not been paid for many months past, and the road has been allowed to go to decay. I think I am within the mark, when I say that the expenses of the road have not been paid for eighteen months; so that the present company is absolutely insolvent, and something has to be done to come to the relief of those people.

On section 14.

Mr. FOSTER. I want to find out where the creditors of the road are secured.

Mr. TISDALE. There is nothing in the Bill about the creditors.

Mr. FOSTER. That is the vital point.

The PRIME MINISTER. I understand the zeal of my hon. friend now.

Mr. FOSTER. My right hon. friend is too suspicious. I did not think he was suspicious until lately, but I am afraid that the company of those on either side of him is spoiling him. It might surprise my hon. friend to be told that until I took my place here this afternoon, I did not know that there was such a Bill in existence, and I have not been written to in regard to it by any one in the world.

The PRIME MINISTER. It has come as a revelation to my hon. friend that there are creditors, then?

Mr. FOSTER. Not at all. I have known for seven or eight years, that there have been creditors; but my point is, how you are going to secure these creditors? You do not want these people to be cheated out of their rights. The creditors, I believe, are mostly poor people, whose claims are for labour and material. When we give this company a franchise, we give them a basis for buying out the old company; and I want to know in what way are the claims of the creditors of the road guarded?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. In what way does any legislation in this Bill affect the creditors' claims?

Mr. FOSTER. Nothing affects the creditors' claims, and that is the complaint of the creditors. The creditors have been there for several years, and have not been able to get anything; but if the franchise is to

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be sold, it seems to me that there should be some provision made for the creditors' claims.

Mr. TISDALE. There is nothing said in the Bill about the creditors, one way or the other. This company is simply authorized to purchase; and whatever rights the creditors have are not to be interfered with. The representation made to the committee was that this road was shut up. The government found it necessary under the Railway Act, to stop the running of the road, because it was dangerous to life, and it was advertised for sale by the sheriff. The question before the committee was, shall we leave the road in the position in which it is, or authorize another company to acquire it without disturbing or legislating in regard to any claims that now exist? If we specially interfered to protect the claims of the creditors, we might block the sale of the road.

Mr. FOSTER. It seems to me that we are changing the status of the company. That road, from its junction with the Intercolonial Railway, up to Paspébiac, is built, and what has gone into it is labour and supplies, a large proportion of which can never have been paid. Any company which buys, will get the whole benefit of that. The road is in extremis, and the moment you incorporate a company to build another road, or to operate this one, you make the value of the present road almost nothing. It will have to be sold by the sheriff, and will be bought by this company for a song. By incorporating this Gaspé short line company, you make that line of the Atlantic Superior worth less than it is already.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No. Just the other way.

Mr. FOSTER. You make it worth more if the new company buy it and run it, but you make it worth less as a thing to sell off-hand. This company would say: If you do not take our terms, we will build this other road.

The PRIME MINISTER. The company cannot purchase that road except through the sheriff, so as to have a clear title. My hon. friend forgets that the road is heavily bonded; and if any purchaser were to acquire the road from the present company, he would assume the bonds, and nobody would do that. The road must be sold by the sheriff.

Mr. FOSTER. What then becomes of the bonds?

The PRIME MINISTER. Under the Quebec law, the proceeds are returned into court, there to be distributed to the creditors according to the order laid down by law. As I understand it, the working men have a privilege extending to six months, and after them comes the other creditors.

Mr. FOSTER. That makes a very poor lookout for the labourers. The amount of money realized will be very small indeed, and when that comes to be distributed among the different creditors, there will be very little for those who have furnished labour and supplies to the road. The bondholders have taken the risk, and, as a rule, are able to stand the loss, but the men who have put their labour and supplies into the road, are not. What is there to prevent our putting in a section, to provide that the first creditors of the road, shall be the men who have put their labour and supplies into it?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). There is a lien in their favour, under the law up to six months.

Mr. FOSTER. But that rules every one of them out. These labour bills have been running for years, and will be barred by the six months' limit.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. You would not undertake to amend the law of Quebec, and alter the relative rights of creditors?

Mr. FOSTER. You are about to give a certain franchise, and you can make it a condition of that franchise that the labour and supply bills shall be paid.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. You will take away from one of the creditors what belongs to him by the provincial law.

Mr. FOSTER. Who are the principal creditors, that we should look after, if not the people who have furnished their labour and supplies?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The provincial law will protect them.

Mr. FOSTER. Within a limit of six months, but those people have been creditors for ten years.

Mr. WOOD. If you defeat this Bill, there will be absolutely nothing for anybody.

Mr. FOSTER. It is not necessary to defeat the Bill, but you can make it a condition that at least the people who furnish labour and supplies, should be paid by the company which buys the road.

The PRIME MINISTER. All these questions were considered before the Railway Committee.

Mr McALISTER. I think not.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. If we were discussing the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway charter, this discussion would be quite in order, but there is nothing in this Bill interfering with the rights of the creditors of the Atlantic and Lake Superior,

either labouring men or bondholders. The hon. gentleman would like to go down and bid on the railway without being handicapped, but he wants to handicap this company to which the people of the locality are anxious these powers should be given. I do not see how we could legislate in the direction the hon. gentleman points out. If we were giving a charter to the Atlantic and Lake Superior road, it might be quite in order to insert this provision, but I do not see how you can insert it in a charter to an entirely different company. But, it is quite clear, that if the people in that district are suffering, owing to the bad management of the existing company, they would be in a better position, if a company financially strong and able to build the road would take hold of it; and that the contractors, or labourers or bondholders cannot be injured. I wish to point out to the committee that there is nothing in this Bill affecting the matters to which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) referred.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. My hon. friend (Mr. Sutherland) is entirely correct in the view he presents; and I think he might have put his proposition very much more strongly. It is correct, as the hon. member for Restigouche has said, that this was not suggested to the Railway Committee at all; and I think it would not have been suggested by my hon. friend from York, N.B., (Mr. Foster), if he were familiar with the law and with the legal difficulties that surround the working out of such a proposition as he has made. From my view, it would be wholly impossible for us to legislate, in this Bill, or even in this parliament, in the direction he suggests. Let us consider for a moment what is proposed by this Bill, and also what the hon. gentleman proposes to supplement it with. All that this Bill does is to say that this company shall have the right to acquire, to become the purchaser—

Mr. BERGERON. In fact, it is made for that purpose.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I am willing to concede that for the moment. It only provides that this company shall have the right to become the purchaser of the property and assets of the Atlantic and Lake Superior Company. In point of law, all that that means, is that a number of persons are constituted a corporation with legal power to become the purchasers of this line, to do what any individual could do without having any such parliamentary authority. We are simply allowing a combination of men to purchase as a combination and in their incorporate character what, as I have said, an individual could purchase without any corporate authority, and regardless of whether legislation is passed in this House or not.

Mr. HAGGART. As to that particular point—can an individual buy a franchise? And you empower this company to buy one.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. If an individual cannot buy a franchise, it would be because the owner could not sell the franchise. I would go further and say that not only can an individual company not buy a franchise, but I would go so far as to say that a franchise cannot be sold under the proceedings in the court. So there is no question of franchise in the Bill. Our legislation does not affect the franchise in the slightest degree or in any particular. Now, instead of our doing anything that is going to prejudice the status and any interest of any creditor of this company, whether the amount due him is a large one or a small one, we are simply multiplying the number of possible purchasers. We are not saying that the company shall sell to this corporation, but simply that this corporation may buy. Now, what the hon. gentleman would propose is that, in a Bill which does not relate to, which does not touch the legal rights of the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway, but which simply relates to the corporate powers that we propose to confer upon another company, that in such a Bill we should undertake to insert provisions the legal effect of and the object of which shall be to control and regulate the distribution of the assets of that railway company. Do not hon. gentlemen see at once that that would be impracticable, because we could not, in a Bill relating to 'A' company, say how the assets of the 'B' company should be distributed. And it is not only impracticable, but it is unconstitutional, according to my view at this moment. How can we undertake to say that the assets of a defunct company shall be distributed among A, B, C and D otherwise than as already provided by the law of the province of Quebec? It would be entirely beyond our power. We may sympathize with the creditors, as I have no doubt, any hon. gentleman who knows the circumstances of the creditors of this road, will. But, we cannot do anything under this Bill to affect the distribution of the assets of this company. Our legislation would be absolutely a dead letter. All we can do under this Bill is what they ask us to do, to give them power as a corporate body to acquire the assets and property of the Atlantic and Lake Superior road, provided in pursuance of the law and by authority of the law, the assets and property of the Lake Superior road are put up for sale. If that time comes, if that proceeding is taken, as often occurs, we have constituted one more body which can attend that sale and which can bid for the property so disposed of. That is all we are doing.

Mr. BLAIR.

Mr. HAGGART. I must say that I differ entirely from the Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) as to our power of legislation in that particular. What are the facts? The company comes here for power to build a line of railway from one place to another. The company is incorporated under this clause of the Act. It is not necessary that it should be incorporated in order to carry out the provisions of clause 14 of this Act. The object of the Bill is clear. We are giving a corporation its entity and making it a railway company, for what purpose? To build a line of road? No, I should judge not; but for the purpose of purchasing this particular line of road. If we give them power to do that, we can give that power upon what conditions we choose. And if we make it conditional that what is due to the labourers by the old company shall be paid by the new company, or if we provide that they pay any other debts, we have a right to make that condition. I think that is clear in law. It has been held to be true in this House, and I have heard Ministers of Justice so declare—that if we have the power to give an entity to a company, we have the power to give that entity upon such conditions and with such limitations as we think proper.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Would the hon. gentleman (Mr. Haggart) allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. HAGGART. Certainly.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. There are two things that must concur before there can be a purchase and sale of that railway—there must be a sale under due authority of law and there must be a purchaser authorized to purchase it. Now, we are not touching the question of sale, and we cannot touch the question of sale—

Mr. HAGGART. I see the point—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. We are not authorizing the sale. We are not saying that the Atlantic and Lake Superior road shall sell its property or on what conditions that property shall be purchased.

Mr. HAGGART. I was going on to deal with that question.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. We are simply clothing with a corporate character a number of individuals to go on and purchase in that corporate character.

Mr. HAGGART. I was going on to deal with that point. We know that in order to the purchase of a railway, there must be the authority to sell, as well as the power in the purchaser to purchase. We are not touching the franchise affecting the selling power. But we are empowering the com-

pany to purchase the franchise. What has the sheriff the right to sell? The hon. minister forgets the Railway Act. For the sheriff has the right to sell the franchise to an individual or company, and that individual or company has the right to work the road under the purchase for one year, but then it is necessary for that company or individual to apply to this parliament for the purpose of getting power or to incorporate a new company to work the road. There is the point of danger. The sheriff has the right to sell the franchise, and in giving this company the right to purchase, under this Bill, you do away with the necessity of this purchaser coming back to this parliament for incorporation to work the road. That being so, it gives them the power to cut out what may now be a first claim upon the road. Suppose that a labourer has a first claim on the road for wages or work, one and another party has a judgment against the road and puts the judgment in the sheriff's hands, who may sell the franchise and other property.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Is it not the judgment that cuts out, not the purchasers?

Mr. HAGGART. The judgment may cut out the right of the individual to have a prior claim for his labour as long as the franchise remains in the hands of the original company, which cannot be cut out unless as provided by the general Railway Act. The party has always a remedy against that, because he has the right to apply for legislation to be put in the position of the original corporators of the road, and to work it.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The sale by a sheriff could not cut out any prior claim to the one under which it was sold.

Mr. HAGGART. The party may have a lien on the road, and may not have a lien on the franchise of the road. The sheriff has a right to sell the franchise under certain conditions, namely, that the party purchasing it has a right of working the road for a year, and must then apply to this House for the purpose of incorporation. The question is, whether this clause of the Act does not give to the purchaser the absolute right to take the franchise at once and work the road. I say that clause 14 does do so, and it may work an injury.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Everything there is subject to the Railway Act.

Mr. HAGGART. No, there is absolute power given to acquire the railway of these other companies, it is independent altogether of the Railway Act. Any one that looks at it would know at once what the object was. You form a railway company, and you might as well give them the right

to construct a railway in British Columbia, and the right of purchasing in Gaspé. You give here the company the power of purchasing, and the question is whether it would not put a person who had a lien on the road in a different position as to the franchise purchased by this company, than he would have otherwise.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. How could that be? How could it deprive the existing lien holder of his right?

Mr. HAGGART. You deprive the old company of the franchise, that is, the right of running what they own. The Railway Act gives the sheriff the power of selling it, and he has the right of working it for a year under that sale, under the franchise of the old company. To deprive them of it absolutely, he requires to come here and get an Act of parliament divesting them of it. This Act is an empowering Act, it gives to the railway company at present constituted the right of purchasing the franchise.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. If he purchased the franchise voluntarily from the existing railway company, he would have to purchase it subject to such liens as are upon it, and if he purchased under sheriff's sale, the sheriff must necessarily sell subject to such liens as the law gives. As I understand the argument of the hon. gentleman, he says that we should step in and attempt to alter the relative rights of the different creditors on the road as against the existing road. You cannot interfere with it, you have no right to interfere with it. If the sheriff sells under a judgment of A and there is a prior judgment of B, the sale under the execution by A does not deprive the previous lien holder at any rate outside of the province of Quebec, of his rights. He has it in the hands of the purchaser just the same as he has in the hands of the original company, and can enforce them just the same.

Mr. HAGGART. The hon. gentleman says that if a party has a lien against the company that has the franchise, the selling of the franchise and the conveyance of it over to other parties does not deprive the first party of his right against the original company; that is, if a labourer has a lien against a company who are possessed of a franchise and that franchise is sold to another company by the sheriff, the lien of the first party remains still against the franchise.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. It would unless the provincial statute comes in and says that the sale by the sheriff is to extinguish all rights against the company, and that then the courts should distribute the purchase money amongst the claimants. I am not conver-

sant enough with the Quebec law to know how that may be. If there are three or four claimants against the railway company and the company voluntarily sells, it does not deprive those parties of their claims or liens. If the fourth party in order obtains an execution and sells, he does not, at any rate in the British provinces, cut out the previous lien holders. The purchaser from the fourth party does not acquire greater rights than the fourth party himself had. The previous lien holders have their rights. But if the law of Quebec enables a sale to be made to extinguish all liens and all claims, and declares that the money shall be paid into court, to be distributed by the court, then the court will distribute it in accordance with the rights and liens, and in the order of the rights and liens, so no one can be prejudiced.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax). I do not think that there is anything to prevent this parliament from attaching a condition to the power. The Minister of Railways and Canals has argued that this parliament has not that power, and I understand the Minister of Marine and Fisheries takes the same grounds. I desire to be understood as dissenting from that. If parliament gave power to the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company to sell, it could give that power subject to conditions. If parliament gives this company the right to buy, it equally has the power to attach conditions to that right. Therefore, either in the one case or in the other, this parliament has undoubtedly the power to attach the conditions for which the member for York (Mr. Foster) argues. I am not dealing now with the question as to whether these conditions should be attached, but as to the power of this parliament to attach them, of which there can be no doubt.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman misunderstood me, nobody ever questioned that right at all.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). The Minister of Railways and Canals did.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No, you did not appreciate the argument of the Minister of Railways and Canals at all. What he said was this: Here are a certain number of people who have claims or liens on that road in a certain order of priority. You have no right to come in and alter those prior rights or to interfere with the priority of one claimant's right over another. You cannot come in and say that the bonds shall take second place to the wages of the workmen, and that the money which belonged to the bond holders should be given to the workman instead, unless you choose to pass an Act of confiscation. That is what he was arguing.

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Of course you cannot affect the rights of a third person, in so far as they are secured by the provincial law of Quebec. But I understand the Minister of Railways and Canals to go much further than the hon. gentleman who has just spoken, and to say that this parliament, because it was not dealing with the right to sell, could not attach a condition. That argument cannot be supported. Parliament has exactly the same right to attach a condition to the powers of purchase as to attach a condition to the powers of sale.

Mr. HAGGART. The right to purchase under this would wipe out all other liens or indebtedness unless they were registered, or unless the purchaser had notice of it.

Mr. F. D. MONK (Jacques Cartier). I think we are placing this company in an exceptionally favourable position. If there are creditors whose rights would probably be interfered with, in the province of Quebec, a sheriff's sale removes all liens. If, as I understand, this Baie des Chaleurs, or Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway, is going to be sold by the sheriff, it will be sold at an extraordinarily low price, and the chances are that some of the creditors will lose every bit of their claim. But I suppose there is no doubt that we can apply a condition to the right that we are giving this company to acquire these other companies. If I, as an individual, go to the sheriff and acquire these railways mentioned in section 14, I do not acquire all the rights, franchises, powers and privileges of the railway, I merely acquire the properties; and it would be necessary for me afterwards to come to parliament to have renewed in my favour the privileges attaching to the Acts of incorporation of these railways. But, by the mere fact that this company will go to the sheriff's sale and purchase, they will acquire all the advantages of the charters that have been granted to these other companies. Claims, that I admit it is our duty to recognize in this parliament, will be thrown out, and all the privileges of these two companies, at a very low price, will pass to this company. I think that we should look into this matter very carefully.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Do I understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Monk), to suggest that this clause will enable the new company to purchase and acquire more rights, more property, and a larger interest, than the sheriff is selling, and which he would sell, if this Act had not been proposed?

Mr. MONK. Yes, I understand that from the second part of section 14, unless that section has been amended. The company will have the right to purchase:

All the rights, franchises and privileges conferred upon the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Com-

pany and the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company by any of their special Acts.

I say that we are giving them a great deal more than I would have, if I were to acquire the property at the sheriff's sale.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman whether he thinks that such a clause, as is contained here, could possibly enable the sheriff to sell more than the law gives him the right to sell?

Mr. **MONK**. No, but the moment I have the title from the sheriff, this section goes into operation, and gives me all the advantages of the charters existing.

Mr. **BERGERON**. There is one point which the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals does not understand, or does not want to understand. If one bought at the sheriff's sale, the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway, as the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk), said, it wipes out everything.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. Not a bit of it.

Mr. **BERGERON**. Yes, here we are creating a new man. Here we are making a man, and all we ask is that in making a man, we shall provide for the creditors of the line that shall be sold.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies). Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron), mean to alter the manner in which the purchase money shall be distributed by the laws of the province of Quebec?

Mr. **BERGERON**. No.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. How can you give priority to a class of creditors that the existing law does not give. There is only a certain amount of money that will be paid by the purchasing company, and that has to be divided by the courts of Quebec. Do you propose to alter that condition?

Mr. **BERGERON**. No.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES**. How are you going to give to the creditors of the Baie des Chaleurs Railway more than the provincial law gives them, without altering it?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I would ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Monk), as a lawyer, when you are giving a person the right or privilege of purchasing, no matter how much is purchased, how can you say you are conferring any larger rights, as to what is to be sold, than the seller is legally authorized to dispose of?

Mr. **MONK**. I think we are under that section. I need not say that if I, as an in-

dividual, forming part of a syndicate, went to the sheriff's sale, and acquired that railway, I would not be in the same position as this company under this enactment contained in the second part of section 14, because, I would not succeed to all the rights and privileges of the companies that they get from their Acts. The moment this company acquires the property at the sheriff's sale, it succeeds to the rights that no other individual would possess, if he bought the road.

Mr. **BERGERON**. We are creating them here.

Mr. **MONK**. In respect to the suggestion of the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Sir Louis Davies), we can surely protect these creditors to a greater extent than the law of the province of Quebec does. The law of the province of Quebec gives very small privileges in respect to the claims of workingmen. We could do something to protect, to a further extent, the workingmen and others who have equitable claims against the railway, which would be barred altogether under the law of Quebec.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I think there is nothing in this section which could possibly transfer to the purchaser under this Bill any greater rights, any other franchises, any other interests, or any property than the law of Quebec authorize the sheriff to sell. It is an utter impossibility for the sheriff to part with any title, or property, or right, other than that which the law of Quebec authorize him to sell at public auction. The purchasers get nothing more than that if they were incorporated a thousand times under this Bill.

Mr. **MONK**. If I purchased this Baie des Chaleurs Railway, I would not have the right to bond the railway. Will not this company have the right to bond it? Is not that one of the privileges which are conferred on the Baie des Chaleurs, and on the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway, which I, as an individual purchaser, would not have. Therefore, this company is placed in an exceptionally advantageous position. The same thing would apply to many other privileges.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I think my hon. friend is driving away from the question. He is not surely suggesting that the sheriff has any power to sell, the right to the purchaser, to issue bonds?

Mr. **MONK**. No.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I do not think that this Bill will give to this company any greater bonding powers than we would readily confer upon any individual, or company, that might buy that road and come and ask parliament for bonding powers. Parliament might consider it necessary that the purchasers at the

sale of the railway, when incorporated, should have the power to issue bonds in respect to the railway. It would be a very proper power to give them. But, that question is not involved in the one which has been raised here. I maintain that there must necessarily be parliamentary, or legal authority in the first place, for the individual to make the sale, and he can only exercise his power of sale to the extent that the law has empowered him and no more. No man can buy, or acquire any more than the law empowers him to sell. It would be a legal anomaly to suggest that a man could do so. You have the power to sell to the extent which it may be exercised by law, and you have the power to purchase to the extent to which the right is granted.

Mr. HAGGART. Undoubtedly the sheriff has power to sell all the rights, powers and privileges which may be granted to the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company, and the purchaser, the moment he purchases that property, not only has all the powers, rights and privileges of the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company, but he has all the powers, rights and privileges of the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway besides. Is there any probability that they will be exercised under this Bill, because, we are giving to the purchaser all the privileges, powers, rights and franchises which we have conferred upon the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company and the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company. There is no doubt they will have these powers. The sheriff has power to sell, and we can empower the company purchasing the road, to exercise these powers.

The PRIME MINISTER. I appeal to the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk), that there is no need of any law to preserve the right of the creditors if this road is sold by the sheriff. If this road is sold by the sheriff all the assets will be distributed amongst the creditors under the law of the province of Quebec, and therefore, we are fighting an unnecessary battle here. If there is any object in the discussion, it is to preserve the rights of the creditors, and if the road is to be sold, I appeal to my hon. friend from Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk) to tell the committee that the proceeds will have to be deposited in court and distributed, and the right of every creditor passed on by the court.

Mr. McALISTER. But some of these debts are prescribed by law.

The PRIME MINISTER. Of course, I can only refer to the legal claims.

Mr. MONK. There is no doubt but that what the Prime Minister says is correct, but my argument is, that under this Bill we are creating a purchaser who will be in a better position than any one else to buy, and you will, therefore, keep others away from the sale and the property will be sacrificed.

Mr. BLAIR.

The PRIME MINISTER. How will you be kept away from the sale?

Mr. MONK. This company will necessarily outbid me, because of the advantages they possess under the second part of section 14, and which advantages I cannot acquire. The only thing I can buy is the road-bed and the rolling stock. But under this Bill these people succeed ipso facto to the valuable privileges of the company, and that great advantage will keep competitors away.

The PRIME MINISTER. On the contrary, my hon. friend knows that as far as the rights of creditors are concerned, the more there are of possible purchasers the more it is to their advantage.

Mr. MONK. Yes, if there is not one privileged purchaser or bidder.

The PRIME MINISTER. The more the competition the better the price, and the better it is for the creditors.

Mr. M. J. F. QUINN (Montreal, St. Ann's). But the objection to this clause is that it prevents competition. If the public were all on the same footing then there would be competition, but here you are giving this corporation special privileges over every other intending purchaser.

The PRIME MINISTER. What special privilege?

Mr. QUINN. The privilege of having power to run that road immediately they acquire it, and to bond it immediately they acquire it.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. There is no bonding in it.

Mr. QUINN. It is quite true as the minister (Mr. Blair) has said, that the sheriff cannot sell more than he possesses, but you are giving this company power to carry on the business of that road and to bond it, although the sheriff has no power to sell that right. That gives the company what I would call an undue preference over all others.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. We are not giving any more than the law gives now.

Mr. QUINN. If this property were sold to an ordinary individual he would have to come to parliament for power to bond the road and to extend it, or carry on any other works, after twelve months. The moment that individual would come to parliament, the creditors would come here and make their claims and justice would be meted out to them. But, you now give this company all this power beforehand, and so the railway will be sold like a pig in a bag. The moment this company acquires the road from the sheriff they can say to the creditors: 'You can go to the mischief, I have

authority to operate this road. I need not go to parliament, and I have nothing to do with you at all.' As the hon. member (Mr. Monk) has said, this company has an exceptional advantage in the purchase over all other persons. If an ordinary purchaser got the road, he would have to come here with all the sins of the old company on his shoulders, and ask parliament for relief from the claims held against the old company. This company, if you pass this Bill, does not need to come to parliament again, and so you shut out competition against them.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Quinn), seriously suggest that if a man in the exercise of his rights under the existing law, would buy the railway at the sale, and deposit the money in the courts, that he would be liable to be called upon by this parliament to pay more in addition to what he had already paid for that property? I hardly think that is possible.

Mr. **QUINN**. The individual who would purchase from the sheriff would only purchase what the sheriff had a right to sell, namely the road-bed and the rolling stock, and in order to get power to operate and continue that road he would have to come to this parliament and then this parliament would impose upon him—at least I hope it would—such conditions as would make him pay the liabilities of the old company.

The **PRIME MINISTER**. How much do you think a man would bid under such circumstances?

Mr. **McALISTER**. I know the circumstances of this case and they are extreme in their character. There are many poor labouring men who worked on that road from the time it was first started, and these men have not been paid yet. A great number of the merchants along the coast have furnished supplies of all kinds for that road, and these merchants have not yet been paid, although they cannot afford to remain out of their money. I understand the Prime Minister to say that under the laws of the province of Quebec, these creditors are protected, but 90 per cent of these claims are prescribed by the law of the province of Quebec, and if this Bill is passed in its present shape there is no guarantee that their rights will be protected. This parliament would be remiss in its duty if it passes the Bill as it now stands, and particularly section 14, without throwing some safeguards around the rights of the labouring men and the merchants who supplied the material. It is also a fact that as the Bill stands it practically shuts out competition at the sale. This company can bid whatever they like for that road, and other competitors will be at a disadvantage, because they have afterwards to come to parliament to get power

to do what this company is empowered to do under this Bill in advance. I ask the House not to pass the Bill without affording some protection to the poor labouring man.

Mr. **BORDEN** (Halifax). This is a policy that has been adopted by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) in Nova Scotia in regard to his bridges. For example, when a contractor has entered into a contract with the government to build a bridge and has employed a large number of labouring men, and has failed to pay them, it has been the practice there, and it is one which might very well be followed here, that any person taking over a work of that kind and entering into a new contract with the government is bound as a part of his contract to satisfy the claims for labour that has been expended on the previous contract, so far as they have not been paid. As my hon. friend who last spoke very conclusively pointed out, a company coming here to get legislation to operate this railway must submit to such conditions as parliament sees fit to impose, and it would be well that any such company undertaking to purchase this road should know that one of these conditions would be the payment of the labour which entered into the construction of the road, and which, perhaps, formed the principal element of its cost.

The **PRIME MINISTER**. I must say I do not understand the tenor of the discussion. My hon. friend from Restigouche (Mr. McAlister) seems to be in earnest in looking after the interests of the creditors. In that I appreciate his motive; it is a worthy one; but it is rather hard that this parliament should be asked to legislate not only for the legal creditors, but for those who have no legal right at all. My hon. friend has referred to those whose claims are prescribed or outlawed, and it is carrying things very far when you ask parliament to look after claims which are not legal. I must say I am amazed at the turn the discussion has taken. The hon. member for St. Ann's, Montreal (Mr. Quinn) argues in all seriousness that this Bill is going to shut off competition.

Mr. **FOSTER**. Hear, hear.

The **PRIME MINISTER**. And he is endorsed by my hon. friend the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster). According to the hon. gentleman's contention, no one will bid against this company, because it has a privilege by its act of incorporation, whereas the outside bidder would have to come before this parliament to get his contract ratified, and parliament would impose conditions upon him, compelling him to pay an unknown sum in addition to what he has already paid. How much would a man give for the railway under such circumstances? There is no sense in it, if the ex-Minister of Finance will permit me to say

so. With regard to the hon. member from St. Ann's, Montreal, I must say I am surprised at his legal heresy. He forgets that this sale takes place in the province of Quebec, and does he mean to say that the title of the sheriff does not convey to the purchaser all the right of the debtor whose property is sold?

Mr. QUINN. Certainly.

The PRIME MINISTER. And, therefore, according to the law of the province of Quebec, all the rights of this company will be vested in the purchaser. He will have a perfect title, and he will not need to come to this parliament to have his title ratified. But what title would a man have if he purchased and paid some money into the hands of the sheriff, but had not all the rights of the previous owner, and had to come before parliament to get certain other rights?

Mr. MONK. He does not succeed to the statutory rights.

The PRIME MINISTER. I will not set up my legal authority against that of the hon. gentleman; but I have yet to learn that in the province of Quebec a sale by the sheriff does not convey all the rights that belonged to the debtor whose property was sold.

Mr. QUINN. Will the right hon. gentleman allow me to state that so far as the property is concerned, the sheriff has the right to convey to the purchaser all the title in that property that the original holder was possessed of; but I do not admit that in selling the property the sheriff sold the right of the individual to everything he has in the world, or the franchise that it has been granted by this parliament. You sell the property, that is all.

The PRIME MINISTER. If the theory of my hon. friend is right, if the title conveyed to the purchaser does not give him every right which belonged to the former owner, if he has to come to this parliament, and this parliament has a right to place new conditions upon him, how much would he bid for the property?

Mr. QUINN. That is just the position the ordinary purchaser would be in. If you give this company the present charter, another purchaser would say, how can I offer to purchase that property when this company possesses a franchise for the railway, with the power to issue bonds? Consequently, I say, you will destroy competition.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do not like to hear the hon. gentleman reaffirm a declaration which is opposed to the very words of the Bill. The second subsection of section 14, when properly read, restricts the new company to what it actually acquired at the sale. There

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

is not a particle of additional authority given to it. There is nothing here conferring any power to issue bonds. I am not going to deny that, possibly, if the Atlantic and Lake Superior Company had not exhausted its bonding power at the time of the sale, which it had under the general Railway Act, the new company buying the property would have the power to issue any bonds that the old company had power to issue and had not yet issued. But the company would not have any new power to issue bonds, nor does this Bill confer any such power.

Mr. BERGERON. I want to ask one or two questions. Last year we voted a subsidy for thirty miles of the railway from Caplin to Paspébiac. Was that subsidy paid?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No.

Mr. BERGERON. Has the line been finished between Caplin and Paspébiac?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do not think so, yet.

Mr. BERGERON. I understood the Premier to say that the line went as far as Paspébiac.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. It was under construction last year.

Mr. BERGERON. Is it built or not?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do not think it is completed.

Mr. FOSTER. It is built within half a mile of it, anyway.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I am not officially informed on the subject.

Mr. BERGERON. It would be very extraordinary to see that work being done on 30 miles of railway subsidized by the government, and the rest of the line, the 100 miles, not being operated. That would look like throwing away money for nothing. Can the hon. gentleman say whether any of the subsidy was paid out of what was voted last year?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I do not think so.

Mr. BERGERON. Was there any work between Paspébiac and Gaspé?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I have not heard of any.

Mr. BERGERON. We voted also for 82 miles of railway a subsidy which would have amounted to \$250,000 or \$260,000. My object in asking these questions, I am sure is clear. My impression is that some gentlemen of the Atlantic and Lake Superior Company will join the new company.

The PRIME MINISTER. My hon. friend is quite mistaken.

Mr. BERGERON. Why was there not any subsidy given to the Atlantic and Lake Superior Company last year, on their line between Caplin and Paspébiac.

The PRIME MINISTER. It is not completed yet.

Mr. BERGERON. My hon. friend said the line went as far as Paspébiac.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Yes, but not entirely completed.

The PRIME MINISTER. The portion of the road from Caplin to Paspébiac is not in such a condition that the subsidy can be paid.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. They have not yet earned the subsidy, at all events.

Mr. BERGERON. I believe that my right hon. friend has no confidence in the present company.

The PRIME MINISTER. Not much.

Mr. BERGERON. And he would have more confidence in the new company, and we are putting the new company in the position of being the only possible bidder for that road.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Not the only bidder.

Mr. BERGERON. Nobody will bid in the face of all the advantages we are giving this company by the charter before us.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. That is entirely incorrect.

Mr. BERGERON. The whole object is to get rid of one or two men in the one company and prevent any competition, and transfer all that belongs to the old company to the gentlemen we are incorporating to-day.

Mr. McALISTER. I beg to move that the following clause be added:

The company, upon so acquiring the said railways or any portion thereof, shall forthwith become liable to pay and satisfy the claims of all persons who have heretofore performed, furnished or supplied labour, goods or materials to or for the said Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company, or to or for the said Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company, or to or for any contractor or sub-contractor for the construction of any portion of either of the said railways; and the claims of all such persons, whenever the same shall have accrued, shall be a first charge and lien upon the said railways so acquired and upon all other property which shall at any time be acquired by the company hereby incorporated.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER. The hon. gentleman has not given notice; and according to the rule of the House concerning private

Bills, notice of so important amendment should have been given.

Mr. McALISTER. Then I will move this amendment on the third reading.

Mr. FOSTER. I think this is a very important clause. The right hon. gentleman gave a knock-down argument in my favour. He appealed to me that if I went down to buy that road in competition with this company, I would make my bid under these conditions. I would first have to pay in order to get the road, and then I would have to come to this House next year and get a franchise to run it. Then I would have this parliament telling me that before I could get the franchise I would have to pay something in addition to what I had paid already. I would thus be debarred entirely from competition against this company, and it goes into the field protected against any possible competition. But even if I were to bid under such adverse conditions, when I came to parliament to ask for a franchise, I would have the Minister of Railways replying: Why, we granted that franchise last year to this other company.

Mr. QUINN. If the position taken by the Minister of Railways is right, what is the use of subsection 2 of clause 14:

2. The company may, with reference to the said railways, or any parts thereof so purchased, as well as all other rights, franchises, powers, privileges and property acquired in connection therewith, exercise, in the name of the company, in addition to all the other rights, franchises, powers and privileges conferred upon the company by the Railway Act and the special Acts relating thereto, all the rights, franchises, powers and privileges conferred upon the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company and the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company by any of their special Acts.

This subsection means, if it means anything, that if this company should purchase this railway, it will not have to come before this House another session to obtain a franchise to run it. But if an ordinary purchaser should purchase this road, he will have to come before this parliament for a franchise. It is evident that the incorporators of this new company believe that if they purchased at sheriff's sale, without this clause, they would only get a title to the road-bed and rails and the other real property, but not to the rights and franchises, and that in order to obtain these they would have to come to this parliament. Therefore, they had this clause inserted.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. There are none so dull as those who do not want to understand. The subsection provides nothing more and nothing less than would be provided by this parliament, if A, B or C were to attend this sale and buy in this railway without having previous statutory authority to do so. They would buy it, and for the time being exer-

cise the powers which the Railway Act would confer upon them. Then they would come to parliament next session, and parliament would give them the powers given by this clause to this company.

Mr. BERGERON. Would parliament do it?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Parliament would, because parliament has always done it.

Mr. BERGERON. Without conditions?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I will not say without adding any conditions, because there might be some conditions which it would be proper to add; but certainly, without any conditions which would add to the cost of the railway to the individual who purchased it. We give an individual the right to purchase with the ordinary rights and powers of running the road for a year, but at the end of that time the ratification of parliament, as it may be called, has to be sought. The individual might say: I paid my money on that understanding, agreeing to give a million dollars, and put up that amount; but now I decline to recognize it as just on the part of parliament to say that the price that I am to pay, shall be a million and a half. I say there is an element of injustice and wrong in that which parliament should not be guilty of. I decline to believe that there are enough men in this House who take such a view as that as to give it the sanction of the House.

Mr. QUINN. I would like the hon. minister to explain where I am in error in the statement I have made. The hon. gentleman says that I do not understand it; but I want to understand it.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Quinn), is in error in assuming that there is something in subsection 2, which would not be found in any similar Bill which might be applied for by the purchaser next year.

Mr. QUINN. I say that that is just what would be applied for.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Then, what is the hon. gentleman complaining of?

Mr. QUINN. My objection is that you are giving this power to this company before you know the position the company occupies or will occupy.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. You are not doing now more than you are doing every session. You are authorizing people in advance to purchase railways, and saying that if they do purchase a specified railway, they shall possess all the powers conferred by the Railway Act over the property they have purchased under

their special Act. You are doing now, in advance, simply what you would later; that is all, and, to the extent to which you are doing that, to the extent that you are creating corporations authorized to buy, you are increasing the number of possible purchasers and adding to the competition.

Mr. QUINN. We are doing that regularly with solvent railway companies, and we take the precaution of protecting the creditors. But, here, we are dealing with an insolvent company, with a company that has been closed up, a company that is over head and ears in debt, and unfortunately is over head and ears in debt to poor people. We are giving a corporation the power to buy that, and authorizing them to acquire all the franchises and powers of the company before we know that they are going to pay a dollar.

The PRIME MINISTER. Perhaps we could come to some conclusion on this. My hon. friend from Restigouche (Mr. McAlister), wants to protect the creditors. The amendment he moves cannot be taken at this stage of the Bill. The promoter of the Bill is not here, but he will, no doubt, be here shortly, and, no doubt, the hon. gentleman will have occasion to consult with him. I sympathize with the view of the hon. member (Mr. McAlister), presents and the object he has in view. But, he will admit that he is carrying it very far, when he is looking to cover a debt incurred some fifteen years ago. Giving the widest interpretation, however, outlawed debts certainly cannot be taken into consideration by this parliament. But, the promoter of the Bill will be here soon, and it is now within five minutes of six o'clock, perhaps we could leave this matter over until this evening.

It being six o'clock, the committee took recess.

AFTER RECESS.

(The House resumed in Committee.)

Mr. QUINN. The right hon. leader of the government promised us an explanation from the hon. gentleman who has charge of the Bill.

Mr. R. LEMIEUX (Gaspé). I must apologize to the committee for being absent this afternoon during the discussion of my Bill, but I was unavoidably detained through falling to catch the train this morning. I have just read the amendment which has been presented by my hon. friend the member for Restigouche (Mr. McAlister). But I desire to consider it more carefully, and to discuss with my hon. friend the question whether the promoters of the Bill can accept it or not. I would, therefore, move that the committee rise, report progress and ask leave to sit again.

Mr. QUINN. I may explain to my hon. friend that the objection that was expressed

in committee was against section 14. One part of the House objects that this section gives the company the right to acquire by any means whatever the property of the Baie des Chaleurs and the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Companies, and then by the very fact of having acquired it, they become possessed of all the franchises and rights of the two companies; whereas, if an ordinary individual, for example, went to a sheriff's sale of this property and bought in the roadbed and what the sheriff would have a right to sell, he would only become possessed of the real property that was sold, and would be obliged to come here within a year and obtain from this parliament the right to run the railway, that is, the rights, and franchises, and privileges owned by the other two companies. Now, we think that is giving too much power to this company, and it is giving this company an advantage over ordinary bidders at the sheriff's sale which, we apprehend, will take place in a short time. That is the point to which my hon. friend ought to address himself in examining the amendment. The intention is to protect as far as possible the creditors. We understand that a large number of workmen and merchants had supplied goods to the original railway company, the Baie des Chaleurs Company, and they have not been paid their claims against the Baie des Chaleurs Company. These claims will amount to nothing if a sheriff's sale takes place; we imagine, at any rate, that the sale will not realize more than sufficient to pay the bondholders, the consequence being that the ordinary creditors would be left out in the cold with nothing. This company then would assume all the rights of the original company and leave the ordinary creditors nothing. We would like to see them protected, and it is for that purpose the amendment is suggested.

Motion agreed to, and committee rose and reported progress.

SECOND READINGS.

Bill (No. 111) respecting the St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Company.—(Mr. Tisdale, by Mr. Taylor.)

Bill (No. 112) to incorporate the Quebec and Lake Huron Railway Company.—(Mr. Belcourt, by Mr. Featherston.)

Bill (No. 118) respecting the Timagami Railway Company.—(Mr. McHugh, by Mr. Lang.)

Bill (No. 119) to incorporate the Canadian Nurses Association.—(Mr. Roddick, by Mr. Taylor.)

Bill (No. 121) respecting the Ontario Power Company of Niagara Falls.—(Mr. FHnt, by Mr. Featherston.)

Bill (No. 122) respecting the Lake Erie and Detroit Railway Company.—(Mr. McGregor.)

DISBANDMENT OF THE 70TH BATTALION.

Mr. MARCOTTE (by Mr. Monk) asked :

1. Is it true that the 70th Battalion has been disbanded?
2. When, and for what reasons?
3. What is the nominal strength of the battalion?
4. What was the actual strength at the date of the disbandment?
5. How many officers were there holding first-class certificates?
6. How many officers were there holding second-class certificates?
7. How many officers (combatants) were there holding no certificate?
8. Was the battalion called out for active service during the Fenian raid?
9. How many responded to the call?
10. How many drill sergeants were provided by the government at the last camp of instruction held at Lévis?
11. How many of them were competent to use the French language in giving instruction?
12. Was the battalion provided with instructors able to speak French?
13. Where are the headquarters of the present 70th Battalion?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. Yes. 2. By General Order 11, of February, 1900, having become non-effective. 3. The nominal strength was 277 all ranks. 4. The corps drilled five officers and seven non-commissioned officers and men short last annual training, the numbers drilling being twenty officers and 245 non-commissioned officers and men. No subsequent return has been received. 5. Eleven. 6. Four. 7. Four. 8. Yes. 9. 215 all ranks. 10. There were at least 25 instructors provided by the government during the Lévis camp, 1899, for the 10th Infantry Brigade, of which the 70th Battalion formed a part. 11. About eight or ten. 12. Yes, with one instructor during the whole of the camp, and with two for part of it. 13. There is no existing 70th Battalion.

IMPORTATION OF AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND MACHINERY.

Mr. SPROULE (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

What is the value of agricultural implements and agricultural machinery imported into Canada from July 1, 1899, to March 1, 1900, and the duty collected thereon?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). When this question was put the other day, I informed my hon. friend (Mr. Sproule) that I could not give him the return to the end of March, and he signified his desire to have it to the 31st of December. I shall be glad to give him the information now. It is as follows :

Articles.	Consumption Value.	Duty.
Binding attachments	\$ 13,883	\$ 2,776 55
Cultivators	3,239	646 30
Drills, grain seed	3,585	715 65
Farm, road or field rollers....	25	6 25
Forks, pronged	3,419	857 73
Harrows	10,674	2,134 80
Harvesters, self-binding and without binders	478,708	95,741 20
Hay tedders	2,062	515 50
Hoes	335	81 08
Horse rakes	36,977	7,395 40
Knives, hay or straw	152	38 00
Lawn mowers	1,247	436 59
Manure spreaders	231	46 20
Mowing machines	106,302	21,360 34
Ploughs	50,725	10,156 00
Post-hole diggers	151	37 75
Potato diggers	139	35 00
Rakes, n.e.s.	670	167 50
Reapers	9,820	1,964 20
Scythes and snaths, sickles or reaping-hooks	1,469	270 09
Spades and shovels and blanks for same	14,664	4,504 01
Weeders	627	125 40
All other agricultural imple-ments, n.e.s.	34,474	8,611 94
Fanning mills	818	204 50
Grain crushers	228	57 00
Wind-mills	11,138	2,786 28
Fooder or feed cutters	41	10 00
Threshers and separators.....	100,193	25,048 19
Total	\$886,496	\$186,729 45

CONTRACT FOR FURNISHING ARN- PRIOR POST OFFICE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

1. Who had the contract for furnishing the interior of the Arnprior post office ?
2. Were tenders called for?
3. How many tenders were received?
4. What was the contract price?
5. How much was the total cost?
6. Was the contract given to the lowest tender?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. J. Wolfe, of Arnprior. 2. Yes, for fittings and retaining wall from two firms. 3. Two. 4. \$2,240. 5. \$2,240. 6. Tenders being equal, the contract was given to the local man.

CONTRACT FOR ASPHALT SIDEWALK, ARNPRIOR POST OFFICE.

Mr. TAYLOR asked :

1. Who had the contract for laying the asphalt sidewalk at the Arnprior post office ?
2. Were tenders called for?
3. How many tenders were received?
4. What was the contract price?
5. How much was the total cost?
6. Was the contract given to the lowest tender?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. J. Wolfe, of Arnprior. 2. No. With regard to the remaining questions, the answer is as follows: The chief architect's esti-

Mr. PATERSON.

mate to construct the sidewalk was \$458, as follows :

2,200 feet at 20c.....	\$440
180 feet curb at 10c.....	18
	<u>\$458</u>

The work was offered to Mr. J. Wolfe, who agreed to accept \$460, but reported that there was danger of the walk settling, as it slanted two ways. The chief architect, on recommendation of the inspector, decided to build a drain, to be filled with stone and cement, all around walk. This was done by Mr. Wolfe at a cost of \$140 additional.

THE RECENT DISTURBANCE IN MONT- REAL.

Mr. MONET (by Mr. Legris) asked :

1. Is the government aware that the Victoria Rifles Battalion was called out during the recent disturbance in Montreal?
2. Were orders to that effect issued by the government or the hon. Minister of Militia?
3. If so, was the government informed that the Riot Act had been read during the said disturbance at Montreal before such call to arms?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. The acting district officer commanding reported, on the 3rd of March, that the preceding evening, about 9 p.m., the Montreal drill hall was attacked by a mob, and that fearing a more serious outbreak, he requested officers commanding corps of the city of Montreal to call out their units to guard their several armouries. 2. No, no orders were issued by the government. 3. The government was not informed.

TORONTO DRILL HALL.

Mr. CLARKE asked :

1. Is it the intention of the government to provide a sum in the supplementary estimates for the completion of the Toronto drill shed by providing accommodation for cavalry and artillery?
2. Is it the intention of the government to do any work this year in connection with the Toronto drill shed? If so, what is the nature of the work contemplated?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The matter is under consideration.

EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC WORKS IN CHARLEVOIX.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

What are the amounts expended for public works in the county of Charlevoix for each of the several years following:

1. From July 1, 1896, to June 30, 1897?
2. From July 1, 1897, to June 30, 1898?
3. From July 1, 1898, to June 30, 1899?
4. From July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1900?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Amounts expended for public works

in the county of Charlevoix for each of the following years: 1. Year ended 30th June, 1897, \$6,629.15. 2. Year ended 30th June, 1898, \$14,306.97. 3. Year ended 30th June, 1899, \$15,451.00.

MAIL CARRIER AT MURRAY BAY.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

What has been the amount paid to Léon Trudel for carrying the mail from the post office to the wharf at Murray Bay, and vice versa, for each of the years 1897, 1898 and 1899?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). For the year ended 30th June, 1897, \$30.90 was paid to L. Trudel for the Murray Bay and wharf service, his contract having commenced on the 18th May, 1897. For the year ended 30th June, 1898, \$144.60 was paid; and for the year ended 30th June, 1899, \$132.90 was paid. The rate of payment to Mr. Trudel has been 30 cents per trip, which rate was fixed by public tender. The rate prior to the season of 1897 was 50 cents per trip, which was fixed without tender.

DEBT DUE ONTARIO.

Mr. CORBY asked :

1. Is the sum of \$2,882,289.52, on which, by the resolution of this House passed in 1884 it was resolved that interest should be paid the province of Ontario at 5 per cent, a debt due to said province which she can draw at any time?

2. Were the corresponding sums on which, by said resolution, interest was to be paid to the other provinces also debts due to them which they can demand and obtain at any time?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The views of the government as to the operation of the Act of 1884, to which the hon. gentleman refers, have already been stated in answer to a question this session. The answer will be found on page 155 of the revised *Hansard*.

TRENT VALLEY CANAL.

Mr. ROGERS asked :

1. How much money has been paid to date on the construction and right of way of the Trent Valley Canal?

2. How much has been paid for damaged lands to date, and estimated future cost of damaged land caused by construction?

3. What is the estimated cost of completion of said canal?

4. Does the government contemplate the completion of the canal?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. (Mr. Blair). 1. \$2,406,019.10. 2. (a) Paid for land and damages to date, \$266,388.37. (b) The officers of the department cannot undertake to make an estimate at present. 3. The estimated cost of completion of Trent Valley Canal is \$5,000,000. 4. Yes.

EASTERN EXTENSION RAILWAY, NOVA SCOTIA.

Mr. BELL (Pictou) asked :

1. By whom were the station buildings on the Eastern Extension Railway, in Nova Scotia, painted in the year 1899?

2. Was the work let by tender?

3. What was the cost of the work on the several stations?

4. Has the work been inspected and passed?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. The station buildings on the Eastern Extension Railway in Nova Scotia were painted in 1899 by Mr. A. H. McDonald, of Mulgrave. 2. The work was let by tender. 3. The cost of the work on the several stations was :

South River.....	\$ 8 14
Bayfield Road	55 47
West Merigomish	40 36
Avondale	69 52
Barney's River	80 91
Piedmont	51 12
Heatherton	89 42
James River	68 19
Harbour au Bouche.....	274 21
Tracadie	76 77
Antigonish	234 03

4. The work has been inspected and passed.

VOTERS' LISTS—PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

Mr. CASGRAIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. What is the reason why the electoral lists for the districts mentioned in the answer to question No. 36 on the Order paper No. 38, of March 28 instant, have not yet been printed?

2. If printed, why have they not been distributed?

3. At what date or dates were they received by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery under the Franchise Act, 1898, section 10?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. All the lists for the province of Quebec have been printed and distributed except ten. Of those Bagot has been printed so far as received; the same remark will apply to Dorchester and to Wright. The other seven are: Beauce, Bonaventure, Chicoutimi and Saguenay, Compton, Laval, Megantic and Vaudreuil. 2. The lists have been printed at the Bureau in the order in which they were received, but since December the Bureau has necessarily given precedence to the printing of reports for the meeting of parliament, and since the House met to parliamentary printing. 3. They were received by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, as follows: Argenteuil, October 12, 1899; Beauce, August 25, 1899; Bellechasse, June 17, 1899; Charlevoix, July 28, 1899; Chicoutimi and Saguenay, July 19, 1899; Compton, September 27, 1899; Gaspé, December 4, 1899; Hochelaga, July 24, 1899; Joliette, August 21, 1899; Kamouraska, July 5, 1899; Napierville, July 12,

1899; Laval, July 24, 1899; Maisonneuve, July 24, 1899; Megantic, February 2, 1900; Quebec East, September 18, 1899; Quebec West, August 16, 1899; Quebec Centre, August 16, 1899; Quebec County, August 16, 1899; Richmond and Wolfe, July 19, 1899; Shefford, June 29, 1899; Stanstead, September 27, 1899; St. John's and Iberville, August 15, 1899; Three Rivers and St. Maurice, August 14, 1899; Two Mountains, July 19, 1899; Terrebonne, July 31, 1899.

DISMISSAL OF SEMLIN GOVERNMENT— BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Mr. BOSTOCK asked :

1. Has the government received any report from the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia setting forth his reasons for dismissing the Semlin government and calling on the Hon. Joseph Martin to form a government?

2. What length of time has the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia given Mr. Martin in which to complete his cabinet?

3. Is the government aware that none of the gentlemen so far called in by Mr. Martin to join him are members of the legislature?

4. Is the government aware that after the Lieutenant-Governor called upon Mr. Martin to form a government, the members of the legislative assembly passed a vote of want of confidence in Mr. Martin, and that in spite of this, it is reported that no appeal to the country is to be made until the end of May or the beginning of June?

(a) Has the Lieutenant-Governor given his reasons for permitting such a state of things to exist?

(b) If so, do the government consider the reasons given to be good and sufficient?

5. If no report has been received, has the Lieutenant-Governor been asked to report immediately?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The report of the Lieutenant-Governor has not yet been received. He has been asked to make his report, and on the 28th March, the Secretary of State was informed by telegram that the Lieutenant-Governor had mailed his report on that day. The remaining questions cannot, of course, be answered until the report has been received.

KINGSTON PENITENTIARY BINDER TWINE.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

Has the government advertised in any of the papers in Manitoba the fact of the farmers being allowed the opportunity of purchasing binder twine, manufactured at Kingston Penitentiary until May 1, or any other date?

If so, in what papers?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Yes, in the following papers: *Eye Witness*, Birtle; *Free Press*, Winnipeg; *The Press*, Dauphin; *Journal*, Emerson; *Herald*, Morden; *Herald*, McGregor; *Press*, Neepawa; *Liberal*, Portage la Prairie; *Spectator-Reporter*, Rapid City; *Loberg*, Winnipeg; *Farmer's Advocate*, Winnipeg.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

ESTABLISHMENT OF MOUNTED IN- FANTRY.

Mr. GUILLET asked :

Has the Minister of Militia recommended the establishment of a number of units of mounted infantry in connection with the volunteer militia?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). No, but the matter is under consideration.

LOAN COMPANIES.

Mr. McINNES asked :

1. Is the government aware that a number of loan companies, acting under Dominion authority, are failing to fulfil the representations made by their agents and contained in their advertising literature, to their borrowers, and are extorting from the borrowers large sums in addition to the represented payments?

2. Is it the intention of the government to take any action to prevent these frauds? If so, what action is contemplated?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The government has no knowledge of such a state of affairs as is set forth in the hon. gentleman's question.

THE DREDGE MUDLARK.

Mr. McINNES asked :

1. Has any complaint been made against the management of the dredge 'Mudlark' during the past year? If so, by whom, and to what effect?

2. Did Mr. Joseph R. Roy, the resident engineer, investigate any such charges? If so, what was the effect of his report?

3. Did he recommend a fuller investigation? If so, was it authorized? If not, why not?

4. Is it the intention of the government to fully inquire into all matters connected with the management and operation of the said dredge during the past three years?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). One Kenneth McInnes was wheelsman on the tug *Princess*, employed at Nanaimo in connection with the dredge *Mudlark*, and whilst so employed became insubordinate, refusing to obey the reasonable directions of his superior officer, speaking to him in a violent and profane language, and generally acting in a way to interfere with proper discipline on board the vessel. On the day of his dismissal, he was steering the vessel in the harbour, and although the course was buoyed out, he disregarded the buoys and steered into shoal water over rocks and shallows, striking a reef, though not materially damaging the vessel. He had been operating the vessel in the harbour for over a year and knew quite well of the existence of the reef. In the evening of the day in question, the resident engineer sent for McInnes to receive his explanations, when he refused to come, stating that if the engineer wished to see him, he could come to him. This the resident engineer did, when McInnes stated that he had no expla-

nation to offer for running the vessel out of the channel, and that he anticipated dismissal, and that the resident engineer could come to him to dismiss him, instead of his going to the engineer, and thereupon he addressed violent, abusive and profane language to the resident engineer. Thereupon the resident engineer notified him that his services were dispensed with. Subsequently Mr. McInnes charged the captain of the tug with stealing certain articles from the tug. The resident engineer carefully investigated these charges and found them absolutely without foundation. The resident engineer was informed that McInnes was complaining of unfair treatment in his dismissal, and in regard to the investigation, and anonymous letters to the like effect were published in the local papers and the resident engineer, although he considered he had made a full, exhaustive and just investigation, recommended to the minister that, in view of such charges on the part of McInnes and the anonymous letters, it might be advisable to have a further investigation. But the minister, being satisfied with the fairness and thoroughness of the investigation, saw no good purpose to be served by reopening the matter.

INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY—WIRE FENCING.

Mr. PETTET asked :

1. Where does the government purchase its wire fencing for the Intercolonial Railway?
2. Is the wire purchased by tender?
3. Were the present contractors the lowest tenderers?
4. Were any offers received from Prince Edward County? If so, were they entertained? If not, why not?
5. How many tenders were received? What were the names of the tenderers and the prices?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). The course adopted by the government is to call publicly for tenders for the supply of wire fencing for the Intercolonial Railway, and that has been done. The parties to whom the contracts have been awarded were the lowest tenderers, taking into consideration the quality of the fencing and points of delivery. Yes, a tender was received from the Ontario Wire Fencing Company of Picton, Ont. This tender was not entertained because the wire fencing offered was not what was required. Nine tenders were received. Inasmuch as the tenderers have merely been notified that their tenders are accepted, and that they have not yet entered into a contract; it would not be right to make the prices of the various tenders public at the present time.

THE HALIFAX GARRISON.

Mr. PETTET asked :

1. How many officers, and how many non-commissioned officers and men, are the government sending to Halifax for garrison duty?

2. Were any applications for commissions received from the 16th Battalion, Prince Edward county?

3. If so, were any of them appointed? If not, why not?

4. Has the temporary commanding officer, Lt.-Col. Vidal, the sole authority to pass upon the various applications received? If not, who has the authority?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. 29 officers, 47 non-commissioned officers, 928 rank and file, total, 1,004. 2. Yes. 3. No. It was not possible to appoint all applicants. 4. No, but no appointment was made without his recommendation. The Officer Commanding the Militia and the Minister of Militia have the authority in this matter.

NORTH-WEST MOUNTED POLICE SUPPLIES.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

1. Were tenders called for during the current fiscal year for North-west mounted police supplies?

2. Were they called for for supplies of tea?

3. If tenders were not called for, why not?

4. At whose suggestion were they not called for?

5. What quantities of tea were bought without tender?

6. Who, if any one, advised Hon. Mr. Sifton in this matter?

7. Did any officer of the department, or the private secretary of the Minister of the Interior communicate with the comptroller on this subject?

8. What did he tell the comptroller to do?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. Yes. 2. Yes, for the Yukon, but not for the Territories. 3. It was thought better to purchase as required, limiting the price to 25 cents per lb. 4. The Comptroller North-west mounted police. 5. From sundry persons at various places, about 4,000 lbs. 6, 7, and 8 are questions which the minister thinks he is not called upon to answer.

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

Mr. DUGAS (by Mr. Monk) asked :

Whether the hon. Prime Minister declared at Drummondville, or elsewhere, in the course of last year, or at any other time since he became Prime Minister, that he or his administration had finally settled the Manitoba school question?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The Prime Minister has declared on the floor of this House and elsewhere that the school question had been settled in the only efficient way it could be settled, by removing it from the arena of federal politics and referring it to the legislature of Manitoba, which, in a spirit of conciliation and good-will to the minority, passed important legislation in amendment to the

School Act of 1890; and such legislation, like all other legislation, is always subject to amendment and improvement.

SURVEYOR VINCENT.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

1. Whether one Vincent, in the fall of 1890 or 1891, or about ten years ago, surveyed township 30, range 5, west of 2nd meridian, or part of said township ?

2. Whether any doubt was ever cast on the correctness of the survey made by the said Vincent ?

3. Whether the survey was not repudiated by the officers of the Interior Department ?

4. Whether the land agent at Yorkton was not instructed that the said land was unsurveyed ?

5. Whether the agent at Yorkton has not refused a settler or settlers an entry in the said township ?

6. Whether the land has not now been set apart for Doukhobor immigrants ?

7. Whether the squatting rights of Robert Russell Smith on a squatter section within the township has not been repudiated by the government ?

8. Whether the Department of the Interior has not accepted Vincent's survey formerly repudiated ?

9. Whether the Minister of the Interior will lay the papers in the premises on the Table ?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. Yes. 2. No doubt was cast on the correctness of his survey of this township. 3. His survey of this township was not repudiated. 4. No. 5. The department has no knowledge of any such refusal. 6. Yes. 7. No. 8. The answer to this question is covered by the answers to the second and third questions. 9. There is no objection to the papers being brought down if the same are moved for.

PHYSICIAN FOR RAMA RESERVE.

Mr. BENNETT (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. Who is government physician for band of Indians on Rama reserve ?

2. What is his salary ?

3. Upon whose recommendation was he appointed ?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. Dr. A. R. McDonnell. 2. \$150 per annum. 3. Upon the recommendation of the representative of the district.

THE SLOCAN LABOUR TROUBLES.

Mr. McINNES asked :

1. Has Commissioner Clute yet made his report on the labour troubles in the Slocan district, B.C., which he investigated some months ago? If so, what is the effect of his report?

2. Has Mr. Clute been sent to British Columbia again, under instructions from the government, to further inquire into the said labour troubles ?

3. Has he any instructions to enforce the 'Alien Labour Act' ?

4. Does the government intend to amend the 'Alien Labour Act' this session, so as to make its enforcement more easy and comprehensive ?

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I understand, though I am not quite sure, that the commissioner has made his report, and it will be brought down at an early date. The answers to the other parts of the question will depend upon the report.

MR. PAVINUS CHAMPAGNE.

Mr. POPE (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. What position does Mr. Pavinus Champagne hold in the Yukon ?

2. How long has he held the said position ?

3. What is his salary ?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. 1. Assistant store-keeper at Bennett. 2. Since March 11, 1899. 3. \$3.50 a day.

PAYMASTER ON OTTAWA SLIDES.

Mr. POPE (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. Who has succeeded Mr. Charles Leduc as paymaster on the government slides at Ottawa ?

2. What is the salary of such successor or successors ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). No successor has been appointed to Mr. Leduc.

MR. ZONO TRUDEL.

Mr. POPE (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

What is the position held by Mr. Zono Trudel, and what is his salary ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). He is extra clerk at \$2 a day.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—REPORTS OF COLONEL OTTER.

Mr. ROSS ROBERTSON asked :

1. What arrangement was made with Colonel Otter by the Militia Department or the Minister of Militia for the sending of reports of the doings of the Canadian first contingent in South Africa ?

2. Was Colonel Otter instructed to report regularly to the department or to the Minister of Militia by letter or cable ?

3. Have any reports been received from Colonel Otter ?

4. If so, what are the dates of these reports, and what date were these reports received in Canada by the department or the minister ?

5. What are the dates of any cable messages received from Colonel Otter respecting the doings of the first contingent in South Africa ?

6. Did Colonel Otter cable the list of casualties of the Canadian contingent in the action of February 18 and 20 ?

7. If so, on what dates were such cable messages received by the department or the minister ?

8. Has Colonel Otter reported to the department, by cable or letter, the names of the men of the Canadian contingent who are incapacitated from active service by illness or otherwise ?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. Lt.-Col. Otter was ordered to send

the following returns : Weekly state ; weekly sick state ; weekly staff diary ; and in case of casualties occurring to write or telegraph particulars of each case. He was also directed to send in a general report on his command, weekly. 2. Yes. 3. Yes. 4.

Diaries.	Received.	General Reports. Date.	Received.
Up to 12th Nov. . . .	7th Dec.	12th Nov..	7th Dec.
" 26th "	30th " . .	7th Jan..	5th Feb.
" 3rd Dec.	8th Jan..	8th Feb..	8th Mar.
" 17th "	18th " . .	14th Jan..	13th Feb.
" 24th "	26th " . .	22nd " . .	24th " . .
" 31st "	5th Feb.	28th " . .	8th Mar.
" 8th Jan.	5th " . .	3rd Feb..	12th " . .
" 14th "	13th " . .	4th " . .	12th " . .
" 21st "	5th Mar.	9th " . .	19th " . .
" 28th "	8th " . .	23rd " . .	26th " . .
" 3rd Feb.	13th " . .		
" 11th "	19th " . .		
" 17th "	26th " . .		

5. 5th December, 31st January, 3rd, 5th and 12th February (cables reporting casualties not included.) 6. 18th, yes, according to reports by mail—but this cable was not received in the department. 20th, yes. 7. That of the 18th not received. That of the 20th was received the evening of Sunday, the 25th February. 8. He has reported weekly the numbers incapacitated from active service.

MIDLAND HARBOUR AND GIN ROCK LIGHTHOUSE.

Mr. BENNETT (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. How many tenders have been received for the erection of range lights at entrance to Midland Harbour and removal of Gin Rock Lighthouse?

2. What were the figures of each of said parties tendering?

3. Has a local inspector for said work been appointed, and if so, who recommended him?

4. What are the qualifications of the party appointed for such purpose?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). In reply to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say : 1. Two. 2. It is not deemed advisable to give the amounts of these tenders, as the lowest tenderer has refused the contract. 3. A local inspector, whose qualifications were deemed satisfactory, was appointed on the assumption that the lowest tenderer would accept, but if the department determines to do the work itself, it will be done under the inspection of our officer, Mr. Noble.

HAWKESTONE DOCK.

Mr. BENNETT (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. How many tenders have been received for the construction of a dock at Hawkestone, Ont.?

2. At what amounts did the said parties tender?

3. Who is the local inspector for such work, by whom was he recommended, what are his qualifications for such position, and what remuneration is to be paid him?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I beg to say in reply to first question, two. To the remainder of the question, the answer is, that the contract has been awarded to the lowest tenderer. The contract itself has not yet been executed. If the question is renewed after the contract is executed, the information desired will then be furnished.

MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

Mr. LaRIVIERE asked :

1. Has the present government of Manitoba made a demand on the Federal government for the control of the school lands and funds?

2. Is it the intention of the government to accede to such a request and to introduce during the present session of parliament, legislation to that effect?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The government of Manitoba have made no demand on the present government for the control of the school lands and funds, but have asked for a conference on this subject, which the government is willing to grant.

MANITOBA VOTERS' LISTS.

Mr. LaRIVIERE asked :

1. When were the voters' lists for the several electoral districts of Manitoba received by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery?

2. Which of them are printed?

3. When will the others be printed?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). In reply, I beg to say : 1. The lists for Manitoba were received by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery on the 22nd September, 1899. 2. The lists were sent to the Bureau 28th November, 1899. 3. The lists for Brandon and Winnipeg have been printed. The lists for the other districts will be printed as soon as the pressure of parliamentary printing diminishes.

IMPORTS OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY.

Mr. HENDERSON asked :

What is the value of agricultural implements and agricultural machinery imported into Canada from Great Britain from July 1, 1899, up to March 1, 1900; also the duty collected thereon?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). In reply, I beg to say that : Information in answer to the above cannot be given, as the returns from the ports for the quarter ending March, have not yet been received ; but, for the six months ended 31st December, 1899, the information is as follows :

	Value.	Duty.
Cultivators	\$ 30	\$ 4 50
Drills, grain and seed.....	27	4 05
Forks, pronged	25	4 68
Harrows	30	6 00
Hoes	34	6 38
Scythes and snaths, sickles and reaping hooks	119	22 92
Spades and shovels, and blanks for same	7,324	1,922 36
All other agricultural implements, n.e.s.	103	19 31
Total	\$7,692	\$1,990 20

Mr. HENDERSON asked :

What was the total value of all agricultural implements and agricultural machinery imported into Canada from Great Britain, under the preferential tariff, during the year ending June 30, 1899?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). In reply, I beg to say :

Hoes	\$ 141
Knives, edging	6
Lawn mowers.....	207
Potato diggers	58
Scythes and snaths, sickles or reaping hooks	4,943
Spades and shovels, and blanks for same.	9,398
All other agricultural implements, n.e.s....	491
Total	\$15,244

IMPORTS OF FARM WAGONS.

Mr. HENDERSON asked :

What was the total number and total value of all farm wagons imported into Canada from Great Britain, under the preferential tariff, during the year ending June 30, 1899? Also, duty paid on same?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). In reply, I beg to say that: No farm wagons were imported from Great Britain.

Mr. HENDERSON asked :

Total number, value and duty on farm wagons imported into Canada from the United States during the year ending June 30, 1899?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). 1,827 wagons, valued at \$78,455. Duty, \$19,615.25.

Mr. HENDERSON asked :

Like information for period from July 1, 1899, to March 1, 1900, as asked for in questions 1 and 2 separately?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). Information in answer to the above cannot be given, as the returns from the ports for the quarter ending March, have not yet been received; but, for the six months ending 31st December, 1899, the information is as follows: No farm wagons were imported from Great Britain. From United States, 547 wagons, valued at \$23,176. Duty, \$5,790.83.

Mr. PATERSON.

YUKON DISTRICT—ELECTORAL CORRUPTION.

Mr. DAVIN asked :

The Hon. Mr. Kirchhoff has recently, in the Senate, spoken as follows: 'The correspondence alluded to differs from the correspondence I have had with men who are in that country now, and the same correspondence has come into the hands of the hon. gentleman in this House and it leads me to an entirely different view to that expressed in those letters of the heelers and hangers-on who have obtained positions in the Klondike. I have had scores of letters which intimate to me that not one-tenth of all the corruption and all the rascality and all the mismanagement existing in that country has ever filtered through down to this point, that if they ever had an opportunity such as Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper asked for in the House of Commons of giving evidence before a judicial commission, there would have been such an exposure of rascality that neither the Minister of the Interior nor the government could have faced it. We know that the parties who would have given that evidence are afraid, because nearly all of them have interests up there which one turn of the screw would probably deprive them of, and they are afraid to come out and give evidence. . . . At Oak Lake, twenty miles from where I reside, some parties were given a permit. They took in a large quantity of whisky and a number of dance girls, and cleared one hundred thousand dollars. They came back and divided the money with prominent people there. I know an instance in Brandon where a gentleman was given an opportunity of going out there with a permit in advance, when the permits were going to be stopped, and he started two days before they stopped giving the permits. He landed under an assumed name in Dawson with his cargo of liquor, and when he got there he was the only one who was allowed to remain. All the rest of the liquor cargoes in transit were not allowed to be taken in. He came down with his sole consignment and cleared about twenty thousand dollars, and is proud to say so to-day. He is building a block in Brandon which is commonly called the Whisky Block. That is only one instance. There are others who are sharing in the profits. He is to divvy up with others as well, and I know from my own experience that these liquor permits are being issued and sold in Vancouver and Seattle, and the parties are getting a rake-off from those who have the whisky permits. They receive a permit and it is taken away and peddled in the United States cities, and they make their profits out of it. I do not wonder that these people write to the minister that they are fairly well satisfied.'

Is it the intention of the government to inquire into these allegations?

Mr. SPEAKER. I beg to inform the hon. gentleman that a reference to what occurred in the other branch of the House, especially during the same session, is not in order. For the hon. gentleman's benefit, I would quote from Peel's decisions, page 73 :

It is a well established rule, and one of obvious convenience, that no reference should be made to words used in the other House of parliament in the same session.

CASUALTIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. ROSS ROBERTSON (by Mr. Clarke) asked :

Col. Otter's report up to February 24 contains the following:

'The night of the 18th or 19th was devoted to collecting the dead and wounded, of whom I cabled you a list on the 19th.'

Was this list cabled on February 19 ever received by the Militia Department or the minister? If so, when?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The list referred to, has not yet been received by the department.

VICTORIA, B.C., MAIL DELIVERY.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Have any petitions or letters been received by the Postmaster General, or his department, from residents of the south-eastern portion of Victoria City, B.C., praying for a daily mail delivery, and for the establishment of a letter-box in that locality?

2. Has the post office inspector in Victoria been asked to report on the matter? If so, has he reported on same, and what is the purport of his report?

3. Is it the intention of the Postmaster General to grant the requests of the residents of that important district?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). In reply to the hon. gentleman, I beg to say : 1. A petition was received at the department, asking for letter-carrier delivery and the establishment of a letter-box in the south-eastern portion of the city of Victoria. 2. This question was referred to the Post Office Inspector, who reported that the greater part of the neighbourhood was sparsely settled, but that the service would be a convenience to those resident there, and would entail an increase in cost. 3. A further petition to the same effect, having been received on the 31st ultimo, the matter will be looked into again, to see if present circumstances warrant the increased outlay which the service would involve.

MR. HENRY W. CLARK.

Mr. FOSTER (by Mr. Bergeron) asked :

Was Henry W. Clark an engineer of the dredge 'Canada,' and at what salary? Has he been dismissed, and if so, for what cause? Who now has the position, and at what salary?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). The answer to this question, except as to salary, appears in the *Hansard* reports of the 27th of July, 1899. The salary was \$75 a month.

RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE SUPERINTENDENT.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

1. When did the position of superintendent of the railway mail service become vacant through the death of the late Alfred Browne?

2. Who has been discharging the duties of the late superintendent since the time of his death?

3. Why has not the position, rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Browne, been filled by the appointment of a competent person to discharge the duties of a superintendent of the railway mail service?

4. When do the government purpose filling this vacancy?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I beg to reply : 1. On the 5th February, 1900. 2. Colonel C. J. Macdonald, Post Office Inspector, has been acting as superintendent. 3. Because the Postmaster General has not yet decided as to the officer whom he is prepared to recommend to council for appointment. 4. No doubt the government will fill the vacancy as soon as the recommendation is made.

UNOPPOSED MOTIONS.

Copies of all correspondence, telegrams and reports in regard to the dismissal of Mr. E. H. Jones, late postmaster of Kamloops, B.C.—(Mr. Prior.)

Copies of all orders in council, memorandums, reports and statements concerning the sale of timber on the ordnance lands of Point Pelée, in the county of Essex, and present standing of accounts between purchaser and government.—(Mr. Cowan.)

Return showing the amount of the rebate paid on agricultural implements exported from Canada for the fiscal years ending 30th June, 1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899, specifying the amount paid to each firm in each of the above years.—(Mr. Clarke.)

Return for all correspondence, papers, report or reports in connection with the application for the establishment of a post office at Lavalie, in the township of Devlin, Rainy River district.—(Mr. Sproule, by Mr. Taylor.)

VILLE MARIE BANK.

Mr. F. D. MONK (Jacques Cartier) moved for :

Copy of the petition or factum presented to the government by the depositors of the Ville Marie Bank, praying for the intervention of the government in respect to the notes of the bank issued illegally, and for a special grant and other purposes.

He said : I have deemed it my duty to call the attention of this House particularly to this petition. It is a petition signed, if I mistake not, by a very large number of people—I think over three thousand of the depositors and interested creditors of the Ville Marie Bank. These people belonged to a particular class, if I may use that expression. A very large majority of them are of the agricultural class in the immediate vicinity of Montreal and of the working class. I do not mean to say that many of the unfortunate depositors of the bank are not people of means ; but, to a very exceptional extent, the depositors belonged to the two classes I have just indicated. They are very largely to be found among the work-

ing class of the suburbs of Montreal, where that bank had some important branches, and also in the counties immediately around Montreal, where the bank had opened branches for sinister purposes, to which I will refer presently, and where the agents of the bank had succeeded in procuring quite an abnormal quantity of deposits with which the affairs of the bank were carried on. My object is, in reality, twofold—it is to acquaint the House with the very unfortunate condition of these creditors and also the steps they have taken to bring their misfortunes to the knowledge of the government of this country, and in view of the legislation which the government proposes to bring down during the present session, to point out some of the evils in connection with the affairs of the bank that these may be avoided in the future. It has become clear to those who have followed the affairs of the bank since the closing of its doors that, in the future, there must be a change in the law as regards the control of circulation. We have had, in the affairs of this bank, proof that the government of this country does not possess a sufficient control over the circulation of banks; and when I acquaint the House with some of the details with regard to the circulation of the Ville Marie Bank, it will be evident that there is something wanting in our law which it is the duty of the government to remedy. It is also desirable, I believe, in the law which is to be passed by this parliament, that provision should be made for more detailed returns to the government than those which the banks are obliged to furnish at the present time. It would be better still, perhaps, if some provision were made for the inspection, at stated times, of the affairs of banks. I know that it is a very difficult point to meet, I know that, in the first place, banks object strongly to inspection, and it is urged on their behalf that inspection is very difficult. But it seems to be possible for the government to overcome those objections, and to provide at any rate for a sufficient inspection of bank affairs to prevent the renewal in future of such a dreadful disaster as we have to contemplate in the present instance. There is a further point, I think, which is evident when we come to look into the affairs of this unfortunate institution, and it is that there ought to be on the part of the government some control, the law ought to be amended in such a way as to enable the government to exercise a supervision over the opening of branch offices. As we shall see in a few moments, the power which the banks possess of opening branch offices was abused in this case to a degree which is in reality the cause of the great misfortunes which we have to deplore. I have no doubt that if this bank had been obliged to conform to certain reasonable formalities before obtaining the requi-

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site authorization from the government to open a branch office, if inquiries had been made, the bank's operations would have been stopped, or at any rate a large number of these branches which have caused immense loss to the people in Montreal and vicinity, would never have been opened.

I do not wish to detain the House unnecessarily, and I do not think it forms part of my argument to go at great length into a description of the nature of the disaster which the depositors in this bank have suffered. I have stated already that they were people, as a rule, belonging to the poorer classes, belonging to the working classes, belonging to the agricultural classes, a class of people who placed all their savings, in many instances everything they had, in the branch of this bank in the vicinity where they lived. I can tell this House what I know will be corroborated by all the members of this House who come from the district of Montreal, that these calamities are simply impossible to describe. An immense number of people have been utterly ruined by the operations of this bank, people who had placed everything that they had in the bank. It would be taking up the time of this House uselessly to enter into a description of the many cases which, in my own county for instance, where this bank had two branches, have come to my knowledge by the failure of this unfortunate institution.

I think it necessary to state briefly to the House something about the origin of this bank, and how it arrived at the stage to which I wish to call the attention of the House and the government. The bank was organized in 1874, at a time when banks were springing up everywhere, it was organized with a capital of \$1,000,000, two issues of stock of \$600,000 and \$400,000 respectively. There was at that time a great activity in the creation of financial institutions of that kind. I have reason to believe that the promotion of this bank was carried on with undue zeal, and that a very large number of people were induced to take stock in this new bank upon the understanding that considerable advances would be made to them upon it. Many people availed themselves, in the city of Montreal, of this way of canvassing for stock, they took stock to obtain advances and never returned those advances, and, in fact, never paid up the stock for which they had subscribed. Of course it is difficult to trace this back now; but certain it is that in 1881, shortly after the bank was organized, it became necessary to reduce the stock by one-half, and it was reduced to \$500,000. But I desire the House to notice that even with this reduction, it seems that at no time did the bank have a set of bona fide stockholders for anything like \$500,000, although, apparently, the bank had that capital, mostly paid up. But when we come

to examine carefully the statements of the bank we come to the conclusion that there was very little beyond \$300,000, or perhaps even less, of bona fide paid up stock of the bank.

Now, Sir, the depositors in this bank have claimed that the fall of this bank has been accompanied by such exceptional circumstances, by circumstances of fraud—because we must give the thing its true name—within the bank and outside the bank, and by circumstances of dereliction of duty on the part of the bank, and brought to the knowledge of the government—I say under these circumstances the depositors have prayed the government to take into consideration all the facts connected with the failure of the bank, and to see whether it is not possible for the government to come to the relief of those depositors, at any rate, to a certain extent. These depositors have represented these facts to the government, and I believe on three or four occasions have come up here in order to personally expose their grievances, and their reasons in support of their petition. It is necessary to call the attention of the House to the peculiar situation of this bank with regard to the government themselves. I will say at once that it would be impossible to maintain the pretension that when a bank becomes insolvent under ordinary circumstances of bank failures, it is the duty of the government to come to the help of the creditors of that bank. But what we do claim is that our circumstances are totally different, we are placed in such an exceptional position with regard to the government, that there is at any rate on the part of the government a duty to look into our claim, to look into every detail, and to see whether our condition is not so exceptional as to command commiseration of the government. At an earlier part of the session I moved for a copy of all the correspondence between the government and the authorities of the bank; and very soon afterwards my hon. friend the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) moved for a tabulated statement of all the circulation, deposits and capital of the bank, according to the statements furnished the government since the 1st of July, 1892. I have these two statements in my hand. One is very voluminous, containing the correspondence of the government with the bank since 1892, which throws a great deal of light upon this question. Any one who takes the trouble carefully to examine this correspondence, beginning in 1892 and coming down to 1899, in fact just before the bank closed its doors, must come to the conclusion that during all those years the Department of Finance—I make no distinction between one administration and another—the government was convinced that this institution was being conducted illegally, that it was violating the law duly brought to its attention by the government,

and that there was attending the continued operations of that institution in the district of Montreal great danger to the public. I say that this is the legitimate conclusion at which you arrive if you look through that correspondence with any degree of care. In 1892 the Department of Finance became aware that there was something wrong with the affairs of the bank. I am obliged to indicate how that appears. It appears by a letter, dated the 3rd of March, 1892, and addressed by Mr. Courtney, Deputy Minister of Finance, to the Deputy Minister of Justice at Ottawa. I will read that letter:

Finance Department,
Ottawa, March 3, 1892.

Robert Sedgewick, Esq., Q.C.,
Deputy Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Sir,—I have the honour to call your attention to section 51 of the Bank Act, under which banks may issue notes for circulation to the extent of their unimpaired paid-up capital, and to say that the Bank Ville Marie has under the provisions of the Act issued notes varying since last July from \$330,500 to \$470,115. The bank makes return of a subscribed capital of \$500,000, and a paid-up capital of \$479,250. The difference between the subscribed and paid-up capital appears from the return just received of shareholders of the bank on the 31st December last to be caused by the cancellations of shares on which no payments have been made and in a few cases from the shares not being fully paid up. I find on looking through the return of shareholders, an item as follows: 'Shareholders' stock in suspense \$93,000,' all given as paid up; and I also find that there is standing in the name of U. Garand (the cashier) and W. Weir (the president of the bank) in trust, stock to the extent of \$135,000. Under section 64 the bank is precluded from lending money on the security of its stock, but under section 65 it has a privileged lien on its shares for debts due it, and may decline to allow the transfer of the shares until the debt is paid, but such stock must be sold within twelve months after the debt becomes payable. I have also to say that thirty shares of this bank were sold on Monday last on the Montreal market at 85. I have therefore to ask whether seeing the position of the bank as evidenced by this quotation and the fact that a great portion of its stock is held in suspense and in trust, the government, under the Act, should take any action in the matter, and if so in what direction. I shall be glad to be generally advised on the subject at your earliest convenience.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. M. COURTNEY,
Deputy Minister of Finance.

Here, then, was the attention of the Department of Justice called to a most important matter, the fact that the circulation of the bank exceeded, apparently, from the statement of the bank, and as a matter of fact, no doubt, exceeded the amount of stock really held, bona fide, by the shareholders in violation of the law. If you turn to page 31 of this return, some time after that, on the 29th of July—

Mr. BERGERON. What was the answer to that letter?

Mr. MONK. There was no answer immediately. It seems to have gone on some time before the Deputy Minister of Justice gave an answer, and on the 29th of July, 1892, Mr. Courtney writes to the Deputy Minister of Justice :

Finance Department,
Ottawa, July 29, 1892.

Robt. Sedgewick, Esq., Q.C.,
Deputy Minister of Justice,
Ottawa.

Sir,—I have the honour to call your attention to my letter of the 3rd March last in reference to the position of the Bank Ville Marie, in which I asked to be informed whether in view of such position, the government should under the Act take any action in the matter and in what direction. I have not yet received a reply to my letter of the 3rd March and I shall be glad to be advised on the subject at your very earliest convenience.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. M. COURTNEY,
Deputy Minister of Finance.

On the same day, evidently anxious about this matter, Mr. Courtney wrote to Mr. Weir, president of the bank :

Finance Department, Ottawa,
July, 29, 1892.

W. Weir, Esq.,
President,
La Banque Ville Marie,
Montreal.

Sir,—I have the honour to call your attention to the fact that in the last returns from your bank the subscribed capital is stated at \$370,500 in place of \$500,000 as in previous returns, and the paid-up capital at \$350,000 in place of \$479,250.

He calls his attention to the fact that, in his return he says it is \$350,000 only.

I beg also to call your attention to section 28 of the Bank Act which provides for reductions of capital stock only on approval of the Treasury Board, and as no such approval has been given, I shall be obliged if you will kindly explain your action in the matter. I shall be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. M. COURTNEY,
Deputy Minister of Finance.

Mr. BERGERON. Any answer to that ?

Mr. MONK. Not for some time. But, we find Mr. Weir sending Mr. Courtney a letter containing an account of the general meeting of the shareholders of the bank. It is somewhat lengthy, and I do not wish to take up the time of the House reading it.

Mr. BERGERON. What is the date of it ?

Mr. MONK. It was on the last day of July. This is what the president of the bank writes :

La Banque Ville Marie,
Montreal, August 1, 1892.

J. M. Courtney, Esq.,
Deputy Minister of Finance,
Ottawa.

Dear Sir,—In reply to your favour of the 29th ultimo, I inclose you herewith a copy of the an-
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nual report of this bank, in which reference is made to the reduction of the stock.

I have been suffering for some time from the excessive heat, and as soon as the doctor allows me, will go to the seaside for a couple of weeks, otherwise I would have taken a run to Ottawa and discussed the question with you, when I have no doubt we could have come to an understanding as to whether under the circumstance the sanction of the Treasury Board was required.

He seemed to call in question the necessity of obtaining any sanction for the reduction of the stock.

I may mention that I have discussed the question unofficially with the Hon. Sir John Abbott, who seemed to think that as the stock of the bona fide shareholders was in no way affected by this reduction, the stock cancelled being the property of the bank itself since 1879, it was more a matter of book-keeping than an actual reduction of stock under the meaning of the Act.

Our legal adviser being of the opinion that the cancelled stock could not be used as a basis of circulation it became a question whether to leave it standing in the books of the bank, or to write it off, and having consulted Mr. Hague, of the Merchants' Bank, and several other bankers they are unanimously in favour of the course we have adopted.

The opinion given by our legal adviser was to obtain the approval of the shareholders at our annual meeting, and, should the government require the approval of the Treasury Board to our action, to make the application in the terms of the Banking Act. In any case, I have to ask your indulgence until my health has improved, when I will go to Ottawa and discuss the subject with you.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) W. WEIR,
President.

Mr. QUINN. What date is that ?

Mr. MONK. That was the 1st of August, 1892. From that report, which is somewhat lengthy, it appears that the shareholders had reduced the stock. Very far from having the paid-up capital, as by their return they pretended to have, namely, \$479,000; there was over \$100,000 which had been confiscated, and stood in the name of the bank, but was in no way an asset of the bank. In order to wipe out that stock, which meant nothing at all, they held this meeting of shareholders, and the stock so held in suspense or trust by the bank, was wiped out and the real stock of the bank was fixed at \$350,000. After that, we find a letter from Mr. Courtney, which says :

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant respecting the reduction of the capital stock of your bank. I will make a report upon the subject to the Minister of Finance, but as he is at present absent from Ottawa, I suppose nothing will be done until after his return.

That letter was written in August, 1892. The next letter of some importance, is a letter from the Department of Justice to Mr. Courtney, in answer to his inquiry to which I have referred already. This is the

opinion of the Deputy Minister of Justice, dated the 19th September, 1892 :

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of certain correspondence from your department having relation to the present position of the Bank Ville Marie. The papers would seem to disclose the fact that the bank has issued paper beyond the extent authorized by law, and in other respects would appear to be in a somewhat precarious position. In view, however, of the absolute certainty of the exact position of the bank, and of the meaning of some of the words used in the returns, I have to call your attention to section 86 of the Bank Act, and to suggest that a special return be made as therein provided for. The bank should also be called upon to explain in such return the meaning of the phrase 'shareholders' stock in suspense,' as well as to give all particulars of the circumstances under which certain stock is held in trust by the cashier and the president of the bank. I have further to suggest that your department might consider whether, under the circumstances, it is safe or desirable that any Dominion moneys should be allowed to remain on credit in the bank in question.

As a matter of fact, gradually the Dominion deposit was diminished, and the Dominion government moneys were withdrawn, which goes far to confirm what I stated in the beginning, namely, that neither of the governments which succeeded each other since 1892 had much confidence in that institution. On the 21st of September, 1892 (Return, page 44), Mr. Courtney sent this report to the Minister of Finance :

Dear Mr. Foster,—I inclose a memo. respecting the Bank Ville Marie, to which I have to call your early and careful attention. Practically the bank has scarcely any capital, and is trading on its note circulation and deposits. The Montreal 'Gazette' quotes the stock—

Here again the department took the trouble to ascertain the quotations :

The Montreal 'Gazette' quotes the stock as 'buyers 77½, sellers 90.' I think the concern should be closed up.

Yours truly,
J. M. COURTNEY.

This was the note of the Deputy Minister of Finance, accompanying his report. That is to be found on page 45 of the return. I do not wish to take the time of the House in reading that report, but I may indicate that the report upon which the Minister of Finance is called upon to act, does not advise him to close up the bank. It mentions that the amount of stock which the bank up to the present time, appears to hold, is false ; that the bank has not \$497,250 of stock, but that from that amount must be deducted over \$135,000 of stock which the bank held in suspense, or held in trust, and which should not appear, of course, as being the paid up capital of the bank. This report mentions some other matters of importance. It mentions that the bank had taken upon itself to reduce its stock at a general meeting of the shareholders, at which general meeting, I may say now—because it ap-

pears further on—there was not the required number of shareholders or of stock represented. It mentions that the bank had taken upon itself in that peculiar way to reduce its stock, and without obtaining the confirmation of the Treasury Board. Finally, after calling attention to some minor irregularities, which, taken alone, may not be very important, but all together, with the larger ones mentioned in this report, show a state of things which should not exist in any well organized financial institution ; he concludes as follows :

The undersigned, in view of all the circumstances detailed above, begs to recommend that a special return be asked for from the bank under section 86 of the Bank Act, and that in addition to the information suggested by the Deputy Minister of Justice, the bank be asked to give details of the item under the head of assets, 'twenty-one assets not included under the foregoing head,' the amount under this head being for the months of August last, \$196,852.60 out of total assets amounting to \$1,495,636.05. With reference to the withdrawal of the Dominion government account, amounting to about \$19,000, the undersigned recommends that the same be withdrawn and the account closed. He also recommends that the bank be compelled to comply with the provisions of the Bank Act, and ask the Treasury Board for its sanction to reduce the capital stock.

This report was signed by Mr. Courtney, on the 21st September, 1892, and immediately on the back of the report, there is the following memo. by the Minister of Finance :

'Approved. (Signed), G. E. Foster. Draw the balance down gradually to \$10,000, and then advise with me.'

That was in 1892 after the department had been informed of this singular state of affairs in the bank and the decision which had been arrived at by the Finance Department, on the advice of the Department of Justice. On the 22nd of September, 1892, the deputy minister writes to the president of the bank :

I have the honour to inform you that I have duly submitted to the Minister of Finance the recent correspondence between ourselves relating to the reduction of capital stock of the Banque Ville Marie, and I am directed to inform you that the Minister of Finance is advised that the reduction of capital must be duly sanctioned by the Treasury Board under section 28 of the Banking Act.

I must ask you to take immediate steps to comply with the Act, inasmuch as there is a time limit imposed in the section above quoted.

Again, on the 22nd of September, the Deputy Minister of Finance writes to the president of the bank :

I am directed by the hon. the Minister of Finance, under section 86 of the Banking Act, to call upon you for the following special returns in connection with the business of the Banque Ville Marie, of which you are the president.

1. Statement showing the origin and the meaning of the sum of \$93,900, representing 939 shares designated, 'Stock des actionnaires en suspense,'

shown in the list of shareholders in your bank in the return dated January 19, 1892, such return to give dates and the meaning of the phrase.

2. A statement showing the full particulars of 1,350 shares or \$135,000, stated in the same return to be held in the names of U. Garand and W. Weir in trust, such statement to give dates.

3. A detailed statement giving full particulars of the sum of \$196,852.60, shown in your statement of the 31st ultimo as 'other assets not included under the foregoing heads.'

I shall be glad to be favoured with these returns at your earliest convenience.

Then follow some letters in which these returns are again called for, and on the 24th of September, 1892, the president of the bank writes to the Deputy Minister of Finance :

Inclosed you will find statement of the items forming the sum of \$196,852.60, called for in your letter of the 22nd instant.

As your second letter of the same date calls for details respecting the cancellation of part of our stock, and requiring us to take immediate steps to apply to the Treasury Board to ratify such cancellation, I propose to go to Ottawa on Tuesday morning next. If it will be convenient for you to see me on that day, please advise me by telegraph on Monday next, the 26th instant.

And he sent up a statement, which of course, has since been proven to contain many incorrect statements in regard to this item of \$196,852.60. He was telegraphed to, to come to Ottawa, and on the 26th of September, he wrote in regard to this large amount of stock held in suspense, but which had previously appeared as bona fide paid up capital stock of this bank :

I am in receipt of your telegram and shall go to Ottawa to-morrow morning. Meantime, I inclose the balance of statements called for in your letter of the 22nd instant. I am bringing fuller details with me; also the legal opinion of our solicitor. The phrase 'stock in suspense' was recommended to the directors of the Banque Jacques Cartier when I was on the board in 1879 by the Hon. Mr. (now Sir John) Abbott as the best way to describe stock reverting to the bank. The bank, I have no doubt, still holds his written opinion. If, after consultation with you and the hon. Minister of Finance, it is still deemed necessary to go before the Treasury Board, I fear we will have to begin anew, as the limit of time has expired, as I had entirely overlooked the three months' limit.

And he sends a statement of the stock held in suspense, which was practically worthless stock confiscated by the bank, and also a statement of the stock held in the names of Weir and Garand, which was stock of the same description, of no practical value. The parties interested seem to have met in Ottawa on the 28th of September, 1892, and reduced their agreement to writing, for we have here, at page 66 of the return, a memorandum as follows :

Mr. Weir will immediately take steps to bring about a reduction of capital to \$300,000. He

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will reduce his circulation at once to that limit. He has promised to get the assets in a shape to satisfy the Treasury Board.

The government balance to be reduced to \$5,000, and not to be increased.

As the House will see, on this 28th of September, 1892, it was agreed that the circulation should be reduced to \$300,000. If we take this point of circulation alone, without commenting upon the fact that from that date no steps were taken to have this reduction of stock sanctioned by the government, we find the bank singularly at fault all the time. I find that on the 30th of November, 1893, the circulation was \$320,000; on the 31st of December, 1893, it was \$306,870; on the 31st of August, 1894, it had gone up to \$311,000; on the 30th of September of the same year it was up to over \$339,000; and it continued varying, but almost at every second or third month to 1894 we find it going beyond the mark which had been absolutely agreed upon between the government and the bank authorities in 1892. To come down to later dates, on the 31st of August, 1897, by the bank's sworn return, the circulation was 335,000; on the 30th of September, 1897, it was \$333,000; and on the 31st of October, 1897, it was, according to the bank's own return, over \$48,000 beyond what it should have been. 30th November, 1897, \$47,000 more circulation than had been agreed upon. On the 31st January, 1898, the limit was passed again. On the 28th February, 1898, they were beyond the limit by over \$16,000. On the 31st March, 1898, they were over \$29,000 in excess. On the 31st October, 1898, they were \$32,000 and more in excess of what had been particularly agreed upon.

I do not wish to go into further details, but from 1892, in respect of its circulation and according to the bank's own sworn returns to the government, almost five times a year, we find the bank at fault and going beyond what had been specially agreed upon with the government as its nominal and proper circulation.

As regards the regularizing or diminution of the stock, nothing seems to have been done at any time. The House will find at page 98 of the report, that not only had the agreement been violated, but that the government knew of its violation, because we have a letter of the 30th October, 1894, in which Mr. Courtney the Deputy Finance Minister notifies the president of the bank that its circulation had increased abnormally, and that this was altogether irregular and must be remedied. Then we find Mr. Weir explaining this irregularity, explaining that he had understood that the circulation might go to \$350,000, and promising to see that it was reduced.

There is another letter, on the 3rd November, 1894, in which the Deputy Minister of Finance again calls the attention of the

bank to its excessive circulation and also to the irregularity with regard to its stock. The House will find that I am correct in stating that the reduction of stock was never ratified, as it should have been, according to the claim of the government, and according to law, no doubt, by the Treasury Board.

There are other letters signed by the secretary of the Department of Finance, and also letters exchanged between the deputy minister and Mr. Weir, that I do not think it necessary to dilate upon, with regard to other irregularities, and particularly the failure of the bank to keep to its agreement to regularize the stock account and reduce its circulation. But I desire to call the attention of the House to the fact that continuously during these years, and right up to the time when the bank closed its doors, it was always dilatory in sending in its statements. The House will find in this return, which throws considerable light upon the relations between the government and this institution, on pages 89, 90, 104, 105, 108 to 118, that it was always necessary for the department to call upon the officers of the bank to send in their monthly statement. Time and again the department had to warn the officers of the bank that unless they conformed with the very elementary directions in the Banking Act, measures would have to be taken to compel them to do so, and they would incur the penalty, and there was always some excuse given by the bank authorities for having failed to send in their returns in due time.

It is impossible to look through that correspondence, begun in 1892, and continued to the time when the bank closed its doors in 1899, without arriving at the conclusion that the officers of both administrations—because it would be unfair to claim that in matters of detail such as these, ministers can be expected to exercise any supervision—were convinced that the bank required careful watching, and that its affairs were in a perilous condition. After the present administration came into power there were additional reasons why the operations of this bank should have been scrutinized with even greater care. In the first place, the stock of the bank was in the hands of a very few men, and men who at no time had very great financial standing. In the next place, also in Montreal, a few doors from the place of business of this bank, another bank, far older and more solid, with far greater capital—a capital of \$1,200,000—had failed, and coupled with the failure of that bank, we had the fact that it was due to a very large extent, to large advances made to its directors. I refer to La Banque du Peuple. But there was another which was still more fatal to the existence of the La Banque du Peuple, and that was the fact that surreptitiously, in some of its branch offices, accounts had been opened and large

advances made which were never repaid. These two circumstances should have attracted particularly the attention of the Department of Finance to the affairs of La Banque Ville Marie. These facts should have made the government keenly alert to the circumstances of La Banque Ville Marie, a bank which with much smaller capital, opening branches everywhere and failing to comply with the special agreement between it and the government in 1892. Surely these things should have put the government upon its guard and forced the department to exercise a greater degree of vigilance.

But there was something more than the failure of La Banque du Peuple to attract the attention of the government to the smaller institution. As I have already indicated, the Deputy Minister of Finance watched the quotations. He speaks of the matter in 1892. He mentions in a later correspondence what sellers are offering, and very properly the estimates, to a certain extent, the strength of the institution by these quotations from the stock market in Montreal.

But, what has been, since four years, the position of the Bank Ville Marie in the money market of Montreal? It is a well-known fact, and one very easily ascertained by those not already aware of it, that for the last four years, brokers would not take the stock of the bank to sell it. Brokers accept transfer of bank stock to sell it; but they would not touch this stock in that way. And, why? Because, they feared that during the interval for which they would be compelled to hold the stock before selling it, the bank might fail. A broker who was requested to dispose of the stock, would say: I will try to find you a buyer; if I do, you will come here and transfer your stock to him; I will not hold it for a moment. And, what was the situation for four years past, with regard to the clearing house? A most extraordinary state of affairs existed. The clearing house would not take the accepted cheques of the bank for an amount exceeding \$10,000. The brokers would not touch the stock, the clearing house would not give the bank credit for more than \$10,000 on accepted cheques. There is more than that, which is easily ascertained—generally among the financial men in Montreal, the bank was considered a rotten institution. That explains to us, how it is that the victims of this institution are principally found among the poorer classes. No man who had knowledge of financial affairs in Montreal, no man who was a financier, would place any confidence in that institution. The depositors were country people and workingmen, with very few exceptions. The question seems to me, whether the government should not have known this. It seems to me that it should have known it. It seems to me that it was the duty of the government during all these years, in the first place, to

see to the carrying out of the law, to see that the circulation did not exceed what was normal and right, and to see that the question of the stock was put in regular position, according to the interpretation put upon the Banking Act by the Department of Justice. I will go further—I contend that it was the duty of the government, and it is the duty of the government, to know when a bank is in such a situation as I have described the Bank Ville Marie to have been among the financial men of a great centre like Montreal. If Mr. Courtney was performing his duty, when he was watching the returns of the bank, and seeing what the quotations of this stock were in the markets of Montreal, it was distinctly his duty to know what everybody about Montreal knew—that the credit of this bank was gone, and to prevent the bank carrying on further operations, and opening new branches. When we came to Ottawa to bring our complaint to the knowledge of the government, we were asked what the government could do; and if I mistake not, upon one occasion, one of the hon. gentlemen who sit on the Treasury benches, asked us if it were possible for the government to do anything, even if it had this knowledge that everybody else seems to have possessed. I think there is no doubt, at any rate, that the Attorney-General of Canada could have taken proceedings against the bank for non-observance of the law. There can be no question about that. The bank was in violation of the law, when it exceeded its legal circulation. I do not speak now of the violation that existed in the other statements, but here was a statement which showed the bank to be a violation of the law. It was violating the law when it failed to have its stock regularized by the Treasury Board. The Minister of Justice could have taken proceedings by *fieri facias* against the bank, to have its charter declared void. Such proceedings have repeatedly been initiated in the province of Quebec. The House will find in *La Revue Legale*, volume 20, I think, two or three decisions, showing the unquestioned right of the Minister of Justice, acting on behalf of the government, to take proceedings because a financial institution like this was violating the law. There was a case, if I mistake not, relating to the bank in St. Hyacinthe. There is no doubt that the Attorney-General of Canada has a right under our code to take proceedings against any institution, particularly a banking institution, incorporated by Dominion charter, to have that charter declared void, and have the institution deprived of its rights. But, that is not necessary. It is sufficient to look at the correspondence to see that the moment the government brings the slightest pressure to bear on a financial institution, such as this, that institution is ready to obey the mandates of the government. It would have been sufficient. I am perfectly sure, for the government, any time within the past four

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years, to have called on the officers of this institution to give a special return, for instance, showing what the million dollars and more of current loans, consisted of. That was largely bogus as we know to-day. If the government had called upon them for that information alone, they would have thrown up their hands, and would have ceased opening branches. It would have been sufficient for the government to have told the officers of the bank that, until their position was regularized, they could not open any more branches. They could not have opened these branches, the object of which was, without doubt, to pilfer from the people. But, nothing was done. We know to-day what the state of the assets of the bank was; we know that the institution was rotten from top to bottom. The question naturally arises, how the bank kept up, and this is the saddest part of the story, because we have evidence to-day, that the bank kept up in two or three ways. In the first place, the House will remember, the circulation should not have exceeded \$300,000. I speak subject to correction, but I do not think I am mistaken, when I say that, up to the present day, over \$515,000 circulation has been redeemed, showing that there was an abnormal circulation, an absolutely fraudulent circulation. That is one of the means, by having over \$200,000 illegal circulation, that the bank kept up its operations. Then, the directors speculated. We have in the deposition of the accountant, proof that that was one of the methods adopted to keep the bank going.

Mr. R. LEMIEUX (Gaspé). If my hon. friend (Mr. Monk), will allow me—I do not wish to interrupt him—he probably knows that the deposition of the accountant, Ferdinand Lemieux, was an *ex parte* deposition?

Mr. MONK. Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX. And the directors were not present, nor were their attorneys, when the deposition was taken.

Mr. MONK. Yes, I know it was an *ex parte* deposition, but the facts I wish to establish by that deposition are facts about which I think there is very little doubt. For instance, this is one of his statements:

With the consent of the directors, the bank speculated in stocks for a considerable amount, notably in Canadian Pacific Railway, the Dominion Cotton Mills, the Coloured Cotton Company, the Montreal Gas Company, the Toronto Street Railway, and the Duluth Railway. These speculations were made with the view of raising profits to pay dividends.

Then he goes on to state how these speculations were made. I do not wish to weary the House by reading his evidence at length, but I think his deposition is a truthful one, and bears upon its face the aspects of truth. This unfortunate man, the accountant of the bank, has since been con-

demned. He states how utterly incorrect the returns of the bank were, all through. Of course the government is not to blame for this, but the fact remains that the statements were incorrect. They were prepared at the end of the month in a haphazard kind of a way, they were not proved returns, they were systematically false, and that is an important point. But there was a circulation, and there were the branch offices, and that is what really concerns the members of this House who have been obliged to take an interest in the fate of these depositors. Mr. Lemieux says further :

In the branch offices the deposits were larger than the discounts. The surplus of deposits was sent immediately to the head office. The instructions given to the managers of the branch offices, and this with the knowledge of all the directors, were to receive as many deposits as possible and to pay as little discount as possible. Several managers of the branch offices had received promises from the directors that their salaries would be increased if they could obtain a certain amount of deposits. Had there not been a considerable amount of deposits in the branch offices, the bank would not have been able to continue its operations.

So that here were men, and this I know to be a fact, sent out into the country districts around Montreal, sent into the suburbs of that city, where there are so many workmen, with instructions to collect as much money as possible and do as little business as possible, and as an inducement, they were told their salaries would be increased; if they succeeded in obtaining a considerable quantity of spoils their salaries would be in proportion to those spoils; and the accountant tells us that without the adoption of this system the bank would not have been able to continue its operations.

Well, what was the result of what I cannot call anything else but this system of pilfering innocent, and in many cases ignorant, people, both in the country parts and in the city of Montreal? We find that by this kind of confidence game they got an immense amount of money in places where you would not think it possible that they could get so much. In Maisonneuve, for instance, they opened a branch in 1899; they had \$17,000 and they only did \$12,000 of business. In 1898 they opened a branch at St. Louis du Mile End, a suburb of Montreal; they had \$31,000, and only \$4,000 of business; all the rest was sent into Montreal. At Ormstown, they opened a branch in 1898, they had \$30,000, and \$8,000 of business. In May, 1898, they opened a branch in Chaboillez Square, in the division of my hon. friend the member for St. Ann's division of Montreal (Mr. Quinn). Here they made a tremendous haul. In Chaboillez Square they got \$44,500 in deposits, and did business for \$4,000, not enough to pay one small employee of the bank. But all

this money was sent into the head office. At Marieville a branch was opened in June, 1897; they had \$70,000, and \$4,000 of business. At Longueuil a branch was opened in 1897; they had \$43,000 of deposits, \$2,000 of business, and \$41,000 was shipped into Montreal. At Chambly a branch was opened in December, 1896; they had \$39,000 of deposits, and \$9,000 of business. At Papineauville a branch was opened in 1896; they had nearly \$70,000 of deposits, and \$10,000 of discount. In Nicolet they had nearly \$70,000, and \$30,000 of discount. At L'Épiphanie they had deposits to the extent of \$98,000, and only \$16,000 under discount. At Lachine, in my own county, they had nearly \$60,000 of deposits and \$35,000 of business. At St. Laurent they had \$65,000 of deposits, and \$37,000 of business.

Now, all these things indicate that the object of opening successively all these branches, particularly within the last four years, was to collect money to keep up the bank and do as little business as possible. You would imagine that a bank having such a large number of branches—because I have not mentioned all the branches—would have a considerable number of depositors in the head office; but they only had \$110,000 of deposits in the head office, overdrafts to the extent of \$105,000, with current loans to the extent of \$900,000 or more, and a very large proportion of these were fictitious.

Now, under these circumstances I submit it is a question whether the government ought not seriously to consider all these circumstances with a view to deciding whether they should not come to the assistance of these people who have been absolutely spoliated, there is no other word. The government has acknowledged it to be its duty to prosecute the offenders. Well, these painful trials have brought out the fact that that institution was radically rotten, that it was rotten from top to bottom; and that not only the directors but the officers did not observe the law. These trials have resulted in the conviction of several individuals. I do not want to recount the evidence at length, but it has become apparent that a large portion of the poorer classes in our district have been robbed. Under these circumstances I think it is the duty of the government to give some ear to the prayer of these depositors, numbering over 3,000, for the government to go more fully into the matter with the view of coming to the assistance of these people, and to some extent at least, to save them from penury. At the present moment there are three men in charge of the affairs of this bank, capable men, reliable men, men in whom the government can place absolute trust; and at very little expense the government could obtain much fuller information from these three liquidators than I have been able to give to the House. I venture to say

that if the government will take the trouble to ascertain in greater detail the circumstances of this disastrous failure from these three liquidators, the government will be convinced that it is a case where they ought to interfere. After all, it is not a question of a legal claim. These men have, perhaps, not a claim in law, but the government ought to help these people, who, in a large class suffer from a calamity of this kind. We give to people, suffering from floods, and we build railways for people. I think this government has come to the assistance of the miners in the Cassiar and Stikine districts, and it has come to the assistance of immigrants. It is sometimes the duty of the government to come to the assistance of a large class of people suffering in the way that these people are in this case. I do not know that there is any precedent, but, I believe, that previous to confederation, the government of the province of Upper Canada did, under special circumstances, come to the assistance of a bank in order to help the unfortunate creditors of the bank. I do not know exactly in what way this was done, but, it has been pointed out by many of those interested, and I may here mention that I have not a dollar in this bank, that there is such a case. I have not been able to find out what was done in that case which occurred, I think, in Upper Canada. At any rate, I hope the government will consider this petition, that it will inquire fully into the matter, and, if possible, do something for these people. I think such a case of fraud as this will probably never occur again in the bank annals of Canada, and that it is an exceptional failure. The correspondence which has been brought down here is evidence that there is some responsibility resting upon the government, and under these circumstances, I hope the government will do something to relieve these unfortunate people.

Mr. L. A. CHAUVIN (Terrebonne). (Translation.) Mr. Speaker, as seconder of the motion of the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Monk), I concur in the views he has just given expression to, as regards the unfortunate depositors in the Ville Marie Bank. As the government contemplates the revision of the Bank Act, the Bill for which will be submitted in the course of this session, it may be inferred therefrom that there is something wanting in the law which it is the duty of the government to remedy. The government might learn some useful lesson from the failure of that bank, and they should now have their eyes opened as to the necessity of throwing around those institutions, in the future, more efficacious checks and guards than they have done in the past.

We have no government banks here, as they have in France. In France, small depositors put their savings in the govern-

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ment banks, just as they do in Canada; but the saying 'as safe as the bank' applies with much more force to France than to Canada, as the deposits, in France, are guaranteed by the government.

It is true that the government here have also provided savings banks for the poor people to put in their savings; but they should place those institutions on a better footing and give a higher rate of interest, so as to induce small depositors to place their money in those banks, when they would enjoy greater security.

In this country, and I refer here more particularly to the province of Quebec, the people trust the government institutions, and although they do not take any stock in paternalism, in state affairs, still they place great reliance upon the co-operation of the government. They were under the impression that these financial institutions were government banks, while they were but private concerns or corporations doing the business of the public. They were all the more justifiable for depending and relying on the co-operation of the government, as the latter controls all the banks and even private concerns, through the machinery of the Banking Act and the monthly returns which have to be furnished by the directors of those institutions. As stated by the hon. member for Jacques Cartier, these people were under the impression that their deposits were guaranteed by the government. It was a sad mistake on their part, and they were cruelly disappointed.

But the point I wish to urge is this: that those unfortunate depositors were really deceived and robbed of all their savings, because the government did not exercise a sufficient control over the bank, as they were bound to do under the law.

It has been shown that the returns were incorrect and fraudulent; that the government knew that the bank was in violation of the law, when it exceeded its legal circulation; and, since 1882, they never prevented it violating the law.

I think the government ought to come to the aid of these poor people, who have suffered from the failure of the Ville Marie Bank. They have prosecuted the guilty parties, and justice has been done on them; but the small depositors have not recovered the money which they have lost through the failure of that institution. The government which are now boasting of their millions, could not make a better use of their surplus than by coming to the relief of the unfortunate depositors of the Ville Marie Bank, and giving them some of their overplus. I think that under the circumstances, the saying: *Salus populi, lex suprema* finds its application here. Fraudulent acts have been perpetrated, and the only way out of the difficulty is to urge upon the government the desirability of coming to the relief of those unfortunate people who have lost everything they had, through the criminal con-

duct of the bank officials who have conspired to defraud the public and also through the fault of both federal administrations, which were negligent in their duty, failing to exercise a proper control over that institution. The bounden duty of the government is to come to the relief of those unfortunate depositors, who, as stated by the hon. member for Jacques Cartier are largely to be found among the poorer classes of the community, belonging to the working class and to the agricultural class, in the cities and in the rural centres. The fact that the common people and the poor are the chief sufferers from that disastrous failure makes it incumbent upon the government to come to their relief.

The **MINISTER OF FINANCE** (Mr. Fielding). Mr. Speaker, in view of the great distress that has resulted to many people in consequence of the failure of La Banque Ville Marie, one cannot be surprised that my hon. friend (Mr. Monk) has found it desirable to bring the matter before the House. During the latter part of his observations he urged the claims of the depositors on a ground that was somewhat different from his earlier statements. He said that in the past the government had come to the aid of people who had suffered distress by fire or flood, or other disasters, and upon somewhat similar grounds they might consider it to be their duty to come to the relief of the people who had suffered so much from the failure of this bank. If the question is put upon that ground, far be it from me to offer any opinion as to what action the government will take, or should take in the future, but when the hon. gentleman bases his claim on the contention that the government were negligent in their duty, I am afraid I cannot so readily assent to that as the hon. gentleman is disposed to do. I am inclined to think that we will have to have a clearer conception of the responsibilities of the government. It is necessary to remember that a bank is only a private corporation doing business with the public. True, it is a corporation around which the government throws more than the usual guards and checks, and the public get the benefit of these guards and checks, but, surely, it is not to be assumed that, because an effort is made by the government to throw around banks additional guards and checks of an exceptional character, the government becomes responsible for the whole business. All that the wisdom of this and past governments has been able to do is to require that returns showing the transactions of these banks should be prepared and published. That information is circulated all over the Dominion, and persons who take an interest in such matters get the benefit of it, but, I do not think we should rush to the conclusion that, because the government do this, therefore, it should be held liable in

any way. A special effort is made for the protection of the note holders, and there is reason for that, because the banks are permitted to furnish a large amount of the currency of the country. Undoubtedly, the affairs of this bank were conducted for some years in a loose way, and recent revelations have shown, as the hon. gentleman has said, that the bank was a rotten concern. But, we are always wiser after certain facts are brought to our notice than before, and I suppose the hon. gentleman has a very much clearer conception of the rottenness of the bank now than he had twelve or eighteen months ago. He is speaking in the light of revelations of the last few months, which have made us all much wiser than we were before. It is not to be assumed that anybody could have known as fully as we do now what the transactions of the bank were. The circulation is protected by the insurance fund, by the deposits which the various banks make with the government for this purpose. It is well that we should note the fact that no note holder has suffered any loss from the failure of the bank, and that the provisions of the law in that respect were perfectly adequate. Although there was an over issue of the circulation, as it has turned out, an illegal issue of circulation, these notes have all been redeemed when presented, and no note holder has suffered any loss or is likely to suffer any loss. Of course, the consequence of redeeming all these notes out of the general assets of the bank is that it makes the matter so much worse for the unfortunate depositors. I do not see why we should not learn some useful lessons from these failures, and in the revision of the Bank Act, the Bill for which will be submitted in a few days, we may profit to some extent, by such things, but I do not anticipate that it will be found possible that we can, by any legislation, wholly guard against them. If bank cashiers, clerks and directors are going to conspire together to defraud the public, there is no human legislation which will prevent their doing it. The government have provided a safe place for these poor people to put their money, and if they had put their money there, although they would have had a smaller rate of interest, nominally, they would have been secured. It is not to be presumed that the government should be held responsible for a bank that is not a government savings bank. I ask my hon. friend not to assume that, because we now know so much of the rottenness of the bank, everybody could, or did, know it many months ago. Most of the things referred to were in connection with transactions that occurred in 1892, a period when the finances of the Dominion were in the hands of my predecessor, the hon. ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), but I would not have it understood that I agree with the view that such

events involve any just reflection upon him. Reference has been made to a report from Mr. Courtney recommending that the bank be closed, but, if that report be read in connection with a report made at the same time, it will be found that Mr. Courtney did not contemplate the closing of the bank, because there was no machinery for the closing of the bank. What he did contemplate was that the government should close out its account. That is a fair interpretation, I think, of what Mr. Courtney meant, and it is only fair to state, in regard to my predecessor, that although he did not actually close out the account, he directed that the amount to the credit of the government should be reduced from time to time, and in the end the deposit there was not very much. My hon. friend has read from letters and reports from Mr. Courtney in the earlier portion of the history. I hope he will permit me to place on record another report which I desired Mr. Courtney to make at a more recent date. It is dated the 29th of January, 1900, and it is as follows :

Attention has recently been drawn to the report of the undersigned on the above bank prepared in the fall of 1892, and a question has been raised why the notice of the Minister of Finance was not again brought to the state of the bank immediately before its failure.

There was no doubt whatever of the weak condition of the bank when the report of 1892 was submitted, but according to ordinary methods applied on analysing the returns of the bank its condition had apparently been gradually improving and was much stronger in June, 1899, than in 1892, provided of course that the returns were honestly rendered. Such was the opinion of the public also, for the published quotations of its shares, that stood at 70-73 in 1895, rose to 93 in 1897 and in 1899 remained about 90.

The bank's immediate liabilities (notes, demand deposits, and government deposits) in May, 1892, amounted to \$570,585. To meet this, it had immediately available assets of \$170,436, or 29 per cent. In 1899, the immediate liabilities amounted to \$592,391 and the immediately available assets \$408,997, or nearly 80 per cent.

In the same way the deposits by the public after notice, increased between May, 1892, and June, 1899, by \$694,098, while the current loans only increased in the same time \$369,639, showing that the bank had strengthened itself by the difference.

The assets included under the heading 'Other Assets, decreased from \$332,934 to \$284,702, showing that the bank succeeded in partly realizing on this class of assets.

Under the circumstances there was no need of calling special attention to the position of the bank, provided that the returns rendered were correct. The returns were the only means the department had of forming any opinion as to its condition.

J. M. COURTNEY,
Deputy Minister of Finance.

January 24, 1900.

I quote that in justice to Mr. Courtney, in order that we may have before the House the reason why he did not deem it necessary to again call the attention of the Minister of

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Finance to the condition of the bank. My hon. friend (Mr. Monk) has spoken of the general reputation which this bank had in financial circles, and I have no doubt that what he says in that respect is absolutely correct. But I would ask the hon. gentleman to consider the other side of the question. Suppose that the Minister of Finance on hearing rumours as to the condition of this bank had been the means of causing the bank to be publicly discredited, what would have followed? Undoubtedly the bank would have immediately failed, and we would have been told that the bank might have pulled through, but for the fact that the government discredited it. It is a grave and serious thing, merely because there is current rumour as to the position of a bank—or even if it is information which the officials think well founded, as to the weakness of a bank—it is a very grave step to take for either the Minister of Finance or the deputy minister to give public expression to that opinion in such a way as to bring about the failure of a bank. I would ask my hon. friend (Mr. Monk) to consider that view of the question as well as the one he presented. There is no objection to my hon. friend's motion, and I shall give due consideration and shall ask my colleagues to do the same, to the request for consideration for those people on other grounds than those of legal obligation.

Motion agreed to.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 10.40 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, April 3, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Mr. Speaker, I intended to move, in accordance with the notice, that hereafter government business should have precedence on Wednesdays, but I think to-morrow should be left to private members. When I gave this notice of motion, I had reason to believe that an important discussion which has been going on for some time would have

been concluded last Wednesday, and that another stage would have been given to several Bills in the hands of private members. That debate has not been concluded, but I hope it will be to-morrow, and that we can advance several Bills a stage and refer them to committees. Therefore, I propose to amend the motion so that it shall read in this way :

That government orders have precedence on Wednesdays, immediately after questions to be put by members, from Wednesday, the 11th inst., inclusive, to the end of the session.

Motion agreed to.

I. C. R. PASSENGER SERVICE.

Mr. H. F. McDOUGALL (Cape Breton). Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to ask for some information from the government. I find in the North Sydney *Herald* an item with regard to the train service on the Intercolonial Railway, which reads as follows :

It is understood that the new train service is to begin early in April. Besides the present express and accommodation service, there is to be an express train between the Sydneys and Halifax. The present express and accommodation train will arrive and depart the same hours as at present, but there will be an express train leaving Sydney at 11 a.m., and North Sydney at 11.45, for Halifax, stopping only at Grand Narrows, Orangedale and Point Tupper, Antigonish, New Glasgow and Truro. The same express will leave Halifax at the same hour as from Sydney, arriving at Sydney at 10 p.m. This train is to occupy only ten hours between Halifax and Sydney. There can be no doubt that this service will meet with public approval and will be far beyond a night train service. There will be a dining-car service attached to this train, so that there will be no time lost in stopping for meals.

I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Railways whether this information is in accordance with the facts. If not, is it his intention to take any steps to improve the passenger train service, which at present is most unsatisfactory? Trains are almost every day behind time, and a great deal of general dissatisfaction exists on the part of the travelling public. I hope the minister is in a position to assure the House that some improvement will take place at once. I might add that if it is not already decided upon to make the change, whatever change is made for the better should be made before the usual time for bringing the summer time-table into effect. The summer time-table is always delayed too long from being put into operation. It is hardly ever put into operation until after the days begin to shorten, which is altogether unreasonable. The summer time-table should be put into effect at the latest in May.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). I had not the opportunity of hearing fully what the hon. gentle-

man has just read ; but I gather in a general way that he is referring to some newspaper statement to the effect that new arrangements are being made as an improvement upon the existing train service between Halifax and Sydney and North Sydney. I cannot speak now with confidence as to the details ; but I can assure the hon. gentleman and the House that the subject has been engaging my very careful consideration, that I have been in the closest communication with the officers of the railway upon the subject, and that we shall be able to make such arrangements as to train service, time and other matters as will be entirely satisfactory to the people who are interested in that particular branch of the Intercolonial service.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WHITE.

Mr. EDWARD G. PRIOR (Victoria, B.C.) : Before the Orders of the Day are called, Mr. Speaker, I propose to call the attention of the House to certain correspondence laid on the Table yesterday, in connection with the dismissal of Lieutenant-Colonel W. W. White, general commanding officer of the 30th Battalion, Guelph.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). Dismissal ?

Mr. PRIOR. Yes, he was appointed to a staff course and then his name was struck off. The hon. minister can quibble as he likes, but I consider that this was a dismissal. It was a case that shows, to my mind at all events—

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Order.

Mr. PRIOR. I was about to tell you, Mr. Speaker, that as this discussion will no doubt lengthen out somewhat, I intend to conclude with the usual motion to adjourn.

The PRIME MINISTER. The hon. gentleman is within his rights, but I question, very much, the propriety of bringing up this matter, which is not urgent, and in interrupting an important debate with which the House is anxious to get through. I would suggest to my hon. friend not to delay business, but to let this matter stand until a more opportune time.

Mr. PRIOR. I cannot agree with the right hon. gentleman. I think that this is a matter of the greatest urgency, and one that has been put off now some two or three weeks. The papers were ordered by this House early in the session, and if it had not been for the dilatoriness of the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence, they would have been down long before this, and the debate would now have been over. The debate on the budget may go on a couple of weeks, and I

think that this is a matter of the greatest moment, which should be proceeded with at once.

The correspondence proves to my mind, at all events, that politics enter very largely into the question of appointments made by the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence, and that a high-handed act of injustice has been done to a very efficient and deserving officer of the militia force of Canada. I think I shall be able to prove to the satisfaction of all right-thinking men that a heavy blow has been struck at the very foundation of our militia system, and I feel that unless some assurance is given by the Minister of Militia and Defence, or the Prime Minister, that a system different from the one now prevailing, or which seems to prevail, in the Militia Department, will be followed in the future with regard to the appointment of officers, in a very short time it will be almost impossible to get any independent, self-respecting man to take a commission in the militia. I trust that hon. members on both sides will give a patient hearing to what I have to say to-day—a better hearing than the militia matters usually get in this House—but, as the correspondence is pretty long, I will get through it as quickly as I can.

Before reading the correspondence, perhaps I had better explain that the staff course was started by the Minister of Militia and Defence at the Royal Military College, at Kingston, for the purpose of training certain officers to fit them for staff appointments. This was an idea welcomed heartily by every member of our militia force, and I may say that General Hutton was the very first officer who had ever seen fit to try and educate our militia up to a higher standard than has been the case in the past. On the 16th January of this year, Major General Hutton wrote to the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, as follows :

The names of the following officers whom I propose to send to the Royal Military College for a four months course of instruction in staff duties are submitted for the information of the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence :

Lieut.-Col. MacLaren, 13th Battalion.
 Lieut.-Col. Hodgins, R.O.
 Lieut.-Col. Allen Jones, 8th Royal Rifles.
 Lieut.-Col. White, 30th Battalion.
 Lieut.-Col. Roy, D.O.C.
 Lieut.-Col. Vince, Brighton Engineers.
 Major Galloway, 14th Battalion.
 Major Mutton, Q.O.R.
 Major Chinic, R.C.R.I.
 Captain Carpenter, R.C.R.I.
 Captain Crathern, 3rd Montreal Field Battery.
 Captain Sharples, 8th Royal Rifles.
 (Sgd.) E. T. H. HUTTON, Maj. Gen.,
 Commanding Canadian Militia.

On the original of that letter, I find that the names of Colonel White, 30th Battalion, and Colonel Vince, of the Brighton Engineers, are crossed out by the Minister of Militia

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and Defence, and the words: 'I do not approve of White and Vince,' were placed on that document, and signed 'F. W. Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence.'

That letter was referred to the General Officer Commanding. The letter of General Hutton was written on the 16th January, and the minister disapproved of those two names on the 24th January. Next comes a copy of a telegram received by Colonel White from the Chief Staff Officer :

Ottawa, January 16, 1900.

Lieut.-Col. White, Guelph, Ont.,

Are you prepared to take staff course, commences first of February, lasts four months.

Chief Staff Officer.

On the 17th, the day after, Colonel White, being very proud of having been chosen to take part in a course of this kind, replied that he would accept, and wrote asking what the duties would be, what lodgings he would have, what uniform he would wear, &c. He immediately began to make preparations to leave his business, because he is in business, and it is very hard for most men to get away from business for four months. On the 22nd January, a letter was written to him, signed by the Chief Staff Officer, as follows :

To Lieut.-Col. White,

O. C. 30th Battalion, Guelph.

Sir,—I have the honour, by direction of the Major General Commanding, to notify you that you have been selected to undergo a course of instruction in staff duties, under the direction of the Commandant of the Royal Military College, Kingston.

You will be granted an allowance of \$2.50 per diem whilst in attendance at the staff course, and transport expenses to and from Kingston. The Officer Commanding Military District No. 1 has been instructed to furnish you with a transport requisition.

You will report yourself to the commandant at the Royal Military College, Kingston, at 10 a.m. on the 1st of February, proximo.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) B. H. VIDAL, Lieut.-Col.,

For Chief Staff Officer.

I may say that Colonel White never asked for the appointment. He was very much surprised when he got it, but the fact of the matter was, that the General Officer Commanding, was fully aware of his qualifications for the position. The general had seen the reports, no doubt, in the Militia Department, sent in by the district officer commanding, and also had personally and critically examined the work done by Colonel White in camp, and also in the manoeuvres that took place in Toronto. It may be asked: Did the General Officer Commanding obtain the endorsement of the Minister of Militia and Defence, before he notified Colonel White, and the other gentlemen that they were to take part in this course? I may say at once that I do not believe he

did; in fact, I know he did not. Nor do I believe it was necessary for him to do so, although I believe the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence said that he expected it. The General Officer, to my mind, and I think in the opinion of every officer of the militia in this House, is the only competent man to say whether an officer is qualified for a high position like that or not. As a rule, the Minister of Militia and Defence is not qualified, although I will not say that of the present Minister of Militia and Defence, because he has served many years on the force. Ordinarily, however, the Minister of Militia and Defence is not qualified to say whether an officer is fit for a certain position or not from his military knowledge. While saying this, I am fully in accord with what the right hon. the First Minister said the other day, in answer to a matter I brought up, concerning General Hutton, namely, that the Minister of Militia and Defence must undoubtedly be the head of the department, and that the General Officer Commanding must consider himself under the minister's orders. But, I do consider also, that the General Officer Commanding should be allowed to pick and choose the best men he can for any position he wants to fill. I do not think there is any more reason why the Minister of Militia and Defence should interfere in cases of discipline or in the choice of men for such positions, than there is for a colonel to interfere when a captain wants to appoint a sergeant to undergo a course, or take charge of a squad. The next thing that Colonel White knew, he received a telegram, dated the 26th of January, from Ottawa:

Ottawa, Ont., Jan. 26, 1900.

Lt.-Col. White:

Regretted your nomination staff course cancelled; letter following.

CHIEF STAFF OFFICER.

Of course, Col. White was perfectly staggered when he received this telegram, as he had made all arrangements for leaving his business and going to Kingston for four months. On the 26th of January, the same day, the chief staff officer seems to have written to the district officer commanding of the district in which Col. White was:

(From the Chief Staff Officer to the D. O. C., M. D. No. 1.)

Ottawa, Jan. 26, 1900.

Lt.-Col. White, 30th Battalion:

Sir,—I am directed by the Major General Commanding to instruct you to inform the officer named in the margin that his name has been removed from the list of officers ordered to undergo the staff course at Kingston, owing to his having recently taken an active part in politics by public speaking, which renders it inexpedient to include him in a course for general staff.

I have, the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) HUBERT FOSTER, Col.,
Chief Staff Officer.

On the 27th, the next day, Col. White, of course, wrote inquiring why this letter had been sent him. His letter is as follows:

(From Lt.-Col. White to Chief Staff Officer.)

Guelph, Ont., Jan. 27, 1900.

Sir,—I was very much surprised on receipt of telegram yesterday from you stating that my course at Kingston was cancelled. The letter you mentioned as following, I have not received this p.m.

I have gone to considerable expense and trouble in making business arrangements to allow of my going, and after all this to be peremptorily struck off for no reason that I can in any way account for.

I am sure I have earned it if faithful service counts for anything, and I presume it was Major General Hutton's knowledge of my work that prompted him to select me, and the Minister of Militia to sanction it, as the Militia Order clearly demonstrates. I strongly urge that I shall be allowed to take the course, and that the Militia Order be not cancelled.

I have only mentioned the telegram to one friend. Judging from the many congratulations I have received from all over the province, when they hear of this will be very much annoyed and mortified, as I am myself.

I trust that this can still be arranged.

I have, the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) W. W. WHITE, Lt.-Col.,
Comdg. 30th Wellington Rifles.

I may say that Col. White is not right, with regard to this militia order, in saying that it clearly demonstrated that the Minister of Militia had sanctioned it. It used to be that all Militia Orders had to have the sanction of the minister; but General Hutton started a new series of orders. He had two sets of orders, those which he thought the minister ought to see and which he got him to sanction, and those which he thought it was not necessary for the minister to see. This is one made by General Hutton's own order. It seems to me that it is only natural that Col. White should feel outraged at this behaviour, after he had gone to all the trouble and expense of getting ready to take the course. It seems to me that, even if he did not fill the bill according to the opinion of the Minister of Militia, it would have been far kinder and better in every way to allow him to go on with the course, than to treat him in this manner. On the 29th of January, there is another letter from the chief staff officer to Col. White:

January 29, 1900.

Sir,—I am directed by the Major General Commanding to inform you in reply to your letter of the 27th instant, that the reason that your name has been removed from the list of officers selected for the staff course, is in consequence of its having been represented that you have recently taken a prominent part in politics.

The Major General considers that it is not in the interest of the public service that officers prominently identified with politics should be employed upon the staff, and that in consequence

it is inadvisable to specially educate them for such positions.

I have, the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Sgd.) HUBERT FOSTER, Col.,
Chief Staff Officer.

Lt.-Col. W. W. White, Guelph, Ont.

There is something extraordinary about that letter. It was first signed by Col. Vidal, but that name was scratched out and Col. Hubert Foster's name inserted. I cannot give any reason why that should have been done. Col. Vidal is in the same department. Now, of course, the General Officer Commanding takes the responsibility of saying what he did about politics being the reason for his treatment of Col. White. But I ask any sane man whether he thinks that General Hutton or Col. Fraser would dare to put down such a reason in a letter to an officer if he had not been ordered to do so by the minister, or if it had not been brought to his ears that the minister wished it to be done.

Mr. BERGERON. Authorized.

Mr. PRIOR. Yes, he must have been authorized in some way or other. The idea is, to me, preposterous that a gentleman in that position would have given such a reason as is given here unless the Minister of Militia had authorized him so to do. Why, neither General Hutton nor Col. Foster has anything to do with politics whatever. They know nothing about politics. In the first place, every general we have had has found politics the worst thing he had to wrestle with, and General Hutton, I know, was most anxious to have appointments made without any political influence whatever. Again, the letter says, 'it has been represented that you have taken a prominent part in politics.' Who represented it? Was it the Minister of Militia who represented it to the General Officer Commanding, or was it somebody who represented it to the Minister of Militia? The General Officer Commanding was not in Ottawa at the time, so it could not have been the Minister of Militia who notified the general personally; if he did it, he must have done it either by letter or through the mouth of somebody else. I will never believe that the general did it, as the saying is, off his own bat. The next letter is dated the 29th of January and is from the district officer commanding district No. 1, and is directed to Col. White. It says:

(From D. O. C., M. D. No. 1, London, Ont., to Lt.-Col. W. W. White, Comdg. 30th Battalion, Guelph, Ont.)

London, Ont., January 29, 1900.

Sir,—I am directed by the Major General Commanding to instruct you that your name has been removed from the list of officers ordered to undergo the staff course at Kingston, owing to your having recently taken an active part in

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politics by public speaking, which renders it inexpedient to include you for a course for general staff.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Sgd.) J. W. HOLMES, Lt.-Col.,
D. O. C., M. D. No. 1.

Now, that is the first time that 'public speaking' has been mentioned. The only occasion, Col. White says, when he can remember having spoken was at the Fat Stock Show banquet in Guelph, on the 7th of September. He was then called upon to reply to the toast of the army and navy. The reporter of the *Globe*, the official organ of the Liberal party, was sitting opposite to Col. White. If you will take the trouble to look up the report in the *Globe* of the banquet, you will find that the reporter does not say anything about Col. White talking politics. And I think that hon. gentlemen on this side, at any rate, will agree with me in saying that if Col. White had given half a chance in that direction, the reporter would have made the point and it would have been in the paper. The reporter does not mention politics, but Col. White says that he drew attention to the unsatisfactory manner in which the French press was talking about the Transvaal war. In speaking about the army and navy, he had a perfect right to do that. That is the only thing he remembers saying. He said nothing about the Minister of Militia or the government or about politics or about the government, but he did draw attention to the way the French press were talking about the Transvaal war. I do not know whether the influence of the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) has anything to do with this insult put upon Col. White, but it is an extraordinary thing that in the *Patrie* of the 28th of December, an article came out containing this extract:

Only a few days ago a local Tory, Col. White, at a dinner in Guelph, said in his speech that there was in Canada a people as disloyal as the Boers, and that very probably England would very soon have to suppress the French element in Quebec.

That is what the *Patrie* said, and it looks to me very suspicious, as if it had something to do with the action of the Minister of Militia and Defence in regard to this gentleman. Let me say in the first place that the *Patrie* was astray altogether. Col. White never made use of such expressions at all. We can refer to dozens of men who were present at the time who will testify that he said nothing of the sort. In regard to his taking any offensive part in politics, I can only say that the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) wrote a letter to Col. White stating that he considered him a consistent and an honourable Conservative; and I am told that that hon. gentleman feels rather sore about the way in which Col. White has been treated. Any one who knows the member for North Wel-

ington. I think, will say that he would not try to screen Col. White if the latter had been talking treason against the government party. Now, Sir, the next letter I want to read to the House is one that Col. White sent in reply :

Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th instant, replying to mine of the 27th instant, in which you state that the reason my name has been removed from the list of officers selected for a staff course is in consequence of its having been represented that I have recently taken a prominent part in politics.

I deeply regret that such representations should have been so decisively acted upon without an opportunity being afforded to me, either directly or indirectly, of answering them. I conscientiously believe that I am blameless of any such charge, for while I am free to admit that I am a Conservative, and have given that party my support, I have not for some years taken any public part in elections, and I have never spoken politically at any public meeting or gathering.

I shall be greatly obliged if you put me in possession of the particulars of such representations, and the names of those making them, and I trust that in only fairness to me and to the selection of my name for the staff course you will do so.

(Signed) W. W. WHITE, Lt.-Col.,
Commanding 30th Battalion.

I think that is a manly letter, such as you would expect from such a man as Col. White. He simply asks for fair-play and justice, asking to be told the names of his accusers. I am told that up to the present moment no answer has been given informing him who made the representations. The next letter was from General Hutton to the Deputy Minister of Militia, dated 31st of January :

To the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence.

Officers for the staff course were selected from among officers with whom I have personally come into contact, and whom I considered would be good officers to attend the course in question; and from among officers recommended by the district officers commanding, on being requested to make nominations.

We see, therefore, that this was no haphazard selection, these officers were chosen by General Hutton from his own knowledge of them, from the fact that he had seen them on duty, and also because they were recommended by the officers who knew them better still, the district officers commanding the districts in which they resided and held their commands. On the 31st of January I find a memorandum for the deputy from the private secretary of the hon. the minister, which is as follows :—

(Memorandum for the Deputy.)

The minister wishes you to inform the Major General that all names of officers proposed for the staff course should be submitted to and approved by the minister before such officers can be allowed to attend the course.

Be good enough to communicate with the Major General Commanding the Militia to this effect.

This was referred to the General Officer Commanding by the deputy minister, and the General Officer Commanding returned it to the deputy minister with the remark :

I shall be happy to comply with the wishes of the hon. minister.

Now, Sir, here is a most extraordinary letter that was written on the 1st of February to Col. White by Col. Foster, the chief staff officer :

Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 30th ultimo, I am directed by the Major General Commanding to inform you that your name was removed from the list of officers to undergo the staff course at the Military College, Kingston, by the hon. the minister on the ground that you had of late taken some active part in politics on behalf of the opposition.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) H. FOSTER, Col.

Chief Staff Officer.

There we see that the chief staff officer made the assertion that Col. White's name had been removed by the order of the minister. The general officer avers that it was by the Minister of Militia and Defence, and of course the chief staff officer has to say it is by command of the general. Well, it seems to me there must have been some communication between the Minister of Militia and Defence and the chief staff officer, that he must have been given to understand that that was the wish of the minister. I ask again: Would the General Officer Commanding dare to send out such a statement unless he believed it to be true? Why, Mr. Speaker, that gentleman is an Imperial officer, he is thoroughly independent, and so is Col. Foster. They can both go back to England, one of them has gone back already. Neither of them are beholden to the minister for their salaries or otherwise; and I refuse to believe that General Hutton would have taken upon himself this responsibility unless he had authority for it. One of the greatest sources of strength to the empire in ruling and controlling the troops, both white and native, in conquered countries, and the people they have to deal with, is that a British officer's word is to be implicitly relied upon. That is one of the greatest sources of the strength of the British Empire. Will any hon. gentleman say that General Hutton, a man who has been honoured in the highest degree by Her Majesty by being made an A.D.C. to Her Majesty, would ever be guilty of such an unutterable meanness as that, for reasons of personal spite, he would write such a letter as that unless he was authorized by the Minister of Militia and Defence? Not only so, Sir, but that gentleman has left the country, and it is impossible to walk across to the department and ask him what were the facts of the case. We can only go upon our knowledge of what he, as an Imperial officer, would probably do. He is not here now. But I must say this, that at the time

he wrote those letters he did not know that he would not be here at the present time, he had no idea that he was going to leave Canada. Now, that letter also shows, Mr. Speaker, a most extraordinary state of affairs. It says that Col. White has taken part in politics on behalf of the opposition. The only conclusion we can come to is that if he had taken part in politics on behalf of the government, not a word would have been said; but as he happened to be a Conservative, and they think he took part for the opposition, of course he must be bounced. I would ask whether it is right that militia officers should be brow-beaten and coerced into supporting the party. I do not care which party it is, that is in power unless they wish to be treated as Col. White and others have been treated. I think it is a monstrous idea that militia officers should be interfered with at all, unless they are in uniform. The first thing we know, there will be a reign of terror inaugurated in the militia force such as now reigns in the civil service, where half the men in the civil service are afraid to go out of doors to register their votes at an election for fear it will be believed that they are voting against the party in power. It is evidently a case of the wire puller versus efficiency. Now, here is another letter from the Major General Commanding the Militia to the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, dated 2nd of February, 1900:

With reference to your minute of the 31st ultimo, and to the nomination by me of Capt. E. E. F. Taylor, of the Governor General's Foot Guards, to undergo the staff course now commencing at the Royal Military College, I beg to observe, for the consideration of the hon. the minister, that the claims of all military districts have, as far as possible, been considered. It is very difficult, under existing circumstances, to find eligible officers who are suited for employment upon the staff and upon whom the staff course is likely to be profitable. The selections have been made by me from my personal knowledge of the officers themselves and upon the recommendations of officers commanding districts. Capt. Taylor has been very strongly recommended, and from my personal knowledge, he is likely to make a valuable staff officer. There are, moreover, four vacancies, and the money is therefore available for this officer. I recommend him, therefore, and hope that there may be no obstacle placed in the way of my carrying out my proposal.

The minister had put a note there:

Not approved for reasons already given.

(Signed) F. W. B., M. M. & D.

Then the general goes on:

In accordance with the wishes of the hon. minister Lieut.-Colonels White and Vince were removed from the list of officers selected by me for the staff course in consequence of their having taken a prominent part in party politics.

There again he makes the assertion:

I fully concur in the objection raised by the minister on this score that officers who take a prominent part in politics should not be
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selected for the staff course or for prominent positions on the Canadian general staff except when unavoidable or when it is advisable in the public interests.

He qualifies it there:

The two officers in question have been informed accordingly.

(Sgd.) EDW. T. H. HUTTON, M.G.,
Commanding Canadian Militia.

Against that the hon. minister has seen fit to make the following note:

This is not the fact. The reasons as to Lieut.-Col. White are that he is too old, has passed from the active list, and is maimed. As to Lieut.-Col. Vince, he is on the reserve list.

(Sgd.) F. W. B.

On the 3rd of February, there is a letter from Col. White to the hon. Minister of Militia, in which he says:

Guelph, Ont., February 3, 1900.

To Hon. Minister of Militia, Ottawa.

Sir,—Having been selected by Major General Commanding to take staff course on the Royal Military College, Kingston, which selection was approved by you and published in Militia Orders, I cannot understand why you should have removed my name for the reasons stated, viz.: That it had been represented that I had of late taken some active part in politics on behalf of the opposition. I most emphatically deny the charge and from what has been intimated to me here, I believe the respectable Reformers here will also repudiate the charge and demand my reinstatement, but I do not consider that I have any right to put myself under an obligation to them in my demand for justice. Admitting that I have taken an active part in politics, I deny the right of any government to muzzle and control the political opinions of our citizen soldiers. When on duty and in uniform I submit that politics are debarred, and any one so transgressing immediately comes under the Queen's Regulations, Orders, and Militia Act. If this is establishing a precedent—then a very large majority of our officers will be wiped out, and I am free to say that a very large proportion before being restrained in their rights as citizens would resign.

I have no object in making political capital out of this. All I want is justice and to be reinstated in the course at once. I have only told two or three of my personal friends of the particulars, two being prominent Reformers. They are very indignant and would have taken action at once, but I told them in the meantime I was writing you. I cannot think that you, Sir, knowing me and having the interests of the militia of this country at heart as I believe you have, have done this except on gross misrepresentation being made, and undue influence. I therefore call upon you to at once remedy this mistake in the interests of the militia.

(Sgd.) W. W. WHITE, Lieut.-Col.,
Commanding 30th Battalion.

This is the letter of a high-minded man, in my opinion. He is jealous of his rights, as he has a perfect right to be, and he gives an emphatic denial to the statement that he has taken an active part in politics. Surely, the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) can be classed amongst the respectable Reformers of that part of the

country, and it is possible that the hon. gentleman was one of those that Lieut.-Col. White says showed great indignation. I agree with what Col. White says, and I am sure that every hon. gentleman will agree with him when he says that no government has the right to muzzle the militiamen in the expression of their opinions. The next letter is dated the 3rd of February, and it is from the Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence to the Major General Commanding the Militia :

Ottawa, February 3, 1900.

The Major General Commanding the Militia.

I am instructed by the hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence to call your attention to the fact that in an official communication written by Colonel Foster, under your instructions to Lieut.-Colonel White, that gentleman was informed that the minister's reason for striking his name from the list of those recommended for the staff course at the Royal Military College was that he had of late taken some active part in politics on behalf of the opposition.

I want the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden, King's) to listen to the latter part of this letter :

I am further instructed to inform you that the reason assigned in this letter for the minister's action is entirely erroneous and misleading, and as the minister understands that Colonel Foster reported to you what actually did take place when the minister struck off Lieut.-Colonel White's name, he cannot understand why you should have attributed to him the reason you assigned. The minister then told Colonel Foster that he struck off Lieut.-Colonel White's name because he was obviously unfit for such an appointment, having only recently been retired from the lieut.-colonelcy of the 30th Battalion on account of his length of service, being too old and maimed.

The minister fails to understand why you should suppress his real reasons for the action he took, and substitute for them a different and incorrect one. He instructs me to express his wish that the letter written under your instructions should be withdrawn, and one written to Colonel White informing him of the true reasons for the minister's action.

(Sgd.) L. F. PINAULT, Lt.-Colonel,
Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence.

Mr. QUINN. To whom was that addressed ?

Mr. PRIOR. It is from the Deputy Minister of Militia to the Major General Commanding—General Hutton. The next letter was on the 7th of February, and is as follows :

February 7, 1900.

Sir,—Adverting to previous correspondence in regard to your name being removed from the list of officers selected to undergo the staff college course, I am directed by the Major General Commanding to inform you that the letter in which the reason assigned for the removal of your name was stated to be that 'you had taken an active part in politics on behalf of the opposition,' was sent in error, and is to be considered as withdrawn.

The hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence considered that the course should be restricted

to younger men, and in consequence directed the removal of your name.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,
(Sd.) HUBERT FOSTER, Col.,
Chief Staff Officer.

To Lieut.-Colonel W. W. White,
Guelph, Ont.

Mr. Speaker, the coon came down. It was sent in error. This was in compliance with the deputy minister's letter to the general instructing him to send that letter to Lieut.-Col. White. I am certain that Major General Hutton would not have sent it if he had not been instructed to do so. The next letter is from the hon. Minister of Militia to Col. White. It is dated the 7th of February, 1900, and is as follows :

Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst. and hasten to correct two or three misstatements, unintentional, I am sure, contained therein. I did not approve of the list which was published.

That is correct ; the hon. minister did not.

It was never submitted to me, the General Officer Commanding being under the impression, as he says, that it was unnecessary to do so. Secondly, I did not object to your name being on the list because of your politics. The reasons which I gave were, first, that you were no longer in active command, owing to your having served beyond the time limit. Secondly, you were, I thought, somewhat senior for a course of this kind ; and thirdly, because of the unfortunate fact that you were physically disabled by the loss of a portion of one hand.

These are the reasons which I gave, and they were not limited to your case.

I have much pleasure in saying, that I believe you have been a most efficient and useful officer ; but I recognize the fact that there are scores of young men coming up to whom the course provided at the Royal Military College would be of more advantage, looking at it from the standpoint of the militia than to yourself, as your active work therein has come to an end.

I hope you will be able to agree with me in this view, and believe that I have acted in the matter in what I conceive to be the best interests of the militia force at large.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) W. F. BORDEN.

Lt.-Col. W. W. White,
Guelph, Ont.

Mr. FOSTER. Is that amongst the papers brought down ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No, it is not. I will have it added. It was omitted.

Mr. PRIOR. I do not know whether it was amongst the papers brought down, but it is amongst the papers given to me, and it is brought in now. It is a copy of the original letter. I think the hon. minister will not deny that he wrote it.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No, certainly not.

Mr. PRIOR. Let us analyse this letter of the 7th of February a little bit. The hon.

minister says that he did not approve of the list. I agree that he did not approve of it. The next thing he says is :

I did not object to your name being on the list because of your politics.

Of course, when the hon. minister says that he did not object to Col. White's politics, I am bound to accept his statement. At the same time, I must believe what I see and what I read. What can be plainer than the statement of the General Officer Commanding when he stated in his letter that :

Your name was removed from the list of officers. . . . by the hon. the minister on the ground that you had of late taken some active part in politics on behalf of the opposition.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I know that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) wants to give me the full benefit of the facts. That letter is sent by the direction of the General Officer Commanding.

Mr. PRIOR. Certainly it is ; all the letters are.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I never saw that letter nor heard of it until weeks after it was written.

Mr. PRIOR. I believe the hon. minister ; that may very well be. I do not think that I have stated that he did see it. I will read the letter altogether. It is from Col. Foster to Lieut.-Col. White :

February 1, 1900.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 30th ultimo, I am directed by the Major General Commanding to inform you that your name was removed from the list of officers to undergo the staff course at the Royal Military College, Kingston, by the hon. the minister, on the ground that you had of late taken some active part in politics on behalf of the opposition.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) H. FOSTER, Col.,
Chief Staff Officer.

Lieut.-Col. W. W. White,
Guelph, Ont.

The chief staff officer has undoubtedly no right to send any report out unless by direction of the General Officer Commanding, and when he has that direction, he always states that he writes : 'By direction of the Major General Commanding.' Before I get to the end of this correspondence, hon. gentlemen will see that there was good cause for that.

This question has narrowed itself down to a straight issue of veracity between the Minister of Militia and Defence and the General Officer Commanding. I shall not say much about that, but shall leave it to the House to decide. Hon. gentlemen have heard the letters read, and it is for the country and the House to decide as to which of these gentlemen they can place the most reliance in. The minister also says that Colonel White

Mr. PRIOR.

was a most efficient and useful officer. The minister must have known that, because for many years, Colonel White was in command of one of the best regiments in Canada. But, let us examine into the reasons which the minister gives for the dismissal of Colonel White from the staff course. He first says :

Col. White was no longer in command.

Well, I regret to say that that is not correct, for, as a matter of fact, Colonel White was in command of his regiment at the time he was asked to take part in that staff course.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Will the hon gentleman allow me ? I know that as a military man, and an hon. gentleman, as well as a member of parliament, he does not wish to misrepresent the case in any way. Technically, Colonel White was in command, but the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior), must know that Colonel White had been notified that his command terminated at a certain date, which was very near at hand. I cannot give the exact date, but it was within a few days of that time, so that Colonel White was practically on the reserved list.

Mr. PRIOR. That is quibbling.

Mr SPEAKER. Order.

Mr. PRIOR. Colonel White was actually in command of his regiment.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. More than that, let me add this : Colonel White's term had been extended by me for two years, beyond the time when he should have been retired.

Mr. FOSTER. That was done in many cases.

Mr. PRIOR. It may be that the minister extended his time, but the minister has made the statement that Colonel White was no longer in active command, and that is not correct. The offer was made to Colonel White on the 16th January, and he was not retired until the 3rd of February, as any one can see, by looking at the Militia Orders. And, not only that, but there was another officer on that staff course who had been retired some months before. Colonel Hodgins, lately in command of the Governor General's Foot Guards, was retired from the command of his regiment in October last, and yet not a word was said about that.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Is he still on the list ?

Mr. PRIOR. He is still on the list, and went on with the course, so that the minister has no ground for argument on that point. The second reason given by the minister, was that Colonel White was too old. It has been said in the newspapers and elsewhere, that Colonel White is sixty years of age, when, as a matter of fact, he is only fifty-five years. He still has five years to

serve, before he arrives at the age which they think is the right time to put us on the shelf.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. He is fifty-seven years old.

Mr. PRIOR. I have it in Colonel White's own handwriting that he is fifty-five.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. We have it on the records of the department, that he is fifty-seven. He was born in 1843.

Mr. PRIOR. Colonel White ought to know; he was there when he was born.

Mr. FOSTER. He was born on the 4th October, 1843, according to the records.

Mr. PRIOR. That is what you say, but I have Colonel White's own handwriting for it.

Mr. FOSTER. The minister knows.

Mr. PRIOR. If he does, I have nothing more to say about it. Colonel White may have been born in 1845, but, anyway, he has four years more to serve. I have here the *Canada Militia Gazette*, which gives an account of Colonel White, and which says:

To Lt.-Col. White is mainly due the good showing of the 30th in the Canadian Military League matches. One year he had twelve teams entered. He is a member of the committee of the D. R. A., and a vice-president of the O. R. A., and chairman of the executive committee, and has never failed to attend the matches of these organizations with a goodly number of men from his battalion. The present efficient state of the 30th Battalion is a monument to the good work done by the retiring officer, who leaves a full complement of officers, nearly all of whom are qualified. He was selected by Major General Hutton to take the staff course at the Royal Military College, Kingston, a fact which clearly shows a recognition of his services.

Mr. McNEILL. Colonel White is ten years younger than Lord Roberts.

Mr. COCHRANE. They would turn Lord Roberts down if he was a Tory.

Mr. PRIOR. Here is a photograph of Colonel White in the *Militia Gazette*, and you can hardly find anywhere, a more athletic-looking man, whether he be fifty-five or fifty-seven. He is a strong, hearty, active man. Then, again, the officer who succeeded him in command of the regiment is, I am informed, only two years younger than Colonel White.

An hon. MEMBER. He is nothing like physically as strong.

Mr. FOSTER. Is he a Liberal?

Mr. PRIOR. He is a Major Mutrie, M.P.P.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. PRIOR. He is a good supporter of the present government, whether that has

anything to do with it or not. Then, there is Colonel McLaren, of the 13th Battalion, who is also on the staff course, and he is only two years younger than Colonel White. And, there is Colonel Vidal, who has gone in command of the Canadian Regiment, to Halifax, and he is fifty-eight years old, and yet the minister thinks he is able to take command of an important station like that. Now, I do not want to say a word against Colonel McLaren, or Major Mutrie or Colonel Vidal, for they are all good men. But, when men of their age are appointed to such positions, it knocks the bottom out of the minister's arguments, that Colonel White is too old.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Does the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior), say that Major Mutrie's name was on the list to go on the staff course?

Mr. PRIOR. No, I say he succeeds Colonel White, in the command of his regiment. Any one who knows Colonel White, knows that he is a healthy and active man, good rider, and a good shot, can play baseball, and is, in fact, an athletic man all round. He is in the very prime of life. As my hon. friend (Mr. McNeill), said: What about Lord Roberts, and what about General Buller? Men who are well up to seventy years old, and yet it is thought that they can do pretty good service to the empire at the front.

The third reason given by the minister, was that Colonel White was physically disabled. Well, the only disablement he suffers from, is that he lost a finger or two, in 1869, but since then he has had command of one of the best regiments in Canada. He has carried out all his duties faithfully and energetically to the satisfaction of the district officer commanding, and of the inspecting general officer; he writes a beautiful hand, and, as I say, he shoots and rides well. How many British generals have been disabled much worse than Colonel White? Did they think Nelson was not fit to serve his Queen and country, because he lost an arm? Did they think that Lord Raglan was not fit to command, because he lost an arm? Did they think that Sir Archibald Allison was not able to command, because he also lost an arm? Why, when Sir Archibald Allison was a major, he lost an arm, but he has served his country through all successive ranks up to general for many years afterwards, and yet the Minister of Militia and Defence thinks that Colonel White should be prevented from taking the staff course because he lost two fingers.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I doubt if they sent Sir Archibald Allison to school.

Mr. PRIOR. Why, he has a far higher service than at school. He has been at the head of a brigade since he lost an arm. It appears to me that the reasons the minister gave for retiring Colonel White, are mere

subterfuges, and are not the right reasons. Let me see what the minister said when the hon. member for York, N.B., (Mr. Foster) asked a question from the minister the other day, as to his reason for this course. On page 1156 of the *Hansard*, he said :

Of the officers named in paragraph 3, Lt.-Cols. Vince and Col. White were removed from the list chiefly on account of age, and because they had retired from active command.

Mark you, the minister does not say that was the only reason, but he says that was the chief reason. Now, that opens a world of doubt to my mind, and I think it will to a good many other gentlemen, as to what the real reason was. The last letter I have to read, is a copy of one from Colonel White, sent to the Minister of Militia and Defence, as follows :

Guelph, February 9, 1900.

To the Honourable
The Minister of Militia,
Ottawa.

Sir,—In reply to your letter to me of the 7th instant, I regret that I cannot agree with you in your view or in your statement of facts. It is strange that at this late date reasons are now given for the removal of my name so much at variance with those formerly given to me. Of your reasons, I shall only say, of the first, that at the time of the removal of my name I was in active command; of the second, that several years yet lie before I attain the age limit; and of the third, that the so-called physical disability mentioned by you existed many years prior to my appointment to the command of the battalion, and it is strange that such should now be a bar to a position of which the duties could in no measure exact of that particular member.

The matter is not in any way cleared up to my satisfaction, and I still demand justice and satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. W. WHITE, Lt.-Col.

This was not brought down. That is all the correspondence. Mr. Speaker, that I could get, either from the Minister of Militia or from Col. White. There is one thing certain to my mind, that the reasons given were not the only reasons. We can only surmise what the real reasons were; but I think you will see from the correspondence that the General Officer Commanding was away, so that the Minister of Militia could not have spoken to him. But did not the Minister of Militia speak to the chief staff officer? I think you will find in the letter I read some time ago that he says himself that he had spoken to Col. Foster. If he did, did he not give any reasons besides the ones he gave to Col. White? Did he only say that it was because of age or because of lameness that Col. White was retired? I cannot believe that for one moment. I believe he must have said something to Col. Foster—

An hon. MEMBER. About politics?

Mr. PRIOR. Yes, about politics; and I think I can challenge the hon. minister to

Mr. PRIOR.

get up and state that he never said to the chief staff officer that Col. White had been taking part in politics and was therefore not fit. I must accept the minister's statement, I suppose, but I challenge him to get up here and tell the House and the country that he never told Col. Foster anything of that sort. I have seen in the papers some remarks that have been made in another place by the Minister of Justice, and I would like to draw attention to them. He said :

I venture to assert that Col. Foster will not say, if he is asked, that he had had any communication whatever with the minister upon the subject.

We see that the minister states himself that Col. Foster had. The Minister of Justice said further :

He was not directed by the minister. He received his instructions from the Major General.

We see that he received his instructions from the minister in the first place, that he sent them to General Hutton in Halifax, and that, then, General Hutton sent his instruction to Col. Foster to write to Col. White. Then, the Minister of Justice says :

It was the Major General who professed to have had this communication with the minister, and the Major General put these words into Col. Foster's mouth for the purpose of communicating them to Mr. White.

The hon. gentleman was wrong when he made these statements. He also stated that Col. White was over sixty years of age and a cripple. I think I have disposed of that pretty fully. He also said :

I venture to say that if a man were not hostile and malignant in his feelings against the minister, even if he had said it, he would not have put such words into a communication to a party to be removed.

Well, Sir, I can only say I think it is pretty contemptible for any minister to get up and accuse a gentleman who is absent of doing it maliciously. On page 364 of *Hansard*, the hon. acting Minister of the Interior stated :

Well, Sir, I need not leave it to this House, but I leave it to the militia force of Canada, whom I confidently believe will say that never since the Militia Department of Canada was instituted have they found a minister at its head freer from politics and freer from political considerations in administering the department than is the present Minister of Militia.

On page 358 the minister himself stated, when I brought up the matter relating to General Hutton :

As a matter of fact, I think it would be difficult to find a force anywhere where politics in the worst sense of the word has had less to do with such force. I may say this at once, and I challenge contradiction, that so far as the present government is concerned, politics has been excluded from the administration of the militia.

Well, Sir, we heard a good deal last session about the large contracts which had been

given in the Militia Department without tenders being called for; and any hon. gentleman who looks at the Auditor General's Report this year will find that thousands and thousands of dollars have been given in the same way to friends of the party in power by that department. It reminds me of a story which Gen. Roberts used to tell about an Afghan who was once captured outside the camp, and who was in such a dirty state that the general thought it necessary for the safety of the camp that he should be washed before he was brought in; and two Tommies were told off to take him in hand and clean him. They stripped him, and applied a good deal of soap and water to him with hard brushes. After working away for a couple of hours, they went to their captain. 'Well,' said the captain, 'what is it, men?' They said, 'We have worked on that Afghan chap till our arms ached, but after scrubbing all that time, we came upon another suit of clothes.' I think that applies to the Minister of Militia. We found out a good deal last session, and tried to scrub him clean but I think we have come upon another suit of clothes this session.

I wish to refer to another matter, that is, a statement made to several parties by a gentleman holding a high position—in fact, a member of the government—that the General Officer Commanding had given politics as a reason for the express purpose of putting the minister and the government in a hole, and that he did it maliciously. I must say, that is a dastardly attempt to blacken the character of an absent man. No gentleman has a right to make such a statement, which I can only characterize as contemptible and utterly unworthy of a man holding the position that hon. gentleman does.

That is all I have to say about this correspondence; but I would say this: If the Minister of Militia, as these letters seem to prove, has been hasty and ill-advised in his action, let him stand up like a man and acknowledge the corn. Let him say at once that he has done wrong, but will never do it any more. Let me remind him of the old proverb, that there is more joy over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety-nine just persons who need no repentance. I for one, and I am sure every other hon. member of this House, will be very glad indeed to hear the truth of this matter, and I hope that although the hon. minister has made a mistake, it will be a lesson to him for the future. I can only say that unless some explanation is given, all confidence in the Militia Department will be lost and demoralization will set in amongst the militia force of Canada. There is not a man in this country who is not a better citizen and a better man all round for joining the militia, be he either young or old, but it must not be expected that because a man dons Her

Majesty's uniform and puts himself under the orders of his superior officer and the Minister of Militia, he is to relinquish all right to take part in politics or express his political views. Why, Mr. Speaker, every drone, every loafer, I might say, in Canada enjoys that right. How much more willingly then should it be granted to men who give so much of their time and money to fit themselves to uphold the honour of this country when the occasion offers. In what position would I be, in what position would any member in this House, who is in the militia, be if the hon. minister's dictum were to prevail. How about the hon. member for Victoria, N.S., (Mr. Bethune); how about our well-known friend from King's, N.B., (Mr. Donville), and our hon. friend from South Simcoe (Mr. Tyrwhitt), and our esteemed friend from London (Mr. Beattie)? What would become of the biggest man in the lot, the hon. member for Glengarry (Mr. McLennan), if we were supposed to sit quietly and never say a word about politics just because we happen to be in the militia force? Let me say that our brave men who have gone to South Africa, and those who volunteered to go and are ready to leave when called upon, have done more to raise Canada to the proud position she now holds in the eyes of the world than all the wire-pulling politicians in this country. I would, therefore, appeal to the hon. Minister of Militia to give us the assurance that in the future merit and efficiency will be the only stepping stones to promotion in the force, and that the voice of the wirepuller and partisan politician will no more be heard within the walls of his department. I would appeal to hon. gentlemen on both sides of this House to try and abstain from interfering in militia matters. If they have to work politics into some department, let them go to some other than the Militia Department. Then, and not until then, shall we have a militia as it should be and as every militiaman wishes it to be, the pride of Canada and of everybody connected with it. I beg to move the adjournment of the House.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. My hon. friend has taken nearly an hour to wrestle with a subject which should have been disposed of in ten or fifteen minutes, for that certainly was all the time it deserved or required. The hon. gentleman has given another exemplification of the mountain in labour bringing forth a ridiculous mouse. In his desire to show us that he knows something outside of militia matters, my hon. friend ventured to quote from the proverbs, but I can assure the House that he knows as little about the present administration of the militia with reference to politics as he has shown he knows about the proverbs. He told us that the whole militia fabric was in danger, that a severe blow has been administered to the

entire force. Why? Simply because the Minister of Militia, in the exercise of his rights and his duty, saw fit to exclude an officer who is fifty-seven years of age, and who is maimed besides, having lost one hand—

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE—from attending a staff course at Kingston College, which in England is limited to officers under the age of thirty-five. And that same officer should have been, and would have been, put on the retired list two years ago if it had not been for my own clemency. To such straits has my hon. friend been driven in order to bring a charge against me of having introduced politics into the militia. My hon. friend saw fit to refer to the gallantry of those men and their glorious deeds whom Canada has had the honour of sending to South Africa to defend the empire, and I appeal confidently to what I have done in connection with the sending of these same contingents for proof positive that no political considerations whatever have influenced the department or the government in matters pertaining to the militia of Canada. Let me now come to the facts. I am charged with having removed, for political reasons, Col. White's name from the list of those who were chosen by General Hutton to attend the staff course at Kingston. I repeat what I have committed to writing, and what will be found among the papers laid on the Table; that there is not a single word of truth in the statement that that gentleman's name was removed from the list because of his politics. Here is exactly what happened. General Hutton saw fit to select, without reference to me, a number of gentlemen to be sent to Kingston for a staff course. Well, the sending of those men to Kingston involves a charge upon the public treasury. Whatever views the General Officer Commanding may have with reference to matters of discipline, purely and simply, I do not care, but this I do know, that, as the head of the Militia Department, I am held accountable to parliament and the people for the expenditure of every dollar by that department. Such being the case, and the sending of these men involving the expenditure of public money, it was the first duty of the General Officer Commanding to submit to me the list of those he had selected for my approval. He saw fit not to refer the matter to me, but while I was away he published his general orders in the newspapers, giving a list of the men selected and notifying them to go to Kingston. This he did without asking me whether I approved the list or not.

Mr. PRIOR. You had authorized the expenditure.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Yes, long ago. When I returned

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

to Ottawa, I found that list published. I asked to see the list, and it was brought to me; and, in the exercise of what I considered my right and my duty, I struck from the list the names of two men, Col. White and Col. Vince for the reasons which I have stated in the paper which is to be found in the correspondence laid on the Table of the House. I sent for my deputy minister, ran my pen through the two names, giving the reasons which I have given here and that have been given over and over again—age, being on the retired list, and, in the case of Col. White, being maimed. Now, my deputy, I understand, informed the chief staff officer, Col. Foster. I do not know what he said to Col. Foster; I am quite certain, however, that he did not say anything to that officer with reference to these gentlemen's politics; I do not think he knew what their politics were. I certainly did not say one single word, to my deputy with reference to the politics of either gentlemen. Col. Foster, after communicating with Col. Hutton, came in to see me, and I repeated to Col. Foster the reasons which I had given to my deputy; and I never gave Col. Foster any other reasons, officially, for the course I had taken, than the reasons I have stated here; and neither Col. Foster nor any one else had any right to impute to me the reasons which were communicated to Col. White. The reasons which impelled Gen. Hutton and Col. Foster to take the course which they saw fit to take I do not know; but I make the statement here solemnly that I never gave the reasons—the political reasons—with reference to these gentlemen, however much I might be justified by the facts, which I may state before I take my seat, in doing so.

Now, Mr. Speaker, perhaps it may be wise, in this connection, to disclose to you, Sir, and to the House the condition of things which I discovered to exist—which I accidentally discovered to exist in connection with this very matter. It will hardly be believed that the first intimation I had of the existence of the official letters which have been read here to-day which were sent from my department to Lt.-Col. White—for they had never been submitted and I had never given consent to such letters being written, and had absolutely no knowledge whatever that such a letter was going to be written or had been written—was then my hon. friend from North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) came to me with the letter which Col. White had sent to him. That was the first intimation I had that such a letter—

Mr. FOSTER. Which letter does the hon. minister refer to?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The letter from the chief staff officer.

Mr. FOSTER. Appointing Col. White?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No, the letter notifying Col. White that his name had been stricken off the list of those to take the staff course because he had taken part in politics. The first intimation I had that such a letter had been written was when my hon. friend from North Wellington came and showed me the letter. I was naturally very much surprised and very indignant. I sent my private secretary at once to Col. Foster for a copy of the letter, and informed him that he must come to my office. I was still more astonished when my secretary returned and said: 'Col. Foster informs me that he cannot give you the letter.' 'Then,' I said, 'tell Col. Foster to come here himself.' My secretary answered, 'I suggested that to him, and he told me that he could not come himself.' I asked why, and my secretary replied, 'he says there has been an order issued by the General Officer Commanding, that no member of his staff shall come to the office of the Minister of Militia or show the Minister of Militia any correspondence which has passed out of the military branch without the consent of the commanding officer.' I think it is about time that this House and the country should understand the condition of things that existed in my department.

Mr. FOSTER. The House lost the last part of the hon. minister's sentence. He said that no correspondence was to be sent to the minister without—what?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That no staff officer should come to me at my call without the consent of the general, and that no correspondence emanating from or received by the military branch should be shown to me without the general's consent. And I may add to that, that even after an interview permitted by the general between the staff officers and myself they were to repair immediately to his sanctum and unbosom themselves and tell him all that had taken place. Now, Sir, I think you can understand how it was that this correspondence was going on with Col. White without being submitted to me and without my having the slightest idea what was going on. I have the letters here. I was astounded beyond measure. I asked Col. Foster if he was prepared to give me the order. He said the order was made verbally in the presence of Col. Aylmer and himself. I said: 'Col. Foster, I will give you an opportunity of putting that in writing.' I wrote to Col. Foster and to Col. Aylmer and I have their letters here in which they acknowledged that the condition of things which I have just stated existed. Perhaps I had better read the letters:

Ottawa, February 3, 1900.

My dear Mr. Borden,—In reply to your inquiry of this instant, I may state, as I stated to you personally, and of which I am informed the general, that about a year ago General Hutton told both Col. Foster and myself that we were

on no account to approach you, or to communicate with you unless we had his permission, and further, that whenever we did approach you, either on our own account or officially, we were to inform him of all that happened at any interview with you, and further, we were not to sign documents that were to be forwarded to you at any time when the general was here at headquarters.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) M. AYLNER.

The Hon. F. W. Borden, M.D.,
Minister of Militia,
Ottawa.

This is Col. Foster's letter:

Ottawa, February 3, 1900.

My dear Mr. Borden,—In reply to your letter of this afternoon, I fear I can add nothing to what I told you to-day.

As far as I can remember (after the lapse of nearly a year) about the matter, the facts are that the general informed Col. Aylmer and myself that he did not approve of our interviews with yourself without his knowledge, and said that if sent for by you when he was in the office, we were to come to him and so inform him, and ask his leave before going to you, and also to inform him on our return of what it was you desired to speak to us about.

I cannot tell you at all the date of this conversation, I am afraid, and my recollection of it is naturally somewhat dim now. The fact alone remains clear in my mind, and I acted on it this day without any hesitation.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) HUBERT FOSTER.

Now, when Col. Foster came into my office, he said to me that he was acting under the order of the general in sending these letters. He did not say, and has never yet said, that he would have written these letters himself had he not been instructed to do so. In another place, criticism has been made which would involve the removal from office of Col. Foster for the part which he had taken in this matter. I cannot say at this moment very much upon that point. It is a question certainly that demands consideration; but I am bound to say, Mr. Speaker, that I think, in view of the terrorism which has been inspired in the Military Department by the general, in view of the fact that Col. Foster was an Imperial officer, and that he knew that his very life, in a military sense, and his whole future depended upon the report of General Hutton, I am inclined to take the most lenient view possible of his conduct.

Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman has seen fit to eulogize Col. White. He has read a letter which I wrote Col. White, and which I thought it was only fair to Col. White that I should write. Col. White, I believe, has been a fairly good officer of the militia, so much so that this department, this terrible Grit government, this awful Grit minister, who is prostituting, according to the hon. gentleman, the Department of Militia to his own party ends, this very Grit minister has extended Col. White's term for two years longer than it should have been. Col. White ought to have been satisfied with the treatment he received. Col. White, after he

received these letters, came to Ottawa and came to see me, and I regret to say that Col. White lowered himself very much in my estimation by telling me, as he did, that he would be willing to keep this matter quiet provided I would let him quietly return and take his course at Kingston. I told him that whatever else we might do in the Department of Militia, we did not propose to run it quite upon those lines. Now, Sir, the hon. gentleman, in connection with Col. White, has referred to the fact that Lord Roberts is nearly seventy years of age. But can the hon. gentleman see any analogy whatever between the two cases? In the first place, Col. White is not General Roberts, and in the next place, there is no question, so far as I know, of General Roberts having to take a staff course at Kingston or anywhere else. We are talking now of the plain question of spending the public money of this country in educating for a staff course men bordering upon sixty years of age, or whether we should not rather select the brightest and best young men of the country who have got thirty or forty years ahead of them in the militia service, whether we should not spend our money upon them so that the country will get back all and more than the money it has invested. The question is whether we should send to the staff course men who are going out of the active command of the militia the next day, men who at the very best cannot spend more than two or three years of their life in the militia service. I am prepared to stand upon the ground that I have taken on this matter; I am not afraid of any adverse criticism in this House or in this country with reference to the stand which I have taken.

The hon. gentleman has said that there was another officer included in the list of those which General Hutton had prepared, of men to be sent for the staff course at Kingston, who was on the reserve list, Col. Hodgins, of Ottawa. That is true. I was aware that Col. Hodgins was on the reserve list; but Col. Hodgins is a young man, certainly not over forty years of age, a man residing in the very heart of the country, near the headquarters staff, a man who, after having taken that course at Kingston, could be utilized at Ottawa if required, or could be sent out to any part of the country to do staff duty; more than that, he is an excellent officer, one of the best in the whole country.

Now, the hon. gentleman has seen fit to introduce that *bete noire* of himself and many of his friends into this discussion, my hon. friend the Minister of Public Works. He sees here some awful conspiracy on the part of the friends of the Minister of Public Works to get this man White taken off the list. Now, Sir, I can assure the hon. gentleman that he can rest perfectly easy. My hon. friend the Minister of Public Works has no knowledge whatever of this matter,

Mr. BORDEN (King's).

and I doubt very much if he ever heard the name of Col. White.

Now, there is just one more word that I would say. If I had seen fit, as I did not, to search for a political reason for refusing to allow Col. White to take this course, I would have had no difficulty in finding one. It would not be merely a political reason, it would be a reason of a much more extensive import. I find that although Col. White stated in his letter that he never spoke at a public meeting, I have reports of two speeches which he made at two different public meetings within the last six months.

Mr. PRIOR. Political meetings?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Well, would the hon. gentleman call a banquet of young Conservatives a political meeting? Col. White is reported in the following terms as having spoken on the 29th of November, 1899:

Referring to the Canadian contingent for South Africa, Col. White said:

'The men left Canadian shores amid cheers, but the government seemed unwilling to send a force to the scene of warfare until their hand was forced by the people of Canada. It was a disgrace that the soldiers of Canada should be dumped—'

Mr. MONTAGUE. What is the hon. gentleman quoting from?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. From the *Guelph Daily Herald*, of November 30.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I thought the hon. gentleman was quoting from the Governor General's speech down in Quebec.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (reading)—

—it was a disgrace that the soldiers of Canada should be dumped on South African shores to subsist on 25 cents, while the soldiers from other colonies received more than double the amount.

That was one of Col. White's speeches. Then, not satisfied with that effort, I find that on the 12th of December, he spoke again, and I find him thus reported in the *Advocate* of Guelph, I believe an independent organ. It is headed: 'Annual banquet of the Guelph Fat Stock Club on Thursday evening.'

Mr. FOSTER. Is that a young Liberal club?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The hon. gentleman will see that this is a non-partisan society. Col. White was not only prepared to air himself in the congenial atmosphere of a Conservative banquet at Guelph, but he was prepared to introduce politics, or something far worse, into the banquet of the Guelph Fat Stock Club. These are the terms in which he spoke:

Col. White made a smart address, and spoke of the Canadian contingent. He spoke of the Boers in South Africa having been preparing for war for years, and warned the people of Canada that there was in Canada a similar disloyal element, whom we yet might have to suppress in French Quebec.

I can only say that had I known—I did not know it; I have been looking up Col. White's record since all this fuss has been made—had I known and been able to establish the fact, as I believe it to be a fact, that he had given utterance to sentiments of that kind, in a country like this with a mixed population, I should not have hesitated one moment to take the step of asking him to retire from the active service of the Canadian militia.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand). I suppose the hon. minister knows that Col. White absolutely denies that he said any such thing?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I do not.

Mr. MONTAGUE. It is true. I do not know anything about the case, but I know that Col. White positively states that no such speech ever was made by him. Of course, being somewhat of a partisan myself, I might consider that a speech was non-partisan. I heard the speech from which the hon. minister has quoted, as published in the *Guelph Herald*. I heard that speech at the banquet in honour of my hon. friend Mr. Kleopfer. That, of course, was a party affair. I do not remember these sentiments, although they may have been expressed.

Mr. GIBSON. You forgot your address to the Indians.

Mr. MONTAGUE. This I do know, that I never heard a better response on behalf of the Canadian volunteers than Col. White made on that occasion.

Mr. McNEILL. Does the hon. minister say—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order, order.

Mr. SPEAKER. Order. The hon. Minister of Militia has the floor.

Mr. McNEILL. Does the hon. minister say what paper he quoted that from? I did not catch the name.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. It is from the *Advocate* of Guelph. Of course, if my hon. friend (Mr. Montague) says that he knows it is not true—

The PRIME MINISTER. He does not say that.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Now, a single word, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion. I repeat what I have already said that the reasons for removing these names from the list were that these gentle-

men, so removed, were on the reserve or retired list, they were too old for the staff course which is limited, in England, to 35 years, and in the case of Col. White, there was the special reason of his being physically unfit.

Mr. MONTAGUE. He is not physically unfit.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Well, he was maimed by the loss of a hand.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Is he not one of the best shots in Canada?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That is another thing.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Not at all.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. So far as the administration of the militia is concerned—

Mr. McNEILL. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman—

Mr. SPEAKER. If the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence does not choose to give up the floor, the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill) has no right to interrupt him.

Mr. McNEILL. I will ask the hon. gentleman to allow me.

Mr. SPEAKER. The hon. minister has not yielded the floor.

Mr. McNEILL. I would ask the hon. gentleman—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order, If the hon. gentleman who has the floor does not sit down, no other hon. gentleman has the right to interrupt him.

Mr. McNEILL. I have to thank the hon. gentleman for his courtesy, that is all.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I am only going to say a word more.

Mr. FOSTER. Before the hon. minister finishes, I would like him to take up the case of Col. Vince.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. In the case of Col. Vince I gave exactly the same reasons, except that in Col. Vince's case he was not maimed, but he had been for some time on the reserve list and he had passed the age when, I think, a man can profitably take the staff course. These are the only reasons in Col. Vince's case. If there are political reasons—perhaps there are—I do not know what they are, only this, that I have heard that Col. Vince has been removed from office under the government for undue political interference.

Mr. FOSTER. From what office?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I think he was a postmaster.

Mr. FOSTER. You give that as a reason, do you ?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No, I do not ; not at all. I was not aware of it at the time. One word in conclusion, and it is that I challenge, during the time I have administered the affairs of the Department of the Militia, any one to show that I have been actuated, chiefly, or to any great extent, by political considerations in the administration of that department.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Chiefly, or to any great extent.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I say without the slightest hesitation if the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Montague) desires to hear it, that, other things being equal, in the selection of officers and in the selection of men, upon whom favours are to be conferred, I am prepared, in every case, to give the preference to the friends of my own political party. For eighteen years, yes, for twenty-five years, in this country, the militia has been administered by Conservative governments, and I have failed yet to find that we were not prepared to take what happened to us kindly and quietly, so much so, that I hazard the statement that, up to 1896, of the officers of the Canadian militia, 90 per cent of them were Conservatives. I am sorry to say that this condition is not very much changed at the present moment. As my hon. friend has made some reference to the Auditor General's Report, I wish to say, in general terms, in reference to the contracts which are made with my department, that, in every case, wherever I can do it fairly and justly, with due regard to the public exchequer, I am prepared to give the preference to my own political friends. I do not think that anybody expects anything different, and if they do, they will expect something which never happened in Canada before. We are governing this country, I suppose, by party. Governments would be fools which did not do justice to their own political friends. I propose to do justice to my own political friends, and I maintain that nothing more than justice has been done to the Liberals of Canada in the administration of the Militia Department up to the present moment.

Mr. DAVID TISDALE (South Norfolk). Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the hon. Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) one thing. Of course, he is not bound to answer, but, I think, he ought to do it on this occasion. It is to define his position, or rather to define the position which he considers officers—I am not speaking of anything now but officers of the militia, because the question the hon. member for Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) brought up was that—should take. I would like to ask him whether, because

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they take a part in politics he, for one moment, contends that the department ought in any way to notice it, or to interfere with it. I think it is not unreasonable to ask the minister to define his position because that is the gravamen of the motion, although not the gravamen of all the hon. gentleman seems to say in his conclusion.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I think it is a pretty good answer to appeal to the fact, that although I found perhaps 90 per cent of the officers of the Militia Department Conservatives, that not one single officer has been removed from any commission or position which he held because of politics.

Mr. TISDALE. That is not the question.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. That is my first answer, and my second answer is, that so far as the militia at large is concerned, I certainly accord to every officer the most absolute freedom to indulge in any political views he wishes, to attend meetings and speak at meetings, to do anything he would do if he did not hold a commission, so long as he conducts himself honourably as a gentleman. I will say, however, that I do think that when men are to be appointed to staff positions such as these in the headquarters staff at Ottawa, or in permanent positions throughout the country, or receive annual salaries from the government; that they are in a different position from the ordinary militia officer, and that those men should exercise due caution with reference to politics. That is my answer.

Mr. THOS. BEATTIE (London). I am somewhat surprised at the doctrine laid down by the Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden). It is a new doctrine in my experience, and if carried out it would simply do away with all discipline in our militia force. The minister states that Col. Foster and Col. Aylmer had a perfect right to go to him direct instead of to the general. If I understand the matter aright, the General Officer Commanding is the chief officer of our militia force, and no subordinate officer should be allowed to go to the minister except through him, nor should any document reach the minister except through his hands. In my opinion the general has a right to know every communication that is sent from a junior officer to the Minister of Militia. An officer has no more rights in this respect than a private in the ranks. The rule of discipline is, that if a private in the ranks wishes to communicate with his commanding officer, he first goes to the sergeant with his complaint, then the sergeant goes to the captain, and then the captain to the colonel. That is the proper course, as I understand it, and the same rule should apply to all officers under the general no matter what their rank. The general should be consulted on every docu-

ment that goes to the Minister of Militia from any member of the force. I may mention that a short time ago, Capt. Carpenter of the Royal Canadian Regiment was ordered to South Africa. Lt.-Col. Vidal sent him a despatch from Ottawa direct instead of sending it to the District Officer Commanding, Col. Holmes, and Col. Holmes called Col. Vidal to task and Col. Vidal very properly apologized for not having sent the communication through the District Officer Commanding. I would not have spoken in this debate were it not for the remarks made about Col. White by the Minister of Justice in the Senate.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. BEATTIE. Well, remarks made by the Minister of Justice in another place. Now, I have been in many camps with Col. White, and I will say that a better specimen of an officer, a gentleman, and a soldier does not stand in the militia force of Canada to-day. He is a splendid looking man, nearly six feet two inches tall, a good rider and a first-class shot, and although he lost a few of his fingers, that happened many years ago, long before he was a major or a colonel, and it does not in any way impair his usefulness. If Col. Foster wrote the letter he did to Col. White, I consider that he did something that he should be called upon by this House to account publicly for, because if this thing is allowed to go on it will simply ruin our militia force. Col. Foster is a British officer, and he would not dare to write in that manner to any officer in Great Britain. If he did, he knows what the consequence would be. I do not believe that he ever wrote that letter without having some reason for doing so. In justice to Col. White, I believe that every Conservative officer, and every Conservative man in the militia force would be justified in resigning until a satisfactory explanation is made by Col. Foster.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN (North Wellington). I desire to offer a few remarks upon this question. The first I knew of any difficulty arising between the Department of Militia and Col. White, was when I received a letter from Col. White outlining to me what he considered the injustice to which he was subjected. Col. White was a resident of my riding for thirty years. He discharged the duties of returning officer at one of my elections. He is a very decent, respectable man and always has been. I felt deeply annoyed myself when I got the letter from Col. White, because I confess that I believed that if the contents of his letter were true he was not properly treated. I went to the Militia Department and laid the letter before the minister, and I must say that although I have been in Ottawa and attended parliament for eighteen years. I never in my life saw a man more indignant than was the minister, when he read the contents of that letter.

Mr. MONTAGUE. No doubt he would show indignation to you.

Mr. McMULLEN. That showed very clearly to my mind that the minister never authorized, nor was he responsible for the contents of that letter. The minister immediately sent for Col. Foster, and Col. Foster came to his office, and I was an eye-witness of all that took place. I can state here that every word the minister said with regard to that interview is true. Before I left the office I said to the minister: 'Were I in your position, I would dismiss—the words I used were, I would "bounce"—Col. Foster within twenty-four hours for the action he took with regard to that letter, or else the government would have my resignation.' I then wrote to Col. White with regard to the explanation I had received from the minister. He came down here and I got him an interview with the minister. I am satisfied, from all that I have gathered, that the minister was not at all responsible. Whoever penned that letter or whoever authorized that letter stating that Col. White was not allowed to take the staff course, because he was a political partisan. I am positive the minister was not a party to it, nor was he aware at the time that any such letter was ever written.

It is another proof going to show that Major General Hutton did not leave Canada a moment too soon, for the prosperity and peace and harmony of the Militia Department. From the moment I probed this affair to the bottom, I felt satisfied that General Hutton was not the man for the position he occupied, and from the manner in which the minister has been irritated and worried during the residence of that man here, I do not wonder that he must feel considerable relief in having around him his officers subject to his direction, rather than being hampered by Major General Hutton in the way the minister has described. Col. White is without doubt a very respectable man; he has been a good citizen, and an old resident of the county of Wellington. He discharged his duty as commander of the Wellington battalion, creditably, and I may say that his time was extended for two years on my personal request to the minister. I made the application out of personal regard for Col. White, because, while he is a very strong opponent of mine, he is a very respectable man, and although he did anything and everything he could against me properly, he did not, I believe, do anything against me improperly. He is not a man who would lend himself to anything of that kind. Col. White has proved himself to be a deserving citizen and has taken a prominent part in connection with the militia force of Wellington for many years.

Mr. TISDALE. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to offer any extended remarks on this matter, but there were some things in the

minister's reply, which I could have wished he had either left unsaid, or expressed differently. I have not the pleasure of knowing Colonel White personally; I do not know that I ever saw him; but the records show that he stands as high as any other colonel in the militia of Canada. The hon. minister speaks of extending the time of Colonel White's command of the battalion, as a matter of clemency on his part. If he did that as a matter of clemency, he had no right to do it. The Minister of Militia and Defence has no right to extend clemency to a gentleman in command of a battalion, who is not fit in every way to hold such an important position.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. May I say one word? My hon. friend is not aware of the fact—because the regulation was passed since he was in office—that there is a special regulation and order, dealing with this question which limits the term of office to five years, and which says that when an officer is specially recommended by the district officer commanding, and approved by the General Officer Commanding, the term may be extended for three years longer.

Mr. TISDALE. I am quite aware of the regulation, though I thought the extension could be made for five years. Is the minister prepared to say that there are no commanding officers in command of battalions to-day, who have remained in command more than three years after the expiration of their term?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. No. Since I came into office, a retrospective order was passed applying to colonels who had been in office for twenty or thirty years; and that order has been carried out. I think, in every single case. But, of course, in the meantime, there were many colonels who had acted as such for twenty or twenty-five years.

Mr. TISDALE. I am not complaining, but unless matters have changed very recently, there are some colonels still in command of battalions, in whose cases, the three years' limit and the age limit have expired. However, the argument is the same. If the man was not fit to command the battalion, his time ought not to have been extended. If it was extended, to whom was the compliment paid? The position I take, is that the compliment is to the department, when men will volunteer to serve in the ranks or to take the command of battalions for the defence of the country. Who makes the sacrifices, who educates them, who pays their expenses during the time of their education, who pays their loss of time, who buys their uniform, who compensates them for their loss of occupation, whether they are in the rank and file, or among the officers? Therefore, I object to its being held out as

Mr. TISDALE.

a matter of clemency that the time was extended to a gentleman who was both physically and mentally fit; and his friends have good reason to feel indignant at the treatment he received, no matter whose fault it was. The hon. minister, in his concluding remarks, said that Colonel White had lowered himself when he came to him privately and said, 'Now, if you will allow me to finish my course, I will say nothing about it.' I should be very sorry if we had a Minister of Militia and Defence in Canada who felt that a colonel of a battalion, who thought he was being badly used, was humiliating himself if he went privately to the head of the department—because the minister will not gainsay that Colonel White, who has served his country so long, was not a worthy officer and a gentleman—and said, 'Now, do not subject me to this indignity, and I will drop the matter, and there will be no public talk about it.' I know how I would feel as an officer, at finding that the Major General and the department, whether with the minister's consent or not, had published my name in a list sent all over the Dominion as unfit, when, as the facts show, Colonel White stood second to no other man as an officer, and was still physically fit and able to serve beyond the time limit. I say that Colonel White comes out of the matter better than the Department of Militia and Defence. I regret that the minister, in his concluding remarks, thought it necessary to cast these two reflections upon him; and if the hon. gentleman himself does not regret them, I am sorry for the militia of this country. He said that as to officers, or as to contracts, things being equal, he would prefer his friends.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. TISDALE. I do not object so much to the hon. gentleman saying that in regard to contracts, because to a certain extent we all concede that. But, I do regret his saying it in regard to officers, whose positions bring them no profit nor political influence, but, in the British army and I hope also in the colonial militia, are held only on the ground of efficiency. When our brave men return from South Africa, a minister who can withstand his party will have a great opportunity to weed the force of all politics, by giving the appointments at his disposal to the men who have most distinguished themselves on the field.

The hon. gentleman says that 90 per cent of the officers are Conservatives. So much more to the honour and patriotism of the Conservative party. I went into the militia long ago, at the time of the Trent difficulty, and remained in the force eighteen or twenty years, and I never heard in my regiment or any other of any political favour in the appointment of militia officers. I am not speaking of the staff.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. My hon. friend, as an old militiaman, knows that the appointments in the different corps rest entirely with the commanding officers. Nobody ever thinks of interfering with these, and I was not speaking of the ordinary officers of militia at all. What I referred to was the appointments which come directly under me, such as appointments at headquarters. But as regards captains and lieutenants and subalterns, they are all chosen by the officer commanding the battalion.

Mr. TISDALE. I am glad to have the hon. gentleman's explanation, because the hon. gentleman's expression was most unfortunate. He said that 90 per cent of the officers—

Mr. SUTHERLAND. He was speaking only of certain officers.

Mr. TISDALE. He made no limitation, and I am very glad to have his correction, because otherwise he would have been misunderstood. As to the contracts, I remember when he cancelled some which I thought were good ones. In all cases the late government insisted upon tenders, but there were certain firms well and favourably known as being the most competent to furnish the articles required, and from those firms tenders were invited.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. Was there a single Liberal firm asked to tender?

Mr. TISDALE. There were two or three Liberal firms, but the great majority were Conservatives. But, the hon. gentleman makes the bold avowal that he is prepared only to give contracts to his political friends, and that avowal is calculated to strengthen the impression that we are on the eve of a general election.

Mr. GIBSON. Everything else being equal.

Mr. TISDALE. He said nothing about other things being equal.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I not only said that, but I said also, 'and with due regard to the public interest.'

Mr. TISDALE. But who is to decide? Last session we tried to obtain a promise that no contracts should be let without public competition, but we were voted down. Why did the hon. gentleman refer to the public meetings at which Col. White spoke, if politics had nothing to do with the matter? If they had not, then it did not matter whether Col. White had spoken at public meetings or how often he had spoken. The hon. gentleman has told us that in England no man above thirty-five years of age can take a staff course. But has the hon. gentleman adopted that rule?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. The hon. gentleman knows that the Queen's regulations should be enforced when we have men of our own.

Mr. TISDALE. But the hon. gentleman has not acted on that regulation. If he had, not one of the officers in the list had the right to take the course. While I think he is wise in that in not trying to apply the thirty five year regulation to the Canadian militia, I think he is unwise to try to apply it to Col. White's case. We do not have a very great number desiring to qualify in a military sense, nor do we have many military schools; therefore, I think, we should keep the staff course open without restriction of age. Col. White is as well fitted for this course as many men of forty years of age. The minister was not happy or logical or consistent in the course he has taken, seeing that no age limit has been established. Does he mean to say that he will allow no retired officer to take this course? If not, then retired officers must be judged, in this respect, upon their merits. One of the greatest difficulties of our militia system is in not having fixed rules. This fact is illustrated in the present case. Matters are pretty well left to the sweet will and pleasure of the minister, leaving the militia in a very uncertain state.

Now, one word with regard to the matter between the minister and the general. I have said that there are no fixed rules; and I confess it is pretty hard to make a rule as to where the authority of the general ends and where the authority of the minister begins, if there is a cleavage between them. I do not see very well how we can remedy that, because we all agree that the minister must be responsible to parliament, and we must all agree that, if we are going to have a general of efficiency take the position, we must leave matters of military discipline to him. Now, I cannot conceive how a state of affairs such as the minister spoke of here to-day, need arise, which would make necessary the steps the general thought necessary to take as to the means of communication between himself and the minister. If you apply military rules, the argument of my hon. friend from London (Mr. Beattie) is unanswerable; if you apply mixed rules, such a state of affairs should not exist. If the minister and the general could not agree better than they seem to have done in this case, they should have taken some way to settle it and save this scandal—because it is a scandal, which ever was to blame, that such a state of affairs should exist. It is no wonder that complaints are arising when such a state of affairs existed between the general and the minister. We never have had and probably never shall have such a knowledge of the facts as will enable us to judge between the two. General Hutton has been attack-

ed, but he has not been dismissed. There was no investigation which would enable the public to learn the facts. All I can say is that I think that the minister and the general should be able to come to such an understanding that such a state of affairs could not exist.

Mr. RICHARD TYRWHITT (South Simcoe). I do not know that I can add anything to what has been said in defence of my friend Col. White; but, as his friend, having known him for the past twenty years, I deem it my duty to say a word in his behalf. My attention was first drawn to this matter by seeing the unkind things that were said of him in the other chamber and in the public press. I saw a gentleman who had served Her Majesty for twenty-five years described as a cripple and as being over sixty years of age—so described by a gentleman who should certainly know better if he is fit to occupy the position he has in the government. We might retort upon that gentleman by saying that he was rejected by the electors of Bothwell, and has been rewarded by his party by being pitchforked into the other chamber and into a position for which he was utterly unfit. Now, the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden) has been alluded to a number of times as a gentleman who has been in the militia for some thirty or thirty-five years, and it has been suggested that, owing to his service he should be qualified to judge as to the requirements of a man in the combatant ranks of the militia. I myself have had some experience, and my experience has been that men holding staff appointments, such as those of surgeon and paymaster simply hold their appointments without any military qualifications whatever. It is not necessary for them to pass any examinations to acquire these positions, consequently I do not consider them fit to judge as to the abilities of combatant officers. Now, I would like to emphasize the point so well taken by my hon. friend from London (Mr. Beattie) and say a word in defence of the late commander of the militia, General Hutton. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says that it is a good thing for the country that he has left it. I do not consider the hon. member for North Wellington a judge as to the capacity of any general; and I think that if the generals sent to us are to be insulted by members of parliament having no knowledge whatever of their profession, it will not be very long before gentlemen holding these high positions in the British army will decline to give their services to this country. I consider that General Hutton was perfectly justified in refusing to allow his subordinates to correspond with the Minister of Militia. General Hutton recognized that he had a man to deal with without military instincts. Had the Minister of Militia known his duty, he would have corresponded with that particular branch through

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the general who was in charge of that branch. He would have sent his secretary to the general and asked his permission to allow the junior officers of his department to visit him or to have certain conversation with him. I think the general was perfectly right; the position he took was a military one and one that could be defended anywhere. I think the Minister of Militia, in objecting to it simply showed his want of knowledge of the *savoir faire* between officers holding high rank in the militia. We know, that in civil life, if a gentleman wanted to see the servant of his friend, he would naturally correspond with his friend first; he would advise his friend that he proposed speaking to his servant on a certain subject. We know that would be the case in civil life and we know that it would apply more particularly in military life.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE. I may say, if my hon. friend (Mr. Tyrwhitt) will permit me, that, though I do not know very much about military matters and have not the instincts he refers to, I have taken some pains to inquire as to the customs of the War Office in England; and I find that it is the custom for the Secretary of State for War to send for any one of the heads of the departments without reference to the commander-in-chief.

Mr. TYRWHITT. Now, we all recognize that it is a debatable subject, the propriety of making a five-year limit for an officer commanding a regiment; and in many cases the regiment will suffer more than the commanding officer from the change. Those of us who have commanded regiments for years, are aware that it involves us in a bill of expense, and there is a good deal of annoyance connected with the fulfilment of our duties. I am also of the opinion that the efficiency of an officer should be judged from the character of the regiment that he leaves behind him in the force. I may mention that an incentive to efficiency has been given to the officers commanding battalions in the Second Military District, by the offer of a cup annually, by the late Colonel Gzowski, to the most efficient rural battalion in the district. I would like also to say in regard to politics in the militia, that we always find a great difficulty in procuring officers, and when we seek for an officer for our battalion, we do not inquire into his politics, we only inquire into his fitness. Speaking from my own experience, we are often called upon to assist young men in equipping themselves for the positions that we are prepared to offer them. I will repeat what has been said by a number of officers during the recent discussion, that politics are seldom or never mentioned in the militia, certainly not in a campaign. I am of the opinion that when an officer dons his uniform, he is subject to the Queen's Regulations for the militia of Canada, and to the articles of war, which regulations rightly

forbid him to take any part in politics. For that reason, I have refused to allow my men, on a number of occasions, to take part in political processions of any kind.

Now, with regard to this course at Kingston, we are told that the officers are to receive \$2.50 a day during the time they give to this particular course. I would like to draw the attention of the House to the sacrifice entailed on the men in Colonel White's position, who has an office in town, where he does a large law business. He has to give up his business in order to acquire military knowledge, and all he gets from the Militia Department in return for this sacrifice, is \$2.50 a day. As to the age limit, I would not like to feel that I was obliged to retire when I reached that limit. I do not feel that I am too old to serve the country yet. I am of the opinion that many men of my age can stand as much or more hardship, than young fellows of twenty. With regard to Colonel White's case, I think it would be far more honest for the Minister of Militia and Defence to admit, at once, that he was actuated more by what he saw in this Liberal paper, published in the town of Guelph, than by any other reasons. I can understand that our friend, Colonel White, having taken off his uniform, had a strong Conservative bias, and so have a good many other men in the militia. I think, Sir, that it is much to the credit of the Conservative party, that so many of them have given their services to the country in the militia. I repeat again that Conservatives have had no special inducements offered them to join the service, but there is something in the make up of a Conservative, which leads him to volunteer in the military service, and that explains the preponderance of men of that political belief in the Canadian militia.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) I stated before six o'clock that I did not intend to take up much time, and I may state now that I will take up less time because I find that the hon. Minister of Militia is not present, and some of my remarks I would rather make when the minister is here. There will be another opportunity when we can take up the question and discuss it as well, and in this special sense I think I shall reserve most of my remarks until that time. But, there are one or two things that I wish to say even though the hon. Minister of Militia has not been able to be present, because, it follows directly in the line of the remarks that the hon. gentleman made this afternoon. He made two divisions in his defence, if you may call it his defence, in reference to the striking off of these two gentlemen from the list. Now, the strange thing that struck me, and I think it would strike any hon. member of

the House, who listened to the papers being read or who had read the papers, was how it would be possible for two officers who are neither politicians nor, in the exercise of their military duties heretofore, which have been long and arduous, have had anything to do with party politics, how these gentlemen, entirely disassociated from our party politics, could give, as a reason to Col. White and Col. Vince, for their not being allowed to take the course of staff instruction that they had interfered in party politics by addressing public meetings. It seems almost inconceivable, and to me, it is utterly inconceivable, that these gentlemen, could, either, or both of them, have invented the excuse for taking off the names of two gentlemen whose names were placed there, because they were fit, in every respect, for taking the staff instruction—how they could have invented the excuse of politics for striking off those men. It seems to me to be utterly inconceivable, unless, in some way or other, through some representations or other, it had been made to appear to them that there was a repugnance in the ministerial mind to these gentlemen being allowed to take the staff course because they were Conservatives and had taken part, by public speaking, in public meetings. Every one knows, who knows the British system of military administration, that political parties do not count in it, that partisanship of this kind does not have any place in a purely military administration; and these two gentlemen are, both of them, fresh from the military administration of the British army. Consequently, it would be something foreign to these gentlemen to give as a reason for taking off capable men, the reason that was given in these letters, namely, that they had interfered in politics by speaking at public meetings.

Now, the hon. minister says that that was not the reason at all, but, that these two men were struck off for two good reasons. Well, the minister does not state that he did not have an objection to these gentlemen because they were Conservatives, and, as was alleged, had taken part in public meetings. He says that he did not mention this reason officially to Col. Foster, and I think there is a wide distinction, probably, to be drawn there, and the inference is, that, although he did not make it the official reason which he placed upon the memorandum, yet, he did cause his opinion to be expressed that these men were not agreeable to him because they were Conservatives and because they had taken part in public meetings. But, he says that there were two sufficient reasons why these gentlemen's names were struck off. We will see how far they go. In the first place, he says that they were over age. That was a very strong reason, in the hon. minister's mind. He says that in England thirty-five is the maximum age limit. He does not state that he has made good the rule here

that obtains in England that the maximum age limit shall be thirty-five years, but, he says, this is the rule in England, that it is laid down by the Queen's Regulations, and that these men were over that age limit. Now, I asked the minister, the other day, to give me the dates at which each one of these gentlemen was born. He brought the answer down, and I have it before me in *Hansard*. What results from an analysis of the answer of the hon. minister? Why, this, Sir, that there is not a single gentleman here that he has been pleased to appoint to take that staff course of instruction who does not pass the thirty-five year limit—not a single one. Here is Mr. Stacey. I will just give their names. I do not know whether they are colonels, or lieutenants, or generals:

Name.	Born.	Age.
Mr. Stacey.....	1858	41
" Hodgins.....	1851	48
" Roy.....	1859	40
" Jones.....	1860	39
" McLaren.....	1847	52
" Galloway.....	1851	48
" Mutton.....	1852	47
" Chinc.....	1858	41

Now, Mr. White was born in 1843, he is fifty-six years of age; Mr. Vince was born in 1848, and he is fifty-one years of age. What becomes of the minister's rule, and what becomes of the minister's reason? One-half of his reason is no reason at all, the reason he gave us, namely, that the age limit had to be looked to, as thirty-five years. Yet, all of those he has appointed to the staff course are more than thirty-five years of age; some of them run up to fifty, and one is fifty-two years of age. The minister's reason, then, is not a good reason. Whether it was one of the real reasons or not he has not lived up to his own rule, and he has not made his appointments within the limit of age which he set down as being necessary, and because these two gentlemen, who were struck off the list, exceeded that limit of age, he gives it as a reason why they were not appointed. So much with reference to that. The minister also said that it was not intended to put a retired man on and both Col. Vince and Col. White were retired—or Col. White was about to be retired. Again that argument falls to the ground, because Col. Hodgins was retired in October, 1899, and yet he was recommended for the staff course and his name was not struck out by the minister. Therefore, the minister's reasons are no reasons at all, and as one analyses he finds what poor reasons they are, and is led to the conviction that they are not the real reasons why Col. White and Col. Vince have been struck off the list. Now, as to their fitness for the position. I know more about Col. Vince than I do about Col. White, and I know there is not an officer in the maritime provinces—I will not except any officer there—who is more intelligent, more cap-

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able, more thoroughly informed and more scientifically master of his military business than is Col. Vince. There is not a military man who knows him but will bear out my opinion in that respect. The general knew him and he was selected by the general because of his fitness. The military instinct and military spirit of Col. Vince comes to him by inheritance, and he has made a study of military matters; more than a study for he has made almost a hobby of it, and he has been during his whole connection with the militia force—especially with the Brighton engineers, which he brought to a condition of perfection—he has been most proficient and is one of the most capable and energetic officers that you can find in the province of New Brunswick or in the maritime provinces. Where does the unfitness appear, in the case of Col. Vince? The Minister of Militia and Defence dared not, and I am convinced that he will not, challenge the fitness of Col. Vince in any respect whatever. With reference to Col. White, his case is better known to the members from Ontario, and I believe that nothing the minister has said will take away from the impression which has been produced in the House, that Col. White is not only an able officer, but that he is an active and efficient officer as well. I must say that it was a cruel thing to have blurted out in the papers and in this House this afternoon that Col. White was not put upon the list because he was maimed. From 1869, he has had the same disadvantage to contend with, and it has never interfered with his thorough efficiency in his office, and it was at least a gratuitous thing to bring in when there was an attempt made to get a reason as to why he was not appointed.

Now, Sir, the minister shows that the political reason did enter into it? Why? Because he read letters to try and convince the House that Col. White had taken part in political meetings. What was the necessity of reading these extracts at all, if there was not in the minister's mind a desire to impress the House that he might get the support of this House in having struck out Col. White's name because Col. White had spoken at public meetings. What was the whole substance of that charge? After thoroughly scraping up everything he could get, the minister (Mr. Borden) found that Col. White had spoken twice—once at a fat stock show, and the other at a banquet—at a time when the militia feeling was running high—and where he spoke to the toast of the army and navy. There was another statement made which, in Col. White's own words, as read by my hon. friend from Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) was denied. That was, that he had gratuitously insulted the whole French people in a speech he made in Guelph. Col. White denies it. There is no proof brought to the contrary, except the mere reading of a newspaper

extract, and I will take Col. White's denial, as from a man and a soldier, sufficient against the mere reading of a newspaper paragraph, read without any assertion by the minister that he had investigated the matter and found that it really represented what Col. White said. The extracts read this afternoon had no force whatever. As a soldier and as a militiaman, Col. White stated that he thought it was a shame that Canadian militiamen should be dumped on the shores of Africa, and be forced afterwards to make their way on a payment of only 25 cents a day. Who does not believe now that it was a shame? The government themselves believed it was a shame, and they were so far ashamed of the shameful thing they attempted to do, that they came down to this House and proposed to pay our Canadian soldiers the difference between Canadian rates of pay and Imperial rates, which brought their pay to from 50 to 75 cents a day. Because a militiaman said that, it surely was no reason why he should be struck off the list.

Now, Sir, so far as Col. Vince is concerned, the defence of the minister is just as weak in connection with political interference. In the Dominion elections of 1896, Col. Vince was postmaster in the city of Woodstock, N.B. Col. Vince took no part, good, bad or indifferent in the whole canvass of 1896, and he would not do it even to the matter of writing a letter or of sending out a list or anything of the kind. He voted, I believe; I hope he did, I think he did, and he had a right to vote. So far as interference in the Dominion elections is concerned, Col. Vince started with the idea that he was a government official and that he would not interfere, and it cannot be proved that he did take the least part in that election. A few months ago there was a local election in the province of New Brunswick, but Col. Vince was no longer an official of the Dominion government, so far as the postmastership was concerned. He has been dismissed. What for? Simply because he was a Liberal-Conservative; and the Liberal paper in the town of Woodstock, when Col. Vince went out of office, was good enough to say that they never had had a postmaster in that town who did the work so well and who was so thoroughly agreeable, to all the people as was Col. Vince. Why was he dismissed? Simply because Mr. Blair and his supporters had made a promise to Mr. Smith, who was a supporter in the provincial legislature, that he should have the postmastership, and Mr. Smith pressed for his reward, and it was withstood as long as possible, because the people were against it, until at last the debt had to be paid, and Mr. Vince had to be dispossessed of his office. There was not a thing against him in the way of political partisanship or in any other way. The minister (Mr. Borden) towards the end of his remarks, made the statement that a

militiaman had a perfect right to speak what he thought, on a public platform or otherwise. Col. Vince, when told that he had been debarred from going to Kingston to take the staff course because he had taken an active part in elections, wrote a very good answer, which I am going to read to the House:

Woodstock, N.B., Jan. 31, 1900.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th inst., informing me 'that my name had been removed from the list of officers ordered to undergo the staff course at Kingston, owing to my having recently taken an active part in politics by public speaking, which rendered it inexpedient to include me in a course for general staff.'

I have the honour, in reply to request that you will be pleased to forward to the Major General Commanding the following statement, which I have the honour to respectfully submit for his consideration; that the rule or recognized usage of Her Majesty's service is that laid down in Regulations and Orders, 1898, part 1, paragraph 215:

1. Officers, non-commissioned officers and men are forbidden to institute or take part in meetings, demonstrations or processions for party or political purposes, in barracks, quarters or camp, or in uniform, at any time or place,—and

2. That conversely, any officer of the active militia or reserve of officers, not in receipt of pay or attending a course of instruction, can take whatever part in politics any subject of Her Majesty's may—be a candidate for parliament, or speak at public meetings, &c. In support of above, I have the honour to refer to the fact that on the 9th inst., after Rear Admiral Lord Charles Beresford (lately M.P. for the city of York, England) has been appointed second in command of the Mediterranean squadron, and the night before he joined the Naval Signalling School, in the victory at Portsmouth (preparatory to taking up his post as second in command of the Mediterranean squadron), he made a speech in which he criticized both the military and naval administration (vide the 'Times' weekly edition, Jan. 12, 1900, pages 17 and 29, third column).

I have the honour to respectfully state that in addressing public meetings previous to an election for the legislature of New Brunswick, held on January 12, 1900, I had not the intention of violating or transgressing, nor do I believe that I did violate or transgress, any rule or usage of Her Majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) D. McL. VINCE, Lt.-Col.,

Reserve of Officers.

I have never heard that the Minister of War at home or the British government disciplined Lord Beresford because of his very thorough and caustic criticisms upon the military and naval system of Great Britain. There is just one other remark which I wish to make, and that is with reference to the last statement made by the minister—the statement that he was now opening up the Militia Department to the spoils system, just as every other department in this government has been opened to that system. I do not care what has been said with reference to the other departments, I do not be-

lieve there is a sane man who desires the best interests of this country in a military point of view, who desires to see the militia interests kept where they ought to be and promoted as they ought to be, who will not be sorry that the Minister of Militia took occasion to make that public declaration after having made the statement that 90 per cent of the officers were now Conservatives. So far as he was concerned, he said—and he turned round to his supporters—that other things being equal he was going to favour his own party friends and his own party supporters in the matter of contracts and appointments of officers.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FOSTER. And I am sorry to see that there are gentlemen on that side of the House who are willing to applaud the opening up of the militia system of our country to all the tricks—

Some hon. MEMBERS. No.

Mr. McMULLEN. Tricks belong to you.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, I was going to make a remark with reference to my hon. friend, but my heart is too full, and I will not do it—to open up the militia system of this country to all the tricks, to all the side influences, to all the pulling of political wires, to all that is meant by introducing the patronage system into the militia department. Under that same minister, who is not tonight in his place, I believe the militia system of this country has been plunged into a mire of political patronage to which it never descended before, and I believe that is the general impression throughout the country. We never before had a Minister of Militia who had the audacity to stand up and declare openly and above board that he intended to use that department just as, for instance, the Public Works Department has been used, to favour his party supporters, and he has done that. We shall have occasion a little later on, when we come to the estimates of the Militia Department, to go over some of these points. What does it mean that you are going to favour your own friends? It means this, that you invite your friends in every part of this Dominion to stick their noses into the militia appointments whenever they are to be made, and use them for party purposes. No minister with a proper sense of the interests of that department would bring trouble upon himself by thus inviting from every part of this country the intervention of politics in the disposal of the offices in the militia. The hon. gentleman says that he was impelled to interfere with that list—why? Because it involved the expenditure of money, and he says; 'I am responsible to this parliament for the expenditure of money.' So he is, but there is as clear a line as there possibly can be between these two things. It is the minister's business to determine the policy, to say whether the staff course shall be

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given, how many it shall consist of, and how much money he has at his disposal for the purpose; and I have no doubt that before a single name was put on that list, that policy was settled between the general and the minister. The next thing is the selection of the men who shall take the course. What is the purpose of that course? It is to get the best men and make them still better by giving them the course. What for? For any political advantage to be gained anywhere? No, Sir; but from a purely militia point of view, in order that you may have the best officers equipped in the best manner, and that these officers so equipped may exercise their gifts for the benefit and improvement of the militia system of the country. Who is the best man to do that? I have not a single doubt in my own mind as to who is the man. The best man to do that is the general in command, who has been for many years conversant with the affairs of the militia as his business, who has visited every district, who has reviewed every force, who knows every permanent officer in the Dominion, who has examined them and watched them on parade, and who can put his hand in a moment on the best officers. Why should he not? He is not hampered by anything. When he is looking for a good man, he is not compelled to ask how the appointment is going to affect the Conservative or Liberal party. He will not ask whether it will give the Minister of Militia and Defence a vote in his constituency or take one from him. He has not to conciliate the favour of a whip or a prominent party man, but is there, as the general in command, to judge what men are best qualified, in the interests of the militia to take that course, and afterwards to work for the benefit of the force. The General Commanding does that, and then the minister runs his pen through the names of two of those whom the general has selected, Colonels White and Vince, two as capable men as were on the list. To my mind, the only fault the minister had with them, was that they were Liberal-Conservatives, and, as such, had taken some part in public affairs. All the context shows that. Either the minister went too far or did not go far enough. He went on to show the condition of things into which the militia affairs in this country had fallen at headquarters, by saying that there was great friction between the general and himself but he neglected to give us any idea of the causes producing this condition.

Evidently there were precedent causes. The hon. minister says he wanted subordinate officers in the general's office, under command of that officer, to consult with him, and he wanted them to do that without the general's knowledge.

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). He did not say that.

Mr. FOSTER. Without the general's knowledge, and I will prove it, because he read afterwards two letters to fortify his position. What was the position taken by the general? He said to these subordinate officers: When I am present, I do not want you to be carrying on work without my knowledge with the minister; let it be done through me when I am here; but when I am not here, it may be a different thing. Both these letters have these words, 'when the general is here.'

Mr. McMULLEN. No.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, I took the words down. The hon. gentleman does not know. It is his duty to stand up for the minister, no matter what the minister does. His whole duty nowadays is to tag after the coat-tails of ministers, to hold them up when they are passing through the mire, and to clean them whenever they are dirty, and he does it as faithfully as when on this side, he conceived it to be his duty to find fault with everything the Liberal-Conservative government did. Now it is his duty to swallow all his previous professions, and tag after the ministers, and stand by everything they do. *Hansard* will show to-morrow whether I or he am right, but I have a distinct recollection that the general's order to his officers, was that when he was present, business should be done through him. What does all that mean? It means that some things were going on before, which he knew nothing about. There must have been a history which it would be very instructive for this House to know. It would be interesting to know how things came to be in such a condition, that General Hutton had to interdict the carrying on of business, under his own nose, through his subordinates by the minister, when the general was here at the seat of government, in command of his department. I do not know anything about military etiquette, but I do think that when the general was here, in charge of his office, and the minister wanted to know anything, there was only one proper way for him to get the information, and that was through the general. What would the hon. minister think if the Premier, when he wanted information concerning the Militia Department, were to ignore the hon. gentleman entirely, and get it from the minister's subordinates, without saying a word to the minister himself? The minister would, no doubt, protest. The case is still stronger, because there is not the same intimate connection between the general and the minister, as between the minister and his leader. But, what had been taking place? Had the minister, for months before, over and over, practically ignored the general? Had he been treating him as though he were an office boy or messenger, as though he had no status or rights at all? Strange things have been spoken of in this respect, and it is too bad we have not both

sides of the case. Unfortunately, we never shall. But, the whole matter points to this, that if there is one rock we ought to avoid with reference to our militia system, it is the rock of party politics. We ought to have in some way, a clear understanding between the minister and the general commanding, and a clear definition of the rights and privileges of each. That may be difficult to get, but there ought to be some clear lines laid down which would define, as far as would be necessary, for the reasonable carrying on of business, the sphere of duty of each. The minister is responsible to parliament and the people, and he must have a certain voice in the direction of military matters, but on the other hand, a political minister is the last man in the world who ought to have the management of the appointments of officers, and that more essential work, which affects the whole militia system, and which can be best carried out by a man who is educated to it, and who has no party exigencies to serve.

Let us hope that the declaration of the minister, that he is going to dispense patronage on the spoils system, will not be carried out. Let us hope that the minister is as thoroughly ashamed of having made that statement, as he appeared to have been, when he tried to qualify it afterwards, in response to criticisms from this side. It will be a great pity if the least intimation were to be given to party politicians, that all they had to do was to call on the Minister of Militia and Defence, and he would divide amongst them the spoils of that department, in the share of appointments.

Mr. McMULLEN. He did not say so.

Mr. FOSTER. If he did not, he went so close to it, that you could not put any other construction on what he did say. That, at least, was the impression made upon my mind. And, we know that in the matter of contracts, the hon. minister gives them, as far as possible, to his own party friends.

Mr. WOOD. Is the Sanford Company of Hamilton, which makes all the clothing for the militia, a friend of the government?

Mr. FOSTER. There are times when even a Grit government must go to a good Conservative firm in order to get things that they cannot get elsewhere. But, if there is any possibility of getting them elsewhere, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wood) knows, they are got elsewhere.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). I would not have risen to say a word in answer to the hon. gentleman's (Mr. Foster's) remarks but for what I consider the extremely unjust charges he brought against the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden), towards the conclusion of his speech. The hon. gentleman said that he did not intend to discuss the question before the House, and he kept his promise most faithfully, for he did not dis-

cuss the question in any sense or in any way, but indulged in a large number of excessively violent and—as I think he will himself agree when he comes to reflect upon them—unfair charges against the Minister of Militia. He said that the present Minister of Militia had plunged the department into a depth of political degradation never before known—

Mr. FOSTER. I did not say that.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Those are the hon. gentleman's words as I took them down.

Mr. FOSTER. Well, my hon. friend (Sir Louis Davies) seems to be utterly incapable of taking down words as stated. I used the word 'patronage,' but not 'degradation.'

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) did not use the word 'patronage.' He said that the minister had plunged the department into a depth of political degradation, or some word to that effect—

Mr. MONTAGUE. Just say—'or words to that effect.'

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. No, it was political degradation or something equivalent in the matter of patronage.

Mr. FOSTER. You hang on to that, then—

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. If the hon. gentleman is ashamed of it—as he ought to be—I have no more to say. But I will appeal to the judgment of this House and to the country if there has ever been a Minister of Militia, who, under the trying circumstances which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) has had to face, has carried out the true system which should apply to the militia more fairly, honourably or honestly than has my hon. friend. He has eliminated party politics from it altogether; and the best evidence of that is that with respect to the contingents which have gone to South Africa with the exception of one or two of the most bitter and most irreconcilable Tory newspapers in the country, the newspaper press is unanimous in declaring that the Minister's choice has been a fair, honest, good, reasonable choice, irrespective of politics. They all declare that in these matters his conduct has been above reproach. In fact, the only people who are objecting are members of the Liberal party, who complain that the friends of the government do not get fair-play. What does that show? Certainly, that my hon. friend (Mr. Borden) has not allowed political influence to control him in his appointments. But, if he thought he was ever going to get any thanks for that he was never more mistaken in his life. If he eliminated politics altogether and governed the Militia Department, as I be-

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

lieve he has, on motives altogether beyond and higher than political ones, he would not receive the slightest vestige of thanks from hon. gentlemen on the other side. But the hon. gentleman is not looking for thanks. The facts speak for themselves, and have spoken louder than words; and, in every province in this Dominion the opinion has been formed and exists to-day that the Militia Department, so far as the sending of the contingents to Africa is concerned, has acted in a manner entirely beyond politics, in a matter which prevented politics from being considered in any appointment.

As I say, the hon. gentleman has not discussed the question, faithfully, fulfilling the promise that he made. Still, he introduced one or two rather important points concerning which I wish to say a word before the debate closes. He spoke of the general's position in this country, and seemed to think, though he did not say so in so many words, that his desire was that the general should hold a position superior to the minister in many points. I will venture to say that neither this House or any other House of parliament in Canada will ever subscribe to any such doctrine. The Minister of Militia is responsible and must continue to be responsible for the administration of that department, not only with regard to the letting of contracts, but with regard to all appointments made in the department. The general commanding the militia must, of necessity be, as he is, merely a subordinate officer to the Minister of Militia, appointed by the government of Canada under our statute, not holding any power from the Imperial government, but holding his powers entirely by virtue of his appointment by the Canadian government as a subordinate officer to the Minister of Militia under our statute. Let that be understood, to begin with. As such subordinate officer, he is responsible to his minister and chief; and he has no more right to assume superior powers or superior authority than has my deputy in the Department of Marine and Fisheries to assume powers superior to me. I do take and must take the advice of my deputy in many cases, and the Minister of Militia must, perforce, take the advice of the general in most technical matters. But, when he takes that advice, he is responsible for it to this parliament and to the people; and it would be intolerable that generals should come here imagining that they had either superior power or extraneous power to the power belonging to and solely residing in the Minister of Militia. The general is a subordinate officer; he must take his powers from the Minister of Militia; and the moment he attempts to go beyond his proper functions and powers and to assume to exercise powers at variance to the wishes of the minister or in opposition to the wishes of the minister, that moment his usefulness is gone. That might as well be understood first as

last. As I say, the Minister of Militia, in all matters of discipline, in all matters of a technical character always has taken and always will take, to a very large extent, the advice of the general commanding. But when he takes that advice he is responsible to parliament for his actions, just like any other minister who takes the advice of his deputy or any other technical officer in his department. It is the minister, not the general, who is responsible. The general is simply an officer of the department, nothing more and nothing less. The popular idea, current among the militia, that the general holds some Imperial appointment is mere moonshine. He holds no Imperial appointment, he holds an appointment in the Militia Department, subordinate to the minister; and if he attempts to exercise any powers without the consent of the minister he exceeds his rights. There should be no mistake about that, and there is no mistake about it so far as the present Minister of Militia is concerned. There was a mistake in that respect on the part of the general and also on the part of his predecessors. Hon. gentlemen opposite know, no one knows better than the late Minister of Militia (Mr. Tisdale), that it was almost impossible to carry on militia affairs in this country because the generals assumed that they did not hold a subordinate position, but some position which rendered them independent of the Minister of Militia. That is not so, and I think it is pretty well understood now, if for the first time.

My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) says he thinks the general should be the man to recommend the appointments. That may be so, but it is not the law or the constitution now; and for my part, I do not agree with him in the view he expresses. The general is not the best man to recommend appointments. In many cases, he has the knowledge better than the minister can possibly have, and, just as in the case of technical officers of other departments, his recommendations would receive proper respect and proper weight, as they should. But to imagine that he should have the right to make appointments over the minister is to subvert the whole constitution of the department and even of the country. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) went on to say that the minister attempted to show that there was an age limit and that Col. White being beyond the age limit could not be appointed. I do not think the hon. gentleman was fair to the minister. The minister stated, that, so far as the Queen's Regulations were concerned, there was an age limit which applied to England, but had not been enforced here, though it might be in the future. What he did say was that Col. White was removed from the list of those who were to go forward to the college course because he had been retired from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 30th Battalion on account of his length of service.

and being too old, besides being maimed. That was the reason why his name was struck off, and that was a sufficient reason. I do not think any honest man could have listened to the plain, unvarnished tale told by the Minister of Militia and Defence this afternoon without being convinced that his conduct from first to last was such as to deserve commendation and not reproof. It is true that one of the officers of his department, acting under the direction of the general, had given a reason for the removal of that name, which was not the true reason, but when the Minister of Militia and Defence discovered that an improper reason had been given, he caused it to be corrected, and Col. White was informed of the true reason why his name was removed, namely, that he was not eligible for the appointment, having only recently been retired from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 30th Battalion. Then, there is nothing more to be said about that. Does anybody imagine that having been retired from that lieutenant-colonelcy he should again be appointed to take the special staff course at the Royal Military College? I do not profess to have a technical knowledge of militia matters, and I will not discuss that matter any further, but prima facie the reason seems to me to be conclusive and satisfactory.

Mr. FOSTER. It was not in Col. Hodgins' case.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I was not aware that the papers before us state that Col. Hodgins was in the same position. But the Minister of Militia and Defence explained Col. Hodgins' case very fully. Now, the hon. gentleman says that there necessarily must have been some politics at the bottom of this, else why did the Minister of Militia and Defence quote certain speeches which were alleged to have been made by Col. White, showing a partisan spirit on the part of that officer? Well, the Minister of Militia and Defence was frank enough to state that at the time he erased Col. White's name from the list of those who were to have this staff education, he did not know those speeches had been made at all. He merely quoted them in reply to some remarks made by the hon. gentleman from Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior) that Col. White was absolutely free from political bias; he merely quoted them to show that if that gentleman was possessed of the ideas which the newspapers attributed to him, he was unfit to hold a staff appointment. I think there is no man on either side of the House but will concede that if that report was true, he was unfit to hold a staff appointment. Be that as it may, I merely remark, in the absence of the Minister of Militia and Defence, that he expressly stated he did not know at the time that Lieut-Col. White had given utterance to these statements at all.

Mr. BEATTIE. Is the hon. gentleman aware that he was not retired, that he was placed on the reserve list and liable to be called out for active service at any moment?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I am reading the official letter from Lieut.-Col. Pineault, Deputy Minister of Militia, in which he says that he (White) was only recently retired from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 30th Battalion on account of his length of service.

Mr. BEATTIE. He was on the reserve list, liable to be called out for active service at any moment.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I do not understand the technical distinction the hon. gentleman makes, but the language of this official despatch is perfectly plain, that having been retired from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 30th Battalion, he was not considered fit to receive this special college course, and I think everybody will admit the reasons stated by the Minister of Militia and Defence are sufficient. The facts have been thoroughly well threshed out. I listened carefully to the statement made by the Minister of Militia and Defence, and I listened very carefully to the statement made by the hon. member for York (Mr. Foster); and when I heard that he was not prepared to discuss the question, alleging as the reason the absence of the Minister of Militia and Defence, I was satisfied that the answer of the minister was so crushing that no reply could be given to it.

Mr. A. McNEILL (North Bruce). I must say that I have been a good deal amused at some of the statements that have been made by the hon. gentleman (Sir Louis Davies), and, perhaps, no statement he has made has amused me more than the one he made as he resumed his seat. I was surprised to hear him say that my hon. friend beside me (Mr. Foster) said he was not going to discuss the question. The minister himself gives as a reason why these gentlemen's names were removed:

Lieut-Colonels Vince and White were removed from the list chiefly on account of age, and because they had retired from active command.

Now, with regard to the point the hon. gentleman made as to Col. White having been retired and, therefore, not being eligible to be placed upon this list, I think we may accept as pretty correct the view on such a point of the general commanding. General Hutton, who had his name placed on that list, ought to know whether he was in such a position with reference to the service as that his name could not properly be placed on the list. The mere fact that General Hutton had his name placed upon the list sufficiently disposes of the argument with regard to his having been retired and, therefore, not being eligible. The hon. gentleman says that the

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question has not been discussed by my hon. friend the member for York. Well, I think the hon. gentleman himself is very glad to take advantage of the supposed statement of the member for York in order not to discuss the question. My hon. friend, however, made no such statement. He simply said he would not discuss it fully at present. What is the question? It is whether Lieut.-Col. White's name was struck off this list for the reason assigned in the letter which has been read in this House to-day, namely, that he had taken part in politics. That is the whole question. That is the question this House wants to have decided, and that is the question the people of this country want to have decided. My hon. friend from York discussed that question so fully that it is not necessary for me to repeat his arguments. But, I may remind the hon. gentleman who said that it was not discussed at all, that my hon. friend beside me made this remark, that it was a very unlikely thing that two gentlemen, Col. Foster and General Hutton, who have nothing in the wide world to do with our politics, who take no interest in our politics, should assign as a reason that Col. White's name was struck off the list that he had interfered in our politics. That they should assign that as a reason without that reason having been suggested to them from any quarter whatever, is scarcely credible. Now, there is no person with ordinary common sense who will accept that statement for a moment, or who will imagine that either of these gentlemen would make a statement of that kind unless it had been suggested to them from some quarter. Now, what was that quarter? The statement is made by these officers that the suggestion came from the minister. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries has not ventured to deal with that matter at all.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. I left it to the Minister of Militia and Defence.

Mr. McNEILL. But my hon. friend did not leave it to the Minister of Militia and Defence, he got up and made this statement with regard to the question, and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has not ventured at all to deal with this aspect of it though that is the question the House wants to have decided. Now, the hon. gentleman, in order to lead the House to believe that no politics can enter into the consideration of the Minister of Militia and Defence with reference to matters of this kind, refers to the contingents, and he says that the officers who were sent to South Africa were appointed irrespective altogether of party considerations. That may be so, but that is not the question which we are discussing. The question we are discussing now is with regard to Col. White, and we want to

know how it was that these Imperial officers made these statements. Why should they make these statements? What does the hon. minister himself say in regard to it? I got up to ask the hon. minister, and as he is not in the House now, I cannot repeat the question. He would not allow me to ask him the question when he was concluding that portion of his speech, and when I thought it was becoming and fitting to ask him the question, in case he should not be here at a later period of the discussion. The question I wanted to ask him, was whether or not, he referred, when speaking of this matter, to Colonel Foster, to any political reason, any party reason, for the removal of this officer's name from the list. Now, he has not ventured to say, in this House, at all, that he was not guided, in any degree, by party considerations in this matter.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. He stated so distinctly in his speech this afternoon.

Mr. McNEILL. I venture to say that he did not state so in his speech.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Yes, yes.

Mr. McNEILL. I venture to say that he did not say so. He did say that he had made no official statement of that kind, and the mere fact of his using that qualifying term, that he had made no official declaration of that kind, implied that he had made a declaration of that kind, which was not official. But, it was official, evidently, in the view of the officer who wrote the letter. My hon. friend (Mr. Sutherland), should try to remember, that he is not now the chief whip of the opposition, but that he is a cabinet minister, and he ought to have the responsibility of a cabinet minister, in the statements he makes in this House, if it is possible for him so soon to forget his old role. I was just saying to my hon. friend, who interrupted me, a moment ago, by a statement which is absolutely incorrect, that it would be well, I think, if I may be pardoned for making a suggestion to him, that he should remember that he is now a cabinet minister, that he is not the chief whip of the opposition, and that he should consider the statements which he makes in this House are such as a cabinet minister ought to make.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Would the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill), allow me? I understood the hon. gentleman to say that he had endeavoured to ask a question in regard to that point, and that he had not the opportunity of getting an answer. Then, he went on to state that the minister had not said that he was not influenced by party reasons, and I, thinking that the hon. gentleman (Mr. McNeill), wanted to know what the hon. minister had said informed the hon. gentleman that the hon. minister had said that he was not influenced by party reasons.

Mr. McNEILL. The hon. gentleman said, that the hon. minister had distinctly said that he did not make any reference to party considerations—

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I thought you wanted to know the truth.

Mr. McNEILL—in speaking to Colonel Foster, and I simply wish to correct the hon. gentleman, and to tell him that he is entirely mistaken in the statement he has made, and I have given him my reason for saying that he is mistaken. I really do not think that it is necessary to prolong this discussion, because there is now little or nothing to discuss.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL. There is no defence whatever, none whatever. There is no minister, as some one says here, but, irrespective of that, there is no defence. The minister has not ventured to say in the House that he was not influenced by party considerations, he has not ventured to say, that he did not refer to party considerations when speaking to Colonel Foster. He says that he did not say it officially, and that implies that he said it unofficially. Therefore, the question, in point of fact, is settled, so far as this matter is concerned, and I do not wish further to prolong the discussion.

But, I will say another thing in regard to this matter, and I say it, Mr. Speaker, being quite aware, that, in what I say, I shall probably be misrepresented. I find that any one who ventures to say one word of the nature which I am about to say, is liable to have what he says twisted and misrepresented in the gravest manner. Nevertheless, I intend not to be prevented from expressing just what I feel on this and on all occasions, on any question, no matter what it may be, and I hope that when I do express myself, I shall never say anything that I shall be ashamed of repeating, although I do not like to have it misrepresented. It seems to me that Colonel White has also been misrepresented in a gross manner. Col. White has distinctly stated here, or, it has been distinctly stated here in a letter from Colonel White, himself, that he made no such statement, as it has been alleged that he did make in regard to our French Canadian friends. That statement was read by the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence to-day, which, if I remember it correctly, was to the effect that Colonel White had said that it would be necessary to teach our French Canadian friends a lesson, or that it might be necessary, or something of that kind. Colonel White absolutely denies that he made any such statement. But, it is not at all surprising to me, that the charge has been levelled against him, because, I find that these charges have been levelled apparently, in the most unscrupulous manner, against any one who has ventured to say

that he regretted that there should be, in some quarters in the province of Quebec, an unwillingness to see Canada take part in the South African struggle. Any one who has ventured to say anything of that kind, has been misrepresented and has been accused of making use of gross language in regard to our French Canadian friends. I wish to say, as I have said before, that I am quite satisfied the best element in the province of Quebec do not sympathize with these views. I am quite satisfied that the majority of our friends in the province of Quebec are thoroughly attached to British institutions, but, I do say, that there are people in the province of Quebec, who have been carrying on a very improper propaganda there, and I am sorry, to know, that these people are to be found in that province. As I said before, I should like to see the right hon. leader of the government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), and his friends, doing their utmost to prevent that propaganda being carried on there. These statements, I know, are liable to be misrepresented, and very probably they will be. Nevertheless, I wish to repeat them, and I wish to say further, that I regret very much to find that there are three hon. members of this House, supporters of the right hon. gentleman, one of them, I believe, a special personal friend of his, who are carrying on a propaganda of that kind in the province of Quebec.

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES. Question, question.

Mr. McNEILL. That is the question.

Some hon. MEMBERS. No, no.

Mr. McNEILL. I say it is. I am speaking of the accusation that has been brought by Colonel White, and I say, that, I am satisfied that if Colonel White spoke at all, in reference to this matter, he spoke in the sense in which I am speaking now, and that he made use of no such expressions as have been attributed to him in the press.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). How do you know?

Mr. McNEILL. Col. White stated so himself in a letter which has been read in this House, and that ought to be sufficient.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). What reason would the Tory press have to misrepresent him?

Mr. COCHRANE. It was not the Tory press, and you know it.

Mr. McNEILL. It does not matter what the press was; we have the statement here from an honourable man and an officer in the militia of the highest standing, and I think the members of this House will take that statement before an anonymous statement in the newspapers. Now, I do not wish to prolong the discussion—

Mr. McNEILL.

Mr. COWAN. Hear, hear.

Mr. McNEILL. Unless my hon. friend wishes to hear a little more on the subject.

Mr. COWAN. That is the best thing you said to-night.

Mr. McNEILL. Perhaps the hon. gentleman thinks it is, for I have no doubt that what I have been saying is not very pleasant to my hon. friend (Mr. Cowan).

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND (North Oxford). I would not take up the time of the House even for a few minutes in this debate, were it not for a remark made by my hon. friend from Victoria (Mr. Prior). Without mentioning my name, he left it to be understood that I had used language in regard to this matter to my friend Col. White when he was in Ottawa, and also to others, and for fear that my silence might be misunderstood I wish to quote the remark to which he referred, and to which he took such strong exception. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) says that I said 'I knew that General Hutton had no authority from the minister to give any such reason as he did for Col. White's removal from the list, and that Col. Hutton did it maliciously for the express purpose of injuring the minister and the government.' I do not remember the conversation with Col. White, but if Col. White says those were the words I used, I am perfectly willing to accept them. If I could find stronger language to condemn the conduct of General Hutton with regard to this one particular transaction, I would like to use it. If I had any doubt at that time about General Hutton's conduct that doubt has been removed by the debate to-day. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Prior) had the slightest case against the minister (Mr. Borden) it would not have been necessary for him to take more than an hour discussing irrelevant issues; and neither would have it been necessary for the ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster) to speak as long as he did, and to put words in the mouth of the Minister of Militia that he never used. My hon. friend from London (Mr. Beattie), says that Col. Foster ought to be brought before the Bar of this House.

Mr. BEATTIE. I do.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I was inclined to hold that opinion at first, but having looked into the whole matter carefully and I think judiciously, I have come to the conclusion that Col. Foster had to carry out the orders of Major General Hutton, and that he probably was not in a position—as was ably explained by the Minister of Militia (Mr. Borden)—to defend himself. A great deal of leniency and consideration has to be extended to Col. Foster in the unfortunate position in which he was placed. It is clear beyond doubt that General Hutton never had any conversation directly or

indirectly on this matter with the Minister of Militia when he issued the instructions to Col. Foster to write that letter to Col. White. Under these circumstances how could the minister be responsible for the letter?

Mr. BEATTIE. Col. Foster is responsible until he tells who gave him the instructions.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Col. Foster is not responsible, because he says on the face of the letter that he was directed by the Major General Commanding to inform Col. White. I know of my own knowledge that for days after Col. White received that letter, the Minister of Militia never knew that such a thing as politics was suggested in the matter, or, that such a letter was sent. The major general was not here at the time, and if you look at the correspondence you will see that the very first suggestion of politics in connection with this matter came from General Hutton.

Mr. PRIOR. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) allow me to ask him a question? Does he not think that Major General Hutton was informed from Ottawa that that was the opinion of the minister?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I do not think so.

Mr. PRIOR. Well, I know it.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. If you look at the correspondence you will find the suggestion was from Major General Hutton.

Mr. PRIOR. No.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I wish to be fair with regard to this matter; both with regard to Col. White and to General Hutton. I am prepared to accept the word of Col. White, who has been for years a personal friend of mine and with whom I have been associated in the militia. I accept Col. White's statement not only with regard to himself, but with regard to what he says were the words I used to him. My hon. friend (Mr. Foster) was not so fair with the minister, because he is not prepared to accept his statement, and in this case the facts are so clear that notwithstanding all the ability of the ex-Finance Minister (Mr. Foster), he has been unable to make a single charge against the Minister of Militia.

Mr. COCHRANE. What are you talking about now?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I am stating my reasons to the House for the opinions I hold. The whole correspondence shows that Major General Hutton never appreciated the position he held with respect to the Minister of Militia and to the people of this country. There seems to be an erroneous impression prevailing here as to the position of the Major General Commanding. I am surprised at the stand taken by

the ex-Finance Minister and his colleagues, who, themselves, have told us that they appealed to the home government to have the three previous major generals recalled for their lack of appreciation of the position they held in this country and of their duty to the minister and to the government responsible to the people. I agree with my hon. friend Sir Louis Davies, that the people of Canada will never consent to the idea that a man appointed to a position in the department by order in council is superior to the government of the country elected by the people.

Mr. BEATTIE. Col. Foster has stated in his letter that Col. White's name was removed from the list of the staff course because of political reasons. Does Col. Foster state that General Hutton instructed him to add that to his letter? That is what we want to get at. Nobody blames the Minister of Militia, but we want to know who instructed Col. Foster to add that to his letter.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. If the hon. gentleman will allow me to read the letter, he will see for himself, and there cannot be any dispute about it. Here is one letter addressed to Col. White by Col. Foster:

Adverting to previous correspondence in regard to your name being removed from the list of officers selected to attend the staff college course, I am directed by the Major General Commanding to inform you that the letter in which the reason assigned for the removal of your name was stated to be that 'you had taken an active part in politics on behalf of the opposition' was sent in error, and is to be considered as withdrawn.

That point is clear, and if there is any misunderstanding, it ought to be made clear. I want to give my hon. friend from Victoria (Mr. Prior) the reasons why I think Gen. Hutton acted as he did.

Mr. PRIOR. Will you read the letter of the 3rd of February from the deputy minister?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. It is very strange, if my hon. friend had a case at all against the minister, that he did not raise some point that would give some weight to the charge he has brought. I say that the defence made by the minister was so frank and so clear that no ordinary fair-minded person in this country will fail to see that this was part of the scheme of Gen. Hutton to injure the minister by representing that he was acting from party motives. I am not going to waste the time of the House on the subject. I am prepared to leave it to the officers, the Conservative officers, of the militia of Canada.

Mr. PRIOR. There are no others.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. There are not many others for the reason that during the administration of hon. gentlemen opposite, as my hon. friend knows, a Liberal officer could not

be promoted. I can give him the names, if he wants them, of men of the highest character and capability as militia officers who were kept down and never had an opportunity of being promoted because of their politics.

Mr. BEATTIE. How did the present adjutant general obtain his position? He was appointed deputy adjutant general by a Conservative government.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The hon. gentleman knows nothing about it. The gentlemen he refers to is one of the most efficient officers of the militia; but he was kept at London at a low salary, notwithstanding the efforts of Sir John Carling, then representative of London, whose letters are on file in the department, and the only answer given was, 'We will not let this man be promoted, notwithstanding his efficiency and the length of his service, because he is a Liberal.'

Mr. BEATTIE. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. His statement is not correct. Col. Aylmer was brigade major, and received the same salary as others; but when the office was abolished, he was brought down to Ottawa by a Conservative government and made deputy adjutant general.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Take it back.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I will not take anything back. I know what I am talking about. I do not think it is well to bring up the names of these gentlemen, but my hon. friend is not familiar with the case, and I see some hon. gentlemen opposite holding down their heads when he makes the statement he does, because they know the history of the case of Col. Aylmer.

Mr. BEATTIE. He was a very good officer.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. He was a good officer, but he could not obtain promotion, and he was brought down here and put in an inferior position to the one he was entitled to. The hon. member for Victoria referred to the fact that 90 per cent of the officers holding positions under the late government were Conservatives. No better proof could be given that a Liberal had no chance for appointment or promotion under the late government. However, let me return to the letter directed to Col. White which, when he showed it to me, gave rise to the language which I used:

I am directed by the Major General Commanding to instruct you to inform the officer named in the margin that his name has been removed from the list of officers ordered to undergo the staff course at Kingston, owing to his having recently taken an active part in politics by public speaking, which renders it inexpedient to include him in a course for general staff.

Now, my hon. friend knows who gave the instructions. This is signed by Col. Foster.

Mr. SUTHERLAND.

Mr. BEATTIE. That is exactly where I wanted to place it. That is all I want to know.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. This is the letter which Col. White showed to me.

Mr. MACLEAN. The Minister of Militia was responsible.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The hon. gentleman tries to make a point of the fact that the Minister of Militia was responsible for Col. Foster and General Hutton.

Mr. PRIOR. So he was.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. But how could he be responsible for a man who committed an act without his knowledge? He showed his responsibility by removing him from office; what better responsibility could he have? Instead of being criticised for what he has done, I say that he deserves credit from the people of this country for acting in the brave and straightforward manner he did when he found General Hutton acting in this way; and it is only a sample of the insubordination, intriguing and underhand work of which he was guilty against the head of the department. I am prepared to leave it to the militia of this country if the present Minister of Militia has not administered that department in a fair and impartial manner, so far as politics is concerned. The list of officers promoted, the list of men appointed to office, the list of officers given important and prominent positions in the contingents that have gone to South Africa, will show that the minister was actuated by a single desire to do his duty in the best interests of the militia force and of the country at large. And with regard to this particular matter, I simply take this opportunity of saying that I did use that language and stronger language; and it is a most unfortunate thing that a man holding the high position which General Hutton did in this country should have been guilty of trying to injure the minister, the government and the militia force by sending a letter without the authority of the minister, for which he knew the minister would be held responsible, and for which Col. White held him responsible; and I think that this House and this country will consider that I was perfectly justified in using the language I did, and even stronger language, with regard to any official of any department who would act in such an improper and underhanded manner.

Mr. McNEILL. Will the hon. gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order. Spoken.

Mr. McNEILL. I allowed my hon. friend to interrupt me when I was speaking and to finish what he had to say, and I now wish to call his attention to one matter. He has not read the letter of February 3, addressed

by the Deputy Minister of Militia to the Major General Commanding. In this letter my hon. friend will see that the deputy minister distinctly states how this information came to the general :

I am instructed to inform you that the reason assigned for the minister's action in this letter is entirely erroneous and misleading, and as the minister understands that Col. Foster reported to you what actually did take place when the minister struck off Lieut.-Col. White's name, he cannot understand why you should have attributed to him the reason you assign.

The hon. minister told this House that he struck off Col. White's name because he was obviously unfit for such an appointment, having only recently been retired from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 30th Battalion, on account of his length of service, being too old, and also being maimed. My hon. friend will perhaps explain.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The letter which the hon. gentleman has read only strengthens my case. What passed between General Hutton and Col. Foster, of course, we do not know, but we do know that General Hutton did instruct Col. Foster to send the letter which he wrote to Col. White, and he did so without the knowledge and sanction of the minister.

Mr. M. J. F. QUINN (Montreal, St. Ann's). It is unfortunate for the government and the Minister of Militia, and also for the volunteers of Canada that such a condition of affairs should exist in the militia as has been exposed by my hon. friend from Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior). What is the case as it presents itself for the first time to this House? Col. White, an old and valued officer of the militia, after years of service, finds himself deprived of a course at the military college in Kingston for some reason or another, which is explained to him in a letter from the Militia Department. Col. White takes the letter sent him as containing the real reason why he was dismissed, and it discloses, in the most formal manner possible, the fact that the reason was he had taken an active part in party politics. When the matter is brought before the House, what does the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence (Mr. Borden) say? Although he claims to be the head of his department, although he claims to be the superior of the General Commanding the forces, he disclaims any responsibility for the letter written, and gives a reason totally different from that assigned in the letter. But, unfortunately, the hon. minister came in with his explanation altogether too late. He allowed too long a time to elapse before he discovered this new reason, which he gives as the real one, for refusing to allow Col. White to take a course at the Kingston college. It will be well to remember that General Hutton, who is accused of all this wrong-doing, is not a man who is at all interested in the party politics of this coun-

try. On the contrary, he is an Imperial officer, and as such, altogether removed from the suspicion of party affiliation. The hon. minister says that in England only men under thirty-five years of age are allowed to take the course at the military college, and he complains that this Imperial officer, General Hutton, who is imbued with the Imperial spirit, if any man in this country is, did, without consulting him, choose a man fifty-seven years old to take this course. It is very extraordinary that the hon. gentleman should only have discovered this some time after the selection had been made, and should have struck off the list of those chosen by the general only the names of Col. White and another colonel as being disqualified on account of age. It seems to me that to characterize this reason given by the minister properly would be to call it simply a subterfuge, simply a means of getting out of a difficult position in which he is placed, not by the Major General, but by himself.

There can be no doubt that General Hutton considered Col. White worthy of the distinction of being appointed to a staff course in the Kingston college, nor can there be any doubt that his name was struck off the list by the minister himself. The only point on which there can be a discussion is why his name was struck off. We have the statement of General Hutton and Col. Foster why the name was struck off, namely, because Col. White had interfered in politics, and we have the declaration of the minister that he had struck the name off, not because of politics, but for other reasons. And yet, at the same time, we find this same minister armed *cap-a-pie* with proofs that Col. White had made political speeches before his name was struck off the list. If ever there was a strong case of circumstantial evidence against the minister it is the one he has given us on his own showing. We have the vidence of two witnesses, General Hutton and Col. Foster, that White's name was truck off because of politics, and we have the minister himself bringing us proofs that Col. White had taken part in politics.

The Minister sought to defend himself by disclosing what he declared to be a most astounding state of affairs. He exclaimed: Will you believe it, the Major General Commanding had issued orders to the officers in his department that they were not to communicate with me except on special instructions from him? That they were not to show me any written document coming from that department until they had received permission to do so. And, would you believe it, I found this condition—that when they did communicate with me, they were obliged to go back to the general commanding, and report what had transpired between them and myself. Well, en passant, anybody would say that it was a most unfortunate thing for the Minister of Militia

and Defence that when inquiry was made in the House at the time that General Hutton was on the soil of Canada, and able to refute these charges, the minister's answer to this House, was not frank and open. It was an unfortunate thing for the minister that he kept these things concealed in his own bosom until General Hutton was about three thousand miles away, before he declared to this House what it had the right to know, this insubordination, as he terms it, of General Hutton. But, when he introduces the proof, how far he falls short of establishing the accusation he made against General Hutton. What is the substance of all the orders given by General Hutton to his subordinates? Simply: If you are sent for by the minister, report to me; if any document is asked for from this department, report to me; and, after you have had an interview with the minister, come and tell me. I put it to mercantile gentlemen in this House, and to the heads of respectable firms, in professional or business life, if the head of one of their departments were asked for by anybody to give any of the transactions that passed through that department, would they not exact from the head of that department, that he should report to them what had transpired? Most undoubtedly. But, the minister goes farther. Not satisfied with this, he casts an imputation upon Colonel Foster. He says: I can understand why it is that Colonel Foster was obliged to obey the behests of General Hutton, because General Hutton is his superior officer in the Imperial army; if Colonel Foster does not obey the behests of General Hutton, he cannot hope for promotion in that army. What a degrading thing to say of an Imperial officer. When the speech of the Minister of Militia and Defence is flashed over the wires throughout Canada, what respect can remain in the mind of any Canadian officer for an Imperial officer in Canada, when we find that these officers are prepared to sell their honour for a little advancement in the Imperial service in deference to the Major General commanding in Canada. I think, Sir, it is beneath the dignity of the Minister of Militia and Defence; I think it is a gross libel upon Imperial officers, to make such an imputation, either against the colonel or against Major Hutton.

Mr. Speaker, this is the way in which it strikes me, and I regret to say, from comments I have heard—I am not a military man myself, but I number among my best and most ardent friends, some of the ablest military men in the Dominion of Canada—the views I have expressed in this matter, are the ideas which fill the hearts of the military men, certainly of my district, who all regret that the name of an officer, of a man thoroughly posted in his business, of a man who has done much for the militia of Canada, should be dragged in the mire of

politics by the Minister of Militia and Defence, as has been done in this case.

Motion (Mr. Prior) to adjourn, negatived.

FIRST READING.

Bill (No. 130) from the Senate, respecting the Montreal, Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal Company.—(Mr. Edwards.)

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising a Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). Mr. Speaker, from the beginning of this session almost down to the present moment, this has looked very much like a war session. We have had war in all its various phases discussed in this House. We thought that, perhaps, the Committee on Ways and Means was an important committee, and its deliberations and its conclusions of some weight; but, this afternoon and this evening it was felt that the question of war was still the predominant one. However, we have got back to the budget debate, even if it is not of so much interest to the House and the country as the military questions which from time to time engage our attention.

We have listened to the speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite, the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding), the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), and the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), and they have all proclaimed what we know very well—that this country is quite prosperous. They have not had any hesitation in ascribing that prosperity, not only to the great Liberal party, not to the people of the country, but specially and particularly to the ministers of the Crown. If the sunshine and rains cause the grass to grow in Quebec or Ontario, they claim that they did it. If we have an extraordinary crop of wheat in Manitoba, it is not due to Providence, but to the Grit cabinet. If silver and gold mines are discovered and developed in the Kootenay country, it is the handiwork of these same gentlemen. If the Yukon gold mines are discovered, these gentlemen are the discoverers. I do not know whether they would go back and claim to be the discoverers of this continent of America; still, as they claim everything in sight, they may claim that also. I see now that they are claiming credit for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and for the opening and development of the North-west. Our good friend, the First Minister, told us some time ago, that as soon as they came into power, he conceived that the transportation

problem was of the greatest importance, and he immediately set to work to dig a 14-foot canal that he would have started and finished inside of two years. And, so it goes on. The Minister of Customs the other evening excelled all the other ministers—

An hon. MEMBER. In noise.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, in noise, in pounding his desk; and when he could not convince us by the force of his arguments, I think he was trying to frighten us into an approval of the course he was taking. With many of his sentiments when he started out, I think many on this of the House could agree, and we said: Why, these are splendid sentiments, surely that is a nice man. If he and his party have done all those things he has told us of, we should consider a long time before we decide to oppose those gentlemen; on the contrary, we should decide to support them if all the good things he said about the Liberal party and the Liberal government are true. For instance, he started out with telling us about the census. He said with regard to the increased population of the country: We have brought our thousands and our tens of thousands of new settlers into this country, we have made the people flock in from every direction. Well, I began to think that perhaps nobody came to Canada until the Liberal party came into power. Then he gave the proof. He said: Take the years 1896 and 1899, and take the settlers' effects brought into Canada in both those years. He said further that in the absence of taking the census, the truest way we can judge of the influx of immigrants into the country is by the imports of settlers' effects. So he took those two years of 1896 and 1899, and stated that in 1896, the last year of Conservative rule, there were \$2,188,975 of settlers' effects imported; whereas in the last year of the Liberal rule, 1899, there were \$2,805,586 of settlers' effects imported, which, he said, showed an increase of 27 per cent. I thought that was a wonderful thing, because from his previous remarks you would have supposed that before they came into power there were no settlers at all coming into Canada, and yet he said they had only increased by 27 per cent. Now, Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Customs professes that he is nothing if not a lover of fair-play, and that in the numerous tabulations he gave us he was presenting nothing but facts to the House and the country. But I submit to this House whether it would not have been fairer for the Minister of Customs to take the years 1897, 1898 and 1899, during which they had complete control, and compare them with the three previous years, in regard to the importation of settlers' effects. I submit that that would have been fairer than simply to pick out one year which happened to be the very best Grit year, and to compare it

with a Conservative year which was the very worst year in our history. I say it would have been fairer to have taken 1894, 1895 and 1896 of the Tories, and 1897, 1898 and 1899 of the Liberals, and to see how the comparison would work out. Now, suppose you take those last three years of the Conservative government, and we find that the imports of settlers' effects were as follows: 1894, \$3,322,499; 1895, \$2,540,681; 1896, \$2,188,975. Making a total of \$8,052,145, or \$2,684,048 per annum. Now, take the three years of Liberal rule, when they said that thousands and tens of thousands were pouring into this country. And, Mr. Speaker, you will bear this in mind, that they cannot say that business did not commence in the Immigration Department the very moment they came into power, because they had not been here five minutes until the army of immigration agents walked in too. We are told there are 500 immigration agents, that 500 men are hard at work, forcing, coaxing and driving settlers from all parts of the world into this country. No, I make a little mistake, there were not quite 500, because we know that Mr. W. T. R. Preston, notorious in the West Elgin election and other elections, was not appointed three years ago, and we know that Mr. Chappelle, the friend of the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Davin), was only appointed at a recent date. So you must take these two away from the 500, and it leaves 498 immigration agents hard at work bringing settlers into the country. Well, Sir, what did they do? The average importations of settlers' effects for the last three years of Conservative rule, and the worst three years of Conservative rule, so far as the prosperity of the country was concerned, was \$2,684,048. But under Liberal rule, in 1897, 1898 and 1899, the figures were \$2,233,730, \$2,828,675 and \$2,805,586 respectively, making a total of \$7,867,991, or \$2,622,664 per year under Liberal rule, as against \$2,684,048 per year under Conservative rule, or an actual decrease of \$184,154 in those three years, or \$61,384 a year. That is the result, and yet the Minister of Customs tells us that he is nothing if not fair, and honest, and upright, and that we have a just and righteous government. He presents a statement to this House which, while it is true as to the actual figures, is as total a misrepresentation of the true state of affairs of the country as could possibly be presented. I say that instead of there being an increase of 28 per cent there is a reduction of 2½ per cent under Liberal rule. Those three great and prosperous years of Liberal rule, when they had their hundreds of immigration agents bringing settlers into this country, such as Doukhobors, Galicians and other foreigners, show a decrease of 2½ per cent. Of the total imports of settlers' effects, \$142,000 were those of Doukhobors who, I have no hesitation in saying, are not a desirable class

of settlers for this country, are not going to increase its material prosperity, its patriotism, its nationality, or help to build up the country.

Now, Sir, I wish to mention another matter of very great importance. The ex-Minister of Finance (Mr. Foster), when speaking in this House the other day, stated that the government, in order to present a better showing of the incidence of taxation in this country, had included the importations on Indian corn, amounting to about 16,000,000 bushels, which were simply in transit, and passed through this country, valued at \$6,360,000, and had added that to the imports for home consumption. The hon. ex-Minister of Finance stated that, when the calculation was being made as to the incidence of taxation upon the people of Canada, he had added to the imports for home consumption, this \$6,360,000 worth of corn, thus misrepresenting the imports of this country. The hon. Minister of Customs gets up to reply, and what has he told us? Just read what the hon. gentleman says; he refuses to meet the question. He never meets it in the whole of his statement, he simply sails around and around it, never meeting the charge made by the hon. ex-Minister of Finance, and the charge is that the figures of the Department of Customs are juggled that they are misrepresented when \$6,300,000 worth of corn is added to the imports of this country entered for consumption, which is not consumed in this country, in order to increase the trade showing of the country and to make the figures upon which the incidence of taxation are founded more favourable to the Liberal party. What happens? A cargo of corn comes from the city of Duluth, or the city of Chicago, it passes through the lakes, through the Welland Canal, down the St. Lawrence, in an American ship, it is transhipped at Montreal into a British vessel or into a vessel of any other country, and it goes to the old country. The hon. Minister of Customs takes that cargo of corn that never was under the control of a Canadian vessel or a Canadian railway, and he places the millions of dollars worth of corn in such vessels in the column of imports entered for home consumption and consumed in Canada. He knows that this is not consumed in Canada; he knows that it all goes through. He himself stated that it goes through. In the years 1894, 1895 and 1896, what do we find? Millions of dollars worth of corn went through the same process exactly, but it was not included in the imports entered for home consumption. These cargoes were put where they properly belong, in transit, simply passing through the country, or, at the most, as imports, but not entered for home consumption and no percentage was figured upon them. But, this was for the purpose of figuring out the

percentages. The hon. minister says that these percentages are a rough and ready method of calculation. He did not say that last year; he elaborated that claim last year, he went all over the country making speeches, and he took that as the true way of finding out the incidence of taxation. He furnished, the other day, the hon. Minister of Finance with many figures so that the Minister of Finance could demonstrate to the House that the incidence of taxation was 2.02 per cent less in 1899 than in 1896. I shall point out the utter fallacy of that statement in a few moments. In 1895, in 1896, and in all of these years previously, this corn came through this country in just the same way that is in transit which was true, and in no single instance was a bushel of that corn entered for home consumption, or classified as imports so as to make the calculation come out suitably to the Minister of Customs. The hon. Minister of Customs said, the other day, that it does great good to the trade of the country; that when you open that up, you will have to open some other things up, and that you will have to take in everything else. He struck coin and bullion from the statement he gave last year, and from the statement that he gave to the hon. Minister of Finance this year. I might say further that when a cargo of corn came from Duluth or Chicago around by the lakes, or came over to Midland, or to Parry Sound and went down the Parry Sound Railway through Ottawa to Montreal, wheat came in the same way. Why did they not include wheat as well as corn? If one should be included, why not the other? They went through the same class of operations in Canada, and so far as the handling is concerned, so far as being entitled to be classed in the entries for home consumption wheat was exactly on the same basis as corn. There were 7,000,000 bushels of wheat sent through last year in this way, but that is not included, although the 16,000,000 bushels of corn is included. Why have the hon. gentlemen done this? Because they wanted to demonstrate that the percentage of taxation was less in 1899 than in 1896. We will take their own figures, we will take the figures presented in the report of the hon. Minister of Customs. I shall prove that the statement that the hon. Minister of Customs placed in the hands of the hon. Minister of Finance, showing that there was a decrease of 2.02 per cent in the taxation in 1899 as compared with 1896 was totally inaccurate.

I shall commence with 1895, because we had a new tariff in 1894. The Foster tariff of 1894 came into force in the first month of the fiscal year of 1895. There are three columns, one a table of imports which includes everything in transit that passes through. That is largely an academic matter, and one that does not de-

monstrate fully and clearly the trade or business of the country. The other shows imports for home consumption, and the imports for home consumption are divided into two classes, dutiable and free. You may take the dutiable class, but that does not represent the incidence of taxation, because, as in the case of Great Britain, where the taxes are confined to a few articles, if you calculated it upon that basis you would find that Great Britain was the most highly taxed country in the world. You must take the dutiable and free imports, entered for home consumption, put them together, and if you take the dutiable and free goods, the imports entered for home consumption, and divide them into the revenue, it gives the percentage of taxation. It gives, in 1895, 16.99 per cent; it gives in 1896, 18.28 per cent, and the average of these two years is 17.63½ per cent. These gentlemen opposite tell us that in 1897 and 1898, the preferential tariff had not full fruition, and that 1899 was the only full year of the operation of what they call their preferential tariff. Well, that is true. We find, according to their own figures, that 16.70 was the rate of taxation, but I am not going to accept these figures and I will tell the House why. I shall deduct from that importation of \$154,000,000 worth, the \$6,360,000 worth of corn, that never had a particle of right to be there and which was placed there, as I conceive, to perpetrate a fraud upon the country. Not only does it misrepresent the volume of our trade, but I believe it was put there for the purpose of making the showing all the more in their favour, and so it must properly be struck out. There is not a man in the country who can justify the retention of these figures in the returns, and if we deduct them we find that instead of it being 16.70 we have to add 66-100ths to it, which makes it 17.36. These figures are different from those of the Minister of Customs for both years, because for both years he said that he would deduct the coin and bullion. He told us that bullion did not belong to trade and commerce; but I would like to ask the minister (Mr. Paterson) what is bullion? He gives no answer. Well, I will tell him. Worcester's dictionary says that bullion is 'gold or silver in the bar or lump; uncoined gold or silver.'

Mr. MONTAGUE. Perhaps he thought it was leather.

Mr. WALLACE. No, I do not think so. But bullion has as good a right to be on the list of articles imported into this country as cotton or leather or any raw material. Look at the minister's fine gold chain and watch. What are they made from? Why, bullion is the raw material which goes into their manufacture. Look at the beautiful ring glistening on his finger there, and as

every jeweller knows, it is made from bullion. And yet, Mr. Speaker, he strikes out coin and bullion, because by striking out coin and bullion it reduces the percentage 38-100ths of a cent in his favour. Let me tell the minister that coin, bullion and specie are included in the British Trade and Navigation Returns, which I have here, and coin and bullion run through every page of our Trade and Navigation Returns and are an integral portion of the commerce of the country. Bullion has as much right to be in the returns as any product which the Minister of Customs can name, but by striking out coin and bullion for the years 1896 and 1899 he makes a difference of 38-100ths per cent in the incidents of taxation in order to suit his purpose. I say we should retain these two items of coin and bullion. We strike out the corn, which has no right to be there, and we have this as the result, that in 1895 and 1896, the average of taxation was 17.63½ per cent, and in 1899—taking the revised figures which the minister gave us, which are \$92,000 less than the figures given in the Customs Returns, which favours them again—we have 17.36 as the taxation for 1899, (the very best year of the Liberal regime) and we have an average of 17.63 for the two years of the Conservative government under the Foster tariff. That is to say, we have 27½ cents per \$100 difference in the imposition of taxation upon the people between the tariff of 1895 and 1896, and the tariff of 1899. Now, Sir, they claim 2.02 per cent difference between 1896 and 1899. The Minister of Customs, when explaining this to an audience in Winnipeg, or some place in Manitoba, dealt with it in a remarkable way. He was taking the figures of Mr. Foster in the last parliament and taking his returns as correct, and these returns were honest and fair, not like the returns of this year or last year, and the Minister of Customs said:

Mr. Foster's figures for purposes of comparison. These showed that the average rate of taxation of all goods entered was 18.28 per cent under the Conservative government, while under the present government last year it was 16.57, or, that there was a reduction of 1.71, or, in other words, about 1¾ cents. That was not a reduction of 1¾ cents on a hundred or \$1, but 1¾ of 18¼. It was a reduction of between 9 and 10 per cent of all goods coming into the country. If a man whose salary is \$1,000 receives only \$900, he would consider it a big reduction, or a farmer who had sold wheat at 60 cents only received 54 cents, he would consider it a substantial reduction.

He wanted to impress upon the people of Manitoba that the reduction the Liberals made in the taxes of the country was as the difference between \$1,000 and \$900. I have shown, and I challenge gentlemen opposite to contradict me, that the figures between the average of 1895 and 1896, and of 1899—the best year the Liberals ever have had or maybe that they ever will have—was 27½

cents per \$100. The Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) told the people that if importations were made to the value of \$1,000 it was only like paying \$900 under the Liberal tariff. Let us see now how he was all wrong in that. Under the Liberal tariff of 1899, on \$1,000 of importation there would be a duty of \$173.60, or a total cost of \$1,173.60. Under the Liberal-Conservative tariff of 1895-6, there would be a duty of \$176.35, making the total cost \$1,176.35. Now, subtracting the cost under the Liberal tariff of \$1,173.60 from the cost under the Conservative tariff of \$1,176.35, you have a saving in a thousand dollar purchase of \$2.75, instead of the \$100 that the Minister of Customs tried to make the people of Winnipeg believe was the saving. Let us work it out in another way. Suppose a lady buys a dozen pocket handkerchiefs which cost \$2 where they were bought, and she imports them into Canada. That 27½ cents per \$100, which is a little more than a quarter of a cent on a dollar, would be about half a cent on the \$2 purchase of the dozen pocket handkerchiefs, and the lady would make a gain of ½ cent under the new tariff as compared with the old. You may calculate it in all classes of goods the same way, and you will find out the fallacies of these gentlemen who have been going through the country saying that they have reduced taxation so largely. These gentlemen have been going through the country claiming that they have reduced taxation. The Minister of Customs said the other night: 'We have saved you \$2,600,000 this year; we saved you \$2,600,000 last year; over \$5,000,000 in the last two years.' Why, Mr. Speaker, they have not saved one-sixth of that sum. They have juggled with the tariff; in many places they have spoiled it; they have cut down the duty on iron in some places and substituted an increased bounty, which is the most direct and positive form of protection that has ever been devised by man; and the figures to-day are almost identical with what they were in 1895 and 1896, the difference being about a quarter of a cent on each one dollar of imports into this country from all parts of the world. Yet the Minister of Customs said the other night, 'We have reduced the taxes on this, on that, and on the other.' Why, Mr. Speaker, if he had stopped to consider for a moment he would have seen that they have increased the taxes on sugar alone to the amount of \$730,000, and on coal oil to the amount of over \$500,000. The hon. gentleman claims that they have decreased the taxes on coal oil to the amount of \$85,000. Before I sit down, I shall prove that they have increased the taxes on coal oil between \$570,000 and \$600,000. Instead of reducing the taxation, which they fairly might have done in the face of the increased prosperity of the country, they have

kept it at almost the same figure, and they have increased the burdens that the people have to bear. We were told by the Minister of Finance the other day that the increase in customs receipts from 1895-6 to 1899 was \$8,350,000. If you take the population of Canada at 5,000,000 that would be \$1.57 each. If you take the population at 5,300,000, it would be about \$1.50 each, or an increased taxation of \$7.50 on each family in the country. These are some of the blessings vouchsafed to us by this Liberal government. These gentlemen are never tired of telling what they have done for the people of Canada. They say, 'We have reduced the tariff, we have reduced the expenditure, we have reduced everything.' I have a speech delivered by Mr. Mulock, the Postmaster General, in Goderich on the 11th of February, 1899, as reported in the *Globe*, in which he said:

Out of 440 articles in the customs tariff, 200 had been placed on the free list, and on 107 the tariff had been reduced, so much so, as in some cases almost to wipe it out.

Now, I have gone over the articles which these hon. gentlemen have placed on the free list. I think the Minister of Customs the other night said that there were twenty-one articles; I could only make up nineteen; but we will not quarrel about the difference, and will say twenty-one. The Postmaster General says that 200 have been placed on the free list and that on 107 the tariff was almost wiped out, so that they are practically free. The *Globe* newspaper from day to day claims that the great prosperity of the country is due to the Liberal tariff, wiping out the duties on raw materials of manufactures and the necessaries of life for the people. The Minister of Finance and the Minister of Customs tell us the same; but I will give the Minister of Trade and Commerce the credit of saying that he says nothing about it. I think he is too conscientious to make a statement of that kind, which I do not think has very much basis of fact. In the speech delivered the other night by the Minister of Customs he elaborates this idea. He says: 'We have made goods free in every direction; those that were dutiable before, the raw material for manufactures, became free, and this accounts for the great prosperity of the country.' Listen to what he said:

We believe in giving to the manufacturers of this country their raw material duty free in order that they can compete with other manufacturers, and in order that the consumer in this country can get the benefit of it in the reduced price of goods, and he does get the benefit of it.

Then he gives a list of the chief free articles, including coal and coke. He says:

This is a statement showing the chief free articles which we get almost entirely from the

United States, and which we cannot get to advantage or profit from Great Britain, at least at present.

Then he tells us the good things which the Liberal party have done since they came into power. He gives the free importations of coal and coke from the United States at \$6,848,000, raw cotton at \$3,110,000, fruits, green, at \$557,000, flax seed at \$1,062,000—all raw materials. I do not know that bananas are raw material for any particular manufacture, but we will let them go. Now, Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand a copy of the Canadian Customs Tariff of 1894, with an index, which was in effect in 1895-6. This is the Foster tariff. In item 548, I see coal anthracite and coal dust free. In item 550, coke free. Thus these very two articles, which the hon. gentleman was claiming credit for having made free, were free before his government came into office. They had been free for years before the Liberals came into power, and the amount is \$6,846,000. He said that they had given free raw materials, but in that they only have continued what the Conservative party had done. But they promised to make bituminous coal free, but did not dare do it.

Now, we come to the item of raw cotton, \$3,110,000 worth imported into this country. But, I turn to this same tariff of 1894, and on the same page, I see raw cotton, item 561, free of duty. The very articles those gentlemen claim to have made free of duty, were free of duty before they came into office.

The next item of raw material is fruits, green, item 589. These are not the raw material of any particular manufacture, but the interesting fact is that the items of fruit green, that are free to-day, are the same that were free in 1894.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). What page of my speech is the hon. gentleman quoting from, because I do not think he is quoting it correctly?

Mr. WALLACE. I am quoting from page 3075.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman charges me with having said that we had made those goods free, and that they were not free before. I did not say that.

Mr. WALLACE. What the hon. gentleman said, was this:

The trade of the United States has gone up by thirty odd million dollars, but for what reason? Why, because we believe in giving to the manufacturers of this country their raw material duty free, in order that they can compete with other manufacturers, and in order that the consumer in this country can get the benefit of it in the reduced price of goods—and he does get the benefit of it.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The statement from which the hon. gentleman is quoting, is given by me in my speech, as:

Statement showing the chief free articles which we get almost entirely from the United States, and which we cannot get, at any rate to advantage or profit, from Great Britain, at least, at present.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. gentleman, after saying that he believed in giving the manufacturers their raw material duty free, went on to give a list of the articles that were free. His evident intention was that the people of this country should understand—what else could they understand?—that these articles were made free by the Liberal party and were dutiable before. He cites among these articles, flax seed, \$1,062,753, but if you turn to the tariff of 1894, item 688, you will find that flax seed was duty free before these gentlemen came into power at all.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Who said it was not?

Mr. WALLACE. Every line of the hon. gentleman's speech was intended to impress us with the idea that he had made those articles free, in order that the manufacturers should have their raw materials free. But, we had made them free before these gentlemen came into power. They simply continued our policy, not because they like it, but because they dare not change it. Then I come to tobacco, raw, excise purposes, \$1,878,725, but turn to item 717, of Mr. Foster's tariff of 1894, and you find there tobacco manufactured for excise purposes, under condition of inland revenue was free of duty. The only change ever made in that was made in the tariff of 1897, of hon. gentlemen opposite, when they put 14 cents additional for stemmed tobacco, and 10 cents additional for unstemmed. Then they found they had made a mistake, and transferred it to the Inland Revenue Department, but the tax still remains.

Then, I come to the next item, rubber, crude, \$1,606,151. Turn to item 679 of Mr. Foster's tariff, and you will find there rubber, crude, free.

Then I come to lumber in this table, amounting to \$2,899,864, but in item 736 and 745 of Mr. Foster's tariff, there is a long list of the articles of free lumber, and so far as I can remember they are the same items that are free to-day. Coin is free, and it always was. Ores are also free, and were free in Mr. Foster's tariff, as you will find by turning to item 653.

Now the hon. gentleman said:

There are \$32,132,859 worth of these articles that are free. Free for what purpose? Free to benefit our own people, free to benefit our manufacturers, free to enable them to compete with others and free to give to Canadian consumers their goods at a cheaper price.

Did the hon. gentleman tell the people of Canada that it was the Conservative party who made these items free? A more dishonest statement never was made by a public man. It was made for a purpose. It is repeated, and the Grit orators will take that up, and say: Look at what we have made free; there is Mr. Paterson's speech in the House of Commons, which has never been contradicted, and it gives these articles as being made free by the Liberal government.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. You will not see that in the speech.

Mr. WALLACE. Every line of the speech indicates it.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) is misquoting entirely.

Mr. WALLACE. I will ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Paterson), if he will say that in his speech the statement was made that every one of these articles were made free by the Liberal-Conservative party.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. It says, 'statement showing the chief free articles that we get almost entirely from the United States'—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I thought the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) was asking me what it was.

Mr. WALLACE. I have read it twice in this House, and yet the hon. minister is not satisfied.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. No.

Mr. WALLACE. I have read it twice, and *Hansard* will show it. Now, what did these hon. gentlemen make free? Here are the articles they made free, and I will say that with the exception of Indian corn and barbed wire and binder twine, which I shall refer to by themselves later on, the articles they have made free in their tariff are so utterly insignificant as not to deserve any consideration, that is as far as money value is concerned. The items they made free were:

- 472. Life-boats, &c.
- 479. Artificial limbs.
- 516. Duck for belting and hose, canvas for bicycle tires.
- 597. Steel for surgical trusses.
- 600. Steel for axle bars.
- 601. Steel spirals for railways.
- 602. Steel for augers and knives.
- 603. Galvanized iron wire.
- 588. Cream separators.

Then the hon. gentleman says: 'We have put cream separators on the free list. I

Mr. WALLACE.

would like to ask him why cream separators come in free of duty while there is a duty on biscuit? Give us the reason. Cream separators are made in this country. But while cream separators come in free of duty, cream sodas can only come in at a duty of 25 per cent. Why? Is it because the Minister of Customs is particularly interested in cream sodas and is not interested in cream separators.

Mr. TAYLOR. The hon. member for South Wellington (Mr. Kloepper), is interested in cream separators.

Mr. WALLACE. I say that is one of the unfair things in the tariff. Under our tariff, we made the steel bowl for the separator free. These bowls were not made in Canada, and I am told that they were not then made in any country outside of Denmark. They were a raw material, as it were, for the manufacturer in this country and we admitted them free. Now, not only is the bowl admitted free, but the whole separator is admitted free, and in this way the government have crushed a Canadian industry as far as they could do it. On what ground? Why should they protect one industry and not another. No logical reason has ever been offered to the House why that should be done.

- 469. Fashion plates.
- 471. Donations of books for charitable purposes.
- 526. Rape seed and mushroom spawn.
- 553. Sewing machine attachments.
- 595. Furniture castors.
- 604. Stereotypes for papers.
- 617. Brass trimmings for bedsteads.
- 464. Certain classes of books.

There is the whole list made free by the Liberals when they came into power. I have here the list of articles made free by the Conservatives in 1894, and I am going to read at least a portion of it to the House. I think it should be on record as it has never been placed on record before. We had a huge free list even before 1894. Yet in that year we cut down the tariff and made many articles free that were dutiable before. I would like to call attention to these things and compare them with what the Liberals did in 1897:

List of articles made free by the Conservative government in 1894.

	Former rate.
Books left by bequest.....	15 p.c.
Pictures "	35 p.c.
Family plate "	20 p.c.
Furniture "	35 p.c.
Heirlooms "	Various
Dogs for improvement of stock.....	20 p.c.
Acids, for medicinal, chemical or manufacturing purposes, n.o.p.....	20 p.c.
Aluminum sheets	20 p.c.
Nitrate of ammonia	20 p.c.
Bibles, prayer-books, psalm and hymn-books	5 p.c.
Books printed in foreign languages.....	15 p.c.

	Former rate.
Official annual reports of religious and benevolent associations	15 p.c.
Books used as text-books in colleges.....	15 p.c.
Books for incorporated mechanics' institutes	15 p.c.
Books for colleges and law libraries	15 p.c.
Bookbinders' cloth	10 p.c.
Brass in bars, rods and bolts, drawn, plain and fancy tubing, not bent or otherwise manufactured, in lengths not less than 6 ft.	10 p.c.
Caplins, unfinished leghorn hats and manilla hoods.....	20 p.c.
Blast furnace slag	20 p.c.
Brass in strips for printers' rules, not finished	15 p.c.
Iron wire, twisted, for boots and shoes...	25 p.c.
China clay	20 p.c.
Coal tar and coal pitch.....	10 p.c.
Coke	50c. per ton

The duty on this article was formerly 50 cents a ton. We made it free in 1894. Anthracite coal we had made duty free some time before.

	Former rate.
Collections of postage stamps	35 p.c.
Oxide of copper	30 p.c.
Copper, old and scrap	10 p.c.
Copper in pigs, bars, rods and bolts, in lengths not less than 6 ft.....	10 p.c.
Copper ingots	10 p.c.
Copper sheathing, not planished or coated.	10 p.c.
Copper seamless drawn tubing.....	10 p.c.
Curling stones of granite.....	25 p.c.
Cyanide of potassium, blanc file, and satin white	20 p.c.
Homing and messenger pigeons	20 p.c.
Drugs, crude, such as barks, beans, berries, flowers, roots, balsams, buds, bulbs, fruits, insects, grains, gums and gum resins, herbs, leaves, nuts, fruits and stem seeds, not otherwise provided for	20 p.c.
Ground logwood	20 p.c.
" fustic	20 p.c.
Patent prepared dyes	20 p.c.
Egg yolk	20 p.c.
Fertilizers, uncomponded or unmanufactured	20 p.c.
Bone black or charred bone.....	20 p.c.
Fish offal or refuse	20 p.c.
Flax fibre, scutched.....	1c. per lb.
" hackled	2c. per lb.
Flax tow, scutched or green	2c. per lb.
Wild raspberries, packages included in weight	3c. per lb.
Globes, geographical, topographical and astronomical	20 p.c.
Gold and silver sweepings.....	20 p.c.
Grommets	30 p.c.
Gum, elemy	20 p.c.
Ir.got moulds	30 p.c.
Iron sand or globules for polishing glass.	20 p.c.
Dry putty for polishing glass or granite..	20 p.c.
Steel masts for ships, or parts of.....	30 p.c.
Flax or hemp yarn for manufacture of carpets, &c.	20 p.c.
Lamp black and ivory black.....	10 p.c.
Lead, nitrate and acetate of, not ground.	5 p.c.
Insurance maps	20 p.c.
Album insides of paper	35 p.c.
Hair brush pads	25 p.c.
Charts for the use of schools for the blind	20 p.c.
Marble in the rough in blocks, containing 15 cubic feet or over.....	10 p.c.

	Former rate.
Marble in rough in blocks, containing less than 15 cubic feet	15 p.c.
Smelting machinery, not manufactured in Canada	30 p.c.
Carbolic or heavy oil.....	10 p.c.
Olive oil for manufacturing purposes....	20 p.c.
Plaits, chip, manila, cotton and mohair..	30 p.c.
Platinum sheets	20 p.c.
Plumbago crucibles	30 p.c.
Potash, red and yellow prussiate of.....	10 p.c.
Prunella for boots and shoes.....	10 p.c.
Quinine, salts of (except sulphate).....	20 p.c.
Rosin oil	20 p.c.
Saddle jiggers, stirrups and saddle trees of all kinds.....	35 p.c.
Salt from United Kingdom or British possessions, bulk.....	5c. per 100 lbs.
Salt from United Kingdom or British possessions, in packages	7½c. per 100 lbs.
Packages dutiable at same rate as empty salt bags	35 p.c.
Saltpetre	20 p.c.
Shoe buttons, papier-maché.....	5c. per gross and 20 p.c.
Metal glove fasteners	30 p.c.
Eyelet hooks and eyelets	30 p.c.
Skins of birds and animals not native to Canada	20 p.c.
Chlorate and bisulphite of soda.....	20 p.c.
Stereotypes, electrotypes and celluloids of books, and bases, matrices and copper shells for the same.....	3c. per sq. in.
Sugar, between 14 and 16 Dutch standard.	8-10c. per lb.
Tea lead	60c. per 100 lbs.
Trees (forest), except for Manitoba or N.W.T., for planting	20 p.c.
Mohair yarns.....	10c. per lb. and 20 p.c.
Firewood, handle bolts, heading bolts, stave bolts and shingle bolts, hop poles, fence posts, railroad ties, ship timber and ship planking, n.o.p.....	20 p.c.
Timber hewn or sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharfs, n.o.p.	20 p.c.
Timber squared or sided.....	20 p.c.
Creosoted lumber	20 p.c.
Sawed boards, planks, deals and other lumber, undressed	20 p.c.
Sawed boards, planks, deals and other lumber dressed on one side.....	25 p.c.
Pine clapboards	20 p.c.
Spruce clapboards	20 p.c.
Hub for wheels, rough hewn or sawed only	15 p.c.
Posts, last blocks, wagon blocks, car blocks, gun blocks, heading, and all like blocks or sticks, rough hewn or sawed only	25 p.c.
Laths	20 p.c.
Pickets and palings	25 p.c.
Staves, wood	25 p.c.
Wood, unmanufactured	20 p.c.
Zinc seamless drawn tubing	10 p.c.
Calcareous tufa	20 p.c.
Zinc, salts of	5 p.c.
D. shovel handles of wood	25 p.c.
Hat sweats, leather.....	25 p.c.

Here are 189 articles in all that were made free by the Conservative government in 1894 in addition to the enormous free list that we had then, particularly in raw materials for manufactures, to enable us to increase our manufacturing industries. What more did we do? We made important reductions, and I am going to read a few of them:

IMPORTANT REDUCTIONS MADE IN THE TARIFF BY THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT IN 1894.

Articles.	Old Rate.	New Rate.	Remarks.
Lard, rendered	3c. p. lb.	2c. p. lb.	
Soap, common or laundry	1½c. "	1c. "	
Glue, sheet	3c. "	25 p.c.	Reduction 31 p.c.
Canned vegetables	2c. "	1½c. p. lb.	
" fruit	3c. "	2c. "	
Wall paper	Various	Various	Reduction about 40 p.c.
Strawboard	40c. p. 100 lbs.	30c. p. 100 lbs.	
Illuminating oil	7½c. p. imp. gall.	6c. p. imp. gall.	16½ p.c.
Barrels containing oil	40c. each	20c. each	50 p.c.
Linseed oil	1½c. p. lb.	20 p.c.	Reduction 33½ p.c.
School slates	1c. each and 20 p.c.	30 "	" 53 p.c.
Harness and saddlery	35 p.c.	30 "	
Whips	50c. p. doz. and 30 p.c.	35 "	Reduction 22 p.c.
Iron slabs, blooms, loops and puddled bars	\$9 p. ton	\$5 p. ton	
Bar iron	\$13 "	\$10 "	
Iron sheets, 17 to 20 gauge	\$13 "	5 p.c.	
Chains, ½" to ¾" in diameter	30 p.c.	5 p.c.	
Clothes wringers	\$1 each and 30 p.c.	25c. each and 20 p.c.	
Scythes	\$2.40 p. doz.	35 p.c.	Reduction about 30 p.c.
Hay knives	\$2 p. doz. and 20 p.c.	35 "	" " 30 "
Pronged forks	Various	35 "	Average reduction 27½ p.c.
Garden rakes	5c. each and 25 p.c.	35 "	Reduction about 30 p.c.
Shovels and spades	\$1 p. doz. and 25 p.c.	50c. p. doz. and 25 p.c.	
Mowing machines	35 p.c.	20 p.c.	
Self binding harvesters	35 "	20 "	
Harvesters without binders	35 "	20 "	
Binding attachments	35 "	20 "	
Reapers	35 "	20 "	
Sulky and walking ploughs	35 "	20 "	
Harrows	35 "	20 "	
Seed drills	35 "	20 "	
Horse rakes	35 "	20 "	
Barbed wire fencing	1½c. p. lb.	¾c. p. lb.	
Buckthorn strip fencing	1½c. p. lb.	1c. "	
Stamped tinware	35 p.c.	25 p.c.	
Galvanized ironware	35 "	25 "	
Japanned ware	35 "	25 "	
Farm and freight wagons	Various	25 "	Reduction 50 p.c.
Buggies, carriages, &c.	"	35 "	" 50 "
Cotton seamless bags	2c. each and 15 p.c.	20 "	" 25 "

Mr. McCarthy stated in the House last session that the rates on cotton fabrics averaged 41 per cent, to-day it cannot be higher than 30 per cent, and mostly 22½ and 25 per cent.

Sugar allowed free entry, formerly 14 Dutch standard, now 16 Dutch standard.

On woollen cloths, tweeds, coatings, overcoatings, the rate is reduced on the poor man and increased on the rich man.

Rate formerly, 10 cts. per lb. and 20 per cent; rate now 5 cts. per lb. and 25 per cent.

The above also applies to woollen ready made clothing.

Rate formerly, 10 cts. per lb. and 25 per cent; rate now 5 cts. per lb. and 30 per cent.

I must apologize to the House for taking up so much time in reading these figures, but I want to put on record what has never been put on record before in this House, that is, the reductions we made in the tariff in 1894 as compared with the small amount of reductions which they made in 1897. I say that in this matter it is we who have reduced the tariff rate in this country, it is we who have studied the interests of the people of this country, and those hon. gentlemen want to appropriate for themselves what we have done. There could be no more flagrant instance of it than that speech made here the other night by the Minister of Customs, and the speech made by the Postmaster General (Mr. Mu-

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lock) in various places, and the speech made by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), in fact, by the speeches made by all the gentlemen on the other side of the House, except the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright), who sticks to his guns with more tenacity than those other gentlemen.

I said a moment ago that I would show that on this question of coal oil the government have done a greater injury to the people, ten times over, than they could repair by making a reduction of one cent per gallon on oil. The Minister of Customs, the other night, claimed that there was a profit to the people of this country of \$85,000, meaning that 8,500,000 gallons were

imported, though I see there were over 9,000,000 gallons imported. He said that a cent a gallon on this quantity meant a saving to the people of \$85,000 a year. Now, Mr. Speaker, I deny that. They reduced the tariff one cent per gallon, from six to five cents. At the same time they gave facilities to the Standard Oil Company, who came down here, whose agents were around these buildings, who dictated the tariff that the government were to put on, and who made no secret about it either—I know that from my personal knowledge. They, in fact, dictated the tariff governing the tankage powers in vessels and extending it on cars. The virtual effect of it was immediately to hand over the control of the Canadian oil interests to the Standard Oil Company. Why, Sir, did we not see, the other day, in the investigation before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, how completely they are controlling the business of this country? Both the great railway companies, that ought to have strength and power enough to resist them, have been brought down, have had to yield to the demands of those pirates coming over from the other side of the line. I have a paper in my hand called the *American*, dated February 12, 1898. It gives a history of this Standard Oil Company, what we already know in a general way of its doings and history in this country:

They have not, indeed, accomplished the impossible, but they have found something better than the alchemist's equation, something more potent in the accumulation of wealth without labour than the possession of the philosopher's stone. The alchemists sought to turn base metal into gold and failed; the unscrupulous men who organized the Standard Oil Company sought to turn dishonesty into gold, and they succeeded. They have not, indeed, discovered the undiscoverable art of making something out of nothing, but they have succeeded in getting property without creating it, in enjoying wealth without earning it.

Starting with nothing twenty-five years ago, the Standard Oil Trust has to-day a capital of nearly \$100,000,000, with a market value of over four times as much, and upon which dividends are paid of something like \$20,000,000 a year. And these dividends represent far from the earnings of the trust, far from the sum of money that is exacted from the users of oil and divided yearly among the few who use this trust to prey upon the community, divided among the holders of trust certificates and the leeches who draw tribute from the trust, for the trust that sucks millions from the community has its numerous suckers.

Here then we have a property, if we call it such—rather an organization, a concentration of influences—with an acknowledged earning power of \$20,000,000 a year, a property or bundle of indescribable but irresistible influences whose earnings are undoubtedly two or three times as much, and all this created out of nothing of value, the creation not of labour productively employed, but the reward of the labour of dishonesty.

Now, Sir, this organization has come over here, this organization has been hand

in glove with the government from the moment it arrived. They have dictated to the government what they should do, as they have dictated to the railways. Their actions have been brought before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, and yet, the government have not had time to investigate the case, they have not had time to come to a conclusion and to say that the people of this country, through their representatives, through their ministry, through their members of parliament, are not going to permit a foreign band of robbers to come in here and throttle the business of this country, to dictate to the railroads, to take possession of all the refineries in Canada. And what have they done? They stated a year ago that they were not increasing the price of oil. I have here a statement of the wholesale prices of oil in the city of Toronto, taken from the books of the firms of Wallace Bros., of which I am a member, for the past year:

February, 1899—

Sarnia prime white oil.....	13½c.
“ water white “	15c.

March, 1899—

Prime white	13½c.
Sarnia water white	15c.

April, 1899—

Prime white oil.....	13½c.
Sarnia white water.....	15c.

May 25, 1899—

Prime white oil.....	13½c.
Sarnia water white	15c.

July 18, 1899—

Prime white oil	13½c.
Sarnia white water	15c.

September 6, 1899—

Prime white oil.....	13½c.
Sarnia water white	15½c.

October 30, 1899—

Prime white oil	15½c.
Sarnia water white.....	16½c.

November, 1899—

Prime white oil.....	15½c.
Sarnia water white.....	17c.

December, 1899—

Sarnia water white.....	17½c.
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January 25, 1900—

Sarnia water white	17½c.
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February 15, 1900—

Sarnia water white	18c.
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That is an increase on both of these Canadian oils of 3 cents per gallon. As to American oils any hon. gentleman can see by reading the evidence given before the Railway Committee that it is an impossibility for any honest company to compete with them in importing oils into this country, and they own all the refineries. They give the dealers such prices as they please, and they have been pleased, in their modesty, to increase the price 3 cents

per gallon. There were 9,363,000 gallons imported into Canada last year. It is estimated by the Department of Inland Revenue that there are between 10,500,000 and 11,000,000 gallons of our native oil produced in this country per annum. They have not the exact figures, but this is their estimate. Add that to the 9,500,000 and you have over 20,000,000 gallons, and at 3 cents per gallon it just makes \$600,000. That \$600,000 these men are imposing on the people of this country, and they could make it \$1,200,000 just as easily. All they have to do is to say that this is our price. It has gone up 3 cents a gallon. At the present time they are supposed to be making \$50,000 monthly more than their regular profits, that is \$600,000 a year. These robbers! And the government, instead of fighting these men and saying that we are going to control the business of this country, have not the power, apparently, or the courage to do it. At any rate, they have not done it up to the present.

Mr. TAYLOR. They would squeal on them, because they gave \$200,000 to their election campaign fund.

Mr. WALLACE. Perhaps they are expecting some other favours in the next elections. These are the facts, and yet the hon. Minister of Customs gets up and tells us that they have saved the country \$85,000 in all. He says: We have saved the country a cent a gallon. He has not shown that the government have reduced the price of oil one cent or one-quarter of a cent a gallon. But they have increased it to the extent that I have mentioned. The price is taken from actual transactions in oil bought from the agent of the Queen City Oil Company, which is the Standard Oil Company. That is the wholesale price. Another matter, and I consider it a matter of great importance, is that the hon. Minister of Customs, the other night, quoted a long list of agricultural implements in regard to which he said: Our duty is so much; the duty when the Liberal-Conservatives were in power was so much, and we have saved so much to this country. I am going to make use of that table for another purpose. I have a list here of the agricultural implements that we imported into this country in 1896 and of those that we imported in 1899. I may say that nearly every one of these duties was imposed under our own Conservative tariff, which we reduced from 35 to 20 per cent. I think, that, in respect to many of these articles, we made a mistake, but, at any rate, we took this ground: We said we are a protectionist government, we believe in protection; if experience demonstrates that we have placed too low a duty upon these articles we will increase the duty so as to protect the Canadian manufacturer against the American manufacturer, or the outside manufacturer. What do we find? The importations of agricultural implements were as follows:

Mr. WALLACE.

	1896.	1899.
Binding attachments	\$ 3,766	\$ 32,756
Cultivators	21,371	17,954
Drills, grain seed	40,243	64,683
Farm, road or field rollers.....		160
Forks, pronged	6,408	10,968
Harrows	18,729	53,739
Harvesters, self-binding and without binders	130,780	664,610
Hay tedders		4,652
Hoes	1,052	2,979
Horse rakes	13,533	69,043
Knives, hay or straw.....	7	104
Lawn mowers	977	6,338
Manure spreaders		140
Mowing machines	72,338	348,735
Ploughs	51,670	192,158
Post-hole diggers		195
Potato diggers		249
Rakes, n.e.s.	983	4,920
Reapers	2,330	25,066
Scythes and snaths, sickles or reaping hooks	22,430	29,328
Spades and shovels and blanks.	24,115	18,288
Weeders		56,856
All other agricultural imple- ments, n.e.s.	35,135	21,294
Total	\$445,917	\$1,625,215

In 1896 the total importations of agricultural implements was \$445,917 and in 1899 they amounted to \$1,625,215, or nearly four times as much. The point I make is not the point made out by the hon Minister of Customs.

Mr. TAYLOR. In 1899 it was \$1,600,000.

Mr. WALLACE. In 1896 the importation was \$445,917 of agricultural implements into Canada, and in 1899 it was \$1,625,215, or a difference of \$1,179,298 being the excess of the importation in 1899 over 1896. I would have a tariff that would result in all these implements being made in this country. They say: We must have McCormick binders and reapers. Very well, let them come into Canada and make them.

Mr. BERGERON. Do the farmers buy them cheaper?

Mr. WALLACE. No, Sir, under the 35 per cent tariff the Ontario farmer—I am not speaking of the North-west farmer because the conditions there were different—got the cheapest binder that could be got in the world. I had the statements made by the McCormick Company; and the Ontario farmer bought the cheapest binder in the world under a 35 per cent tariff and under the 20 per cent tariff the price remained the same. Our policy, so far as I am concerned, at any rate, would be to make the whole of this \$1,625,000 worth of agricultural implements right here in Canada. We know how to make agricultural implements. We have been brought up in Canada to the business, and we can do it skilfully and well. I have a circular of the hon. member for Leeds and Grenville (Mr. Frost) and I know that he is a man who is responsible for his statements, which says that the binders manufactured by his firm are not exceeded

by the binders of any other country in the world. We can have them as good as they can be made in the world and have them made in Canada; we can have 1,625 men making these implements here, give the benefit to our own people and build up our own industries. The hon. Minister of Customs has deluged the House with figures without any meaning, or, if they have any meaning, it is a misleading one, and it is one that does not do justice to the country, or to the minister himself. Take another article. Take the article of biscuits. The Minister of Customs, (Mr. Pater-son) they say, has a very warm interest in biscuits, and I am told that the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) has a somewhat more indirect interest in the same trade. Do you find that the importations of biscuits has increased four-fold. Not at all. There has been a watchful eye over that branch of Canadian industry. The importation of biscuits in 1896 amounted to \$41,022 worth, and in 1899 they amounted to \$38,085, or a decrease of about \$3,000.

Mr. BERGERON. More biscuits made in Canada?

Mr. WALLACE. More biscuits made in Canada and less imported. The Minister of Customs has pointed us to the great benefits of preferential trade with Great Britain. But, how does that affect biscuits? We brought in 540,000 pounds of biscuits in 1899, from all countries at a cost of \$38,000, and the saving by the preferential tariff was just \$576.89. More than that, the duty paid on the English biscuits that came under the preferential tariff was 2.127 cents per pound, but the duty paid on the other biscuits that did not come under the preferential tariff, was only 1.65 cents a pound. That is the way it worked out. Oh, it showed that there was a careful, watchful man at the head of the Customs Department, and that he was looking after the interests of 'No. 1,' which is the greatest of all numbers, I am told.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. What you are saying now, shows about your size.

Mr. WALLACE. It shows about my size, does it? Well, it does not show anything very creditable to the Minister of Customs.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. It shows a reduced rate from Great Britain, apparently.

Mr. WALLACE. The Minister of Customs has taken good care, that while he permits cream separators to come in free, so as to destroy the Canadian industry, he has no intention of doing that in the case of the industry in which he is interested. The small part of the business is, that a man should be guilty of that.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The tariff is lower than it was.

Mr. WALLACE. The tariff is the same as it was when they came in, and higher than it was in 1894.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Are biscuits cheaper?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. They are a fair price.

Mr. WALLACE. More than that, the Minister of Customs was not satisfied with the protection that the Conservative tariff gave him, and so he had to form a combine to keep up the price. He was a member of the combine himself, and I challenge him to get up and deny it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh, oh.

Mr. McMULLEN. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace), look at this placard of the Woodbridge Fair, which was printed in the United States? Did he ever see it before? I show it to the House now, as a specimen, and there is his name on it.

Mr. WALLACE. I must protest against the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen), parading his portrait before this House, without being asked.

Mr. McMULLEN. He is a great man to talk about protecting industries, when he gets this placard printed in the United States.

Mr. WALLACE. I will tell the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMullen), the history of that photograph of himself. We were getting out a bill for the greatest of all country fairs, the Woodbridge Fair, and the Toronto lithographers, quoted the price at \$39, for the quantity we required. We got samples from two or three places, and we laid them down on the floor, and an American concern from Cincinnati, I think, sent in their samples, and we compared them, and we found that by paying 50 per cent duty, and freight and other charges, we could buy them cheaper in the United States. Here is the only example I have every known or heard of where the national policy, and the policy of protection has not worked out fairly well.

Mr. ELLIS. There are lots of them.

Mr. WALLACE. The price the Americans asked for the three or four hundred bills we required, was \$12, the duty was \$6, and the freight \$1.50, which made \$19.50, and the cheapest we could buy them in Canada for, was \$39. We paid the duty on them, and these gentlemen opposite do not object to that.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. But, you do.

Mr. WALLACE. I do not object to paying the duty on goods, so long as they are not goods we can manufacture in Canada. I say that we can make agricultural implements here, because we are in the business.

Mr. McMULLEN. Why did you not get your bills here ?

Mr. WALLACE. Because we bought them for \$19.50, when the Toronto lithographers would charge \$39.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Oh, how unpatriotic.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Why did you not get them to leave your name off ?

Mr. WALLACE. I am not ashamed of my name, but I admit that I do not care to have it under the portrait of the hon. member for North Wellington. However, these are things you must put up with, sometimes in a lifetime.

Mr. BERGERON. Come back to biscuits. That is interesting.

Mr. WALLACE. I have demonstrated tonight that the duty in 1889 was precisely the same as the duty in 1895 and 1896, with the exception of 27½ cents per \$100. The Minister of Customs would lead one to think that the Liberal government were saving millions of dollars to the people of the country. Well, I have pointed out that in the matter of coal oil, they have imposed a tax upon the people of Canada of \$600,000 a year, by their course in connection with the Standard Oil Company. I can point out now, that in 1896, the duty on 257,000,000 pounds of sugar, was \$1,338,000, and that in 1899, on 269,000,000 pounds of sugar, we paid \$1,932,000 duty, or \$793,594 more than before, but of course there was more sugar. However, here is what occurred : If you take the same amount of sugar imported in 1896, with the 1896 tariff, as we imported in 1899, with the tariff now existing, we would have saved \$731,900 by the Conservative tariff. The duty upon sugar is a tax upon the people, upon the poor people, more especially, as it is an article not produced in the country. That was put on by the Conservative government, because we wanted to raise more revenue. A tax upon tea is also a tax upon the people, because tea is not produced in this country. Now, Mr. speaker, there are some other matters which I wish to refer to, but as I want to get along as rapidly as possible, I shall have to leave the consideration of them for another occasion.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Adjourn.

Mr. WALLACE. If the right hon. First Minister will not object, I will move that the debate be now adjourned.

The PRIME MINISTER. I will not object.

Motion agreed to and debate adjourned.

Mr. WALLACE.

SAN JOSE SCALE ACT AMENDMENT.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher) moved second reading of Bill (No. 126) to amend the San José Scale Act. He said : I would like to ask the attention of the House for a moment or two, even at this late hour. My excuse for doing so is that it is understood that the other branch of parliament will adjourn till after Easter, and it is important in the public interest that this Bill should be passed very shortly. I may explain that I have introduced this amendment in consequence of a pretty general demand for greater facilities for the importation of nursery stock. Hon. members will remember that the original San José Scale Act absolutely prohibited the importation of nursery stock from the United States in consequence of the very great prevalence of this insect pest in that country, a pest which at that time was not known to exist to any appreciable extent in Canada, and which we wished to keep out. I do not wish by this amendment to injure in any way our nursery or forest trees in Canada, and the amendment is only for the purpose of making such provision as may safely be carried out. There is a method by which nursery stock can be rendered perfectly safe, that is, by fumigation with hydrocyanic acid gas in a closed chamber or box ; and the object of this Bill is to enable the government to establish ports very much in the same way as cattle ports were established in days past for the quarantining of cattle. At these ports the fumigating plant will be erected and a man put in charge to receive and fumigate nursery stock coming in to this country. The cost of this will be comparatively small, while it will afford relief to a large number of people who, in consequence especially of the destruction of the peach orchards in the province of Ontario last year, and in consequence of the very great demand in Canada during the last two seasons for nursery stock, cannot to-day obtain in this country the stock they require for planting purposes. At the same time, there are a large number of people in the country who are desirous of importing some species of ornamental plants and shrubs and some fruit trees which are not generally to be found amongst the nurserymen of this country. We think this relief can be given to these people with perfect safety, otherwise I would not suggest this modification of the original San José Scale Act. I would be very glad to answer any question in regard to the matter which hon. gentlemen wish to put to me.

Mr. SPROULE. Will the hon. gentleman tell us how many trees were destroyed last year by order of the government ?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. This Government did not destroy any trees

at all. In the province of Ontario the local legislature passed an Act by which inspectors of the local government were empowered to destroy trees found to be affected with the San José Scale, and a considerable number were destroyed. I could not give the hon. gentleman even an approximate statement of the number.

Mr. WALLACE. I think 41,000.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. I knew it was several thousands, but I did not suppose it was as high as that. The local government in Ontario have modified their Act, and are proposing now to treat the trees affected with the scale with hydrocyanic acid gas by a method which is supposed to be effective. It is doubtful whether it is effective in every case, but the loss of trees has been so great in the attempt to eradicate the scale that the local legislature have modified their Act and made arrangements for treating the trees instead of destroying them. This method of fumigating, if done effectively, is regarded by the entomologists as a perfect preventive of the spread of the disease.

Mr. INGRAM. Is it the intention of the minister to establish a number of ports of entry, or only a few?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. My proposal is to name about six ports along the United States frontier—one in the maritime provinces, one in Quebec, two in Ontario, one in Manitoba and one in British Columbia. I thought that number would fairly serve the public requirements. In Ontario I would try to have one on the Niagara frontier, at the most convenient point for importation purposes, and one on the Detroit River which would serve people importing from Michigan and the west. The right to import into Manitoba is largely asked for by the Manitoba people. They say that they can bring stock from Minnesota and Dakota which seems to be more suitable for their climate than trees grown in the southern parts of the eastern provinces. The people in the maritime provinces say again that they can import to greater advantage from the New England nurseries than they can purchase from the Ontario nurseries. The proposal is to name these ports and to provide the regulations under which the stock imported shall be fumigated. The expenditure will be slight, in the way of putting up a building. It has been found in the experience of fumigating under the Ontario Act that a building costing under \$100 will serve the purpose except where very large quantities require to be fumigated.

Mr. WALLACE. How will you perform the manual labour of unpacking the cases and packing them up again?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. That would have to be done by men accustomed to the work.

Mr. WALLACE. It is quite a technical work.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. I propose to put in charge of each of these stations, during the period of importation allowed, men who are thoroughly acquainted with nursery work. The period of importation would probably be only a month or six weeks in the spring, and something like two months in the fall. These are the only periods of the year in which nursery stock is imported.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Where are the worst affected districts of the United States?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. The scale originated in California. Among the eastern states, I think Maryland and New Jersey are the worst; but it has spread through most of the eastern states. The middle states, such as Indiana, Ohio and Michigan, are also affected. There are very few states free from it, with the exception of Dakota and some others of the western states. Nearly all of the stock from the United States, which we import largely, comes from states in which this scale exists.

Mr. SPROULE. What does the hon. gentleman propose to do for the eradicating of the scale that exists in Canada?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. I shall not undertake that work. The only part of Canada in which the scale is known to exist is the province of Ontario, and the local authorities there are dealing with its eradication. I am only trying to prevent, through the action of this parliament, any importation of further scale. I think, if I might be allowed to move the House into committee, it would be more convenient to go into details then.

Motion agreed to; Bill read the second time, and House resolved itself into committee thereon.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. MONTAGUE. What is the total cost?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. Probably \$2,500 to \$3,000 per year.

Mr. MONTAGUE. You will not need the employees for more than two months in the year.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. From three to four months in the year.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will you take them from other branches?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. No, we need an expert in the handling of nursery stock, accustomed to packing and unpacking, and these would employ ordinary labour when found necessary. At some of the ports it is not likely any large quantities will be imported, but in Ontario this

spring and fall there may be a good many car-loads of nursery stock brought in, and they ought to be handled as quickly as possible, and the person in charge of the station be authorized to employ such labour as is needed.

Mr. INGRAM. Does the hon. gentleman know that the Ontario government are employing a large staff to go through the different townships of western Ontario and make inquiries concerning this scale?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. I have just the same means of information as the hon. gentleman, but Mr. Fletcher, the entomologist of the Experimental Farm, was recently in Niagara peninsula, meeting some people employed by the Ontario government and a number of nurserymen there, and I waited until that meeting was over and I had information of the proceedings before introducing this Bill.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Where is this system in operation?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. In a large number of nurseries in the United States, in California very largely, and at all the nurseries in Ontario, where, under the provincial Act, all nursery stock has to be fumigated before being shipped. By reason of that precaution, I am satisfied that the spread of the scale has been to a large extent prevented. There is no question as to the efficiency of properly conducted fumigation, and as to the facility with which this work can be done, if properly informed men have charge of it.

Mr. GUILLET. What ports do you propose to use?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. I have not named the ports. One ought to be on the Niagara frontier, and one on the Detroit River frontier.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Windsor and Niagara Falls, I presume.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. Probably, and I propose to have one in Quebec, probably St. John, where a number of railways converge, and it would be convenient for distribution.

Mr. GUILLET. There has been a very large importation of nursery stock from Rochester, particularly across the lake, and it would be a great inconvenience to that central district between Toronto and Kingston if distributing points were established there.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. I will bear the suggestion in mind and look into it.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Take the Trade and Navigation Returns and find out the ports where the largest quantity of nursery products come in.

Mr. FISHER.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. Certainly.

Mr. INGRAM. Has the hon. gentleman received complaints from farmers of some officials employed by the Ontario government, who ordered trees to be destroyed for scale when, as a matter of fact, the trees were not troubled with the disease at all?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. No such statement has ever been presented to me, and it is not likely they would, because I have no control over these officials.

Mr. INGRAM. You have heard, I suppose, of these complaints?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. I have seen the reports in the newspapers.

Bill reported; read the third time and passed.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 11.55 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, April 4, 1900.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at Three o'clock.

PRAYERS.

BASIC SLAG FERTILIZER.

Mr. DOMVILLE (by Mr. Gibson) asked:

1. Is the government aware that basic slag, Thomas' phosphate powder, is being used very largely in Great Britain, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Germany and throughout the continent of Europe as a fertilizer?

2. Is this fertilizer imported into Canada and used by the farmer? Is the government aware that it is produced by the extraction of phosphoric acid from iron ore in process of smelting?

3. Is it true, as stated before the Agricultural Committee on Wednesday, that the consumption of Thomas' phosphate powder, or basic slag, has grown from fifty tons in 1883 to 1,500,000 tons in 1899?

4. How does the Fertilizer Act passed in 1890 affect the importation and sale of this fertilizer in Canada?

5. Clause 7, subsection 2, chap. 24, 53 Victoria, reads: 'No fertilizer shall be sold or offered or exposed for sale unless it contains at least 8 per cent of available phosphoric acid, or 4 per cent of ammonia or its equivalent in nitrogen or nitric acid; or when both phosphoric acid and ammonia are present, at least 5 per cent of available phosphoric acid and 2 per cent of ammonia or its equivalent in nitrogen or nitric acid.'

6. Is this analysis determined by the chief analyst of the Department of Inland Revenue, or by whom?

(a) What system has he adopted to test the Thomas phosphate powder or basic slag?
 (b) Has he used the citrate of ammonia solution which he usually employs in testing the available phosphoric acid in superphosphates which have been made by mixing raw mineral phosphates with sulphuric acid?
 (c) In testing has he taken into consideration the basic nature of Thomas' phosphate powder and first neutralized the free lime?

Germany.

Prof. Dr. Wagner, Privy Councillor, director of agricultural experimental station of the Grand Duchy of Hesse.

Darmstadt, September 29, 1899.

The analysis of the sample received from you on September 25, has given the following result:

Thomas' Phosphate Powder.	PHOSPHORIC ACID.	
	Citric Soluble.	Total.
	p. c.	p. c.
Analysis of part sample (a)	14.98	16.41
Analysis of part sample (c).....	14.85	16.34
Average.....	14.92	16.38

(d) Prof. Wagner, D. Ph., Privy Councillor of the Imperial Agricultural Research Station of Darmstadt, Germany, has ascertained a method which can easily be adopted by all laboratories in order to determine the solubility of the phosphoric acid in basic slag; his method is now recognized in all European countries as fully reliable. Has the chief analyst adopted this system? If not, why not?

(e) Is not the Wagner system recognized and adopted by—

A. Maret and Ch. Delattre, of Paris.
 Dr. Bernard Dyer, agricultural analyst for the counties of Bedford, Cornwall, Essex, Hants, Herts, Leicester, Rutland, Suffolk and East Sussex, Eng.

Dr. Augustus Voelcker, London, consulting chemist, Royal Agricultural Society of England.
 And generally by the most eminent chemists in Germany and Great Britain?

7. Did the Department of Inland Revenue instruct one of their officials to draw samples of Albert Thomas' phosphate powder, to be submitted, under government seal, to chemists in Great Britain, France and Germany, in order to determine the amount of soluble phosphoric acid in Albert Thomas' phosphate powder, and were not the following certificates of analysis or copies, forwarded to the department:

England.

Dr. Bernard Dyer, district agricultural analyst for the counties of Bedford, Cornwall, Essex, Hants, Herts, Leicester, Rutland, West Suffolk and East Essex.

Analytical Laboratory,
 17 Great Tower Street,
 London, E.C., October, 17, 1899.

Result of Analysis—Of a sample of Thomas' phosphate powder, sent by Messrs. Chemical Works (late H. & E. Albert), London, marked 'Inland Revenue, 17,661, St. John, N.B., July 15, 1899, John C. Ferguson.' Sealed 'Food inspection, Dominion of Canada, No. 1.'

Percentage of total phosphoric acid..... 16.77
 Including phosphoric acid dissolved by a 2 p. c. solution of citric acid, employed precisely according to the method of Prof. Dr. Wagner, of 1899..... 14.60
 (Sgd.) BERNARD DYER.

Sample was sealed 'Canada.' Sample was marked 'Inland Revenue, 17,663, St. John, N.B., July 15, 1899, Thomas' phosphate powder, John C. Ferguson, Food Inspection, Dominion of Canada.'

(Sgd.) WAGNER.

France.

A. Maret and Ch. Delattre.
 Laboratoire De Chimie,
 18 Rue Visconti, Paris.
 (Bulletin No. 11168.)

Sample of Thomas' phosphate powder. Received from Chemical Works (late H. & E. Albert). Sealed, 'Food inspection, Dominion of Canada,' (red seal). Marked, 'Analysis of Food,' Inland Revenue, 17,662, St. John, N.B., July 19, 1899. Sample sold as 'Thomas' phosphate powder.' Officer's signature, John C. Ferguson.

Per cent.
 Phosphoric acid, soluble in citric acid (Wagner's method)..... 14.71
 Phosphoric acid, total..... 16.63
 (Sgd.) A. MARET & CH. DELATTRE.

Paris, September 28, 1899.
 Chemical Works, late H. & E. Albert,
 Biebrich on Rhine, Sept. 25, 1899.

The sample of Thomas' phosphate powder sent on September 27, marked 'Inland Revenue 17661, St. John, N.B., July 15, 1899.' Sample sold as Thomas' phosphate powder. Officer's signature, John C. Ferguson. Sealed, 'Food inspection, Dominion of Canada.' Shows:

16.83 per cent total phosphoric acid.
 14.53 per cent citric acid, soluble phosphoric acid.
 (Sgd.) HERLWIG,
 Chief Analyst of Chemical Works.

Dr. Augustus Voelcker.
 Analytical Laboratory,
 22 Tudor Street, New Bridge St.,
 London, E.C., December 12, 1899.

Result of Analysis
 Of a sample of Thomas' phosphate powder sent by Messrs. the Chemical Works (late H. & E. Albert).

Marked, 'Inland Revenue, 17,663, St. John, N.B., July 15, 1899.' Sample sold as Thomas' phosphate powder. Officer's signature, John C. Ferguson.
 Sealed, 'Food, Dominion of Canada.'

Percentage of phosphoric acid dissolved by 2 per cent solution of citric acid (Wagner's method) 14.44
 Total phosphoric acid 16.47
 (Sgd.) AUGUS. VOELCKER.

8. Did not John C. Ferguson, of the Inland Revenue Department, when drawing the samples which were forwarded under by the department to Europe for analysis, as stated in the preceding question, send a portion of the same sample under seal to the chief analyst at Ottawa for his analysis?

9. Did the chief analyst give the following analysis of the sample referred to in question 8:

	Moisture.	Reverted.	Insoluble.	Total.
	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
No. 17661.....	0.14	7.16	5.44	12.60
No. 17662.....	0.18	4.75	7.85	12.60
No. 17663.....	0.14	6.72	6.40	13.12

There is reason for concluding that some of the phosphorus contained in these samples of Thomas' phosphate powder is in the state of phosphide. Apart from this consideration, it will be evident that the percentage of available (reverted) phosphoric acid is below that required by article 7, paragraph 3, of the Fertilizers Act.

I have no doubt that when the report of the analysis of these samples made by the manufacturers comes to hand it will show larger percentages available (reverted to citrate soluble) phosphoric acid. This will be owing to the adoption by them of the method of analysis

Moisture.	PHOSPHORIC ACID.		Total.
	Reverted.	Insoluble.	
per cent.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
0.14	7.16	5.44	12.60
0.18	4.75	7.85	12.60
0.14	6.72	6.40	13.12

10. Is it not true that these three samples, as analysed, were drawn out of the same sample? If so, why the discrepancy of 2.41 in the analysis of the one sample subdivided into three tests?

11. What method of analysis was adopted by the chief analyst in determining his analysis, as referred to in previous paragraph?

12. In the report of the chief analyst of the Inland Revenue Department, analysis No. 17640 of the Thomas' phosphate powder he gives nitrogen—total including that of nitric acid or ammonia, if present, .16, and total calculated as ammonia .20 and 1.38 potash, and that No. 18923 gives nitrogen, including that of nitric acid or ammonia, if present, 1.81, and total calculated as ammonia 2.19 and potash .14. Under what system of analysis did he find ammonia and potash present in the percentages named by him?

13. Are there any authorities in the possession of the chief analyst, or known to exist, which indicate that it is possible to find ammonia and potash present in Thomas' phosphate powder at all?

14. Did Thomas Macfarlane, chief analyst, make the following report to the department:

(Copy.)

Laboratory of the Inland Revenue Dept.,
 Ottawa, September 15, 1899.

E. Miall, Esq.,
 Commissioner of Inland Revenue.

Sir,—I return herewith file No. 30,772, and have to report that the samples referred to in Messrs. Wallace and Fraser's letter of the 1st instant, have been analysed in this laboratory, with the following results:

	Moisture.	Reverted.	Insoluble.	Total.
	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
No. 17661.....	0.14	7.16	5.44	12.60
No. 17662.....	0.18	4.75	7.85	12.60
No. 17663.....	0.14	6.72	6.40	13.12

referred to in one of the pamphlets sent, and which is fully described in the Chemiker Zeitung of 1894, p. 1153.

I do not, however, consider it possible that the public analysts of Canada, or the chemists in this laboratory, can adopt this method, for the following reasons:

1. The fertilizers offered for sale in Canada are largely manufactured in the United States, and for many years past the official methods of analysis adopted there have been used in Canada, so that comparisons as to the relative value of fertilizers can readily be made. It would lead to much confusion and hostile animadversion if we were to attempt to change this practice.

2. It would be manifestly unfair to allow any manufacturer to prescribe the method to be used for analysing his goods.

3. It is not possible for this branch, in selecting its methods of analysis, to consider statements regarding the agricultural effects of the various fertilizers.

I trust, therefore, that the department will continue to maintain the position taken in May last, that the sale of Thomas' phosphate powder as now found in the Canadian market is illegal, and will insist upon the addition, by the manufacturer or agent, of 2 per cent of ammonia to the article, so that contravention of the provisions of the Fertilizers Act may be avoided. As has been repeatedly stated, it must contain, when sold as at present, 8 per cent of available phosphoric acid at least; when, however, both phosphoric acid and ammonia are present,

the lowest limits are 5 per cent of the former and 2 of the latter.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Sgd.) THOMAS MACFARLANE,
Chief Analyst.

15. If so, did the department insist on 2 per cent ammonia being added to the Thomas phosphate slag, as recommended in the last paragraph of the report? If not, why not, and does the department intend to carry out the recommendation in the future?

16. In paragraph 1, the chief analyst refers to the methods used in the United States for analysing, and reports against using any other method. Is the department aware that this system is adapted to the analysis of superphosphates and mixed fertilizer, and does not in any way determine the availability of phosphoric acid in the Thomas phosphate or basic slag?

17. He states that it would lead to much confusion to adopt any other system than that used by him now. What would be the confusion?

18. Is analysis intended to determine actual constituent parts of what may be analyzed for the benefit of the public at large, or to be optional with the chief analyst to determine to give just such analysis as he thinks and by any process he may elect to use?

19. Has the chief analyst the means at his disposal to make correct analysis? If not, will he be furnished with such scientific instruments as may be necessary?

20. Does the department intend to adopt the latest scientific methods of treating and analysing, or continue to be bound by old and obsolete systems?

21. If so, what redress will be furnished to the public against any arbitrary analysis of the chief analyst?

The MINISTER OF INLAND REVENUE (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière). In reply I beg to say: 1. The department is aware that the article in question is used largely as a fertilizer. 2. (a) To a limited extent. (b) No; it is produced in the process of separating phosphorus from pig iron. 3. It is possibly true. 4. The Fertilizers Act forbids the sale of ground basic slag, or Thomas' phosphate powder. 5. Clause 7, subsection 2, causes it to be condemned by the district analysts as 'adulterated under the Act.' 6. This analysis is usually made by the district analysts, and in the case of appeal, by the chief analyst, or his assistants; (a) The same system is used for other fertilizers; (b) Citrate of ammonia solution is used for determining the available phosphoric acid; (c) No; (d) No, because the methods of analysis adopted by the Association of Official Agricultural Chemists of the United States have heretofore been in use and given satisfaction; (e) Possibly, but the system has not been adopted by the Society of Public Analysts in England, nor by any association in Europe, similar to that of the United States official chemists. 7. Yes. 8. Yes. 9. Yes; the analyses were made by Mr. A. L. Turchot, second assistant. 10. The analyses were not repeated, as the chief variation was in the available phosphoric acid, and attributable to the use of different methods of analysis. 11. The

method adopted by Mr. Turchot was that mentioned under 6 (d). 12. The analysis of sample No. 17,640 was made in the laboratory of Dr. M. Fiset, public analyst, Quebec, and was, no doubt, made under the system mentioned under 6 (d). 13. No; but, nevertheless, the analysis in question may be quite correct. 14. Yes. 15. No; owing to objections made by the importers. 16. No. 17. The adoption of citric acid as a solvent in the case of one fertilizer only, would require explanation to other manufacturers and the agricultural public. The former would certainly object, and demand the application of the new method of analysis to their products, while the farmers would be unable to understand why two different systems should be applied, and become confused in attempting to distinguish between citrate soluble and citric soluble phosphoric acid. 18. The analysis of a sample is intended for the benefit of the public at large and to determine actual percentages present of fertilizing constituents. 19. Yes. 20. The department cannot alter its system at the instance of any special manufacturer, but it is ready to adopt the latest and best scientific methods approved by the Society of Public Analysts in England, or recommended by any such body as the Royal Agricultural Society in England. It is also prepared to adopt that system which the authorities of the Dominion experimental farms recognize as giving results corresponding most closely with those obtained in actual agricultural practice. 21. The answer to the preceding question shows that the department is not bound by old and obsolete systems of analysis, at the same time it does not admit that the analysis by the chief analyst can be justly qualified as arbitrary.

BRITISH COLUMBIA TIDAL SURVEY.

Mr. PRIOR asked:

1. Has not \$1,200 been placed in the estimates for the purpose of extending the tidal survey in British Columbia?

2. If so, is this sum to be expended in establishing additional self-recording tide gauges on the British Columbia coast, or is it to be used in assisting the British Hydrographic Office to publish Canadian tide tables from data already taken, some of which are believed to be meagre and unreliable?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. Out of this year's tidal vote it is proposed to devote about \$1,200 to the reduction of tidal observations already obtained from the two gauges maintained by the Public Works Department, at Victoria and the mouth of the Fraser River. (See page 1702 of *Hansard*). 2. It is not considered necessary at present to establish any additional gauges as the records already existing give thoroughly reliable data for four years past, which have not yet been made available as a basis for accurate tide tables. On the

results from the Victoria or Esquimalt gauge the tables for the whole Strait of Juan de Fuca will be based; those of the Fraser River gauge will give a determination for the Gulf of Georgia. The data obtained from these two stations are complete and reliable. Such tide tables as are now in use are based on United States observations at Port Townsend, which do not well apply to British Columbia waters. The tide tables when worked out will be published by this department. I am not aware that the British Hydrographic Office publishes any tide tables.

ST. PETER'S HARBOUR, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Mr. MACDONALD (King's) asked :

1. Are any repairs to be made of the St. Peter's Harbour breakwater, P.E.I., this year? If so, what do they consist of?
2. Are tenders to be called for said work and materials? If not, why?
3. Has any party been authorized to purchase timber or other material for said work, and what are the prices of said material?
4. If contract is already let, to whom, and what is the amount thereof?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). 1. Yes. Renewing and strengthening the outer end of the work. 2. No tenders are to be called. The nature and extent of the work does not warrant the calling for tenders. 3. The resident engineer has been authorized to purchase timber and other materials required for the work. The prices to be paid for same are the usual market prices of the locality. 4. No contract has been let. The cost is estimated to be about \$500.

COMPOSITION OF QUEBEC COURTS.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

Who are the judges who have sat in the Court of Appeal for the province of Quebec since 1880?

Who is the judge who has presided in the Criminal Court in Montreal and Quebec since 1880?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I have to observe to my hon. friend (Mr. Bergeron), that I do not understand the purport of his question. 'Who are the judges who have sat in the Court of Appeal for the province of Quebec since 1880?' Do I understand him to wish to have the names of all the judges who have sat in the different terms?

Mr. BERGERON. I want the names of the judges who have composed the Court of Appeals since 1880; and, as to question 2, who are the judges who have presided at the different terms in Quebec and Montreal since 1880.

The PRIME MINISTER. Let the question stand.

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

MAJOR BLISS—DEPARTURE FROM DAWSON.

Mr. ROCHE asked :

What is the date of the departure of Major Bliss from Dawson City?

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). The orders directing Major Bliss to report at headquarters were received at Dawson, January 13, 1900. Major Bliss was, at the time, at Seikirk, which station he left for Ottawa on January 27, 1900.

ASSISTANCE TO BAIT FREEZING COMPANIES.

Mr. MARTIN asked :

1. What arrangements have been made by the government to assist bait freezing companies?
2. Does the government propose to contribute towards the cost of the buildings? If so, on what conditions?
3. Is it proposed to offer companies a bonus? If so, for how many years and on what basis?
4. Did the Department of Marine and Fisheries furnish printed instructions as to the nature of the proposal? If so, what were they, and when were they issued?
5. How much has been expended on the proposed scheme since June 30 last?
6. How much for salaries or remuneration to government agents; to whom paid, and the amount paid to each?
7. How much, if any, was expended in the purchase of material; to whom paid and the amount to each? Were tenders called for?
8. (a) How many of those bait freezers has the government assisted, and how many are to be in operation in the coming fishing season; (b) their location, and assistance given to each?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. The arrangements made by the government to assist sea fishermen in the establishment of 'bait freezers' are set forth in the three bulletins published by the Department of Marine and Fisheries, and distributed among the fishermen, and already fully explained by lecture at public meetings of fishermen at certain points in some of the maritime provinces. If moved for they will be brought down. This answers also Nos. 2, 3 and 4. 5. \$5,355.24. 6. Dr. A. Kendall appointed inspector at a monthly salary. Mr. Peter McFarlane transferred from Department of Agriculture. Dr. Kendall received \$200 on account, P. McFarlane \$333.32. 7. Amount expended \$2,777.54, divided as follows :

Fennel & Chandler.....	\$ 231 38
Standard Paint Company....	1,646 16
J. K. MacDonald.....	57 00
Black Bros.	260 14
A. Kirk & Co.	3 30
C. B. Widden & Son.....	57 39
J. F. McDonald.....	332 39

As the shareholders were entitled to contribute their share of the cost in labour and material, the system of tender was impracticable under such special conditions, and the department provided inspectors to insure

proper construction. (a) The only one so far reported as completed ; but, as explained in the bulletins above referred to, every freezer when complete will be assisted to the extent of 50 per cent of the cost thereof, and quite a number of them are approaching completion, when they will be entitled to the assistance. Up to the present time it is reported to the department that twenty-eight localities have been visited for purposes of organization, and fourteen associations formed. Ten of these associations consider they may be able to store ice for this season's operations. (b) At Ballantyne's Cove (the only freezer reported completed at this time), \$861.04. It would be impossible to designate other locations at present owing to a want of knowledge of the particular localities where it has been practicable to store ice, in view of the ice famine in the maritime provinces this year.

TOBACCO DUTY COLLECTED IN 1899.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

What was the total amount of duty collected on tobacco for the year 1899? How much of this amount is due to the additional duty imposed in the session of 1897?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). The answer I shall give has reference to the Customs Department alone. No doubt the Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière) will answer for his department. So far as the Customs Department is concerned, the amount of customs duty collected on tobacco and manufactures of, during the fiscal year 1899, is as follows :

Cigarettes	\$ 24,646 54
Cigars	240,962 41
Tobacco, cut	49,830 17
Snuff.....	3,156 13
Other manufactures of tobacco.....	47,753 98
Samples, unstemmed	1,208 90
Total	\$367,558 13

Of this amount the following amounts are due to the additional duty imposed in the session of 1897, viz. :

Cigarettes	\$ 6,923 29
Cigars	65,264 91
Tobacco, cut	2,241 47
Snuff	742 71
Other manufactures of tobacco	10,286 53
Total	\$83,458 91

There was a decrease in the customs duty collected on samples, unstemmed, amounting to \$1,769.50. Deducting this from the total last given, leaves a net increase in duty of \$83,689.41.

BRITISH COLUMBIA FISHERIES.

Mr. PRIOR asked :

1. Did the Minister of Marine and Fisheries send an agent to British Columbia lately to inquire into fishery matters in that province?

2. If so, has he made a report on the same?
3. Will said report, if made, be published and distributed during the present session?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. An officer of the department was sent to British Columbia in 1899, and among other things inquired into certain fishery matters there. 2. Yes ; he has reported to the department. 3. The report being of a departmental nature it is not intended that it be published for distribution.

POST OFFICE ACCOMMODATION AT SYDNEY.

Mr. McDOUGALL asked:

Has the attention of the Postmaster General been called to the insufficient accommodation of the Sydney post office, and the inconvenience caused to the public by reason of the fact that the postmaster, for want of proper facilities and equipment in the office, is unable to give the public prompt nor satisfactory service?

If so, is it the intention of the Postmaster General to take measures at an early day with a view to improving this important service?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). My attention has been called to the fact that there has been a great increase in the prosperity of Sydney within the last year, and that consequently, the facilities of the post office there have been taxed. I have no doubt that the department will endeavour to meet all the reasonable requirements of the community in that place in regard to post office accommodation.

Mr. McDOUGALL. How soon ?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL. That is another question.

I.C.R.—CAPE BRETON DIVISION.

Mr. McDOUGALL asked:

Has the Minister of Railways been advised of an existing great dissatisfaction with the service given the public by the Intercolonial Railway on the Cape Breton division, and that owing to defective and insufficiently heavy rails the track is unsafe, and in consequence accidents and derailling of trains are almost of daily occurrence?

And that owing to insufficient and inferior rolling stock, and insufficient station and siding accommodation, the road for months past did not handle half the business offered to it?

And that it takes several days, sometimes weeks, for shippers to get cars to load freight on, and after getting cars and loading them, they are left on sidings several days, sometimes a week and longer, and that in consequence the public, including shippers and consigners, are subjected to serious loss and inconvenience.

Is it the intention of the minister to take immediate steps to improve the whole or any part of the service?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). I deprecate such a statement as contained in the hon. member's question, that the railway is unsafe for public traffic. I do not think that such a

statement should be publicly made in this way. The only special complaint I have had as regards the service given to the public by the Intercolonial Railway in Cape Breton, is with respect to the express train running into North Sydney. While I do not admit, that, owing to defective and insufficiently heavy rails, accidents are almost of daily occurrence, at the same time, I feel the absolute necessity of replacing the 56-pound rails by heavier rails, owing to the increasing heavy traffic. I admit that the rolling stock is insufficient to handle the heavy traffic now offering, and that increased siding accommodation is necessary to facilitate the conduct of the traffic. I am not aware of such delays, as are mentioned, as taking place in loading cars and moving them. I am hoping to obtain a sufficient appropriation to enable me to have this section of the Intercolonial Railway laid with heavier rails, and I am arranging for an increase in the freight cars, stock and motive power on the road, as well as further siding accommodation, with a view of improving the traffic service.

I. C. R.—ACCOMMODATION AT SYDNEY.

Mr. McDOUGALL asked:

1. Has the attention of the Minister of Railways been called to a letter published in the 'Daily Record,' Sydney, C.B., which reads as follows:

Freight Badly Handled.

To the Editor of the 'Record':

Sir,—It is high time that some one raise the very general complaint as to the absurd way in which the freight traffic is handled at Sydney station. It is all very well to say the road should be re-called, that there should be more cars, more engines, more sidings, &c., but so far no one has had courage to expose the slow, bungling and stupid way in which freight is handled after it arrives in the yard. Who is to blame for this? There is also a lack of courtesy on the part of certain of the officials of the Intercolonial Railway who have to do with freight, which is very exasperating to patrons. Every merchant in Sydney is complaining, but apparently no one cares to speak out; but I venture, even anonymously, to call attention to this, and believe Superintendent Campbell will look into it.

MERCHANT.

2. If so, what does the hon. minister propose doing to improve the service, if anything, and how soon?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). 1. My attention has not been called to the letter published in the *Daily Record*, before this notice was given. 2. Feeling that the large traffic which has recently developed on the Cape Breton division cannot be handled satisfactorily, with the present facilities, I am arranging for an improvement of the service.

Mr. BLAIR.

RESIDENT ENGINEER IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Before you leave the questions, I would like to be allowed to correct an answer I made on Wednesday last to a question by the hon. member for Victoria, B.C., (Mr. Prior). He asked whether Mr. Roy, the resident engineer in British Columbia, had been removed, and I then mentioned that he was temporarily removed. My attention was called to that answer by a member of the House, and on consultation with the deputy, I found he had misunderstood the question. Mr. Roy, the late resident engineer, I find, has been permanently removed from New Westminster, to the department here. But, the deputy considers that, although in his capacity as engineer and secretary here, Mr. Roy has still more or less to do with engineering work in British Columbia, still so far as residence is concerned, he has ceased to be a resident engineer in New Westminster.

THE BEET-ROOT SUGAR INDUSTRY.

Mr. W. H. MONTAGUE (Haldimand) moved for:

Copies of all correspondence during the year 1899 between the government of Canada and all parties asking for the encouragement of the beet-root sugar industry in Canada, together with copies of any reports made at any time by parties selected by the government of Canada for that purpose.

He said: In making this motion, I want to say a few words on the subject with which it deals. Last year the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), placed a motion upon the Notice paper, and in discussing that motion, made a speech full of valuable information in regard to this subject. He asked at that time that a bonus be given for the production of beet-root sugar, and that free machinery be allowed for its manufacture. When the subject was under discussion, some of the hon. members supporting the government, made the suggestion that while they were not willing to support the proposition of the hon. member for East Grey off-hand, they thought it a subject of sufficient importance to engage the careful attention of the Department of Agriculture, and that the department should collect every information with regard to this industry, which could be of value, that they should take the lead in making experiments in various parts of Canada. I am informed that such a course has not been taken by the government, that while they have refused the request of certain deputations to give assistance to the industry, and that since that debate no step has been taken to collect information in order that the government might act upon the subject understandingly, as I believe they have not acted.

When the discussion of this subject was first introduced into the United States, the government of that country took great pains to collect information, to make experiments, in fact, to place the resources of the government at the disposal of the farmers of that country, and of those who were promoting the industry. That it seems to me was a good example to follow. In one year, at the beginning of the movement, the government of the United States made experiments in Arizona, Michigan, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Ohio, Washington, Wisconsin, Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, New York, Pennsylvania, Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. Not only did they cause experiments to be made in those states, but in the same year, I am informed, they employed no less than 22,000 farmers to make experiments in various portions of the country to test every variety of soil and every kind of climate, with a view to see whether the industry could be made a success in the United States. In experimental stages there is always a question as to whether this, or any industry, will be a success in the country. I take it that there is no difference of opinion in this House as to the duty of governments and as to the duty of this parliament to extend a helping hand to any branch of agriculture which may be shown to have a fair chance of success. We are told in some of the press, I notice to-day, that the question of beet-root sugar is only dealt with by faddists, that, in short, it is simply a fad, the work of agitators who have no real or substantial groundwork of facts upon which to urge the adoption of their contention. Well, Sir, the government have had evidence during the past year that it is a subject in which not only those who may be offensively termed faddists, are interested, but that it is a subject in which a great many of the agriculturists of Canada are interested. It is a subject, too, in which some of the most substantial business men of the country are, to-day, taking the very greatest possible interest with a view to the establishment of this industry within the bounds of the Dominion of Canada. We are told, I see in some of the papers, that the question of beet-root sugar is only a theory all over the world, that this question as to whether it is practicable to produce sugar from beets is only a question of theory even at the present time. I need not say to the House that the gentleman who wrote such a statement as that is in absurd ignorance of the true facts of the case. I need scarcely point out to hon. gentlemen, that, at the present time, in Great Britain, nine-tenths of the sugar which is being consumed in that country is derived from beets. In 1896 and 1897 the world's production of sugar was as follows: Cane sugar, 2,432,000 tons; beet-root sugar, 4,773,000, showing, that, as between beet-root sugar and cane sugar, the output has been double in the production of

sugar from beets that which it was in the production of sugar from cane. I see by the statistics that during the last fifty years, and this shows well the growth of the beet-root sugar industry in various parts of the world, from 1848 to 1898 the production of cane sugar has increased one and three-fifths times, while the production of beet-root sugar has increased not less than twenty-two times. These are facts which certainly speak of the importance of the industry, and show it to be one of the great industries of the world at the present time.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). Since what year did the hon. gentleman say?

Mr. MONTAGUE. From 1848 to 1898, according to the statistics I have.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The increase, I mean.

Mr. MONTAGUE. From 1848 to 1898, the growth in one case being one and three-fifths times, and in the other case twenty-two times. It is the desire, I suppose, of the Canadian people, to produce everything possible that we consume, ourselves, in order that our people may be employed profitably. We are now refining almost every pound of sugar which we use, we are proud of that fact, and I am sure that there are none prouder of it than the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), now he is in power, though he and his friends opposed the system under which that was brought about. But, while we are refining the sugar which we use, we are importing from other countries the raw material from which that refined article is made. We never can produce it from cane. That production, of course, as the hon. gentlemen know, belongs to another climate. But, I understand that the bulk of the sugar that we use is beet-root sugar. I speak subject to correction upon this point, because the facts were not investigated by myself, but I am told that the sugar which we consume in Ontario is no less than 85 per cent beet-root sugar. Last year, I am told, that we brought in \$4,500,000 worth of sugar, that of that \$1,500,000 was cane sugar and \$3,000,000 was beet-root sugar. It is a question for us to consider, it is a question for this parliament to consider and a question for the Canadian people to consider whether we shall make an effort to produce that raw material to the extent of \$3,000,000, instead of sending our money to other portions of the world to buy that article which we bring in here, in a raw state, and refine by Canadian hands and which is used by the Canadian people. If we can do it, if we can do it upon a paying basis, if we can do it to the advantage of our agriculturists, hon. gentlemen on both sides of the House ought to be found agreeing to the proposition that we should assist the beet-root

sugar industry of this country as much as we possibly can. I have said, that, of her whole consumption of sugar, England uses nine-tenths of beet-root sugar. Where does she get that from? She gets it from France, from Germany, from Austro-Hungary, and from the Netherlands, and in all of these countries the beet-root industry now is in an exceedingly flourishing condition, and it was placed upon its feet and made a flourishing industry by the assistance, and sometimes very extensive assistance, of the governments of these various countries. Take France, for instance, in 1898 and 1899, by reason of the bonus which had been given there, by reason of the governmental assistance given to the industry in various ways, there were 344 beetroot sugar factories in France. They used 6,105,620 tons of beets, and for the raising of these beets there were profitably used no less than 500,000 acres of French soil. In Germany in 1897-8 there were 402 factories using 13,698,000 tons of beets, there being used, to raise these beets, no less than 1,080,256 acres of land. That land was profitably used and the money went into the hands of the agriculturists of France and of Germany instead of going to the planters of the tropics, from whom, under other circumstances, the raw material of sugar would have been required to have been taken. Now, the question is, can the same results, or, to a certain extent, can such a result be achieved in Canada. The hon. member for East Grey, in his speech last year, dealt with a phase of the subject which he knows much better than I do, so that I shall not attempt to refer to it at length, and that is in answer to the question as to whether the climate and soil of Canada are such as to make the industry a success in this country. If hon. gentlemen will turn their attention to the report of Mr. True, who is the director of the experimental stations in the United States, they will find this statement:

Broadly stated, it may be said that soil of a character that will produce profitably a crop of wheat, potatoes, or Indian corn, will produce, under proper cultivation, a good crop of sugar beets.

No one will deny, for a moment, that, in Canada, we have just that soil, in almost every province, which would produce profitably a crop of wheat, potatoes or Indian corn. Just the other day I noticed, in one of the trade journals, that Dr. Wiley, chemist of the United States Department of Agriculture, in discussing this subject, went so far as to say that Canada, rather than the United States, was in the proper beet-root sugar belt of this North American continent. We have had experiments made in Canada which, as hon. gentlemen know, have been very promising indeed. These experiments, in regard to which I shall not go into detail, show, I am told, that our soil produces, perhaps a quarter more than Euro-

pean soils of these beets, their yield being about 12 tons per acre on the average, while the Canadian experiments show that our soil produces about 15 tons per acre. Very many individual tests were made, to which I shall not refer in detail. Thirty-one tests were made in Ontario, and the average, I am told, was 18½ tons per acre—the average of the Agricultural College was 19 tons per acre, while the average in California, where the industry has grown to be a very great success, is only 15 tons per acre, according to the report of the United States Agricultural Department. The amount of saccharine matter or sugar content in these is about the same, the reports say, in Canadian beets as in the beets of the United States, or of Europe. Last year, the Minister of Agriculture, in speaking on the subject, told us that he was opposed to assisting this industry, and he gave his reasons, which I shall deal with, as I presume it is the influence of the minister (Mr. Fisher) which has prevented the government—and I feel very unwisely—extending to this industry a greater measure of consideration than has been extended to it in the budget recently brought down. The Minister of Agriculture told us last year, that the industry had been tried in Canada and had proved a failure. Well, I do not think there is any division of opinion upon that question. Undoubtedly, he was speaking from the book when he made that statement. But, I would call his attention to the fact that at that time the cultivation of beets was little understood in the section in which it was tried. The machinery, perhaps, was not as up to date as the machinery of the present day, and I am told by those who know something about that part of the country, that it was exceedingly difficult to get the farmers to take such an interest in it as to guarantee its success. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fisher) was told last year that the plants which were in operation at Farnham and Berthier are, with many improvements made, at the present time being successfully operated in one portion or another of the United States. It is being successfully operated in these sections of the United States and much to the advantage of the farmers there, who have confidence in the industry, and where they take the greatest pains to produce a quantity and quality of beets which guarantees success.

There have been other industries that were at one time a failure in Canada, and yet, they are to-day a success. One swallow does not make a summer, and neither does one failure prove that an industry will not eventually succeed. There are hon. gentlemen in this House by the dozen who remember in the old days when the making of agricultural implements was a failure in Canada, and yet, to-day that industry is one of the great businesses which Canada has. I remember, too, when the refining

of sugar was a failure in Canada, and almost every refinery was closed up. I remember when 95 pounds of sugar out of every 100 pounds consumed was imported from other countries, and now, I think the minister (Mr. Fisher) will bear me out in the statement, that out of every 100 pounds of sugar consumed in Canada 95 pounds are refined here. I merely mention this to show that an industry may be a failure under certain conditions, and that under other certain conditions it may prove to be a magnificent success, and of the greatest possible advantage to the people of the country. The beet-root sugar industry was a great failure in the United States from 1830 to 1888. Dozens of attempts were made to establish the industry during that period, and I am told that only one factory remains now of the many which were started in these years. Well, in 1888 and 1889, the business began to be established again in the United States. A bounty was given by the federal government, and in some places, for particular reasons, a bounty was given by the states, and so, the beet sugar industry has become one of the great branches of agriculture in very many states of the American union. Taking the reports as to the growth of the beet-root sugar industry in the United States, from 1888 to 1900, we find that the following quantities of beet-root sugar were produced for the years mentioned :

Year.	Tons.
1887-8.....	255
1889.....	1,910
1890.....	2,600
1891.....	2,800
1892.....	5,359
1893.....	12,091
1894.....	20,453
1895.....	20,443
1896.....	30,900
1897.....	40,000
1898.....	41,340
1899.....	50,000
1900.....	119,000

I have been told, though I have had no opportunity of proving the correctness of the estimate, that Willock & Grey's estimate for 1900 is that 119,000 tons of beet-root sugar will be produced in the United States during the year. At all events, in the year 1899, they produced 50,000 tons, as compared with 255 tons eleven years ago.

Mr. CHARLTON. Is that production all aided by bounty ?

Mr. MONTAGUE. I will deal with that question in a moment. It was aided by bounty up to a certain stage, and I do not think that the hon. gentleman will be able to show that the industry has ever been successfully started in any country without a bounty having first been given to it. These beet sugar factories are scattered all over the United States : In Minnesota, 1 ; in Nebraska, 3 ; New Mexico, 1 ; New

York, 2 ; Wisconsin, 1 ; Utah, 2 ; Washington, 1 ; California, 8 ; Illinois, 1 ; Colorado, 1, or, all told, thirty factories, having a daily possible output of 19,000 tons. This year there are eighteen new factories going up : In Colorado, 1 ; in California, 1 ; in Illinois, 2 ; in Iowa, 2 ; in Washington, 1 ; in Massachusetts, 1 ; in Ohio, 1 ; in Minnesota, 1 ; in New York, 2 ; in Wisconsin, 1 ; in New Mexico, 1 ; in South Dakota, 1, and in Indiana, 1.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Have you any figures as to whether any of them failed during the last few years ?

Mr. MONTAGUE. I have not the figures, but I do not think they have. Now, it will be seen from this, that from being a failure, some years ago, this industry has, undoubtedly, been made a success in the United States. If the minister (Mr. Fisher) looks at the official agricultural reports of the United States he will find that the whole spirit of the reports is that this has become a great industry among the farmers of the United States. It is safe to say that that industry has been established in the United States by two influences. First, the activity of the government in going abroad for information, making experiments, and lending their encouragement ; and second, by the assistance which has been given in the shape of bounties from the federal government, as well as bounties in certain cases from the state governments as well. The next objection the Minister of Agriculture had was, as reported on page 4845 of *Hansard* of last session :

It is impossible to find a single country on earth where the industry is running without getting a bounty from the government.

If the hon. gentleman had said that it was impossible to find a country where the industry had started without a bounty, I would agree with him ; but he made his statement, I am sure, without having the facts of the case before him. It would be a most formidable objection if the fact was as stated by the hon. minister, that in no country on earth was the beet-root sugar industry running and prospering without the bounty being continued. The hon. gentleman will know that I am not dealing with this question in a party sense, and I am only quoting the hon. gentleman's expression in order to give the facts in reply. Just let us see how that statement applies to the United States at the present time. There has not been in the United States, I am told, any federal bounty since 1894, though in some states there are state bounties.

In the state of California, up to 1894, there was a federal bounty ; but there has been no bounty in that state since, either federal or state. What has been the result ? There have been no failures, and, since the bounty was withdrawn, five new factories have been built, and one new factory is now being

built. In 1896, I am told, the factories consumed 293,000 tons of beets in the production of sugar; and in 1899, they consumed 305,000 tons; not a great increase, but sufficient to show that the industry is continuing without the bounties.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Have the new factories started without any bounty at all, or do they have it for a term of years?

Mr. MONTAGUE. The bounty ceased in 1894, as regards the old factories, and it was not given to the new factories; in other words, there is no bounty. But the point is this, that the industry has been established and been brought to such a point of success that the farmers had confidence in it, and were prepared to grow beets for the consumption of those factories; and instead of failure ensuing when the bounty was withdrawn, the industry was so well established that more factories were planted. But, the hon. gentleman, will not, I am sure, take the view that the industry was or can fairly be expected to be established without a bounty at the beginning. I do not know of any country or section of country, where the industry has been started without some bounty to give confidence to those investing their money in it, and to those who employ their land to raise the beets. The state of Nebraska had a bounty up to 1895, but since that year, there has been none. Two factories have been running very successfully. One factory was built last year. In 1896, one factory used 30,100 tons of beets, in 1897, 38,000 tons, and in 1900, the estimate is that it will use 45,000 tons; and it employs 3,000 acres of land for the exclusive purpose of raising beets for the sugar production. The second factory, in 1896, used 50,000 tons, and in 1897 and 1898, the same quantity, and it employed 3,000 acres for raising beets. So that the total area of land employed in Nebraska for raising sugar-beets, is something like 6,000. No bounty is given, but the industry was established by a bounty given previously. In Utah, very much the same condition of affairs exists. In 1896, one factory in that state, used 45,000 tons of beets, and in 1899, 50,000 tons, and employed 3,000 acres of land. Another factory, in 1898, used 40,000 tons of beets, which are produced on 2,500 acres of land. These facts, which I am assured, are absolutely correct, surely give an answer which the Minister of Agriculture should very carefully heed before repeating the statement he made last year, that in no country in the world could it be shown, that the industry was running successfully without the aid of a large bounty from the government.

The beet-root sugar industry, I am certain, will some of these days be established in Canada. I believe it is one of those new branches of agriculture which will help to bring prosperity to our farmers. I believe it is an industry that will pay, and I believe

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it was the duty of the government first to inquire most carefully into all the facts, employing the machinery of their department to make experiments and to collect information in regard to the subject, and then, I believe they would have been justified upon the information so obtained, in giving a bonus for the production of beet-root sugar in this country. It may be said that will take a large sum of money out of the public treasury. My reply is that it could have been given for a limited period. My reply is that we are in growing times; we are in the full tide of prosperity; we have a full treasury, raised of course by taxation—I may have another opportunity of going into that. But, in these times, the government can deal with no subject of more importance than any industry which will diversify Canadian agriculture, and give an additional means of profitable use of agricultural land in the Dominion of Canada, thereby increasing the prosperity of our agricultural classes. I am sorry the government did not go into this matter before they brought down their budget. I am told that capital in large amounts is ready to be put into the industry, by people who thoroughly understand the business, who have made it a success elsewhere, and who are confident that they can make it a success in Canada, if the encouragement which has been given elsewhere at the beginning of the industry be given here. And, if such is the case, I think, it is a subject which ought to receive the most careful, active and sympathetic consideration of the Department of Agriculture and the government of the day.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk). I quite agree with the hon. gentleman from Haldimand (Mr. Montague) that it would be advisable for the government to make an investigation as far as lies in their power with regard to the beet-root sugar industry and to place the result before the public. Such an investigation would reveal to my hon. friend from Haldimand, and the public at large that no necessity exists for the granting of a bounty for the production of beet-root sugar in Canada. It is true, as the hon. gentleman informed the House, that this industry in various countries has been aided by export bounties and other bounties of various kinds to a great extent. It is true that the business of making beet-root sugar obtained its footing in France and Germany, through the expenditure on the part of the governments of those two countries, especially the government of Germany, of a very large sum, and it is very doubtful whether the interests of the public at large were served by this lavish expenditure for the purpose of promoting the interests of a particular class, and a particular industry. It is true that an industry may be a failure at first, as was the case, I believe, with the industry

in Canada, and that changed conditions and increased knowledge of the proper methods of carrying on the business may in the end lead to success being achieved where failure was first scored. I believe the latter would be the case in Canada if we embarked in this business. The hon. gentleman informs the House, and gives statistics to back up his assertion, that the production of beet-root sugar has been engaged in on an extensive scale in various states of the union, in all of which it was first promoted by bounties, and that in all these states, with one exception—the name of the state he does not give—these bounties are at present discontinued. It is perhaps true that the business would not have been developed to its present extent without the payment at the outset of bounties, but the people of the United States are now in possession of information that shows there is no necessity to pay bounties any longer.

Mr. MONTAGUE. If the hon. gentleman will allow me, I am told that I was incorrect in my statement, and that in a number of states the bounties still exist. But in the states to which I referred the bounties do not continue.

Mr. CHARLTON. I am unable to say whether the hon. gentleman is right or wrong. I took his statement, as first made, that the bounties have been withdrawn in the case of all the states but one. In connection with the production of beet-root sugar, I happen to have come into contact with persons interested in this industry, persons in one or two localities in the United States—one especially, and that a locality where the conditions of soil and climate are almost identical with those in the province of Ontario and Quebec. I refer to the state of Michigan. The legislature of Michigan, some two or three years ago, passed a law granting a bounty of 1 cent per pound on beet-root sugar produced in that state. The development of the business was so rapid that it became evident, within twelve months, that the result of the bounty payments would be to impoverish if not bankrupt the state, and the law was repealed, except as applied to factories already established, which had been established under conditions that did not leave the government at liberty to withdraw the bounty. Notwithstanding the repeal of the law and notwithstanding the fact that the business had not been in existence three years in that state, the erection of factories went on at an accelerated pace. Last year some four or five immense establishments were constructed, and one of them, which I visited, has a capacity of 4,000,000 pounds per annum.

It is a good thing to come from the abstract to the concrete, and from speculation to actual facts. These factories paid at the outset \$4 per ton for beet, but that price has been increased this season to \$4.50

per ton. I am intimately acquainted with a number of the stockholders in these factories, and have been able to ascertain what the character of their operations is, what is the cost of their raw material, and what the output from that raw material amounts to. The price of beets last year was \$4 per ton, and this year it is \$4.50 per ton. The production of sugar from a ton of beet is from 200 to 235 pounds, and in addition there are by-products, of same value, such as molasses, and the pulp from the beet, while it is fresh, is a food for cattle. What is the result? Suppose we had a factory established in Canada to-day which paid \$4.50 per ton for beets, and was selling its sugar at market quotations. I sent down to Bate & Co. to know what sugar was worth to-day, and I find it is worth \$4.62 per hundred. Beets at \$4.50 per ton would produce 200 to 225 pounds of sugar, besides the by-products. This sugar, at the present price, would be worth \$9.25 for the 200 pounds, and 220 pounds would be worth \$10.16. At the lowest figure, the raw material costing \$4.50 would be worth \$9.25, besides whatever value might apply to the molasses and the pulp.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Does a ton of beets give that quantity of refined sugar, 99 per cent?

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, these prices are based on the product of refined sugar. The factories refine their sugar and the product of a ton of beets is 200 to 225 pounds refined, besides the molasses and pulp.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Is that granulated sugar?

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, refined, first quality. The cost of producing that sugar, as near as I have been able to ascertain, is \$1 to \$1.25 per ton—say, \$1.50. A ton of beets cost \$4.50, the cost of producing the sugar is \$1.50, which makes \$6, and the value of the sugar produced is \$9.25, or a profit of \$3.25 upon an investment of \$6 in cost of material and labour. Well, the result of this business is that there is an enormous rush in various parts of the United States to engage in the beet-root sugar business without reference to the bounty; and the business standing solely upon its own bottom as a business speculation, men are investing millions of dollars, putting up new factories with a capacity of two or three thousand tons of sugar per annum, and making out of these factories, from all the indications, enormous profits—profits of from thirty to forty per cent upon the capital invested. It is needless to talk of promoting an industry of that kind by bounties. It will never be done in the United States again, and it is not necessary to do it here; for, to my personal knowledge, many of the men engaged in that business of building beet-root sugar factories, are looking to Canada as a field of operations. They

desire that we shall pass a law granting a bounty. If we do so, it will make the business so much more profitable; if we do not, they will build the factories anyway. The time is near at hand when the business will be developed in this country.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) is making a complete answer to the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher).

Mr. CHARLTON. Perhaps so; but I think I have established the premise that I laid down, that a bounty is unnecessary. I am quite in favour of the government meeting the views of my hon. friend (Mr. Montague), so far as to make a thorough investigation of this matter. It may be well enough to appoint a commission to visit some of these establishments in the various states, to ascertain, as nearly as they can, the condition of the trade, the profit made, the prices of labour, the cost of producing the raw material, and the return per ton of beets in sugar. If this investigation is made, and if the information is obtained correctly, the fact will be demonstrated that the government of Canada is not called upon to promote this business by paying bounties, but that all that is necessary is to make capitalists acquainted with the inducements that the business offers in its present condition.

Mr. McNEILL. May I ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton), when was the bounty repealed in Michigan?

Mr. CHARLTON. I think it was repealed the first year it went into operation.

Mr. McNEILL. What year was that?

Mr. CHARLTON. I think it is three or four years since the law was put on the statute-book of that state. I am speaking from memory. But, one year after it went into operation, it became clear that the state would be swamped by the development that would take place, and the law was repealed so far as could be. Of course, the condition of the law made it applicable to the factories then built, and the legislature could not repudiate that; but even those factories are waiting for the payment of their bounties, and are not likely to receive them.

Mr. McNEILL. I understand the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) to say that the law was repealed about three years ago?

Mr. CHARLTON. I think it was about three years ago. I am speaking from knowledge of this question gained from men engaged in the business who have approached me with a proposition to invest in this business in that country and in Canada. The information I have obtained in that way, which, I believe, is absolutely correct, is that, paying not more than \$5 per ton for beets, and with the present prices of sugar,

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the profits made from the production of beet-root sugar are enormous; and the business is of a character likely to prove more attractive to capitalists than any other line of manufacturing business that can be engaged in in Canada. So, give us the information, let the facts be laid before the people and the capitalists of this country, and the result will be the establishment of this industry without depleting the treasury of Canada.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). True to his natural instincts, I was going to say, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) has given the House another evidence of his desire to aid the people of Canada in the establishment of any new industry likely to be of value to them. He starts out with the bold statement that beet-root sugar factories can be, and undoubtedly will be, established in Canada without the aid of a bounty or other means beyond that given by the government of allowing the machinery to be brought in free. It will be natural to inquire upon what information the hon. gentleman bases his judgment. As we followed him through his succeeding arguments in support of his contention, it must have been apparent to any one who has given the most casual attention to the subject, that the hon. gentleman was talking on a line of which he knew very little. He went on, shortly after that, to say that a bounty had been given in different states of the United States for the purpose of establishing this industry, but, after a little while, it was found, as he said, that the production of the sugar would be so great, that if a bounty were paid, it would financially swamp the state, and, as in the case of the state of Michigan, the bounty was, therefore, done away with. Now, is that a fact? If it were a fact, it might be an argument carrying some weight. But, it is the reverse of a fact; because the law exists in the state of Michigan, where the bounty was given, the same as when the original Act was passed. It is true that a little trouble has arisen between the beet-root sugar manufacturers and the state with regard to the payment of the bounty, and that point is in abeyance; but the law remains the same as it was passed, and, at the present time, the men engaged in the industry are claiming the bounty and expect to get it.

Mr. CHARLTON. I may inform the hon. gentleman (Mr. Sproule) that he is mistaken. The law does not remain the same as it was passed. It does not apply as regard all factories established after the date of its repeal, and only remains in regard to factories in operation before the repeal.

Mr. SPROULE. Is not that what I say? I say it remains in force to-day the same as ever in regard to factories constituted under the law and—

Mr. CAMPBELL. But not as regards new factories.

Mr. SPROULE. That is another thing entirely. I did not say anything about new factories. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) intimates that a bounty is not paid in the United States. Let me give him the states that are paying a bounty. The state of Michigan pays a bounty of one cent a pound, and nine factories which commenced operations under that law are claiming that bounty. Minnesota pays one cent a pound; Nebraska, from 1890 to 1895, one cent a pound, and afterwards $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound; New Mexico, $\frac{3}{4}$ cent a pound and exemption from taxation; New York, one cent; Oregon, one cent a pound—that is, the Bill is before the legislature, and one factory is started; New Jersey, the Bill vetoed, the proposition being to pay one cent a pound; Wisconsin, exemption from taxation; Utah, one cent a pound for the first two seasons. But Utah has abandoned the bounty. During the time the bounty was in operation, several factories started under it. Washington pays one cent a pound. In California, the federal government paid a bounty, which was afterwards repealed. Eight factories started under that bounty. The total number of factories operating in the United States is thirty, having a total daily capacity of about 19,000 tons of beets. Now, these are the states in which the law provides that a bounty may be paid. And is being paid to-day, with the exception of the state of Michigan, where a number of factories are operating under the law under which they started, and claim the bounty and expect to get it. Well, then, that did away with the hon. gentleman's contention that factories will be started in every portion of the country, though a bounty may not be given. He follows that up by saying that in his judgment the government ought to make some inquiry to satisfy themselves whether the sugar beet could be successfully grown in Canada, whether the manufacture of beet-root sugar could be carried on successfully in Canada, and he intimates that there might be some species of commission or inquiry on the subject. Well, the hon. gentleman had a taste of a commission last year, and I have no doubt he found it so agreeable that he would gladly embark on another enterprise of the kind the coming summer. But seeing the success which attended the efforts of the hon. gentleman and his friends last year on their jaunt to Washington, I do not think the country will be disposed to appoint another commission at a similar expense and composed of the same parties to inquire into this subject, trusting to the chances of obtaining as fruitful results as attended the last commission to Washington.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I intended to deal with this question on a motion which I have on

the paper, in a different way, but as I am not likely to reach it the present session, and as, the budget speech having already been made, we are not likely to influence the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) or the government to change their minds and give a bounty, therefore, I propose to say on the present motion what I intended to say on my motion. One of the questions raised by the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), I think, was that we could not manufacture beet sugar to compete with the manufacture of cane sugar, and that past experience has proven that beet sugar could not be manufactured at as low a price as cane sugar, and therefore was unlikely to be successful. I have before me what I take from a return of the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, showing the cost of the manufacture of cane sugar in different countries:

	Per ton.		
	£	s.	d.
Java	8	12	6
Sandwich Islands	8	4	4
Queensland	8	15	0
Egypt	9	10	11
Barbados	9	15	0
Trinidad	10	19	11
Demerara	12	18	10
French Antilles	14	6	9
*Robisdorf, Germany	9	6	3

*For manufacturing beet sugar.

So that, of all the places that I have given where cane sugar is being manufactured, there are only three where they manufacture cane sugar cheaper than beet sugar is manufactured in Germany to-day.

Mr. ELLIS. Would my hon. friend give us the figures at which sugar is produced in Java, for instance.

Mr. SPROULE. Beet sugar is being largely produced in Java to-day. My information from the returns is that in every one of those countries they are producing beet sugar to-day.

Mr. ELLIS. I asked if the hon. gentleman can give us the figures at which cane sugar is produced in the Island of Java, or any other of those eastern islands from which sugar is imported so largely. The market price of sugar to-day is fixed by sugar which is produced in eastern lands, not by sugar coming from the West Indies at all. Therefore, all his figures are not useful for purposes of comparison.

Mr. SPROULE. I understand the hon. member wants to know the cost of cane sugar in Java. It is £8 12s. 6d. per ton. In the Sandwich Islands the cost is £8 4s. 4d. I have given the cost in several other countries to put alongside the figures of the cost of beet sugar. Now, then, with regard to the prospect of beet sugar supplanting cane sugar. I find that between 1883 and 1894 the production of beet sugar increased

from 1,783,200 tons to 3,840,256 tons; so, there was an increase in that time of 2,057,000 tons. Taking the output of cane sugar in that time, it has increased from 2,016,084 tons to 3,437,774 tons, or an increase of 1,421,690 tons. That shows clearly that beet sugar is supplanting cane sugar in every country in the world. I have another return which bears on the subject, and which affords additional strength to the contention which I have made, that beets are to-day largely grown and sugar therefrom manufactured in countries where heretofore nothing but cane sugar was produced. I will take the countries from which cane sugar comes entirely or principally :

Production of Cane Sugar Last Year.

Country.	Tons.
Java	722,000
Cuba	400,000
Hawaiian Islands.....	275,000
Brazil	175,000
Mauritius	150,000
Australia	140,000
Louisiana	132,000
All other countries.....	868,000

Total 2,862,000

Now, I take the countries producing beet sugar :

Production Last Year.

Country.	Tons.
Germany	1,780,000
Austria	1,120,000
France	960,000
Russia	885,000
Belgium	290,000
Holland	170,000
All other countries.....	275,000

Total 5,480,000

Which is more than twice as much as the production of cane sugar in 1899, which was only 2,862,000 tons. When you compare these figures with the products of a few years ago, the output of beet sugar is more than twice as much as the output of cane sugar in the various countries where it is being produced. It seems to me that is a strong argument in favour of the contention we make that beet-root sugar is being grown in many countries to-day where a few years ago it was not manufactured and where nothing but cane sugar was produced.

Now, the hon. member for North Norfolk says that we will have these factories established in Canada without a bounty. Well, I reason this way. All the information that we have up to the present time, justifies us in saying, that, in all human probability, not for, at least a great length of time in the future, will we have any of these factories established in Canada unless they get aid by way of a bounty, or something of that nature. We have many states of the union where the climatic conditions, the soil and other requirements are

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suited to the production of the sugar beet, and the manufacture of beet sugar, in which they pay bounties. Therefore, no one who wishes to embark in the enterprise, will be likely to establish a factory in Canada when he can go across the line into the state of New York and get a cent a pound for every pound of manufactured, or granulated sugar that he turns out of his factory, and where the beets can be grown as well as here. I do not think that I would wish to invest my money in a factory in any part of Canada where I would get no assistance whatever if I could employ the same money to establish a factory on the other side of the line and get a cent a pound for every pound of granulated sugar I turned out. There are fourteen states in which they are paying bounties to-day. While these states, lying so closely to our country, and with the climatic conditions and soil so much like ours, are willing to give that assistance, it is not likely that we will induce capitalists here to embark in that enterprise unless the same assistance is given to them. Why is it that these parties who desire to start in this line, want a bounty? The contention is made by some persons, and I heard it advanced a short time ago by a gentleman who is opposed to giving a bounty, that, if you start to give these bounties they must continue for ever. It is said that they are pap fed institutions, and that they will come back and come back again and ask that the bounty shall be renewed. I have one of the strongest reasons for saying that this is not likely to be the case, because I have the assurance of parties who propose to invest their money in this line that they do not desire nor ask that the bounty shall be given beyond, five years, and they are willing that during a portion of that time it shall be a diminishing bounty. For instance, it is proposed that it shall be one cent a pound for the first year, three-quarters of a cent a pound for the second year, half a cent a pound for the third year, a quarter of a cent a pound for the fourth year, a quarter of a cent a pound for the fifth year, and after that it shall be dropped. They say: We require a bounty because we are introducing a new industry into the country, and the farmers who must raise the beets are not very familiar with the enterprise which they will take up. There are comparatively few experts in the country engaged in that line to-day. There is very much to be learned, and we would have to educate the farmer so that he may get the best results from his labour, the largest yield from his soil. It will be necessary to send around instructors amongst them during the first few years to show them first, how to prepare the ground, secondly, to inform them as to the right kind of seed to put into the soil, thirdly, to show them how to weed out the plants, to cultivate them, to take care of them until they

are raised, and afterwards how to dress these beets and to care for them until they are delivered at the factory. To do this it will require the expenditure of some money. For instance, a firm which proposes, in the event of the government giving a bounty such as they are asking for to start a factory, state: We will send around from sixteen to twenty men who will go around every few weeks during the season and instruct the farmers in the cultivation of the sugar beet. We will pay the expense of these men ourselves. They are men who are already educated in this line, and they may fairly be regarded as experts. We will distribute the seed to the farmers free, take all the beets that they produce, and hand them over to the factory within a radius of sixty miles if they are delivered at a railway station or delivered at any harbour where there is navigation between the place where the factory is established and the locality where the beets are raised. We will take all these beets without regard to the percentage of sugar they contain, and pay, at least, \$4 a ton for them. We will also pay the transportation charges on these beets to the factory either by rail or by water. To do that it requires considerable money, and we say that it is not reasonable to expect that the right kind of beets will be raised for a few years, at first or beets which will produce as large a percentage of sugar as those which will be raised afterwards. They will not be as well suited for the manufacture of sugar at first as they will be afterwards when the farmers become experts in this line. During the time that this instruction is going on we require to have some aid because, otherwise, our profits would be so small that we would not be justified in embarking in the enterprise. But, after a time, when we get the farmers educated so that they can raise beets as well in this country as they can in Germany, or France, or in other countries where they have done it for years, when they have become experts in the business, we will be able to do without a bounty, it will not be needed and we believe the returns in the way of profits will be as much after the bounty stops as during the time when the bounty is given. That is the way they reason it out, and it seems to me it is a very logical reason for asking a bounty and a very fair one, because, we cannot expect any farmer in Canada, who has not been engaged in this line, to understand it at the outset. He must learn to grow sugar beets the same as he must learn to raise any of the other products of his farm, and he must be placed in a position that he will get the largest yield per acre, that he will obtain the largest percentage of sugar, and that he will take care to do everything which will enable him to lay the beets down at the factory in such a way as that they will produce the most valuable return, not only to himself

but to the factory. I regret exceedingly that the hon. Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding), when he made his budget speech, did not see fit to announce that he was prepared to pay that bounty. I think that, if he had done so, it would have resulted in starting up several important establishments in Canada which certainly would be valuable to the country by producing an article that we use very largely and which would be most valuable to the agriculturists of the country, more valuable to them than to any other class in Canada. It would enable them to employ their labour in a line which would return them a larger profit than any other line in which they are engaged to-day. It would give them back a large proportion of the money made out of the beet-root sugar industry. Because, when I tell the House that 60 per cent of the money that is made out of the production of beet-root sugar, goes to the farmers who raise the beets, they will understand how important it is to the agricultural classes of the country. Sixty dollars out of every one hundred dollars that is made out of that line goes back to the farmers and makes them richer to that extent. It would give them profitable employment at home in a line in which they are not engaged at the present time. As I spoke at some length on this question last year, I do not intend to go over the same ground to any great extent, and I shall say what remains to be said very briefly. The hon. member for North Norfolk intimated, that, while beets might be profitably raised in Canada, it was only yet an experiment, and that there was no evidence to clearly prove that it could be done. I can only say that the experiments which have been made, and which have extended over eight or ten years, and which have been several hundred in number have justified the conclusion that the climatic conditions and the soil of Canada are suitable to the cultivation of the sugar beet. There is no doubt of that whatever because, wherever it has been tried we have the strongest ground for saying that the cultivation of the sugar beet has been shown to be a great success. I say that in view of the experiments which have been made and which have continued for several years. I shall now give the result of a few experiments which have been made, in order to prove the correctness of my statement. In Dunnville (where my hon. friend Mr. Montague resides), in experimenting whether the soil was suitable, they had a yield of 48 tons of beet-root to the acre. That was not a small plot, as in the experimental farms, but it was on a plot of half an acre, which is a fair test. In Deseronto, they had 37.4 tons to the acre; in Goderich, 11 tons to the acre; in Hastings, 21 tons per acre; in Oshawa, one-third of an acre yielded at the rate of 15 tons per acre. Another experiment in Oshawa, gave 14½ tons per acre;

another 14½ tons per acre; another 12 tons per acre; another 18 tons per acre; and another 15·6 tons per acre. In Harwood, one experiment gave 12 tons, and another 12 tons; in Plainville the yield was 13·2 tons per acre; and in Peterborough, one experiment gave 14 tons; and another experiment 14½ tons per acre. On the Ontario Experimental Farm at Guelph, one plot yielded 19·2 tons, and as it was a full acre, it was a very fair test; another experiment yielded 20·6 tons; another 16·90 tons; another 20·7 tons, and another 20 tons per acre. In Walkerville, the experiment yielded 21·3 tons per acre, and the average in Ontario was 18·2 tons per acre. Now that would be regarded in France, Germany or Belgium as an unprecedented yield, because their average yield is from 11½ to 13½ tons. The yield per acre on the Ontario Experimental Farm was the high average of 19·7 tons per acre, as compared with an average of 18·2 tons per acre throughout Ontario. These experiments were made in almost every portion of the province of Ontario, and if I had time I could go to the province of Quebec and show similar results for the experiments there. These returns show that the climatic conditions and the soil are in every respect suitable for this industry in the Dominion, and that being so, and it being possible for the farmers to engage in this industry, why should we not give them some assistance? The Minister of Agriculture said last year: Oh, but if the farmers of Canada give the same labour to the production of many other crops which they raise, the return will be quite as good to them. Well, I do not think so, and I will tell you the reason why.

ROYAL ASSENT TO BILLS.

A Message was delivered by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, as follows:

Mr. Speaker,—

His Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of your Honourable House in the Chamber of the Honourable the Senate.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, with the House, went up to the Senate Chamber;

And having returned,

Mr. Speaker informed the House that the Governor General had been pleased to give in Her Majesty's name, the Royal Assent to the following Bills:

An Act to provide for the expenses of the Canadian volunteers serving Her Majesty in South Africa.

An Act to amend the San José Scale Act.

THE BEET-ROOT SUGAR INDUSTRY.

Mr. T. S. SPROULE (East Grey). Mr. Speaker, when the message was received by this House that His Excellency the Governor General required our presence in the Senate Chamber, and I was interrupted in

Mr. SPROULE.

this interesting discussion, at least to me, I thought that possibly that sudden demand might mean that the Governor General had decided to dissolve this House and appeal to the country; but I contented myself with the belief that neither the leader of the government nor his colleagues would consent to such a thing at the present time, because their apprehension of defeat are such that they will hold on here to the last possible moment; so that I would have an opportunity of continuing this debate a little further. I was about to make a comparison of the profit derived by the farmer as between raising beets and raising other crops; and that comparison, I think, will show conclusively that the former would be a very profitable line of production. At the present time, the market price of most cereals which the farmer has to sell is moderately low. How much would a farmer realize an acre from the raising of wheat, after paying for the labour, the seed, the threshing and the marketing of the grain? Twenty bushels to the acre would be a fair average crop, and if this were sold at 70 cents a bushel, which is about 10 cents a bushel above this year's price, he would realize \$14 an acre. Allowing \$1 an acre for straw, his total return would be \$15 an acre. If he were raising oats, the average yield would be about 36 bushels to the acre, and a fair price, according to what oats sold for during the present season, would be 25 cents a bushel. This would give him \$9 an acre, with about \$1.50 for straw, making his total return \$10.50 an acre. If raising pease, he would probably have a yield of 25 bushels to the acre, which, at the market price of 60 cents a bushel, would bring him a return of \$15 an acre. Barley would give him an average yield of about 36 bushels an acre, which, at 40 cents a bushel, would give him a return of about \$14.40, with probably \$1 for straw, which would make \$15.40. Hay, with an average yield of two tons to the acre, and sold at \$8 a ton, would give him \$16 an acre, though at the present time hay is selling in my part of the country at about \$6 a ton, and the average yield is below two tons. Thus he would receive for wheat \$15 an acre; for oats, \$10.50; for pease, \$15; for barley, \$15.40; for hay, \$16. Out of this he has to pay for seed, cultivating the ground, threshing, marketing, and everything else. If he raises sugar beets, taking the average yield in Ontario by the return I have given at 18 tons to the acre, or even at the low average of 15 tons to the acre, and sells them at \$4 a ton, which is considered a low average price, he would have \$60 an acre.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Has my hon. friend the figures showing a comparison of the cost of labour?

Mr. SPROULE. I have the labour with regard to beets, but not with regard to the others. The average cost of labour in rais-

ing beets is about \$35 an acre. I may be met with the statement that the labour of growing wheat costs very much less than the labour of raising beets. That is true, but the return from the beets is correspondingly greater. In the case of wheat, it costs at least \$15 an acre for seed, cultivating the ground, harvesting, threshing and bringing the grain to market; but the whole return for labour, profit and everything, is only \$15 an acre. But in the case of the sugar beet, while the cost is \$35 an acre for seed, cultivating the ground, and marketing the product within a reasonable distance, the net profit to the farmer is \$25 an acre. Therefore, it must be clear that the farmer receives a much larger return for his labour than he does in the other line. I may say that this estimate covers the cost of labour, seed, manure and a fair rent for the land, whereas the estimate with regard to the raising of grain includes only the cost of seed, labour, threshing and marketing. Another reason why the production of the sugar beet would be much more valuable to the farmer is, that he would get a return in the by-product of the beets, which is valuable as a food for his cattle. Several tests have been made on feeding cattle on the pulp after the sugar is taken out, and the very lowest estimate of the value of the pulp puts it at \$8 a ton.

Mr. CHARLTON. Will the hon. member inform us how long that pulp is suitable for food after being ground? Does it sour and prove unsuitable after a certain length of time?

Mr. SPROULE. No, it can be kept for an indefinite length of time. When put in a silo, it cements itself on the top and shuts out the air, and in that way it can be kept for years the same as ensilage. In saying this, I am speaking from personal experience of some ensilage that stood for a year and a half. If you remove about four inches from the top, the rest is as good as when it was put in.

Mr. CHARLTON. One other question, if my hon. friend will permit me. What percentage of pulp to the ton is turned out?

Mr. SPROULE. I forget the amount just now. Dry pulp and wet pulp are two different things. If it is dry, it will keep much longer. I think something like 68 per cent of the whole would be returned in the shape of pulp.

Mr. CHARLTON. That would contain a considerable portion of water, I suppose?

Mr. SPROULE. Yes. The pulp is returned to the farmers free as long as the bounty is paid. They are allowed to take it away in any way they like. Where it is sold, the highest price asked for it is a dollar a ton.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman seems to be so well informed on the ques-

tion that there is one other point on which I would like to have information if he can give it; that is, whether frozen beets can be used for sugar, and whether pulp from frozen beets would be good for cattle food?

Mr. SPROULE. Beets which are frozen and kept continuously frozen would be as valuable in the spring as they were in the fall; but if frozen and then thawed out, they would be spoiled for the manufacture of sugar. With regard to the pulp, the information which I have is that after the frost is taken out, it is left in a condition in which it will keep. I saw only one authority, however, in regard to that particular phase of the question. With regard to the quality of the beets, there are two elements which make the root valuable. The first is the percentage of sugar, and the next the purity. We have a large enough yield per acre in Canada to make the raising of beets profitable to the farmer, and the next question is: Do these beets contain a sufficient percentage of sugar to make the manufacture profitable? I contend that they do. I have here the result of 117 experiments, made principally in the province of Ontario, and the average percentage of sugar in the beet is 13.58 per cent. When I tell this House that the beets manufactured in Germany contain but from 11½ to 12½ per cent of sugar, the House will understand that the percentage in Canadian beets is high enough to make it profitable for manufacturing into sugar.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. How many pounds of sugar would they give to the ton?

Mr. SPROULE. The beets which yielded the highest percentage of sugar would yield about 230 pounds of sugar to the ton, but the highest we have got yet, I think, would reach somewhere about 190 pounds per ton.

Mr. TALBOT. Long or short tons?

Mr. SPROULE. A ton of 2,000 pounds.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. What is the percentage of saccharine matter? Would it give a sugar of 70 per cent, polariscopic test?

Mr. SPROULE. I did not go into that.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. That is a very important point.

Mr. SPROULE. The percentage would be higher in California, where they are operating successfully factories to-day, the average percentage of sugar is only 14.38 per cent, while in Ontario the average is 13.54, and California is regarded as one of the best districts for raising beets. The coefficient of purity there is 83.70, and in Canada, 79.72. When the coefficient of purity reaches 80 per cent, it is regarded as very good, and anything in that neighbourhood would be considered sufficiently

pure to guarantee satisfactory results. In Kansas, the average percentage of sugar is only 10·85, and factories are being operated there successfully, and the coefficient of purity is but 72·74 against 79·32 in Canada. In Nebraska, where factories are also successfully operated, the percentage is 12·75 and 58·30 is the coefficient of purity, the lowest I have seen yet. Take Wisconsin, there the percentage of sugar is 14·31. In Michigan, several tests gave a percentage of 12·04, but I believe that further examination raised that to 13½. In Indiana, the percentage is 11·76. In France, the large beet yields from 10·91 to 12·94, and yet, France is one of the countries where the largest quantities of beet sugar are being manufactured to-day. The small beet there yields from 15·50 to 18·60. Comparing the province of Ontario with all these countries, that province gives a very favourable showing as regards the percentage of sugar and the purity of the beets, and, in my judgment, that showing leaves no doubt that this country is suitable for this industry. I have here a list of the percentages from different states :

	Percentage of sugar.
Alabama	8·5
Arkansas	7·1
California	14·6
Colorado	13·7
Connecticut	10·3
Delaware	11·3
Georgia	5·8
Idaho	12·0
Illinois	10·2
Indiana	10·1
Indian Territory	9·6
Ohio	11·4
Kansas	10·3
Maryland	10·4
Massachusetts	12·0
Michigan	13·2
Minnesota	12·7
Montana	11·2
Nebraska	12·8
Nevada	18·5
New Hampshire	13·5
New Jersey	11·1
New Mexico	12·8
New York	12·6
North Carolina	6·5

Against these averages I set the result of the tests in Ontario, which show 13·58, with a purity far above many of these. It is, therefore, evident to my mind that we can engage successfully in this business.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. Is the hon. gentleman in a position to give us the cost of extracting sugar from the beet per ton.

Mr. SPROULE. I could not give that. I never went into that calculation.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. The hon. gentleman will see that that is a very important factor. He has demonstrated, taking his figures as correct, that there would be a very profitable market for the farmers.

Mr. SPROULE.

But, we would require to know what it would cost to extract the sugar from the beet, so as to be in a position to know whether a bounty was required or not, and also to test the figures of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). If a ton of beets will give 190 to 232 pounds of sugar, we know what that sugar will bring in the market, but what we require to know is the cost of extracting the sugar from the beet, together with the price paid for the beet.

Mr. SPROULE. The only information I have is the experience of Germany, where it costs £9 6s. 3d. a ton.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. Fisher). That, I think, is the cost of a ton of sugar, but what we want is the cost of producing a ton of sugar.

Mr. SPROULE. This is a ton of sugar ; I am not talking of a ton of beets.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I was asking the cost of producing the sugar. What would it cost to take a ton of beets and extract the saccharine matter ?

Mr. SPROULE. I have not got that.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. It would be very desirable to have it, as it has a very important bearing on the question whether the business requires a bounty to make it profitable.

Mr. SPROULE. I admit that it would be valuable. I have not at hand at the moment the figures the hon. gentleman refers to, but, I have no doubt, I can find them later. I have here some figures that I intended to mention. In one factory in California, they have 1,100 head of lambs which made a gain of 10 pounds each in 21 days. They intend to prepare the lambs for market entirely on a ration of alfalfa and pulp. They are feeding 1,100 head of cattle as well, but, of course, the result of that test is different entirely from that of the lambs.

I do not wish to take up all the time, as there are other hon. gentlemen who wish to speak. In my judgment, the government would do a very wise thing if they gave a bounty on the output of these factories as a means of inducing capitalists to establish this manufacture. There were three different firms looking into this matter during the last three years, and one or two companies have been partially organized, one being in the county of Grey. I believe it was taken over lately by some people about Warton. Now, I joined the deputation from that factory to interview the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Customs on this question. The request presented was that machinery not manufactured in Canada, and suitable for such a factory, should be admitted free of duty. But, they did not ask a bounty, and I believe that the gentlemen said they did not want a bounty, that they could get on without it, and had as-

insurance from a gentleman acquainted with this industry that he was prepared to come in and invest his money and establish a factory without the aid of a bounty. They added that they had applied to the local government, and had every reason to expect a bounty from them. Since that time, while they have not been definitely refused, I understand it has been intimated that the government are not prepared to give a bounty. I have said elsewhere, and I repeat here, that that deputation made a great mistake, because, in my judgment, they could not get any man or company to come in and build a factory without assistance. Though the statement was made in my presence, before the minister, that a firm were prepared to start the business, I have since learned that the promoters of the factory have had correspondence with Mr. G. H. McMullen, of Watertown, New York, the gentleman who was supposed to be ready to start this factory, and the propositions they made were not entertained by that gentleman, for a moment. And, why? Because there was no bounty given, and because they had only a few thousand dollars of stock. Speaking from memory, I think, they had only \$20,000 or \$25,000 subscribed, and they wished some one to come in and raise the rest of the capital, if the machinery was to come in free, and take the chances of getting a bounty from the local government. Mr. McMullen replied, I believe, that he was engaged at one factory at Watertown, and one at Rome, New York, and could start half a dozen more, under the bounty of 1 cent a pound, which New York paid. He said: Why should I come over to Canada and invest my money, where no assistance is given, and educate the people there, as I am doing in New York? So, he would not entertain the proposition for a moment. Two men were here last year, who held the same opinion, one being from Germany and one from Scotland. These gentlemen were here two years in succession. They looked into the matter and saw what the prospects were, and what the chances were of raising the beets. Looking over the ground, they came to the conclusion that the climate and soil were absolutely suitable for raising the beets, but that they would not engage in the industry without a bounty. They asked that the government should give 1 cent a pound for the first year, $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound for the second year, $\frac{1}{3}$ cent a pound for the third year, and $\frac{1}{4}$ cent for the fourth and fifth years, and agreed, if this were done, to invest their money and establish as many factories in Canada as were necessary to make all the sugar used in the country. But they got no satisfaction, so they abandoned the enterprise and went home. The same is true of Mr. G. H. McMullen, so far as I know. My last information, is that he and his associates would not start a factory under any consideration unless with assistance from the government.

This industry being so valuable to the farmers and so suitable to the country, and the assistance required being so small, I think the government ought to come to the rescue and give the assistance necessary. We know that beets are being raised, and sugar manufactured in Canada to-day. My hon. friend (Mr. McGregor), sent four or five tons of beets from Essex to the factory in Detroit, from which sugar was made, samples of which were shown in this House. The beets were found to have a large percentage of sugar, and the sugar is as good as any we have in the country. A small bounty granted for only a short time, would establish this industry. Some hon. gentlemen opposite say they are against the principle of bounties. But, they give bounties on iron. Why should they give a bounty to the party who invests his money in iron manufacture, and not to the party who desires to engage in the manufacture of beet sugar. The principle is the same, and by paying these bounties on iron, these hon. gentlemen admit the principle. There is more reason why a bounty should be given on this industry than in the iron industry, because the money that is paid out for the carrying on of the manufacture of iron, does not reach or benefit nearly so many people as would the money spent in carrying on the manufacture of beet-root sugar. The money spent in carrying on the manufacture of beet-root sugar would go to the agricultural classes who represent so large a percentage of the producers of the country. Sixty per cent of the money spent in the production of sugar would go back to the farmer. But, the government are not desirous of helping the farmers, as will be evident, if they do not give this assistance. I believe the day will come when they will see their error. If they should be driven from power, as I believe they will be, at the next election, the Conservative party will jump at the chance to aid this industry; and hon. gentlemen opposite will regret for the rest of their lives, that they did not adopt this proposed measure which would be of such benefit to the farmers of the country.

Mr. ALEX. McNEILL (North Bruce). I do not wish to take up more than a minute or so, as the subject has already been so fully discussed, and as it is almost six o'clock. But, as the Warton factory has been spoken of, and as I have the honour to come from that neighbourhood, I think it but right that I should say a word or two. Now, I think that the history of the Warton factory argues strongly in favour of the granting of a bounty. The gentlemen who desire to establish the industry there, started out with the idea that if they could only get their machinery free of duty, they would not require a bounty. That was their strong belief; but the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson), know that when a

deputation came down here which I accompanied, we found that they had applied to the Ontario government for a bounty, showing they had altered their views in that regard. This affords strong presumption of the necessity of a bonus for this industry. Now, I think the discussion here to-day has come upon us as a surprise. Heretofore we have had to discuss this question from the standpoint that it was impossible to establish this industry in Canada at all, even with a bounty, that the money would be simply thrown away, that the farmers would be induced to enter upon an undertaking which would prove unsuccessful, and that those who invested their money in that industry would lose it. The Minister of Agriculture has referred to the experience of Quebec, and has held strong opinions in regard to it; but to-day we have from the government benches a statement from an hon. gentleman that he has given a great deal of consideration to the matter, and he thinks that, far from its being impossible to establish the industry here successfully with a bounty, it will be so profitable an industry that no bounty will be required. Now, I think that the truth is generally found between the two extremes, the one extreme being that it cannot be established at all with a bounty, and the other extreme being that it does not require a bounty because it would be too profitable, and the natural conclusion we must come to is that the bounty ought to be given. That is the intermediate position, the compromise between two extremes. I think it would be an unfortunate thing for the government to refuse to give this industry financial support because an hon. gentleman who represents so frequently in this House the views of our friends on the other side of the line, thinks that this is going to be a successful industry.

Mr. CHARLTON. The hon. gentleman will permit me to say that I do not often lose faith in the British Empire and call for a consultation in the House of Commons to save it from destruction.

Mr. McNEILL. I do not know that that is quite germane to the subject under discussion. I think an hon. member is bound to take the statement of another hon. member and not to impugn his veracity. The hon. gentleman has made that statement before in the House, and I said plainly that he had entirely misrepresented or misapprehended all that I had said. I said I believed the result of the struggle in which we were involved would be of great benefit in consolidating the British Empire, and that I agreed with Conan Doyle that a monument ought to be erected to Mr. Kruger for his services to that end. I do not think, therefore, that an hon. gentleman who has been so long a member of this House should so far transgress the rules of common decency between members of this House as to

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question my plain declaration in that regard. However, I am delighted to have proof from the speeches that have been delivered in this House by the hon. member for Michigan—I beg his pardon, the hon. member for North Norfolk—whom we have regarded so often as representing the interests of the United States, that an entente cordiale now exists between this country and the United States.

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS. I am afraid that you are introducing vinegar into the discussion.

Mr. McNEILL. Well, does not vinegar often proceed from the fermentation of sugar? Now, Mr. Speaker, referring to the subject under discussion, I will only say that I do not think it would be a very wise thing on the part of the government to allow a suggestion that this was likely to be a very successful industry in Canada to prevent them from giving it that support which in every other country in which beet-root sugar has been manufactured successfully has been granted in the shape of a bounty by the government. I agree with what has been so well said by the hon. member for East Grey (Mr. Sproule), that there is an almost constant expense in connection with this matter, in the education of the farmers for some years, to enable them to supply the factories with the beets that are required. I would urge upon the government that it is not yet too late this session to do something, although the budget speech has been delivered. I think last session it was subsequent to the delivery of the budget speech that we had the introduction of a bounty on iron; and I hope this year we may find that the government will take this matter into their favourable consideration and decide to grant a bounty. It is known that I am not a very warm supporter of the government, I often have a good deal of fault to find with them; but I must say that the Minister of Finance has received the deputations which I have had the pleasure of attending on this subject, with the greatest possible courtesy. I think he has shown an open mind with regard to this matter, and so has the Minister of Customs. I do not know whether the mind of the Minister of Agriculture is at all changed, I hope it is, and that he is coming around in our direction.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. Yes, it is quite open.

Mr. McNEILL. I am glad to hear that, because it is a change in the right direction. I would strongly urge upon the government to grant a bounty to help this industry, which I think will prove a source of wide-reaching benefit to the people of this country.

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

AFTER RECESS.

COMOX AND CAPE SCOTT RAILWAY.

House resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 35) to incorporate the Comox and Cape Scott Railway Company.—(Mr. Morrison.)

(In the Committee.)

On section 8,

Mr. A. MORRISON (New Westminster). Mr. Chairman, inadvertently, there has been an omission of a few words in this section by the solicitors who drafted the Bill, and I would ask the leave of the committee to have these words inserted. After the word 'in.' in the third line, and before the word 'Comox.' I wish to have the following words inserted: 'Wellington district, thence northerly to a point.' The section will then read as follows:

The company may lay out, construct and operate a railway of the gauge of four feet eight and one-half inches from a point in Wellington district, thence northerly to a point in Comox district.

With the permission of the committee, I ask that these words be inserted. It is merely a clerical amendment, and I think there should be no objection to their being inserted.

Mr. W. W. B. McINNES (Vancouver). Mr. Chairman, I would point out that the parties who are making this application are practically the parties who control the E. and N. charter, and the E. and N. charter already gives the parties controlling it power to build to Comox, so that there is no necessity for obtaining additional power to build from Wellington to Comox. My hon. friend (Mr. Morrison) has not given the usual notice, and consequently, the amendment would be out of order.

Mr. MORRISON. I am quite aware that this amendment cannot be made unless the hon. gentleman (Mr. McInnes) consents. The parties who have charge of this Bill have not given notice, deeming it unnecessary, in a matter of minor importance such as this. I am in the hands of the committee. Certainly, unless the hon. gentleman consents, the matter will have to stand. I would ask him, in order to expedite this Bill, and in view of the fact that there is no material difference in having these words inserted, to withdraw his objection. It would simply be expediting the work of the committee.

Mr. McINNES. My hon. friend can give notice of his amendment, and it can be taken up on the third reading of the Bill next Friday evening. There is practically no time lost at all by necessitating him giving notice.

The CHAIRMAN. We cannot amend the clause unless by consent.

Mr. MORRISON. We wish to have it amended. The Bill had better be allowed to stand. The clause passing without that amendment is not what is wanted.

The CHAIRMAN. Shall I report progress and ask leave to sit again?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes. I beg to move that the committee rise, report progress and ask leave to sit again.

Motion agreed to, and committee rose and reported progress.

THE GASPE SHORT LINE RAILWAY.

House again resolved itself into committee on Bill (No. 70) to incorporate the Gaspé Short Line Railway Company.—(Mr. Lemieux.)

(In the Committee.)

Mr. JOHN McALISTER (Restigouche). Mr. Chairman, I gave notice the other day that I would move, on the third reading of this Bill, or in the committee, that the following clause be added. I beg to move it now:

3. The company upon so acquiring the said railways or any portion thereof, shall forthwith become liable to pay and satisfy the claims of all persons who have heretofore performed, furnished or supplied labour, goods or materials to or for the said Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company or to or for the said Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company, or to or for any contractor or sub-contractor for the construction of any portion of either of the said railways, and the claims of all such persons whenever the same shall have accrued, shall be a first charge and lien upon the said railways so acquired, and upon all other property which shall at any time be acquired by the company hereby incorporated.

Mr. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Gaspé). Permit me to say that my hon. friend from Restigouche (Mr. McAlister) was in error when he stated on Monday last, that the present Bill was opposed by the electors of the counties of Gaspé and Bonaventure. I wish to state that I have received a number of petitions signed, not only by hundreds but by thousands of the electors of my county, favouring the construction of the railway from Paspebiac to Gaspé Basin.

Mr. McALISTER. From Paspebiac to Gaspé Basin?

Mr. LEMIEUX. Yes.

Mr. McALISTER. Nobody objects to that.

Mr. LEMIEUX. The Restigouche *Telephone*, published at Campbellton, has reported the resolution of the municipal councils and of the board of trade favouring such construction of the railway, and, besides, two of the directors of the company are members of the board of trade of Gaspé. But, that is not the object of the present amendment, and, therefore, I must say that

the amendment presented by my hon. friend (Mr. McAlister) cannot be accepted as it now reads by the promoters of the Bill. It goes too far. It saddles the directors of the company with obligations which really cannot be imposed upon any individual nor upon any company acquiring this railway. I may state that the directors of the company are prepared to meet my hon. friend (Mr. McAlister) half way, and they have agreed to substitute for the amendment now before the Chair, the following :

The company upon so acquiring the said railway shall forthwith become liable to pay and satisfy the claims of all persons who have heretofore performed, furnished and supplied labour, goods or material to or for the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company in connection with the operating of its railway.

This is a very extraordinary obligation to impose upon a company, or upon an individual who would buy a railway or any other property from the sheriff. However, as I have said, in order to meet my hon. friend half way, we are ready to adopt the amendment which I have read. I must say that already the Railway Committee have imposed very heavy obligations upon this company. For instance, an amendment was added in the committee to clause 14, by which the present company will be obliged—

Mr. McALISTER. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Lemieux) allow me to ask him a question? Is what he means by 'operating' there in the amendment, the debts that have been incurred since the road began to run? It does not seem to cover the debts incurred in the construction at all.

Mr. LEMIEUX. I will say to my hon. friend that, to my mind, his amendment is unjust.

Mr. McALISTER. The hon. gentleman did not answer my question. My question was, is this amendment confined to the debts which have been contracted since the road commenced?

Mr. LEMIEUX. This would cover about twenty years.

Mr. McALISTER. Does the remark refer to the amendment you proposed?

Mr. FOSTER. What does the word 'operating' mean?

Mr. LEMIEUX. The operating of the railway, I suppose, is the running of the railway, and the company shall be bound to pay these debts.

Mr. McALISTER. It does not refer to the construction at all.

Mr. LEMIEUX. I understand that my hon. friend (Mr. McAlister) represents a large number of labourers in his county who worked on the construction of the

Mr. LEMIEUX.

road. Well, he is protected by an Act passed in the year 1891, intituled 'An Act respecting the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company.' The labourers belonging to his county have worked under Mr. McFarlane's contract, and there is a clause in the Act of 1891 in which it is said :

That the said claim and charge has had and shall have priority over all mortgages, hypothecs, charges and incumbrances whatsoever, created by the company before or after the passing of this Act for any purpose whatsoever upon the said part of the railway or upon the said lands, tracks, buildings, materials, rolling stock or other property, movable or immovable, to the said part appurtenant, and no registration in any manner whatever shall be necessary in order to provide such priority.

Therefore, my hon. friend (Mr. McAlister) is protected by that clause.

Mr. McALISTER. Does that afford any more protection to these creditors than the judgment against the company by McFarlane? Does not McFarlane's judgment cover all that this section of the Act provides for?

Mr. LEMIEUX. I was informed this afternoon by Mr. Barwick, one of the directors of the company, who represents the Bank of Ontario, that all the creditors who have worked under Mr. McFarlane's contract, shall be paid out of the proceeds of the sale, and he has further informed my hon. friend that if some of them have failed to file their claims with the assignee, Mr. Riddell, the hon. gentleman (Mr. McAlister) can take Mr. Barwick's word that they will be allowed to file their claims now. But, according to the amendment of my hon. friend (Mr. McAlister) the directors who would acquire the Baie des Chaleurs Railway would have to pay nearly half a million dollars of the debts of the present company. That is neither fair nor just, and I think that the amendment which I now move to substitute for his, would cover all the conditions.

Mr. T. C. CASGRAIN (Montmorency). It seems to me that the position is this: If the company which is seeking incorporation now, has the right to purchase this railway with all its privileges, franchises, &c., it takes all the assets that the Baie des Chaleurs Railway has. It seems to me to be just that it should at the same time incur those obligations which are existing to-day. I would not go so far as to say that any obligations which have been prescribed should be included in the Bill so as to make them payable, for I think it would be going rather far for this House to legislate so as to change the law in order to allow as privileged claims on this road, claims which really have no existence whatever. There are certain claims arising out of the construction of the road, and which have come into existence lately, which should be protected. We know that

the road from Metapedia to New Richmond and even further, has been built for a long while, and that those who have worked upon the road have either been paid by the different commissioners who have been appointed, or, if they have not been paid, it is probably because they were negligent and did not file their claims in time, or were guilty of some disqualification which is imputable only to themselves. But, those workmen who have worked at a low rate during the time within which their claims could not be prescribed by law seem to me to deserve the same protection from this House. They would not be protected if this Bill went into operation without adding to section 14 such an amendment as my hon. friend proposed. Another difficulty is this: Is the law we are now passing going to override the law of the province of Quebec? Are the privileges and liens that exist under the Civil Code of the province of Quebec going to be wiped out by this legislation?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick). That is the effect of the amendment.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I do not think so. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that the amendment of the hon. member for Restigouche (Mr. McAlister) protects not only those who furnished material and labour for the operation of the road, but those who worked upon the construction of the road, and whose claims probably deserve more recognition from this House than any others. The Civil Code of the province of Quebec gives the labourers on this railway, whether for operating it or constructing it, a lien, which it seems to me will be wiped out by section 14, if it remains as it is. Article 2009, paragraph 9, of the Civil Code, says. Are privileged claims upon immovable property the following:

9. Servants' wages and those of employees of railway companies engaged in manual labour under the same restrictions as funeral expenses.

That is, they have to be registered within a certain time, and it has to be shown that the movables belonging to the company are not sufficient to pay the claims. If my hon. friend from Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux) wants to protect those who have worked on the construction of the railway, he should go a step further and add the word construction to his amendment after the word operation. That would remove all difficulties. I am not interested in this Bill further than that I have received a number of letters from persons who have claims upon it, and it is in their interest that I ask my hon. friend from Gaspé to do that justice to those people who have worked on the construction of the road which he is ready to do to those who have operated the railway.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. It seems to me that the Bill is not very clearly understood. Here is a railway which is abso-

lutely bankrupt, in the hands of a corporation which has been in possession of it since 1872, which corporation has received during that time \$972,000 of the moneys of the Dominion of Canada and the province of Quebec. A great part of these moneys have never been used in the construction of the railway, but have been appropriated for the purposes which it is not necessary now to discuss. This work, so substantially aided by both governments, is in such a position that it is absolutely closed up and unworkable. The company which seeks this Act of incorporation comes here and asks us to give it power to acquire that road when it goes to sale under the judgment now obtained against it for some \$180,000. My hon. friend from Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain), says it would be improper to allow the franchise to go over to the new company without also transferring the obligations of the old company. That is perfectly right under ordinary circumstances; but that is not what we are dealing with here. We are giving this company the right to purchase the railway at a sheriff's sale.

Mr. FOSTER. That is not stated in section 14.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. It necessarily means a sheriff's sale.

Mr. BERGERON. If it is not sold at a sheriff's sale, what is the use of the Bill?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. If it is not sold at a sheriff's sale the use of the Bill is to give the company the right to acquire the railway, and they cannot acquire it by voluntary sale without taking the liabilities. That is a simple principle of law which is not arguable.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I think it is.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Do you mean to say that a man can acquire a going concern and take its assets without assuming its liabilities towards bondholders and other privileged creditors?

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax). Does the hon. gentleman deny that that can be done by an Act of parliament? The question is whether it is not done by this section.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. It is quite obvious to any one who reads the section that it is not done. It was never intended that if this corporation acquired this road, it should not take over the debts due to the labourers and others, and that can be made clear. But by the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Restigouche you are endeavouring to saddle on this new corporation not only the debts of the Baie des Chaleurs, but those of the Atlantic and Lake Superior as well.

Mr. McALISTER. Are they not the same road?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. No. The Atlantic and Lake Superior Company is a

company to construct a railway from the Atlantic to Lake Superior. The amendment proposed by the hon. member for Gaspé provides for paying all the claims of the labourers.

Mr. CASGRAIN. It does not cover all the debts of the Lake Superior and Atlantic Company, but simply those incurred by the Baie des Chaleurs Company. It seems to me that it only applies to that portion of the Lake Superior and Atlantic Railway which is called the Baie des Chaleurs Railway. If that is not so, the amendment should be made clear.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. It is quite clear that it applies to both railways, if my hon. friend will read the section carefully. The position taken by my hon. friend from Gaspé is this. He says: I am willing that this corporation should become liable, upon acquiring the railway, or any portion thereof, to satisfy the claims of all persons who have heretofore performed, furnished or supplied labour, goods or materials, to or for the said Baie des Chaleurs Company in connection with the working of its railway. What more does my hon. friend want? The only claim for construction against the railway company, is the claim of McFarlane, and that is secured by the Act of 1891. But, my hon. friend knows well that this corporation will not have the exclusive right of buying in the defunct railway. Any individual can buy it in against this corporation, and what would be his position? He would simply deposit the money in court, which would then be available for distribution among the creditors, according to their rights. You are, therefore, hampering this corporation, by saddling and encumbering it with an obligation which you do not impose on a private individual. That seems to be the whole position.

Mr. BERGERON. He was not here.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. True, I was not here, but perhaps I can see the point and will endeavour to explain it. What these hon. gentlemen pretend, is that any individual who would buy the road, would have to come back to this parliament for the purpose of getting an Act of incorporation to enable him to work it, and then parliament would saddle him with other liabilities. That is to say, after a man has purchased the property from the sheriff, this parliament would saddle him with liabilities which he did not assume when he made the purchase. By virtue of what authority would this parliament do that? By the legislation of 1891, this corporation has been saddled with the obligation, in case it purchases this road, of paying \$190,000 to the McFarlane estate for work done on the road. We are now going further and imposing upon it the burden of paying unknown liabilities to all those who have been, for the last few years, working in connection with

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the operation of either road. You are putting on this corporation an unforeseen liability which will make it absolutely impossible for it to purchase the road.

Mr. CASGRAIN. My hon. friend contradicts himself. He says, in the first place, that there is no use putting in the amendment, because, under the law, anybody who purchased the road, has to assume the liabilities under section 14.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Except at sheriff's sale.

Mr. CASGRAIN. I do not see, even if sold at sheriff's sale, that he would be in anywise bound, reading the Bill as I do now, to pay the liabilities upon the road. I cannot see anything in our law which would compel him to. But, it seems to me that the section as it reads, simply empowers, whether at sheriff's sale, or otherwise, this company to purchase the privileges of the road, and the company can take that road without the existing liabilities upon it, except those created by law, and which have been registered against it. There will be no other liability—no liabilities to those who have worked in the construction of the road at all, except they have registered their claims within the delay provided by law. If the Bill passes, as drafted, these liabilities will be wiped out. My hon. friend says this Bill is to enable the new company to purchase at sheriff's sale. But, if a sheriff's sale can take place, the Bill is not necessary. It is evidently, however, for the purpose of enabling these people to purchase the road at sheriff's sale, and then dispensing them from the necessity of coming back to this House, according to the Railway Act, to be incorporated and get the privilege from this parliament of operating the road. If that is the object of the Bill, let us know it.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Of course it is.

Mr. CASGRAIN. But, I humbly submit that if it is to allow these people to purchase at sheriff's sale, the Bill will not give that right, because the sheriff in the province of Quebec cannot sell a railway, as a going concern, if that road is not entirely within the province of Quebec. Under the decisions of the courts a sheriff can only sell a railway in the province of Quebec as a going concern, provided it is limited to that province; but if it is under a Dominion charter and extends beyond the limits of the province, its sale is subject to such conditions that practically it cannot be purchased at sheriff's sale. An opposition made by an interested party would prevent the sheriff from selling it.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. This road is entirely within the province of Quebec.

Mr. CASGRAIN. It is not. The road is now sold to the Lake Superior and Atlantic

Railway, and has been owned by it for five or six years past. Therefore, it is a road which extends beyond the province of Quebec, and under the judgment in Redfield and township Wickham.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. The last case is Grey and the Manitoba and North-west Railway.

Mr. CASGRAIN. Under these decisions, such a road as this cannot be sold at sheriff's sale as a going concern, and this Bill would, therefore, be inoperative. If, as my hon. friend says, these rights are protected, why is it that my hon. friend from Gaspé proposes the amendment he did?

Mr. LEMIEUX. To meet you half way in a friendly way.

Mr. CASGRAIN. But, my hon. friend does not go far enough. No reason has been shown why, if he wants to protect those who have worked at the road in its operation, he should not be equally willing to protect those workmen who have worked in its construction between Metapedia and Caplin? My hon. friend knows that that portion of the road between Caplin and Paspébaic has been built within a very short time, and I am informed that the workmen are not paid, and that their claims are not prescribed. Why would my hon. friend not put in his amendment something to cover the claims of these men? No reason has been given why he should not do that. My hon. friend says that the statute of 1891, protects them because their claim is the first lien on the road. That is all well and good for those who have implicit faith in Mr. McFarlane or Mr. Barwick, but many are not willing to take their word. In the face of this section of the Bill, which wipes out their claim altogether, they say: We are not willing to take the risk of either McFarlane or Barwick, not paying, and we want something in this Bill which will guarantee our rights. In simple justice, we should protect the rights of these people.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. My hon. friend has evidently not looked into the legislation which governs this corporation, or he would not have said what he did about the sheriff's sale. Section 2, of 57-58 Victoria, chapter 62, which provides for the ratification of the purchase by the Atlantic and Lake Superior of the Baie des Chaleurs Railways, says:

Nothing in this Act shall be held to relieve any of the said companies from any of their debts or liabilities, nor shall affect the rights or priorities of the holders of the bonds or debentures of the companies, as such, with respect to the assets and property of the companies, which rights and priorities shall continue; nor shall in anywise affect any suit or proceeding now pending either by or against any of the said companies, or any judgment existing, which may be prosecuted, continued, or completed and enforced as if this Act had not been passed.

It was intended to enforce a judgment, if obtained by McFarlane in a case which was pending at the time this Act was passed, so there can be no doubt that, under that judgment, we have the right to bring that road to sale, so the case of Gray and the Manitoba and North-west has absolutely no application. The hon. gentleman says his object is to protect the labourer. But he is not protecting the labourer when he seeks to fix upon this company liability for debt incurred fifteen or twenty years ago. If he wishes to protect the labourer, I offer him this suggestion. Let the amendment read:

The company, upon so acquiring the said railway or any portion thereof, shall forthwith become liable to pay and satisfy the claims of any persons who have heretofore performed, furnished or supplied—

Taking the words of the hon. member for Restigouche (Mr. McAllister):

—labour, goods or material to or for the said Baie des Chaleurs Railway in connection with the working or construction of this railway.

Mr. McALISTER. Suppose you put 'construction' ahead of 'operating.' It does not make much difference but will put them in their natural order. Make it 'construction' or 'working.'

Mr. FOSTER. It would be better not to rush the matter through until we see if the point desired is covered or not. If it is covered, as contended by the Solicitor General, what is the objection of putting 'construction' before 'working'?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Let the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) point out why it should be otherwise.

Mr. G. E. FOSTER (York, N.B.) If the hon. Solicitor General (Mr. Fitzpatrick) is of opinion that it is really covered, he cannot object; if there is any doubt at all about it, his contention that it is covered has no effect. On either ground, I cannot see why there should be objections to putting in 'construction and.' I am not a lawyer and I cannot argue this out from a lawyer's standpoint, but I cannot understand the proposition under which the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux) stands, when he says he is ready to meet my hon. friend from Restigouche half way. He wants to cut off half the labour that has gone into the road. He says he is willing to pay for the labour going into the operating of the road, and asks that this should be considered as meeting us half way. I do not think that at all. We are making a dividing line between two bodies of labourers exactly of the same kind. The labouring man who goes in and gives his labour towards the construction of the road has as good a right to his wages as the man who goes in after the locomotive and cars are running and ballasts the line or rearranges the sleep-

ers or does any other work necessary to continue the running of the road. There is no difference in kind between these two. And, if one kind of labour is to be provided for why not the other? The words put in by my hon. friend (Mr. McAlister) makes no distinction between these classes of labour. It gives the man who labours on construction the same right of redress as the man who labours on the road when it is running. But there are two or three peculiar things about this whole matter with respect to which I cannot understand the position of the hon. member for Gaspé. He says he has petitions, and, I think statement from the board of trade, asking that a company be chartered to build a road between Gaspé and Paspébiac. But if he looks at this legislation that is proposed he will find that it does not give the right to build between Gaspé and Paspébiac.

Mr. LEMIEUX. If my hon. friend (Mr. Foster) will allow me, there is an amendment made in the Railway Committee which provides that when the company shall have acquired the railway of the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company and begun the operation of the road, it shall construct the remaining portion of the railway, that is between Paspébiac and Gaspé Basin, beginning within one year and completing the construction within three years.

Mr. FOSTER. Construction of what portion of the line?

Mr. LEMIEUX. The shore line.

Mr. FOSTER. Between what points?

Mr. LEMIEUX. Between Paspébiac and New Carlisle or Gaspé Basin.

Mr. FOSTER. That is not in section 9 of the Bill.

Mr. LEMIEUX. An amendment was made in the Railway Committee, which appears as subsection 3 of section 14, and reads:

When the company acquires the railway of the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company, then and only then, work shall be commenced on the uncompleted portion of the said railway within one year, and to be completed within three years of the passing of this Act.

Mr. FOSTER. That seems to make provision that when this company which is now being chartered shall have acquired the railroad, the right to acquire which is given in section 14, it shall go on and build an additional line, carrying the present road from Paspébiac to Gaspé. There is one peculiar thing which strikes me in the first place in regard to this whole legislation, and that is that we are enacting through legislation which was not asked for in the petition—that is, you have entirely shifted the ground from the application which was made and advertised, and with which the promoters came to the committee. What was asked for by the promoters in the adver-

tisements? The only notice I find that they have given is this:

Notice is hereby given that application will be made to the parliament of Canada at the next session thereof for an Act to incorporate a company with all necessary powers to construct, operate and maintain a line of railway from a point at or near Gaspé Basin, in the county of Gaspé, and thence in a westerly direction through the counties of Gaspé and Rimouski, in the province of Quebec, to a point connecting it with the Intercolonial Railway at or near Causapsal, in the said county of Rimouski, with power to connect with and enter into running arrangements over any and all railways situate within a distance of three miles from any portion of said railway.

Now, I think it is a well understood principle that the notice and petition should embrace the object of the legislation, and that the legislation should keep within what is asked for by the petition and in the notice. What are the facts? You are not in this Act giving the legislation which was asked for in the petition and which was advertised; consequently you have given no notice to the public at all, you have given no notice to the counties interested in it, you have set out nothing with reference to the real legislation which you are passing here now. For the real legislation you are attempting to pass is not to build a line from Gaspé through the counties of Gaspé and Rimouski to a point on the Intercolonial Railway, but you are legislating here to give that company power to buy out a road, not a single notice of which, not a single line with reference to which, is mentioned in the notice or in the application made by the promoters of the Bill. It seems to me that proceeding in this way, in completely changing the grounds given in the notice, the Railway Committee has hardly done what it should have done. It is possible that the whole of Gaspé and Rimouski may be entirely in favour of what is asked for in that petition, and it may be possible that a large portion of those counties is not in favour of this. What is the use of setting forth the petition and advertising what you are asking for unless you keep somewhere near the notice set out in the petition? But, as the right hon. gentleman who leads the government said last night, the object of this legislation is not to have another road built from Gaspé north, running through those two counties to a point on the Intercolonial Railway. What this legislation is for is to create an entity which can take advantage of the sheriff's hammer and buy out this road which is already built to a certain extent up to Paspébiac.

Mr. LEMIEUX. Which is bankrupt.

Mr. FOSTER. No matter whether it is bankrupt or not. The question is whether it is a fair method of procedure. If the promoters had given notice of what they want-

ed the legislation for, then all parties would have been advertised of that, and they could have come to the committee knowing exactly what was proposed and prepared to state their objections. But you say to the whole country that what you are going to do in the Railway Committee is to discuss the question whether the road shall be built from Gaspé through the counties of Gaspé and Rimouski to a point on the Intercolonial Railway, and then you go into that committee-room and pass legislation which is not for that purpose at all, but is expressly stated to be for the simple purpose of buying out a railway from 30 to 40 miles distant from the line you have applied for, and to do that is the sole object of the creation of the company. It seems to me this is not giving notice to the public. It seems to me there is a proper and fair grievance to complain of.

Mr. LEMIEUX. Mr. Armstrong's grievance.

Mr. FOSTER. My hon. friend has no right to insinuate as to whose grievance it is; he has no right to say in this argument whether it is one man's grievance or another's. Supposing it is Mr. Armstrong's grievance, supposing it is the bondholder's grievance who have put their money into the construction of that road, suppose it is the labourers' grievance who have put their work into it, the hon. gentleman cannot get away from the rights of the case by trying to make it a personal matter. I am sure that he would not try to do that, that was a little remark made aside. But take Mr. Armstrong or anybody else, they have gone to work under contracts with this government, they have got charter rights, they have built up to Paspébiac under the charter of this road, they have got subsidies voted for a railway extension from Paspébiac to the north, and the bondholders who have put their money into that certainly have some rights. But coming down to the kernel of the whole thing, is it not right that the labour which went into that, whether in the construction or in the operation of the road, that that labour and those supplies should be provided for, and if you are going to create a company, they should be put in a favourable position. Because it is impossible for any one to compete with them, the only struggle will be between the present company to keep its charter rights, and this company which you are now putting into operation and giving a standing to. No third party has any chance. You are going to pass over to them not only the right to the rolling stock and to the road bed, but the right to operate the road as well. Any third party who would attempt to buy that would have to do so in the face of the fact that there is an organization which has given to it rights, and any third party coming in has got to take his chances.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. It seems to me peculiar that when all parties are agreed upon the amendment, we should have this long speech with reference to the rights of labour, that after all these long years during which over \$500,000 of public money has gone into this road, very little regard was had for the labourer whose grievances now receive so much attention. The suggestion which I made to the member for Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain), was accepted by him before the member for York (Mr. Foster) addressed the committee at all. I cannot understand why this long speech has been made under the circumstances; because after all, there never was any desire to distinguish between the labour which had contributed either to the construction or to the operation of the road. We thought the words we had in the amendment were sufficient to cover the rights of labour. It was impossible for us to accept the amendment proposed by the member for Restigouche (Mr. McAlister) because it covered a road which was not in issue here at all.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fitzpatrick) has missed something by not being here when the other part of the discussion went on. The other night it took us an hour to convince hon. gentlemen opposite that there ought to be anything in this Bill to protect the labourer. The Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) himself declared it would be unconstitutional to put it in. The hon. gentleman can read the argument in the *Hansard* for himself; and if he will attend to his business and come once in a while to this House, he would know better what is going on, and would not be so positive in his statements when he comes to speak at the tail-end of a discussion. The hon. gentleman gets up now and says that he always intended to protect the labourer, but members of the government who are stronger than he is have argued for hours that it was unconstitutional to have anything like that put in. He says he made no distinction between labour. Did not the hon. member for Gaspé make a distinction between the classes of labour? The hon. gentleman is willing that they should pay only for the labour that went into the operation of the road. Now, then this Solon gets up and declares that they are not making any distinction between. I would advise my hon. friend to attend the sessions of the House more closely before he undertakes to correct other members.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. Although I was not here the other night, I think I have a better knowledge of what went on than the hon. gentleman has, because the right hon. Prime Minister suggested, that, in view of the amendment proposed by the hon. member for Restigouche to protect the creditors, the matter should be allowed to

remain over in order that the point might be considered. That is the stand taken by the Prime Minister to the knowledge of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), who came here and misstated his position deliberately.

Mr. FOSTER. Here we have the spectacle of a Minister of Justice, legal, judicious, cool, careful that every basis that he lays down is irrefragible, that there is no ground for change in it, rising and declaring that I have misstated a fact because the Prime Minister, after we had forced him, after hours of discussion to do so, declares that we will let it lie over and look into it.

The PRIME MINISTER. No, I did not say that.

Mr. FOSTER. Although he and the hon. Minister of Railways, and I think the hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries and others, had declared that it was absurd and unconstitutional.

The PRIME MINISTER. I never said a word of that kind.

Mr. FOSTER. Now the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fitzpatrick), with a small subterfuge that poorly represents justice in this House, takes the admission that was wrung from the right hon. Prime Minister, after hours of discussion, that the matter should lie over, as proof positive that all the preceding discussion did not amount to anything. The preceding discussion was just exactly the leaven which leavened the lump.

The PRIME MINISTER. I am within the knowledge of the House when I say that I did not say a word against the constitutionality, or the legality, or the propriety of having these creditors paid. But, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster) has just given a clue as to where this proposition comes from. The hon. gentleman stated, a moment ago, that this is a fight between the new company and the old company.

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The PRIME MINISTER. We have the hon. gentleman taking the part of this old company, which is bankrupt, which does not want to be deprived of that property which it has so much abused.

Mr. FOSTER. I cannot allow the right hon. gentleman to misrepresent me in that small kind of way. It is unworthy of the right hon. Prime Minister to do so. The right hon. gentleman goes farther than the hon. member for Gaspé, and the hon. member for Gaspé was ashamed of the statement that he made.

Mr. LEMIEUX. Ashamed of the statement?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, rather, after he had made it, because he knew it was not a fair thing to try to make it appear that when I was arguing for a principle I was arguing

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for a person's private interest. But the Prime Minister goes still further, and tries to make it appear that my argument should not have any force because I am, as he says, championing a bankrupt company. That is not the ground of my argument at all. Neither can the hon. gentleman get away from the position he took the other night very flatly in contradiction of the position taken by the hon. Solicitor General, and from which he was driven by the arguments from this side of the House.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Foster), a moment ago, stated deliberately that the Prime Minister had opposed this amendment on the ground that it was unconstitutional. Let us set this question at rest once and for all. Here is what the Prime Minister said:

Perhaps we could come to some conclusion on this. My hon. friend from Restigouche (Mr. McAlister) wants to protect the creditors. The amendment he moves cannot be taken at this stage of the Bill. The promoter of the Bill is not here, but he will, no doubt, be here shortly, and, no doubt, the hon. gentleman will have occasion to consult with him. I sympathize with the view of the hon. member (Mr. McAlister) presents and the object he has in view.

This is raising the constitutionality of the question. There is the question of fact settled.

Mr. FOSTER. It is not quite settled because that statement of sympathy was made. I do not know how many minutes, but, I will venture to say it was made an hour, or more, after the discussion began. The last thing that was done was the moving of the amendment by the hon. member for Restigouche. The whole discussion had passed before that amendment came up. I understand my hon. friend to be willing to amend the resolution by adding the words 'construction and,' so that it settles that part of the question.

Mr. BERGERON. Mr. Chairman—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Time, time.

(The hour for private Bills having expired, the committee rose.)

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE SHIPMENT AND TRANSPORTATION OF GRAIN.

Mr. SUTHERLAND laid on the Table:

Return, in part, to an order of the House, dated March 19, 1900, for a copy of the report and evidence taken by the royal commission on the shipment and transportation of grain.

He said: Mr. Speaker, perhaps I may be allowed to say to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin), who is so much interested in this return, that the evidence is very voluminous, that it is now being prepared and will be laid on the Table of the House just as soon as a copy of it can be made.

Mr. DAVIN. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) has not brought down a copy of the letter of the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) to Judge Senkler, or of the order in council on which the commission was issued. These were read on each occasion that the commission met in a new place, and I do not think they have been brought down.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Did the hon. gentleman inquire? I am almost certain they were brought down.

Mr. DAVIN. I inquired.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. If not, I will inquire into it again and give the hon. gentleman (Mr. Davin) the information to-morrow.

GRAIN TRANSPORTATION TO THE SEABOARD.

House resumed the adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Bennett:

That, in the opinion of this House, it is advisable to take a definite line of action with regard to the question of transportation of the grain and other commodities of the North-west Territories, Manitoba and the United States, with a view of centreing the same to the greatest possible extent in Canadian channels.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk). Mr. Speaker, I desire, to-night, to occupy the attention of the House for a few moments in connection with the discussion upon this question of transportation from the interior to the seaboard. The question of cheap transportation is one that has occupied the attention of the public to a large extent for the last two or three years. It is proper, in the consideration of this question to give attention to a factor in the problem which is likely to exercise a controlling influence. That, Sir, is the improvement of facilities on railways for performing cheaply the work of transporting grain and other freight from the interior to the seaboard. Those familiar with railway transportation are aware that from time to time very great changes and very great improvements are taking place in this direction. I can remember when railroads were laid with iron rails upon the old chair couplings, and when the cost of transportation by rail was, perhaps, ten times greater than it is at present. Great improvements have been made since then; the fish-plate joint; the continuous line of rail, the substitution of the steel rail for the iron rail; improvement in rolling stock, the increase in hauling power; until now it is a doubtful thing whether transportation by water can do any more than hold its own in competition with transportation by rail. The next move in

improving railway facilities will be the introduction of the 100-pound rail and the building of freight cars with a capacity of 50 tons each. We will see railways—upon a comparatively good line—transporting in one train the cargo of an ordinary grain vessel. Cars carrying 1,700 bushels to the car, and a freight train of forty cars of that capacity means 68,000 bushels to the train, or the cargo of a large-size vessel passing through a canal with a depth of 14 feet.

We have lately embarked in the scheme of enlarging our own canals upon the St. Lawrence, and we are about to provide a continuous line of water navigation fourteen feet deep from the upper lakes to the seaboard. The cheapening of freight which will result from this improvement in our canal system will unquestionably be immediately met by the American railways, and so, the result of our canal improvements will be, not so much to draw ship business to our own seaports as to lower the rates of freight from the west to the seaboard, for the benefit largely of American farmers in the western states. The larger portion of the grain moved from the west to the seaboard comes from Chicago and other American points, and if we have introduced the system of improving our canals which will cheapen the freight upon this great amount of grain, it would, if the cheapened rates were not met by the American railways, bring that grain to Montreal. But the meeting of this reduction of rates by the American lines will simply leave the business relatively in the condition which it occupies at the present time. It is asserted, and I believe with truth, that the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Grand Trunk Railway and the Canada Atlantic Railway are capable of placing all the grain in Montreal at low rates of freight, that tonnage can be found for its transport from Montreal to the old country. The difficulty, which is felt even now, is not so much the inability of our railway lines to place grain in Montreal at a low rate of freight as the impossibility of obtaining tonnage from Montreal to British ports. The Canada Atlantic and other Canadian lines, during the past season transported the following enormous quantities of grain:

Western Grain, via Lake and Rail Ports,
Season of 1899.

	Bushels.
Depot Harbour, via C. A. R.....	13,693,781
Midland, via G. T. R.....	6,815,303
Owen Sound, via C. P. R.....	2,620,177
Goderich, via G. T. R.....	865,132
Collingwood, ".....	236,292
Sarnia, ".....	3,416,856
Kingston, ".....(about)	6,434,793
Prescott, ".....	1,591,258

Of this grain there was carried for export from Montreal the following:

Western Grain for Export from Montreal,
Season of 1899.

	Bushels.
Depot Harbour, via C. A. R.....	11,100,000
Midland, "	3,500,000
Owen Sound, "	1,500,000
Kingston, "	4,500,000
Prescott, "	1,100,000

Shipped by all Canadian routes from
Chicago 19,606,599
Of which the Parry Sound route carried 8,833,269

Now, the Parry Sound line, in 1898, transported grain from Chicago or Duluth to Montreal for 3½ cents a bushel. The cost of transportation upon this road last year was somewhat higher, for the reason that there was a scarcity of freight cars and a scarcity of tonnage upon the upper lakes, and freights were abnormally high, mainly in consequence of the great demand for vessels for the ore trade, which was unusually active, and which absorbed the greater part of the lake tonnage. Under ordinary conditions the Canada Atlantic Railway could place grain from either Chicago or Duluth in Montreal for within four cents per bushel.

Mr. POWELL. Is that railway freight ?

Mr. CHARLTON. That is the freight by lake and by railway. The railway freight from Depot Harbour to Montreal would be a fraction below two cents per bushel.

There is a proposition at the present moment to enlarge the Erie Canal. The maximum amount of grain arriving in New York is 136,000,000 bushels in a year, and of that amount the Erie Canal carries about 4 per cent, the New York Central about 36 per cent, and the other railways the balance. There is a proposition to enlarge the Erie Canal at an expense of \$60,000,000 to give a depth of from ten to twelve feet of water. That proposition involves the expenditure of \$60,000,000, and calculating about \$600,000 a year for the cost of canal management, it would result in an annual charge of \$3,000,000 for the purpose of cheapening grain freight rates, and basing that upon the 136,000,000 bushels per annum which is the maximum that New York received from the west, then the interest upon this investment amounts to 2 3-10ths cents per bushel, or about enough to carry grain from Depot Harbour to Montreal or from Chicago or Duluth to Depot Harbour.

This illustrates the part that railways are playing in the modern transportation problem, and it illustrates in the case of the Erie Canal the uselessness of attempting to put that canal upon the basis of competing with the railway system, or of doing anything whatever, except, possibly, to regulate the freights by acting as a check on the increasing of those rates by railway corporations. We have invested large sums in our St. Lawrence Canal system, it is probably wise we did so—but, before taking up

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any other canal projects, it is time now, I imagine to allow the effect of these enlargements of the St. Lawrence canals to become clearly demonstrated, and to see what is to be the result in the very near future of the introduction of the 100-pound rail and the 50-ton car, and the other improvements in the transportation by rail, which are certain to reduce the cost to a very low figure. Take a train of forty cars, and on the Canada Atlantic Railway, which is now being equipped with 50-ton cars, from Depot Harbour to Madawaska, twenty-three cars to a train carrying 37,500 bushels, can be hauled by one locomotive, and from Madawaska to Montreal, forty cars carrying 68,700 bushels. From Ottawa to Montreal, a still heavier load could be carried. The Canada Atlantic road, with this equipment, carrying in one train as much grain as a vessel would carry on such a canal as the Ottawa Valley Canal, with fourteen feet of water—the Canada Atlantic road, with a train of that capacity, capable of carrying that grain from Depot Harbour to Montreal for 2 cents a bushel, and from Chicago or Duluth to Montreal for 3½ cents a bushel, leaves nothing to be desired, and leaves nothing that can be possibly attained in the shape of securing cheaper transportation. I desire to place before the House these views, which I have received from headquarters, the owner of the Canada Atlantic Railway, himself, as to the capacity of that road and as to the cost of transportation. He tells me that the capacity of that road, if it could get an outlet for its traffic, if there were tonnage to take its grain at Montreal, is 50,000,000 bushels a year, which is a larger quantity than Montreal receives. With these possibilities and capabilities of transportation, I hold that it is prudent and advisable for us now to stay our hands in the matter of investments in canals, and to be content for the present, with the system which we propose to inaugurate between Lake Erie and Montreal, and wait until we see definitely whether the public interest requires the investment of any more money in canals.

Mr. POWELL. Has the hon. gentleman the rates by rail from Buffalo to New York ?

Mr. CHARLTON. The rates from Buffalo to New York vary. They are sometimes as low as 2½ cents or 3 cents a bushel. In the winter they are higher.

Mr. McCLEARY. The rates have never been lower from Buffalo to New York than 3½ cents until this year, when it was proposed to make them 3 cents.

Mr. CHARLTON. The railway transportation problem in the United States will not be affected so much by the rates from Buffalo to New York, as from points in the west, where the grain is received by the railways to New York. The grain is received

in the west by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway, the Chicago and North-western, or some other railway, and taken to Chicago; it is there placed in an elevator and sent by lake to Buffalo, where it is again placed in an elevator; and it is then transported by canal or railway to New York. Or it may be sent direct from Chicago to New York by rail. The methods of shipment have undergone a revolution in the last few years, and now cars of large capacity receive the grain direct from the farmers' hands in the west, and it is carried to New York by rail without breaking bulk, or with only one or two transshipments; and this is probably to be the method in the future by which the great bulk of the grain of the west will reach the seaboard. There are various seaports contending for this business—Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, but the chief points at the present time are Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. In addition to these, probably a great business will be built up at Newport News, a magnificent port south of the Chesapeake Bay, on the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway. The business of investing great sums of money in canals for the shipping of the products of the west to the seaboard, has seen its day, and in my belief, it is unnecessary to invest any more money in this class of works for the settlement of the transportation problem. These are the points which I wished to place before the public in regard to this matter. We are, of course, deeply interested in the subject. Canada desires to secure as large a portion of this trade for her own seaports as possible, and the question with us is, what is the best method to be adopted for the purpose of securing this trade. I hold that we have in our own railway lines which reach the waters of the upper lakes and the north-west, all the facilities and means necessary for solving this problem, and securing the realization of our desires in this respect. Whether the building of the St. Lawrence canals was a mistake or not, and whether or not a heavy expenditure was necessary at Port Colborne, I think, we have gone as far in that direction as we are warranted or justified in doing, until we have more reliable data as to the effect of these improvements in railways and these reductions in the cost of transportation by the railways of Canada and the United States.

Mr. W. H. BENNETT (East Simcoe). Mr. Speaker, when I moved the resolution standing in my name, I ventured to express the hope that a discussion might arise upon it, and, I think, the House can be congratulated that it has not been disappointed. Still, I think, the subject was of such importance as to well warrant the discussion that has taken place. I listened most carefully the other night to the speech of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair), and

I am sure the country will breathe a great deal easier after that speech, because he laid it down once and for ever, that all the wildcat schemes that have been engrossing the attention of the public, particularly in the province of Ontario, are to be set aside, and not to be considered. During the last year, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte), has from time to time, at different places, according to the tastes of the audiences he addressed, catered to what they might desire. At the town of Collingwood he announced that the policy of the government was to spend untold millions in constructing a line of railway from Toronto to a point on the Georgian Bay, which he insinuated would be at the town of Collingwood. He gladdened the hearts of the people of North Bay, by saying that this government proposed to spend millions in opening a line of navigation from Lake Nipissing by the French River to the Georgian Bay, by which the golden grain of the west would be carried. Not to be outdone by the Minister of Public Works, the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), on a recent occasion led the people of Collingwood to believe that this railway between Collingwood and Toronto, might possibly be undertaken at a very early day. But, if there was at any time any idea in the mind of the Minister of Public Works, that either of these projects was to be undertaken, had he been here the other night, his hopes would have been shattered, when he heard the statement of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals, that these schemes had nothing to commend them, and were not to be viewed by this government with any favour. Speaking on this question, the Minister of Railways and Canals said:

Possibly those gentlemen who hold this view may be right, but I do not think they are, and I do not think a case can be made out.

The reference was to the making use of a mixed line of railway and water communication. Later on the minister went out of his way, I thought, to give the Booth system a black eye, by insinuating that that railway had been struggling to carry grain from a point on the Georgian Bay, at Parry Sound to Montreal, but that it had been rather a failure than a success; and he pinned his faith to the view that there was only one system to be taken up for many years to come, that was the St. Lawrence Canal system. If that is to be the policy of the government, I am sure it will be hailed by the whole Dominion with a great deal of pleasure. But, the trouble is that the government do not know their own minds on this question. The Minister of Public Works asserts that the proper system for the carrying of grain from the west is by the construction of a line of railway from Collingwood to Toronto. Then, a few weeks later, he announced that the former line of policy had been abandoned, and that grain is to

be transported by the French River, and then down by the Canadian Pacific Railway to the port of Montreal.

But there is another gentleman, powerful in the cabinet, who had a strong view a year ago on this question. On a notable occasion he announced that the policy of the government was fixed and determined, and from the position he occupied, his statement excited a good deal of attention and comment. That statement was one made by the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals himself. He announced in Halifax that the policy of the government must and should be, not to rely on the St. Lawrence Canal system at all, but to purchase the Booth line of railway and carry by rail grain from the Georgian Bay right through to Montreal. He pointed out most emphatically that the purchase of this line would give an uninterrupted rail carriage from Georgian Bay right through to Montreal, and that in the winter season the grain could be shipped from Halifax and St. John. But, the other night, the hon. minister abandoned that position, and the country will breathe easier on knowing that he has done so, though it will still have to wrestle with the Minister of Public Works on these two propositions. Whether the fact that the Minister of Public Works was not in his place emboldened the Minister of Railways and Canals to take a fling at the proposition laid down by the Minister of Public Works, I know not, but it is to be hoped that the government are going to stand by the proposition stated by the Minister of Railways and Canals the other night, and that there will be no further question as to the policy of the government being in favour of the carriage of grain by way of the St. Lawrence Canal system.

It will be a revelation to the people of the city of Toronto and the town of Collingwood to learn that the Minister of Public Works was merely romancing, and the government has not the faintest idea of constructing or assisting that line of railway.

Then for the people of North Bay and that portion of country, who have been led by the Minister of Public Works to believe that that system is to be adopted, they too will have to view that minister simply as a boaster or romancer and to conclude, in the face of the statement of the Minister of Railways and Canals made here the other night, that both of those propositions are to be laid aside.

This motion has excited a great deal of discussion, chiefly as to the question of how the St. Lawrence Canal system is to be utilized from this time forward, and in that connection a great deal of time was taken by the Minister of Railways and Canals with regard to the large expenditure to be made at Port Colborne. He differs with the statement made by the Minister of Public Works, and we will see whether or not that large sum of \$5,000,000 was to be expended

Mr. BENNETT.

on that port. Later on, when the estimates are down, we will see whether or not the large sum is to be expended, but in the meantime I would suggest that the various ministers should endeavour, when within the council walls, to reconcile their conflicting opinions and present a united front when they appear before the House. We had the Minister of Railways and Canals stating that there must be a very large expenditure of money at Port Colborne, and in the early part of the debate the Minister of Public Works stated that there could be no good work at all accomplished at Port Colborne until a depth of 22 feet of water was found there to accommodate the largest class of vessels, and then we had the hon. member for West Quebec (Mr. Dobell), who is also a member of the cabinet, brushing aside entirely the opinion of his colleague, the Minister of Public Works, and telling the House that the day of 22-foot vessels had gone by, and that smaller vessels would be the rule. Be that as it may, it is to be hoped that the different members of the cabinet, may be able to adjust their differences in the future before coming to the House.

With the consolation that there has been a very lengthened discussion on this question, one that will be fraught with considerable good, and furthermore having had a declaration from the Minister of Railways and Canals, speaking for the government, that there was to be no expenditure made in connection with a line of railway between Toronto and Collingwood, and having had the statement of the Minister of Public Works as to the improvement of French River and the carriage of grain from French River down to Montreal, the country will breathe easier, and after the discussion that has taken place, I would, with the consent of the House, ask to withdraw the motion.

Mr. GEO. TAYLOR (South Leeds). Before this motion is withdrawn, Mr. Speaker, I wish to say a word or two. The late government, at very great expense to the country, practically completed, before leaving office, the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. In connection with that canal they purchased on the Canadian side a property for a wharf, at which all vessels could stop. This year I had occasion to visit that part of the country, and when at Owen Sound I asked for a ticket for the Soo. They asked me for which side, the American or Canadian, and I said the Canadian. To my surprise, when we arrived at the Soo, the Canadian Pacific Railway steamer called at the American side, and the Canadian passengers were transferred to a small ferry boat and run over to the Canadian side, and I found on inquiry that no steamer of any draft of water passing through the Welland Canal loaded, could call at the Canadian side. Such steamers had to moor at the American

side, and at the time I mention, owing to a sunken vessel having blocked the channel, there were about 200 boats tied up at the American side. All these boats had to tie up on that side and purchase their supplies there, so that not a dollar was spent by them on the Canadian side, and this was due to the fact that the present government have not built the wharf, which it was the policy of the late government to construct. If we had taken that \$750,000, which was voted to build a wharf in the province of Quebec, where there is no water, and used it to build a wharf on the Canadian side of the Sault Ste. Marie, at which the Canadian Pacific Railway steamers and other boats, whether loaded or light, could call, our country would get the benefit of all the expenditure which is now distributed among American traders. Owing to the failure of this government, which pretends to have made all our canals, and to be giving every facility for transportation of grain, to spend a dollar towards bringing trade to the growing town of Sault Ste. Marie, our American neighbours are getting all the profit, and every man in that town feels that it has been neglected. The late government had made provision for extending the wharf and deepening the harbour so that these boats might have a port of call on the Canadian side, and it is a shame and a disgrace that our Canadian boats, coming from Collingwood or Owen Sound to Fort William, should have to stop at the American side instead of at a Canadian port and there land freight and passengers. Freight has now to be landed on the American side and brought over to the Canadian side in small steamers. I hope that the government will take hold of this matter and see that our trade is given the facilities it should enjoy.

Mr. W. GIBSON (Lincoln and Niagara). If the hon. gentleman who has just spoken (Mr. Taylor), had placed the matter fairly and squarely before the House, he would have admitted that the reason why steamers call at the American instead of at the Canadian side, is because the late government imposed a duty of 60 cents a ton on coal under its national policy. For that reason, the Canadian Pacific Railway boats have, ever since they began running on the upper lakes done all their business on the American shore, simply to evade the Canadian customs duty on coal.

Mr. TAYLOR. Can they come in on the Canadian side laden?

Mr. GIBSON. Yes, they can land at the Canadian side.

Mr. TAYLOR. Laden, and drawing fourteen feet of water?

Mr. GIBSON. Yes. They can land and go through the Canadian Sault, which has also nineteen feet on the mitre sills, the same as the American locks. And I would say for the credit of those who had charge of the Canadian lock, that the work done by the late government there will compare favourably with that done upon the American lock. My hon. friend from West Toronto (Mr. Osler) knows, perhaps, more about the reason of the Canadian Pacific Railway boats running upon the American side than I do, knows that it has always been the case that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company takes advantage, and very properly, of the opportunity of sending their boats on the American side of the river for the very purpose of evading the Canadian customs duty on the large amount of coal which the steamers require between Owen Sound and Lake Superior ports. It is not any act of this government, but the act of the late government, of which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Taylor) was an ardent supporter, that drove the traffic of the Canadian Pacific boats from the Canadian to the American shore.

Mr. J. V. ELLIS (St. John City). Before the question is put, I would like to make one observation. I have listened with great attention to this debate and have followed every speaker. Yet, I cannot say that I have any better information or any fuller knowledge of the question than when the debate began. The proposition submitted by the hon. mover (Mr. Bennett) himself seemed to be a very fair proposition; but, in presenting it to the House, and since, he has mixed it up with political questions, with matters affecting the government and party, so that one is left in doubt as to what the object of the resolution really was. If the hon. gentleman's object was to get a statement of opinion of what was best to be done with regard to a matter of this kind, how the policy of the country should be shaped, I think he has failed in that. Most of the gentlemen who have spoken on the question seem to have considered the matter from the point of view of their own locality. Some advocated a particular harbour, others a particular canal. I think the impression left on my mind is rather a pessimistic one with regard to canals. And I am astounded when I think of the dangers that beset the country, for instance, with reference to the diminution of water in the lakes. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) quite scared me by his statement of what would happen by reason of the Chicago canal. Another gentleman, I think a gentleman from Prince Edward Island, thought that the waters in the St. Lawrence were lowering, and another gentleman thought the port of Montreal must come to an end and

business be done from Quebec. So, if you follow the whole matter through, you will find such variety of opinion, such lack of definiteness of opinion, upon the question by hon. gentlemen who have spoken, that, I think, the government cannot gain from the discussion any idea of doing better than what has been already proposed thus far. I was particularly struck, however, with what the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), and the hon. member for West Toronto (Mr. Osler), said with respect to the effect of railways upon the transportation question. There is no doubt whatever the railroads are taking very largely the place of waterways; but there are not sufficient facts to justify the government in staying its hand with regard to the great waterways of the country, so far as the works now in hand are concerned; but there are facts, I think, to justify the government in not going on with other great canal works which are projected and which are constantly put before us in a variety of ways here. The fact that the Erie Canal has ceased to be a carrier of wheat, for lately there has been no wheat carried by the Erie Canal to New York, is a matter which should arrest our attention. The fact that wheat is finding, through the railways, so many ports of departure from the United States, is another matter that should affect our consideration of the question. If I were disposed to follow the course which so many hon. gentlemen have followed in discussing the export of grain from the country, I would say that it was beyond doubt that the grain-shipping port of Canada would be the port of St. John. I am very modest over questions of that kind, but the fact that a little while ago there was no grain shipped from St. John, while two years ago two million bushels were exported, last year three million bushels, and this year there will be over four million bushels, seems to prove that hon. gentlemen in discussing this question have entirely overlooked the real Canadian route for grain from the west.

However, I only rose to say that my mind was left in a mystified condition with regard to the subject. I think, however, that the government has received no information from this discussion to justify it in changing its course or in doing anything different from what it has proposed to the House.

Mr. HENRY A. POWELL (Westmoreland). I just have a word or two to say, mainly in support of the views expressed by the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). The question of railway transportation is one to which I have given some attention for a few years. So far as the best information I can gather goes, the idea that canal transportation is cheaper than rail transportation must be regarded as a matter of tradition.

Mr. ELLIS.

Mr. McCLEARY. Oh, oh.

Mr. POWELL. Yes, I say it must be regarded as a matter of tradition. We have actually reached this stage with reference to transportation—that, at least in the great majority of cases, where the railway grades are at all favourable and the curvatures are slight, the railway is the more economical method of transportation. Now, just in the line of the remark of the hon. member for North Norfolk, I may say that last summer, or the summer before, when the question of large cars was considered by the railway management of the New York Central and other lines, this conclusion was reached by experts—that in 50 cents a ton on wheat and other cheap freights from the city of Buffalo to the city of New York, there was a living profit. That is considerably less than the rate mentioned by the hon. member for North Norfolk. He said two or three cents a bushel, but that would be $1\frac{3}{4}$ cents a bushel. So far as the Erie Canal is concerned, and the deepening of that canal, let us remember that the Erie Canal is a state work, that the competition of the Erie Canal is asked to counteract combinations between the New York Central, the Erie, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania and other great roads carrying the grain from the west to the seaboard.

Mr. McCLEARY. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Powell) allow me to ask him his authority for saying that grain can be carried from Buffalo to New York for $1\frac{3}{4}$ cents a bushel?

Mr. POWELL. I state this, that the year before last grain was actually carried from Buffalo to New York for 80 cents a ton, and experts on the leading lines controlling the western traffic from the great wheat fields of the west to the entrepôts on the Atlantic coast, gave their opinion that with cars of 40 or 50 tons there was living profit at 60 cents per ton.

Mr. McCLEARY. Are you giving that as your own opinion?

Mr. POWELL. No, I am giving the opinion of experts, gentlemen who are familiar with the freight traffic on these lines, themselves superintendents or managers of freight traffic.

Mr. McCLEARY. They differ entirely from those who entered into arrangements for this coming year, and who fixed the rate at 3 cents.

Mr. POWELL. They may fix the rate at 3 cents, but if they were able they would fix it at 5 cents. Now, the great object of widening and deepening the Erie Canal is

to afford competition. If the hon. gentleman from Welland (Mr. McCleary) will consult the transportation statistics of the world, he will find that the only real competition that exists is between water and railroads. If he will look at the cost of transportation from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast he will find that the chief element in the cost of transportation exists where there is no water transportation at all. It seems as if the ultimate standard is water communication; where you have water communication you have competition. Now, the broadening and deepening of the Erie Canal as a state work is not undertaken for the sole purpose of carrying grain cheaper than a railway can carry grain. These statesmen of New York who are advocating this move do it with this view, that railways generally form a combination to keep up the prices of transportation, and these gentlemen desire that there should be open to the public those water means of transportation which are the only real competitor a railway has.

While I am on this subject, I may say that in my judgment the time will come very shortly when not only will the opening up, the deepening and widening of old canals and new canals be entirely abandoned, but the time will come within a few years when we will see a lot of these great public works undertaken by the Dominion of Canada, and which we feel so proud of to-day, will be actually abandoned and will fall into disuse. The question before the House in transportation matters lies rather in the direction of devising some wholesome check over the construction and operation of railways, if the ingenuity of the government or of individual members of the House is equal to the task of formulating some such rule or principle. The object is to exercise over railroads such a strict oversight that justice will be done to the people for whom these railway corporations are really trustees. The difficulty has been, and is, to maintain that control. Schemes to exercise this control have been thought out by men across the water, have been thought out in England, have been thought out in France, in Italy, in Germany. But no scheme has yet succeeded in producing the results that were desired. In England, for instance, there is no question that to-day one of the great difficulties England has to meet in competition arises from the enormous freight rates, not passenger rates, on railways that the producers of England have to pay. A very large and respectable minority in two or three commissions that were issued in England to inquire into this question, placed that circumstance as one of the leading factors in the relative decline of British commerce with foreign countries. Germany saw this, and as part of her great national policy Bismarck devised a scheme of taking over all

railroads of private companies and making them state lines. The result there has been satisfactory. Of course, the answer will be made that Germany is simply a bureaucracy, and schemes could be adopted there which could not be put into operation in a country like ours.

Again, I would say that this railway problem is one that sooner or later will become very pressing in the economic life of this country. It may not be known to hon. gentlemen in the House generally, that at the time Mr. Gladstone was one of the under secretaries for the colonies he introduced into the British parliament a railway Bill which looked to the expropriation of all railroads by the government when certain conditions had been fulfilled. So imbued with the importance of this idea was Mr. Gladstone that he placed himself in communication with a number of colonial governments, with the old government of Canada, with the government of Prince Edward Island, with the government of Nova Scotia, with the government of New Brunswick and with the government of Australia, to all of whom he sent a communication suggesting that in incorporating railway companies they should introduce in each charter some statutory provision that the government could take over the liens under certain circumstances and on certain conditions. This was in accordance with the principle always acted upon in England that the railway company was simply a trustee for the people.

Now, I think the time has come in Canada when we should begin to consider this question. Our railway system has become a vast one. I may say that our railway system ranks ninth among the railway systems of the world, which is a very respectable rank. The United States stands first, and in the long list Canada comes ninth. This being the case, and the question of transportation facilities having become so important, the time has come when any government which controls this parliament should give the matter its very serious consideration. Any one who passes, for instance, from here to Montreal will be impressed with the absurdity, on the part, not of the present government, but of former governments, in their railway legislation. From St. Anne on to the city of Montreal you find two railroads running side by side, both constructed at an enormous cost, owing to the fact that the fundamental principle, which is the only true principle, was ignored in previous railway legislation. These two roads are allowed to run side by side, and the cost of management of these two railways, the proportionate cost of the interest on the construction of these two railways, and all incidental expenses, have to be paid by the freight traffic and by the passenger traffic of this country. The same thing is seen in the

province of Ontario, notably between the city of London and the town of Windsor. The same thing is observed all over the country. What we want is some vigorous policy on the part of the government to control the construction of railways. I am not blaming this government, because they are simply following in the steps of their predecessors; but what we need is some well defined principle underlying our railway legislation so that hereafter the traffic of the country shall not be compelled to pay for the support of what are really unnecessary lines.

Let me now pass on to another idea. A great deal of opposition is offered in the Railway Committee and on the floor of this House to the acquisition by the large companies, like the Grand Trunk Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway, of smaller lines. Particularly does this opposition come from hon. gentlemen who represent constituencies in Manitoba and the west generally. Now, there are disagreeable features connected with the consolidation of railway companies. In some cases there are resultant evils that I do not question, but this I do say, that the progress of railway transportation on this continent, and on every other continent, has been measured by the amount of consolidation of railway systems that has taken place. Take France, for instance; to so great an extent has the process of consolidation gone on, that, to-day, all the railways of France are practically in the hands of six large companies, and six alone. I could name the companies of England, the Great Northern, the North-western, the Great Western, the South-eastern, and other lines, that, to-day, are consolidations of what were once, in some cases, one hundred, or two hundred companies. Our own Canadian Pacific Railway is a consolidation of what were originally about twenty-five original lines, and the Grand Trunk Railway is about the same. The New York Central, is a consolidation of an immense number of lines, and the same is true of the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, and other great railway systems in the United States. The point I am making is that every consolidation has been, not so much with the object of grasping and exercising monopolistic powers, but the object to serve the interests of both the railway and its consolidation has been to better the customers of the railways and every consolidation has resulted directly in this, that it has decreased the cost of transportation. To-day, the fact that the wheat-fields of the west have been brought into competition with the wheat-fields of Europe, and the wheat-fields of England, is due entirely to the circumstance that a large number of small companies have been wiped out of existence by the process of consolidation, and our friends in the west who are

looking to the transportation of grain must see that every small independent railway line, which has its independent board of directors, and all the expense incidental to a separate corporate existence, is an incubus on the country and a detriment, so far as economic progress is concerned, and that sooner or later, these little individual companies must be wiped out or eaten up by the larger companies. To have our railway system from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the north to the south, in such a position that there will be no duplication of rates, but one single rate over the whole system, should be the great object of our legislation. In working out that object, it is necessary for us to guard the interests of the people who furnish the freight for the railways, or to guard the interests of the country, and that can only be done by constituting, in some way, a body of gentlemen, who shall control transportation, whose jurisdiction shall be exercised, and who shall deal with any complaints of railway companies exercising monopolistic powers and playing the part of the tyrants of trade in this country. I believe that we shall still have a consolidation of the whole railway system of this country, either in the hands of one or two large companies, or of the government of the people, and that as a concomitant of that consolidation, there shall be perfect immunity from any tyrannical power on the part of railway directors or companies.

To return to the matter of the canal system, which has been chiefly considered in the discussion, my individual opinion, which is not worth much, so far as my own experience is concerned, but which is the result of considerable digging and delving into this matter, is that so far as the present prospect is concerned, the days of canal systems in this country and in every other country, save under exceptional circumstances, are numbered. If any hon. gentleman has any question about that, I would direct his attention to the greatest of the ship canals that has been constructed of late, the Manchester Ship Canal, and I would point out to him, that, notwithstanding the great hopes that the people of the country were led to form of it, and the effect of it upon the economic system of the country, that canal is not worth consideration as an economic factor in the industrial system of Great Britain. It has failed, entirely, to accomplish the object designed for it. It is there; let us hope that it will not be quite so bad in the future, that it will be remembered only as a monument of refined stupidity. I think that we should turn our attention more and more to the construction of railways, and less and less to the construction of canals. So far as this particular harbour is concerned, there can be no great object in deepening it to 20 feet, when our canal system is only a 14-foot system. It

would be a great thing, of course, if our ocean liners could come inland, go into the heart of the country, discharge their cargoes, and, having discharged, could take their return freights, without any transshipment at Montreal, and proceed immediately to the marts of the world. But this would involve this country in such an enormous debt that our children and our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren would never see the liquidation of it, and it would, of itself be such a charge on the revenues of the country, for all time to come, that it would be nothing less than folly for us to attempt.

Mr. A. C. BELL (Pictou). Mr. Speaker, I think, that, possibly, the representatives of the lower provinces in this House have acted wisely in not taking part in this debate, at an earlier stage. To my mind, it seems not to be well, that a matter of such great importance should be allowed to pass without some expression of opinion from those who live in the lower provinces, although they have not such a direct interest in the question as some other hon. gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion. I have tried to follow this discussion as closely as possible, and I have derived some advantage from it. It is noticeable that a great deal of attention has been given to the government, and that a great many of the speakers have talked to the government or at the government, in connection with this canal system. I do not know that the hon. member for Westmoreland (Mr. Powell), is a competent authority to decide the fate of the canals. He has come to a conclusion, and decided this question in his own mind, but, I have arrived at an entirely different opinion, and I am quite convinced that railway carriage will never be able to compete with a thoroughly organized system of water carriage. It has never done so in the past, it is not doing so to-day, and I do not think that any evidence has been furnished in the course of this debate to indicate that it will do so in the future. At the same time there is the fact, that, of late years, a great gain in transportation facilities has been made by the railways, and not by the canals. The enormous capital invested in the railways, the ability of their management, the consolidation of roads, and the adaptation of modern systems of carrying grain, have brought railway transportation to a point which, twenty years ago, would have been looked upon as entirely hopeless. I recollect discussing this matter with a prominent railway promoter about twenty years ago, he then intimated that a great revolution would be accomplished in railway transportation through exactly the system that has been adopted, through better grading, heavier rails, larger cars, and more powerful locomotives. We have seen an enormous gain made by the railways in this direction. But, the question is: Have

the railways a prospect of continuing to make this gain in future or will they attain to a higher perfection? Some people think not, and others tell me that they have such a prospect before them. It is claimed that they have come to the point at which it would be exceedingly difficult to cut down the cost of moving freight. There is no feature of railway construction in which there has been more improvement made than in the adoption of the heavy rail. I am told by competent railway authorities, that in the opinion of some good judges, the rail has now become to such a weight that it is almost too heavy, and that there is a question in the mind of railway engineers as to whether or not the extreme weight of the rail is an improvement, or whether the weight has not been excessive. Improvement may be possible in another direction in future, and we may see larger railway cars and more powerful locomotives adopted. The freight rates may be reduced on railways, but does it not seem clear that with the same amount of energy and ability, to secure the trade for the canal, that of necessity the waterway freight must surpass anything that can be carried over a railway? The enormous bulk that can be moved by water, the ease with which a canal can be maintained, the comparatively small expense of operating it as compared with a railway; all these things are entirely in favour of the canal. Competent witnesses who have appeared before the Deep Waterway Commission and the Senate Committee gave it as their opinion that there was actually no rivalry between the canal and the railway, but that on the contrary the fact that a canal ran parallel to a railway rather benefited the railway, because it brought a low class of freight which could not be moved by the railway, and the transportation of this freight necessarily increased population and developed business. It was the opinion of these gentlemen that the canal was the best friend of the railways. If that be the case, and it is probable that it is, I do not think it is wise to anticipate that the day may come when our canals shall fall into desuetude, and that the expenditure we have made in the past will be looked upon by generations to come as an unwise expenditure on our part. I believe that the Canadian canal system, deepened to fourteen feet, is the greatest line of conveyance for freight we have on the continent of America, or are likely to have for years to come. Although in the United States they are talking about deepening their canals, and although some even advocate a 20-foot channel to connect the Atlantic with the great lakes, the general opinion is that such a scheme is too great for even the United States, and that even though it were accomplished it is very questionable if it would result in any advantage whatever. I believe that with the

Canadian 14-foot canal system we have a means of conveyance of heavy freight from the lakes to the seaboard which is unrivalled to-day, and will not be rivalled for years to come. Those in favour of the 20-foot channel in the United States argue that the great ocean steamers would use such a channel, if it were in existence. On the other hand it is contended that the limit has been reached in the size of vessels that can properly navigate through an artificial channel. The delay, and the stoppage of the traffic, and the other inconveniences that would result from such a large boat passing through a canal, is pointed to, and it is contended that vessels of moderate size can best be engaged in this inland navigation. Probably our 14-foot canal system is the very best we can have. I do not think it would be easy to convince me that it would be wise to deepen the canals more than 14 feet, for I think that is the most we can hope for in Canada.

The feature that strikes me as a representative of that part of Canada that has contributed and is contributing to the enormous cost of this waterway, is the fact that through some fault, either in the government or the business men of the upper provinces, for whose convenience our canal system was made—they have not, and are not using that water route so that the enormous investment Canada has made is practically wasted. It is asserted by some people that our Canadian canal system has cost the people of Canada \$70,000,000. Now, the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) has told us that our rate of interest charges is 3·14 per cent, and therefore—apart from the cost of maintenance and operation—the interest charge which has to be borne by the people of this country on that enormous canal outlay is \$2,198,000 a year. Do we find that this canal system, perfected at such an enormous cost, is making Montreal the great shipping port of the American continent—as it is of course the great shipping port of Canada. Is it diverting to Montreal that enormous trade from the west, which should go through the best natural channel. I am sorry to say that I believe it is not. We find from the last year returns of the Montreal Board of Trade, that the export of grain from the port of Montreal actually decreased last season by 8,521,121 bushels. Not only is this canal system not serving its purpose in making Montreal the great port of the continent, but it is an actual fact as will be seen from those figures that other lines of transportation—which are not so interesting to us because they have not cost us any money—are diverting the trade from Montreal. We find here that Montreal has lost in one year more than one-fifth of its export of grain.

Mr. ELLIS. The hon. gentleman should take into account the fact that the whole

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quantity of grain shipped from all American ports was fifty millions bushels less last year than the year before. There was in fact not so much grain to go forward.

Mr. BELL (Pictou). There is certainly something in that argument. The port of New York has also lost in its transportation of grain last year, but other ports have held their own.

Mr. ELLIS. No.

Mr. BELL (Pictou). Or not lost nearly so much. The city of Montreal last year lost 20 per cent of its export grain trade. Now, let us take this enormous expenditure on our canal system which was made practically for the benefit of the city of Montreal, and taking the grain exported from Montreal last year we find that the interest alone on that expenditure would amount to 7 cents a bushel; on grain that was carried there from the west for 3½ cents a bushel. In view of these facts, is it not evident that our vast expenditure on the canals is exceedingly unprofitable under present circumstances. Is it not evident that it has been a most unfortunate transaction for Canada to have spent so much money in that direction? My hon. friend from Toronto told us the other night that when the people of New York talked about deepening their canals, the railways were carrying wheat from Buffalo to New York for 2½ cents a bushel, and that the interest on the cost of deepening the Erie Canal, would also represent a charge of 2½ cents a bushel. Actually the railways were carrying wheat from Buffalo to New York at a cost which would represent per bushel the interest on the outlay necessary to deepen the canals. He made a strong argument in favour of neglecting our canal system, and in favour of the railways doing all this transport in the future. I do not believe, however, that it is a conclusive argument. I believe that we can carry wheat over this canal system at such a rate as will make 2½ cents a bushel seem large. How is that to be done? If one thing has been made clear by this discussion it is that the reason which makes our canal system ineffective and inoperative is that at the port of Montreal and on the St. Lawrence River below Montreal there are no facilities for doing the business. It is useless to go on spending any more money while the defect is at Montreal. You can take nothing out of a bottle that is corked, and practically the whole St. Lawrence system is bottled up at Montreal. If you deepened all the canals so that they would admit the largest vessels on the lakes, you would not be benefited a particle, because no matter how much grain is carried on the lakes, it cannot get an exit at Montreal. The whole difficulty is there, and this fact will come out clearly to any person who reads the debate that has

taken place in this House. That debate has been ably and forcibly conducted; but the very thing pointed out by the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Ellis) has been evident, that most of the speeches have been made by persons who had certain projects to advance and local interests to serve—routes by Midland, by Parry Sound, by North Bay, by Collingwood, by Toronto. Every one of these different schemes has been brought before the House forcibly and effectively, and the net result of the whole discussion has been to show that between them there is no extraordinary difference in point of distance—such a difference as is continually overlooked by railways in making their rates. A railway thinks nothing of a haul of 200 miles more by one route than by another. All these schemes are good, but they are all rendered abortive by the want of facilities at Montreal. The terminal advantages there are insufficient, the St. Lawrence navigation below Montreal is defective and dangerous, and a high rate of insurance is charged on vessels going to the sea, particularly in the fall. The hon. member for East Huron (Mr. Macdonald) gave us particulars, evidently accumulated with great care and diligence, showing the number of cars lying unloaded and cumbering the tracks, of no service either to the railways or the public, for the want of shipping facilities at the port of Montreal. I believe it will be impossible to make Montreal a port capable of accommodating the greatest ocean carriers. Vessels of 18,000 or 20,000 tons I do not think will ever come to Montreal. That class of vessels must be catered to at Quebec, where a vigorous and healthy public sentiment and a strong effort on the part of the people themselves, will secure to that port the advantages which the length of its open season and its deep navigation naturally give it, and which can never be taken from it. But, apart from that, it seems to me perfectly clear that if Canada is to derive the advantage which it should derive from the enormous expenditure which we have made on our canals, we must not leave the system where it is, but go on and complete it. In my opinion money should be spent, but it should not be spent at Port Colborne. The first expenditure should be made at Montreal. That port should be made so secure and so good that steamers would come there looking for freights, and would be earnestly calling for more grain. At the present time it is not so. The point of congestion is at Montreal. The canals and railways can pour into Montreal more grain than it can take, and it seems to me perfectly clear that an expenditure should be made there by the city, the province, or the government, or perhaps by the three conjointly, which would make Montreal a great shipping port, one that would rival the greatest ports on this side of the At-

lantic. In order to do that, great docks should be constructed, not in the city or on the wharfs in front of the city, but at some point outside where land is cheap and where ample room could be obtained, and where elevators could be located without interfering with the development of the city. That city requires for its comparatively small local river trade and the convenience of its merchants, all the space it has now; and I believe that Canada will not achieve that success as a great grain exporting country which it has the right to look for until we see Montreal supplied with a great system of docks rivalling those of Liverpool, London, or Glasgow, at some point to the east of the city. I am perfectly clear in my mind that every energy of Canada should be devoted to the developing and perfecting of the port of Montreal. Without that we are paralyzing to a great extent the enormous export trade not only of our own country, but of a large part of the United States as well, which should be carried on at that port. I believe that good business requires that we should not stop with the expenditures which we have made on our canals, but that we should add to them, and that in the meantime that addition should be concentrated upon the port of Montreal.

Mr. NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN (West Assiniboia). At this late hour, I will not take up the time of the House by going as fully into this question as I had intended to do, but will take another opportunity to speak upon the question, as it affects the North-west. But as I sat and listened to the lucid, clear, logical speech of my hon. and learned friend from Westmoreland (Mr. Powell) I could not but be impressed with the proposition he laid down, that water is the great means of reducing freight rates on railways, and his other proposition, that transportation by water would soon be obsolete. It is difficult to refute a proposition put in such a way, but coming from the west, I could not help wondering where we were to get the competing influence that the canals give the farmer from Buffalo to New York, or from the more eastern ports of Canada to Montreal. If waterways are things of the past, as my hon. friend contends, and if the inevitable tendency is to railway consolidation, and if, in which I agree with him, the waste that comes of duplicating lines is a thing to be avoided, we are led irrefragably to this conclusion that the government must assume charge of the railways. If railways are destined to fall into one or two hands, the colossal power which they will then possess will be so appalling that the only refuge of liberty will be in the government taking charge of them. The bugbear always presented, when it is proposed that the government should

own the railways, is that the government could not manage them profitably, and that they would be a source of corruption. I do not think that conclusion is at all inevitable, because we find that in Australia the government management of railways is not a failure. Nor is it in Hungary, and there is an easy means of getting rid of the bugbear so much dreaded. It is feared that under government management, members of parliament and other influential persons would insist on the minister employing men who are either unfit or unnecessary, and, consequently, the management could not fail to be extravagant. But, that danger could be very easily got rid of by placing the management of the government railways in the hands of a commission independent of the administration, and responsible only to parliament. By thus making it independent of political parties, you would get rid of the danger of waste and extravagance and corruption which frightens those who otherwise would welcome the idea of government ownership.

My hon. friend told us that wheat has been carried for 80 cents per ton from Buffalo to New York, and the hon. member for Toronto, at an earlier period in the discussion, gave, I think, lower figures, but, 4 cents per 100 pounds is low enough. Now, 4 cents a hundred makes the teeth of the North-west farmer water. How are we to get rates so reduced in the North-west Territories as will enable us to feel that we have obtained a rate that suits the demands of justice and is consonant with our rights as citizens? If freight can be carried for 80 cents a ton from Buffalo to New York, then the freight rates now charged in the North-west Territories are altogether too high. I admit that the population of the North-west is not at present large enough, and that the traffic is probably not large enough to warrant us in expecting that a railway could carry grain profitably at 80 cents per ton the distance from Buffalo to New York, but it is perfectly clear that if 80 cents per ton from Buffalo to New York pays with the traffic there, we in the North-west have not by any means reached the reduction which justice demands.

The hon. Minister of Railways says he is always ready to restrain corporations and come to the help of the people, but, as the *Farmers' Sun* says, we do not find him doing it. The *Farmers' Sun* of April 4 contains an article entitled 'Mr. Blair's Willingness,' which refers to the debate that took place on the motion of the hon. member for Lisgar (Mr. Richardson), and gives an instance where, in its opinion, the Minister of Railways should

have stepped in to help the exporter but failed to do so. On a previous occasion, that same paper had another article headed 'Mr. Blair's Willingness,' and again pointed out where Mr. Blair failed. Again, the same paper, devoted to the interests of the farmers of Canada, commented in the strongest manner on the utter helplessness of the government in the matter of regulating freight rates—a helplessness arising not from want of power, but from want of will: The hon. member quoted from that paper:

'What does it avail,' said Mr. A. F. McLaren, M.P., at the recent meeting of the Western Ontario Dairymen's Association, 'for the government to assist the farmers by means of institutes and educational exhibitions in the matters of production when the railways are allowed to take all the profit from them in the form of extortionate freight rates?' In an interview published in our last issue, Mr. Boulter, of Picton, pointed out the market that the North-west offered for our apples if reasonable freight rates could be secured. Mr. Jas. Pringle, of Stratford, in a recent letter to the press, states that while the rate on grain from Chicago to New York was 8 cents per hundred pounds, the rate from Stratford to Montreal, one-half the distance, was 12½ cents, and from Stratford to Portland 15½ cents. Yet while the Ontario farmer pays these high rates to the seaboard, the Canada Atlantic road carries American grain from Parry Sound to Montreal, a distance of 585 miles, through an almost barren country, at 5 cents per cwt. This road, though built largely with our money, carries American grain to Montreal at less than half the price the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific railways charge for carrying the grain of the western Ontario farmers to the same place!

We have a transportation question. Our public men claim that its settlement depends on the construction of new lines and the donating of more money to railway promoters. But what is really required is not the building of new lines, but the regulation of the lines that we now have.

Sir, a year or so ago, I pointed out, when dealing with this question, that competition of railways must necessarily be elusive and delusive. There are not the conditions in regard to railways that are implied by the very word 'competition.' I have here the rates that are charged by the railways in Manitoba, as well as the rates charged by the Canadian Pacific Railway. Some of these railways were brought in, as professed by Mr. Greenway, to give railway competition. And what do I find? I find they charge more than the Canadian Pacific Railway. I have here a comparison of the rates on wheat, car-loads, via the Canadian Pacific Railway to Fort William, via the Northern Pacific Railway to Duluth and via the Great Northern Railway to Duluth. These rates are quite suggestive:

COMPARISON of Rates on Wheat (car-loads), via :—

Canadian Pacific Railway Company, to Fort William, Ont.

Northern Pacific Railway Company, to Duluth, Minn.

Great Northern Railway Company, to Duluth, Minn.

From Canadian Pacific Railway Stations.	Miles to Fort William.	Rate on Wheat per 100 lbs. to Fort William.	From Northern Pacific Railway Stations.	Miles to Duluth.	Rate on Wheat per 100 lbs. to Duluth.	From Great Northern Railway Stations.	Miles to Duluth.	Rate on Wheat per 100 lbs. to Duluth.
Winnipeg.....	426	14	Crookston.....	299	14	Crookston.....	263	14
Portage la Prairie....	481	15	Gilby.....	352	15	Manvel.....	301	15
Carman.....	483	15	Grand Forks.....	327	14½	Grand Forks.....	288	14½
Morden.....	506	15	Grafton.....	375	15	Grafton.....	328	15
Gretna.....	496	15	Drayton.....	391	15½	Glasston.....	348	16
Emerson.....	490	15	Pembina.....	420	16	Neche.....	369	16
Morden.....	507	15				St. Vincent.....	324	16
Snowflake.....	562	16				Walhalla.....	376	16½
Killarney.....	590	16				Hanna.....	413	17
Boissevain.....	608	16				St. John.....	450	19
						Bottineau.....	474	19

So that the very railways that were introduced for the purpose of competing with the Canadian Pacific Railway are charging higher than the Canadian Pacific Railway are charging in Manitoba to-day. And the government is doing nothing whatever. The government claims that it did something by the Crow's Nest Pass Railway arrangement, and boasts with the effrontery with which they assert that the high protection tariff is a revenue tariff as if they done something new; but the history of the reductions that were made by the Canadian Pacific Railway prior to the Crow's Nest, all show that during the existence of the Conservative government, the Conservative members, bringing pressure upon Sir William Van Horne and his colleagues in the management of the Canadian Pacific Railway, effected regularly, at recurrent periods of about three years, greater reductions than were obtained by giving millions of dollars, as was done in the Crow's Nest Pass deal. Now, I have here what was done. I referred to it a few evenings ago, but it will bear to be referred to again, because it shows how completely delusive—I will not use a stronger word, but if those who boast of what was done in connection with the Crow's Nest Pass deal really know the facts, a very strong word would be justified in speaking of the view of what they have done for the people that is pressed upon the public—are the claims of reduction of rate by reason of that deal. In 1886, we exported from Manitoba and the North-west Territories only about 4,000,000 bushels of wheat, for which the Canadian Pacific Railway charged an average of 30 cents per hundred to haul it out. I take Brandon rate as the

average rate. It must be remembered that the Canadian Pacific Railway had to have the same road-bed, stations and offices then as now. Now they require more rolling stock and a few more servants. Yet, though at that time, the freight and traffic was small compared with subsequent years, we felt that 30 cents per hundred pounds was altogether too high, and we came down here and communicated with Sir John Macdonald and represented to him that the government should point out to the Canadian Pacific Railway that the western farmer could not stand such a rate, and we went before the Governor in Council. And I myself laid down the obvious principle that as population increased and the railway got more freight to haul, rates must be lowered. The North-west got representation in 1887. I called my colleagues in the representation of the great country west of Lake Superior, and we asked the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, then Mr., now Sir William, Van Horne, to meet us, and we discussed the freight rates. Senator Perley was at that time a member of this House, and as a farmer and also a representative he took an interest in this question. The members from British Columbia, Manitoba and the North-west Territories met, and I was made secretary, and, as secretary and as member for West Assiniboia, I devoted myself to this question, studying freight tables, comparing rates and distances, about the dryest job in some respects that a man ever tackled. And the result was that at the very first go-off, we got rates lowered from 30 cents to 24 cents per hundred. In 1887, the Canadian Pacific Railway hauled out of the west 10,500,000 bushels, receiving for doing so

\$1,512,000, instead of \$1,890,000, which they would have received on the rates of the previous year, or \$378,000 in the pockets of the farmers. And we paid nothing for it. I laid down at that time these two principles—that a railway in that new country was bound to reduce its rates in the ratio of increase of freight and population, and that there should be a triennial revision until the rates represented the cost of hauling and a reasonable profit added thereto, under conditions of full employment for plant and men. In 1888, we had a poorer crop, and only 4,000,000 bushels were hauled out. The year 1889 was another partial failure, the outhaul being 4,301,000 bushels. Strong representations were again made to the government; we went before the Governor in Council; and representations were made to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and we got the average rate reduced in 1890 from 24 cents to 22 cents. In 1890, the western export on the Canadian Pacific Railway was 10,489,000 bushels, which, at 22 cents per hundred pounds, represented \$1,384,548, instead of \$1,510,236, or a saving to the farmer of \$125,668. And we paid nothing for it.

The next year we freighted on the Canadian Pacific Railway 10,996,000 bushels, and in 1892 11,556,000, paying to the company respectively \$1,451,472 and \$1,525,392. But I felt that 22 cents was still too high, and I went before the Governor in Council, and I communicated with Sir William Van Horne, whom I have always found ready to listen to any representations I have felt bound to make. At this time I pressed strongly on the attention of Sir William Van Horne that there should be a division of rates, and I received from him the following letter, dated the 10th of April, 1892 :

April 20, 1892.

Dear Mr. Davin,—I have your note of the 16th.

The 'Globe' statement to the effect that we carry wheat from St. Paul and Minneapolis to the seaboard for less than from Winnipeg to the seaboard is true, but it is not true that this works a discrimination against Winnipeg.

It is not wheat but flour that we carry from Minneapolis, but the flour rate is based on the wheat rate; so it amounts to practically the same thing. There is very little relation between the rates from Winnipeg and from Minneapolis to the seaboard. Winnipeg is 1,428 miles from Montreal—Minneapolis only 1,119. If you will take the rate from a point 309 miles beyond Minneapolis so as to make the distance the same as from Winnipeg, you will be able to make a more just comparison; and a perfectly just comparison will be to take the rates from Gretna and from Neche, on the two sides of the international boundary, to the seaboard. You will find them precisely the same.

The following is a proper comparison:

The distance from Gretna to Montreal via Winnipeg and the Canadian Pacific Railway is 1,498 miles; the distance from Neche to Montreal via Minneapolis and Sault Ste. Marie is 1,524 miles, and the rates are the same.

The distance from Gretna to Boston via Winnipeg and the Canadian Pacific Railway is 1,838

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miles; the distance from Neche to Boston via Minneapolis and the shortest line east is 1,864 miles, and the rates are the same.

The distance from Gretna to New York via Winnipeg and the Canadian Pacific Railway is 1,775 miles, and from Neche to New York via Minneapolis and the shortest line east is 1,738 miles and the rates are the same.

Where does the discrimination appear?

In comparing the wheat shipments of the farmers of southern Manitoba with those of their neighbours immediately across the line in Dakota and Minnesota it should be remembered that the wheat of the latter, when it reaches the Minneapolis mills, is more than 400 miles on its way to the seaboard.

These frequently repeated statements in the newspapers about our discrimination in favour of Minneapolis as against Winnipeg are either due to ignorance on the part of the writers of the geographical position of the two cities, or they are calculated to mislead people in the east who are not acquainted with the geography in question, and who are more likely to accept the statements as correct than to test their correctness by careful examination of maps and figures.

But wheat shipments do not originate in Winnipeg any more than they do in Minneapolis. In both cases they come from farther west, and anybody who is disposed to be fair to us will extend the comparison to Brandon, Qu'Appelle, Regina, Calgary, Prince Albert and Edmonton, where it will be found very greatly in our favour.

As to our rates generally, I will say that our average earnings per ton of freight per mile over our entire system are almost precisely the same as on the eastern trunk lines, including the great coal carriers, and the great volume of business on these trunk lines is through freight, which is carried at notoriously low rates. Our rates will compare favourably with those of any railway in America or in any other part of the world.

Yours very truly,

W. C. VAN HORNE.

Notwithstanding the strong position taken there by Mr., now Sir William Van Horne, we pressed the matter on him so strongly and so persistently that the result was that the Canadian Pacific Railway reduced its rate for the next year by 3 cents to 19 cents. In the year 1893, 11,214,000 bushels were hauled out, paying the railway \$1,278,396, \$201,852 less than would have been paid under the rate of the previous year. This was done at the end of the second triennial period, and done at once, and we paid nothing for it—and we got reductions in other staples as well. In July, 1894, I went before the Railway Committee to press this matter on their attention, and also discriminations. In 1894 the outhaul of wheat was 13,588,000 bushels; 1895, 23,467,000. Now, in accordance with the two principles I had laid down there should have been a further reduction in 1896. Population and freights had increased; the financial position and profits of the Canadian Pacific Railway were all that could be desired; the export of wheat alone had doubled in two years. It was the end of the first triennial period, and had the government remained in

power we should have got the 3 cents reduction. What occurred? There was a change of government. But we had the hon. member for Queen's and Sunbury Minister of Railways; we had the hon. member for Brandon Minister of the Interior. It is true we had the right hon. gentleman Prime Minister, and he had in 1894 at Moosejaw denounced 19 cents per 100 lbs., and the Canadian Pacific Railway freight rates generally as oppressive and promised the moment he got in to reduce them. What was done? Nearly two triennial periods at the same rate were allowed to complete themselves—a thing which had never occurred before. In 1896, when the 3 cents reduction should have been made according to precedent and principle, there was no reduction. No reduction in 1897. In those two years we exported 38,420,000 bushels, paying the Canadian Pacific Railway \$4,379,890, or \$691,560 more than would have been paid by the western farmers had the reduction of 3 cents been made as it should have been in 1896. But we had a government in power which has a tender spot in its heart for the great moneyed interests, and they said: 'We will not require you to make the 3 cents reduction now; we will give you three years to do it; make a one and a half-cent reduction two years from now and another one and a half-cent three years from now, and we will give you some millions for doing it. In 1898, the outhaul was 23,000,000 bushels which 17½ cents made \$2,415,000, or \$217,000 more than would have been paid had the reduction of 3 cents been made at the proper time. Last year, which was the beginning of a third triennial period, saw the reduction made which should have been made the beginning of the second triennial. And they boast of this! Last year 26,000,000 bushels were hauled out, nearly 15,000,000 more than the year when the rate was reduced by 3 cents six years before, or an increase of over 140 per cent, while the reduction in freight rates is only 3 cents, and millions paid for it—\$468,000 less than would have been paid at 19 cents. But bear in mind the reduction should have been made in 1896; that, therefore, for 1896 and 1897, \$691,560, and for 1898, \$217,000 were paid which should not have been paid by the farmer, making \$908,560. Thus, by means of the adroit arrangement of Mr. Sifton the Canadian Pacific Railway in the period 1896-9 inclusive, gets \$440,560 more than on precedent and principle they should have got. The Minister of the Interior (Mr. Sifton) and others in the North-west sent their paid emissaries through the county to tell the farmers what blessings they conferred on them by getting the Canadian Pacific Railway at the end of three years to make a reduction which should have been made three years earlier, and paying them millions for doing this. This they boast of on all sides.

The *Sun*, which I have quoted before, is worth quoting in this regard:

The Canadian Pacific Railway directors announce that they have carried forward as a surplus \$2,203,847. If our readers will refer to page 10 of the Public Accounts of the Dominion for the past fiscal year, they will find that during that period the Canadian Pacific Railway received from the Dominion government in donations for the Crow's Nest line alone \$2,322,500, or \$118,653 more than the surplus carried forward. Who would not pay 6 per cent dividends and announce surpluses up in the millions under such happy conditions?

The debate on this question, and the facts that I have brought forward impress upon my mind clearly the proposition, with which I started, that we will have to face this question of transportation. We will have to face it, to use the language of my hon. and learned friend, with a definite object and aim in view, and it seems to me, we must have a large object, a large aim and large measures. I believe that the only way of dealing with that question is to recognize the fact that the same principle that was applied to the post should be applied to transportation. If that be done, and the government take hold of the question on those lines we may look for success. The principle of the penny post may be applied to railways, and, Mr. Speaker, bold as the proposition is, it will be found to be justified on examination. The expense incident to the mere length of haul is so small in comparison with the other necessary charges that on true principles it would not be counted as a serious factor, whereas at present it is the base on which rates are calculated; the cost of transportation and not the value to the person hiring the common carrier should be the base. We can apply the principle of the penny post to transportation, and annihilate the disability that at present exists in the case of our farmers who grow grain in the centre of this continent. We can actually destroy the great disability of distance, and instead of having freight and passengers carried at so much from point to point, we can have it done on the principle of the penny post. The cost of running a train it is computed is from twenty-four to thirty cents a mile. Even if it remain in the hands of corporations, and they would apply the principle of the penny post, the result would be such an extension of the traffic, that the profit to the line, by the extension of the traffic would be such as to entirely justify such a tremendous revolution in our railway system. I hope, however, that the government will not wait for the completion of any such large scheme as that before taking steps, such as we took prior to 1896, to carry out the promise that was made in 1894, in Moosejaw, by the right hon. Prime Minister, that if he got into power the terrible oppression, as he characterized it, of the freight rates would be swept away.

Motion (Mr. Bennett) withdrawn.

The **MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES** (Sir Louis Davies) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and House adjourned at 11.10 p.m.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, April 5, 1900.

PRAYERS.

The **SPEAKER** took the Chair at Three o'clock.

BILLS WITHDRAWN.

Mr. **JAMES SUTHERLAND** (North Oxford) moved :

That Bill (No. 95) respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company be withdrawn, and that the fees paid thereon, and on Bill (No. 69) to incorporate the Kettle River Valley Railway Company, be refunded, less the cost of printing and translation, in accordance with the recommendations contained in the ninth report of the Select Standing Committee on Railways, Canals and Telegraph Lines.

Motion agreed to.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE SHIPMENT AND TRANSPORTATION OF GRAIN.

Mr. **JAMES SUTHERLAND** (North Oxford) moved :

That returns 81 and 81a, the report and evidence of the royal commission on the shipment and transportation of grain and the appointment of the said committee, be printed forthwith and that rule 95 be suspended in relation thereto.

He said : A large number of the members of the House, as well as a large number of people throughout the country are very much interested in this report, and I think it is in the interest of the members of this House, as well as of the people, that this report should be printed as quickly as possible. The chairman of the Printing Committee informs me that, on account of the adjournment of the Senate, the Joint Committee of both Houses on Printing will not be able to meet for two or three weeks. If the printing of this report is not to be delayed, it is necessary that we should take action. I do not know what the view of the House will be with regard to the evidence, but that will have to be considered later when I am able to bring the evidence before the House.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. **DAVIN**.

RAILWAY ACT AMENDMENT.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair) moved for leave to introduce Bill (No. 132) to amend the Railway Act. He said : The sections of the Bill are limited in number, and do not cover a great deal of ground. The first provides for the exemption of street railways and electric railways under certain conditions from the operation of some of the clauses of the General Railway Act. The second clause is similar in purport to a clause contained in the Bill introduced last year, and provides that the Railway Committee of the Privy Council may, on application and on being satisfied that certain conditions exist, require a railway company that has received aid from the Dominion government or from any provincial government to locate a station or stations at points at which, in the judgment of the committee such stations ought to be placed. Another division of this clause provides for making regulations to insure uniformity in the rules as respects all railways under the legislative authority of the parliament of Canada. It is deemed necessary that some such provision as that should be made in order to insure uniformity in these rules. They are known as the rules which govern the workmen and those engaged in operating the line.

Mr. **INGRAM**. Is the wording of that section the same as the section of last year ?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I think very nearly so. We may perhaps, have improved it a little ; but it contains precisely the same principle, and if there is any difference that difference is very slight and is designed to still further perfect the clause. The third section, with the subclauses, provides, in certain eventualities, for the sequestration of railways. These are, in effect, all the conditions that are contained in the Bill.

Mr. **INGRAM**. Would the hon. minister object to reading that section ?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I have no objection :

Whenever a company constructing or operating a line of railway which is situate wholly within the limits of one province, and with respect to which, or any part of which, the government of such province has previously granted and paid a subsidy to such company or any other company, fails to comply with the requirements of its charter as regards the commencement or completion of its works within the times therein specified, or fails, for a longer period than ten days, to continue in an efficient manner the running, operating or working of its railway, or any part thereof, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of such province, upon the report of the Railway Committee of the Executive Council thereof, may, at any time (even though the company is incorporated by the parliament of Canada, or the railway is authorized within the

legislative authority of such parliament), authorize the Commissioner of Public Works of such province or other proper officer therein, to cause the railway, the road-bed, and all the rolling stock and equipment thereof, to be sequestered or sold.

It appears that there is a railway company which has been in the receipt of aid from one of the provinces, which has operated a part of its line, but which does not choose to operate the remainder of its line, and the non-operation of which is a great detriment to that section of the community. The object is to enable some tribunal to deal with such a condition of things, and to insist, by the exercise of the pressure which an authority of this kind will confer on the tribunal, upon its being operated. It operates a part of its line profitably already.

Mr. INGRAM. Does the Bill deal chiefly only with the regulations?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. We rely upon the provisions of the Provincial Act to work these things out. There are two following subclauses which I will read:

2. All proceedings to be had after the granting of authority for sequestration or sale, as provided by this section, whether concerning or incidental to the appointment of the sequesteror, the duties, rights or powers of the sequesteror, the operation or sale of the railway, the distribution or the application of the proceeds of such sale, or otherwise, shall be in accordance, as nearly as may be, with the procedure in similar matters in force in such province with respect to the sequestration or sale of railways within the legislative authority of the legislature of such province.

3. This section shall have force and effect only with respect to such companies as are designated from time to time by proclamation of the Governor General; and it shall cease to have effect with respect to any such company on and after a day to be mentioned by proclamation of the Governor General.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I would like to ask the hon. gentleman who has introduced this Bill, if it is his intention to send it to the Railway Committee?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. That is not the intention.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. Well, I would suggest to the hon. gentleman, as I only heard casually the brief statement he has made—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. This is only the first reading.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. That is true, but so far as I am able to judge, it introduces a number of very important changes and clothes the government of the day with a degree of power in relation to railway enterprises, that is not now the law. I think it would be well, the measure being of such importance, that the Railway Committee should have an opportunity of examining it, and if the hon. gentleman has no objection

Mr. BLAIR.

to that course, I think he will be consulting the convenience of the House by sending it to the Railway Committee. It is one of those complicated questions concerning which the House would like to have the views of a committee, containing so large a number of members of the House.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. This is only the first reading, and I would not like to commit myself at this moment to an opinion either pro or con on the line of the hon. gentleman's suggestion. But I will be glad to consider it, and when we come to the second reading, I will give him an answer.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

ELECTION LAW AMENDMENTS.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Mr. Fitzpatrick) moved for leave to introduce a Bill (No. 133) to consolidate and amend the law relating to the election of members to the House of Commons. He said: As indicated by the title, the object of the Bill is to consolidate and amend the law relating to the election of members to the House of Commons. The consolidation and the amendments that I propose have become in large part necessary as a result of the passing of a Franchise Act in 1898. As hon. gentlemen will remember, by that Act, we adopted the provincial franchises, the provincial lists and the provincial polling divisions. As a consequence there are many provisions of the old election law which will disappear. In addition, there are one or two amendments of slight importance, and some which I have borrowed from the Bill introduced by the hon. member for East Elgin (Mr. Ingram). The only amendments of prime importance are those that have reference to the North-west Territories. The intention is, if this Bill becomes law, to repeal the whole of chapter 7, of the Revised Statutes of Canada, which has reference to the election of members to the House of Commons from the North-west Territories, with the exception of sections 2 and 3. Sections 2 and 3 are those which relate to the defining and determining of the boundaries of the constituencies in the North-west Territories. As a result, therefore, of the repeal of that portion of the Act, we will have in the North-west Territories, the same conditions as exist in the other provinces, that is to say, we will have the same franchise and the same voters. In the North-west Territories, for provincial purposes, there are no election lists, and we will, therefore, have in the North-west the same conditions as now exist with reference to voters in the province of Prince Edward Island. These amendments with reference to the North-west Territories, I think, are the only ones which will seriously engage the attention of the House,

and by this amendment we will save a large sum which is now expended in connection with the printing of the lists for the Northwest Territories. In addition to these amendments, I may remark, that we intend introducing a new form of ballot, and the attention of the House will be specially directed to that form.

Mr. FOSTER. A machine ballot ?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. I may say to our hon. friends opposite, that, bearing in mind what happened previous to 1896, I have endeavoured as far as possible to keep temptations away from them. and, I think, they will find the Act framed largely in that sense.

Mr. BENNETT. Is the change in the ballot in the direction of having it numbered ?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. No.

Mr. B. M. BRITTON (Kingston). I would invite the attention of the Solicitor General and of the government to the Bill that is upon the Order paper, as No. 35. Of course there is hardly any hope of that being reached, in fact, it is hardly probable that any private member will be able to carry through a public Bill, unless he has the assistance of the government. Now, this Bill suggests legislation in a way of doing away with the ballot altogether, and such a system of voting as will be more likely to ensure accuracy and prevent fraud in the way of forging ballots, and avoid errors arising from the marking or spoiling of ballots, in fact, doing away with a great many things that have been complained of within the last few years. I merely wish to say that inasmuch as that Bill was introduced last session, but not reached, and has been introduced again this session, and is not likely to be reached, and as it is, in my opinion, a matter of the greatest possible importance, to ensure accuracy in voting and convenience to the voters, I certainly think that this is a good time for the government to introduce some such thing as provided for by my Bill.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN (Halifax). Mr. Speaker, I would like to suggest to the hon. Solicitor General, that, when the Bill is printed, the sections from which the Consolidated Act is taken should be indicated, and the amendments should also be indicated by italics, or in some other convenient manner.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL. I beg to say, in answer to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) that, before each section, which amends the existing law, there is an asterisk and any new matter is in brackets. Then, we have the references showing where each section is taken from, and the sections which I have taken from the Bill of the hon. member for East Elgin (Mr. Ingram) are also indicated.

Mr. FITZPATRICK.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—EXPORT OF COMMODITIES TO SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. McMILLAN asked :

1. How many horses, how many tons of hay, what quantities of food and manufactured goods (all being the products of Canada), have been exported from Canada to South Africa since the outbreak of the war?

2. What is the value of such exports?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). Mr. Speaker, I am unable to give the hon. member (Mr. McMillan) the full information he seeks, and as I shall not be able to have it for a length of time, I shall ask him to accept the following answer as a partial one at any rate. The department informs me that the complete information in reply to this question cannot be given until the returns for the quarter ending March 31 have been received and compiled—but for the three months ended December 31, the exports to South Africa were as follows : Hay and straw, 715 tons, valued at \$5,244 ; beans, oats and pease, 7,100 bushels, valued at \$4,326 ; and manufactured goods, \$20,438. There were no horses exported to South Africa during the above quarter. Statements received from St. John and Halifax, the principal exporting points subsequent to December 31, show that between that date and March 21 there were exported to South Africa 1,810 horses ; 8,348 tons of hay ; \$67,659 of articles of food ; and \$140,490 of manufactured goods. (Quantities of food and manufactured articles, being so dissimilar, could only be given by an itemized statement). In addition to the above, the Department of Agriculture reports that 3,654 tons of hay, 2,286 bags of flour and 2,788 cases of corned beef were shipped by that department to Boston for export to South Africa.

COURT OF APPEAL AND CRIMINAL COURT JUDGES, QUEBEC.

Mr. BERGERON asked :

Who are the judges who have sat in the Court of Appeal for the province of Quebec since 1880?

Who is the judge who has presided in the Criminal Court in Montreal and Quebec since 1880?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). I have been informed by the Department of Justice that they have not the information which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bergeron) asks, but they have written to Quebec to obtain it. The question will have to stand for a few days.

Mr. BERGERON. Will the right hon. gentleman, when it comes, give it to me ?

The PRIME MINISTER. We have written to Quebec.

Mr. SPEAKER. Stand.

DUTY COLLECTED ON TOBACCO.

Mr. GILLIES asked :

1. What was the total amount of duty collected on tobacco for the year 1899?

2. How much of this amount is due to the additional duty imposed in the session of 1897?

The MINISTER OF CUSTOMS (Mr. Paterson). I gave the answer to the hon. gentleman (Mr. Gillies) yesterday in so far as the Department of Customs is concerned. To-day the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue (Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière), unfortunately is not well, and he has left the following answer in my hands for the Department of Inland Revenue : 1. For fiscal year ended June 30, 1899 :

Tobacco	\$3,014.951 93
Cigars.....	768.496 74
Cigarettes.....	302.341 24

Total..... \$4,086.289 91

2. \$1,067,656.40, being the duty collected on imported raw leaf tobacco.

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA.

Mr. MORIN asked :

What is the number of immigrants from Europe brought into Canada for each of the years 1897, 1898 and 1899?

What is the total cost of the immigration service of Canada for each of the years 1897, 1898 and 1899?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. The number of immigrants from Europe brought into Canada in 1897, was 19,304 (out of a total of 20,016 immigrants, 712 of whom came from the United States); in 1898, 22,781 (out of a total of 31,900 immigrants, 9,119 of whom came from the United States); and in 1899, 32,598 (out of a total of 44,543 immigrants, 11,945 of whom came from the United States). The total expenditure for immigration during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1897, was \$127,438.14; the total expenditure for immigration during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898, was \$261,194.90; the total expenditure for immigration during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1899, was \$255,878.88.

PAYMENT OF DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER AT SASKATCHEWAN LANDING.

Mr. DAVIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

Whether the government is aware that the deputy returning officer at Saskatchewan Landing, in the taking of the plebiscite in September, 1898, has not yet been paid?

Is the fault with the department at Ottawa or with the returning officer?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). The Auditor General states that he is unable to furnish the answer unless he knows either the name of the deputy returning officer or the number of the poll, as the accounts do not show where the various polls were held.

YUKON TERRITORY—PAYMENT OF DOG DRIVERS.

Mr. DAVIN (by Mr. Taylor) asked :

1. Whether James Williamson was engaged at Prince Albert on September 5, 1897, by Supt. Gagnon to go to the Yukon as a dog driver at \$30 per month and \$10 extra if service is satisfactory, and also to have his transport to and from the Yukon paid?

2. Whether, having served two years and wishing to leave, and having applied to Major Steele for his transport home, as promised, Major Steele told him to remain in police barracks until transport, &c., be arranged?

3. Whether Williamson did not do this for six weeks, getting free rations, but no pay?

4. Whether, earning nothing, and Major Steele still putting him off, he left for home, paying his own way out?

5. Whether Maxime Fidler was not engaged at Prince Albert at the same time (Sept., 1897) and at the end of one year left and had his transport paid to Prince Albert?

6. Whether two other men, named Whitford and Beatty, were not given transport to Vancouver?

7. Is it the intention of the government to pay James Williamson the amount of his transport from the Yukon to Prince Albert?

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). 1. James Williamson was engaged on September 6, 1897, for one year at \$30 per month, and a bonus of \$10 per month if satisfactory. The engagement did not provide for return expenses from the Yukon. He was continued in employment at Dawson, at \$40 per month, until the 22nd May, 1899, when he left of his own accord. Later on he was employed at Tagish. 2, 3, 4. The government have no knowledge of the circumstances referred to in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4. 5. Maxime Fidler was engaged at Prince Albert about the same time as Williamson. No entry can be found of his return expenses having been paid from the police appropriation. 6. Whitford and Beatty were engaged on the same terms as the other dog drivers, and were not paid transport expenses back from the Yukon. 7. No.

LIGHT KEEPER AND WHARFINGER AT ARISAIG, N.S.

Mr. BORDEN (Halifax) asked :

1. Who is the keeper of the lighthouse at Arisaig, N.S.?

2. What is his salary?

3. Is he paid by the year, or how otherwise?

4. Who is the wharfinger at Arisaig?

5. When did he last make any returns, and for what period?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). 1. Hugh R. McAdam. 2. \$60 per annum. 3. Paid quarterly. 4. Hugh R. McAdam, appointed about January 1, 1899. 5. Has not made any returns. Has been asked for explanations.

FISHING BOUNTY CHEQUES.

Mr. GANONG (by Mr. McAlister) asked :

Have the cheques for fishery bounties, now due, been forwarded for distribution? If so, who distributed them, and in what manner?

The MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES (Sir Louis Davies). The fishing bounty cheques for the year 1899, excepting those for Saguenay County and the Magdalen Islands, and a few claims upon which further information is required, have been forwarded for distribution, which is done personally by the fishery officers appointed for that purpose as formerly.

POSTAGE PAID ON NEWSPAPERS.

Mr. CARROLL asked :

What amount has been paid for postage, according to section 3 of 61 Vic., chap. 20, during the calendar year 1899, by the following papers:

'Family Herald.'		
Montreal 'Herald' (daily and weekly).		
Montreal 'Witness'	"	"
'La Presse,' Montreal.	"	"
'La Patrie,'	"	"
Montreal 'Star'	"	"
'Le Courrier du Canada,' Quebec.		
'Le Soleil,'	"	"
'L'Evenement.	"	"
'Le Cultivateur'		

What has been, for said calendar year, the total revenue derived from postage on newspapers in the Dominion?

Has the attention of the government been called to the fact that such postal tax bears heavily on the newspapers already taxed for every particle of material they use?

Is it the intention of the government, in view of the growing surpluses accruing to the exchequer, and of the modicity of the total revenue taken from this source, to amend the Postal Act so as to reduce or suppress the postage on newspapers?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). The first part of the question asks for information that is regarded as of a confidential character. To the second part of the question the answer is: That the gross revenue from newspapers for the calendar year ending 31st of December last, was \$70,432.82. The third part of the question appears to be open to the objection of containing an allegation of fact. The answer to the fourth part of the question is, that it is not the intention of the government to propose an amendment in the direction indicated.

DEPUTY POSTMASTER OF TORONTO.

Mr. CLARKE asked :

1. Has the government determined to superannuate Mr. John Carruthers, deputy postmaster of Toronto?

2. If so, from what day is his superannuation to date, and what will be the amount of his superannuation allowance?

3. Who will be Mr. Carruthers' successor as deputy postmaster of Toronto? When will he enter upon his duties, and what salary will he receive?

Sir LOUIS DAVIES.

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). The time has not arrived yet for the government to give an announcement with regard to the matter referred to in this question.

FRANKING PRIVILEGES OF THE LEGISLATURES.

Mr. CLANCY asked :

What is the extent of the franking privileges granted to the provinces of the Dominion, and to the legislatures of such provinces?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Mullock). Under the provisions of the Post Office Act, 49 Victoria, chapter 35, section 42, subsection 7: 'Petitions and addresses to the provincial legislatures of any of the provinces of Canada, or to any branch thereof, and also votes and proceedings and other papers printed by order of any such legislatures or any branch thereof, may be sent free of Canada postage under such regulations as the Postmaster General prescribes.' The post office regulations as contained in the official Postal Guide grant exemption from postage within Canada to the following classes of mail matter also :

15. Periodical bulletins, circulars, schedules and reports prepared by and issued from the provincial government departments in connection with agricultural, industrial and sanitary matters, as well as returns made to the provincial governments in relation to such matters on schedules furnished by them; forms used by clergymen, medical men and others, when making returns of marriages, births and deaths, contagious diseases reports addressed to the Provincial Board of Health, Montreal, and meteorological reports addressed to the Dominion Observatory at Toronto.

MR. PETER CURRIE.

Mr. McCLEARY asked :

1. Has Mr. Peter Currie been appointed to a position on the Geological staff?
2. If so, what are his duties?
3. What salary does he receive?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Mr. Peter Currie has not been appointed to a position on the Geological staff.

ADJOURNMENT FOR EASTER.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) moved :

That when this House adjourns on Wednesday next it stand adjourned until Tuesday, the 17th instant.

Motion agreed to.

RETURN LAID ON THE TABLE.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I might be allowed to say, Mr. Speaker, that one special return to which my attention has been called two or three times lately, was laid on the Table on the 26th of March last.

FREIGHT DELAYS ON THE I.C.R.

Mr. H. A. POWELL (Westmoreland). Before proceeding with the Orders of the Day, Mr. Speaker, I wish to make an inquiry from the hon. the Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair). A number of communications have been received by me from the maritime provinces complaining of an alleged shortage of cars, or mismanagement in the use of cars on the Intercolonial Railway. One of these complaints is from a leading merchant of the maritime provinces who each and every year in order to suit his business has had a very large number of cars placed at his disposal on the Intercolonial Railway. This gentleman writes to me :

I would like you to ask what regulations exist for the discharge of lumber on the Intercolonial, and for a statement of the number of cars under load at this port and Halifax, and how long said cars have been under load. The trouble to get cars from the Intercolonial Railway for some time has been very great, and it is owing to the fact that shippers are allowed to keep cars under load just as long as they so desire, without fine or power to compel their discharge. The thing is tying up the trade of the road, and the poorer class of men cannot get a car. I have called Mr. Blair's attention to it on March 19, but have not heard from him, but it would be a piece of useful legislation to have the Intercolonial Railway people compelled to make some reasonable regulation for the benefit of its customers.

In the *Journal of Commerce*, Montreal, on the 30th of March last, the complaint is stated somewhat more forcibly than in this letter. It is as follows :

Complaints are rife of freights being so long delayed between Halifax and this city. Cases of merchandise landed from the 'Sardinian' at Halifax nearly one month ago are still creeping along at snail pace on their way to Montreal. Instead of consignments for the city being delivered in bulk, they are sent in small batches, at wide intervals. A bullock team from Halifax could have carried goods more quickly than has been done this winter by the Intercolonial Railway. One reason for granting aid towards extending the government line direct from Halifax to Montreal was the greater expedition with which freight would be delivered here. Slow freight service on the Intercolonial is an old complaint. Merchants desirous of getting goods from England as rapidly as business required have, for years, been compelled to have them shipped via New York or Portland.

I do not know, personally, how much truth, or if there is any truth in these complaints, but they have been considered worthy of remark by our leading commercial journal and are also vouched for by gentlemen whom I know to be very honourable and who have no political leanings sufficiently strong to induce them to enter unnecessary complaints, but who are complaining simply because they are suffering in their business from the system of handling cars on the Intercolonial Railway. If there are not enough cars, the minister should ask the House for a grant to immediately stock the

Intercolonial Railway with sufficient rolling stock of the description required for the transportation of lumber. It is a very important matter for the maritime provinces, as the hon. minister well knows, and if he has sufficient rolling stock to provide ample accommodation for the traffic, he had better see that his officials make a disposition of it that will be more in accordance with the requirements of the patrons of the line.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS (Mr. Blair). There is no doubt a very great deal of complaint with respect to the time made by our freight trains and the transport of goods from one point to another on the Intercolonial Railway. I have myself been in frequent receipt of complaints on this score. I have realized, as fully as I think any minister could, the importance and necessity of making provision for removing any possible grounds for these complaints. I would not assume, however, and I think the House would be in error in assuming, that it would be possible to so manage the Intercolonial Railway that there would be no complaints on that score. Where business is very prosperous, and where the amount of tonnage involved is very considerable, such complaints are made with respect to all railways. All railway managers have the same trouble. Where an unexpected and rapid increase in the amount of traffic takes place, the railroads are often caught without a sufficient number of freight cars, and without a sufficient quantity of rolling stock generally. We are in that position. I have been endeavouring to increase the rolling stock. I have made what I did not consider, I admit, as full provision as I should have liked, but I have endeavoured to make provision for a considerable increase in the traffic. But, my expectations with regard to that increase have been very considerably exceeded, and we are in the position to-day of not having either enough cars or enough locomotives. I do not think there is as much as the hon. gentleman imagines in the complaint of one of the correspondents, that the cars are allowed to remain loaded for an undue period. There will always be some delays on that account; there will always be some difficulty in having the consignees of these freights discharge the cars promptly; there has always been and there always will be that difficulty, which I presume arises with respect to all railways. We have regulations which we endeavour to enforce as vigorously as possible. It is in our power to impose fines or penalties if the number of the delay days is exceeded, and we do it, I think, as a general rule, as much as railways generally do. The main trouble is that we have not enough cars or locomotives. Our trains are now hauled by light locomotives, which cannot haul as large trains as would be desirable. In many sec-

tions the freight is unavoidably delayed for these reasons. I have asked parliament, in the main estimates, for a grant to enable me still more efficiently to equip the road, and I am not sure that my figures are not much below the mark, and that I may not have to ask for a further vote in the supplementary estimates. However, my desire is to place the road in as efficient a shape as possible, and to do the best for the patrons of the road that can be done under the circumstances.

Mr. H. F. McDOUGALL (Cape Breton). I am very glad the hon. member has brought this question before the House. The minister yesterday made an answer to some questions put by myself which was in a measure satisfactory.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. Is the hon. gentleman going to make a motion?

Mr. McDOUGALL. If I am not in order, Mr. Speaker, I shall put myself in order by concluding with a motion. This question is, to my mind, too important a one to be delayed; and it should be brought before the House as fully as possible, if that will have the effect of moving the minister to a little more activity than he has shown in the past. The answer given by the minister yesterday to my questions was to the effect that he was made aware of some complaints with regard to the position of the road and the hauling into North Sydney of the express train; but he said he had no complaints with regard to some of the other cases mentioned. Now, I want to remind him that early in the season the Board of Trade at Sydney called his attention to the defective service that the Intercolonial Railway was giving to the public in the Island of Cape Breton, and particularly in the town of Sydney; and I think the information which the hon. minister had in his own possession with regard to the demands on the service of the road in the interests of shippers and of the public generally, should have moved him to action months ago, instead of waiting until he could get an appropriation from this House which would not be available till the 1st of July next. The appropriation he is asking for in the main estimates now before the House will not be available till after that date—for expenditure not until after July 1—and from the information which I have, the great inconvenience and loss caused to the public on the eastern sections of the Intercolonial Railway, by reason of the inefficient service given by that railway, would have justified the minister in coming before parliament on the first day that it met, and asking parliament to give him the means to equip that road in such a manner that it could meet the demands of the public. As far back as July last, people went to the management of the Intercolonial Railway and represented that they wanted a service equal to several

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thousand cars a month. They have not been able to get such a service—why? Because the minister has not taken the necessary steps to provide the railway with sufficient engines and flat cars to remove the freight which has been offered. The result is that every branch of business in the eastern portion of this Dominion, which depends on the service of the Intercolonial Railway, is paralyzed. Business people lose, not simply hundreds, but thousands of dollars because they cannot get that service from the road which they ought to get. It is now six or seven months since a great deal of this business was offered to the road; and surely that should have been sufficient time for the hon. minister to prepare himself for this business. Having particular reference to my own constituency, where a very great industry is being put into operation, an industry in which every man, woman and child in that part of the country is interested, and as well, I might say, every man, woman and child in most of the provinces of this Dominion—because, I take it, that that industry is going to distribute a large amount of money all over Canada—we should not by any want of action on our part delay the progress of that industry or prevent it getting into manufacturing operation at the earliest possible date. The hon. member for Westmoreland (Mr. Powell) read complaints with respect to the leaving of loaded cars in the possession of consignees for unreasonable length of time. My complaint is that the cars are left loaded not only at the points of destination, but at the points of departure. In my own section of the country, week after week the cars have remained loaded without being removed from the sidings for want of engine power and siding and yard room; and thus, we can see how it is that the management cannot furnish cars as quickly as they are required. In this case the fault is with the management of the road; and that is owing to the fact that those parts of the road are not sufficiently equipped with sidings and station accommodations. The business of the road blocks up the line from day to day in such a way that at times we cannot move a car for a week. Is that the fault of the management or of the people who are charged with carrying on the operations of the road? I say not. It is the fault of the head of the service, who does not wish to provide the proper accommodations, equipment and facilities for carrying on the business. Take the town of Sydney, where this great industry is being carried on to-day, we have not got in that town yard room, sidings or station room for one-quarter of the business offering. Why should that be the case when the people of that town, at a time when it was in comparative poverty, gave to the Intercolonial Railway and to the people of Canada a free gift of land and free right of way into

the town in order to enable the government to provide the necessary facilities for the proper operation of the road. To-day the Intercolonial Railway authorities complain that they have not got ground room enough to enable them to increase the yard and siding accommodation. I say they have. They have enough ground room to provide twice over for the business they are now properly prepared for. One of the great disadvantages arising from the default of the government to provide sufficient yard room is that when an engine has to move a car, it must spend two or three hours shunting back and forth other cars before it can get at the car it wants to move. The company, which is carrying on this great industry in that town to-day, was blamed, I understand, at times for not moving the cars on to their works, but I know that when those people send their engine into the Intercolonial Railway yard to take away their cars, that engine had to wait several hours before it could get at them. What I am stating with regard to the station facilities in the town of Sydney, I can state with regard to almost every other station where business of importance is done on that eastern division. The hon. minister could not have been without information of this state of things months ago. He himself and his government gave their support to a measure of this House to encourage the building up of that industry in the town of Sydney, and he surely must have known that the business those people were undertaking would give his railway a great deal of work, and apart from the business created locally by reason of this industry, there is an enormous amount of traffic offered to the road from the United States. As my hon. friend from Westmoreland has said, the sending of goods from Halifax to Montreal is delayed over this line. So is all other traffic.

I could detain this House for hours, giving particulars of the great disadvantages from which we suffer, but do not propose to do so. I hope that the hon. minister will take warning and lose no more time in asking parliament to provide such means as will make that road more efficient and enable it to carry on business more expeditiously. To-day, for the want of satisfactory equipment, it costs the road twice as much to do its business as it should. I have seen work that should be done in four hours taking two days, to the loss of the people trying to do business over the road, as well as to the road, owing to inefficient equipment. I hope that the hon. minister will take the earliest opportunity to obtain proper car and engine service. I do not propose to say anything further on the subject at present, but I must again express the hope that the hon. minister will not lose any more time in giving some satisfaction to the people who do business on the line. I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. J. A. GILLIES (Richmond). I rise to endorse every word that has fallen from my hon. friend from Cape Breton (Mr. McDougall), in connection with what I must deliberately call the mismanagement of the Intercolonial Railway. I do not care who is responsible, whether the superintendent or the general manager at Moncton, or the Minister of Railways, but time and time again has this matter been brought to the notice of the hon. minister without the slightest effect. He is apparently inclined to treat this matter very lightly. Last September he came down to Sydney, accompanied by some of his supporters, and there was interviewed by a deputation from the town of Sydney and the Sydney Board of Trade. These gentlemen laid before him the congested condition of the road. The condition of the yard at Sydney was brought to his notice, and he promised to remedy that condition, but so far has done nothing. Mr. Wells, the chief engineer of the Dominion Iron and Steel Company accompanied that deputation and informed the hon. gentleman that his company alone would require for their own accommodation a thousand cars per month from the 1st of September last until the following autumn. That would mean a great deal to any system—40 cars a day, or 1,000 cars a month taken over that road by that one company alone. When we consider the additional business provided by the Dominion Iron and Steel Company and kindred industries, we cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the road is in a terrible condition. The House will be astonished to learn that not a single car or engine has been supplied since the additional traffic has arisen. The hon. minister replies that he has no cars or locomotives, but that he was in hopes that very soon he would be in a position to supply the present needs.

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. In part.

Mr. GILLIES. Yes, I would like to know upon what principle he can lie so quietly by and treat this great question with indifference, although he has the exchequer of the country at his back. When he found that the road was going to be congested with the incoming business, why did he not immediately set to work and provide the requisite cars and locomotives. I cannot understand it for the life of me, and the minister will find it difficult to explain.

Thus far, I have spoken of the freight department of the road. I wish now to say a few words in connection with the passenger train arrangements. Early in the session, I brought to the notice of the minister—and it was hardly necessary for me to do so, because it had been brought to his notice before—the great dissatisfaction that exists in the eastern part of Nova Scotia, in fact, all over that province, with the extraordinary system that prevails in running

the express trains. Sydney is the terminus of the Intercolonial Railway road. But, from North Sydney Junction, there is a branch running to North Sydney. When the road was first operated, a branch train ran from the junction into North Sydney, and the main train kept on to the terminus at Sydney. But, it was afterwards decided to make the whole train run to North Sydney, thence back to North Sydney Junction, and on to the terminus at Sydney. That system is still continued. It was not so bad when the business of the road was light; but, as the business has developed and travel has increased, it has become unsatisfactory to the great travelling public going to the terminus of the road. Let hon. gentlemen take the map and consider the state of things. The express train running from the Strait of Canso to the terminus at Sydney reaches North Sydney Junction, and then must run on to North Sydney, six miles away. The locomotive meets it there and draws it back to North Sydney Junction, and then it runs around to the terminus at Sydney—that is, the whole train, passenger cars, mail cars, parlour cars, and all. The consequence is, as the minister will understand, there is great delay, sometimes an hour, and sometimes even as much as two hours, depending entirely on the business to be done at North Sydney. On the nights when the steamer running between the west coast of Newfoundland and North Sydney, comes in, the delay is all the greater. Passengers bound for Sydney, after spending, it may be, the whole day in the train, are obliged to undergo all this delay before reaching their destination. I would ask the hon. minister when that condition of affairs is to be remedied; for I know for a fact, and I think the minister will agree with me, that strong representations were made to him, while in Sydney, against that arrangement. The minister will bear me out in saying that he has in his possession strong remonstrances from the board of trade, from the mayor, from every influential business man in the town of Sydney, against this state of affairs. I asked him early in the session, when he purposed remedying this state of affairs, and if there were remonstrances against it. He admitted that there were remonstrances, and that representations had been made against this condition of affairs; but he said:

I am asked to subscribe to the statement that the travelling public are now being subject to annoyance and delay, an admission which I cannot possibly make. Such is not the case.

Now, I would like to know from the minister, how he could come to the conclusion that there is no inconvenience or delay caused by running the whole train six miles on a branch line, and detaining it there for such a length of time as is necessary to do the business, and thence back to the junction? Is it not manifest that there is

delay there? And, if there is delay, there must be inconvenience. I draw the attention of the government to this matter in no spirit of anger, but with the hope that the necessary change will be made so as to meet the wishes of the travelling public. I put it to any hon. gentleman in this House, if he were taking his passage from the city of Ottawa for Sydney, and were subjected to such a delay, would not he be indignant and ask why this state of affairs should be tolerated at this point. The hon. minister knows that from Campbellton to Dalhousie, there is a branch road of four or five miles. It would be as reasonable to take the express train on its way to Halifax over this branch into Dalhousie, and then run it back to send it on its course, as to make this detour from North Sydney Junction to North Sydney and back, before proceeding to Sydney. In the same way, there is a branch from Stellarton to Pictou. Why does not the hon. minister run trains to Pictou and back, instead of running them direct through? I am not advocating any plan that would deprive the interesting and enterprising town of North Sydney of one jot or tittle of its present conveniences. I would not stand on this floor or anywhere else and advocate any such course as that. I say, the town of North Sydney is entitled to every convenience, and it has every claim on the department for any and every railway convenience it can or does enjoy; but it seems to me I have only to bring this matter to the notice of the House, to show hon. members, and, I hope, to impress the minister, at long last, with the absurdity of the course he is pursuing in this regard.

One point more, and I shall finish. I desire to say a word concerning the connecting of the trains from Montreal, and those running east. By the time-table, which I have in my hand, issued by the Intercolonial Railway, the train leaves the city of Montreal at 11.30 in the day, and reaches Truro, N.S., at 12.40 the following day. But passengers for points east of Truro, must remain at Truro for about twenty-two hours, until the train comes next day from Halifax to Truro to take them away. Now, why should this be the case? Why should not the minister so arrange matters that the time of the arrival of the train from Montreal at Truro should synchronize with the arrival of the train from Halifax at the same point, so that the passengers coming by the Montreal train could be picked up and carried down east? But, at the present time passengers coming by the eastern trains from Montreal, Quebec, St. John, Amherst and intermediate points must remain at Truro for twenty-two hours until the train comes from Halifax the next day. The train from the east passes Truro a little over two hours before the train from Montreal arrives at Truro, and, consequently, the passengers have to remain there nearly twenty-four hours.

That is evidently an absurd arrangement. I bring this matter to the notice of the minister in the hope that he will at once bring about a reform of the grievance of which we complain. I am glad this discussion has arisen, because it has enabled me to put these views before the House with the hope that the government, being put in possession of the facts by some one having personal cognizance of them, will at once take steps to give the public better accommodation.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS** (Mr. Blair). I am not at all sorry that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Gillies) and the hon. gentleman who preceded him, have brought up this subject. Perhaps I might suggest that there is a direction in which both of these hon. gentlemen might do a great deal of useful missionary work by approaching some of the newspapers and some of their colleagues on the other side of the House, and endeavouring to convince them that the appropriations which have been asked for and which have been condemned in such unmeasured terms by financial critics of the government on the other side of the House, were not after all as large as they ought to have been. I would advise the hon. gentleman and his friends opposite to go to work as speedily as possible in that direction. The hon. gentleman is very indignant against the government and he has withdrawn his confidence from the railway administration. Now, Sir, precisely the same condition of things with regard to trains at Sydney and North Sydney is existing to-day as has existed for the last eight or ten years. But, the hon. gentleman has no excuse to offer, he finds no ground upon which an explanation can be offered of existing circumstances in the fact that the arrangements now going on are simply a continuation of the arrangements that have always existed. It may be true that the people of Sydney have not been treated, in connection with the train which runs up to North Sydney, with the consideration to which their importance entitles them. Well, the hon. gentleman had it in his power to present his complaints in that regard with a great deal of force, for many years; but, he did not do it, he had confidence in those who made these arrangements and who continued them, and I have not learned that he took a great deal of trouble to bring about better arrangements. If he did, and failed, he cannot, of course, seriously complain of this government for doing no more than his own political friends. The hon. gentleman fails altogether to recognize the fact that the management of the Intercolonial Railway by the present Minister of Railways and Canals has to be carried on under circumstances altogether different from those heretofore existing. The Intercolonial Railway was not equipped for doing the amount of business which it had

to do under a less prosperous state of affairs.

An hon. MEMBER. This is a growing time.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. I am willing to acknowledge that this is a growing time, and so far as this government is responsible for the enormous increase in the prosperity of the country, I acknowledge that the hon. gentleman has a right to blame us because we have not done anything to extend the railway accommodation. The hon. gentleman will always find me willing to admit any responsibility with which I may fairly be charged.

Mr. BERGERON. What about the hours at Sydney?

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. Well, you cannot regulate the running of trains covering 1,400 or 1,500 miles, as to their arrival and departure at every point over the entire length, so as to suit every section of the people. You have to take into consideration the needs and conditions of the various sections. The hon. gentleman asks why we do not get down to Truro earlier than we do. Well, the hon. gentleman does not know the reason, he is not familiar with the circumstances, and, therefore, he thinks we are to blame. He thinks we can name one hour just as well as another. But we cannot do so. Passengers leaving here (Ottawa) in the morning want to go down east making close and quick connections, and as a consequence, our train has to leave at a particular hour in order to make the morning connections. But, there are other difficulties in the way of making our express trains leave Montreal at night. We had to change the time for a while during the winter season, we either had to make that change or put on a ferry at Quebec, which would have been a very expensive business, and which we did not feel justified in doing by the extent of the traffic. Feeling that the expense would be more than we were justified in incurring, we made the next best arrangement that we could, which was to have morning connection with Ottawa and the western trains. Now, I want to say to the hon. gentleman that I have not treated the Board of Trade of Sydney with any lack of consideration, I have not treated the representations which those gentlemen made to me with disregard. On the contrary, I felt that there was much force in what they said, and I felt it would be right and proper that many of their requests, not all, should be acceded to. When did that interview take place, and when were these views presented? Last fall. Now, does the hon. gentleman imagine that it is possible for me to put my hand into the exchequer and to expend a number of thousands of dollars at my own sweet will, or

even that it is possible for the government to do so? That would be quite possible for a private corporation, for a railway company who have always immediate control of their financial arrangements; they can make expenditures at any time which a government cannot do. But, I want to know what would have been the character of the criticisms passed upon the railway administration if we had spent a considerable sum in excess of the vote that parliament had given us, or even if we had applied for a Governor General's warrant for the purpose? My hon. friend himself would have condemned us in unmeasured terms. I do not think we could have got the money which would have enabled us to do more than we have done. We had to wait till the next, that is the present session of parliament. We did not ask last year for all that we should have liked to get, because this is a pretty large country, and we have to meet demands from all directions, from every section of the people. We have to regulate our requests for money from parliament according to the demands made upon us of all sorts and from all quarters. We are going to ask parliament this year for a substantial sum in order that we may better equip the Intercolonial Railway, and do what we think is necessary in the public interest, what we think is reasonably necessary in the interest of the localities the hon. gentleman has mentioned, and others throughout the entire service. Until we get the appropriation we cannot spend money. I think that ought to be abundantly clear to hon. gentlemen opposite. I have not lost a day. I have not lost an hour in connection with this matter. Does the hon. gentleman suggest that we should suspend all other business on the first day of the session and put a sum in the estimates for this purpose? If we did that I do not think that we would meet with any remarkable degree of success. When the hon. gentleman suggests that these things should be done promptly, he only voices a portion of the sentiments of the House. There are other hon. gentlemen in this House, and a large majority of the members of the House have questions engaging their attention which they think are just as important, and which they think call for speedy treatment just as much as the one that this hon. gentleman has brought up. We must not consider that our demand is the only one to be dealt with, and that it only needs consideration, but, we must have a regard for the general needs of the country. I do not think that I am open to the charge of being at all insensible to the urgent importance of very great improvement in the Intercolonial service. I am well satisfied, that, on the Island of Cape Breton, and in fact between Sydney and Truro it would be necessary that we should at once re-rail the road with heavier rails. Certainly Cape Bre-

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ton ought to be re-railled with heavier rails at once. I am of that opinion, and it has been forced upon me very much since the enormous increase in the traffic that has taken place, but, that great increase in the traffic did not occur until recently. There was not the evidence that the traffic would be so greatly enhanced at the last session of parliament, and if I had made the request to parliament for such a sum as I felt would be required then to be spent to do the work, although hon. gentlemen themselves may think it ought to have been asked for, I do not think that parliament would have considered the request a reasonable one, or that a sufficient case had been made out. There is a feeling in the House, and there is a feeling in some sections of the country against any very liberal expenditure on the Intercolonial Railway. I do not think that any one imagined that the growth of the business would have been as considerable as it has been, and I think that only the actual facts which have been stated, very truly, by the hon. gentleman opposite, would have convinced parliament that any such large sums were really required to be expended upon the railway service. I can assure the hon. gentlemen, both of them, that I am sensible that a great deal requires to be done that has not been done on the Intercolonial Railway. I am proceeding with as much despatch in that direction as I think I can convince parliament will be prudent under the circumstances, and if my hon. friends will direct their energies towards enlightening their own friends in the House on the importance of this question I shall do what I can to enlighten and instruct my friends upon this side of the House in respect to it.

Mr. ANDREW B. INGRAM (East Elgin). Mr. Speaker, I have been enlightened somewhat on this question since this discussion has arisen this afternoon, and I cannot see why it requires any great expenditure to meet the wishes of the people who are complaining. I find here that there is a short branch line running to North Sydney from the main line running to Sydney, a distance of about six miles. At present there is an engine located at North Sydney which draws the train from the junction of the main line into North Sydney. All the additional expense that is necessary to meet the wishes of these gentlemen is simply that which would be involved in supplying additional coaches to carry the passengers from North Sydney to the main line in order that they may make connections with trains passing up and down the main line. Therefore, there is no expenditure at all necessary to meet the wishes of the people there. I find, that, at Sydney, in the last six months, they have paid \$128,257.43 in freight and passenger charges, and that, at North Sydney, they have paid \$34,669.50. In order to meet the convenience of the people of North Sydney this is

really all that is necessary for the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals to do. Therefore, as I stated before, there is no expenditure worth speaking of in connection with all that is necessary to meet their wishes. If the rest of the management of the Intercolonial Railway is like the management of this portion of it, I can understand why hon. gentlemen on this side of the House should complain of the way in which the road is being managed.

Mr. HENRI BOURASSA (Labelle). Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to enter into the details that have been brought up in the discussion, but, I simply wish to say that I am quite surprised at the harsh criticisms which have been made by some hon. members on the other side of the House of the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals because, as everybody knows, the Intercolonial Railway was organized by Tory governments, it has been controlled by Tory governments for years, and it is still continued under the control of the Tory organization. Therefore, if complaint should be made, I think it should be made of some of the officials of the Tory persuasion, who are still at the head of it. I believe that when the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals gets hold of the organization of the Intercolonial Railway, and brings to its administration the business ability that he is known to be possessed of, the Intercolonial will be subjected to the reform that it needs. But, until that is done I think the criticisms should rather come from hon. members on this side of the House, because they have certainly more complaint against the administration of the Intercolonial Railway than have hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER (Cape Breton). Mr. Speaker, it would be interesting if the hon. member for Labelle (Mr. Bourassa) would let us know which side of the House he is on. We have had some recent indications that he was disposed to criticise, very sharply, hon. gentlemen on that side of the House. I am afraid that he will have to reform very much before he will be particularly welcomed here, and I do not think that is at all likely, considering the leadership he is following. This is a very grave and a very important question that has been brought to the attention of the House. I do not know any question that, it is more necessary, should receive attention at the hands of the House. I understand that the hon. Minister of Railways and Canals (Mr. Blair) took the ground of admitting that he is altogether at fault, and of admitting the truth of the statements made that the public business of the country has been interfered with and prevented from having that scope and verge that are desirable in the interest of the country. I understand the hon. gentleman to cry peccavi and to say—

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I cannot answer for the correctness of the hon. gentleman's understanding.

Mr. FOSTER. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) did not cry peccavi?

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. No.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. All I can say is that I have misunderstood the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair).

The MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS. I admitted that we were responsible in large part, for the present enormous improvement, in the general business of the country.

Sir CHARLES TUPPER. I think my hon. friend will want some better shelter than that before he will be able to justify himself in view of the admissions he has made, in the presence of the House, to-day, that he has altogether failed in the discharge of the duties of the high, the responsible and the important position that he holds as the Minister of Railways and Canals. The hon. gentleman says that he is willing to assume responsibility for the great improvement in the trade and business of the country. Well, Sir, if so he is still the more to blame, inasmuch as he has not provided, in his department, for meeting that increased trade. I do not propose to discuss with him who is responsible, but, when he had before him the most obvious evidence as to the great importance of providing facilities in connection with the great industry that was provided for in this House at the last session, and which he had before him for two years, the hon. gentleman was in the most complete ignorance of what that would demand at his hands. More than a year ago I pointed out to the minister the immense importance it was that the government should adopt that policy in reference to the immense iron and steel industry now being started in Sydney. I pointed the minister to the great demand it would make on his department and the additional revenue that would be derived by the government in consequence. He cannot plead now that he was ignorant of it, because it was all told to him nearly two years ago. The deplorable condition of the business of that great enterprise, is the consequence of the minister's failure to do his duty and ask parliament for the necessary rolling stock that would enable him to grapple with this increased business. The minister (Mr. Blair) has to admit that he has entirely failed to discharge his duty. Why have we a Minister of Railways and why does the country employ a large staff of officers, except for the purpose of doing that which a railway management should do, and which the Grand Trunk Railway and

the Canadian Pacific Railway do, namely, having a man at their head who is able to anticipate what will be the demands upon the road so as to conduct the business of the country in the interests of the road, as well as in the interests of the people. It is the people of Canada who own the Intercolonial Railway, and therefore the minister is bound to do everything possible to make that road remunerative. One of the first qualities required in a Minister of Railways is that he shall have ability to gauge what the demand shall be so as to turn it to profitable account. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) has given away his whole case and he stands to-day denuded of any excuse, except that he had not money enough. Whose fault is that? He has come before us with some very extraordinary demands and only on one occasion—and that certainly was very different from this—has he met with any difficulty. The House has voted him every dollar he has asked, and if the Intercolonial Railway is not in a condition to do the business of the country he, above all others, is responsible. The apologetic tone that he has adopted is, of course, calculated to take off the sharp edge of criticism, but I do not think it in the interests of the country that such a miserable plea as he has put forward in vindication of his utter failure to discharge his duties as a minister should be accepted by this House—I am quite sure it will not be accepted by the people of this country. When the hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) wanted to purchase the Drummond County Railway and to make a deal in that transaction, he was quite ready to ask us for \$7,000,000.

The **MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS**. The amount has got up to \$7,000,000 now, has it?

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**. The amount has got down from \$7,000,000 to \$6,000,000, because the Senate refused to give him the \$7,000,000 and he went back and made a better bargain with the same men at a saving of \$1,000,000 to the people of Canada. I give that as an instance to show that the minister was not thinking about the business of the country, but thinking rather about how he can best manipulate his party interests. If he believed a word of what the Minister of Finance said with reference to that great enterprise in Cape Breton, he would have realized that there would be an enormous demand made on the Intercolonial Railway. The gentlemen connected with that enterprise find themselves to a considerable extent paralyzed in their business after their great expenditure of capital, and that in consequence of the utter failure of the Minister of Railways. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Blair) knows that every dollar of surplus he can claim was not made on the Drummond County Railway—where a loss was incurred

Sir **CHARLES TUPPER**.

as could be abundantly established if we could get the facts—but made in the province of Nova Scotia and in the county of Cape Breton, where he leaves the rolling stock of the railway in such a condition as that it cannot meet the emergency. He stands to-day convicted out of his own mouth, of having totally misapprehended the duties and responsibilities of his position. He deserves the censure of every honourable and intelligent man for failing to discharge his plain and obvious duty to parliament and to the country.

Mr. **ANGUS McLENNAN** (Inverness). I agree with the Minister of Railways (Mr. Blair) that the service on the Intercolonial Railway, which was adequate during the regime of hon. gentlemen opposite, is quite inadequate to-day. Indeed, I have personal knowledge of the fact that when the Conservatives were in power, the equipment of the Intercolonial Railway was more than ample to cope with the traffic then existing. To demonstrate the suddenness with which this increased traffic on the Intercolonial Railway has come, and to demonstrate the reasonableness of the statement of the minister (Mr. Blair), that the increased service was necessarily unforeseen, I shall quote the customs duties collected at the town of Sydney for the last three or four years and for the first six months of the present financial year. The customs receipts collected at Sydney are as follows:

1896..	\$11,000
1897.... ..	12,000
1898.... ..	11,000
1899	10,000

And for the half year of the present financial year, \$82,883. So that if it continues for the next half of the year the customs collected at Sydney will be over \$165,000, as compared with \$10,000 the previous year. With regard to the pains taken by the present head of the department to see that the increased traffic on the Intercolonial Railway is provided for, I may say that the most important point on the eastern section of the Intercolonial Railway that needs to be looked after is the crossing at the Strait of Canso, and it is well known that for weeks past the Railway Department has had competent engineers inspecting and making a complete survey of the various favourable points on both sides of the Strait of Canso, in order to select a suitable and improved crossing. It has been found that like very many other features in the locating of the Intercolonial Railway, that the point of crossing at the Strait of Canso is thoroughly unfit for the increased traffic that is now carried on the road. This is only in keeping with the other points which I have indicated. With regard to the trains running into the town of North Sydney, I take it that the hon. gentlemen representing the county of Cape Breton are in sympathy with the protests of the hon. member for

Richmond (Mr. Gillies) in view of the fact that they have offered no protest against the severe criticisms which that hon. gentleman offered against the management of the Intercolonial Railway for permitting the trains to run into that very important and progressive town. To show the importance of the town of North Sydney as compared with the town of Sydney before the present 'boom,' let us look at the comparative amounts of customs duties collected in the two towns in the last three years :

	Sydney.	North Sydney.
1896.....	\$11,000	\$13,000
1887..	12,000	13,000
1898.. . . .	11,000	14,000

And yet the hon. member for Richmond, simply because he resides in Sydney, and because the stopping of the train running into North Sydney would enable him to reach his home twenty minutes sooner, desires to deprive that important and progressive town of the train accommodation which it has had since the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. Let me call the attention of the House to the fact that a very important line of steamships, running between the Island of Cape Breton and Newfoundland, has its terminus at North Sydney, where it connects with the Intercolonial Railway; and if North Sydney were deprived of its present train accommodation, this very important line of steamships would be deprived of proper connection with the Intercolonial Railway, and, therefore, the continent. A line of steamships running between the Island of St. Pierre, and carrying the French mails also connects with the Intercolonial Railway at North Sydney; and if that connection were also taken away, the passengers, mails and baggage would be detached from the ordinary train of the Intercolonial Railway, and side-tracked, so to speak, and have to be transferred from one train to another at North Sydney Junction. This would not be tolerated for a moment by the people most interested in the eastern portion of the Intercolonial Railway. The large and important county of Inverness, which I have the honour to represent, and the neighbouring county of Victoria, as is well known, supply North Sydney with the great bulk of the farm products consumed in that thriving town; and I, for my part, would therefore strongly object to that point being deprived of proper train accommodation, which would practically be the case if the main train were obliged to proceed to Sydney and side-track its North Sydney passengers, leaving them to be carried to North Sydney by an engine and solitary car. The town of North Sydney, with its trade and with its lines of steam communication with Newfoundland and St. Pierre, is far too important to be side-tracked in the manner suggested by the hon. member for Richmond, and, for my part, as I have just said, I would protest against any-

thing of the kind. I must again express my surprise that the hon. members for the county of Cape Breton, who should be interested in the prosperity of the town of North Sydney, did not utter a word of protest against the proposal of the hon. member for Richmond. From my personal knowledge of the working of the Intercolonial Railway, ever since these large works have been established in and around the town of Sydney, the head of the department has been straining every nerve to prepare for the opening of the working season, for putting the track into proper condition. Necessary improvements have been in course of preparation for a number of weeks past, and when the working season opens, I have no doubt whatever that that portion of the Intercolonial Railway will be in first-class condition, and in keeping with the great and improved trade of the country.

Mr. W. C. EDWARDS (Russell). Mr. Speaker, I was not in the House when this question was introduced; but I understand that the debate is based substantially on a complaint that the car supply on the Intercolonial Railway is inadequate to the demands of the traffic. Well, I do not know that in that respect, the Intercolonial Railway is very different from the other railways in North America. I do not think there is one railway company in North America which has been able to build cars fast enough to supply the demands of the increased trade. You would not, I suppose, expect the Minister of Railways and Canals, or any subordinate of his, in the management of the Intercolonial Railway, to have greater perception of the needs of traffic, than the clever men who manage the very important railways of other parts of North America, as well as Canada. We certainly have at the head of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Grand Trunk Railway, just as able railway managers as are to be found in the world; and yet for the past year, the supply of cars on these railways has been utterly inadequate to the demands of traffic. The great difficulty last summer was that the companies were not able to build cars fast enough. We did not suppose for one moment that that difficulty would continue throughout the winter, but it has. Within the last two weeks, a car was asked for by my own company from one of the great railways of this country. The freight had been taken to the station and kept there for weeks, and, at last, it had to be taken away, and sent by other means, as we could not get a car. I do not think any railway manager nor any business man in the country ever supposed that there would be such a demand for cars as there has been. I know nothing of the conditions in the maritime provinces in this respect; but I am stating what I do know to be the conditions in this part of Canada, and throughout the rest of North America.

Mr. O. E. TALBOT (Bellechasse). Mr. Speaker, I am very glad, indeed, that complaints have come from the other side of the House of matters connected with the management of the Intercolonial Railway. I come from a part of the country which is considerably interested in the management of the Intercolonial, which is the only railway that traverses my county. It is really amusing to hear these complaints from the other side. These gentlemen know very well that during all the time of their administration the Intercolonial Railway was a political, and I might go further and say it was a party railway, administered on those lines, and I am sure there is no reason for these hon. gentlemen to find fault if this government has not made a complete change. I am glad that these complaints are brought before the House to-day, and I hope that the hon. Minister of Railways will give them his serious consideration, and that before long there will be a thorough change in the general management of the Intercolonial Railway at Moncton. That management is simply disgraceful. I was glad to hear a moment ago hon. gentlemen opposite comparing the management of the Intercolonial Railway with that of the Grand Trunk Railway. It is not very long since the Grand Trunk Railway became a model railway, only since the last change in the general management; and it is high time a change should be made in the actual management of the road, and some one put in control who understands his business.

CANADIAN OFFICERS IN IMPERIAL SERVICE.

Mr. RICHARD TYRWHITT (South Simcoe). Before the Orders of the Day are called, I wish to draw the attention of the hon. Minister of Militia to the fact that Militia Order No. 72, referring to the Canadian officers entering the Imperial service, has been cancelled by Militia Order No. 76 of 2nd inst. It is currently reported that some difficulty regarding conditions of offer made by the War Office has arisen. A great deal of interest is taken in this matter in the militia force, and consequently I would like to inquire whether the hon. minister is in a position to announce the reasons which have led to this change.

The MINISTER OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE (Mr. Borden). It is true that an order was promulgated and has been withdrawn, because there was some slight misunderstanding at the time it was promulgated as to the terms under which commissions were granted. The question is now the subject of correspondence between this government and the Imperial government, and I hope the hon. gentleman will not press for further information. It would be impossible for me to give any more information than I am giving now.

Mr. EDWARDS.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE BUDGET.

The House resumed adjourned debate on the proposed motion of Mr. Fielding:

That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising a Supply to be granted to Her Majesty, and the motion of Sir Charles Tupper in amendment thereto.

Mr. N. CLARKE WALLACE (West York). When I had the privilege, Mr. Speaker, of addressing the House on Tuesday, I was referring in my remarks to a point of very great importance connected with the administration of the financial and commercial affairs of this Dominion. I had alluded to the fact that in the speeches addressed to this House, and made throughout the country as well, the statements of hon. gentlemen opposite concerning the increase of prosperity, and more especially the increase of population, were not fair criticisms, and were not fair comparisons between the condition of affairs under the present government and the late government. For instance, I pointed to the fact that when the hon. Minister of Customs made a comparison between the imports of settlers' effects into Canada—which he said, and said correctly, was the best method we had to-day of gauging the influx of immigrants—he compared the year 1896 with the year 1899. I pointed out that it would have been more just and equitable if he had taken the whole three years of the Liberal party, 1897, 1898 and 1899, and compared that period with the last three years of the Conservative party, 1894, 1895 and 1896. Instead of taking the very best year of the Liberal party and the very worst of the Conservative party, it would have been more equitable and fair to take the last three years of each. If he had done that, instead of the 28 per cent increase in 1899 over 1896, he would have discovered that there was a large increase in the three Conservative years over the three Liberal years. By the figures I gave, I proved that in the last three years of Conservative rule the importations of settlers' effects amounted to \$8,052,000, while in the three following years of Liberal rule they only amounted to \$7,867,900, or \$184,100 less than in the three preceding years. Therefore, instead of this government bringing in tens of thousands of people, with the 500 immigration agents they have engaged, the imports of settlers' effects were actually less during the three years of Liberal rule, which they are boasting were years of unbounded prosperity.

Then I pointed out the other fact, and an important fact, raised by the Minister of Finance, that in estimating the incidence of taxation, the best method of ascertaining the burdens of the people was to take the importations for home consumption and the revenue of the country and divide the one into the other, and you would find the

percentage of the imposition of tax or the burden laid on the people. The hon. Minister of Customs says that it is only a rough and ready method, but the hon. Minister of Finance got the figures from him this year, and after elaborating them in great detail, he told us there was a saving of 2·02 per cent. But when you come to examine the records, when you take from the importations of home consumption this \$6,360,000 worth of corn that these gentlemen improperly and unfairly, and without anything to guide them in the past, added to the imports for home consumption, although they were simply goods in transit from the United States passing through to Great Britain and other countries—when you deduct those and retain the coin and bullion, you find that comparing 1899 with the last two years of Conservative regime, instead of having 2·02 per cent of reduction, it dwindled down to 27-100th of 1 per cent per dollar of decrease in the taxation upon the people. Why, that is an infinitesimal sum. It is a quarter of a cent in round figures on a dollar's worth of imports.

I take those two years 1895 and 1896, because we had inaugurated a new tariff in 1894, which began with the beginning of the fiscal year of 1895. I omit 1897 and 1898 because these hon. gentlemen say that 1897 was largely under our tariff, and so it was. And they say that the preferential tariff did not have its full effect until 1899, and that is true. So, we are taking their best year, 1899, and comparing it with the last two years under the Conservative tariff, and we find that 17·36 is the rate of taxation under the tariff of 1899, and 17·63½ under that of 1895-6. So, instead of the boasts of the Minister of Customs that they were saving \$2,600,000 in the taxes imposed on the people, and in two years had saved over \$5,000,000, being true, there was not an atom of accuracy in that statement. It was barely one-seventh of the amount the hon. gentleman stated—that is, 27-100 part of one cent on the dollar of imports. These gentlemen, in presenting their financial statements to this country, are bound to present fair statements of the case to the people. I also referred to the fact that they had been parading through this country as the men who have reduced the taxation, and more than that, they have abolished taxes on hundreds of articles, making goods free, as the Minister of Customs told us the other night. He told us that they had made these goods free so that the manufacturers might have free raw material, and so, have an opportunity to compete against the manufacturers of other countries, and the consumers of the country cheaper goods. But what do we find? I will read the hon. gentleman's words again.

Why, because we believe in giving to the manufacturers of this country their raw material duty free, in order that they can compete with other manufacturers, and in order that the

consumer in this country can get the benefit of it in the reduced price of goods—and he does get the benefit of it.

And he says: Here is a statement showing some of the chief articles made free of duty. And he made statements of imports amounting to \$32,000,000. Why, every dollar's worth of these imports that he quoted were of goods made free by the Conservative party and not by the Liberal party at all:

Coal and coke.....	\$ 6,846,030
Binder twine and articles for manufac- ture thereof	886,604
Raw cotton	3,110,497
Fruits, green	557,462
Indian corn	8,966,890
Flax-seed	1,062,753
Tobacco, raw, excise purposes.....	1,878,725
Rubber, crude	1,606,151
Lumber	2,899,864
Coin	4,201,396
Ores	116,487
	\$32,132,859

We had made every one of these articles free before the Liberals came into power. But, I have the whole list of articles they made free, twenty-four articles; and if you take out three of them, barbed wire, binder twine and Indian corn, you will find that they are of the most insignificant character commercially, that their value, taking the whole list, which I will not read, is very small. But, let us take these three important articles, beginning with Indian corn. We have the evidence of the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who is a sturdy supporter of the policy of the Liberal party, that it was a great mistake to take the duty off Indian corn. It competes with our coarse grains. But there is another point. These gentlemen told us that they were advocates of reciprocity, that they were going to have a reciprocity made with the United States. They spent six months, more or less, in attempting to negotiate a reciprocity treaty, and they failed, and no wonder, because they had thrown away the weapons they had used. They made corn free before they went there. We made the proposal to the people of the United States: If you will let our barley into the United States free, we will let your corn free into Canada. There was mutual advantage. But, these gentlemen threw away the weapon with which they had been provided, and when they went, they had nothing to offer for reciprocity—just as they are doing to-day in regard to England. We propose in our resolution, to which I shall refer later, that we shall have reciprocal trade relations. England is willing; but these gentlemen say: No; out of the kindness of our hearts, as we are rich people, we will make you a present of two millions of dollars a year, taking the duties off goods you send us; and we do not want anything in return; we are free traders and we refuse

to ask you to in any way agree to a policy of protection which would benefit the colonies and build up the dominions of Her Majesty in every quarter of the globe. So, I say these gentlemen have not been able to demonstrate what they have stated in a general way, they have not been able to give any ground for the boastings of the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Customs. Take up the *Toronto Globe*, day after day, and you will find that they say: We have made raw materials free; we have taken the duties off many articles. I say the list of articles they have made free is insignificant commercially, and does not justify the boast they have made. I read the other night the two lists of articles, those that we made free in 1894, though we had an enormous free list before, and the list of articles for general consumption on which we had largely reduced the duty, and, as I pointed out, perhaps we reduced them too much for a protective government. But, we always made this proviso—that if experience demonstrated that the duty is cut down to too low a figure, we are bound as protectionists to increase it to such a rate as will give protection to Canadian manufacturers. Take the case of agricultural implements. In 1896, our imports on agricultural implements were \$446,000, and in 1899 they were \$1,625,000, or \$1,179,000 more than in 1896. I said: These goods should be made at home; we are capable of making them, and it is to our interest that they should be manufactured here in Canada; and if a man wants a McCormick reaper, or an American implement of any kind, then, as we have done by our tariff in other manufactures, it should be made to the interest of these manufacturers and that they should be compelled to come over here and give our people the benefit of manufacturing these goods here and giving employment to Canadian labour, thus retaining the advantage for ourselves.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I pointed out further, that in the case of the Standard Oil Company, they said they had saved \$85,000. I pointed out that we imported last year 9,360,000 gallons, and that we produced, in this country, an estimated quantity of 10,500,000 gallons of oil, making, in round figures, 20,000,000 gallons. I also pointed out from copies of invoices which I produced, that within the past few months they have increased the prices 3 cents per gallon on every kind of Canadian oil, and the same on imported oils. Why, Sir, on the 20,000,000 gallons, that makes a loss to the people of Canada, and a gain to the Standard Oil Company, of \$600,000 per annum, or \$50,000 monthly. Mr. Speaker, that Standard Oil Company has robbed and plundered the people of the United States, and it has come over here and taken the railroad companies by the throat. It has taken the government by the throat, too, and has dictated the policy that the government should have in

Mr. WALLACE.

regard to coal oil, and the duty placed upon coal oil, and more important still, the regulations which govern the handling and importation of coal oil. The disclosures made before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council show the complete hold they have upon the great railway corporations of this country. And, what have the government done since these disclosures? The investigations started a long time ago. The charges were made by merchants in Montreal and in Hamilton. And where is the government? The government have not moved their hand yet to remedy these grievances. If they have not the power, parliament is in session to-day and willing to give them the power to control large, and grasping, and robbing corporations like the Standard Oil Company of the United States. But the people of Canada are not protected in this regard.

Then, with regard to sugar in this country. I pointed out that these men who are boasting that they have \$5,000,000 or more of a surplus, and that next year they propose to have \$7,500,000, I pointed out that this surplus represents so much taxes. There are some taxes that are a burden upon the people, such are taxes on an article not produced in this country. We put a tax on sugar that had been free for a long time, but owing to our financial necessities, we had to put a duty upon it. We might fairly ask that the government should abolish that duty to-day. They do not do so, but instead they have increased the duty on sugar. Under the tariff of 1896, as compared with the tariff of to-day, they have increased the tax on the people of Canada by the amount of \$731,000. Then, with regard to agricultural implements. I pointed out that they have had these goods made in the United States, and some other countries, but principally in the United States, for the benefit of the American mechanic, the American citizen, and the American manufacturer. I pointed out still further, the other day, that these gentlemen, when they have interests of their own, look after them very carefully. In respect to biscuits, for instance, we find that instead of there being an increased importation, there has been a decrease, showing that they have been carefully looking after their interests.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, that we have a good deal of prosperity in this country, and the whole of the speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite are a chorus of jubilation over our large imports, over our large exports, over our increase of business. Now there is one very important factor in regard to our increased prosperity, that I would like to mention. When we were in power, from 1878 to 1896, we had nearly one-half the population of Canada continually decrying the country, running down the country, threatening that if they came into power they would destroy this robber tariff of protection. To-day what do we find? The Lib-

eral party in power, the Conservative opposition, loyal to the interests of the country, no member of the opposition decrying the country, no member of the opposition but is willing to say a good word for it, willing to help on the policy of protection, the policy of assistance to our industries, and to assist in building up the country. Yet, Sir, the very opposite was the case when we were in power. We had nearly one-half the population antagonizing the policy of the government, and antagonizing the best interests of the country. To-day we have a united people, everybody praising up the country, everybody assisting in its development. We are rejoiced to know this country is prospering, because we are as much interested in it as hon. gentlemen opposite. We have as much money invested in commercial corporations as they have, and we have as much interest to see that these are prosperous; we are as much interested in seeing the country go ahead as they are. Therefore, this is one of the great factors to-day in the country's prosperity for which these gentlemen claim all the credit.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there is another important matter we must consider, and which the Minister of Customs (Mr. Paterson) ought to have considered, because he has all the material at his hand for that purpose. He has told us that our imports have very largely increased. But, Mr. Speaker, he might have told us, though he did not tell us, whether that increase is due to the larger quantity of goods or to the higher value. He has not told us that prices have gone up, that instead of an article costing \$1. in many cases it costs \$2, so that if the imports of that article have doubled in value they have not doubled in quantity. The minister had all the means of information at his hand, but he has not given that information to us. Now, Sir, I will give you some figures referring to that point, and, I think, they are of great importance as showing that although the imports of the country have increased the quantity in many instances has not increased, but simply the values. I have in my hand the Monthly Summary of the Commerce and Finances of the United States, dated June, 1899. There is here a list of the wholesale prices of the leading articles at different periods, and it has been made with the greatest care, and is official and accurate. For instance, when they come to coke, they quote the prices at the ovens in the Connellsville region, in tons of 2,000 pounds. When they come to pig-iron, they give the prices for cash at Pittsburg and at Birmingham, Alabama. I will just quote two periods, showing the rise of prices in the United States, August 3, 1898, and July 26, 1899, just about a year later. For instance, in Bessemer pig, the prices on August 3, 1898, were \$10.25 and \$10.35; and the prices on July 26, 1899, were \$20.75, exactly double in value. Then take Bessemer pig, per long ton, as it is

produced at the Southern, No. 2 foundry, at Birmingham, Alabama. At Birmingham, Ala., the price on August 3, 1898, was \$7.25 per long ton, and on July 26, 1899, it had increased to \$15 and to \$15.50. Then, take steel. The prices of steel bars on the corresponding dates, per 100 pounds, were 95 cents to \$1, and \$2 to \$2.25 respectively. They more than doubled their value in twelve months. Steel billets were quoted at \$14.75 per ton at the earlier period and at \$33 to \$34 for the later period. The same article more than doubled in value. Steel rails were quoted at \$17.50 to \$18 per ton, and the latest quotation, July 12, 1899, gives the price as \$30 per ton, not quite double in value. So, I say that the hon. Minister of Customs, with all that information in his hands, did not inform us, as he should have done, what part of the increase in the importations was due to increased prices and not to increased importations. Although there may have been an increase in the quantities in many things, we should have known what proportion of the increased importation was due to increased quantities, and what proportion was due to increased prices. We find that all these articles, which are bought by, and which enter into the consumption of the farmers and the mechanics, have increased in price and that the farmers, the mechanics and the people have to pay the increased prices of these raw materials. Then, we ask: What about the articles that we have to sell? Have they increased in price in the same proportion? I have a list here of the prices of the articles that we have to sell, and I find that there is no corresponding increase in the prices of these articles. We will take wheat. No. 2 red winter wheat sold, on August 4, 1898, at 72 cents and 73½ cents per bushel, while on July 27, 1899, it sold at 75½ and 76½ cents. Oats, on the same dates, brought 27½ cents to 28 cents and 28½ cents, respectively, remaining at the same prices. Lard, per 100 lbs., sold at \$5.50, and it went up to \$5.60. Mess pork, \$9.75 to \$10 and \$9.50 to \$10 per barrel. We find that those who have had to pay increased prices for the raw materials to which I have previously referred have received no corresponding benefit in regard to the prices of the articles that they have to sell. It may be said that the prices of farm products have fluctuated. But, if, to-day, there may be a high price for butter, to-morrow, butter may be down. I am quoting these figures of the prime products of the farmer to show that the farmer is not receiving an increased price, as a general rule, for the products he has to sell. Now, we will take family beef. Last year the price was \$10.50 per barrel and the highest was \$11. On July 27, 1899, the lowest price was \$9.50, and the highest, \$10.50. Coming back to these articles in the line of metals, take pig-iron warrants; the price was \$6.62½ per ton in the former period and

\$14 per ton in the latter period. Lake copper was 11.50 cents per pound in the former period, and it increased to 18.50 cents per pound in the latter period. Lead increased from 3.93½ cents per pound to 4.53 cents; spelter (zinc) from 4.55 cents per pound to 6.10 cents; tin plates, Bessemer steel, I.C., 14x20 per box, 100 lbs., from \$3.85 to \$4.62½. All these articles that we do not produce in the country, or produce to limited extent, which we need for our own manufactures are increased in value in this country, while the productions of the country have not been increased. I am not blaming the government if the prices of these products have gone up, I am not blaming the government if they have not been able to do what they were boasting of being able to do in saying that when the Liberals came into power the prices of products had increased. But, I say that these hon. gentlemen, when boasting of the great prosperity of the country, should take note of these facts and learn that the prosperity that they are boasting of is not of such a favourable character as they would have us believe. More than that, these enormous receipts and these still more enormous expenditures are proceeded with to-day on the basis and on the supposition that there is to be an era of continued prosperity. I think, Sir, as I shall have occasion to show, before I sit down, that, in this matter, they are making a great mistake in not paying attention to the warning afforded by the experience of the past. Hon. gentlemen have been utterly oblivious of any considerations for the future. The money is coming in, and the money is going out, and they must spend and squander and scatter it in every direction.

There are one or two matters that I was going to refer to in regard to the prices of articles used by the farmers of the country, which I omitted to do, and, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will go back to them now. I said, that, in the case of binder twine, these hon. gentlemen had made a great boast that they had made binder twine free. The Conservative party had put the duty on binder twine down to the lowest figure, almost, of any manufactured articles, 12½ per cent. The present government made it free after an interval. Well, then they said: We have made binder twine free, and in this way great benefits have been conferred on the people. If the Canadian farmer had received the full benefit of the duty under the tariff it would only have been from ½ to 6-8 or ¼ of a cent per pound. Binder twine was imported at from 5 cents to 6 cents per pound. It was made here and sold at from 5 cents to 6 cents per pound. We find, Mr. Speaker, that last year, the binder twine made by the government was sold for 4 cents or 5 cents per pound and that this year the price was 7 cents per pound.

Mr. WOOD. Seven and a half cents.

Mr. WALLACE.

Mr. WALLACE. Last year or this year?

Mr. WOOD. Last year.

Mr. WALLACE. I say that, this year, the sales were made at from 6 cents to 7 cents a pound. But, what had the farmer to pay? The farmer had to pay from 12 cents to 13 cents and 14 cents a pound. I know, of my own personal knowledge that the farmers of Ontario had to pay that price. The men who sold it to them and who got it from the government got their own enormous and unjustifiable profit from it, and the people derived no advantage. But on the contrary they were robbed. When it is said that binder twine should be cheaper than when there was a duty upon it, hon. gentlemen say: Oh, but there was a war in Manila, and that accounted for the rise in the price. They destroyed the manufacturing industries of Canada by their policy. They handed over the control of the products of the Ontario prison and of the Kingston penitentiary to the same crowd of chaps, Hobbs, of London, Bate, of Ottawa, and these other men who control the price in Canada and who made an arrangement with the manufacturers of the United States, for a consideration, no doubt, by which these men should not come into Canada and interfere with their trade and their price. There was a combination in the United States, and that combination arranged and fixed the prices. The same arrangement was made in Canada and the prices were fixed here so that the Canadian consumer had to pay more for his binder twine than under a protective duty. Hon. gentlemen opposite tell us that there was a war in Manila, and that the prices of the raw material went up. I have from this same book a report of the prices of manila and sisal and jute. I have taken the price for the manilla in the month of January, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1898, and I find that the price of manila was—I do not quote the prices of the others, but they are relatively the same—the price of manila in the month of January for these years was as follows:

1894	5½c. to 5½c.
1895	4½c. to 4½c.
1896	4½c.
1897	4½c.
1898	4½c.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). What was it in 1899?

Mr. WALLACE. The war was over in 1899.

Mr. CHARLTON. No, it was not. What was it in 1899, please?

Mr. WALLACE. This report does not give 1899.

Mr. CHARLTON. That is very essential.

Mr. TAYLOR. In 1899, it was 5½ cents.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). You cannot show that by any report you have.

Mr. TAYLOR. It was laid down at Kingston Penitentiary for that, according to the report of the Auditor General.

Mr. WALLACE. I knew it did not vary much, because I have here the price for a portion of the year. I have here a statement taken from the Auditor General's Report by the hon. gentleman from Leeds (Mr. Taylor), and according to it the total cost was \$39,984, and the average cost per pound was 5½ cents, delivered in Kingston.

Mr. McMULLEN. And bought the years before.

Mr. TAYLOR. Bought last June.

Mr. McMULLEN. No, it was not.

Mr. MACDONALD (Huron). That is not the raw material from which was manufactured the twine that has been sold at from 10 to 14 cents a pound.

Mr. WALLACE. I can tell the hon. gentleman, that in 1898, when the highest prices were paid for binder twine in this country, that every pound of that raw material out of which that twine was made was purchased before the war started, and, therefore, was not and could not be influenced in a single particle by the war in the Philippines. The hon. gentleman need not pretend that the price in 1898 could in any degree be affected by that. Now, Mr. Speaker, I say that the course of the government in making these articles free of duty was one that was directly contradictory to the best interests of the people of Canada.

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

AFTER RECESS.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Speaker, when you left the Chair at six o'clock, I was referring to the fact that the expenditure and the receipts were both abnormally large—that the government were spending with a reckless hand as if the era of good times would never cease. In my opinion the government are criminally reckless and extravagant. They know that during those times when the revenue is large, they should economize and restrict not only their capital expenditure, but their current expenditures. But instead of that, we find them going on increasing their expenditures in every direction, in direct violation of the pledges that they had made to the people in their convention in 1893, and in opposition to the best interests of the country. They had pledged themselves to reduce the public expenditure. They held up their hands in holy horror when they said: 'This wicked Tory government is expending from \$36,000,000 to \$38,000,000 per annum in the current expenditure and \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,

000 on capital account.' As the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) very tersely put it, the people were being 'bled white.' It was an expenditure, he said, that was utterly unjustifiable. The hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) said: 'If we do not economize and reduce the expenditure by millions, and if we do not reduce the public indebtedness within three years, then, gentlemen, put us out.' The three years are up, and I presume that we will take his advice and put them out at the very first opportunity we can get.

Mr. WOOD. You would like to, I know, but you cannot do it.

Mr. WALLACE. We would like to, but we are patriotic enough to desire to let the present government remain in office if they are doing their duty by the country, but we realize that they have violated every pledge they made at the convention of 1893. What did they say about the public expenditure? Have we not got on record the speeches, the declarations, the resolutions that were passed at that convention, and the resolutions that were not passed but proposed in this House, and supported by every member of the Liberal party?

Let any gentleman take up the estimates and the supplementary estimates, and the further supplementary estimates of last year, and the railway resolution and the bridge resolutions, and the subsidies voted for various things, and he will find an expenditure that never has been equalled. Of course, the year when the contract was let for building the transcontinental railway, there was a big enterprise entered into, but taking the ordinary current expenditure, what do we find? Take the main estimates for 1899-1900 of those gentlemen who were declaring everywhere a consolidated revenue expenditure of \$38,000,000 was extravagant, and \$36,000,000 too much. Senator Mills said they could reduce it by \$4,000,000 and the hon. member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) said they could reduce it by \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000, and other hon. members pledged themselves to reduce it in every direction. Well, what do we find? We find that the estimates voted for the current year were \$46,286,550, that the supplementary estimates were \$5,497,000, and the further supplementaries, \$12,451, making a total in these alone of \$51,796,000. But, that was not all, or nearly all. Here is an expenditure voted by parliament exceeding anything ever voted before. In addition to that there was one year's grant to the city of Ottawa for beautifying and adorning that city, of \$60,000, the Drummond County Railway purchase, \$1,600,000 and the amount voted for the construction of the Quebec bridge and other bridges, \$1,230,000.

Mr. WOOD. Which has never been paid.

Mr. WALLACE. Did the hon. gentleman expect it would not be paid when it was voted?

Mr. WOOD. I do not know anything about it.

Mr. WALLACE. Then, he had better keep quiet and talk about something he does know something about. As the hon. gentleman does not know anything about it, I will tell him something about it, and I am sure he will be delighted to have a little information. Either these enterprises which were subsidized were going on or the government knew that they would not go on, and were simply bamboozling the people. You can take either horn of the dilemma you choose. If the government voted the money expecting the work would go on, then they were responsible for that undertaking. If, on the other hand, it was done just for the purpose of bluff, then, I say the government is still more open to censure.

But, there were railways to be built. A few years ago the government adopted the plan of giving a subsidy of \$3,200 per mile for the assistance of railroads whose construction was approved of. Some people think that that is too much. The circumstances that would have justified this subsidy seven or eight or ten years ago, in the opinion of many people, would not justify it to-day, because we have done pretty well in every province towards the construction of railways. The opinion is beginning to prevail—you see it in Manitoba and the North-west and everywhere—that railroads should be treated as commercial undertakings, and be justified as such before their construction is entered upon. Yet, in the face of that opinion, we find this government doing what? Doubling the amount of subsidy given for the construction of railways. Formerly the subsidy was \$3,200, and they doubled that amount. Some people say: Oh, but the price of steel rails has gone up. Well, Mr. Speaker, the price of steel rails had not gone up when the government adopted this policy. On the contrary, the price was lower than it had ever been in the history of the world. It was down to \$17.50 and \$18 per ton when the government adopted this policy of doubling the amount of subsidy for the railways. I say that that was a reprehensible and altogether unnecessary policy. I say that it left open the door for the government to improperly manipulate these matters. They give a railway \$3,200 per mile, with the option, under certain conditions, of doubling that amount or increasing it by some further amount up to double the amount, certain conditions being required which the government could easily obtain. What did the government do? Last session, in addition to the 51½ million dollars expenditure on consolidated revenue, and nearly \$2,000,000 additional for the

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Drummond County and so forth, and a million and a quarter for the Quebec and other bridges, they voted 220 miles of railway subsidy at \$6,400 per mile, making \$1,400,000, and 1,428 miles at \$3,200, making \$4,569,000, or a total railway subsidy of \$5,977,000.

In addition to that, in the case of these 1,428 miles of railway, for which they gave a subsidy of \$3,200 per mile, they provided that they might double the subsidy under certain conditions, so that they assumed a further responsibility of \$4,569,000. This is not all. They voted to the Grand Trunk Railway for ninety-nine years \$140,000 per year, which at 3 per cent represents a capital of \$4,660,000. They gave a contribution to the Pacific cable, or offered it; but, as that is a guarantee, and in my opinion, quite a commendable one, I will not censure them for it. I do not think it would require any payment to be made, or, if a payment were made for the first year or so, it would be a small amount. What do these figures come to? Sixty millions of dollars. These pledges made directly, that may or may not become payments, represented \$60,800,000. And this is the party that, when in opposition condemned the expenditure of thirty-eight millions and three or four millions, or thirty-six millions and three or four millions—say forty or forty-two millions including both capital account and consolidated revenue account during the average years of Conservative rule. So, I say these gentlemen who came into power, violated every pledge they had made, and the Minister of Customs said: You are not to be bound by what is said outside, no matter how great may be the individual who said it, but you are only to be bound by resolutions passed solemnly in convention. Take their resolutions as passed in convention. I have the report of their convention here. The resolutions passed condemn the government of that day and pledge the party now in power to reduce both the annual expenditure and the expenditure on capital account; and, instead of that, they have enormously increased both, without the necessities of the country requiring that to be done. I just call attention, in passing, to the extraordinary morality involved in the statements of the Minister of Customs. If, as he says, we are not to form our judgment of the party by the statements of individuals no matter how eminent, what do these men mean by going over the country and making statements as to their policy? We are to pay no attention, according to that hon. gentleman, to individual opinions, because the party is not bound in any way by the statements of individuals. I say, Mr. Speaker, that is bad morality, it is bad policy, and it is generally demoralizing to the community.

Take another example of their extravagance, which they parade as a sample of their excellent management. They say:

Look at the Yukon, we spent large sums of money in governing the Yukon and have governed it without costing the country a dollar. Well, Mr. Speaker, I contend that the customs revenue of the Yukon is as much public money of the people of the Dominion as the customs revenue collected in the city of Toronto, or the city of Montreal or any other centre. I contend that the same is true of the post office departments of the Yukon and of the receipts from all sources of Dominion revenue. Yet they tell us that in one year, 1898-9, the revenue of the Yukon was \$1,753,000, and the expenditure \$1,674,000. Just consider that, Mr. Speaker—the government of the Yukon country cost \$1,674,000 last year. I am told they have not built a mile of road for it. And we know they have not. There are too many witnesses on this subject for us to doubt that there never was a portion of Canada so utterly misgoverned as the Yukon country. I have no doubt that if the government of British Columbia, accustomed as it is to dealing with mining matters, had had control of the government of the Yukon, they would have governed it infinitely better for one-tenth of the money that was expended by this government. Just consider for a moment—\$1,674,000, for the government of how many people? Say 16,742. That would be a cost of \$100 per head. But, suppose there are twice that many—and there are not—that would be \$50 per head for governing the people. Now make a comparison. We have in Manitoba and the North-west Territories an empire in extent, reaching from near the Lake of the Woods to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, more than a thousand miles from east to west and hundreds of miles from north to south—an empire, as I have said, and the basis of our hopes for a great future for Canada. We have two governments there, the government of Manitoba and the government of the North-west Territories. We have at least 350,000 people, it is estimated, within those boundaries. The government of Manitoba expended, in round numbers \$700,000, and that of the Territories \$300,000. That is about \$1,000,000 expenditure for 350,000 people. And what do they do for that? They have their legislatures, they have their educational departments, with public and other schools, they have their public works, they have the administration of justice, they make roads, they have to deal with immigration, they have to open up and improve this great empire—and they do it all for about \$1,000,000 for 350,000 people. Well, take, on the other hand, this little crowd in the Yukon—mostly foreigners, by the way—and call them 16,000 in number, though I do not believe there are that many; or say even 32,000. If there are 16,000, it takes \$100 a head to govern them, against about \$3 per head for the North-west Territories. And for this expenditure of \$1.

674,000, what did the government do? We know that they have refused to permit an investigation, though there never was a more definite statement made in this parliament of wrong-doing by a minister and every one of the crowd. We know that new disclosures are being made from day to day. And, in the face of that, in the face of the extravagance we know, the corruption which has been charged and which has been proved, we find these men refuse an investigation, though they come here and boast of the economical management of the Yukon country because, as they say, it has not cost the country a dollar. Why, Mr. Speaker, such a statement so utterly misleading and wide of the mark never was made in parliament, I say, Sir, that the government are reprehensible in not governing that country more economically, in not governing it with greater discretion, and in refusing to permit the investigation which was demanded. It is true, they had further schemes of rascality. It is true that in the face of the pledge that they made in this little red book at their convention in 1893, that the public lands were to be kept for the people, that none of them were to be given to railroads or corporations, still, without the knowledge of parliament, without the consent of parliament, without the sanction of law, without obeying those rules laid down by the statutes of the country, that they should submit to public tender the construction of the Yukon Railway, a railway to begin nowhere and ending nowhere, but a wheel barrow tramway without any objective point or any starting point, to be built contrary to law, observing none of the conditions required by law, letting nobody know that the government intended to build that road, giving nobody an opportunity of tendering for the contract, violating, I say, every rule that parliament had established—they undertook to build that road in violation of the pledge they made, that the public lands were to be kept for the settler, and they proposed to hand over 3,750,000 acres of land to Mackenzie & Mann, for the construction of that road. They said it would not cost the people of the country a dollar. They handed over to those gentlemen valuable lands, so valuable that they considered them worth \$10 per acre, which would make the 3,750,000 acres of land worth \$37,000,000. We do not value them at that price; but it just shows what they considered to be the value of land in that country. We opposed handing over to railroad companies lands in the North-west that would be of no value whatever, without the construction of railroads, lands that would be valued at only \$1 or \$2 an acre. But here they were going to hand over 3,750,000 acres worth \$10 an acre, to a company, violating that resolution which they themselves had adopted, that not an acre of land was to be given away in this country, except to the actual settler.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are other matters. I have read in one of the speeches, what an hon. gentleman said about the advantages of the construction of the Crow's Nest Railway. One of the ministers also said that this was one of the greatest schemes ever concocted for making money, and that the government would be reprehensible if they did not undertake it. In the first place, they paid \$2,000,000 more than the former government had agreed to get the road built for. In the next place, the Minister of Customs and the Minister of Trade and Commerce, have both said that \$750,000 a year had been received in revenue from the construction of that road. Well, I hunted up the evidence, so far as I could, and what do I find? In 1897, before the road was built, the customs revenue was \$380,273 in those ports of entry that may be fairly said to be tributary to the Crow's Nest Pass Railway. In 1899, when the railway was built, the customs revenue was \$377,309, or \$3,000 less than it was in 1897, before the road was built. Now I would like some of those hon. gentlemen to explain where they get that \$750,000. They will not get one-tenth of it, or one-twentieth of it. There is another point in connection with the building of this Crow's Nest Pass Railway. It is a well-known fact that not the men who built the road, but an intermediary power got the principal benefits from its construction. The Premier of British Columbia, the Hon. Joseph Martin, made a statement within a few days, that if they had not perpetrated that deal, as he called it, they could have run British Columbia for 50 years without taxation, but simply with the proceeds of the subsidies given to those intermediaries. That is the statement of the responsible Premier of the province of British Columbia, that if this Crow's Nest Pass deal had not gone through, they could have run the province of British Columbia without taxation for 50 years. Now, I just submit that statement, without endorsing it. If Mr. Martin is wrong, if he has exaggerated, and I do not believe he has exaggerated a particle, what a state of affairs it discloses? It is not the men, not the corporation who built the road and got \$2,000,000 more for building it then they asked, who reaped the benefit, but the benefit was reaped by some other parties, intermediary parties, who are the bosses of the machine of the Liberal party, men who, I presume, are supplying the money when money is wanted for the wrongful, and improper, and corrupt purposes, and are able to shell out when requested—these are the men who reap the benefit in the construction of that road. That is the statement made by the Premier of British Columbia, that those men are getting that advantage, and not the people of British Columbia, not the people of the Dominion of Canada; it is those intermediaries who got this franchise, and who are to-day rolling

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in wealth. A minister of the Crown said that it was estimated that the value of that land, through which the road was passing, was \$30,000,000 or \$40,000,000. I have no doubt that the value of the concessions to these intermediaries was what the Minister of Customs said it was, \$30,000,000, or \$40,000,000. But the people of Canada have not got the benefit, the railway company that built it, has not got the benefit, the people of British Columbia have not got the benefit of it either.

Now, there is another matter to which I wish briefly to refer, and which is, in my opinion, one of the most important questions before the people of Canada to-day, that is the question of preferential trade. The lines dividing the two political parties are clear and decisive on that question, and I presume that is the important question in our politics now. The position of the Conservative party is clearly laid down in the resolution which was moved by the leader of the opposition the other day, and which we have now under consideration. The Minister of Customs, in alluding to it in his speech, the other day, I think was very unfair, and I will tell him why. He has misrepresented the attitude of the Conservative party on that question. There is no necessity for misrepresentation, we desire to fight fair, we desire to have the issue plainly and clearly understood, as between the two political parties, and we are prepared to take the consequences, as, I think, we ought to do. Now, what does the Minister of Customs say? I have quotations where he says the same thing in his speech at three different times:

The Conservative party have now committed themselves, so that if they obtain power at the next election they will wipe the preference law from the statutes of Canada, and give no preference to the mother country. We know where we stand therefore.

Now, the resolution moved by the leader of the opposition, is as follows:

This House is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between these countries, and would thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire; and that no measure of preference which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory.

That resolution meets, at any rate, with my cordial approbation as one representative of the people in parliament. The hon. Minister of Customs says:

The Tory party in this House fight against giving the additional preference—and not only that, but give us to understand that if they are restored to power, will wipe that preference off the statute-book. Sir, let them stand by their colours.

We intend to, and we do not intend to permit ourselves to be misrepresented. I was reading, yesterday, a speech delivered by

Mr. Chamberlain in the British House of Commons on a resolution that was moved stating that it was desirable, in the interest of the empire, that the colonies should be admitted to some representation in parliament. I think, in that regard, there is a dividing line between the two parties. We read that a member of the government is over in the old country, that the hon. Minister of Public Works (Mr. Tarte) is making arrangements for such representation in the Imperial parliament. We can well believe that it is so, knowing as we do, the magnificent cheek, if we may call it by that name, of the hon. Minister of Public Works. Sir Charles Tupper made a speech last Saturday evening, in Quebec, and Mr. Chamberlain made a speech, the day before yesterday in the House of Commons, in London, and both of these speeches are remarkable for the similarity of the sentiments they expressed.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes. What does Mr. Chamberlain say? He says:

It is absurd to suppose that self-governing colonies, like Canada, would sacrifice their independence for the sake of a single vote in the House of Commons. We are not going to interfere in the domestic affairs of the colonies. Nor are they going to interfere in ours.

That is the programme laid down by Sir Charles Tupper in Quebec.

I have never advocated, as has been reported, the formation of an Imperial Zollverein, but I have pointed out that, if there were to be any kind of fiscal arrangement with the colonies, I believed the only form that would meet with the slightest favour would be an Imperial Zollverein, in which there would be free trade between the portions of the empire and duties as against strangers.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE (reading)—

At any rate, the suggestion must originate with the colonies. There is no suggestion from ourselves. The present resolution is premature, is necessarily academic, and might be mischievous.

With which I entirely agree.

The PRIME MINISTER (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. And the resolution was then withdrawn. Now, Sir, Mr. Chamberlain made another speech, some time ago, in which he took exactly the same ground. I do not think that his views, so far as I can see, have undergone any change, but, I believe that he has held to the same opinion that he expressed several years ago.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. I have here a copy of a speech taken from the *Toronto Globe* of the 9th of April, 1898. It is just two years ago since this speech was delivered. The *Globe* says:

The recent speech of the Secretary of State for the Colonies before the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was one of the most important speeches that Mr. Chamberlain has ever delivered.

What does he say in that speech? It is quite lengthy and I will just read a few extracts. He says:

There is another duty which, I think, is incumbent upon the British government, and that is to draw closer our colonies to the sister nations of our race across the seas, and to seek in our own family the strength and support which we shall never find from foreign nations.

Events have very fully justified that prophetic statement. He says still further:

Our policy is to bind the colonies closer to us by all means in our power, and if not now, yet to pave the way for a future union which will be closer than anything that is now practicable. We shall not attempt—that would be foolish—we shall not attempt to put pressure upon our colonists to go one step further than they themselves desire to go. It is not for us to take the initiative. We would rather follow the lead; but what I think already accomplished is to convince them that wherever they live, however far their home may be from the centre and from the motherland, we, at any rate, are prepared to meet them more than half way in any approach which they make to us, in any desire which they may express for their closer union; and, gentlemen, it will come, if not in our day, then in that of our successors.

He says still further:

In what form I know not—it would be foolish to attempt to predict. It may be in the shape of commercial union—of the Imperial Zollverein, which I do not think to be so absurd as do some political economists; it may be in the shape of some Imperial council, which will represent the federation of the British races, and which has been advocated by men as different in other respects as the late Mr. Forster, Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury.

But, further, and I think this is a very important declaration:

But, in whatever way it may be presented to us, we shall not be deterred either by the economic pedantries or the selfishness which is a virtue with some politicians, from giving favourable consideration to any proposals which our brethren across the seas may make to us.

The initiative must come from the colonies, and they are not going to be guided by any economic pedantries. Proceeding, he says:

In such a consideration I do not believe the English people will keep a strict account of profit and loss—that they will seek to be assured of a present pecuniary gain in return for so much concessions on their part. No; I think they will look, and look wisely, rather to a future time when we shall find our reward; and that the splendid isolation with which our foreign critics sometimes taunt us will be transformed into a close reliance of the British race, and when the sons of Britain throughout the world shall stand shoulder to shoulder to defend our mutual interests and our common rights.

He had a prophetic vision two years ago, and we could have realized that these pro-

pheries would have turned out true within these two years?

Meanwhile, let us rejoice in all the evidence that we received of the growth and prosperity of our colonies; let us sympathize with them in their distress; let us show that we regard them as part of ourselves—that the sea only separates us, as the highway separates us from our nearest neighbours.

I have endeavoured to speak to you, and perhaps to indicate and suggest even more than I stated, about the policy which we think it right to pursue in reference to our colonial system, and to the attacks which are being made upon it. We have, as I have said before, to hold our own. Our policy may be called a new departure, but we hope to deal with new circumstances. If we are to defend our trade, which is attacked from so many quarters, and in so many ways, we must give up the old policy of apathy and indifference for one of initiative and resolution. Markets are closed to us, sometimes by hostile tariffs, sometimes by hostile commercial occupation. Our markets are threatened, even our own territories are regarded apparently with jealous eyes; and if we are to meet the danger we can only do so by opening new markets and defending those that we still retain. And we shall do this, and at the same time we shall seek to maintain solidarity between all parts of the empire. We shall try to earn the confidence of our colonial fellow-subjects by making their interests our own. It may be that now we have come to their assistance, but may not the time come when we shall call for theirs.

What is the meaning and what is the whole trend of that statement made by the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. He says: Make your propositions, we will make no offer to you, you take the initiative, say what you want and we will not be bound by any economic pedantries nor any of the doctrines that have been held inviolate in the past. In the face of that, we say that we would desire to have preferential trade with Great Britain, but these gentlemen opposite say: Oh, we are so rich that we will make a present of \$2,000,000 (that is what they tell us the amount is) to Great Britain. And to whom is that present made? Is it made to the British government? No, it is made to the British manufacturer or the British commercial man. If these gentlemen opposite are so wealthy and so generous, why did they haggle a few days ago about \$200,000 or perhaps less, towards the payment of our Canadian volunteers instead of throwing that burden upon the Imperial government? Not as a matter of policy, but as a matter of doing the fair thing, this Canadian government should have paid the 25 cents a day to our brave volunteers, the payment of which they imposed upon the Imperial government. They did that, but at the same time they say they can afford to make a present of \$2,000,000 a year to the manufacturers and commercial men of Great Britain without getting anything in return. Sir, in that regard, the government have not proceeded upon lines which commend themselves to the people. For my

Mr. WALLACE.

part, I believe that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was right, when he said: That we should come together and have preferential trade with the colonies—the dominions of the empire—and draw closer together. These gentlemen opposite now say: Oh, we are the loyal party in Canada. Well, Mr. Speaker, I do not think that the Conservative party in this Dominion is under the necessity of making a money payment to prove their loyalty. The Conservatives of Canada have always been loyal; they are loyal to-day. They are loyal to the empire and they are loyal to that part of the empire in which we live, the Dominion of Canada, which goes without saying, is just as much a part of the British Empire as any other portion of it. We are for British interests, the interests of the great people to which we belong, and to these we are as loyal as the people of any other portion of the empire can possibly be. Here is language that was indulged in by one of these gentlemen opposite:

Now, we know that while we stand by the preferential tariff, we stand by the old land, and if it benefits her as well as our own people we stand opposed by a party who by their acts are now pledged, if they come into power, to repeal the preferential tariff and go back to the old state of things.

So, the Liberal party in this House tell us they are standing by the old land. Well, Sir, it is a new thing for them. It was not always thus. Let us go back to the year 1891 and what was the policy of the Liberal party then? Was it to stand by the old land? No. In 1891, they told us that their policy was to make a treaty with the United States, a commercial union treaty, that was going to give to the United States advantages which were not to be given to Great Britain. They told us they were going to have commercial union, unrestricted reciprocity with the United States; but that Great Britain was not to participate in it. On the other hand, Sir, the policy of the Conservative party in Canada has always been that in whatever treaty we make, the foundation stone and the underlying principle in it must be that Great Britain shall have any advantages under it that were to be given to any other nation. That has always been the policy of the Conservative party.

Mr. McMULLEN. They talked that way and voted the other way.

Mr. WALLACE. I would like some one to tell me when we ever voted the other way. I say that these gentlemen opposite were sailing pretty close to treason and that they were in touch with those men who were plotting the commercial ruin of Canada and the annexation of Canada by hook or by crook to the United States. That is what the Liberals were doing a few years ago. I see our smiling friend the Minister of Finance (Mr. Fielding) across there. Do we not

remember when he was not particularly loyal.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. When was that?

Mr. WOOD. Who burned the parliament buildings, eh?

Mr. CHARLTON. Who drew up the annexation manifesto?

Mr. WOOD. What Minister of Finance bought property in Portland when he thought they were going to have annexation? Do you forget these things?

Mr. WALLACE. The gentleman who makes all this money out of binder twine, I am told, had better keep quiet. We farmers are not going to be bled 100 per cent on binder twine, and let the hon. member for Hamilton (Mr. Wood) have the full benefit of that without him knowing it.

Mr. WOOD. The member for Hamilton does not sell a pound of binder twine.

Mr. WALLACE. His firm sold it last year.

Mr. WOOD. Not a pound.

Mr. WALLACE. I have the proof of it that your firm did.

Mr. WOOD. I may tell the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wallace) that my firm did not buy a pound of binder twine last year.

Mr. McDOUGALL. They got it for nothing.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Oh.

Mr. WALLACE. They got it for pretty nearly nothing.

Mr. WOOD. I wish we did.

Mr. WALLACE. The hon. member for Hamilton made a statement in the House last year that his firm dealt in binder twine, and he may make a different statement this year if he likes.

Mr. COWAN. It was the year before last.

Mr. WALLACE. Oh, yes. I was speaking of the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding), and I was pointing out that those gentlemen who are to-day prating of their loyalty—and I am a little suspicious of it, I must say, in view of the course they took in 1891, when they were prating and practising commercial union; unrestricted reciprocity. I was saying: What about our smiling friend the Minister of Finance; and I have a little speech here that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) made a few years ago.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Read it; it ought to be good.

Mr. WALLACE. I will read it to accommodate the hon. gentleman. The report says:

Mr. Fielding continued to say: The interests of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia are alike in this matter.

This was when he was advocating the secession of Nova Scotia from the Dominion.

All these provinces have been sacrificed to the confederation.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. No doubt about that.

Mr. WALLACE. No doubt about it?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Certainly not.

Mr. WALLACE. The Finance Minister continued to say:

I trust this question of separation from Canada will be brought up by independent members in both provinces and fairly discussed. Bad as is the position of the two provinces in the union, it will become worse if Nova Scotia secedes.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE. Hear, hear.

Mr. WALLACE. Mark you, this was not at the time of confederation when the question was put up for consideration and when a man might take one side or the other, but this was nearly twenty years after confederation had been accomplished:

Maritime interests will be weaker than ever at Ottawa, and there will be little chance for the New Brunswickers and the Islanders to obtain justice.

'These other cormorants in Quebec and Ontario would gobble them up and make the province of Prince Edward Island pay the whole duties for the Dominion of Canada.' He continued:

They will have everything to gain by joining Nova Scotia, and I am satisfied if the movement be taken up with vigour in our sister provinces, the demand for separation from Canada will be made, not by Nova Scotia alone, but by the three maritime provinces. But if New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island are content to occupy their present position, or the weaker one which they would occupy after the withdrawal of Nova Scotia,—

Do you see, he had it all arranged that Nova Scotia was to get right out.

—they must be permitted, of course, to take their own way. We shall take our way, and demand for Nova Scotia alone separation from the Dominion, though we would much prefer joint action, because we have always felt that the provinces down by the sea have a unity of interest, and that in co-operation we might bring about results which would go far to make the people of our country prosperous. I believe the people of Nova Scotia will, at the approaching elections, throw off the yoke of Toryism, and that in our province particularly we shall have a grand victory for Liberalism and repeal.

But they did not. I would not have called attention to this but for the fact that within a year I have heard the Minister of Finance say that he stood to-day by the position he took then. If that is true, then, on the slightest provocation, when he is not holding the position he holds to-day, or some

such position, he will demand that this confederation be smashed into fragments to suit his ambitions or his desires. I believe there never was a confederation of peoples which showed such satisfactory results as our Dominion of Canada, which was consummated without the shedding of a single drop of blood.

Mr. MILLS. You have not told the half of that story.

Mr. WALLACE. I have no doubt I have not told the half of it, but there is that half which, I think, he should be ashamed of.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding). He does not think so.

Mr. McMULLEN. He must have got his show bills printed in the United States.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, with a photograph of the member for North Wellington (Mr. McMullen) on them. And these gentlemen get up and preach to the loyal Conservative party of this country about their loyalty. They might well turn round and preach a little to themselves, and repent in sackcloth and ashes for a time before attempting to lecture the Conservative party of Canada.

Hon. gentlemen opposite tell us that the British people will never consent for a moment to consider the question of protection; yet, Lord Salisbury tells us in a speech which was quoted by Sir Charles Tupper the other evening, that he does not consider that a preferential tariff with the colonies would mean protection. But, suppose it did. To hear these hon. gentlemen talk, you would imagine that there is no customs tariff in Great Britain at all, and that if a tariff were put upon an article in England, it would be a violation of the British constitution. But, what are the facts? I have in my hand a list of the imports into Great Britain, and a statement of the customs taxation upon those imports, for there is a customs tax in Great Britain as well as in Canada. Large as our taxes were last year from customs duties, Great Britain collected four times as much. On coffee, currants and raisins, spirits, foreign and colonial, tea, tobacco and snuff, wine, other imported articles, and miscellaneous, Great Britain and Ireland collected last year, £21,530,000 sterling, or nearly \$105,000,000.

Mr. WOOD. Any imports from Canada?

Mr. WALLACE. It is not germane to the question where they come from.

Mr. McNEILL. Whisky, likely.

Mr. WALLACE. If the member for Hamilton wishes to make any interruptions or observations, I wish he would make some that are pertinent to the question.

Mr. WOOD. I am simply asking a plain question of the hon. member.

Mr. WALLACE.

Mr. WALLACE. I ask the hon. gentleman to sit down.

Mr. WOOD. I think I have a perfect right, if the hon. gentleman will allow me—

Mr. SPEAKER. Unless the hon. gentleman who is speaking gives the hon. member the floor, he has no right to interrupt him.

Mr. WALLACE. I do not give the hon. gentleman the floor, because he has been abusing the privilege by diverting the discussion away from the question. I think we shall have to let him wait until his turn comes, and then he can speak as long as he likes. The imports of coffee, currants, raisins and tea into Great Britain last year paid \$22,280,000 of customs taxation, and tobacco, snuff, wine, spirits and so on, paid the balance. Many of these things I consider to be necessaries of life. There are other articles besides bread which are universally consumed and which are considered necessaries of life. Tea or coffee is used in every household of the Dominion of Canada, and is considered a necessary. Suppose some of the taxes which Great Britain imposes on the necessaries of life were imposed on some other necessaries of life; I would like to know what additional burden would be placed upon the people of Great Britain. In my opinion, none at all, because if you are paying \$22,000,000 on the necessaries that you consume, it does not make much difference to you as a consumer whether you pay that on tea or on beef or on wheat.

Mr. McNEILL. You might put it on seal-skins, which are not very necessary.

Mr. WALLACE. I say that if you put it on necessaries, it does not make any difference so far as you are concerned as a consumer, which of them you put it on. Suppose that instead of putting it on tea, you put it on wheat and beef. Last year, there was imported into Great Britain 65,000,000 cwts. of wheat, and 21,000,000 cwts. of flour of wheat, equivalent to a total of 177,000,000 bushels of wheat. Suppose Great Britain imposed a protective duty of five cents a bushel on all the wheat imported except that from British possessions, and allowed that to go in free. A tax of five cents a bushel on 177,000,000 bushels would amount to \$8,865,000. In my opinion, it would not be half of that; but we will suppose it would be half. The British imports of beef and cattle last year were as follows: Fresh beef, 3,100,000 cwts.; salted, 200,000 cwts.; total, 3,300,000 cwts., or 370,000,000 lbs. of beef. If you estimate cattle at 1,400 pounds live weight, which is about the average of cattle exported, that would represent 264,286 head. Of live cattle imported into Great Britain—ox and bulls, cows and calves—there were 569,000. Add that to the 264,286—

000, and you have a total of 966,000 imported into Great Britain last year. Supposing Great Britain put on a duty of \$4 per head, that would mean a tax of \$3,864,000. Add to this the \$8,865,000 on wheat, and you will have a tax on the British people of \$12,729,000, or just a shade over one-half the tax on coffee, currants and tea. Take part of the duty off tea, coffee, currants and raisins and put it on those other necessaries of life, and there will be no additional tax on the British people. There would be an increased importation each year from the dominions of the empire, and the tax will be one of which the colonist would get the full benefit. Suppose the colonist gets the benefit, the result will be as I say. Suppose he gets 5 cents more than the American, he gets 2½ cents more than what he gets to-day and the American gets 2½ cents less, and the tax on the British people would only be one-half the amount I have stated. It will only be a transfer of a tax from one article of necessity to another, to which the British people would not object. Take the duty on tea, it bears most inequitably on the people. Eight cents per pound means a duty of 50 per cent on the poor man's tea, which does not cost more than 16 cents at the place of production, but on the rich man's tea, which costs 60 cents, it is only a duty of 13 or 14 per cent.

Five cents per bushel on wheat would mean 23 cents on the product of a barrel of flour. That would mean 66 four-pound loaves, and one-third of one cent on each loaf, or six two-pound loaves would give one cent. The additional tax would be one-half penny on six two-pound loaves. I do not believe for a moment that Great Britain would refuse such a rearrangement of the tax.

Then we will take the cattle. There would be a tax on the cattle of about one-third of a cent per pound or thereabouts. But consider for a moment what would be the effect on this country and the various colonies of the British Empire if a differential tax of this kind were imposed in favour of the British possessions. Great Britain, we know, has not a friend in the world except in her own possessions. The United States Senate passed a resolution approving of the course of the Boers and hostile to Great Britain. Every nation in Europe, though preserving neutrality, is hostile to Great Britain. They are jealous of her power, jealous of her greatness, jealous of her wealth and her free institutions. She can only look for assistance to her own possessions scattered over the four quarters of the globe. She does not need assistance from the other powers, and she has not a particle of sympathy from them. She has been pursuing that free trade policy in the past which she now sees is a mistake. It has had the effect of sending her people out to build up other nations, and she can see

to-day that the true policy is to send her surplus people to her own possessions to build up in every quarter of the globe a great colonial empire. Canada, Australia, and all her possessions are standing by her to-day, making the nations of the earth understand that if they quarrel with Great Britain, they quarrel with that belt of provinces and dominions world-wide, and have to account with them as well as Great Britain. It is in Great Britain's interest, therefore, to make some sacrifice, if sacrifices be necessary, but I contend that they are not.

I have given to the House an economical programme which can be defended anywhere and everywhere. What effect can it have in the Dominion? The right hon. First Minister in London, in 1896, portrayed the advantages and benefits to the Dominion of Canada of a preference in the English market, and he did not overstate the case. Why, if we had 5 cents a bushel preference over the United States, and if we had \$4 preference for every bullock we send across the Atlantic, the hon. Minister of the Interior could in one hour's notice dispense with the services of his 500 immigration agents. This preference alone would be a most important factor in the building up of Canada and be worth more than a thousand immigration agents. The most intelligent, enterprising and desirable class of settlers would then flow from all parts of the world to this country, which enjoyed such a great preference in the greatest market of the world. It would build up our Dominion as nothing else could. We should devote our energies to carry out some such programme, and that is what this side of the House are proposing in the resolution. It would benefit Great Britain as I pointed out, because it would be practically no burden upon her; but, even if it were so, we would have that belt of empire surrounding the globe, whose people would be ready to spring to her assistance if necessary in time of danger, ready to hold up her hands and to carry her flag to the four corners of the earth and keep it there. That is the programme for the people of Canada, that is the programme that the Conservative party are going to stand by and are going to carry to victory.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON (North Norfolk). Mr. Speaker, I have listened for nearly four hours to-day and on a previous day to the utterances of my hon. friend the member for West York (Mr. Wallace); and I shall take the liberty to-night of dealing with that portion of the question which has formed the burden of his utterance in this House, which he assures us is the most important part of his speech and forms the programme of the Conservative party for the coming election. After I have dealt with that question, I may, perhaps have something to say on the other points made by the hon. gentleman. But the hour is late and I consider

this question of preferential trade, as he himself considers it, the most important question before the House and before the country.

An hon. MEMBER. And short speeches.

Mr. CHARLTON. The principle of short speeches seems to be honoured rather in the breach than in the observance; and I am not committed to the principle myself, and shall probably speak as long as I please.

Mr. MILLS. Like Liberal promises.

Mr. CHARLTON. I made no promises, but merely asked the reference to a committee to have their deliverance on rules and procedure submitted to the House. The doctrine or promise of preferential trade between Great Britain and the various provinces is a very captivating one, and no issue can appeal more forcibly and powerfully to the wishes of the great mass of the agricultural population of Canada than this. If my hon. friend from West York or any member of the opposition can persuade me that the opposition party, if entrusted with power, can secure a preferential tariff with Great Britain and the re-enactment, practically of the corn laws in favour of Canada and other colonies, I will cross the floor of this House without delay and without compunction of conscience.

Mr. MILLS. I do not believe a word of it.

Mr. CHARLTON. The Liberal party of this country, the Liberal farmers of this country, the Liberal citizens of this country, are as anxious to secure preferential trade relations with Great Britain as any other portion of the community. But the government finds the responsibility of office resting upon it. They are unable to make promises to the people or advance positions on platforms that they are unable to carry out. An opposition has a freer hand. My hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) and my hon. friend from West York can promise the people that they can obtain this thing or that; and, if they can get the people to believe them, and, in consequence of that confidence placed in them, they can secure power, then they can inform the people as to the difficulties that confront them and as to the impossibility, to their great regret, of carrying out their pledges and implementing the promises they made.

Now, Sir, I propose to look into this question of preferential trade a little. I submit again that I am in favour of this policy, if I can be made to believe that it is a practicable one. If I can be made to believe that there is the remotest probability of being able to secure preferential relations with Great Britain, and inducing British artisans, the British operative and the British labourer to submit to a tax upon their food for our benefit, I am in favour of it.

Mr. CHARLTON.

I can remember, when a boy, the agitation that existed in this country upon the repeal of the corn laws. Canada lost, when those laws were repealed, a great advantage over other food-producing countries trading with England, and the result of that repeal was that great demonstration of Tory loyalty, the annexation manifesto of 1849. I repeat, we would welcome the enactment by the English parliament of preferential duties in our favour. But that we can secure that is, in my belief, a very remote probability, and, in fact, I consider it as, under the present circumstances at least, entirely impossible. Now, it strikes me that the leader of the opposition, dealing with this matter, is hardly fair, that he does not present the case with the candour that one would expect from a gentleman of his character as leader of a great party. I think he seeks, perhaps unconsciously, to cast aspersions and suspicions on the party in power, which he himself must realize are not warranted and are calculated to deceive the country. Now, I notice in a speech made by this hon. gentleman at Quebec two or three days ago he led the audience he was addressing to believe that an offer had been made of preferential trade relations, that the Premier of this country, when he visited England, was so remiss in his duty that he failed to seize the golden opportunity, in fact failed to accept an offer made by the British authorities to give us preferential trade relations. Nothing, as I shall show in a moment, could be further from the truth. The hon. gentleman (Sir Charles Tupper) must have been aware that this statement that he made was entirely destitute of foundation. He said in that speech:

And he did what I charged him in the House of Commons yesterday with doing.

Referring to Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

He betrayed Canadian interests in this matter. Yet he went to London at a most favourable time to have achieved something for Canada, at a time when the heart of the empire was open to her colonies. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain were willing and were anxious to deal liberally with the colonies; 'in no huckstering spirit,' were their words. Who killed the great opportunity? Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The Imperial government was anxious to meet them and make liberal arrangements. All the Premiers of Australia and South Africa were ready—all but Mr. Reid, of New South Wales, who has recently been defeated. Sir W. Laurier alone declined to enter into any arrangement.

Now, we are led to infer from this language that such an arrangement was proposed, but Sir Wilfrid Laurier declined to enter into the arrangement. Sir Wilfrid Laurier knows, as every gentleman knows who will take the pains to examine into this matter, that no such proposition was made and that no probability existed at that time of the making of such an arrangement. My hon. friend from West York read us extracts from various speeches made by

Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Salisbury and other gentlemen, and he drew the inference from these speeches that we had but to initiate negotiations for preferential trade relations, and these negotiations could easily be consummated. Now, in the light of these assertions with regard to the character of these speeches that have been made, we have a statement, which these various assertions has called forth from Mr. Chamberlain, made on the 3rd day of April, and made evidently for the express purpose of setting at rest these statements and confronting these men who are trading upon these assertions, with the proof that their assertions were entirely destitute of foundation on the third of the present month of April.

Mr. Thomas Charles Hedderwick, M.P., moved that, in the opinion of the House, it was desirable, in the interests of the empire, that the colonies should be admitted to some representation in parliament.

Now, Mr. Chamberlain, in speaking on that resolution, went out of his way to make a statement which was not relevant to the resolution, he made it for the express purpose, when the opportunity was offered him to do so, of setting at rest these false assumptions and false assertions that are made by the opposition, and upon which they intend to trade as their political capital in the coming contest. What was Mr. Chamberlain's statement?

We are not going to interfere in the domestic affairs of the colonies. Nor are they going to interfere in ours. I have never advocated, as has been reported, the formation of an Imperial Zollverein, but I have pointed out that, if there were to be any kind of fiscal arrangement with the colonies, I believe the only form that would meet the slightest favour would be an Imperial Zollverein, in which there would be free trade between the portions of the empire and duties as against strangers. At any rate, the suggestion must originate with the colonies. There is no suggestion from ourselves. The present resolution is premature, is necessarily academic, and might be mischievous.

Now, what does he mean by a Zollverein founded upon free trade? He means that we should meet England, which admits our products free of duty, with the same treatment, that we should admit British goods upon 71 per cent of which we collected last year a duty of \$7,328,000, into Canada free of duty. Is my hon. friend from West York (Mr. Wallace), is the leader of the opposition, prepared to go to the country standing upon a platform which advocates the arrangement of a Zollverein with England, that will break down all tariff barriers and admit all British goods into Canada free of duty? It is possible that it can be secured upon these terms.

Mr. WALLACE. Read our resolution.

Mr. CHARLTON. I will read it in a few moments. It is possible it can be se-

cured upon these terms, but these gentlemen will not admit that they are in favour of it, and if they were to go to the country with such a proposition, they would be defeated out of sight. And so they will attempt to trade upon the assertion that they are able to secure from England preferential duties and the admission of our natural products into the English markets on terms more favourable than those accorded to any other nation. Well, Sir, Mr. Chamberlain's statement which I have read, gives a direct rebuttal to that statement; it is an explicit, unmistakable rebuttal to the statement made by the hon. gentleman to-night, to the statement made by the leader of the opposition, to the position that evidently is to form the platform of the parties in the coming election. Now, what is the resolution my hon. friend refers to?

Mr. MONTAGUE. You have hardly stated the whole scope of the Zollverein Mr. Chamberlain proposes.

Mr. CHARLTON. Does it not include free admission of British goods into the Canadian market? That is one of the essential requisites; and if the Conservative party is prepared to admit British goods into the Canadian market free of duty, they are prepared to meet Mr. Chamberlain's conditions, as to the formation of a Zollverein, and nothing short of that will do it. Now, the hon. gentleman who leads the opposition, formulated a resolution the other day, which is very general in its terms, an admirable resolution to go to the country to talk about, as it can be made to mean almost anything before a proper audience. The resolution is as follows:

This House is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between these countries, and would thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire; and that no measure of preference which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory.

That is, unless we can get access to the British market on preferential terms for our products, we are not to consider any settlement of this trade question final or satisfactory, we are not to consider the present preferential tariff as final or satisfactory. Nothing but a re-enactment, in effect of the corn laws, nothing but the adoption of a policy which Mr. Chamberlain explicitly tells us is out of the question, nothing but that is to be considered according to the terms of this resolution, final or satisfactory.

Mr. McNEILL. Does Mr. Chamberlain say the government will not adopt anything of that kind?

Mr. CHARLTON. You had better read his statement. Now, Mr. Speaker, I pro-

pose to deal with this question briefly, and I shall look at it first of all from the standpoint of Imperial interests; then I shall look at it from the standpoint of Great Britain's interest; then I will inquire whether the demand which this resolution formulates, and which is to be the rallying cry of the Conservative party in the next election, is a reasonable demand; then I shall inquire whether the present preference to Great Britain, contained in our tariff, is beneficial to us and warranted by trade conditions, and I shall have a little to say with regard to the trade relations between this country and the United States, in their bearing upon the propriety of the partial removal of the impositions upon British goods through the preferential tariff. Now, Sir, the colonies are, no doubt, drawing closer to England, that is an evident fact. The bond of sympathy and union between the colonies and Great Britain is growing stronger. This bond is one not of coercion, not of positive enactment in law, but it is a bond of sympathy, a purely voluntary action, and motion, and passion on the part of each, which draws the colonies and England together. Now, in view of the condition of things that exists at present, in face of the fact that broader feelings, and sympathies, and aspirations prevail in the various parts of the British Empire, I ask whether we should not avoid very carefully, making unreasonable demands. We had better look at this question very carefully, we had better look at the matter of asking from England preferential treatment and taxing the food of her operatives for our benefit, in the light of determining in our minds whether this is a reasonable demand. It is not in our interest, looking at it from the most sordid and business standpoint, to impair the strength of Great Britain. If it can be shown, as it can undoubtedly be shown clearly, that the adoption of the policy the hon. gentleman asks for, would impair the prosperity and strength of Great Britain, why, we would be asking, even if we could obtain it, something actually not in our own interest. I repeat that we do not want to impair the greatness, the prosperity and the strength of the British Empire, we do not want to weaken our best customer, we do not want to reduce her ability to buy, but we want to be governed by considerations of British interests, as well as Canadian interests.

Now, we may ask the question at this point: Are we entitled to preferential duties? Is the demand proposed a reasonable one? Can we show any reason for granting it? I shall look at the question from the reasonable standpoint, that while I would be glad if we could get it, while I would look upon it as a boon, if we could secure it, I say we are not entitled to it, that under the circumstances of the case, the demand is an impudent one, and cannot fail to be considered otherwise than as a de-

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mand not founded in reason, as a demand which cannot be acceded to.

Now, I propose to deal, briefly, with the question of our trade relations with Great Britain, and the relative importance of our trade with the empire, as compared with the trade of other British possessions, and as compared with the trade of the whole commercial world. I think that the statistics of this question will impress the mind of any candid thinker and observer with the fact that our dealings with England are, relatively, so small, that we are relatively, as compared with the rest of the world, so insignificant a customer that it is not in England's interest to pay special attention to our interest, if that attention is expected to be secured at the cost of her relations and interests with the great mass of the nationalities and states with which she trades. I have taken the statement that I have compiled from the last trade returns issued by the Statesmen's Year Book, which is a standard authority, and I have, when dealing with the question converted sterling into dollars and cents, taking the pound sterling as \$5, which is accurate enough for the purpose. In the year 1897, according to the Statesmen's Year Book, the exports of Great Britain to all British possessions, were \$403,375,000, and her exports to foreign countries were \$767,723,000. The total was \$1,171,098,000. This shows that all the exports of England to foreign countries were, in round numbers, almost double the exports of England to all British possessions in that year. Now, the exports to all British possessions, excluding Canada and Australia, were \$269,439,000, the exports to Australia were \$106,554,000, and the exports to Canada, according to their returns, amounted to the comparatively trifling and insignificant sum of \$27,380,000. Reducing this statement to percentages, Canada's percentage of Britain's total exports was 24-10 per cent, or, in other words, we received 24-10 per cent of the goods that England supplied to all the world. Compared with England's foreign export, not her total export, but her foreign exports, Canada received 36-10 per cent as much as England's exports to foreign countries, and Canada's percentage of British exports to British possessions was 68-10 per cent. This is a very small trade relatively, less than 21-2 per cent of her exports to the world, only one mill in excess of 31-2 per cent of her exports to foreign countries, 68-10 per cent of her exports to British possessions, and yet, we stand up with this comparatively insignificant portion of British trade, and with sublime impudence, ask England to tax herself for the benefit of this little *Oliver Twist* that is continually calling for more.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Might I ask the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) what he makes the proportion sent to the colonies?

Mr. CHARLTON. I make the proportion sent to all the British possessions, including Canada—

Mr. MONTAGUE. About 32 per cent, is it not?

Mr. CHARLTON. Six and eight-tenths per cent. That is our proportion of the trade of England with the British possessions.

Mr. MONTAGUE. The hon. gentleman misunderstands me. What is Canada's proportion of all the trade of England?

Mr. CHARLTON. Canada's proportion of all of export trade is 24-10 per cent.

Mr. MONTAGUE. What is the proportion that goes to all the colonies?

Mr. CHARLTON. All the colonies received \$403,000,000. England exported to foreign countries \$767,000,000, and to the world \$1,171,000,000.

Mr. MONTAGUE. That is quite a different showing.

Mr. CHARLTON. England imports from Canada in this year \$97,694,000.

Mr. WALLACE. What percentage?

Mr. CHARLTON. I will give the percentage if you will follow me and hear what I have to say. England exports to Canada \$27,380,000. We had a balance of trade against England of \$70,314,000, so that Great Britain's imports from Canada were 71½ per cent greater than her exports to Canada, or she bought three and a half times more of Canada than she sold. We bought from England one pound's worth and sold three pounds and ten shillings' worth. This is a great balance in our favour, and she gives us the British market without a single impost or duty upon the three and a half times the volume of trade we sold to her compared with what we bought, and yet, certain individuals think they have very good ground for saying that we want more favours. The imports into Great Britain from foreign countries, in that year, were \$1,785,000,000, and the imports from British possessions were \$470,094,000, or, in other words, England imported from British possessions about one-quarter as much as from the rest of the world. The total of her importations was \$2,255,000,000, while her imports from Canada amounted to \$97,674,000.

Mr. McNEILL. What were the exports?

Mr. CHARLTON. I have been dealing with the exports, and I passed from that question some time ago. I can go back to it again in about half an hour.

Mr. MONTAGUE. I hope the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) is not going to speak another half hour.

Mr. CHARLTON. Oh, yes; I have only fairly commenced and I will not finish in an hour and a half. The percentage of Canada's portion of British imports was 5½ per cent, Canada's percentage of British imports from British possessions was 20 8-10 per cent, and her percentage of British imports from all countries was 4 3-10 per cent. Here is a statement which shows that we have 4 3-10 per cent of England's total import trade, and 3 6-10 per cent of England's total foreign export trade. Yet, we are swelling around here with the idea that we are an important customer of England, and that we have conferred such great favours upon that empire by comparison with other portions of the world, because we sell her three and a half times more than we buy from her.

Still further, there are those who think it is a modest thing to say to John Bull: Just put a tax on your foods and make goods a little higher for us and a little higher, of course, for your own people who buy them. The total trade of Canada with Great Britain in this year was \$125,025,000, and Canada's percentage of the total trade, compared with England's total foreign trade, exports and imports, was 5 per cent; Canada's percentage of the total trade of England, exports and imports, with British possessions was 14 4-10, and Canada's proportion of England's total export and import trade with all the world was 3 7-10 per cent. I was astonished, myself, when I went through these figures and compiled this statement and found how relatively insignificant our transactions with England are, either as a customer for her produce, or a source of supply for what she needs, and I realize what infinite impudence was embodied in the demand that England, for this paltry inconsiderable amount of trade should cripple her resources, hamper her manufacturers and increase the prices of food for her artisans to gratify us with a little higher prices. Why, as I said before, we would like it, but we know it is most unreasonable to ask for it.

These figures give the present basis for the formation of an opinion upon this question, and as an advocate of fair-play, as a believer of Imperial interests with a desire to recognize the benefits we receive from England, and with a desire to avoid asking that which is unreasonable; I say that the resolution propounded by the leader of the opposition (Sir Charles Tupper) looking to the belief that the people of Canada can be imposed upon by the assertion made in that resolution; that preferential trade can be secured from England; I say that that is one of the baldest pieces of political clap trap that has ever been perpetrated in this country.

Mr. McNEILL. The hon. gentleman had better settle that with his leader.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the hon. gentleman (Mr. Charlton) permit me to ask him what he thinks of the declaration of his chief, the Prime Minister in London, Ont., in June, 1896?

Mr. CHARLTON. What was that declaration according to the belief of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Montague)?

Mr. MONTAGUE. The right hon. gentleman then said that he was in favour of a preferential trade between Great Britain and the colonies; that it was the policy to which he was pledged; that it was a policy of immense possibilities.

Mr. CHARLTON. Exactly, I say the same thing. I say to-night I am in favour of it; I say to-night if England would grant this we would accept it with the greatest thankfulness, but I say it is unreasonable to expect it. I do not believe we can get it, and I would not consider it honest to go to the people of this country and hold out to them the inducement that we can get this if they support this and put us in power.

Mr. MONTAGUE. That is just what the Prime Minister did.

Mr. McNEILL. The right hon. gentleman said that in his opinion it could be obtained.

Mr. CHARLTON. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have been kept from the floor for some days, and have only been able to speak now at nearly midnight, and I must decline to recognize these interruptions in future.

Mr. WALLACE. Might I ask one question of the hon. gentleman?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. WALLACE. I tried to follow his figures closely, but I did not catch the figures of the total trade between Great Britain and Great Britain's possessions.

Mr. CHARLTON. What trade—export or import?

Mr. WALLACE. Both.

Mr. CHARLTON. The trade with Great Britain's possessions in exports was \$403,375,000. The imports from Great Britain's possessions were \$470,094,000.

Mr. WALLACE. That is over \$900,000,000?

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes, and that \$900,000,000 total, trade exports and imports between Great Britain and her possessions, was of a total import trade of \$2,255,000,000, and a total export trade of \$1,171,000,000, or a total of in round numbers \$3,400,000,000; \$900,000,000, of which was total export and import trade with British possessions.

Mr. WALLACE. If the hon. gentleman looks at page 58 of the Statistical Abstract

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of Great Britain he will find that he is hundreds of millions of dollars astray.

Mr. CHARLTON. My figures are made up from the Statesmen's Year Book of 1897, and these figures are calculations open to the hon. gentleman's investigation, and I have no time to analyse them across the floor with him to-night. Now, then Mr. Speaker, I shall ask again the privilege of being allowed to speak without interruption. I have not interrupted any other speaker, and I wish to make my statement without that interruption.

Then, Sir, to recapitulate this as our friends do not seem to seize upon the salient points readily: Canada received 36-10ths per cent as much as Great Britain exported to all foreign countries. She had 36-10ths per cent of Great Britain's foreign export trade. Canada received 68-10ths of Great Britain's exports to British possessions. We had a balance of trade against England that year of \$70,314,000. We bought of Great Britain that year 28½ per cent as much as we sold her, only—\$27,380,000 sold by her to us against \$97,694,000 exported to her, and so we sold her, three and a half times as much as we bought from her.

Great Britain's imports from us, were only 5½ per cent of the amount of her foreign imports. They were 208-10ths of her total imports from all the British possessions, and they were 43-10ths per cent of her total imports. These are the classifications by percentage of our trade with England, of her export and imports in the year 1897.

Now, Sir, England has continued her policy of preference to Canada. In 1898, she bought of us \$104,998,000 worth free of duty. We sold to her that year \$32,500,000, of which \$22,969,000, or 69 per cent of the whole was dutiable. In 1899 she bought of Canada \$99,091,000, entirely free of duty—not a cent of burden upon it—and she sold to Canada \$37,060,000, of which \$27,521,000, or 71 per cent of the entire amount of her imports was dutiable. Now, here is a contrast—vast purchases from us compared with our purchases from her—entering her markets free—relatively insignificant purchasers from her—and purchases which were dutiable to the extent of from 69 to 71 per cent of the whole volume of that trade.

I would ask if this was not fair enough treatment? I would ask if we have any reason to ask anything better than this? I would ask if it would be reasonable in the face of the condition of trade as it exists between Canada and England to-day—with perfect free trade on one side and burdensome duties on the other—with large purchases by her and small purchases by us—I would ask if it is not unreasonable in the highest degree to ask that the conditions shall be made more burdensome to England or more favourable to ourselves than they are at present. Then, Sir, England makes other sacrifices for us. Ever since

the conquest of Canada she has afforded to Canada the protection of her army, the protection of her navy, the protection of her diplomatic corps, the protection of her consular corps. All these advantages that cost money to a great power we have shared in, and have had free of charge from England. It strikes me, Mr. Speaker, that viewing the case in all its bearings, that we ought to be ashamed of the promulgation of such a policy as has been laid down by the leader of the opposition.

Now, there are reasons that must have weight in England.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Might I ask the hon. gentleman a question?

Some hon. MEMBERS. Order.

Mr. CHARLTON. I do not wish to be interrupted again. It is a very easy thing for the hon. member for West York (Mr. Wallace) to stand up in this House and make a tariff for England. It is quite a nice occupation, and if we were allowed to exercise our judgment as to what England could stand and what she could not stand, and what we could take out of her, we could get along very nicely. But it happens that English statesmen have some opinions about these matters themselves, and there are certain circumstances that have a bearing on the case that we might not understand as easily as English public men do. Now, we must bear in mind that England is one of a number of commercial nations, and that she has very great and powerful rivals, and that the rivalry that exists in her commercial transactions with the world is growing greater every year. She has a great commercial and manufacturing rival in Germany. She has a great rival in France, and she has a greater rival perhaps than either of these nations in the United States. The American manufacturing industries have been making very astounding progress indeed lately. The exports of manufactures from that country in 1898 amounted in round numbers to \$300,000,000, and in 1899 these exports were \$400,000,000. We have noticed—those of us who have any interest in watching the progress of this rivalry—we have noticed that the American iron and steel industry has fairly distanced England in competition. There was a case in which a bridge was to be built over the Athara River in Nubia on the road to Khartoum, and the material was wanted quickly. The American ironmasters took that order and filled it, and had the material on the ground within three months from the time the order was taken; and, moreover, they took the order at about 60 per cent of the price of the lowest English bid, which required eight months more time to fill the order. The Americans also took an order in Burmah, amounting to about a million dollars. They have taken orders in London itself. The manufacturing

rivalry between England and the United States, as well as between England and Germany, and between England and France is keen and intense; and England's very life depends upon the maintenance of her position as a great manufacturing and commercial power. If she loses this, her greatness is gone. In this respect, England cannot afford at our dictation to put on fetters or clogs in the race. She cannot afford to put a tax on her food or on the raw materials which are so essential to her production cheaply of manufactures. It is unreasonable and absurd to expect or ask it; and this resolution which has been formulated, gravely affirming that it would be in our interest and in the interest of the British Empire for England to tax her food and her raw materials and thus increase the difficulties that surround her in this keen competition with great commercial and manufacturing rivals—it is the height of absurdity to suppose that such a resolution can be dealt with seriously by intelligent and well-informed men. England's environment would not permit of the imposition of preferential duties. Her relations with other commercial powers are of such a character that the introduction of such a policy would be fatal to her interests. It would invite retaliation. It would not only invite, but it would secure retaliation. England would invite disaster that would surely fall upon her if this unreasonable demand were granted to a country which takes about 5 per cent of her exports and sends about 3½ per cent of her imports, and which would be asking for these preferential duties for the purpose of taxing the food of 40,000,000 people in England for the benefit of 5,000,000 producers in Canada. We have seen something of the result in the United States. The members of the Joint High Commission met at every turn that feeling of animosity that existed in the United States in consequence of the adoption of the preferential duties of 12½ per cent to be increased to 25 per cent; and the adoption of anything like the Corn Laws to the exclusion or the hampering of the trade of the mother country in food-stuffs for the benefit of Canada and the other British colonies, would be sure to lead to retaliatory action of a very unpleasant character. That, England would not invite; it would be a simple act of fatuity on her part to invite it. Therefore, I say, although I reaffirm the statement that I would like it very well if England would do something to increase our prosperity at her own expense, if she saw her way to do so, the demand for preferential duties under all the circumstances of the case is unreasonable and positively disloyal—so unreasonable and so likely to prove detrimental to England's interests that, as loyal citizens we ought to be content with enough. We ought to be content with the generous treatment which we receive, which gives to us three times the market which we give to Great Britain,

and gives it free to us, while we tax British imports into this country.

Mr. MONTAGUE. And gives it free to everybody else.

Mr. CHARLTON. In asking this preferential treatment we would be simply asking an unearned favour. We have not earned such a favour; we have done nothing to earn it. We would be taking a step which if our movement were successful, would cripple the motherland. And if we ask for this boon we must ask for it upon the terms that Mr. Chamberlain's statement foreshadows—upon the condition that we treat English imports as they treat ours, and admit them to this country free of duty. I repeat, if our hon. friends on the other side will adopt that policy, there will be some sense in it. If they say, we propose to suggest to England that we shall admit all English imports into this country free of duty as they admit ours, on condition that they will go a step further than they have done and impose preferential duties in our favour on the food products of all foreign countries, even then the advantages would be on our side, even then we would be receiving from England more than we gave; but short of that it is useless and senseless to talk seriously about securing preferential duties upon foodstuffs in favour of Canada.

There is another feature of this case which is of some importance to England—that her desire is that her relations with the United States should be of a friendly character. Latterly the importance of maintaining such relations has become greater than ever before, and the adoption of the policy which the resolution of my hon. friend calls for would have an inevitable tendency to strain the relations between these two countries, and put an end to that feeling of cordiality and good-will which fortunately has existed for the last one or two years. Nothing connected with the question is of greater importance, or has a more intimate bearing upon the propriety of Canada pressing for preferential treatment from the mother country. In view of all this, I have arrived at the conclusion that the resolution which has been presented to the House by the hon. leader of the opposition is one which is calculated to work mischief. It is a resolution which, if the action of the hon. gentleman is taken in good faith by the people, will deceive the people. It is a resolution which can never bear fruit unless the mover of the resolution and its supporters are prepared to go further than the resolution indicates. It is a resolution which can never bear fruit unless the course which Mr. Chamberlain indicates in his speech, the free admission of English goods into Canada, is adopted. Under all these circumstances, I deprecate the placing of that issue before the people. I deprecate the making of a paramount issue

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in an election a claim which the promulgators of the resolution must know is foundationless, and, whether they know it or not, cannot be carried into effect.

I propose, next, to inquire whether the preference which we grant to Great Britain is warranted or not, in the public interest. I have heard my hon. friend from North Bruce (Mr. McNeill) and others attack that preference on the ground that we have given it without receiving a quid pro quo—without getting any preference in return. We have done nothing of the kind. We have no preference to get from England in the removal of duties because there are no duties against us in England. We have simply said to England: As you admit our products free of duty, we will be a little decent, and reduce the duties which we exact from you. We will reduce them 12½ per cent the first year and 25 per cent the second year. This is really an admission that the free admission of our products into England required some modification of our tariff, and the inference would be a fair one that to treat them fairly we should remove the whole duty.

The method of making tariff reduction this way has another advantage. The Liberal party had promised a reduction of tariff rates. It was found that the reduction of duties upon American imports would not be advisable—

Mr. MONTAGUE. Why?

Mr. CHARLTON. Because they do not deserve it, because their competition is one that we have a perfect right to tax as far as we can, and so, instead of making a horizontal reduction all round, it was a proper thing to lighten the burden of our best customer, our own mother, and at the same time reduce the burden on our own people. The reduction is one that is highly appreciated by the consumers of this country.

Mr. McNEILL. You took the duty off corn.

Mr. CHARLTON. If the hon. gentleman is pleased with that, it is all right.

Mr. McNEILL. But I am not.

Mr. CHARLTON. England is placed at great disadvantage in her competition with the American manufacturers. We are contiguous to the United States, and can call up by telephone the merchant we wish to purchase from and order a small or large quantity, and the goods can be laid down in two or three days. But in ordering from England, the expense of sending the order is considerable and the outlay very large, so that the advantages in favour of the American manufacturers, other things being equal, are very great. It was therefore perfectly proper to give the English manufacturer some preferential treatment in our markets. It was a proper thing for two reasons. The Americans give us no free entry into their

markets, whereas England gives us a free entry for everything; and in view of the disadvantages which the English manufacturers have to contend against, it was a perfectly equitable and proper arrangement to give the preference we did. This preference was necessary to equalize the conditions between these two countries competing for the supply of the Canadian market.

Mr. MONTAGUE. When did you come to that conclusion?

Mr. CHARLTON. Some years ago. I am coming more strongly to that conclusion every year.

Mr. MONTAGUE. Will the hon. gentleman tell us of any speech in which he ever advocated that?

Mr. CHARLTON. I am now about to give the hon. gentleman some cogent reasons for arriving at that conclusion. Notwithstanding the preference enjoyed by Great Britain of 12½ per cent the first year and 25 per cent the next, the ratio of increase of United States trade with Canada is greater than the ratio of British trade. The figures I am about to quote are important, and I commend them to the attention of the House. I am comparing 1896 with 1897. In 1896, we imported from Great Britain to the extent of \$32,979,000 and in 1897 to the extent of \$29,412,000, or a decrease of \$3,567,000 or 10.80 per cent. The same year we imported from the United States \$58,754,000 worth of goods and in 1897 \$61,649,000, or an increase of \$3,975,000, or 5.20 per cent. Thus comparing 1896 and 1897, our imports from Great Britain fell off 10 per cent, and our imports from the United States increased 5 per cent. Taking the period of 1898, under the 12½ per cent preference, there was an increase of imports from Great Britain of \$3,088,000 or 15 per cent, and from the United States, \$17,056,000 or 29 per cent.

Between 1898 and 1899, when there was a preference of 25 per cent, the comparison shows an increase of imports from Great Britain amounting to \$5,559,000 or 17 per cent and of imports from the United States of \$14,301,000 or 18.17 per cent. Thus the increase in the United States trade was 1 per cent greater than that of the British trade, despite the preference of 25 per cent.

These facts point irresistibly to the conclusion that if we are to give England a chance to maintain her position in our markets, it is necessary to give her a preference.

In the imports of manufactures for consumption, the comparison is just as striking. It will surprise my hon. friends, no doubt, when I tell them that last year we imported from the United States \$17,000,000 worth more manufactures than from Great Britain and \$12,000,000 worth more manufactures than the actual amount of our total exports to that country. These figures, in

my opinion, furnish reasons for refusing to lower the duties on American imports and for giving England, our best customer, preferential treatment to the extent we do.

From 1898 to 1899, the increase of imports of manufactures for consumption from Great Britain amounted to \$4,665,000 or 17.32 per cent, and from the United States \$7,983,000 or 19.63 per cent. We had a balance of trade against England last year, notwithstanding this preference of 25 per cent, of \$62,000,000, and in our trade with the United States, although nominally we exported \$45,133,000 worth, yet we may deduct from that the amount of bullion, \$4,000,000 and the amount of short return \$4,557,000, which I have always protested against as absurd for we smuggle more goods in that way one year with another than we export of goods that are not duly entered at our custom houses. That leaves us an actual net export of \$36,563,000 and gives a balance against us of \$56,444,000. These are reasons so far as they go.

Mr. MONTAGUE. How much is the trade against us?

Mr. CHARLTON. Making these deductions of bullion and short returns, it is 56½ millions in round numbers.

Mr. MONTAGUE. What reason do you give for that?

Mr. CHARLTON. Because their treatment to us is illiberal and our treatment of them too liberal. The case is fortified still further by the condition of trade between the two countries in agricultural products. We used to export to the United States under reciprocity a large amount of farm products, and we would sell a large quantity still because our markets are nearer the great centres of population than the western states, and then we have peculiar advantages for the sale of garden produce and poultry if there were no duties. But, while we bought of the United States \$48,000,000 of manufactures, and probably \$30,000,000 of that amount were consumed by the agricultural population of Canada, what amount of agricultural products were permitted to export to that country. We sold to them of agricultural products \$1,374,000 worth, and we sold to them \$4,678,000 worth of animals and their products.

Mr. MONTAGUE. And how much barley?

Mr. CHARLTON. I have not the details here, but probably next to nothing. The total export of our farm products, including animals, were \$6,002,000. What—

Mr. MONTAGUE. Would the hon. gentleman tell us what the relative quantity that we sold them—

Mr. CHARLTON. When I get through, I will stand up ready to be catechised. While we exported to the United States that

amount of farm products, Canada, which is an agricultural country and which one would say, at first blush, could hardly offer a market for agricultural products from the United States, bought no less than \$18,686,000 worth of agricultural products and \$5,762,000 of animals and their products, or a total of \$24,470,000, being an excess of our imports over our exports to that country of \$18,451,000, or four times as much bought from them as we sold to them. Or, if you eliminate tobacco leaf, raw cotton, bananas and tropical fruits, we still bought \$12,862,000 in excess of our exports to that country. We sold to Great Britain, of farm products, \$60,051,000 worth, as against \$6,002,000 worth to the United States, or \$10 worth sold to Great Britain for every dollar's worth sent to the United States. Under all the circumstances, the policy adopted by Canada of refusing to make tariff reductions on American imports, in the face of the unfair treatment we received from that country and determining to make our preference apply to Great Britain was a sound principle and one to which we may adhere with propriety. And we may go further than we have done in my opinion, in the condition of things existing, we had better go further in two directions—raise the duty on American imports and lower it on British imports. Now, in this condition of trade that existed between these two countries, which is so unfair in its operation to us, which places us with the balance of trade of \$56,000,000 of trade against us of last year and permits us to sell only one-quarter of the agricultural products to the United States that we buy of them, which places us so that we were their customers to the extent of \$93,000,000, while we really exported to them only \$36,000,000 of our products, we have the fact demonstrated that Canada with her five millions of people is a better customer to the United States than the 55,000,000 of people in Mexico, the Central American States, South America, and the West Indies. Yet, in the face of that fact, which American economists admit, that we buy more goods and are a better customer than the fifty-five millions of inhabitants of America, south of the United States, they pursue a policy towards us such as I have been descanting upon for the last quarter of an hour. And I reaffirm that this condition of trade between these two countries is the most powerful reason that could be assigned for the justification of the policy that the government of Canada pursues in granting preferential treatment to Great Britain, for the purpose of giving a benefit to our natural customer who takes so enormously of our products, taking ten times as much as the United States does, who treats us so fairly and gives us free admission to her markets instead of excluding us by prohibitory duties as the United States do—I say that these facts furnish the reason

Mr. CHARLTON.

and justification for the preferential tariff policy that is a feature of the Liberal policy of Canada. Now, Sir, if our hon. friends on the other side come into power, we have almost their pledge that they will sweep this policy away, that they will remove this 33½ per cent preference, leaving England that buys three times as much from us as we buy from her, that does not tax us a dollar on the vast volume of her imports of our products, that stands uncomplainingly the imposition of our taxes on 65 to 75 per cent of her imports here. I say these gentlemen would sweep away this preference and would go back to the old condition of things, placing the United States and Great Britain upon the same footing, thus restoring the disparity of trade, and restoring the advantage that the United States has all along enjoyed, and partly enjoys to-day notwithstanding the preference. Now, in looking at the American duties, we find that they average 49½ per cent on the dutiable list. They average 24·48 per cent of the entire imports of the country. Our own duties are, in round numbers, half that amount on the dutiable goods and on the total imports. There is another reason for the adoption of the preferential trade policy which this country has adopted with reference to Great Britain. Everything in connection with the trade policy of the United States, everything in connection with the treatment we receive at the hands of the United States, points to a selfish, narrow and unfriendly policy; and it would have been absurd to have made tariff reductions in conformity with the pledges of the Liberal party of a horizontal character to the benefit of the United States in the same degree as to the benefit of England. I repeat that the policy adopted by this country of making that preference apply only to Great Britain is a policy that should receive the commendation and approval of every loyal Canadian citizen.

Mr. MONTAGUE. May I ask the hon. gentleman, when did that narrow policy begin?

Mr. CHARLTON. About the time of the deluge. For the reasons, I have given, Sir, I am very suspicious of the policy enunciated by hon. gentlemen opposite in this resolution, which was conceived in sinful intention to deceive the people and brought forth with the iniquitous design to make it a success—and its success can only result from deception, from presenting to the people false statements and false issues. If the people understand this question, they will understand that the promulgation of such a policy, of such a demand for preferential treatment from England, is a piece of impudence which is simply sublime. The resolution which has been moved cannot be amended. But, if it could be amended, I would offer the amendment I hold in my hand as an amendment that would put the

case before the people in its true light, would state the case as the facts exist, and would be calculated to dissipate the bad intentions and deceptive designs of the resolution which is now before the House. I should move this amendment to the resolution, if I could; and I will read it so that you may know what my intentions would be, and may judge me by my intentions—

Mr. CLANCY. How long will you stand by it?

Mr. CHARLTON. Well, long enough to have it put through. The motion would be this, and I trust it will meet with the approval of the hon. member for Bothwell (Mr. Clancy):

That this House recognizes the fact that Great Britain gives free admission into her markets to all products of Canada, while Canada imposes heavy duties upon two-thirds of her importations from Great Britain; that Great Britain buys Canadian products to nearly three times the amount of her sales to Canada; that Great Britain gives to Canada the protection afforded by her army and navy and the good offices of her diplomatic and consular service free of cost; that while preferential duties upon food products in favour of the colonies would be acceptable and advantageous to Canada, and would be in accord with our desires, nevertheless the House recognizes that the keen competition now existing between Great Britain and other manufacturing and commercial powers, may render untaxed food and raw materials necessary to Great Britain for the successful maintenance of that competition; and that so long as Canada furnishes not more than 5 per cent of the total foreign and colonial trade of Great Britain, it is probable that a preferential tariff upon food products in favour of Canada will not in the present or in the early future be in accord with the requirements of Imperial interests, or within the bounds of reasonable request; and that Canada may properly be content for the present with the enjoyment of the trade advantages which are afforded to her by Great Britain, and which are denied to her by all other commercial powers, and with that voluntary, but valuable preference which is enjoyed by Canada in her trade relations with Great Britain.

Mr. Speaker, that resolution would truthfully present the condition of things as they exist, that resolution would recognize our obligations to England. It asserts that we would be glad to get this preferential treatment if it could be accorded to us, but it recognizes that the request for this preferential treatment, under the circumstances, could not be justified on reasonable grounds. It recognizes the fact that we do already enjoy a substantial preference in our trade with England, we enjoy the good-will of that country, and other things being equal, our products will be bought by her in preference to those from other countries, because England desires to promote and to increase her consumption of our products, desires to do this even although we have not taken as much in return of her products as we might have done. Under all these circumstances, this resolution, if it were competent to me to move it as an amendment, would more truthfully and fully embrace the conditions as they exist to-day than that political clap-trap resolution that is now before the House, which is calculated to deceive the country, by leading the people to believe that it asks for something that is attainable, when the fact is that the express declaration of the British authorities and the condition of things as they exist in the trade between the two countries, render it certain that not only it will not be granted, in England's interest, but that no circumstances exist that renders it reasonable for us to ask for any such concession.

Mr. MONTAGUE moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to, and debate adjourned.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr. Fielding) moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion agreed to, and the House adjourned at 10.55 p.m.

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FIFTH SESSION—EIGHTH PARLIAMENT, 1900.

Abbreviations of well known words and Parliamentary expressions are used in the following:—1°, 2°, 3°, First Reading, Second Reading, Third Reading; 3 m. h., 6 m. h., 6 w. h., Three Months' Hoist, Six Months' Hoist, Six Weeks' Hoist; *, without remarks or debate; Accts., Accounts; Adjn., Adjourn; Adj., Adjourned; Amt., Amendment; Amts., Amendments; Amalg., Amalgamation; Ans., Answer; Ass., Assurance; B., Bill; B. C., British Columbia; Can., Canada or Canadian; C.P.R., Canadian Pacific Railway; Com., Committee; Co., Company; Conc., Concur, Concurred, Concurrence; Consd., Consider; Consdn., Consideration; Cor., Correspondence; Deb., Debate; Dept., Department; Depts., Departments; Div., Division; Dom., Dominion; Govt., Government; His Ex., His Excellency the Governor General; Hse., House; H. of C., House of Commons; Incorp., Incorporation; Ins., Insurance; I.C.R., Intercolonial Railway; Man., Manitoba; Mess., Message; M., Motion; m., moved; Neg., Negatived; N.B., New Brunswick; N.W.T., North-west Territories; N.S., Nova Scotia; O.C., Order in Council; Ont., Ontario; P.E.I., Prince Edward Island; P.O., Post Office; Par., Paragraph; Prop., Proposed; Q., Quebec; Ques., Question; Recom., Recommit; Ref., Refer, Referred, Reference; Rep., Report, Reported; Reps., Reports; Res., Resolution; Ret., Return; Ry., Railway; Rys., Railways; Sel., Select; Sen., Senate; Sp., Special; Stmt., Statement; Sup., Supply; Suppl., Supplement, Supplementary; Wthdn., Withdrawn; Wthdrl., Withdrawal; Y.N., Yeas and Nays; Names in *Italic* and parentheses are those of the mover.

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- Ottawa and Hull Conflagration, on M. (Sir *Wilfrid Laurier*) to adjn., 4332 (ii).
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- Miscellaneous*: Interior (seed grain to settlers) 7830 (iii).
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- Debates, Official, 4th Rep., conc. (M.) 4554 (ii).
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- Miller, R. W., Postmaster of Actinolite, Dismissal, &c. (Ques.) 1114 (i); (M. for copies) 2201 (i).

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- Address, on The, 124 (i).
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McInnes, Mr. W. W. B., Vancouver.

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McLellan, Mr. B. D., West Prince (P. E. I.)

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Dom. Elections Act Amt. B. 29 (Mr. *Britton*) on M. for 1st, 474 (i); on M. for 2^d, 4795 (ii).

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Franchise Act Amt. B. 105 (Mr. *Carroll*) on M. for 1st, 2354 (i).

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Ry. Act Amt. B. 132 (Mr. *Blair*) on M. for 2^d, 4687 (ii); in Com., 9357 (iii).

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McNeill, Mr. A., North Bruce.

- Beet Root Sugar, Cor. *re* Bounties, on M. (Mr.
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McNeill, Mr. A.—Con.

- Ry. Act Amt. B. 132 (Mr. *Blair*) on M. for 2^d,
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 — on Ques. of Order (Sir *Charles Tupper*)
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 — Can. Contingents, Vacancies, &c. (remarks)
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Henri Joly de Lotbinière) in Com., 4679,
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Madore, Mr. J. A. C., Hochelaga.

- Judges of the Provincial Courts Act Amt. B. 189
 (Mr. *Fitzpatrick*) on Sen. Amts., 10043 (iii).

Marcil, Mr. J. E., Bayot.

- South African War—Can. Contingents, Pay to
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Marcotte, Mr. F. A., Champlain.

- Aberdeen SS.*, Special Trip to Les Eboulements,
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Marcotte, Mr. F. A.—Con.

- I. C. R., Ouellette, Mr., Report *re* Work performed (Ques.) 4070, 5245 (ii).
 — Pichette, Mr., Privileges at Lévis Station (Ques.) 4069 (ii).
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Martin, Mr. A., East Queen's (P.E.I.)

- Alberton and Kildare, P.E.I. Mail Contractor, Name, &c. (Ques.) 1979 (i).
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Martin, Mr. A.—Con.

- Belfast and Murray Harbour Ry. (P. E. I.) Expenditure by Govt. (Ques.) 1741 (i).
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1°, 246 (i); 2°, and in Com., 6995; 3°*, 6996 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 35.)
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- BILL (No. 20) Respecting the British Yukon Mining, Trading and Transportation Company, and to change its name to "The British Yukon Railway Company."—(Mr. *Fraser*, Guysborough.)
1°*, 470; 2°*, 589 (i); in Com., and 3°*, 5922 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 53.)
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1°*, 471; 2°*, 589; in Com., and 3°*, 1511 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 60.)
- BILL (No. 22) Respecting the Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company.—(Mr. *Ingram*)
1°*, 471; 2°*, 589; in Com., and 3°*, 1511 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 108.)
- BILL (No. 23) To incorporate the Alaska-Yukon Railway Company.—(Mr. *Logan*)
1°*, 471; 2°* 589 (i).
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1°*, 471; 2°*, 589; in Com., and 3°*, 2670 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 111.)
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1°*, 471; 2°*, 589; in Com., 1511, 2406, 2617; 3°*, 2783 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 51.)
- BILL (No. 26) Respecting the Kaslo and Lardo-Duncan Railway Company.—(Mr. *Bostock*)
1°*, 471; 2°*, 589; in Com., and 3°*, 1725 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 61.)
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1°*, 471 (i).
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1°, 471 (i).
- BILL (No. 28) Further to amend the Criminal Code, 1892.—(Mr. *Britton*)
1°, 471 (i).

- BILL (No. 29) To amend the Dominion Elections Act.—(Mr. *Britton*.)
1° 472 (i); 2° m., 4793; amt. (Sir *Wilfrid Laurier*)
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- BILL (No. 30) In further amendment of the Trade Mark and Design Act.—(Mr. *Campbell*.)
1°*, 471 (i).
- BILL (No. 31) To amend the Land Titles Act, 1894.—
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1°, 475 (i); 2° m., 4799; in Com., and 3°, 4799
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- BILL (No. 33) Respecting the British Columbia Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. *Prior*.)
1°*, 577; 2°*, 777; in Com., and 3°*, 1725 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 52.)
- BILL (No. 34) Respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.—(Mr. *Macdonell*.)
1°*, 577; 2°*, 777; in Com., 2626; 3° m., 2654, agreed to, 2667 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 55.)
- BILL (No. 35) To incorporate the Comox and Cape Scott Railway Company.—(Mr. *Morrison*.)
1°*, 577; 2°* 1005; in Com., 3209 (i), 3418; 3° m., 3441 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 57.)
- BILL (No. 36) Respecting the Arrowhead and Kootenay Railway Company.—(Mr. *Morrison*.)
1°*, 577; 2°*, 777; withdn., 1975 (i).
- BILL (No. 37) Respecting the Dominion Oil Pipe Line and Manufacturing Company.—(Mr. *Fraser*, *Guysborough*.)
1°*, 577; 2°*, 1005 (i).
- BILL (No. 38) To regulate the trade in grain in Manitoba and the North-west Territories.—(Mr. *Davin*.)
1°, 577 (i).
- BILL (No. 39) To amend the Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons.—(Mr. *Domville*.)
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- BILL (No. 40) Respecting the land grant of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.—(Mr. *Richardson*.)
1°, 579 (i).
- BILL (No. 41) Respecting the River St. Clair Railway Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. *Montague*.)
1°*, 649; 2°*, 1005; in Com., 1685; 3°*, 1725 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 117.)
- BILL (No. 42) To incorporate the Alaska and North-western Railway Company.—(Mr. *Belcourt*.)
1°*, 649; 2°*, 1005 (i).
- BILL (No. 43) Respecting the Grand Valley Railway Company, and to change its name to the Port Dover, Brantford, Berlin and Goderich Railway Company.—(Mr. *Charlton*.)
1°*, 649; 2°*, 1246; in Com., and 3°*, 2670 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 73.)
- BILL (No. 44) Respecting the Canada Southern Bridge Company.—(Mr. *Ingram*.)
1°*, 649; 2°*, 1005; in Com., and 3°*, 1685 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 91.)
- BILL (No. 45) Respecting the Pontiac Pacific Junction Railway Company.—(Mr. *Poupore*.)
1°*, 649; 2°*, 1005; in Com., and 3°*, 2670 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 72.)
- BILL (No. 46) Respecting the Canada and Michigan Bridge and Tunnel Company.—(Mr. *Cowan*.)
1°*, 649; 2°*, 1005; in Com., and 3°*, 1685 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 90.)
- BILL (No. 47) Respecting Labour in Mines.—(Mr. *McInnes*.)
1°, 737 (i).
- BILL (No. 48) Respecting the Montreal and Ottawa Railway Company.—(Mr. *Monk*.)
1°*, 777; 2°*, 1005; in Com., and 3°*, 1725 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 66.)
- BILL (No. 49) To amend "The Dominion Elections Act."—(Mr. *Puttice*.)
1° m., 864 (i).
- BILL (No. 50) Further to amend the Canada Temperance Act.—(Mr. *Flint*.)
1° m., 937 (i).
- BILL (No. 51) To incorporate the Holiness Movement (or Church) in Canada.—(Mr. *Belcourt*.)
1°*, 1109; 2°*, 1686; in Com., 2667; 3° m., 2670; 3°*, 2783 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 101.)
- BILL (No. 52) To incorporate the Morris and Portage Railway Company.—(Mr. *Macdonnell*.)
1°*, 1109; 2°*, 1686; in Com., and 3°*, 2783 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 67.)
- BILL (No. 53) To confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Orford Copper Company.—(Mr. *Belcourt*.)
1°*, 1109; 2° m., 1725, 1728 (i).
- BILL (No. 54) Respecting the Ontario Mutual Life Assurance Company, and to change its name to "The Mutual Life Assurance Company of Canada."—(Mr. *Britton*.)
1°*, 1109; 2°*, 1686 (i); in Com., and 3°*, 4478 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 112.)
- BILL (No. 55) To incorporate the Canadian Bankers Association.—(Mr. *Britton*.)
1°*, 1109; 2°*, 1728 (i); in Com., and 3°*, 5751 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 93.)
- BILL (No. 56) To determine the length of the working day for workmen and labourers.—(Mr. *Beattie*.)
1° m., 1109 (i).
- BILL (No. 57) To amend the Dominion Elections Act.—(Mr. *Erb*.)
1° m., 1109 (i).
- BILL (No. 58) To supervise and control the warehousing, inspection and weighing of grain in Manitoba and the North-west Territories.—(Mr. *Douglas*.)
1°*, 1207 (i).
- BILL (No. 59) To provide for the Expenses of the Canadian Volunteers serving Her Majesty in South Africa.—(Mr. *Fielding*.)
Prop. Res., 261; M. for Com. on Res., 350, 657, 868, 1058, 1124; in Com. on Res., 1155; 1°*, 1212; 2°, and in Com., 1643, 1686, 2000; 3°*, 2009 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 6.)

- BILL (No. 60) To amend the Militia Act.—(Mr. *Domville.*)
1° m., 1286 (i).
- BILL (No. 61) To amend the Militia Act.—(Mr. *Prior.*)
1° m., 1286 (i).
- BILL (No. 62) To amend "The Criminal Code, 1892." (Mr. *MacLaren.*)
1° m., 1287 (i); 2° m., 4800 (ii).
- BILL (No. 63) To amend the Criminal Code, 1892, as to marks on merchandise.—(Mr. *Russell.*)
1° m., 1287 (i).
- BILL (No. 64) To amend the Weights and Measures Act as respects the sale of fish.—(Mr. *Ganong.*)
1° m., 1287 (i).
- BILL (No. 65) To incorporate the Quebec and New Brunswick Railway Company.—(Mr. *Costigan.*)
1°*, 1381; 2°*, 1686; in Com., and 3°*, 2783 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 75.)
- BILL (No. 66) Respecting the Cowichan Valley Railway Company.—(Mr. *McInnes.*)
1°*, 1381; 2°*, 1728; in Com., and 3°*, 2783 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 58.)
- BILL (No. 67) Respecting La Banque Jacques Cartier, and to change its name to Banque Provinciale du Canada.—(Mr. *Penny.*)
1°*, 1381; 2° m., 1685; in Com., and 3°*, 2948 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 102.)
- BILL (No. 68)—Respecting the Nickel Steel Company of Canada.—(Mr. *MacPherson.*)
1°*, 1381; 2°*, 1686 (i); in Com., and 3°*, 5922 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 109.)
- BILL (No. 69) To incorporate the Kettle River Valley Railway Company.—(Mr. *Bostock.*)
1°*, 1381; 2°*, 1686 (i); withdn., 3255 (i).
- BILL (No. 70) To incorporate the Gaspé Short Line Railway Company.—(Mr. *Lemieux.*)
1°*, 1459; 2°*, 1686; M. for Com., 2998; in Com., 3003; 3210 (i), 3372; 3° m., 3413, 3611 (ii).
- BILL (No. 71) Respecting the Dominion Cotton Mills Company.—(Mr. *Quinn.*)
1°*, 1553; 2°*, 2109; in Com., and 3°*, 4479 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 98.)
- BILL (No. 72) Respecting the Merchants Bank of Halifax, and to change its name to "The Royal Bank of Canada."—(Mr. *Russell.*)
1°*, 1553; 2°*, 1933; in Com., and 3°*, 2948 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 103.)
- BILL (No. 73) Respecting the Restigouche and Western Railway Company.—(Mr. *McAlister.*)
1°*, 1641; 2°*, 1933 (i); in Com., 3372; 3° m., 3415 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 78.)
- BILL (No. 74) Respecting the Northern Commercial Telegraph Company (Limited).—(Mr. *Domville.*)
1°*, 1641; 2°*, 1933; in Com. and 3°*, 2783 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 110.)
- BILL (No. 75) To incorporate the Quebec Southern Railway Company.—(Mr. *Bernier.*)
1°*, 1641; 2°*, 2109 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 4479 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 76.)
- BILL (No. 76) To incorporate the Canadian Loan and Investment Company.—(Mr. *Clarke.*)
1°*, 1641; 2°*, 1933; in Com. and 3°*, 2948 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 95.)
- BILL (No. 77) To incorporate the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.—(Mr. *Quinn.*)
1°*, 1641; 2°*, 1933; in Com. and 3°*, 2670 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 96.)
- BILL (No. 78) To amend the Gas Inspection Act.—(Sir *Henry Joly de Lotbinière.*)
1°*, 1641 (i); 2° m., 4669; in Com., 4669; 3°*, 4671 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 41.)
- BILL (No. 79) To amend the General Inspection Act, so as to provide a grade for Flax Seed.—(Sir *Henry Joly de Lotbinière.*)
1°*, 1641 (i); 2° m., 4671; in Com., 4672; 3°*, 4672 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 38.)
- BILL (No. 80) Respecting the members of the Northwest Mounted Police Force on active service in South Africa.—(Sir *Wilfrid Laurier.*)
1° m., 1642 (i); 2° m., 3610; in Com. and 3°*, 3611 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 19.)
- BILL (No. 81) To incorporate the Accident and Guarantee Company of Canada.—(Mr. *Penny.*)
1°*, 1713; 2°*, 2156 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 5751 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 87.)
- BILL (No. 82) To incorporate the Crown Life Insurance Company.—(Mr. *McCarthy.*)
1°*, 1713; 2°*, 2157; in Com. and 3°*, 2948 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 97.)
- BILL (No. 83) Respecting the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company.—(Mr. *Haley.*)
1°*, 1713; 2°*, 2783 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 5162 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 59.)
- BILL (No. 84) Respecting the Bay of Quinté Railway Company.—(Mr. *Hurley.*)
1°*, 1713; 2°*, 1933 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 3373 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 50.)
- BILL (No. 85) To provide for the establishment of a Government system of Telegraphs.—(Mr. *Cusey.*)
1° m., 1713 (i).
- BILL (No. 86) Respecting the Thousand Island Railway Company.—(Mr. *Taylor.*)
1°*, 1786; 2°*, 2109 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 4022 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 83.)
- BILL (No. 87) Respecting the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway Company of Canada.—(Mr. *Roche.*)
1°*, 1786; 2°*, 2109 (i).
- BILL (No. 88) To incorporate the Ste. Mary's River Railway and Colonization Company.—(Mr. *Oliver.*)
1°*, 1786; 2°*, 2109 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 3373 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 79.)
- BILL (No. 89, from the Senate) to amend an Act to provide for the Conditional Liberation of Penitentiary Convicts.—(Sir *Wilfrid Laurier.*)
1°*, 1877 (i); 2° m., 3607; in Com., 3610; 3° m. 4666 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 48.)

- BILL (No. 90, from the Senate) Respecting the Supreme Court of the North-west Territories.—(Sir *Wilfrid Laurier*.)
1°*, 1877 (i); 2° m., 3607; in Com., 3607; 3°*, 3607 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 44.)
- BILL (No. 91) Respecting the Oshawa Railway Company.—(Mr. *Burnett*.)
1°*, 1877; 2°*, 2109 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 3373 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 70.)
- BILL (No. 92) To incorporate the Royal Marine Insurance Company.—(Mr. *Penny*.)
1°*, 1877; 2°*, 2109 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 4478 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 118.)
- BILL (No. 93) To confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Servis Railroad Tie Plate Company of Canada, Limited.—(Mr. *Fraser*, Guysborough.)
1°*, 1975; 2° m., 2670 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 8709 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 121.)
- BILL (No. 94) Respecting the Schomberg and Aurora Railway Company.—(Mr. *Landerkin*.)
1°*, 1975; 2°*, 2673 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 7652 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 81.)
- BILL (No. 95) Respecting the Kingston and Pembroke Railway Company.—(Mr. *Britton*.)
1°*, 2072; 2°*, 2157; withdn., 3255 (i).
- BILL (No. 96) Respecting the Quebec Bridge Company.—(Mr. *Talbot*.)
1°*, 2072; 2°*, 2673 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 3373 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 116.)
- BILL (No. 97) To incorporate the Portage du Fort and French River Railway Company.—(Mr. *Mackie*.)
1°*, 2072; 2°*, 2673 (i); ref. to Sel. Com., 4142, withdn., 4332 (ii).
- BILL (No. 98) Respecting the Yarmouth Steamship Company, Limited. (Mr. *Fliné*.)
1°*, 2147; 2°*, 2673 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 4479 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 124.)
- BILL (No. 99) To confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Miami Cycle and Manufacturing Company.—(Mr. *Britton*.)
1°*, 2147; 2°*, 2673 (i).
- BILL (No. 100) Respecting the Buffalo Railway Company.—(Mr. *Gibson*.)
1°*, 2147; 2°*, 2673 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 5751 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 54.)
- BILL (No. 101) Respecting the Nipissing and James Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. *Klock*.)
1°*, 2345; 2°*, 2673 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 5162 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 68.)
- BILL (No. 102) To confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of James Milne.—(Mr. *Clarke*.)
1°*, 2345; 2°*, 2673 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 4950 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 105.)
- BILL (No. 103) To incorporate the Port Arthur Railway and Terminals Company.—(Mr. *Dyment*.)
1°*, 2345; 2°*, 2673 (i); withdn., 4554 (ii).
- BILL (No. 104) Respecting the Montfort and Gati-neau Colonization Railway Company.—(Mr. *Bourassa*.)
1°*, 2345; 2°*, 2673 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 3373 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 65.)
- BILL (No. 105) To amend the Franchise Act, 1898.—(Mr. *Carroll*.)
1° m., 2347 (i).
- BILL (No. 106) To amend the Patent Act.—(Mr. *Gibson*.) 1°*, 2457 (i).
- BILL (No. 107) To make further provision respecting grants of land to Members of the Militia Force on active service in the North-west.—(Mr. *Sutherland*.)
1°*, 2457 (i); 2° m., 4667; in Com., 4669; 3° m., 4811 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 17.)
- BILL (No. 108) To confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of J. W. Anderson.—(Mr. *Cargill*.)
1°*, 2560; 2°*, 2783 (i); M. for Com., 5162; ref. to Sel. Com., 5168; in Com., 6920; 3°*, 6821 (ii); Sen. Amts., 9689 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 88.)
- BILL (No. 109) To incorporate the Manitoulin and North Shore Railway Company.—(Mr. *Dyment*.)
1°*, 2560; 2°*, 2673 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 5162 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 64.)
- BILL (No. 110) To amend the Weights and Measures Act.—(Sir *Henri Joly de Lotbinière*.)
1°*, 2560 (i); 2° m., 4672; in Com., 4675, 4812, 5969, 6918 (ii); 7125, 7422; 3°*, 7423 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 37.)
- BILL (No. 111) Respecting the St. Clair and Erie Ship Canal Company.—(Mr. *Fisdale*.)
1°*, 2827; 2°*, 3033 (i); in Com. and 3°*, 4069 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 119.)
- BILL (No. 112) To incorporate the Quebec and Lake Huron Railway Company.—(Mr. *Belcourt*.)
1°*, 2827; 2°*, 3033 (i); in Com., 5169, 3°*, 5230 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 74.)
- BILL (No. 113) To confer on the Commissioner of Patents certain powers for the relief of the Frost and Wood Company (Limited).—(Mr. *Cowan*.)
1°*, 2827 (i); 2°*, 3373; in Com. and 3°*, 4950 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 100.)
- BILL (No. 114) Respecting the Toronto Hotel Company.—(Mr. *Oaler*.)
1°*, 2827 (i); 2°*, 3373; in Com., 4951; 3°*, 5162 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 122.)
- BILL (No. 115) To incorporate the Canada National Railway and Transport Company.—(Mr. *Campbell*.)
1°*, 2827 (i); 2°*, 3373; in Com., 6489; 3° m., 6571; agreed to (Y., 59; N., 37) 6607 (ii).
- BILL (No. 116) To incorporate the Acadia Mortgage Company.—(Mr. *Russell*.)
1°*, 2827 (i); 2°*, 4479; in Com. and 3°*, 6820 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 86.)
- BILL (No. 117) Respecting the National Sanitarium Association.—(Mr. *Maclean*.)
1°*, 2827 (i); 2°*, 3373; in Com. and 3°*, 4069 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 107.)

- BILL (No. 118) Respecting the Timagami Railway Company.—(Mr. *McHugh*.)
1^o*, 2827; 2^o*, 3033 (i); in Com. and 3^o*, 7552; Sen. Amts., 8837 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 84.)
- BILL (No. 119) To incorporate the Canadian Nurses Association.—(Mr. *Roddick*.)
1^o*, 2827; 2^o*, 3033 (i); withdn., 4554 (ii).
- BILL (No. 120) To incorporate the Ottawa, Brockville and New York Railway Company.—(Mr. *Frost*.)
1^o*, 2827 (i); 2^o*, 3373 (ii); in Com. and 3^o*, 7031 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 71.)
- BILL (No. 121) Respecting the Ontario Power Company of Niagara Falls.—(Mr. *Flint*.)
1^o*, 2827; 2^o*, 3033 (i); in Com., and 3^o*, 4069 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 113.)
- BILL (No. 122) Respecting the Lake Erie and Detroit River Railway Company.—(Mr. *McGregor*.)
1^o*, 2827; 2^o*, 3033 (i); in Com., and 3^o*, 4069 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 62.)
- BILL (No. 123) To incorporate the Yale Mining District Railway Company.—(Mr. *Bostock*.)
1^o*, 2827 (i); 2^o*, 3373 (ii).
- BILL (No. 124) To incorporate the Lake Superior and Hudson Bay Railway Company.—(Mr. *Dyment*.)
1^o*, 2827 (i); 2^o*, 3373 (ii); in Com., and 3^o*, 7552 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 63.)
- BILL (No. 125) Respecting the Algoma Central Railway Company.—(Mr. *Dyment*.)
1^o*, 2827 (i); 2^o*, 3373; in Com., and 3^o*, 5922 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 49.)
- BILL (No. 126) To amend the San José Scale Act.—(Mr. *Fisher*.)
1^o*, 2827; 2^o m., 3164; in Com., 3166; 3^o*, 3168 (i). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 31.)
- BILL (No. 127) to provide for the marking and inspection of packages containing Apples and Pears for export.—(Mr. *Fisher*.)
1^o*, 2827 (i); 2^o*, 5107; in Com., 5107, 5124, 5827.
- BILL (No. 128) To amend the Weights and Measures Act as respects the contents of packages of Salt.—(Mr. *Holmes*.)
1^o*, 2907 (i.)
- BILL (No. 129, from the Senate) To incorporate the Canadian Steel Company.—(Mr. *Calvert*.)
1^o*, 2994 (i); 2^o*, 3373; in Com., and 3^o*, 4069 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 94.)
- BILL (No. 130, from the Senate) Respecting the Montreal, Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal Company.—(Mr. *Edwards*.)
1^o*, 3140 (i); 2^o*, 3373; in Com., and 3^o*, 4479 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 106.)
- BILL (No. 131, from the Senate) For the Relief of Edwin James Cox.—(Mr. *Montague*.)
1^o*, 3330; 2^o*, 4069; in Com., and 3^o*, 4950 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 125.)
- BILL (No. 132) To amend the Railway Act.—(Mr. *Blair*.)
1^o m., 3256; 2^o m., 4684, 4695 (ii); in Com., 9342; 3^o m., 9365; Sen. Amt., 10421 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 23.)
- BILL (No. 133) To consolidate and amend the law relating to the Election of Members of the House of Commons.—(Mr. *Fitzpatrick*.)
1^o m., 3258 (i); 2^o m., 6702; in Com., 6725 (ii); 7322, 8090, 8796, 8840, 9064; 3^o m., 9472; Sen. Amts., 10454, 10508 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 12.)
- BILL (No. 134) Respecting the incorporation of Live Stock Associations.—(Mr. *Fisher*.)
1^o*, 3478; 2^o*, 5099; in Com., 5099; 3^o*, 5124 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 33.)
- BILL (No. 135) To amend the Experimental Farm Station Act.—(Mr. *Fisher*.)
1^o*, 3478; 2^o*, 5099; in Com., 5099; 3^o*, 5124 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 30.)
- BILL (No. 136, from the Senate) Respecting the Ontario and Rainy River Railway Company.—(Mr. *Gibson*.)
1^o*, 3673; 2^o*, 3804; in Com., and 3^o*, 4479 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 69.)
- BILL (No. 137, from the Senate) Further to amend the Criminal Code, 1892.—(Sir *Wilfrid Laurier*.)
1^o*, 3575; 2^o*, 4700; in Com., 4700, 5176, 5251, 5701, 5922, 6063; 3^o m., 6309; recom., 6321; 3^o, 6323 (ii); Sen. Amts., 8949, 10453 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 46.)
- BILL (No. 138, from the Senate) To amend "The Admiralty Act, 1891."—(Sir *Wilfrid Laurier*.)
1^o*, 3575; 2^o*, 5103; in Com., 5103; 3^o*, 5144 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 45.)
- BILL (No. 139) To amend the Land Titles Act, 1894.—(Mr. *Sutherland*.)
1^o*, 3758; 2^o, and in Com., 5177; 3^o*, 5181 (ii); Sen. Amts., 8089 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 21.)
- BILL (No. 140) Respecting the Parishes of St. Eugène de Grantham, in the County of Drummond and St. Nazaire d'Acton, in the County of Bagot.—(Mr. *Lavergne*.)
1^o m., 4144 (ii.)
- BILL (No. 141) Respecting the grain trade in the Inspection District of Manitoba.—(Sir *Henri Joly de Lotbinière*.)
1^o*, 4333; 2^o m., 5757; in Com., 5763, 5809; M. to ref. back to Com., 6258; in Com., 6284; 3^o M., 6298 (ii); Sen. Amts., 8936 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 39.)
- BILL (No. 142) Respecting the Inspection of Foreign Grain.—(Sir *Henri Joly de Lotbinière*.)
1^o*, 4333; 2^o m., 4681; in Com., and 3^o, 4684 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 40.)
- BILL (No. 143) To amend the Act respecting Securities for Seed Grain indebtedness.—(Mr. *Sutherland*.)
1^o m., 4333; 2^o m., 5034; in Com., 5037; 3^o m., 5142; agreed to (Y. 50; N. 26) 5143 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 16.)
- BILL (No. 144, from the Senate) For the Relief of Catherine Cecilia Lyons.—(Mr. *Mills*.)
1^o*, 4554; 2^o, 4695; in Com., and 3^o*, 5922 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 128.)

- BILL (No. 145) To incorporate the Toronto and Georgian Bay Short Line Railway Company.—(Mr. *Britton*.)
1^o*, 4436; 2^o*, 4695 (ii).
- BILL (No. 146) To enable the City of Winnipeg to utilize the Assiniboine River water power.—(Mr. *Puttee*.)
1^o*, 4436; 2^o*, 4695; in Com., and 3^o*, 6276 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 123.)
- BILL (No. 147) For granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the public service for the financial year ending June 30, 1900.—(Mr. *Fielding*.)
Prop. Res., 4338, 4458; 1^o*, 2^o*, 4458; in Com., 4458; 3^o m., 4466 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 1.)
- BILL (No. 148, from the Senate) Respecting the Atlantic and Lake Superior Railway Company.—(Mr. *McAlister*.)
1^o*, 4662; 2^o*, 4734 (ii).
- BILL (No. 149) Respecting Inscribed Stock of Canada in the United Kingdom.—(Mr. *Fielding*.)
1^o*, 4662; 2^o m., 5960; 3^o*, 5969 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 11.)
- BILL (No. 150) Respecting the Salisbury and Harvey Railway Company.—(Mr. *Lewis*.)
1^o*, 4722; 2^o* 5230; in Com., and 3^o*, 5922 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 80.)
- BILL (No. 151) To amend the Act relating to Ocean Steamship Subsidies.—(Mr. *Fisher*.)
Prop. Res., 4333, 4811; 1^o*, 4812; 2^o m., 5251; in Com., and 3^o*, 5251 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 9.)
- BILL (No. 152) To authorize contracts with certain Steamship Companies for Cold Storage accommodation.—(Mr. *Fisher*.)
Prop. Res., 4662, 4822; 1^o m., 4898; 2^o*, in Com., and 3^o*, 5827 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 10.)
- BILL (No. 153, from the Senate) Respecting the Western Alberta Railway Company.—(Mr. *Richardson*.)
1^o*, 5513; 2^o*, 5751; in Com., and 3^o*, 6276 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 85.)
- BILL (No. 154, from the Senate) To amend the Loan Companies Act, Canada, 1899.—(Mr. *Fielding*.)
1^o*, 5020; 2^o, and in Com., 5181; 3^o*, 5182 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 43.)
- BILL (No. 155) To amend the Militia Act.—(Mr. *Borden*, King's.)
1^o m., 5224; 2^o, and in Com., 6453 (ii), 9838; 3^o*, 9844 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 18.)
- BILL (No. 156) To amend the Civil Service Act.—(Mr. *Fielding*.)
1^o m., 5226 (ii); 2^o m., 6996; in Com., 7007, 7031, 7656, 8160; 3^o*, 8161 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 14.)
- BILL (No. 157, from the Senate) To incorporate the St. Lawrence and Terminal Steamship Company.—(Mr. *McIsaac*.)
1^o*, 5513; 2^o*, 5922; in Com., and 3^o*, 6488 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 120.)
- BILL (No. 158, from the Senate) For the relief of Gertrude Bessie Patterson.—(Mr. *Richardson*.)
1^o*, 5513; 2^o*, 5922; in Com., and 3^o*, 6820 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 129.)
- BILL (No. 159, from the Senate) For the relief of Gustavus Adolphus Kobold.—(Mr. *Bennett*.)
1^o*, 5293; 2^o*, 5446; in Com., and 3^o*, 5922 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 127.)
- BILL (No. 160) To amend the Expropriation Act.—(Mr. *Fielding*.)
1^o*, 5513; 2^o*, 5757; in Com., 5757; 3^o*, 5757 (ii). Sen. Amts., 8083 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 22.)
- BILL (No. 161) To amend the Acts respecting Interest.—(Mr. *Fielding*.)
1^o m., 5514; 2^o*, 5756; in Com., 5757; 3^o*, 5757 (ii); Sen. Amts., 7423 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 29.)
- BILL (No. 162, from the Senate) Respecting Money Lenders.
This Bill was not introduced in the House of Commons.
- BILL (No. 163) To amend the Bank Act.—(Mr. *Fielding*.)
1^o m., 5728; 2^o m., 5960; in Com., 6502; 3^o m., 6626 (ii); Sen. Amts., 7656 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 26.)
- BILL (No. 164, from the Senate) Respecting the Great Eastern Railway Company.—(Mr. *McAlister*.)
1^o*, 5884; 2^o*, 5999 (ii).
- BILL (No. 165, from the Senate) Respecting the Montreal Bridge Company.—(Mr. *McAlister*.)
1^o*, 5884; 2^o*, 5999 (ii).
- BILL (No. 166, from the Senate) To incorporate the British North America Pulp and Paper Company.—(Mr. *McCarthy*.)
1^o*, 5883; 2^o*, 6502 (ii); in Com., and 3^o*, 8471 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 89.)
- BILL (No. 167) To amend the Copyright Act.—(Mr. *Fisher*.)
1^o m., 5887; 2^o m., 6506 (ii); in Com., 9148; 3^o*, 9149 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 25.)
- BILL (No. 168) To amend the Patent Act.—(Mr. *Fisher*.)
1^o m., 5887; 2^o m., 6933 (ii).
- BILL (No. 169) To incorporate the Dominion of Canada Rifle Association.—(Mr. *Borden*, King's.)
1^o*, 5960 (ii); 2^o m., 7135; in Com., and 3^o*, 7136 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 99.)
- BILL (No. 170) To amend the Act respecting the Merchants Bank of Halifax, and to change its name to the Royal Bank of Canada.—(Mr. *Russell*.)
M. to introduce B., 6247; 1^o*, 2^o*, 6247; in Com., and 3^o*, 6488 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 104.)
- BILL (No. 171) Respecting the Central Vermont Railway Company.—(Mr. *Gibson*.)
M. to present Pet., 6244; 1^o*, 6349; 2^o*, 6502 (ii); in Com., 9396, 9686; 3^o*, 9688 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 56.)
- BILL (No. 172) Respecting the Canada Mining and Metallurgical Company (Limited).—(Mr. *Penny*.)
1^o*, 6567 (ii); 2^o*, 7091; in Com., and 3^o*, 8103 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 92.)

- BILL (No. 173) Respecting the Quebec Harbour Commissioners.—(Mr. Fitzpatrick.)**
1^o, 6692 (ii); 2^o m., 10189; in Com., and 3^o*, 10190 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 116.)
- BILL (No. 174) To amend the Penitentiary Act.—(Mr. Fitzpatrick.)**
1^o, 6692 (ii); 2^o*, 8083; in Com., 8083; 3^o*, 8088 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 47.)
- BILL (No. 175) To incorporate the Ottawa and Hull Fire Relief Fund.—(Mr. Belcourt.)**
1^o*, 2^o*, 6899 (ii); in Com., and 3^o*, 7652 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 114.)
- BILL (No. 176) To incorporate the South Shore Line Railway Company.—(Mr. Flint.)**
1^o*, 6914 (ii); 2^o*, 7341; in Com., and 3^o*, 8837 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 82.)
- BILL (No. 177) To amend Chapter 32 of the Statutes of 1890, respecting certain Savings Banks in the Province of Quebec.—(Mr. Fielding.)**
1^o m., 6914 (ii), 2^o m., 7221; in Com., 8082; 3^o*, 8083 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 28.)
- BILL (No. 178) For granting to Her Majesty, certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service for the financial year ending the 30th June, 1900.—(Mr. Fielding.)**
1^o*, 2^o*; in Com., and 3^o*, 6918 (ii). (63-64 Vic., c. 2.)
- BILL (No. 179) For granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service for the financial year ending the 30th of June, 1900.—(Mr. Fielding.)**
1^o*, 2^o* and in Com., and 3^o*, 7220 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 3.)
- BILL (No. 180) Respecting and Restricting Chinese immigration.—(Sir Wilfrid Laurier.)**
1^o m., 7406; 2^o, 8162; in Com., 8182, 8189; 3^o*, 8285; Sen. Amts., 9525 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 32.)
- BILL (No. 181, from the Senate) For the relief of William Henry Featherstonhaugh.—(Mr. Gibson.)**
1^o*, 7511; 2^o*, 7652; in Com., and 3^o*, 8103 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 126.)
- BILL (No. 182) Respecting the construction of a branch railway from Charlottetown to Murray Harbour.—(Mr. Blair.)**
1^o m., 7647; 2^o and in Com., 8937; 3^o*, 8949 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 7.)
- BILL (No. 183 from the Senate) To amend the Companies Clauses Act.—(Mr. Fielding.)**
1^o*, 8062; M. for 2^o, 8935; 2^o and in Com., 8951; 3^o*, 8952 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 42.)
- BILL (No. 184) To amend the Tariff of Customs, 1897.—(Mr. Fielding.)**
1^o*, 2^o*, and in Com., 8089; 3^o*, 8160 (ii). (63-64 Vic., c. 15.)
- BILL (No. 185) To authorize the sale of the Yarmouth Steamship Company property to the Dominion Atlantic Railway Company's.—(Mr. Flint.)**
M. to receive Pet., 8278; 1^o*, 2^o*, 8280; in Com., and 3^o*, 8709; withdn., 8332 (iii).
- BILL (No. 186, from the Senate) Respecting the Red Deer River Valley Railway and Coal Company.—(Mr. Semple.)**
1^o*, 8524; 2^o*, in Com., and 3^o*, 9396 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 77.)
- BILL (No. 187) To aid in the prevention and settlement of trade disputes and the publication of statistical and industrial information.—(Mr. Mulock.)**
1^o m., 8399; 2^o m., 9368; in Com., 9392; 3^o*, 939 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 24.)
- BILL (No. 188) For granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service, for the financial year ending the 30th June, 1900.—(Mr. Fielding.)**
1^o*, 2^o*; in Com., and 3^o*, 8796 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 4.)
- BILL (No. 189) To amend the Act respecting the Judges of Provincial Courts.—(Mr. Fitzpatrick.)**
Prop. Res., 8794; 2^o of Res., 8836; 1^o* of B., 8836; 2^o m., 9083; in Com., 9146; 3^o m., 9338; Sen. Amts., 10035, 10507 (iii).
- BILL (No. 190) Respecting the preservation of Game in the Yukon Territory.—(Mr. Sutherland.)**
1^o m., 9059; 2^o*; in Com., and 3^o*, 9494 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 34.)
- BILL (No. 191) To amend the Post Office Act.—(Mr. Mulock.)**
1^o m., 9332; 2^o m., 9689; agreed to (Y. 79; N. 27) 9701; M. for Com., 9799; in Com., 9812; 3^o m., 9836; 3^o*, 9838 (iii).
- BILL (No. 192, from the Senate) To amend the Bank Act Amendment Act.—(Mr. Fielding.)**
1^o*, 9903; 2^o, 10188; in Com., 10188; 3^o*, 10189 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 27.)
- BILL (No. 193) To authorize the granting of subsidies in aid of the construction of the lines of railway and other works therein mentioned.—(Mr. Blair.)**
Prop. Res., 9333; M. for Com. on Res., 9906; in Com. on Res., 9960; 1^o* of B., 10029; 2^o*, and in Com., 10185; 3^o m., 10190 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 8.)
- BILL (195) Further to amend the Act respecting the Judges of Provincial Courts.—(Mr. Fitzpatrick.)**
Prop. Res., 10304; 1^o* of B., 10304; 2^o*, in Com., and 3^o*, 10420 (iii).
- BILL (No. 196) For granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the Public Service, for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1900, and the 30th June, 1901, and for other purposes relating to the Public Service.—(Mr. Paterson.)**
1^o*, 2^o*, in Com., and 3^o*, 10495 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 5.)
- BILL (No. 197) To amend the Dominion Controverted Elections Act.—(Mr. Fitzpatrick.)**
1^o m., 10506; 2^o, and in Com., 10506; 3^o m., 10507 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 13.)
- BILODEAU, L. P., PAYMENTS TO: Ques. (Mr. Casgrain)**
3766 (ii).

- BINDER TWINE : in Com. of Sup., 6890 (ii), 8132 (iii).
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 — EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PURCHASE BY FARMERS :
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- BLUE ROCK BREAKWATER : in Com. of Sup., 9895 (iii).
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- British North America Pulp and Paper Co.'s B. No. 166 (Mr. McCarthy) 1^o*, 5883 ; 2^o*, 6502 (ii) in Com., and 3^o*, 8471 (iii). (63-64 Vic., c. 89.)
- British Yukon Ry. Co.'s B. No. 20 (Mr. Fraser, Guysborough) 1^o*, 470 ; 2^o*, 589 (i) in Com., and 3^o*, 5922 (ii). (63-64 Vic., c. 53.)
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- **Featherstonhaugh, Wm. Henry, Relief B. No. 181** (Mr. *Gibson*) 1^o, 7511; 2^o, 7652; in Com., and 3^o, 8103 (iii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 126.)
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- Dom. Cotton Mills Co's B. No. 71** (Mr. *Quinn*) 1^o, 1553; 2^o, 2109 (i); in Com., and 3^o, 4479 (ii). (63-64 *Vic.*, c. 98.)
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